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Roles of English in Nepal: Teachers’ Perspectives

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An idea, like a ghost, must be spoken to a little before it will explain itself.

(Charles Dickens)
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1. **Introduction**

The language situation in Nepal concerning the role of English in various domains of everyday life has become a fascinating matter to many linguists today. For many centuries, Nepal and its citizens have fought over politics, acceptance of minorities, language policies and cultural as well as linguistic freedom. Taking into account recent political events, Nepal is on the verge of seeing its constitutional efforts bear fruit. The declaration of the parliament announcing the *Democratic Republic of Nepal* in June 2008 saw formal King Gyanendra leave his palace. Although recent political events have led to the belief that Nepal’s fortune will take another turn, democracy and sovereignty have led to changing attitudes towards languages and their use in the Himalayan State. These events will, like so many other variables, certainly have an effect on the role of English in Nepal.

Since Nepal never has been a monolingual state but rather a multilingual monarchy, it is only evident that many languages have found their way into the Himalayan country. To what extent and in which domains English and other languages are used, shall be the topic of this investigation. Spolsky (2004: 42) agrees with Fishman & Cooper & Ma’s view (Fishman, Cooper & Ma 1971: 38) that “language choice (the very core of language policy) is best studied in the context of sociolinguistic domains” (Spolsky 2004: 42), therefore, it is of crucial importance to include social domains in the study on the languages of Nepal.

This paper, therefore, will try to provide an overview of the dynamics affecting the choice of the English language in Nepal. Special focus will be given to the language situation, language policy and language planning and various domains where English plays an important role, such as the educational sector, media and tourism and the business sector. Furthermore, an empirical study, based on interviews with a group of experts on the role of English in the various domains, will try to strengthen the assumptions made in the theoretical part of this paper.
A picture of the linguistic landscape in Nepal should emerge, which acknowledges the role of English in Nepal as a second language, foreign language or lingua franca within the pivotal dimensions.

2. **English as a global language**

English is nowadays referred to as *world language, international language* and even *global language*. Historically speaking, these three concepts developed in the 1920s, the 1930s and 1990s, the first and second gaining momentum especially in the 1980s. (McArthur 2004: 3) Although this pluralism of terms exists, all three concepts refer to the notion of a language spreading the globe, expanding its usage in non-native as well as nativized settings, respectively. The term *world language* in the 1980s was especially used for reference to ‘standard’ as well as all spoken and written English. *International English* was utilized to refer to English in a pedagogical setting as a multinational tool and *global English*, used especially today, points towards “a vast use and links the language (often negatively) with socio-economic globalization.” (McArthur 2004: 3) The question then remains how a certain language becomes a *global language*. The fact that English, in this respect, is referred to as ‘the’ global language almost all around the world seems evident, although it must be investigated how it came to be.

The historical perspective of the spread of the English language suggests that English indeed is a language spoken in many countries and by many mother-tongue speakers. One of the main reasons for such a development is the fact that English is a highly pluricentric language. In other words, English is said to have various standard forms in written and spoken discourse. (Cf. Clyne 2004: 296ff.) The pluricentricity accounts for the fact that English seems to be a quite flexible language used in many situations all around the world. Despite the fact that English is frequently said to have taken up the status of a global language, however, Spanish displays more speakers and countries where it is used as official language and mother tongue. But is it the number of countries or mother-tongue speakers which makes English a global language? In order to obtain a global status,

> a language has to be taken up by other countries around the world [...] [and given] a special place within their communities, even though they may have few (or no) mother-tongue speakers. (Crystal 2003a: 4)
Various ways exist how a language can be given a special role inside a country by its residents. On the one hand, this special language can take the part of an official language employed in various domains like the media, official matters or the educational sector. Furthermore, it is of high importance to the users of such a language to achieve certain proficiency early in life to successfully exist within the system. The language used under such circumstances is often called a 'second language', due to the additional character to the mother tongue, or 'first language'.

On the other hand, a language can take over a special role within one important domain in a country. Mostly, this is done by “priorit[izing] [a language] in a country's foreign-language teaching, even though this language has no official status” (Crystal 2003a: 4) The access to this language is increased, resulting in a privileged status within the country and among its speakers. In the case of English, over “seventy countries” (Crystal 2003a: 4), with India, Singapore and many African countries among them, have recognized the special status English occupies. Many of these countries have chosen to officially pronounce English as one of the sometimes many languages used within their territories. Other countries have omitted to do so. Nepal is one of the nations prioritizing English within their educational system by making it the medium of instructions at least on private and boarding school level.

Various ways exist how a language becomes official in a country. While many nations recognize English as their sole language, others officially view English as equally important to other languages. In some territories, English takes on the role of an agent used only in specific domains. Acknowledging a language happens not only on different levels within a society, but also in manifold legal forms of appearance. Countries can decide to officially state the role of a language in a constitution or can consciously omit to do just that. The recognition of languages, or certain dialects for that matter, can deviate according to the purpose a language fulfills. Important reasons for language choice can be of a political, historical or economic nature. Furthermore, granting a language legal status does not necessarily lead to the language being used as the most prominent language in a country. Various factors, like the financial support of non-governmental organizations following their own linguistic plans, especially in developing countries, can influence the linguistic setting substantially. Especially the educational sector is often subject to a great lack of financial support, which leads to a
shortage of material, textbooks, teachers and access to education in general and language in particular. The less resources a country can provide for the education of its people, the more “[...] language-teaching goals [will be] hindered”. (Crystal 2003a: 5)

The status of a global language does not depend on the numbers of mother-tongue speakers. Rather it is a question of power-relations with other speakers of different languages. The main factor seems to be the question “who those speakers are.” [...] [The] [...] closest of links [is constituted by] language dominance and economic, technological, and cultural power.” (Crystal 2003a: 7) Whether the dominance is achieved through political, economic or military power is of secondary concern, but it is important that without the power of the people speaking such a language, the language itself would not have the status of a global language. History provides many occasions where military power led to the succession of a language over other languages. Economic and political power then secured the permanent domination and expansion of this particular language over others.

The historical perspective points towards English as a global language, because it was the language of many imperialistic enterprises in the past. The colonization of the Americas, the established empires in Asia, India and to a certain extent also Nepal, and the manifold bi- and multilateral trading arrangements all over the world granted English an exceptional position early on. Although the historical development is a major factor in this debate, electronic devices, such as the radio and television, ensured the importance of English as the language of international communication. One major development, the invention of the world-wide-web, substantially helped strengthen the status of global English.

2.1. Benefits and dangers of a global language

The positive effects of English emerging as a strong global language are highly diverse. Through the many industrial changes the world has undergone in the 20th and 21st centuries, it is now possible to communicate with people all around the world rather easily. Similarly, the mobility and freedom to travel from one country to another in comparatively no time, has increased dramatically. In order to meet the challenges in
communicating with others all over the world, it is necessary either to employ numerous translators, or to communicate with each other in the same language. Especially with multinational enterprises, businesses and organizations, it would seem increasingly important to keep the languages in which official statements are filed at a minimum. The need for a *lingua franca*, a mediating language, seems apparent. But why is English the language to resume this position?

The reason English has taken up the role of a global language can easily be explicated. Two major factors can be stated as influential to the success, namely “the expansion of British colonial power [...] and the emergence of the United States as the leading economic power of the 20th century” (Crystal 2003b: 106).

Since English has been used for centuries as the lingua franca of many trading and business endeavors, it has played a very important role in many situations. This is especially true for the expansion of the British territory to the old colonial nations such as the Americas, the South-Asian subcontinent, Africa and the Pacific region. After the independence of most colonial countries in the 20th century, English continued to play a major part in the countries’ developments. India even decided to grant English the status of an additional official language alongside Hindi and other native languages. The sociocultural aspect of English as a global language manifests itself through the growing dependency of many people on the English language. Today, domains of social life are connected to English, such as the media and entertainment, political issues, business communication or education. (Crystal 2003b: 107)

One of the socio-cultural downsides and a point of considerable debate is that a mother-tongue speaker of English has advantages a non-native speaker lacks. Quicker thinking and operating skills leave the second-language speaker at a severe disadvantage. The danger of creating and strengthening a monolingual elite, ignorant of the possibilities of learning other languages, could provide a further drawback to the global language supporters. The linguistic power behind this scheme could lead to a dangerous separation of educated people, who have the chance to learn the language due to financial means or the pure chance that they were born in the right place, and uneducated and poor people, who either do not have the money or are simply born in the wrong country. This social disadvantage lingers over the concept of English as a
global language, as any other language aspiring to such a status. A solution to this particular problem might be provided by the conscious attention to language learning in general.

When it comes to the question whether a global language would eliminate the motivation for people to learn other languages, then the answer would have to be: yes. At present, many examples exist, where especially English mother-tongue speakers do not feel the need to learn another language, no matter if they are in their own country or somewhere else. The degree of implicitness with which mother-tongue speakers of English assume that the whole world communicates in English appears worrisome. Although the prospect of declining motivation is not a comforting one, it is still a matter “of attitude or state of mind rather than [a] question[...] of ability [...]” (Crystal 2003a: 17ff.). This accounts for the fact that language learning programs are given more or less attention within the countries of the world. In recent years the factor of globalization, especially on business-level, has not failed to make an impact on the linguistic level as well. More awareness and sensitivity towards languages have spread due to the realization that investors from other countries are needed for economic prosperity.

One of the immediate dangers that find their way into the minds of mother-tongue speakers of languages other than English must be that of language imperialism. Although the internet provides a platform for less spoken languages to divulge, the status of English has become more powerful with the invention of the world-wide-web or the status of the economic situation. Globalization has paved the way for certain fears and retention towards the development English has undergone. English, in this sense, “carries cultural and political implications associated with globalization” (Sonntag 2003: xi) Thus, many speakers have formed minority-language revitalization programs to foster languages spoken by minorities. The fear of language-death seems to accompany the progress of English as a global language. In this respect it is of vital importance to note that although the decline of minority languages may proceed, it does not make other languages obsolete. Neither does English as a global language, or any other global language for that matter, prove to be the reason for language-death. This phenomenon has been recorded far before English was labeled as ‘the’ global language. The elimination of a language rather takes place by assimilation of one ethnic group into
another, including their language, rather than by extinction of all speakers. Not all languages will become futile because one major global language is in place. Linguists even argue that the existence of one dominant language might trigger the resistance of minority-language speakers and revive the minority-language movement. The view cannot be easily dismissed that one world-language would unite peoples and ethnic groups and would bring about peace. The presence of a single language in a territory is, however, not a guarantee for harmonizing the people who live on these grounds. Many examples show the contrary. Also, the existence of more than just one language in an area or a nation state does not necessarily mean that the scene will be set for misunderstandings or even war.

The social and cultural properties of a language constituting people’s identities, however, are severely important. Although “mutual intelligibility” of a global language is of vital importance, “the role of identity” is usually gravely underestimated. (Crystal 2003a: 127) To be able to distinguish one human being from another in terms of social class, belonging to certain groups etc., is language-inherent. So how can the debate between the predominance of a global language and a minority language be solved? Crystal gives one possible solution to the question:

It is perfectly possible to develop a situation in which intelligibility and identity happily co-exist. This situation is the familiar one of bilingualism – but a bilingualism where one of the languages within a speaker is the global language, providing access to the world community, and the other is a regional language, providing access to a local community. The two functions can be seen as complimentary, responding to different needs. And it is because the functions are so different that a world of linguistic diversity can in principle continue to exist in a world united by a common language. (Crystal 2003a: 22)

It is then that the global language does not threaten the regional one but rather compliments the other. The mostly monolingual approach by many European or English-language speakers, thus, seems to be outdated and does not correlate with the needs of a multilingual society. The numbers of English mother-tongue speakers and second-language speakers estimated by Crystal in 1985 showed that approximately 316 million people world-wide speak English as a first language, while about 1.3 billion, most likely an overestimation, were said to use ESL. Nonetheless, these figures rather obviously account for the fact that many people today are actually bilingual speakers. Although the statistics do not show the level of proficiency with which the speakers communicate in English, they clearly point towards English being a global language.
spoken by many people world-wide. Crystal also explicitly stated that there were no figures available on the level of English as a foreign language (EFL) yet. In 1997, Crystal revised his statistics and noted that about 340 million spoke English as a first language or mother tongue and approximately 240 million used ESL. However, Crystal went on to estimate the figures for second-language speakers (L2) at about 350 million, since the statistics presented left out many countries where English had official and institutionalized status but where no estimates were available. Again, numbers on EFL were not conducted because of the lack of viable data but Crystal totaled the numbers of English users in about 1.5 billion. In 2008, Crystal revised his numbers from 1985 and 1997 to estimate the total users of English who can lead “a domestic conversation” (Crystal 2008: 5) at about 2 billion.

These revised numbers have far-reaching implications for the development of English as a global language. In order to understand the development behind these figures, many scholars have tried to devise models which account for the spread of English throughout the world. Some of the models centre around historical and geographical developments over the last centuries, some try to find ‘common ground’ in various varieties of English to define universal features, and others try to strengthen how important the users and their proficiencies are. In the following section, two of the most important models will be explained in order to set the ground for later detailed inquiries.

2.2. English as a global language: models

2.2.1. The “Three Concentric Circle-Model”

One of the models which tries to explain the diachronic spread of the English language is Kachru’s model of the Three Concentric Circles. This model forms the basis of several subsequent models devised in later years by other scholars and is one of the most influential and discussed models developed so far.

According to Kachru’s model, the spread of English took place in three major phases resulting in three diasporas (Kachru 2006: 70). It correlates historically speaking with the expansion of the British Empire, starting with the annexation of Wales in 1535. The unification of Great Britain can be seen as the starting point in the successful spread of
the English language. Great Britain emerged as world power which depicted its strength and pioneer status by initiating explorative voyages to the Americas, Australia and New Zealand constituting the second phase of the spread of English according to Kachru. The third and nowadays most important phase was the transplantation of the English language to geographic areas, where English had not been used by speakers in their daily lives before. Especially with the expansion to the Pacific regions, Africa, South Asia and the Philippines, English took on a whole new role within the global language picture. The contact between English and the already existing native languages did not only change the linguistic context of the present languages but it also altered the character of English itself by mixing “with genetically and culturally unrelated major languages” (Kachru 2006: 70). The language models and educational efforts that emerged after the implementation of English as an additional language within these territories, led to a diversification of the linguistic situation. One of the major factors influencing the linguistic picture of the countries mentioned above was the “process of acculturation”, the contact with other ethnic groups and their languages within these territories, granting “liberation [...] from traditional canons associated with English (Kachru 2006: 70 – emphasis added). Kachru presented a model, with which the so-called “pluricentricity” of the English language, meaning the interactivity of English in various centers building their own national varieties, which provide their own norms and function as intermediate varieties between national languages and regional varieties (Clyne 2004: 296 – emphasis added), could be accounted for: The “Three Concentric Circles of English”. (Kachru 2006: 70)
The Inner Circle consists of countries such as the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The citizens of these countries today use English as their first language, meaning as a native language (ENL). The Outer Circle mostly covers former colonial countries, like Ghana, India, South Africa, Sri Lanka and so on. In such countries, English is either officially the first language in co-existence with others, or still enjoys official status in several important domains. A classic ESL situation is at hand. The third circle, the Expanding Circle, includes territories like China, Indonesia, Japan, Taiwan, Egypt or Nepal. Within these countries, English mostly does not have any official status and exhibits foreign language (EFL) properties.

Outer-Circle countries illustrate the linguistic change already taken place over a certain period of time. Most of the English languages varieties emerged in various parts of the ex-colonies which combined several elements of the different languages and English to form institutionalized varieties. Amongst other reasons, English may have at some point elicited feelings of reluctance due to the sometimes oppressive status of English and its elitist speakers. Therefore, many features of the English language were
changed to fit the needs of the ‘new’ users. Today, many varieties of English exist which were, consciously or more unconsciously, adjusted to the new language environment. This phenomenon is called *acculturation*, leading to terms such as the “Indianization of English” (Kachru 1983). In Kachru’s model, the acculturation process is reflected in the term “norm-developing” (Bolton 2008: 249), which is to say that speakers who belong to a language group are in the process of finding their own norms to form ‘new varieties of English.

The Expanding Circle is, in contrast to its unifying term, a very heterogeneous group of countries and territories. Due to varying historical backgrounds and inconsistent contact with the English language, the linguistic situations cannot be subsumed under one term. It is exactly these countries, where linguistic developments are highly diverse, mostly resulting in non-institutionalized varieties of English. Since, in Kachru’s view, an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) situation is most likely to occur in Expanding Circle countries, which is reflected in his term “norm-dependent” (Bolton 2008: 249), the role of English as an International Language (EIL) as well as English as a Foreign Language (EFL) can be observed best within the Expanding Circle.

2.2.2. The “Centripetal Circles-Model”

Approximately at the same time as Kachru published the model of the three concentric circles, other scholars equally concerned themselves with models to illustrate the situation of the spread of English. McArthur (1987) and Görlach (1990) designed models to illustrate the spread of English throughout the world. It is, however, a more recently developed model which seems to account for the fact that the previous models lacked consideration of the importance of global Englishes from the Outer and Expanding Circles’ perspectives. Modiano’s concept of English as an International Language (EIL) (1999a) recognizes the shift in attitude and usage of English in the last decades and therefore gives credit to its use as a “tool for cross-cultural communication” (Modiano 1999a: 22). Many scholars have argued over the years that English has spread to become a global language by means of flexibility and constant change. The concept of the Centripetal Circles, which dismisses early prescriptive approaches to the learning of English, depicts the non-native speakers as the core of a model for EIL rather than the Inner Circle speakers as suggested by earlier models. In detail, the model depicts non-
native speakers in “the [O]uter and [E]xpanding [C]ircle [...] claiming the language for their own intra-national use [...] and as such are justified in their codification, nativization and institutionalization efforts.” (Modiano 1999a: 23) Modiano’s model takes into consideration the vastly growing numbers of non-native speakers mentioned by Crystal over the past two decades. Further, it emphasizes the implications this concept carries for the teaching of native varieties of English. With Inner Circle speakers of English, especially British English users, still claiming to determine the standard, which surely enough is illusional due to a vast amount of Standard English varieties within the Inner Circle itself, nativized varieties suffer from lack of prestigiousness. This Eurocentric view leads to the inhibition of acceptability of varieties of ‘new’ Englishes. The teaching of non-native varieties in the Outer and Expanding Circle, however, is one of the key-points in international communication. Modiano therefore suggests that the Inner Circle should “be occupied by proficient speakers of EIL”, using “varieties which function well in cross-cultural communication”. (Modiano 1999a: 25) One of the major factors included in this model is the efficiency with which speakers of English communicate internationally. It is thus not necessarily an ENL speaker who uses English most efficiently. Rather, users of English, who have effectively integrated the ability to speak English in an international context, are viewed as most efficient. If mother-tongue speaker are not able to switch codes according to the purpose of the communication, here being the communication with other English speakers around the world, they have no sufficient proficiency in EIL. Modiano names three groups of EIL speakers. First, the model describes users of EIL who depict high proficiency and therefore occupy the Inner Circle. The second group of speakers is described as users of varieties who speak incomprehensible English. They are required to switch codes in order to communicate internationally. The third group of users of English is made up of learners of regional dialects, accents or nativized varieties who occupy the Outer Circle. Modiano argues that the Inner Circle is in the process of expanding, due to the realization that EIL is becoming more and more important in global communication.

In order for EIL to change its status on a global scale, it needs to be codified to a certain extent, according to Modiano’s view. Features of common varieties need to be considered in dictionaries, textbooks and teaching material, before EIL can be taught and used by language learners and native-speakers alike. The question which presents
itself in this context is: Who decides which features are more commonly understood than others? Teachers of EIL will have to explain the difference in usage, pronunciation and grammar, to elicit language awareness, especially in ESL and EFL classes. EIL should therefore achieve to minimize language exclusion through relativizing the near-native proficiency approach of earlier models. English, after all, is “public domain” in a “global village”. (Modiano 1999a: 27)

After Modiano developed and published his model, many scholars offered their criticism of the concept by challenging the “mapping of Englishes” as biased, since it prompts the case from the EIL view-point. (Toolan 1999: 28) In his revised model, Modiano, only a few months later, gave more attention to native varieties in the “Common Core” (Modiano 1999b: 11). Each of the five language communities, British English speakers; American English speakers; other mother-tongue speakers of major varieties; speakers of local varieties such as Indian English; and foreign language speakers, have their own features which are distinct to this specific speech community and therefore might not be understandable to other speakers. They might, therefore, be unable to communicate cross-culturally and may not be sufficient speakers of EIL. These features, which are not part of the Common Core, separate the members of the speech community from others. Many of the features of Englishes, according to Modiano, can also be found in a transitional phase between distinct to a certain speech community and the Common Core. By explaining his model and the Common Core more closely, Modiano tried to justify his view from the EIL perspective, pointing out features of varieties rather than their speakers’ geographic and historical background. It almost seems as if Modiano devised a contrasting model in order to break the spell of the Eurocentric models of earlier years by reversing the Inner Circle with the Outer and Expanding Circle countries of Kachru’s model. Additionally, Modiano changed the center of attention from geographical and historical perspectives to the level of proficiency of English language users and common features of English language varieties. By doing so, he tried to work in a much needed change of perspective in giving credit to the numbers of speakers who were not ENL speakers. It is, however, still unclear, how to find common features of EIL and how to apply them.
2.2.3. Reflection on both models

Both models, Kachru’s and Modiano’s, have opened up a very wide area of debate on distinct features of World Englishes or EIL and what parameters are important when trying to devise a model for the status of English as a global language. One of the major limitations of Kachru’s model is the quite obvious fact that the Inner Circle countries form the center to the theory of the spread of English. Geographically and historically speaking, the spread has taken place towards Outer and Expanding Circle territories, but the model conveys a feeling of superiority of Inner Circle countries over the other territories, because of their status as ENL countries. This feeling is strengthened, since the use of English, as well as the proficiency of non-native-users seems to be largely neglected within Outer and Expanding Circle territories. Bi- and multilingualism, a part of millions of people’s lives, is excluded from any consideration, as is linguistic diversity within the countries of the three circles. Especially for the Expanding and Outer Circle countries, a more complex model seems to be required, to account for the present linguistic plurality. (Jenkins 2009: 20ff.)

Modiano’s model clearly favors an EIL situation by making it the core of his model. Which parameters he uses to determine whether a speaker is a competent user of EIL, however, partially remains obscure. Furthermore, the ability of ‘communicating well
cross-culturally’ is a rather “vague notion” which leaves much room for interpretation. (Jenkins 2009: 22) One additional problem presents itself because Modiano implies that every native speaker of English is proficient in using their mother-tongue, although this obviously does not have to be the case. (Jenkins 2009: 22ff.)

In both models, Modiano and Kachru make it perfectly clear that the notion of World Englishes or EIL is still a very vague area, in which parameters or distinct features of English as a global language are still to be set. Through theoretical models, researchers have opened up the room for discussions and future change in perception of what the standard is and what it might become.

2.2.4. ESL and EFL in Outer and Expanding Circle countries

“[Kachru’s as well as Modiano’s] three circles [carry] a message about the codification and diversification of English.” (Kachru 2006: 71) Depending on the linguistic situation and the standards present within a certain country, English can take on various roles. The way in which attitudes towards English can change language behavior and norms, is strongly connected to the three circle concept. Especially within the Outer and Expanding Circle, the spread of English cannot be pinned down to one specific variety. Rather, several non-native varieties, deviating in form and function, exist. These varieties can then be “considered [...] in acquisitional terms, in sociocultural terms, in motivational terms, and in functional terms”. (Kachru 1992: 53 – original emphasis) The distinction between ESL and EFL is furthermore of great importance to the language situation in the Outer and Expanding Circle. “Institutionalized varieties”, meaning the use of English varieties in a nativized way, such as in India, a classic example of an Outer Circle country, essentially depict ESL properties. EFL varieties, however, “are primarily performance varieties”, which are restricted to particular contexts, influencing “the role and functions of English in the educational, administrative, and sociocultural context of a country in which English is used as a non-native language.” (Kachru 1992: 54)

Connected to these two varieties is the question of motivation for learners of the English language. Especially in Second Language Acquisition (SLA), two major motivational factors have been listed: “Integrative [motivation] and instrumental [motivation]”. The concept of integrative motivation refers to the identification process a learner of ESL undergoes with “members of the other linguistic cultural group”. On the
other hand, instrumental motivation describes a process often connected to EFL-learners, where the purpose of acquiring certain proficiency in English is to use it in various contexts. “[The] language is acquired as a linguistic tool, not as instrument for cultural integration.” (Kachru 1992: 54) The sociocultural aspect of whether a language is transplanted is also a major issue when dealing with attitudes towards a certain language or variety. In the Indian example, English was transplanted by the colonizers, giving it a unique status in a positive as well as in a negative sense. In such language environments as India, English serves as a national link language, a *lingua franca*, with equal status to the other national languages. When English is spoken as a foreign language, primarily in Expanding Circle countries, the purpose is mostly international communication rather than interpersonal communication.

The Three-Concentric-Circle-model with its Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles is not merely a model to categorize the spread of English throughout the world but it also tries to provide information on non-native varieties and their form and function in various linguistic situations.

2.3. *English as a Lingua Franca and World Englishes*

Approximately at the same time as Modiano’s model of the Centripetal Circles with EIL at its core was published, other scholars (Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2001; Brutt-Griffler 2002) focused on models “emphasizing the role of English as a lingua franca for international communication” (Saraceni 2008: 21). Seidlhofer constitutes that

[,] when English is chosen as the means of communication among people from different first language backgrounds, across linguacultural boundaries, the preferred term is ‘English as a lingua franca’ [(ELF)]. (2005: 339 - original emphasis)

EIL as Modiano used it, originally focused on non-native and native-speaker communication but due to impracticability of the distinction between ELF and EIL, ELF is now used inclusively. This essentially means that the communication between non-native and native speakers as well as non-native speakers is included in the term ELF.

Another distinction is highly important which is explained by Kirkpatrick (2010: 219). ‘World Englishes’ are used mainly to “display a shared identity” (Kirkpatrick 2010: 219) among non-native users from the same linguistic background, while ELF is
operated among speakers across linguistic boundaries, including native speakers. World Englishes are therefore nativized varieties of English that are marked by code-mixing and code-switching. “[...] [T]erms, idioms, accents and strategies [are used] that are shared by the local speech community” (Kirkpatrick 2010: 219) to display cultural and linguistic membership. On the other hand, in ELF the “main aim is to be understood” (Kirkpatrick 2010: 219). That is why certain features of local speech communities are omitted in cross-cultural communication.

The shift away from ENL towards the importance of English as a tool for international communication within foreign linguacultural territory strengthens the position of ELF world-wide. Especially in Expanding Circle countries where communication often happens without an ENL speaker, ELF is becoming a highly important addition to an “EFL learning target” (Jenkins 2009: 144). Essentially, the differentiation between an ELF and EFL setting depends on the choice of the user whether or not to acquire near-native pronunciation or to see “code-mixing and –switching [...] as bilingual resources” (Jenkins 2009: 144). This also implies that the classic ELF - EFL divide between Outer and Expanding Circle countries is being challenged by the assumption that it is the choice of the user whether to acquire near-native-pronunciation. The user of EFL is in itself of high importance since “non-native users of English [function] as agents in the development of English. “Contribut[ing] to the shaping of the language and the function it fulfils [...]” is therefore an imminent process to the concept of ELF. (Brutt-Griffler 2002: vii – original emphasis) Non-native speakers are not merely bystanders who adhere to ‘standard’ norms by obeying rules set by ENL users but rather they shape the language through creativity and innovation. In this respect, ELF is seen as an inclusive concept which can be used across Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle boundaries. The main notion of ELF research, then, is the “[...] [recognition] of varieties and uses of English outside and beyond ENL”. (Saraceni 2008: 23)

One of the concerns of ELF is therefore the collection of viable data to analyze varieties and uses of English outside the ENL situation. Many corpora have been developed over the past 12 years, for example the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE). Their aim is “to explore the ELF phenomenon at all linguistic levels, in different geographical regions [...] and in a wide range of domains, both professional and social.” (Jenkins 2009: 143)
Although an ELF model would account for the fact that most of the communication in English today is between speakers of non-native background, some concerns about the implications and implementation of an ELF model, especially for language teaching purposes, could be voiced. It seems quite challenging at this point to teach ELF varieties since positive attitudes towards emerging varieties may, from an ENL perspective as well as from the perspective of users of said varieties, be discouraged. The concept of native-like competence is still very common among language learners as well as teachers. Who ‘owns’ English is therefore heavily debated among researchers of World Englishes as well as laymen (Cf. Quirk 1990; Seidlhofer 2011).

It will, of course, be of great importance for future ELF endeavors to strengthen English from an international communication viewpoint and not from an ENL perspective. When it comes to prescriptive teaching models for ELF, the challenge seems quite obvious. Features of ELF are hard to pin-down since ELF

participants gauge a level of language which they can operate, and settle on ad hoc, pro tem norms that are adequate to the task and commensurate to the command of linguistic resources they have in common. (Seidlhofer 2011: 18)

Further problems in teaching could arise through the immediacy of established norms “during the interaction” (Seidlhofer 2011: 18). This means that the norms are not set prior to the communication but rather that they are cooperatively established while the situation unfolds.

These previously stated concerns could be dismissed by “taking on board the notion that it [ELF] is being spread [and] developed independently, with a great deal of variation but enough self-regulating stability to be viable for lingua franca communication.” (Seidlhofer 2011: 19) This essentially means that what is still considered as the standard by many language learners as well as teachers needs to be replaced by a model that invites multilingualism rather than discourages it. The so-called “shared diversity[,] non-standard forms that are shared across a range of different varieties”, should be accepted as the norm rather than the standard of ENL for the purpose of ELF communication. (Kirkpatrick 2010: 220ff.) Furthermore, the concept of ELF as another ‘variety’ of English with its fixed forms should be replaced by the notion of “English [...] function[ing] as a lingua franca” (Seidlhofer 2011: 77 – original emphasis). By this, Seidlhofer wants to account for the fact that although it is important
to describe certain features common to ‘all’ lingua franca Englishes, researchers should rather focus on the functional side of ELF. “The absolute crucial question, of course, remains how ‘English’ that functions as a lingua franca is conceptualized and how it can be described [...].” (Seidlhofer 2011: 77)

Jenkins (2009: 143ff.) has suggested a list of features commonly adapted by speakers for ELF purposes which she calls the “lingua franca core”. (Jenkins 2009: 143) Some of the features are the dropping of the third person present tense –s, ‘confusing’ the relative pronouns ‘who’ and ‘which’, ‘omitting’ definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in ENL, and inserting them where they do not occur in ENL [...].

These features are common to a significant percentage of varieties of English which imply that not only local norms should be taken into consideration when teaching ELF but also “non-standard forms that are shared across a range of different varieties [...]” (Kirkpatrick 2010: 220ff.). Furthermore, these forms would be considered as heavy errors from an EFL perspective but are perfectly acceptable in ELF communication. Features which do not cause any problems in communication could be neglected while other “phonological features that have been empirically shown to cause problems [...] should form the base of the syllabus. (Kirkpatrick 2010: 221)

Although the need for a change in teaching methodology and content has been discussed at length over the past years, practices within classrooms have proved to be reluctant towards the necessary changes. It is high time that “[g]lobal language learning needs [...] be significantly re-shaped in contexts where the major role of English is as a lingua franca.” (Kirkpatrick 2010: 220)

### 2.4. English as an Asian Language

Inherent to many Asian countries associated with Anglophone traditions today is that some major issues bring together the otherwise unmistakably diverse countries. Territories from South Asia, like “[...] Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, to Southeast Asian and East Asian “[...] societies[,] such as Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore[,] as well as Hong Kong [...]” (Bolton 2008: 3) are facing major language planning issues due to the multilingual and multicultural situations. Solutions to these problems have been given by adopting English as a “neutral language”
[Jenkins 2009: 152] or granting several languages the status of national languages. A result of adopting English as a neutral, mostly additional language is that

[i]n all societies in Asia, the English language still has strong associations with higher education, internationalism, modernity and, at a personal level, job mobility and career advancement. (Bolton 1992: 24)

A further relation between most Asian countries with Anglophone history is that they share “linguistic and ethnic similarities” (Bolton 1992: 23) because of similar histories, migration waves and strife. Such similarities often trigger dealing with language planning or policy issues in analog manner. These shared issues between Anglophone Asian societies show that

[..] regional profiles of English in Asia [have contributed] to the gradual process of the acculturation of Asian Englishes on the one hand, and to the Englishization of regional languages of Asia on the other hand. (Kachru 2005: xvi)

When thinking about Asian Englishes, meaning the incorporation of English into the Asian context, creating new varieties of English, it is important to note that characteristic to all Asian Englishes is that English is not a native language in Asian territories but rather a transplantation; that “all varieties manifest distinct diaspora features at various linguistic levels in varying degree and depth” (Kachru 2005: 25); that English has become nativized over time and now serves as a tool to express local identities; that the language is used more often in the context of ELF or EFL-speakers communicating with each other than with native-speakers of English; that English is subject to and the subject of great creativity in terms of language development in the literary tradition; that English has “develop[ed] its own subvarieties indicating penetration at various social, functional and educational levels”; and that attitudes towards ‘new’ varieties of English still vary greatly among its users. (Kachru 2005: 25)

One of the most important facts, however, is that all Asian countries share the same “mythology about English that has been cultivated over a period of time” (Kachru 2005: 25). All these prerequisite factors which are even more eligible for the countries classified as Outer Circle countries affect the language situation in Asia.

2.4.1. The Nepalese case as an example of the Outer Circle?

In Kachru’s model devised in 1992 Nepal was listed as a country belonging to the Expanding Circle. 16 years later Bolton (2008: 4) published a map with Nepal occupying a position within the Outer Circle countries.
This change in position from the Expanding Circle to the Outer Circle countries might point out the development Nepal has undergone in the past 16 years. Although historically speaking Nepal might belong to the ex-colonies such as India or Singapore, in fact Nepal has never fully been under British sovereignty. This aspect demonstrates just one example of the unique language situation within the Himalayan country.

Whether Nepal belongs to the Expanding Circle countries or in fact already has undergone a codification process on various levels and in several domains constitutes an important question. The difference between the Outer Circle countries and the Expanding Circle countries might be that the former usually use English as an intra-national language, meaning its legal application in various domains such as in courts. The second category, the Expanding Circle, typically understands English in an EFL context. (Seidlhofer 2006: 50) What seems quite evident from the often cited example of India and the multi-identities people have already built upon English and other
languages, is that a codification process needs to be undergone in order for the varieties of English(es) to form their own norms independent of “exonormative standard[s]” (Bamgbose 1998: 12). As long as varieties of English(es) are not accepted by their speakers as norms to be followed, no codification can take place. However, one of the findings with EFL speakers is

[...] that what [they] draw on to a high degree is their awareness of the intercultural and bi- or multi-lingual nature of the communication they are engaged in, and that they employ very effective strategies in order to successfully communicate across cultures. (Seidlhofer 2006: 44)

The shift from the view that interaction should be error-free and native-like to the ability to communicate accurately and appropriately within various sociocultural contexts is one of the main points in ELF. While in the Outer Circle multi-identities are likely to be formed, the speakers of the Expanding Circle, not excluding users of English in the Outer Circle, usually rely on the knowledge that they might encounter difficulties, “uncertainty” or “misunderstandings” but by doing so, displaying their “tolerance for diversity”. (Seidlhofer 2006:44) The competence to get meaning across in an intercultural communication situation is the highest maxim.

In Nepal, the linguistic situation is very diverse. The speakers of English, estimated at approximately 7 million out of about 25.3 million residents by Crystal (Crystal 2003b: 62ff.), are all said to be rather ESL or EFL speakers. Jenkins points out that L2 is to mean “[...] an official (i.e. institutionalized) second language (L2) such as in government, law and education.” (Jenkins 2009: 2 – original emphasis) The 2001 population census of Nepal shows that there are only 1.037 mother-tongue English speakers out of about 25 million Nepalese citizens. (Yadava 2005a: 156)
Table 1 Numbers on Non-Nepalese languages in the 2001 Population Census (Yadava 2005a: 156)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Number of Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Chinese</td>
<td>1,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. English</td>
<td>1,037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Oriya</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sindhi</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Koche</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Haryanwi</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Magahi</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kumali</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Dzonkha</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Kuki</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Miño</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Nagamese</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Assamese</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sadhani</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These statistics clearly point towards a language situation where users of non-native background communicate with each other rather than with native speakers. Whether exonormatic standards are important to such users is yet to be determined within the Nepalese context. The Census neither speaks of the numbers of ESL speakers nor does it provide any information on the EFL situation. Inferring from the data presented, however, it seems quite likely that an ELF setting might be at hand.

One example which might illustrate the language situation in Nepal is the encounter of school children in a school in Kathmandu with Austrian textbooks used in English classes. In a personal observation at a school in Kathmandu in 2009, I discovered that although the pupils were presented the Austrian books, they were mildly interested in the British and American traditions like Guy Fawkes Day or Independence Day. Rather, they highly enjoyed flicking through their own English textbooks which were Indian editions. What appeared interesting was the fact that, although delighted to find common ground inside their textbooks, the Nepalese school children were rather unsatisfied with the way facts were presented in the Indian editions, too. When asked what the problem was, they replied that they could not understand why only Hindu festivals, and not also Christian and Buddhist festivals found their way into the books.
For them, so it seemed, the English language was not a medium of mother-tongue speakers to communicate and therefore was the privilege of L1 users and their cultural context, rather the language was connected to Nepalese traditions. For them, the English language seemed to be a vehicle just as good as any to express cultural traditions.

The situation observed might point towards a change in role of English within the Nepalese cultural context. It suggests that English is not allocated to Inner Circle users, who provide the cultural context in which English is embedded. Furthermore, this anecdote might account for the fact that in Expanding Circle countries, as well as in Outer Circle territories, the contexts in which English is used change. Therefore, English is being lifted out of the 'Inner Circle bell-jar' into various new sociocultural contexts. Dörnyei describes this phenomenon as the “broadening view of ownership” (Dörnyei 2006: 110) A shift in perspective takes place which is needed to change a certain language situation. The case might be that English has become nativized over time and now serves as a tool to express local identities. (Kachru 2005: 25) Although English in Nepal might not (yet) have achieved all characteristics set forth by Kachru (2005: 25) some major developments like “[...] varieties manifest distinct diaspora features at various linguistic levels in varying degree and depth” (Kachru 2005: 25) seem already to be under progress. It seems that the language situation in Nepal, especially concerning the English language, is not a clear-cut, either-or question, but rather a very diverse situation, which needs to be investigated more thoroughly.
3. **Methodology & Data**

In the previous chapter, the role of English as a global language has been discussed elaborately. At the end of the chapter, a personal observation was presented to account for the changing situation of the English language especially in Nepal. Before presenting the data and method used for this thesis, it is important to note that some observations made during my six-month stay in Nepal also found their way into this thesis. These personal observations were part of my experiences in the Himalayan country and will rather be presented in a narrative way. They are sole interpretations of the situation of this particular school, with these particular children and at this specific time as perceived by me. I do in no way claim completeness or generalizability about these observations. They are merely included to paint a more vivid picture of the situation and help visualize the language situation in Nepal today.

Furthermore, the analysis of the collected data presented in the next chapters of this thesis will not be introduced in one chapter only but rather will be distributed over the various aspects throughout the thesis.

### 3.1. Research goals and Methodology

What started out as an interest in Asian countries, especially in Bhutan, Tibet and Nepal, led to a visit of Nepal, the country at the foot of the Himalayan range. The main research question of this thesis, which was developed during the stay, is whether English takes on the role of a second language, a lingua franca, or is used as a foreign language in the Nepalese context. A hypothesis already existed before the travel to Nepal. It was gained through the study of the language situation in general through some already existing scholarly discourse. I believed that English functioned as a second language because of the historical development English had undergone in Nepal. Through observation of the current situation in Nepal, the method and the questions for the interviews formed over time. Since the research question would have been insufficiently answered with just a literature research project, data was collected in order to emphasize or partly contradict already existing scholarly discourse.
The research context in itself changed from Tibet, to Bhutan and finally to Nepal because of the inaccessibility of language related information in Tibet and the vast resources it would have taken to do research in Bhutan. Nepal was the easiest country to access as a foreigner without any diplomatic alliance. By signing up for a teaching job as a volunteer at a school in Kathmandu, I discovered the possibilities associated with my somewhat unique position. The teachers and students at this school were going to be part of my research.

Like so often in qualitative research, I wanted to observe the situation first in order to find out what the most appropriate method and content would be. After three months of teaching in Nepal, the main research goal then became the elicitation of opinions from teachers about the role of English in several important domains, particularly in education in Nepal. Before the data was collected, appropriate questions were brainstormed and then grouped into thematic clusters, to make it easier for the participants as well as the interviewer to relate to them. In order to meet the main research goal, a small corpus of interviews which were collected at two private schools in Kathmandu, Nepal, were analyzed and evaluated. Two options presented themselves in this context: the elicitation of quantitative or qualitative data. Since this is a sociolinguistic enterprise, a qualitative research method proved to be the most accurate to apply. Then, a pilot study preceded the actual study to make sure no difficulties or misunderstandings would occur during the interviews. Equally important as the decision on the methods of elicitation was the question of who the presenter of the "richest possible data" (Holliday 2010: 98) for the research would be. The groups ‘school children’ and ‘teachers’ were considered as expert groups, although the questions asked in the interviews on other domains than on the educational sector were, by my consideration, more manageable to answer by the latter group. It was also interesting to find out about the background of the interview-partners, which language(s) they described as their mother-tongue(s) and which attitude they seemed to display towards the languages of Nepal and English in particular.

Aiming at a detailed, accurate and in-depth description of the collected data, the method of "[O]pinion [A]nalysis" (OA) (Holliday 2010: 106) then was applied to analyze the collected data and meet the aspired research goal. Since hardly any qualitative research
is purely qualitative in nature, my interviews also consisted of one or the other question which could be analyzed on a quantitative basis. During the interviews, the body of questions was sometimes reversed in order or jumbled up to meet the need to establish connections between the interviewer and the interviewee, as well as the subjects that were addressed.

The following sections will provide more detailed explanations on the research method; qualitative and quantitative data research; interviews as a method of qualitative data research; the data, its design and its accessibility; and on the expert group; the setting; the role of the researcher and issues of transcription. Extracts and personal narratives are used to contextualize the situation to prove my points. Although the method used is of descriptive nature, conclusions drawn from the interviews will be subjective to a certain extent.

3.1.1. Quantitative vs. qualitative research?

When it comes to the collection of data, the differentiation between quantitative and qualitative research is qualified as the former concerning itself with “measure[ment] [of] phenomena so that they can be transformed into numbers”, whereas the latter is “associated with words as the unit of analysis”. (Denscombe 1998: 174) Quantitative research usually possesses strong arguments since the comparison of such data is much more clear-cut than a descriptive, in-depth analysis of meanings or opinions. The aim of qualitative research, however, is to give so-called “thick descriptions” (Geertz 1973 as cited in Denscombe 1998: 175) of happenings or situations in order to paint a detailed picture of what is going on at a particular time, in a certain place. Although both research methods can be applied to various fields, it is argued that qualitative research takes on a more ‘holistic’ stance, looking at situations by emphasizing correlation between various fields of studies, categories or sectors of social life.

Furthermore, the “involvement [of the] researcher” is said to be more elaborate in qualitative research since the research questions, the applied method and the outcome of the research may vary according to the researcher’s background, identity, contextual knowledge and so forth. In contrast to quantitative data research, where the interpretation of data collected is subject to very small variability, the role of the
researcher is recognized as part of the outcome of the research project in qualitative data analysis. The maxims of a valid research project and its outcomes, namely “transparency of method[,] [...] submission [...] to the data [and] making appropriate claims” (Holliday 2010: 101 – original emphasis), however, also apply to qualitative research. The role of the researcher is simply more crucial in qualitative research. Bearing that in mind, it is important to note that the collected data is not ready-made data in itself, which already contains all the information, but that the researcher constructs the data while trying to make sense out of it.

Another factor which cannot be dismissed when talking about differences in research methods is the fact that qualitative researchers tend to form research questions when already into the matter, rather than preposing research questions. “Grounded Theory”, as theory concerned with qualitative research methods, therefore, argues that while the research is being conducted, the “theory and the method will emerge” (Denscombe 1998: 176) For further information on this topic see Glaser & Strauss (1967) and Strauss & Corbin (1990).

At first glance, it may seem as if qualitative and quantitative research did not have many similarities but the opposite can equally be claimed. In recent years, researchers have become more aware that also in quantitative research, the researcher is a factor one cannot ignore. Furthermore, both methods, qualitative as well as quantitative, can be used in applied linguistics. Researchers often find that either one or the other research method could be utilized to fit the purpose of the research. Additionally, “[i]n practice, the approaches are not mutually exclusive” (Denscombe 1998: 173), since some parts of both research methods are usually applied and the research only differs in degree of applied approaches. Therefore, in analogy to Conversation Analysis (CA) (Cf. Wooffitt 2005) which could be categorized as rather qualitative in nature, OA can also draw on methods with quantitative background. For the description of outcomes, for example, quantitative adjectives such as “overwhelmingly”, “commonly” or “frequently” are used to describe quantitative characteristics within the qualitative method. (Drew & Heritage 2006: xxxii) Thus, when talking about quantitative and qualitative research, it is necessary to keep in mind that the distinction between both research methods is far from clear-cut.
3.1.2. Interviews – a qualitative method

One of the methods in qualitative research is eliciting information via interviews. The term ‘interviews’ is used by Denscombe (1998: 113) to describe the practice of gathering information by an arranged talk which is not arbitrary and mostly takes on a fixed form and follows an agenda set forth by the researcher. This method is especially appropriate when the researcher wants to elicit data which is “based on emotions, experience and feelings” or “[d]ata[,] which is] based on privileged information”. (Denscombe 1998: 111 – original emphasis) Interviews are usually used in combination with other methods such as questionnaires but, of course, they are a way of gathering information in their own respect. Burns (2010: 90) identifies three different types of interviews according to their grade of planning – “structured interviews”, “semi-structured interviews” and “unstructured interviews”. The first category, structured interviews, can be characterized as “pre-planned sets of questions posed in fixed order”, while the second term, semi-structured interviews, applies to “sets of questions used flexibly”. Unstructured interviews are dialogues which take the form of “open-ended conversational interactions”. (Burns 2010: 90)

The term ‘semi-structured interview’, most relevant for this thesis, refers to the degree to which the interview is pre-planned and how much of it is open in the sense that the interviewees can speak their mind freely. Although the interview follows a certain agenda and “still has a clear list of issues to be addressed” (Denscombe 1998: 113), the topics of the interview do not necessarily need to be addressed in a certain order, the character of the interview can be described as rather flexible. Questions are posed in a way that the interviewees can devise matters important to them.

The advantage of semi-structured interviews is that the researcher can accumulate information that was either not thought of in advance or is explained in more detail. Further, the partly open structure allows the interviewees to add information which is important to them and therefore does not elicit a feeling of being pushed into a rigorously set frame. Additionally, it is possible for the researcher to return to the set agenda if the interview takes an unexpected turn. Interviews can be either carried out with only one person, with a group or even with a so-called “focus-group”. (Denscombe 1998: 115) The “one-to-one interview” is the traditional form of interviewing. Apart from the advantage of having to listen and record only one person’s answers, the one-to-one interview is “relatively easy to [organize and] control”. (Denscombe 1998: 114)
3.1.3. Analyzing Qualitative Data: Opinion Analysis and Action Research

Since qualitative research in applied linguistics has concerned itself mostly with the “linguistic aspects of communication” but in recent years has expanded into “the non-linguistic environment of language behavior” (Holliday 2010: 99), this thesis will dive into the realm of applied linguistics on the basis of a non-linguistic, “thematic and content-related” analysis by applying the method of “[A]nalysing of [O]pinion” (OA). (Holliday 2010: 106) Non-linguistic analysis here refers to the omission of the traditional understanding of linguistic analysis by excluding issues of pronunciation, grammar, etc. in actual speech.

OA is a method affiliated with Action Research (AR) which in itself is a “superordinate term for a set of approaches to research [...].” AR methods “[...] systematically investigate a given social situation and promote democratic change and collaborative participation.” (Burns 2010: 80ff.) The process of analyzing data by applying OA as part of AR usually includes the coding of the elicited data. This happens by first “convert[ing] the comments on each piece of data to key words or phrases” and then “[...] group[ing] [...the codes which occur with significant frequency [...] within themes.” (Burns 2010: 102) This process results in a set of themes which then can be used for the description of the given situation and the “[c]onstructing of an argument” (Burns 2010: 102). Of course, these arguments have to be supported by actual abstracts of the data. “[T]his process [can lead to a] refinement” of codes and themes (Burns 2010: 103). One of the major advantages of such qualitative data analysis, then, is that it tries to “invite complexity” rather than “control variability”.

3.2. Data Accessibility

The collection of data proved to be quite a problem in terms of accessibility in Austria. Therefore, I decided to do actual field work in Nepal to get a sufficient overview of the situation myself. While the organization of six months of voluntary work at a school and child hostel did not pose a serious problem, the on-site situation with the teachers and material, at first, was not very promising. Most of the problems were related to time-issues. The teachers were working a lot and only had minimal spare-time at their disposal. However, after some convincing on my part, they agreed to participate in my study. The interviewees at the school I taught at were asked and selected by me and
most of them agreed to do the interviews because they knew me and wanted to help. Finding a second school, in order to accumulate more varied samples of people’s backgrounds, culturally, linguistically and school-related, proved to be much more difficult. When I had picked out a school in the same district as the school I worked at in Kathmandu, I had to wait for two weeks for an appointment with the headmaster in order to explain to him what my agenda was. When he finally agreed to the proposal, I had to wait again, until I could administer three interviews with teachers from that particular school.

A serious challenge presented itself when I did research at the University Library of Kirtipur. Many of the promising English titles in the library about the language situation and English in Nepal, which could not be obtained in libraries in Europe, proved to be written in Nepali and the Devanagari script rather than in English and the Latin script. In addition to feeling my precious time wasted at the card index, the employees were of no help, sending me to various sections of the library containing no or hardly any information relevant.

Although all these challenges were difficult to meet, a valuable collection of data emerged, which forms the basis of this thesis.

3.3. The Data

The collected data was elicited through one-to-one, semi-structured interviews in order to get a more “in-depth insight” (Denscombe 1998: 110) into what people from a certain domain, namely teachers as an expert group, think about the role of the English language today and in the future within their country. A qualitative method seemed “a reasonable option to pursue in terms of the desirability of the particular type of data” (Denscombe 1998: 111). The total amount of interviews recorded was 10, each interview consisting of 13-25 minutes talking time, totaling in 3 hours, 22 minutes and 27 seconds of recordings. After a pilot study was carried out which preceded the full study, some questions of the semi-structured interviews were changed because of the problems that had occurred during the test-run. Also, the sequence of the questions changed from interview to interview in order to react appropriately to responses the teachers were giving.
3.3.1. Setting and expert group

In December 2009 and January 2010, 10 interviews with teachers of two schools in Kathmandu were recorded with an mp3-player with an integrated microphone. The schools, where the interviews took place, were the Himalayan Helpless Child Academy (HHCA) and Triyog High School (THS), both private institutes. HHCA is financed through a non-governmental project set up by an Austria citizen with his former Nepalese business associates through the sponsor-parents system, while THS is a private institution financed through tuition fees. Although both schools are private schools and therefore not dependent on governmental support, the quality of education varies greatly, not least because of greater financial means of THS.

The expert group of teachers was composed of three teachers from THS and 7 teachers of HHCA. All of them agreed to do the interview on four days after school despite their full timetables. The teachers’ names will not be revealed in this thesis due to confidentiality agreements and are henceforth related to as T01 through T09 in the extracts. One of the interviews was not used in this thesis, as one particular teacher, T10, did not seem to take the interview seriously. The expert group of teachers was chosen for this study because the educational sphere is one of the most significant sectors in developing countries. Also, teachers are always confronted with the younger generation, experiencing trends which some other occupations might miss or disregard. Concerning language planning enterprises, schools are usually the first to know and implement newly issued laws or regulations concerning language due to the government’s relatively close and extensive collaboration with schools. Therefore, the educational sector and with it its teachers are usually the precursors of any language changes consciously applied or unconsciously experienced on a national level.

The interviews at both schools took place in separate rooms. At THS a room for conferences was provided and at HHCA the computer room on top of the school had to suffice for the 13-25 minutes interviews. Unfortunately, at both schools the interviews were interrupted or partly obscured several times by knocking and entering teachers or students and other noise coming from the outside area.
3.3.2. **Data design**

The one-to-one, semi-structured interviews were divided into three parts. First, starting with an introductory part, I introduced myself, the aim of this interview, the approximate duration and stated the confidentiality agreement. The second part of the interview consisted of an introductory phase where I asked the teachers to introduce themselves and talk about where they came from, what their occupation was, how old they were and what their educational background was. This was necessary to find out about the social background of the interviewees.

Then, the teachers were asked to draw their own language portraits (see Appendix 4) in order to ‘break the ice’ and let them speak freely about their linguistic background. This measure was previously taken in mostly bilingual settings, where Krumm states that

> [um herauszufinden, was und wie [speziell] Kinder und Jugendliche in einer mehrsprachigen Lebenswelt über Sprachen denken und welche Einstellung sie dazu entwickeln, sollte man sie danach fragen. (Krumm [et al.] 2001: 7) (for more information see also Krumm 2006)

After the preparatory phase and the language portrait, the crucial questions were asked. The semi-structured interview was made up of four thematically classified categories. The first category dealt with questions of general background, for example what the teachers’ mother tongue(s) were, whether Nepali was a first, second or third language and what language(s) they used in everyday life. Then, a block of three parts followed, where general questions about the situation of English in Nepal were asked, where participants had to answer questions about the media and their consumer behavior, and last but not least, a section was conducted, where the interviewees had to answer questions about English at schools in general and their schools in particular. (see Appendix 2) Then they were asked whether they wanted to add anything which they found important and I had not asked. The last phase of the interview consisted of thanking the participants.

Due to the constant interruptions in some interviews the material is rather inaudible at some points. Where noises have drowned the produced speech either guesses as to what was said have been made or speech samples were omitted in the transcripts. Further, certain parts of the interviews which did not seem to be relevant for the topic investigated were accordingly left out in the transcripts.
3.3.3. **Data analysis**

The interviews undertaken for this study do not aim at a quantity of data expressing opinions as numerical data but they rather represent a complex collection of opinions which are presented in a descriptive manner and are valid in their own respect. (Holliday 2010: 106) Data in this thesis, therefore, is analyzed by partially applying the method of OA as one of the methods of AR. The coding and thematic clustering is not fully applied but is only used to coordinate the expressed opinions with the research questions and topics of this thesis. In other words, extracts from interviewees are used to describe a certain social or linguistic situation referred to in my thesis. This is done to support my line of argumentation. In addition to the partially applied OA, “personal narratives” in the form of a “reconstruction of experience that aids understanding” (Holliday 2010: 100) are administered in order to complement the arguments presented in this thesis.

Of course, the small scale of this research project does not aim at all the objectives set forth by AR. Despite the fact that AR methods try to “[...] systematically investigate a given social situation and promote democratic change and collaborative participation.” (Burns 2010: 80ff.), this thesis only aims at the exploration of the given social and linguistic situation in Nepal.

3.3.4. **The role of the researcher**

As noted in several relevant disquisitions on the role of the researchers in applied linguistic research, it is important to note that every research carried out by a researcher will be somewhat biased in the sense that the researcher already possesses some previous knowledge, maybe a hypothesis of what the outcome of the research might be, or their own background. This has a very strong impact on the research itself. Although social research is said to be subjective, there are principles which can be applied in order to validate the research and the method it is carried out with. Three principles, described by Holliday (2010: 100 – original emphasis) need to be considered for the research to be of minimum subjectivity:

- **Transparency** of method, which requires description of how the research was carried out, [...] **submission**, which requires that [...] the researcher must submit to the data in such a way that the unexpected is allowed to emerge and perhaps
change the direction of the research[, ...] and making the appropriate claims [...] to show[s] that the purpose of qualitative research is [...] to generate ideas[.]

While I as a researcher have tried to follow these rules rigorously, I soon found that especially my own background and knowledge influenced my understanding of what was said in the interviews. The information I gained and the theories that were inferred from these interviews are subjective in the sense that they were conducted by me. Especially with Nepalese expressions and pronunciation my contextual knowledge was limited. Therefore, it must be said that some concepts of Nepalese culture or also personally related information could not be clarified completely and thus must be subject to great relativity.

3.4. Issues of Transcription

The transcriptional system used for this thesis is the system suggested by the VOICE team (VOICE 2007) for ELF samples of speech. While several researchers have suggested different transcription systems (Cf. Cameron 2001: 26ff.), VOICE uses the most accurate transcription system for this research purpose. Overlapping speech as well as any pronunciation-related indications, if not relevant for the content-related analysis, will be left out in the transcription due to the attempt to make the transcript as reader-friendly as possible. Additionally, the interviews were analyzed for content rather than for linguistic characteristics of ELF speech. This is one of the reasons why not all of the transcription conventions of VOICE were used for this thesis.

The transcripts were not produced with the help of any particular programme conducted for transcription purposes. Rather, Microsoft Office Excel was used to enumerate lines and create the transcripts. However, the process of transcribing speech samples, which means changing actual speech into a different medium, is always connected to a simplification process. “[W]riting is not a direct representation of speech so much as a model of language more generally.” (Cameron 2001: 33) This means that transcripts of actual speech samples are always considered as “somewhat partial[...] and inaccurate[...].” (Cameron 2001: 40)
All nine interviews with a total time of 3 hours, 5 minutes and 23 seconds were transcribed. The interviews took place at a school, therefore, lots of background noises obscured the actual speech samples. Additionally, the shifting in seats or playing with the color pencils provided by me for the language portrait makes some of the speech inaudible, which is indicated by empty parentheses, ( ), in the transcript. Stretches of irrelevant speech samples were also omitted for the purpose of my research. These omissions are indicated as [...] in my transcripts. This was done because of the fact that “[t]here is no virtue in transcribing in great detail features [one] will never examine [...].” (Cameron 2001: 39) Furthermore, pauses in speech are indicated by parentheses, (1), showing the time of the pause in seconds. If the parentheses are combined with a full stop, (.), this shows a pause of less than 0.5 seconds.

The transcription conventions with the full transcripts can be found in appendix 2 and 3 of this thesis. The line numbers which are used when quoting extracts from the transcripts for analyzing purposes refer to the line numbers in the full transcripts. Detailed information about the participants is given in appendix 3 of this paper, although the names were replaced by a code from T01 to T09 due to confidentiality agreements.
4. **The language and political situation in Nepal**

The short introduction in chapter 2 to the present-day language situation in Nepal can be seen as a glimpse into the topic of the general language situation with focus on English in Nepal. However, in order to provide a more accurate picture of the roles English plays in the language picture, the general language situation in Nepal needs to be investigated on a synchronic as well as on a diachronic level in greater detail.

4.1. **Historical background**

The Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal, a landlocked country, is situated on the foot of the Himalayan range and borders on the People's Republic of China in the North, as well as on India in the East, South and West. Approximately 27 million people live in Nepal today. (CBS 2011) The country is highly diverse in ethnicities as well as cultures.

Figure 5 Geography of Nepal (CIA 2012)
4.1.1. *Early history*

Nepal can be divided into two major language groups, namely Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan languages. The Tibeto-Burman language groups are likely to have settled from the East and North about 2000 years ago, originating from a group of Mongoloid peoples called the Kirat or Kiranti. Most likely, the Kirat were the ancestors of the settlers living in the hills and the valleys of today's Nepal, e.g. the Newar, the Magar and the Gurung (Eagle 1999: 275). Although written records are very scarce, oral traditions suggest that the split of the once united ethnic group, the Kirat, can be dated back to approximately the fourth century AD, when the Tamang, a group of early arrivals from the Tibetan borders, settled in the hills of today's Kathmandu Valley; where the Gurung moved onwards to the “[districts] [of] Lamjung, Kaski and Ghorka” (Whelpton 2005: 12); and where the Thakalis took up residence “along the Kali Gandaki Valley south of [today’s city] Jomosom.” (Whelpton 2005: 12). The three ethnic groups shared a very closely related language more similar to Tibetan than most other varieties of Tibeto-Burman languages.

Today, four ethnic groups, the Magar, the Tamang, the Rais and the Gurung, constitute the majority of Tibeto-Burman language speakers. Also smaller groups like the Chepangs, Sunuwars, Sherpas, Bhotiyas, Thakalis and the Thamis show Tibeto-Burman language origin. The term ‘Kiranti’ mainly refers to the Tibeto-Burman language speakers of the East of Nepal today, “includ[ing] the […] Rais and Limbus as well as […] the Sunuwars and the Chepangs” (Whelpton 2005: 13). “‘Kiranti’, [the language of the tribes], derives from the Sanskrit ‘Kirata’” (Whelpton 2005: 13) which, in the original sense, means ‘Tibeto-Burman peoples from the hills’. The Kirat are supposed to have ruled Kathmandu Valley before the Licchavi kings succeeded them in 200 AD. Orally traded stories of the Kiranti suggest that peoples from Assam settled in the hills and the “Arun Valley” (Whelpton 2005: 13) of Nepal before moving further west deeper into today's Nepalese territory. Although there is no strong proof of the Kiranti peoples coming from the South-West of the Chinese boarder and moving further south and eastward into Nepal, the similarities “between the Kiranti languages and the Rung languages found in Yunnan and Burma” (Whelpton 2005: 13) are evident. The likelihood of the Kirat or other Tibeto-Burman language groups moving into Nepal from the West is rather slim. Nevertheless, an eastward movement, indicated by river names of
western Nepal in “both Rai and Magar dialects” (Whelpton 2005:13), could be registered. The reasons for such a movement towards the East could have been the expanding Khasas or droughts which lost the traditional farmers their crops. The mixing and mingling between the ethnic groups can be depicted through the differences within the ethnic group called the Magars. The mingling of peoples coming from Mongolia and peoples originating locally is obvious due to the variety of languages they speak. The Kham Magar, a people originating from the North and living in the hills of Mid-West Nepal, speak a very different language in comparison to many southern Magar groups or Magars who speak a dialect closely related to the language of the Gurung. Also the Rais show a great variety in their languages although they are subsumed under one ethno-linguistic group. The Newars, who were mentioned earlier, are a very specific ethnic group since they speak a Tibeto-Burman language but have a caste system. While most likely the Newars are of Kiranti heritage, some scholars argue that the Newars are more closely related to the “Gurung-Tamang-Thakali” (Whelpton 2005: 14) ethnic and linguistic group. The Newars, as well as the Magars and Rais, are a mixture of many ethnic groups which is depicted in the various castes claiming indigenous origin as well as histories of migration.

The Indo-Aryan language family was brought into Nepal from the West about 2000 years ago by peoples called the Khas or Khasas. The ethnic group was related to West-Central Asia and settled from the hill region across the valley regions of today's Nepal. Around 1000 BC the Khas had moved further along, “penetrating the Himalayas west of Nepal” (Whelpton 2005: 8). By moving in the direction of “the Karnali basin” (Whelpton 2005: 10), the Khas met already existing tribes which were assimilated by them. Around 1000 AD peoples from Rajasthan, western India, joined the Khas because of the Muslim invasion into India. These Hindu-ruling-caste members, the Rajput, were said to be the ancestors of the medieval times inhabitants of the western and central hill region, the Thakuris, who spoke languages of Indo-Aryan decent and adorned themselves with claiming direct ancestry from the Rajput. It is difficult to date back the arrival of most immigrants through the plains, since there is no genuine proof of written records or archeological remains. What can be said, however, is that most of the already existing tribes of Tibeto-Burman language ancestry were displaced or assimilated by the Khas due to their prestigious bloodline connected or believed to be connected to the Rajput
rulers. Indo-Aryan language speaking “Brahman priests” (Whelpton 2005: 11), believed descendants of the Parbatiyas, helped to archive and certify the sometimes unauthentic lineage of the Rajput rulers and thus strengthen their authority. The Parbatiyas, or “the people of the mountain” (Whelpton 2005: 8), the later descendants of the Khas, were the ancestors of today’s Nepali-speaking population. Nepali is a language of Indo-Aryan decent and was mostly spoken by the people of “central and northern India as well as Pakistan and Bangladesh.” (Whelpton 2005: 8) The culture and habits of the Parbatiyas dominated in terms of language as well as caste hierarchy and thus proofed to be most influential. Despite the fact that neither Muslims, nor Buddhist, nor the various already existing tribes of Nepal conformed to the hierarchy of a caste system, the high-caste Hindus, the Rajput and the Parbatiyas, practiced their system as early as the Licchavi kings, who reigned from 200-879 AD, and during the Malla dynasty which lasted from 1200-1768 AD. When the Rajput fled to Nepal, they took their strict caste-system and their Indo-Aryan language with them and spread their beliefs. They claimed land to be their own and successfully pushed the Tibeto-Burman speakers towards the middle castes, which lost the people of Mongoloid decent their status and their position within the social hierarchy. (Eagle 1999: 275) The Muslim invasion into India was thus one of the major factors influencing the religious, cultural and linguistic landscape of early-age Nepal.

Another ethnically and linguistically related group, the Madheshis or “the people of the plains” (Whelpton 2005: 14), live in the Terai region of today’s Nepal. Their linguistic ancestors, coming from the North-West into North India, are believed to have settled along the Ganges Valley around 1000 BC. Their language is of Indo-Aryan decent, although the linguistic diversity of today’s Terai region is manifold with Tibeto-Burman as well as Indo-Aryan language speakers.

Around 500 years ago, another migration wave started when people ethnically and culturally related to Tibet migrated into the mountain regions. These settlers spoke Tibeto-Burman languages and were members of the Buddhist religious community. In addition to the Tibetan settlers, Muslims, whose ancestors had repeatedly taken control of small settlements in the plains in 1000 BC and who were of “Hindu converts’ [decent] rather than [of] Turk[ish], Afghan[...] or Arab[...]” (Whelpton 2005: 15) origin,
constituted another group of immigrants who settled in Kathmandu Valley around 1500. They mostly came from Kashmir, settled in the western part of the Terai as farmers and spoke Urdu. Other groups of Muslims moved on to larger settlements and later cities and earned their money as shop keepers, later adopting Nepali as their mother tongue.

In ancient and medieval times, the Indian subcontinent was not divided into kingdoms or states. Rather, the connection between settlers and tribes occurred on a loose basis. Around 200 AD, the Maghadan subordinated the existing “tribal confederacies” (Whelpton 2005: 18) and established an early form of monarchy as a governmental construct, including a tax-system. These tribal confederacies were the genuine Licchavis as well as the Shakyas, but the Maghadan took over their ‘title’ to become the Licchavi kings of later times. The state form bore a great resemblance to today's Indian model with subnational administrative units and a strong linkage to Indian practices as well as the language and dialects of the time. Intermarriage with the ruling families of North India suggest that people from the South viewed the Licchavi kings as equally powerful. During the years 200 to 879, the Licchavi kings established a major trading route between Tibet and India through Nepalese territory to gain influence, power and prosperity. During the ninth century AD the lineage of the Licchavi dynasty ceased due to the loss of “central control” (Whelpton 2005: 19). The so-called “Nepal Era” started with the end of the concurrent rule of one or two kings, called “dvairajya” (Whelpton 2005: 19), in the late years of the Licchavi dynasty in 879. The development of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur as the three most important cities during the end of the first millennium AD, saw a major change in settlement habits. A new king emerged in 1200, who was the first to “adopt the suffix 'Malla' [as] an honorific title” (Whelpton 2005: 21), using the name in reference to a dynasty of kings from the South of India.

4.1.2. Medieval Nepal

The time of the regime of the Malla dynasty, which lasted 600 years, was one of prosperity and cultural development, although associated with many smaller battles and combats with subordinate rulers and the fragmentation and reemergence of the Malla kingdom in Kathmandu Valley. The noble men and rulers of the peripheral regions within the Malla kingdom often appeared to be even stronger and more powerful than the Mallas, “owning their position to royal favor rather than t[o] [an] independent local
power base” (Whelpton 2005: 21). During the thirteenth century, two rivaling families under the Malla regime, the “bharos”, (Whelpton 2005: 21) emerged in Bhaktapur. The “bharos”, “the Nepali-speaking Khasas from the Karnali basin” of the North-West, as well as “Maithili-speaking Doyas from the Tarai” invaded Patan, Kathmandu and the entire Kathmandu Valley. (Whelpton 2005: 21) The Malla regime continued until 1769 when the co-existing Gorkha kingdom in the West of Nepal sent an army of “Khas, Magar and Gurung soldiers” (Eagle 1999: 283) to defeat the Malla kingdom. When the Gorkha kingdom and Malla kingdom were united, it formed the “present-day nation of Nepal” (Eagle 1999: 283). The language of the Gorkha kings was Gorkhali which, today, is called Nepali. (Eagle 1999: 283) Although their language was Gorkhali, the Shah and Rana kings of later decades used various other languages such as local vernaculars or Hindi in written documents. Up to this point Sanskrit, Hindi and Gorkhali were viewed as equally important languages within the kingdom, although Sanskrit rather occupied the language of religious procedures and Hindi functioned as lingua franca between people from the Terai region and the hilly area. As the Gorkhali kingdom steadily grew stronger and with it the process of nationalization, Hindi slowly lost its equivalent role, which ended in the language being disregarded by the ruling elite. Gorkhali was on its way to occupy the post of a national language.

4.1.3. Recent history

The 19th century was marked by destabilization of the newly united kingdom of Nepal. Especially the western territories, mostly ruled by local chiefs or “bharadars (courtiers)” (Whelpton 2005: 39), proved to be reluctant towards the central power-base in the Kathmandu Valley. Another development at the beginning of the 19th century saw the political situation in Nepal change to a great extent. The British had taken over India and imposed a new political as well as educational system. Recurring quarrels about the Nepalese-Indian borders to the East, South and West caused significant tension between British India and Nepal, peaking in the Anglo-Nepal war between 1814 and 1816. In 1816, the Treaty of Sagauli was issued, which granted the British parts of the territory of the Terai-region and a permanent ‘resident’ in Kathmandu. Bhimsen Thapa, the ruling minister at that time, skillfully managed to hold the British at bay while supporting the Nepalese people in their fight for autonomy and national unity. In the mid-19th century,
the British withdrew their 'British minister', Hodgson, from his office in Kathmandu, disengaging with Nepalese inner affairs.

Although the British annexation of parts of Nepal took place in 1814, the British were unable to sustain their power in Nepal. Instead of pursuing plans for Nepal, the British recruited Gorkha soldiers for the maintenance of British India. In 1857, the Gorkhali soldiers, known for their braveness, helped to put down the Indian mutiny against the British rulers. The languages spoken by the Gorkha soldiers were mostly Tibeto-Burman since many of them belonged to Tamang, Gurung or Khas ethnic groups. Therefore, Nepali became the lingua franca of the Indian and Nepalese regiments as well as even their British officers. (Eagle 1999: 285) This development had far-reaching consequences, since the soldiers were the first common people to receive education in reading and writing in English and Nepali. Skills in reading and writing in Nepali and English later were required when civilians wanted to join the armed forces of the Gorkha and British regiments. (Eagle 1999: 285) In 1923, the British officially recognized the independence of Nepal from any foreign power, mainly because this would grant continuing co-operation of the Gorkha troops with the British military forces. In 1939, Nepalese troops again helped the British in wartimes and have done so until today.

When the Rana dynasty, after years of instability and intrigue within the leading families of Kathmandu Valley, took over in the mid-19th century under Prime Minister Jang Bahadur Rana, he adopted a pro-western attitude, especially concerning military matters. English, which had been introduced since the partial annexation of Nepal at the beginning of the 19th century, was given extensive attention. The opening of Durbar High School and other schools for the elite with English as a medium of instructions boosted the prestige of the language and maintained the “despotic rule” (Eagle 1999: 284). In the later years of the Rana-rule, Hindi schools were opened in the Terai and a Nepali school was established for clerical members to serve the Ranas. When the time of the Shamsher Ranas began in 1885, alliances with the British were strengthened even further. Since the alliance of British and Nepalese troops during the mutiny in British India, the British adopted a more sensitive stance in dealing with the ruling elite of Nepal. Rather than replacing the traditional structures of administration inside the
kingdom of Nepal, the British were eager to foster the pro-western attitude of the new elite, who were mostly educated in English medium convent-schools in India.

Nepal was closed to outsiders and travelers under the strongly nationalist Rana rule until 1951, when the Rana regime ended with an armed revolution triggered by the leader of the Nepali Congress Party B.P. Koirala. “[A] compromise government was established creating a coalition between the Rana family, the Shah-King, and the leader of the Nepali Congress Party.” (Eagle 1999: 286) Although the prospect of democracy was still lingering, political instability weakened Nepal and the first official elections in 1959 were undermined by the king and his followers. “[T]he King[,] [Mahendra Shah] […], imposed a ban on political parties” (Borre et al., 1994: 10 quoted in Eagle 1999: 286) and

[…] implemented the concept of a partyless Panchayet, “[a]n authoritarian rule based on the theory of councils responsible for local governance introduced in 1962 (Giri 2010: 98), which was continued after King Mahendra’s death in 1971 by his son King Birenda, […]. (Eagle 1999: 287)

Although no parties were allowed in Nepal, the king tried to modernize the political system, boost the economy and change the availability of education in order to present it to a larger audience after the armed revolution. Especially concerning language policies, the royal government of Nepal tried accelerating the use of Nepali as a unifying national language. More and more Tibetan and Indian languages had found their way into Nepal via intermarriage influencing the linguistic situation in Nepal. Threatened by this development and the two influential neighboring states India and the People’s Republic of China, the government felt the need to strengthen nationhood and a national identity especially by emphasizing education, one national language and the discouragement of multilingualism in Nepal. (Eagle 1999: 286ff.)

Under the Panchayet regime, any language except Nepali was discouraged and even banned from schools. Instead of English as a medium of instructions, the central government imposed Nepali and degraded English to a foreign-language position. Also, the use of English in official government statements was prohibited and Nepali became the only medium of communication between the central government and its offices at the outer boundaries of the Nepalese territory. This political as well as language-planning move was imposed to grant the unification process especially with regards to
the western territories. This demonstration of power can best be analyzed through constitutional efforts undergone between 1959 and 1962, when the first and second official Constitutions of Nepal were released. These Constitutions proclaimed a “[O]ne nation, one language”-policy (Eagle 1999: 286), with all other languages spoken in Nepal losing their official status.

Especially interesting at the language-level were the efforts of imposing a new educational plan for Nepal in the Panchayet era of the 1960s until the 1990s, when the Panchayet-era ended. Planning commissions were formed to standardize the educational system, which had been lacking any comprehensible and consistent policy. Decisions, which had preceded the Panchayet and the effort of the rulers to unify the country, like the banning of other languages to be used in written records in 1905 (Eagle 1999: 285), made clear the stance on which the government was operating.

The Panchayet rule and its effort to unify the country by linguistic means continued until 1990, when the ban on political parties was removed and King Mahendra Shah allowed the government to form again. Despite the official ban, parties had started forming under the Panchayet regime. The first party and prime minister to be elected by the Nepalese were the Nepali Congress Party and with it G.P. Koirala. The next decade saw many negotiations between the major political parties of Nepal. The Nepali Congress Party, The Communist Party of Nepal and two different branches of the National Democratic Party of Nepal were among the parties fighting for seats within the newly established parliament. Despite democratizing efforts, it took many elections and re-elections to stabilize the political situation. Many matters of importance were discussed but never fully tackled, like the formulation of a universally valid constitution. Bilateral agreements with India as well as China proved to be stumbling blocks of great significance to the elected political parties within Nepal. Political unrest and instability weakened progress and the advance to democracy. By 1996, an ongoing “People’s War” launched in the mid-western hills by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)” (Whelpton 2005: 195) further weakened the peace process. In 1999, the former prime minister of the Congress Party of 1990, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, was re-elected only to be dethroned by his party member G.P. Koirala once more. One of the problems of major concern, however, still was the issue of Maoist insurgents and their raids throughout
Nepal. Even under the newly formed government no agreement could be formed between the Maoists and the government.

In 2001, however, all political quarrels came to a halt, when Crown Prince Dipendra, reported to be on a drug-induced killing-spree, almost slew the whole royal family at a family meeting. Gyanendra, the brother of the late King Birendra, was crowned king, but many remained suspicious of the happenings inside the palace and suspected a plot led by the succeeding king.

Since the massacre of 2001, the struggle for democracy has continued. After a constitutional crisis in 2002, Gyanendra Shah, the successor of King Birendra Shah, “fired the elected prime minister and assumed direct control over the government[..]” (Thapa 2007: 3), only to return to ‘normality’ a few weeks later with a newly appointed government.

In 2005, however, the Nepalese Civil War had escalated to such a great extent that King Gyanendra Shah felt the need to take over Nepal by military force to restore peace. By pronouncing a ‘state of emergency’, he tried to put down his opponents and ordered house arrest for the leaders of the political parties. These measures triggered street protests and extensive riots in 2006, which led to the restoration of the parliament. The forced take-over by the king peaked in the abolition of the monarchy in late 2007 and the government was taken over by a seven-party coalition under an interim constitution. The Federal Democratic Republic was announced in 2008 after elections were held. The Maoist Party, with Pushpa Kamal Dahal as Prime Minister, and the Nepali Congress Party, with Ram Baran Yadav as President, were instated as the leading parties in parliament. In 2010, a disagreement with President Yadav over sacking the army chief saw Dahal resign from his post. After Dahal’s resignation, Nepal found itself in a state of political stagnation due to the absence of an elected majority in parliament. Dahal’s successor, Madhav Kumar Nepal, who took over from May 2009 to June 2010 also resigned because the oppositional forces demanded a consensus government. (Robinson-Pant 2010: 136) Only in 2011, when the Maoist Party withdrew their candidate Pushpa Kamal Dahal, could the Unified Marxist-Leninist Party win a majority. Since February 2011 Jhala Nath Khanal has been the new Prime Minister of Nepal.

Language-wise, it is important to note that in opposition to the language situation in India in the 1950s, Nepal did not have a separatist movement away from imperialistic
oppressors in the last decades. The cry for multilingualism presented itself as a byproduct of democratizing ambitions in the sense that minority languages were required by minority speakers to be included in the new constitution, thus giving them an official and an accepted status. The struggle for democratization, especially since the 1990s, was, therefore, not triggered by minority language movements as in other countries. The democratization process was not as strongly interwoven with English as in India in the 1950s. Nevertheless, English in this respect has played a highly important role as the language of freedom and as a symbol for a new era. Therefore, English is not the tool of imperialistic powers trying to gain momentum in a developing country but it rather serves as a globalization tool associated with progress and democracy. (Sonntag 2003: 100)

4.2. Current status and issues

4.2.1. Current language profile

The current language profile of Nepal strongly reflects the political developments over the last 60 years. When Nepal was opened to outsiders in 1951, only one year later the first population census was presented with a list of mother-tongue speakers.

Table 2 Distribution of population of Nepal by mother tongue (Yadava 2005a: 141)
The census data on language has been collected and reported every ten years since 1952/1954. It has listed Nepali as the language with the highest rate of speakers since the first census, with 48.7 percent in 1952/54; 51 percent in 1961; 52.5 percent in 1971; 58.4 percent in 1981; 50.3 percent in 1991 and 48.6 percent in 2001. The current census of 2001 lists 92 official languages as languages of Nepal (Yadava 2005a: 137), while the Ethnologue undertaken in 2005 (Lewis 2009) lists 126 languages for Nepal. Since the first census, the languages other than Nepali mentioned in the census data have increased, supposedly due to the rise in awareness of linguistic preservation. Inferred from the data of the 2001 census, Nepali is the language spoken by about half of the population of Nepal as a mother tongue. Indo-European languages in general make up about two-thirds of the population’s mother tongues in Nepal. Languages summed up under the Tibeto-Burman language branch are spoken by about 20 percent of the population. Yadava (2005a: 143) as well as other scholars suggest that especially the years of the Panchayet era led to a decrease in languages reported or languages effectively spoken by speakers as suggested in the rise of Nepali-speakers in the census of 1971 and 1981.

Table 3 Literature rate by age and sex, Nepal, 1981-2001 (Manandhar; Shrestha 2002: 239)

| Age/Sex | 1981 |  | 1991 | | 2001 |
|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|         | Both Sexes | Male | Female | Both Sexes | Male | Female | Both Sexes | Male | Female |
| All ages (6+) | 23.3 | 34.0 | 12.0 | 39.6 | 54.5 | 25.0 | 54.1 | 65.5 | 42.8 |
| Adults (15+) | 20.6 | 31.7 | 9.2 | 33.0 | 49.2 | 17.4 | 48.6 | 62.7 | 34.9 |

Furthermore, the steady increase in literate Nepalese from only 2 percent in 1952/54 to 54.1 percent in 2001 suggests that a language shift from the mostly orally traded languages to languages with scripts, i.e. Nepali, has taken place. (CBS 2001; CHIRAG 2001) Although almost half of the population is still illiterate, with females at a higher disadvantage than males, the initialized language programmes beginning with the 1950s show progress in that the illiteracy rate decreased approximately 50 percent over the last 60 years. Striking at this point, however, are the rising numbers in reported Tibeto-Burman languages, previously left out of the Nepalese linguistic picture. The ‘one
language, one nation’- propaganda of the Panchayet system was mirrored in the numbers of other mother tongue- speakers in the censuses of these years. The increase in languages as well as speakers reported can be explained by the fact that more mother tongue programmes at primary school level were initiated in the years after 1990. Also constitutional efforts with which the government tried to pacify its opponents and minority language activists from 1990 onwards, seems to have had an effect on the number of languages reported.

Although the present government is concerned with linguistic matters and especially, so it may seem, with minority language programmes and revitalization efforts, quite a number of changes still need to be made in order to account for the minority language-speakers. The increase of internal efficiency, especially on the primary school level, the creation of textbook material, as well as the training of minority language teachers, especially within the remote areas of Nepal, still pose major issues for the fight for linguistic equality. (MOES 2005b: 11ff.)

4.2.2. Preservation and revitalization of indigenous languages

Language preservation and revitalization efforts take place when languages are close to extinction. The numbers of speakers decline through various reasons, one of them being the dropping of numbers through the introduction of diseases into indigenous ethnic groups. Another reason for language death can be a largely practiced genocide of ethnic groups speaking their own language. A third, and most important reasons for Nepal, is the gradual decline in speakers of a certain language through language shift. The shift of one language to another can be explained by the falling number of younger speakers in a community or family environment. Language death sets in with the death of the elder speakers. The typical “linguistic markers” (Ferguson 2006: 72) of such a language are the retreat from the public into a private sphere, where only family members converse with the bound-to-die language, “leading to a loss of (linguistic) register and a withdrawal into monostylism” (Ferguson 2006: 72).

In the case of Nepal, various languages have been reported on the verge of extinction by several scholars (Noonan 1996; Kansakar 2009). Most languages suffering the fate of near-extinction or even language death are languages without a written tradition but
rather with an oral tradition handed down by generations of elderly speakers. Two of the 126 languages reported in the Ethnologue of 2005, without written traditions or scripts, are said to be dead already because no remaining speakers could be found. Kusunda, one of the languages said to be extinct, was most likely the ‘victim’ either of language shift, or the changing attitude of its speakers towards their mother tongue. (Lewis 2009) When a neighboring language, specifically in rural areas, is used as lingua franca between two districts or peoples and the lingua franca outnumbers the minority language speakers by far, one of the results can be the shift from the minority language to the dominant language variety due to necessity. Also, the restriction of said language(s) to mostly private domains strengthens the case for majority languages which can be used in several public fields. Another pressing matter is the attitude of minority language speakers towards their languages. Due to the lack of usage and prestige through recognition by other members of society or even the government and legal texts, minority speakers can resort to other languages because they no longer feel the need to converse in their mother tongue. The then ‘abandoned’ language is associated with “lack of opportunity, the elderly, the past, the rural and the backward.” (Ferguson 2006: 73) All these reasons can lead to the death or near-extinction of languages like in the case of Kusunda or Baram (Kansakar [et. al.] 2009: 76).

Almost all participants with other mother tongues than Nepali stated during the interviews that they used their mother tongues with their family but not in official domains.

**Extract 1:**

44 I: which languages do you use usually in your everyday life?
45 T1: everyday i use (.) in my family i use rai language and with my friends nepali language and with other (.) like you are ...() i use english language (MP3 Player / Conversation 1)

Although this points towards a supposedly trilingual situation at present, indigenous languages in general could suffer from this development. (see Appendix 8.3.)

The question then remains what needs to be done in order to prevent such language extinction from occurring or whether there is a need to preserve every existing language. One important issue, which has been excessively commented on in the last decade, is the question of language diversity. Why should indigenous languages close to extinction be saved and revitalized at all?
Language carries far more than just meanings of words. It rather reflects certain views of the world and helps to enrich knowledge. Additionally, language “diversity is more propitious in evolutionary terms to the long-term survival of the species than uniformity.” (Crystal 2000: 33) Furthermore, it is argued that languages are valuable without looking at the use they can have but they “represent unique human accomplishments” (Weinstock 2003: 254 cited in Ferguson 2006: 78) and therefore make the world a more interesting, diverse and rewarding place.

In the case of Nepal, the raising awareness for minority languages within the speech community as well as on the outside, the exploration of such languages by descriptions through linguists, the preservation of such languages through the starting of a written tradition, the conducting of dictionaries as well as the recognition of said languages by society and specifically governmental offices and legal texts, are only some provisions which could be made to preserve minority languages.

T07 specifically referred to all of the languages he spoke as equally important, which shows that the recognition of all languages seems to be on its way.

**Extract 2:**

1408  T07: aand ah (1) nepali and my mother languages (.) are equally important for me (.) aand i can write ah i can read (.) i can speak very well (MP3 Player/ Conversation 7)

Especially the recognition of minority languages has experienced an uplift through the new *Interims Constitution of Nepal* in 2007. In comparison to the *Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal* in 1990, the Interim Constitution of 2007 has slackened the official legislative expression on the usage of mother tongues in governmental bodies. Furthermore, the Interim Constitution has included an additional sub-article to clarify the matter. Opponents of the government’s conservative approach towards the usage of indigenous languages in official governmental bodies insist on a more progressive and language preservative legislative with indigenous languages equally operating under constitutional permit as “the official language [- Nepali]”. (Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007, Part I, Article 1, Sub-Article 5)
Giri (2010: 90), one of the more vehement critics of the government’s efforts, therefore, claims that the new Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007, although recognizing indigenous languages as languages of Nepal, merely tolerates the usage of mother tongues in official government bodies on community level but does not provide any means to support and strengthen its use in the sense of “adequate preservation, maintenance [and] education [...]” (Giri 2010: 90). Thus, the Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 will not have “any practical relevance[,] and is not expected to make any difference in the existing linguistic landscape [of Nepal]” (Giri 2010: 90) This means that, although the government is willing to recognize indigenous languages as part of the linguistic heritage of Nepal, it does not actively foster the spread or maintenance of said languages or, how Shohamy (2006: xvii) puts it, it only “pays lip service to inclusive ideologies”.

Other scholars, however, have applauded the effort the new Interim Constitution of Nepal expresses towards the recognition of indigenous languages as equal to the national language Nepali. Recognition, unfortunately, is not enough to prevent languages from dying out. Active participation through preservative projects, such as mother tongue teaching in the first years of primary school, help revitalize a language and provide the necessary means for its survival. More on this subject will be discussed at a later point in this paper.

4.3. Future perspectives

One of the major issues of the newly-formed government in Kathmandu is to provide consistent means for education for all in several mother tongues. Although the struggle for democracy and a stable political system is still palpable, the new government has to prove the willingness to foster the linguistic and democratization progress Nepal has achieved during the last years.

Giri’s approach titled “Cultural Anarchism” (2010), points out that “opposition to all forms of authoritarian organization and hierarchy” are duplicated and transferred to the linguistic situation, which irrevocably leads to “cultural chaos that arises as a direct consequence of [the government’s] monopolistic approach to multilingualism and multiculturalism”. (Giri 2010: 95) Therefore, the new government, formed in 2011,
needs to tackle the most important language issues without further delay. Nepal as a multicultural, multiethnic and multilingual country needs to appreciate the opportunities of its diversity, rather than discourage them. A clear governmental structure, as well as the financial means need to be provided in order to grant maximum efficiency and avoid further political conflict. The maxim for the country needs to be the rise in economic status in order to become a competitor in the Asian region as well as world-wide. Language issues in this respect are of considerable importance. Revitalization efforts and indigenous language programmes at school will have a great effect on the linguistic macro-level, especially for the role English plays in Nepal. If a multilingual society is cultivated and encouraged, English will be in the position of an additional and international language restricted to specific sectors rather than take up the position of a second language. However, the future perspectives in Nepal are difficult to foresee with so many variables influencing the present language situation.
5. Language policy in the Nepalese context

5.1. Language policy and its implementation

First of all, a clarification of the terms language policy and language planning needs to be considered, in order to use these key concepts in the following discussion. Some of the scholarly work undertaken about language policy and language planning suggests that the distinction between the two concepts occurs due to their divide in actual practice. Language policy therefore refers to the “decision-making process”, the description or “setting of [certain] goals” (Ferguson 2006: 16), while language planning is occupied with the actual implementations of the set goals. The distinction was made to allow for the fact that often language policies are passed, but the implementation is never put into practice. It also can be argued that the decision-making in itself is already a kind of ‘pre-implementation’ process and thus is part of the whole concept of language planning. In the following, the terms language policy and language planning will be used interchangeably to show that both terms are mutually inclusive.

Several scholars (Spolsky 2004; Ferguson 2006; Shohamy 2006) agree that language policy does not exist on isolated levels of a speech community like on the level of politics or social practices. Rather one needs to look at various factors concerning social life to get a valid overview of the language situation in a certain speech community. Spolsky (2004: ix) points out that

language policy exists within a complex set of social, political, economic, religious, demographic, educational and cultural factors that make up the full ecology of human life.

Therefore, language policy is a matter of various domains in which practices or attitudes towards certain varieties of language are displayed. “[T]hree components of language policy of a speech community” (Spolsky 2004: 5) can be distinguished:

[...] its language practices – the habitual patterns of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific effort to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management. (Spolsky 2004: 5 – original emphasis)

In order to look at a speech community and its practices, ideologies and its language planning situation more closely, it is necessary to include data such as legal texts, e.g. the
This approach to language policy suggests that there is more to language policy than just the code of language(s) in itself. Shohamy (2006: xvi) states that language policy [...] falls in the midst of major ideological debates about uniformity and diversity, purity and variations, nativity and “foreign-ness” as manifested in policy documents stating “officiality”, language laws, standards, etc., in an effort to affect actual language practices in accordance with these ideological agendas.

The highly important fact about language policy is that it considers not only language on one level, but it examines language on the code-level, as well as on the contextual level. For example, “[l]anguage policy can apply to pronunciation, to spelling, to lexical choice, to grammar or style, to bad language, racist language, obscene language or correct language.” (Spolsky 2004: 40) Additionally, on the macro-level, language policy can apply to dialects as well as “autonomous, standard languages like French or [English].” (Spolsky 2004: 40) Hence, language rather can be seen as depending on various factors not isolated from more complex matters of society. It can solely be adequate to take into account not “only language-related data” but also the “contextual variables” surrounding language policy. (Spolsky 2004: 7) In itself, language policy is much more “social policy” when it comes to “changes in society that affect linguistic diversity”. (Spolsky 2004: 8)

The three categories of “language practices”, “language beliefs or ideologies” and “language intervention, planning or management”, Spolsky (2004: 5 – original emphasis) mentions, therefore, are of crucial importance to language policy and its implications for a language community.

5.1.1. Language intervention, planning or management

In many countries or communities, language(s) or language varieties are officially included in the constitution or other legal texts which state rules and regulations for this specific society. The implementation of such language rules and regulations by “a person or group” can be called “language management” or language planning. (Spolsky 2004: 8) For example, if a new constitution is about to be approved by the legislative congregation, language policy can be a part of the constitutional acts. As a second body of importance, institutions like schools or companies can be part of the implementation of language policies by giving orders which language to use in teaching, broadcasting or
elsewhere. What seems to be important at the language management level is the question: “Who is the language manager or planner?”. In their scientific disquisition on Language Planning: From practice to theory, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 196) suggest that there are two ways of language planning or managing: “Top-Down [language planning and] Bottom-Up [language] planning”. The former concept referring to

 [...] people with power and authority who make language related decisions for groups, often with little or no consultation with the ultimate language learners and users. (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 196)

Bottom-up language planning refers to a situation where the actual users of one or more languages “should have a say in [their] actual planning and implementation.” (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 55) This implies that through “sociolinguistic survey techniques [...] the impact of potential planned language changes at the macro-level” (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 55) could be investigated and actual users of language could be included in the process of language planning decisions.

Bottom-up language planning, as suggested by Kaplan and Baldauf, is reflected in Spolsky’s notions of language practices and language management (Spolsky 2004: 39ff.), as well as in Shohamy’s claim that “such mechanisms [of language policy and practices] are used by all members of society, from individuals to social and political groups” (Shohamy 2006: xvi). Many factors, including the practices and beliefs of speech communities, influence the language planning situation. At the same time, a process vice versa takes place, where language planning can influence the practices or beliefs of a certain speech community. This accounts for the multi-layered concept of language management and the difficulty in dealing with such issues.

Language policy, however, does not always involve a conscious process of changing or adapting language and its policies in a certain speech community. Although many countries include language statements in their constitutions, these legislative acts cannot be seen as indicators for the actual realization of language use in real life. Other communities lack such official statements on language policies but are equally concerned with language issues such as “what is considered “bad language [or] [...] good
language” and with the encouragement of the latter. (Spolsky 2004: 8) Under such circumstances, language practices and beliefs need to be analyzed in great detail.

The third component noted by Spolsky (2004: 5),

[l]anguage management[,] refers to the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document, about language use. (Spolsky 2004: 11)

The well-known example of a constitutional act, or a company’s orders on the use of languages in business meetings, would illustrate the notion of language management. The policies, however, are not always as explicit and well-documented as in a national constitution. Although language policy can be seen as an important hint to language issues, it is not always clear whether the “implementation [also leads to the desired) success”. (Spolsky 2004: 11)

5.1.2. Explicit/overt versus implicit/covert language management

As already stated above, language is not isolated from its environment but rather can be seen as a product of various contexts and vice versa. Therefore, sociocultural variables, or the “sociocultural-setting” as Ferguson (1977: 9) puts it, need to be taken into account in order to implement language policy successfully.

Shohamy states on this matter that

[t]he main claim is that the real [language policy] of a political and social entity should not be observed only through declared policy statements, but rather through a variety of devices that are used to perpetuate language practices, often in covert and implicit ways. (Shohamy 2006: xvi)

Two concepts of realizing language policies in an actual speech community can be distinguished. On the one hand, explicit language policy stated in a law or any kind of regulation put forward by an official body can be seen as an effort to put language management into practice. However, although a language policy might be part of an official governmental statement, the language policy does not guarantee a successful implementation, which is to say a prolific integration into a speech community’s language practices. On the other hand, implicit language policy, meaning no clearly stated rules or regulations in a speech community, can lead to highly diverse assumptions on the ideology or belief level because various opinions exist on what
might be the appropriate use or performance under special circumstances. (Luke [et al.] 1990: 28; Shohamy 2006: 50ff.)

5.1.3. Language management – Class, State and Power

As mentioned above, issues of language management include the implementation of rules and regulations, taking into account language practices, beliefs and ideologies. Of course, language management can be used by political forces to strengthen their ideology rather than having the best interest of the people at heart. This principle underlying language management is described by Luke [et al.] (1990: 25) and Kaplan & Baldauf (1997: 195) as the principle of Class. This concepr is connected to the notion of "social power" which describes the people in the highest positions in a community as being "able to decide what language use(s) can be deemed to be acceptable, which should be encouraged and furthered, respectively demoted and discouraged [...]." (Luke [et al.] 1990: 28) One example for class-related language use would be the differentiation between “‘high’ and ‘low’ prestige [dialects], or [...] pidgin versus ‘standard’ languages.” (Luke [et al.] 1990: 28) Whether a person can operate in a certain variety can be highly important to their social, political, economic, geographic and demographic membership. Language gives identity and includes or excludes from groups or societies. John Edwards (2009: 55) refers to this phenomenon as “language as an emblem of groupness, a symbol, a psychosocial rallying-point.” Of course, group membership constitutes who we are and what our status is in a larger group, e.g. a state.

The second principle of State refers to the concept of the formation of a national identity through language. In most of Europe, the policy is built upon the basis of ‘a single language in one country’–policy. The consideration of the people of a speech community as “manipulable objects of economic, political and educational engineering” (Luke [et al.] 1990: 30) by the state or any other official governmental institution can be seen as one possible danger deriving from language management efforts. Language can be used as a political tool to “generate mass loyalty” (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 195) and discriminate minority language groups. Language in itself is therefore never isolated from the political sphere, “[i]t is always already political” (Luke [et al.] 1990: 34). An example for this would be the implementation of Nepali in the national curricula as the language of instructions at every school to form a national identity through language in Nepal.
The third principle, *Power*, suggests the agency use of language for social, economic and political ends, as opposed to the social aspect of discourse, the condition of language in actual use. (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 196)

The gap between planning a language and the actual discourse in a language is wide. Although language management is an instrument of power, “discursive strategies” (Luke et al. 1990: 37), as part of the unplanned, will always oppose language planning strategies in the sense that they are not controllable and predictable. “[D]iscourse is that central, yet also diverse, analytic field in which language, power and discipline(s) come together”. (Luke et al. 1990: 37) Closely related to the principle of power is the possibility of abusing language planning for personal gain. Since the social and economic elite “may be able to control the language planning processes” (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 196), it is not always clear which “mechanisms” (Cf. Shohamy 2006: 22ff.) are at work when language is planned. “Thus, language policy [can] [act] as a manipulative tool in the continuous battle between different ideologies.” (Shohamy 2006: 45) The ideal language planning situation would therefore include objective planners and language users at the same time. It is necessary to investigate already existing language policies in a certain territory in order to eliminate “mechanisms” that serve other “hidden agendas” (Shohamy 2006: 22ff.). (Cf. Luke 1990: 25; Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 195) The question who should profit from language planning enterprises and who actually does, can sometimes vary greatly. This issue is dealt with when talking about *language rights*. (Spolsky 2004: 113 ff.)

5.1.4. **Language rights**

Language rights officially have belonged to the universal human rights since 1948, when the first UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) stated that

> everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 2/1)

Already in 1948, one of the major issues of human rights was that the discrimination due to a certain language or language variety was to be ruled out. In further publicly issued statements, this notion was elaborated by declaring a set of linguistic rights as part of
the human rights. In 1998, a commission released the UNESCO’s *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* (UDLR) (1998: 12) which stated that

> one of the aims [...] is [...] to define equitable linguistic rights, but not by subordinating them to the political or administrative status of the territory to which a given linguistic community belongs, nor to criteria such as the degree of codification or the number of speakers.]

Furthermore, the declaration stated that language use only takes place inside a specific speech community. The importance of the inclusion of “the practice of individual linguistic rights[,] can only be made effective if the collective rights of all communities and all linguistic groups are respected by everyone.” (Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights 1998: 12) Minority languages, as well as the language(s) of the majority should be treated equally within a conglomerate of speech communities.

Despite the proclamation of linguistic rights, the implementation of such claims seems rather difficult to enforce, since the “‘monolingual but ...’ policy” (Spolsky 2004: 113) is widely spread within many nation states. In a large number of constitutions, minority languages and their language rights are included, notwithstanding the fact that the practice of tolerance looks rather different. Speakers of a certain language or variety are often discriminated or the practice of assimilation is carried out. Also, the need to differentiate between the language rights of a speech community and the rights of a single speaker states one of the major problems in the implementation process. Language management is therefore required to protect minority language speakers and secure that language rights, as stated in the UDLR, are put into practice.

The differentiation between practice and theory is well documented in the Nepalese Constitutions. Many indigenous language activists have acknowledged in the past that the “‘monolingual but’ ... policy” (Spolsky 2004: 113) was eradicated over the years of constitution-making in Nepal but that in practice the attitude towards indigenous languages and cultures remained rather negative (Cf. Hagen 2007). This statement was emphasized by the fact that in the 2007 *Interim Constitution of Nepal* (ICN), language rights of all languages of Nepal were recognized and even mentioned in equal terms with Nepali. In practice, the financing of indigenous language programmes was imposed on the communities rather than covered by a national fund for indigenous
language preservation. In fact, the promised indigenous language classes are currently unavailable to the speakers due to lack of financial means.

Elena Shohamy explains the issue by stating that

[i]t calls for a critical view of language policy to show how it leads to actual practices promoting political ideologies of the nation-state that perpetuate language purity, create language hierarchies, marginalize and exclude groups, and thus lead to violation of personal rights and undemocratic practices. (Shohamy 2006: xvii)

In other words, the legal texts can pose a ready-made tool for discrimination of languages and their speakers. The power to “marginalize and [even] exclude groups” (Shohamy 2006: xvii) from social, educational, economic and other important parts of life, is one of the major characteristics of language itself.

It is especially in the new nation-state, which recognizes the existence of diverse groups of immigrants, indigenous, global, transnational and others that language continues to play a major role in the midst of battles between authoritative groups seeking to sustain homogeneity, hegemony and monolingualism for the sake of national identity and the power of other groups demanding recognition of their language and cultural diversity, representation, participation, a voice and rights [...]. (Shohamy 2006: xvii)

It seems clear that the institutional use of legal texts to promote monolingualism for unifying purposes is illegal in the light of the UDLR. What is far more important, however, is the eradication of covert practices evoked by language planning, discouraging the use of minority languages. [W]ithout an understanding of its own status as discursive (and political) practice, language planning will remain the ready tool for language rulers”. (Luke [et al.] 1990: 42)

5.1.5. Corpus vs. Status Planning

A crucial matter in this respect is which efforts should be undergone to modify current language policies. Two distinctions can be made “to classify, examine and analyze language policy”: “efforts to [...] influence the structure of [a] language”, or efforts to “modify the use and choice of language”. (Shohamy 2006: 48) These two concepts are called status- and corpus planning. The status planning concerns itself with the use of a language in a certain context, while corpus planning is determined to find appropriate and correct forms of a language. Shohamy (2006: 48ff.) argues that status planning, like in the minority language example of Nepal, more often falls prey to “hidden agendas” than corpus planning but nonetheless, corpus planning can also be influenced by hidden
ideologies. (Cf. Shohamy 2006: 48ff.; Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 195) In practice, these two concepts are almost inseparable because “any change in the character of a language is likely to result in a change in the use environment, and any change in the use environment is likely to induce a change in the character of a language.” (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 28)

Dealing with hidden agendas in status planning is sometimes avoided or ignored due to quite obvious reasons. Investigating legal texts, “official lists of approved spellings, terms or grammatical rules or a new lexicon” (Shohamy 2006: 48) is less costly and time-consuming than looking at language practices, beliefs and ideologies in great detail. Furthermore, ideologies are not easily pinned down and vary greatly among different language users. Nonetheless, language managers should try to concern themselves with status planning by following the maxim of objectivity when observing and managing “factors [...] influenc[ing] language change” (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 195).

5.1.6. Language management in education

The relationship between the educational system and polity, in the sense of community development and practices, is one of the main concerns of modern educational planning. Although it might seem that the planning of educational endeavors has far more effects on education in general, it is also true that educational practices influence polity on a higher level. This two-way street is quite comparable to the process of language planning and language practices explained by Spolsky (2004), as well as Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) with bottom-up and top-down language planning. Therefore, it is only prudent to say that planning enterprises within the educational sector often lead to changes in other fields and on other levels. “[...] [Especially] in the developing countries[, for example,] education precedes industrialization [...] [and] is regarded as the instrument of social change.” (Vir 1988: 3)

Status planning, in this respect, is a major factor in language planning enterprises, especially in the educational sector, because it is concerned with the social function of language in various domains. Since the educational domain is often the one easiest to access due to governmental funding and control, “schools are one of the key agencies of socialization” (Ferguson 2006: 33). Further, teaching and influencing the youth is the best opportunity for a state to implement its language policies. Various policy decisions
such as the choice of a medium of instructions, the use or neglect of the mother tongue, curricula-based introductions of second or foreign languages, the obligation of attending certain language subjects, and the decision on what variety of language should function as a model for teaching, are included in language planning enterprises. Another major factor about language planning in the educational sector is the importance of such language decisions for a much wider range of social matters in other domains. The educational domain, so to speak, can function as a small-scale ‘laboratory’ for larger language planning decisions. These choices are not solely built on educational grounds but rather portrait the attitude of a government towards multilingual and multiethnic education. The questions arise whether bi- or multilingual education, including minority languages, is fostered by the government’s language planning decisions, or if the choice of language policy mirrors the exclusively monolingual and monocultural approach. Often the latter is justified by the proposition to form a national identity and embrace national unity. Especially in the case of Nepal with its multiethnic and multilingual history, the government’s language planning decisions reflect the wish to strengthen national unity by implementing a ‘one-language-only policy’.

The gap between professional and political perspectives in language planning in the educational sector states another serious issue. The professional side of language planning enterprises focuses on the instrumental properties of language learning, meaning the actual proficiency in speaking, reading, writing and understanding a language. The political end puts emphasis on the sentimental or integrative role of language learning, i.e. the importance of language learning as a symbol for a certain group “indicat[ing] [...] awareness of and attendance to traditional cultural and status values” (Davies 2009: 49) The language choice, “conscious or unconscious”, induced by the political leaders of a certain country, nonetheless, reflects an active choice in both operational and institutional fields. (Davies 2009: 49) In order for such language enterprises to be successful, it is important that both the sentimental or integrative and the instrumental needs of the learners of such languages are attended to. In the early stages of language learning, it may not be of great importance to actually be able to communicate properly but to be part of the language learning group. Therefore, the integrative role is not to be neglected, especially in the early stages of language learning.
In wealthy societies the drop-out rate of primary school children is kept at a minimum by providing vast resources within the educational sector. When it comes to developing countries like Nepal, the early drop-out of primary school children can impede the instrumental language learning process because of the lack of time the pupils are enrolled in language learning programmes. The sentimental or integrative attachment towards a language then states a serious problem, leaving primary school children ignorant of its instrumental means due to the high drop-out rate. It is therefore highly questionable, if the appreciation of the integrative role of language learning within the 'English as a Foreign Language Learning- Policy' leads to the appreciation of the aspired instrumental role of a large percentage of the primary school children population.

5.1.7. Language practices, beliefs and ideology

Language policies are based on language beliefs, namely what a certain speaker of a language community understands to be good or bad language. Further, language policy tries to manage the language practices and ideologies of others. (Cf. Spolsky 2004: 39) When it comes to language beliefs and ideology, the boundaries are blurred and not easy to identify, since speakers’ attitudes towards language features or certain varieties of language(s) are of a manifold nature. Spolsky (2004: 14) states that

a speech community share[s] [...] a general set of beliefs about appropriate language practices, sometimes forming sensual ideology, assigning values and prestige to various aspects of the language varieties used in it.

Besides individual beliefs, what commonly is believed by the members of a speech community can be called the “[dominant [...] ideology].” (Spolsky 2004: 14) For example, it is important whether a dominant group of people in a state believes that minority languages are irrelevant to the nation-state. If this ideology is then turned into practice, one possible result could be excluding minority languages from public discourse.

“Language practices develop and are influenced in large measure by the external social context, and include the necessity of choice among available variants on the basis of beliefs that assign values to the variants.” (Spolsky 2004: 9) In other words, language practices refer to the actual performance of people in every-day life situations. Depending on the context, utterances are made according to what the speaker considers to be appropriate.
The difference between what is believed to be appropriate and what is actually performed by the members of a speech community depicts an important issue in the discussion on language policy. Since age, social status, education and other factors play an important role in the use of language (Cf. Spolsky 2004: 9), ideologies and practice sometimes vary drastically. Depending on the designated effect language policy wants to achieve, it can be issued according to these shared beliefs of a speech community or it can oppose them. The questions which are raised when looking at this issue are: who is the language manager, for what purpose is the language policy instated and how is it done? (Cf. Spolsky 2004: 14; Baldauf & Kaplan 1997: 196) For the language manager, it is crucial to investigate all three aspects, language practices, beliefs and ideology and previous language management efforts, because they are crucial factors for implementing language policy. It is, however, important to note that “[...] there will be generally one or more ideological views of appropriate language use or behavior, and certainly there will be observable, if irregular and not consistent, patterns of language practice.” (Spolsky 2004: 39)

5.2. Language management, practices, beliefs and ideology in Nepal

5.2.1. Language management in the Nepalese context

Language planning in Nepal has a long tradition and was always closely connected to the ruling elite. The first domain in which language management took place in Nepal was the educational sector, since status planning “targeted at the societal function of language” (Ferguson 2006: 32).

Starting with the Rana rule, Prime Minister Rana enforced a “Western-style education” (Eagle 1999: 284) for his compatriots, making English the sole medium of instructions. “Thus, during the Rana era, English and Western-style education were not only a privilege of the elite, but a factor in reinforcing their despotic rule”. (Eagle 1999: 284) When the era of the Ranas came to an end in 1951, Nepal saw a change in language policy. King Birendra Shah introduced the Panchayet after he had dismissed the Nepali Congress government. During the Panchayet era, “[a]n authoritarian rule based on the theory of councils responsible for local governance introduced in 1962” (Giri 2010: 98), the focus of attention was put on the contact-language Nepali and its implementation
into newly opened governmental schools. Not one of the Tibeto-Burman languages, estimated at 56 by Kansakar (1996: 17), was chosen to be the national language of Nepal, but Nepali, the language of Indo-Aryan decent, with about 14 estimated different language varieties and significantly higher numbers in speakers (Kansakar 1996: 17).

When Nepali, a language spoken by the ruling castes, was introduced as the language of law and government in 1905, it had been used as a contact-language only. In 1905, the language used by many as “the language of trade and the military” was declared the sole language of legal documents in court by the king. (Eagle 1999: 285) The elevation of Nepali to a national language in the first official constitution of 1962 during the Panchayat was feared by many to be the reimposition of the strict caste system. The Panchayat, with originally five members working as a council in local areas, who selected “district-level representatives [as an electoral college]” (Whelpton 2005, 101), was instated to strengthen and maintain the king’s influence in political as well as educational matters. De facto, the king ruled without the hindrance of parliamentary democracy, banning all political parties in the constitution of 1967. At that time, first language-education opponents feared that Nepali was chosen as the national language for political and not economic reasons. The decision to use Nepali as a national language had coincided with the fact that the “group of power”, which is to say the group exhibiting the highest educational status, the control over the army and the “control [...] over the greatest part of the wealth” (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 16) had taken over the language decisions for the country.

In 1955, when the first Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NEPC) was formed, the level of tolerance towards indigenous languages seemed to be close to zero. The recommendations for the use of language(s) in education stated that

(i) the medium of instruction should be the national language in primary, middle, and higher educational institutions, because any language which cannot be made lingua franca and which does not serve legal proceedings in court should not find a place [...]. The use of national language can bring about equality among all classes of people, can be an anchor-sheet for Nepalese nationality, and can be the main instrument for promoting literature. (NEPC 1956: 95 as cited in Yadava 2007: 10)

(ii) no other language should be taught [sic], even optionally in primary school because few children will need them, they will hinder the use of Nepali,
parents would insist on their children taking them whether capable or not, time is needed for other more important and fundamental learning – there are not enough well-qualified teachers, and those who wish and need additional languages, can begin them in the 6th grade. (NEPC 1956: 95 as cited in Yadav 2007: 10 ff.) These suggestions were made on the grounds of promoting “greater [...] national strength and unity” by eradicating other indigenous languages “as early as possible” in a child’s language development. (NEPC 1956 cited in Yadav 2007: 11) Although the tolerance towards indigenous languages was disastrous at that point, many important changes were recorded. The “universal and free compulsory education” for all members of society from grade 1 to 3 in 1976, the “decentralisation in organisation” and the “adequate[...] finance[ing]” of education, although largely outsourced to “local resources” (Bajracharya [et al.] 1998: 25), could be seen as major contributions to accessible education for every Nepalese citizen.

In 1962, the reformation of an All Round National Education Committee (ARNEC) was instated to meet the actions previously recommended by the Panchayet. The ARNEC proposed a language policy that had at its core the “enhancement of the Sanskrit language through school education”. (Bajracharya [et al.] 1998: 26) Although free education was still proclaimed, reality showed a different picture. The multilingual society and its needs concerning multilingual education was once more ignored and even threatened by the implementation of the policies put forth by the NEPC.

The suggestions of the Commission were put into practice in 1969 by making Nepali the only medium of instructions in primary and secondary education. (Eagle 1999: 288) On the tertiary level, in scientific courses, English remained the medium of instructions. During the reign of the Shah King and the Panchayet regime from 1961 onwards, the National System of Education (NSE) of 1971 was implemented to ensure the triumph of the Nepali language over indigenous languages. “[T]he Panchayet’s slogan ‘one language, one dress, one country’” (Yadava 2007: 11) depicted the oppressive attitude of the ruling Shah King by promoting the “elimination of multilingualism”. (Annamalai 2003: 119) During that time, education for the masses in Nepali was of the highest priority to the King. The implementation of the NSE saw the creation of teaching material in Nepali, curricula designing, the standardization of education and the regulation of teacher education and positions concerning “their qualifications and levels”. (cf. Eagle 1999: 288; Bajracharya [et al.] 1998: 26) All national schools, especially the English-medium schools, were required to implement Nepali as
the sole medium of instructions, making English the first foreign language. Although the financing of education in the 1970s was given massive attention, the formally community-governed schools were forced to respond to the central power in Kathmandu, leaving the previously organized schools in doubt of proceedings and policies. The lack of communication and clear rulings, as well as missing educated staff members made it nearly impossible to adhere to educational parameters. The National Education System Plan (NESP) of 1971 forced a change in policy on the educational level. The private school system of the time was changed to an entirely public system with the government taking care of all fundings, management and policy making in the educational sector. The nationalization of all institutions in education was executed. Promising as this change might have been, it brought along many difficulties in terms of language diversity. The previously mentioned “one-language-only policy” excluded many indigenous languages and annihilated their existence in the national curricula.

In 1982 the Royal Commission for Higher Education (RCHE) was instated. Political instability had led to a referendum, where the Panchayet system was put to a vote by King Birendra Shah. The king as well as the Panchayet system were confirmed by the majority of Nepalese voters. The RCHE developed a plan for higher education in Nepal. Crucial alterations on the tertiary level were put into practice on the grounds of the recommendations of the commission. Tribhuvan University was “restructur[ed]” and Mahendra Sanskrit University was opened. (Bajracharya et al. 1998: 26)

In the business sector, language planning guidelines were implemented by the reigning king via the Nepali Company Act of 1964. The act “direct[ed] all companies to keep their records in English or Nepali”, sending a message of undesirability and exclusion about indigenous languages. With this act, other languages as well as their users were deprived of their status.

The NEPC and its recommendations during the years of the Panchayet system depicted typical incidents of top-down language planning. The exclusion of major minority groups and their languages displayed ignorance towards the practices, beliefs and ideologies of the members of Nepal’s society. Language rights, as suggested by the UNESCO’s Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, were violated to the greatest extent.

The monolingual policy remained until the Constitution of 1990 was passed. The disregard for minority languages seemed to have subsided in the light of a growing
movement towards equality for minority languages. The 1990 Constitution of Nepal states that

(1) The Nepali language in the Devanagari script is the language of the nation of Nepal. The Nepali language shall be the official language. (Constitution of Nepal, Part 1, Article 6.1)

(2) All the languages spoken as the mother tongue in the various parts of Nepal are the national languages of Nepal. (Constitution of Nepal, Part 1, Article 6.2)

Furthermore, the Constitution granted the “use of mother tongues in primary education”, as well as the “fundamental right [for minority language users] to preserve their culture, scripts and their languages”. (Constitution of Nepal, Part 1, Articles 18.2; 26.2) But although this fundamental change in the Nepal Constitution of 1990 took place, Noonan (1996: 4) stated that

The official policy in Nepal as regards the indigenous languages [was] not one of overt discouragement or repression, but since the government [was] concerned with forging a national consciousness, there [was] no encouragement given to the preservation of local languages.

In other words, the language policy depicted in the Constitution of 1990 failed to fully commit to indigenous language preservation efforts which Shohamy (2006: 52) described as mere lip-service. Despite the passage in the 1990 Constitution about the integration of indigenous languages, the Nepalese government seemed not willing to pursue any plans to promote minority languages in the near future.

Concerning the “relatively small size of […] non-Nepali speakers”, Yadav (1992 as cited in Eagle 1999: 297) lists 11 languages which “are spoken by more than one percent of the population in Nepal (Eagle 1999: 297). These languages are Maithili (11.83 %), Bhojpuri (6.60 %), Tharu (4.58 %), Tamang (4.66 %), Newari (3.44 %), Magar (2.24 %), Rai-Kirati (1.94 %), Abadhi (Awabhi – 1.72 %), Limbu (1.39 %), Gurung (1.14 %) and Urdu (1.03 %). All 11 languages make up 46.79 percent of the languages spoken in Nepal. For the speakers of these 11 languages it might be true that Nepali is the “essential tool for interethnic communication” (Noonan 1996: 4), nevertheless, the preservation and promotion of such indigenous languages, not even including the many languages spoken by less than one percent of the population, might be worth some greater attention. Therefore, disregarding major minority language groups by neglecting their need for first-language preservation and education may be classified as
showing almost zero acceptance towards the need for “promot[ing] [...] multilingualism” (Annamalai 2003: 119) in Nepal.

One of the crucial issues the Constitution of 1990 had to face was the lack of explicit guidelines of how to implement language policy. In 1993, a commission for recommending policies for languages in Nepal was formed to promote additional languages, other than Nepali, in the educational and media sector. The development of teaching resources, as well as the formulation of specifically tailored curricula to meet the needs of the language communities, was initiated.

The “Local Self Governance Act” (LSGA) of 1999 saw the Constitutional Act to “preserve their culture, script and their languages” (Local Self Governance Act Part 1 Article 26.2 as cited in Yadava 2007: 11) put into practice by local bodies. In June of the same year, the LSGA was overthrown by the verdict issued by the Nepalese Supreme Court “that the decisions of [the] local bodies to use regional languages were unconstitutional and illegal” (Yadava 2007: 11 ff.). Again, minority language speakers had been discriminated via official rulings.

Especially in education, reality, therefore, remains that

[t]o learn a language effectively, those who already have some knowledge of it, and of the sites and rituals, speech and literacy events within which it is used, are at an advantage. Hence, in those cases where – in the name of ‘development’, ‘national unity’, ‘identity’ or ‘scientific advance’ – a language which is other to specific groups within the populace is selected as the medium for discourse of power (e.g. mass media, legal system, commerce and trade, schooling, governmental policy, research), these groups in turn will suffer cyclic disadvantage. (Luke [et al.] 1990: 31 – original emphasis)

It seems quite clear that minority speakers in Nepal have suffered such “cyclic disadvantage” (Luke [et al.] 1990: 31) triggered by political decision making via language planning offensives. In the census of 2001, almost half of the population in Nepal, namely 46.3 percent, was illiterate, with the highest school drop-out rate of non-Nepali speakers at primary level (CBS 2001; CHIRAG 2001).

CHIRAG, the Central Himalayan Rural Action Group, is an organization founded in 1987 and based in Uttarakhand/India which, among other things, is active in “primary health care, primary education and the development of knowledge and skills amongst young people” (CHIRAG 2001) on a non-governmental basis. A study conducted by
CHIRAG in 2001 showed that the link between illiteracy and the language policy situation cannot be dismissed easily. The internal efficiency rate indicated that high-caste people from urban areas had a higher chance in finishing their studies than, for example, immigrants in remote areas of Nepal.

One major theory concerning successful education points towards Nepali being one of the main factors of hindrance to speakers with a mother tongue other than Nepali. A study compiled by Ragsdale in 1989 about the Gurung children, an indigenous people speaking Tibeto-Burman languages, showed that although the Gurung in Lamasa village were said to be bilingual, all children of the village failed the new tests for third grade primary school created by the government's officials in 1974. (Cf.: Ragsdale 1989 as cited in Eagle 1999: 290) The testing situations greatly contribute to the low passing numbers of non-Nepali speakers in the first few years of primary education, especially from grade 1 to 2 and 2 to 3. The tests were designed by “high-caste Hindus or Newars [and] often require an abstract understanding of Nepali” (Eagle 1999: 289). Therefore, the students already fail to understand the instructions on their test sheets.

One reason for the outcome of this study may be that most non-native speakers of Nepali start to use Nepali at school age but do not need Nepali in their daily lives outside the school environment, e.g. when communicating with family members. Therefore, the language cannot be internalized efficiently and used properly, as a vernacular language is used in every-day life instead. The motivation, the reason and the context to use Nepali are missing.

The current language situation in Nepal mirrors the discontinued language management efforts over the past decades. Due to politically instability, linguistic matters had been put on hold until the Interim Constitution of Nepal (ICN) of 2007 was finalized. The more recently developed ICN tries to tackle Nepal's language issues by adding a third clause to the two clauses previously stated in the Constitution of 1990.

(1) All the languages spoken as the mother tongue in Nepal are the national languages of Nepal.

(2) The Nepali Language in Devnagari script shall be the official language.
(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in clause (2), it shall not be deemed to have hindered to use the mother language in local bodies and offices. State shall translate so used to an official. (ICN 2063 (2007), Part 1, Article 5, Clause 1-3)

The emphasis in the ICN is put on “all the languages spoken as mother tongue in Nepal” by reversing the order of the Constitution of 1990, where Nepali was listed in the first clause. Clause 3 states that, although Nepali is granted official status alongside other mother tongues, this should not interfere with the right of local bodies to use other mother tongues in official statements. Furthermore, the LSGA has been given constitutional status so as to grant the right to use other languages than Nepali in local bodies. In contrast to the Constitution of 1990, it seems that Nepal’s present language policy reveals more about the use of mother tongues in local governmental offices. Serious communication problems had led to a discourse among scholars whether to fight for the permission to use mother tongues in local governmental bodies. This issue was also greater thought after the 1999 verdict by the Supreme Court “that the decisions of [the] local bodies to use regional languages were unconstitutional and illegal” (Yadava 2007: 11 ff.).

An additional innovation of the 2007 ICN is the readiness to provide translators for mother-tongue users and their statements. Although this promising step will be taken by the government of Nepal in the not yet enacted 2007 Constitution, the last part of clause 3 might imply repression with regards to mother-tongue speakers other than Nepali. “[To] translate so used to an official” (ICN 2063 (2007), Part 1, Article 5, Clause 3 – emphasis added) may point to the fact that all the mother tongues other than Nepali are not official languages of Nepal and, therefore, do not enjoy official legal status just yet. Contrasting clause 1 of the Interim Constitution 2007, stating that all languages spoken as mother tongues in Nepal are the national languages, clause 3 again fails to accredit for other mother tongues than Nepali. Although the first clause of the 1990 Constitution was exchanged to form the second clause in the Interim Constitution of 2007, the Verdict of 1999 shows the unwillingness of the government to accept indigenous languages other than Nepali. On the other hand, it is important to notice that despite the fact that the Interim Constitution is not yet implemented and still work in progress, it seems that the government slowly but steadily tries to recognize the importance of promoting bi- und multilingualism in the highly multicultural state of Nepal.

However, this assumption still has to be supported by the instatement of more bi- and multilingual school programmes, teaching materials in various minority languages...
and a general appreciation of the rich possibilities a multilingual country offers in various domains. In short, the implementation of the new Constitution needs to show a policy of “tolerance […] [and] promotion of multilingualism” (Annamalai 2003: 119).

5.2.2. Language management in Nepalese education

One of the major issues in the educational domain in Nepal is the early drop-out rate of primary school children and the large numbers of illiterate people, especially in rural areas of the Himalayan country.

In the Nepalese case, the drop-out rate of primary school children is one of the main issues language management needs to tackle. The overall drop-out rate lies at a total of 6.5 percent between the school years 2008/2009 and 2009/2010 for grades 1-5. With these numbers at hand, it is indeed highly obvious that linguistic issues like mother tongue education should be taken into consideration when recommending a language learning agenda for the whole population of school children.

One of the many important factors of a successful language management agenda is the internal efficiency rate of educational facilities.

 [...] [I]nternal efficiency can be described as the number of students graduating from an educational institution (at a particular grade and level of education) expressed as a percentage of the number of students who entered the institution at the beginning of the particular program. (MOE 2009a: 30)

If this rate is not satisfactory because a large percentage of the entering school children at grade 1 of primary school do not manage to graduate, the agenda needs to be reworked in order to grant maximum efficiency. The high drop-out rate as well as the high rate of students repeating Class 1 is largely caused by missing resources and other, sometimes language related problems. Especially from grade 1 to grade 2, the promotion rate is at a shockingly low rate of only 63.5 from school years 2008/2009 to 2009/2010. While 26.5 percent of first-years have to repeat grade 1, 10 percent are dropping out of the school system entirely. While the survival rate from Class 1 to 2 is only at 63.5 percent, the overall survival rate through the grades 1-5 improves slightly to 77.9 percent. (MOE 2009a, 29-30)

Currently, 17 percent of the budget is allocated to the Educational Sector (MOES 2008: 7). The change in attitude within the constitutions of former years is shown in so far as part of the budget is now allocated to minority language primary education. The
privilege of consolidating the mother tongue in order to reach higher proficiency in other languages is one of the newer realizations in Nepalese educational policies. During the era of the Ghorka Kings, English was the medium of instructions at schools from the first year onwards. Later, in the Panchayet era, Nepali was instated at the primary and secondary levels to be the new medium of instructions. Up to this day, Nepali is the medium of instructions in governmental schools but the choice of mother-tongue education is an innovation. The mother-tongue schools are now estimated at about a dozen in the Terai region (Yadava 2005b) which is viewed by many as still insufficient due to the numbers of indigenous language-speaking pupils.

Another issue is posed by the separation of the school system into two branches, namely the governmental schools and the private institutions. In private schools, the language overwhelmingly used as the language of instructions is English, giving the illusion that elitist thinking still governs the language choice between English, Nepali and indigenous languages. Therefore, people who can afford a private institution consider English to be of much more importance than Nepali or indigenous languages. These practices within the educational system suggest a division of the educational system between the English speaking elite, Nepali mother tongue speakers in governmental schools and mostly rural areas, where indigenous languages are taught at primary levels, before switching to Nepali as language of instructions. The ‘three-language-formula”, which is promoted by many linguistic scholars in Nepal today (Cf. Giri 2009; Lawoti 2004), suggests that indigenous languages are taught up to a certain level, then the national language Nepali is introduced and as a first foreign language, English comes into play. Whether this is going to be practiced in the years to come will not only depend on the willingness of the government to actually implement the legal texts but it also will highly depend on the political stability of the country.

5.2.3. Practices, beliefs and ideology in Nepal

The attitudes towards certain languages and varieties are one major factor in the implementation of language policy. As mentioned above, it is crucial for language management to take into account actual language practices, beliefs and ideology to implement language policies successfully. In Nepal, implemented language policies can have far reaching consequences for the survival of minority languages. For example, the
conscious omission of a language in the case of Nepalese endangered indigenous languages could lead to language death.

Studies undertaken by various scholars show a highly heterogeneous picture of the language situation concerning practices, beliefs and ideology towards certain languages. One of the studies is based on questionnaires and was conducted by Kansakar [et. al.] in 2009. The study showed that 93 percent of the 51 questioned people in the Gorkha District of Western Nepal speaking the endangered Baram language were proud to speak their language. 60 percent referred to themselves as bilinguals in Baram and Nepali because the neighboring and most influential language was Nepali. Nepali, however, is said play a more important role due to the overwhelming numbers of speakers and the diverse areas of use. The Baram language was reported to be limited to conversations with the elders and people of their own age if they were able to speak Baram. No fluent speaker under the age of 52 was found due to the fact that all Baram speakers confirmed that the language was not used with children, neither in school nor in private domains. Although the contact between Nepali-speaking people and the Baram speakers is described as very friendly on both sides, the threat of language death of Baram seems evident. The large numbers of Nepali-speakers surrounding the Baram-speaking areas, the reduction of the Baram language to very “limited domains” (Kansakar [et. al.] 2009, 76), and the disregarding attitude by the government bodies concerning the support of projects for language survival, are major factors in influencing the language situation.

According to another survey still in progress (Yadava 2007: 10), an overwhelming majority of “97% or 56 language organizations out of 58” showed a highly positive attitude towards the usage of their mother tongue. Additionally, they even felt “more prestigious to use their mother tongue [...] and did not feel embarrassed about speaking their native language in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language.” This example of language attitudes, however, only accounts for most of the languages officially stated in the census from 1952/54 until 2001 with a highly developed writing tradition. “Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Hindi, Maithili, Nepal Bhasa/Newar, Sherpa, Tamang, Tharu and Urdu” (Yadava 2007: 10) are the languages with the highest percentages of
speakers in Nepal and therefore enjoy strong support by representative bodies and language organizations.

The effect Nepalese language policy has on the usage of indigenous languages is therefore not straightforward. In the case of underrepresented and endangered indigenous languages, Nepali seems to have an inhibiting effect, while in the case of the indigenous languages spoken by a comparably high percentage of the population, Nepali does not elicit a negative attitude within the mother-tongue speaking community, nor does it show an effect on the number of speakers.

Until about 2000, the question of governmental support for endangered indigenous languages in Nepal has not been posed. The hegemonic stance of the government and monarchy over the last 60 years reflected a strong unifying ideology with the installation of Nepali as a national language as a major contribution to the unification efforts. Since the start of the third millennium, however, the government of Nepal seems to have added a different stance to the promotion of indigenous languages and their revitalization and protection, at least on paper. The EFA-programme, Education For All-programme, initiated by the World Education Forum in 2000 set a timeframe for participating countries to set forth educational reform plans including educating children in endangered mother tongues at primary level. Nepal committed to an education reform plan including two phases, phase one from 2004 to 2009 and phase two from 2009 to 2015, which includes

provid[ing] access to quality primary education to all[,] focusing on girls, children from poor, backward and disadvantaged communities and improve the efficiency of primary school education[, especially including] indigenous peoples and linguistic minorities. (MOES 2005a: 3)

Although the goals have not yet been met, the willingness to support and participate in such programmes seems a major step in the process of acceptance and promotion of indigenous languages. The extensive disadvantage of children in remote areas of Nepal, of girls and of children with ethnic background, however, still presents a serious problem to the government. The “accessibility of educational facilities” in various areas as well as in connection to social class is directly related to success in education. (Bajracharya [et al.] 1998: 29) Studies in the Terai region, as well as the hilly regions of Nepal, show certain reluctance towards educational facilities due to the belief that education is not a tool for success on socio-economic grounds. This could change with
the installation of mother-tongue classes. The appreciation of indigenous languages by the government could lead to a higher acceptance of the school system even in rural areas, where attendance is traditionally very low.

What additionally needs to be taken into account at this point is the accessibility of material for indigenous language learning as well as other existing material at schools. Especially the accessibility of textbooks in other languages than Nepali or English could be described as precarious. The textbooks used through the Panchayet era were designed on the basis of the ruling caste's history and culture factually excluding “Nepal’s ethnic groups.” (Ragsdale 1989: 119 ff.) Textbooks of the history of Nepal highlighted high-caste Hindu heroes, leaving out important indigenous characters entirely. These practices, obviously triggered by an exclusive ideology, showed a disregard for the rich history many ethnicities and languages provide.

One of the reasons why Hindu characters are stressed is that up to this day the book market in Nepal strongly relies on material from India. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, even the English textbooks which were used at HHCA were Indian editions. Although many high-caste institutions and several private schools teach children coming from a Hindu background, the majority of Nepalese citizens can hardly relate to the culture and language, notwithstanding the fact that they sometimes share certain cultural or language practices. It is therefore essential to change such practices by providing material which is language and culture-specific, as well as create material which includes similarities between cultural and language practices rather than exclude and highlight the differences. Only through a practiced multiculturalism and multilingualism can negative ideologies towards certain indigenous groups change.

A further issue, which has to be dealt with, is that Nepali has suffered from scholarly criticism in recent years. Many scholars argued that Nepali showed inefficiency in expressing modernization, industrialization and international expansion and therefore lacked standardization and elaboration. These are reasons for speakers of Nepali to switch, if necessary, to English in the given areas. English is therefore said to have taken up the position of a language of economical growth, industrialization and modernization. Nepali, on the other hand, spoken by as many as 49 percent of the population in Nepal, is used in official governmental matters and functions as the medium of most of the
educational infrastructure. In Nepal, Nepali is said to have taken up the role of a lingua franca of a multilingual population. Nepali is also spoken in bordering countries like India or Bhutan which makes it a contact language par excellence.

Until recently, however, there has been no work on corpus development or corpus analysis for the Nepali language. Indeed, Nepali has been largely excluded from access to information and communication technology in general. (Yadava 2008: 213)

It seems evident that the exclusion from the most important communication technology in the 21\textsuperscript{st} century, the internet, is a major disadvantage in the development and modernization process of a language. Furthermore, on the tertiary educational level, textbooks and courses are mainly in English due to the technical terms originating in the English language. The question which presents itself is what language planning efforts the Nepalese government will propose in order to make Nepali fit for competition. The belief put forth by Nepalese scholars that the Nepali language is unfit for progress, states a major issue on the language planning level. The practice to use Nepali as the national language by over half of the population will be tried by the accessibility of technology in Nepali.

The governmental attitudes depicted through legal texts and practices as well as the lack of modernity of the Nepali language have an effect on language choice and attitudes. The question, therefore, still remains as to which domains the Nepalese use their mother tongues, Nepali or English. The practices, beliefs and ideologies behind language choice are evidently of a manifold nature.

The following conclusions drawn from parts of a small-scale investigation might bring some light to the question of language practices, beliefs and ideologies in Nepal.

When my small-scale survey took place in 2009, one of the interviewees presented himself rather reluctantly in giving information about his mother tongue. He came from a small village in the Solu Khumbu-region of Nepal and was a member of the Rai-caste. When asked about his mother tongue, he did not use the word ‘Thulung Rai’ at first but kept referring to it as ‘mother language’.

\textbf{Extract 3:}

1392 T07: this is nepali and my mother language (30) mother language
1393 (...) i’m not good
He contradicted himself later on in saying that he was very good in communicating in his mother tongues (emphasis added). He ascribed English a very important status and confirmed that he wanted to use it. However, later on in the interview, he stated that his mother tongues (emphasis added) were as important as Nepali. (see Extract 4)

**Extract 4:**

T07 also mentioned his high proficiency in all of his mother tongues when writing, speaking or reading. In school, he gave English and Nepali equal status, although he said that outside the school he only used Nepali or his mother tongue. He referred to English as an international language to be used in order to communicate with outsiders. He further commented on the proficiency in English in the way that he thought English could be spoken by most of the people working in tourism but that they were still unable to write properly. The domains in which he used certain languages seemed to be clear-cut. With his family he used Thulung Rai, with his friends Nepali or Thulung Rai and in school, he used English. His attitudes seemed to be positive to all his languages, pointing towards a balance in language use.

Other participants, T08 and T09, marked English as a highly prestigious language over others in stating that they used it on special occasions. (see Extracts 5 & 6)

**Extract 5:**

T09: maybe because something i have to tell to my son with near (.) near (.) in front of the servants (.) maybe about the- them (.)
I: yes
T09: that i- at that time i speak in english (.) with my kid especially (.)
I: mhm
T09: and with my husband also most of the time we speak english before the kid
I: mhm
T09: so he can listen and hear that it would be (.) that would be helpful for him
(MP3 Player/ Conversation 9)

T08 confirmed the statement of T09 in her own words in stating that

Extract 6:

T08: with my daughters also (.) with the husband also sometime (.) if the
servant theyyy (.) if i have to talk about the servant (.) i talk in english because
they didn't understand
(MP3 Player/ Conversation 8)

These incidents in which English is used mark the language as an excluding factor and it is understood to be prestigious in this context. Furthermore, English was ascribed by the majority of interviewees to be the language of educated people.

Extract 7:

T09: and here (.) sometimes happens (.) if you can speak english you are
treated more (.) you are given more importance (.) and if you don’t speak
eastali (.) sorry (.) if you don’t speak english
I: mhm
T09: people think that you are not educated (.) here is getting people also that
don’t speak english (.) the fact is that
(MP3 Player/ Conversation 9)

Extract 8:

I: ahm (.) where do you think english is spoken in nepal (.) in which situations?
T1: yes (.) ahm (.) i think english must be spoken in every situation like
educated person from the (.) and if the educated person use the english and
they talk in english another also (.) ahm (.) hear and they want to (0,5) what to
say (.) ah (.) they also copy and want to practice to talk and to (.) how to say (.)
this (1)
(MP3 Player/ Conversation 1)

Extract 9:

T2: my friends (.) my friends are from different backgrounds (.) yeah (.) just
like from the (house) they are not quite well educated (.) yeah (.) so i don’t
think i can exchange my views ideas i can communicate with thems only in
english (.) so to some of thems i communicate in nepali (.) to some i
communicate in maithili (.) yeah (.) and this mostly i use (.) the language
(MP3 Player/ Conversation 2)

But not only English is associated with education, one of the participants also stated that there are many educated people who feel confident in not talking English but Nepali, giving equal status to the national language.
None of the interviewees seemed to lack confidence in stating Nepali or indigenous languages as their mother tongues. English was given a highly important status because the participants marked it as the language of education and tourism. When they were asked what languages they used in their everyday life, almost all participants stated that they used mostly Nepali, since it was the national language. Mother tongues other than Nepali were usually restricted to communication with friends or family. English, which was marked as positive by the interviewees, was used in education, the private sector and sometimes in media consumption. The strong consensus, however, seems to be that English is considered as the language of prosperity and is recognized as an international language in Nepal.

In language management, it seems that especially status planning efforts undergone by the various forms of government over the past 60 years have borne fruit. Nepali is, without a doubt, given first language status by all interviewees while English seems to be viewed as a highly important international language. Language practices, however, depict more significant roles of English in various domains. To elaborate on the roles English occupies in important sectors, the next chapter will focus on English in the private domain and in tourism, English in the media, in the educational sector and English in literary creativity.
Roles of English in Nepal

The role of English in Nepal has been defined rather recently by scholars in the past five to ten years. Although some disquisitions on this topic exist, opinions are varied which role English inherits in the rather newly established Democratic Republic of Nepal. Since the downfall of the king and the inauguration of the parliament, English has become more important in various domains, such as “[…] international business, […] science, technology, medicine, diplomacy, sports, […], […] and advertising” as many experts state (Bhattarai & Gautam 2007: 33). With recent developments like the palpable democratization process or the many changes undergone in the educational sector and administrative apparatus, the question, however, remains whether English can take on the role of a second language (ESL), a lingua franca (ELF), or if English remains, with some exceptions, a foreign language (EFL) in Nepal.

Furthermore, it will be of great interest whether English in non-native usage represents rather a “performance variety” or is on its way of being institutionalized and therefore will take on a different role within the language picture. Various features such as a “highly restricted functional range in specific contexts; for example, those of tourism, commerce, and other international transactions” point towards an EFL context, whereas “extended range of use in sociolinguistic context […]; […] extended register and style range; […] nativization of register and styles […]; […] [and] a body of nativized English literature” rather lead to the conclusion that English could be used as an “institutionalized variety”. (Kachru 1992: 55)

In the previous chapters of this thesis, topics such as language management, as well as the diachronic and synchronic situation of English in the world, and especially in Nepal, have been discussed. In order to draw a more precise and accurate picture of the influence English has in Nepal, various domains, particularly the educational sector, need to be examined in detail. (Spolsky 2004: 42) Since the educational domain is often the one easiest to examine for researchers due to governmental funding and control, “schools are one of the key agencies of socialization” (Ferguson 2006: 33) and need to be evaluated in more detail. “The spread of English in [Nepal will] be considered in the contexts of […] multilingualism, […] language policy[, especially] in education, […] the
use of English in the media, [business and tourism] and [...] [in] literary creativity [...].” 
(Gargesh 2008: 91)

Important in this respect is finally that in the case of Nepal, information on how many 
languages and speakers of said languages exist, has always been subject to great debate 
among linguists. Since only few studies on languages and language categories in Nepal 
were conducted so far, scholars frequently rely on statistics provided by the official 
Census edited every ten years. Troubling in this respect, as already implied by language 
planning policies of earlier years in Nepal, seems the fact that these statistics were 
conducted due to political motifs rather than on the grounds of “scientific accuracy” 
(Malla 1989: 448). “Neither the instruments of data collection nor the collectors of data 
[were] irreplaceable.” (Malla 1989: 448) Therefore, data presented in this chapter has 
to be interpreted with caution.

6.1. The historical development of English in Nepal

Initially, a history of English in Nepal is a history of the English language in the 
educational system in Nepal. “Education is a reflection of social, political and linguistic 
realities.” (Giri 2007: 212) With that in mind, English-language developments were 
always related to schools and education to a great extent.

As already outlined in previous chapters, written records prove that English had 
been first introduced to Nepal by missionary efforts as early as 1628 and 1661 to 
Christianize the peoples living on today’s Nepalese territory. Due to the strong 
resistance of the tribes to convert to Christianity, the missionaries soon left Nepal and 
did not return until approximately 200 years later. When the British established a 
permanent residency of British counselor in Kathmandu after the Treaty of Sagsauli in 
1816, English entered the linguistic picture on a permanent basis. (Whelpton 2005: 56) 
The Durbar High School, which was opened in 1854, granted the royal family and close 
associates education in English, regarded by many as elitist and worth aspiring to. 
English, still a medium of the colonizing British Empire, was looked upon as a tool for 
political endeavor, especially in terms of favoring trade agreements with British India 
and Nepal. With the establishment of 11 additional secondary schools between 1854
and 1947, English slowly found its way into the language picture as a medium of instructions at secondary school level for the ruling classes. (Eagle 1999: 284ff.)

As stated previously, the privilege for the elite became an option for every Nepalese citizen in 1951. The government granted primary education to all Nepalese people. The era of the Panchayet regime, starting in 1959, proved to be inhibiting to any other language than Nepali because it fostered the ‘national language’ rather than appreciate the multilinguistic situation at hand. Governmental schools were urged to choose Nepali as the language of instructions to replace English. Educational efforts were hardly centralized and followed no distinct agenda until 1971 when the first curricula were devised. The first national plan for educational development put forward by the Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NEPC) in 1955 was followed by many similar enterprises with the goal to unify the educational system and to strengthen Nepali as the national language. Education in English was restricted to schools with non-governmental funding, like private boarding schools. The NEPC devised a plan which divided the educational system into four parts. Primary education up to grade 5; secondary education made up of lower secondary education up to grade 8, secondary education up to grade 10, higher secondary education up to grade 12; and tertiary education from grade 12 onwards, were instated as part of the educational development plan. English was taught as a subject from grade 4, while Nepali was instated as the language of instructions. (Andersson & Lindkvist 2000: 13)

With a change in politics in 1990 came the change in educational policy. The World Conference on Education in 1990 saw Nepal subscribe to the Education for All-programme (EFA) put forth by the UNESCO. The increase in educational facilities and the money for all for a free primary education had an effect on literacy rates as well as English-speaking programs up to today. English, in this respect, was taught from grade 1 onwards with 5 lessons a week, whereas Nepali was given 8 lessons a week, excluding all subjects which were taught in Nepali, at least in governmental schools.

In 2000, the promise to meet certain standards in primary education for all (EFA) was renewed by the Nepalese government in Dakar at the World Education Forum. All of the participating countries had not met previously declared goals. Nepal added one future educational goal on its own which included the provision of primary education in mother tongues of diversified communities and language minorities. (Singh 2010)
English seemed to lose importance over minority language issues, especially on the primary-education level. The EFA signed in 2000 envisages a “three language policy, i.e. local, national, and English.” (MOES 2005b: 12) In the light of the mother-tongue education movement of recent years, reflected in the Interim Constitution of 2007 and the Curriculum Framework of 2005, English is to be introduced at grade 4 in addition to the mother-tongue. However, pupils with mother-tongue education can choose whether to take up English or Nepali at grade 4. It seems that although many efforts are being put into developing a framework which will be sustainable, the language issues are presently not solved entirely. This three-language formula however suggests that English is to be introduced in the curriculum at primary level as a foreign or international language rather than a second language, thus giving rise to the assumption that minority language speakers would rather chose Nepali in grade 4 than study English early in their education.

Taking a look at the secondary level, English in 1998 was one of the 5 “core subjects” in lower secondary and secondary education. (UNESCO 1998a: 103 – original emphasis) In 1998, English was the only language in which teacher guides to the new curriculum framework of 1992 on secondary level had been provided. A restructuring of the curricular in late 1998, however, gave equal lessons per week to 6 core subjects, namely Nepali, Health, Mathematics, Science, Social Science and English in grades 9 and 10. English in this respect occupied a unique role because it was the only language receiving as much attention as Nepali.

On tertiary level, in 1918 the first college was opened - Trichandra College - and with it came the establishment of English in tertiary education. Up until today, English is the language used at university level. Problems which occurred on the tertiary level were that students with a School Leaving Certificate (SLC) had a highly diverse proficiency in English and were often unable to cope with the specific vocabulary and extended use in scientific discourse. Additionally, in test situations, the students were often unable to understand the instructions on the test sheets due to the lack of an abstract understanding of English.

One of the reasons why pupils had varying proficiency levels in English might have been that a SLC was sufficient in order to teach English on primary level. Between the
first installation of Trichandra College in 1918 and the adaption of a Bachelor-Degree-
programme in 1971, teachers did not have to have any special qualification to join a
teaching staff at primary as well as high school level. This, obviously, led to a very
dramatic situation in English proficiency at primary level. Teachers hardly had more and
sufficient skills to teach children in EFL.

The implementation of English Language Teaching (ELT) on an official basis was
not realized until 1971 on secondary and tertiary level, when Tribhuvan University,
 instructed by the National Education Planning Commission in 1954 (NNEPC) and later
efforts expressed by the National Education System Plan (NESP), initiated a Bachelor-
Degree-programme in Educational Science in English. (Awasthi 2003: 17ff.) In 2006 and
2007, the enrollment of students in Master Studies in English and Educational Science
was estimated at 4000 at Tribhuvan University. Prof. Govinda Bhattarai, a Professor at
the English Department at Tribhuvan University, described the situation at his
department:

The Department of English Language Education is obviously the richest
Department in the Faculty of Education; its strength can be measured by the
number of the students getting admitted to the Department and the researches
that have been completed so far. (Bhattarai 2003: 30)

Although the situation at Tribhuvan University points towards the fact that the ELT
sector in Nepal is given great attention on tertiary level and that the proficiency level
will rise on primary as well as secondary level, it does not yet prove or show distinctly
what linguistic role English plays in Nepal.

6.2. English in various domains in Nepal

The spread of English in various domains is an indicator of the roles the language plays
within Nepal. Whether English is a second language, a foreign language or a lingua
franca, can be depicted in such domains as the educational sector, the media, business
and tourism and also on the basis of literary creativity. Having described language
planning efforts in great detail so far, the remaining domains will be investigated
accordingly.
6.2.1. **English in the media, in tourism and in the private sector**

6.2.1.1. **English in the media**

The first official newspaper in Nepal was called the ‘Gorkhapatra’ (Gorkha Journal), which was first published under Dev Shamsher, the prime minister on the verge of the 20th century. Although first established still under the strict Rana rule, the newspaper established itself to form the oldest national newspaper published in Nepali (Gorkhapatra) and English (The Rising Nepal). This government-owned newspaper is said to have had the highest circulation rate of all newspapers nationally in 2003, namely 75,000 issues per day. Among other newspapers claiming to be the largest selling English newspapers in Nepal are ‘The Himalayan Times’, ‘Kantipur’, which claims selling 250,000 issues a day, ‘The Kathmandu Post’, and ‘The Kathmandu Republica’. According to government-elicited numbers in 2003, “3.741 registered newspapers, of which 251 were published daily” existed. Among the 3.741 newspapers, 1.304 were published weekly and 1.122 monthly. (Library of Congress 2005: 21) Two major newspapers publish in both Nepali and English, namely ‘Kantipur’ and ‘The Rising Nepal’, i.e. ‘Gorkhapatra’. All other major newspapers either write in English – ‘Himalayan Times’, ‘Independent’, ‘Kathmandu Post’, ‘Kathmandu Republica’ – or in Nepali – ‘Janmabhoomi’, ‘Naya Patrika’, ‘Nepali Post’. The number of English newspapers was not elicited. For a country which does not use English as an official language, however, the named newspapers seem to be quite numerous. Although the number of English newspapers seems quite remarkable, the accessibility of newspapers and magazines throughout Nepal is only at 18 percent for the whole population. Most of the teachers interviewed stated, however, that they read one or the other newspaper with T02 naming all the most important English newspapers found in the literature.

**Extract 11:**

251 I: yes (.) nepali and english newspapers in nepal.
252 T02: nepali the rising nepal (.) the himalayan times (.) yeah (.) the republica (.)
253 mhm (.) the kathmandu post
254 I: mhm (.) and in nepali?
255 T02: in nepali (.) kantipur and (.) (samachar patra) (.) annapurna (.) (subtai)
256 (.) (.) (.) himalayan times (.) mhm (.) daily newspaper?
257 I: mhm.
258 T02: and this (.) (nagrig) (.) himalayan main magazine (.) himal (.) nepal (.) yeah
259 (.) himal (.) nepal (0,5) and more other (.) yeah.
“Most vernacular news media are regarded as having little credibility as a result of affiliations with political parties.” (Library of Congress 2005: 21) The fact that newspapers of vernacular origin are not considered as trustworthy might explain the situation many small newspapers reporting in indigenous languages are in at the moment. The big news corporations like Kantipur Publications Pvt. Ltd., Himalmedia Pvt. Ltd., International Media Network Nepal (Pvt) Ltd., and Nepal Republic Media Pvt. Ltd. seem to have a considerable share in the market, leaving small newspapers struggling for existence. Additionally, T02 did not think that there were any newspapers printed in Kathmandu in his mother tongue Maithili, which poses the second most speakers after Nepali in Nepal, namely 12.3 percent and 2,797,582 speakers.

**Extract 12:**

T02: yeah (.) there are no newspapers for the indian languages (.) so far i know that from kathmandu (.) mhm (.) newspaper print in maithili (.) there is no newspaper in maithili is printed from kathmandu (.) yeah (.) but in nepali (.) in some (.) in newari (.) because newari is the native language of the kathmandu valley (0,5) so newari nepali and english (.) and maybe in hindi

This explains to a great extent that newspapers published in other languages than English or Nepali, if existing, might struggle for recognition and reader numbers.

Significant importance can be ascribed to broadcasting news and events on the radio in Nepal. Short-, medium- as well as FM-waves reach the highest proportion of Nepalese citizens via radio, estimated at 2,000,000 radio-wave receiving gadgets in Nepal. Similar to the Gorkhapatra, the Nepalese government launched the first "domestic radio [program] [in] 1951" called ‘Radio Nepal’, which expanded to several "short-wave, medium-wave, and FM frequencies" up until today. In 1995, however, Radio Nepal was still the only station to broadcast from within Nepalese territory. (Library of Congress 2005: 21) In 2009, 323 FM radio licenses were distributed in Nepal. Most of these frequencies were allocated to NGOs or private companies (Radio Nepal 2011) Several programs are being broadcast in English, e.g. ‘Hits FM’, which broadcast its main programs in English, and several other stations, which provide news in English, such as ‘Radio Nepal’ or ‘Annapurna FM’. The frequencies on which radio stations can transmit
are currently licensed by the Ministry of Information and Communication, with prices depending on the “operational transmitter power” (Nepal Radio 2011).

Many radio stations, even the ones broadcasting solely in Nepali, show incidents of mixing languages, when they announce telephone numbers or the name of the radio station, such as 'Radio Sagarmatha'. Additionally, when presenters talked about specific areas of expertise, like transport or environment, they used English expressions such as 'clean transport', 'alternative energy' and 'climate change', presenting a large number of English loanwords. The usage of English in some of the broadcasts was significant, while in others no usage could be found whatsoever. Although these findings cannot be generalized, it seems striking that incidents of code-mixing and –switching take place on a regular basis in some Nepali language broadcasts.

It is highly important to note that 82 percent of Nepalese household have access to radio, thus making it the most important and most well-distributed medium of communication and information in Nepal. Especially when recent developments influence the everyday life of the people, they revert to the radio for information. Since very often strikes take place in Kathmandu, schools are closed on these days. One teacher reported that he listened to the radio in the morning to find out whether he had to work that day.

Extract 13:

971 T05: so i don't listen to the news (.) and in the morning (.) in the morning i have listened to the nepalese (.) nepali news
972 I: mhm
973 T05: because these days the situation (is) nepal is not that good
975 I: mhm
976 T05: so at any time (.) it can be called for bhandi {strike} you know
977 I: mhm
978 T05: so i must be used to familiar with the news yeah
(MP3 Player/ Conversation 5)

While 82 percent of the population has access to the radio, only 59 percent of Nepalese households have television which makes it accessible only to slightly more than about half of the population in Nepal. It seems quite clear that television is not the most important medium of communication in Nepal. Therefore, the radio is also “the most preferred source of information and entertainment with 64 percent” in Nepal. (Nepal Radio 2011) In comparison to radio, 35 percent of Nepalese citizens prefer
television as the main medium of information and entertainment. Broadcasts in English therefore might reach the highest percentage of Nepalese citizens via radio.

English television broadcasting is usually provided by programs accessed via satellite or cable in Nepal. Up to this date, there is no local company which broadcasts in English. Government-owned stations such as “Nepal Television, which has two channels and private broadcasters Nepal One, Shangri-La, and Space Time Network” (Library of Congress 2005: 21) offer cable with international programs. Private telecommunication companies providing television broadcasting from within Nepalese territory have suffered severe financial losses because of program restrictions. (Library of Congress 2005: 21)

When I lived with the children at the Child Hostel at HHCA, watching TV in the common room was the highlight of the day. Every evening a specific soap opera in Hindi was watched to the bemusement of young and old. These programs were strictly entertainment programs, featuring characters of clownish quality. Funny noises were part of the entertainment every time the main character toppled over or accidentally smashed something. When I asked whether the children understood what the characters were talking, one of the adults said that Hindi sometimes is quite similar to Nepali and the children were sometimes able to get the gist of what was happening. Watching TV, therefore, was not a venture of understanding the language but rather seemed to have the purpose of simple entertainment.

The internet, although very popular among the youth, is only available and accessible by 1 percent of Nepalese citizens. The rapid expansion in this field of communication can be accounted for by the vastness of internet cafés opening up every day in Kathmandu. Especially in urban areas, the internet has become one of the main attributes for the younger generation. As mentioned in earlier chapters, Nepali and the Devanagari script are not yet very common on online platforms and therefore make English the preferred language and the one extensively used. “Nepali has been largely excluded from access to information and communication technology in general” (Yadava 2008: 213), thus making English the primary language to thousands of Nepalese online. According to the statistics provided by Radio Nepal of 2006/2007, however, the internet was the least
preferred medium for communication and entertainment among Nepali people with only 0.1 percent preference. (Nepal Radio 2011) Surely this situation will change dramatically over the next few decades with the expansion of the world-wide-web also to more remote areas of Nepal.

6.2.1.2. English in tourism and the private sector
Tourism is one of the main means of income and is the largest sector in Nepal. The fluctuating numbers of tourists visiting Nepal in the last 10 years, however, has caused severe monetary losses for the country. While, after the opening of Nepal to foreign travelers in 1951, the numbers of visitors increased from 4000 tourists per year in 1955 to 100,000 in 1960 and 250,000 in the early 1990s, the numbers have been unstable in recent years due to “the deteriorating security situation” (Library of Congress 2005: 13) within the country. (Whelpton 2005: 149) In order to make the country more appealing to tourism from all over the world, the government of Nepal lifted several travel restrictions in remote areas of Nepal and handed out permits for “an additional 103 mountains” out of a total of 263 accessible mountains during the 1990s. These measures resulted in the growth of “[t]ourist expenditures [...] from US$43.2 million in 1980[,] to US$162.4 million in 2001, [only to] decline[...] sharply to US$102.3 million in 2002 but recover[...] [again] to US$166.8 million in 2004.” (Library of Congress 2005: 13)

The new Three Year Interim Plan of the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation (MTCA) of 2008 to 2011 focuses on attracting new investors, especially foreign but also from the private sector in Nepal, to new tourism enterprises. (MTCA 2008: 121) Foreign investors, which were given permission to invest in sectors like construction, energy and tourism, are the US and the UK, occupying rank 4 and 5 in terms of amount of money invested. Only India, China and Japan invest more money in joint enterprises. The fostering of tourism is also supported by new tourist agencies and collected committees with experts from international NGOs and the private sector. (MTCA 2008: 131)

At this point it seems adequate to state that the involvement of foreign countries and agencies in Nepal, especially in tourism and business is highly elaborate. The role English plays within this sector, seems quite clear when listening to the interviewees.
Extract 14:

T1: english in most of the school and official situation (.) i use english language (.) and we say foreigners like you are (.) yeah with foreigners i use english (.) and others i use nepali.

(MP3 Player/ Conversation 1)

Extract 15:

T03: mhm (.) mostly because most of the people speak in nepali in the governmental offices (.) now in city (.) no (.) most of the people are well educated (.) now they speak and communicate with us in english but in villages and all (.) when we go out of the town (.) no (.) then we speak in nepali

(MP3 Player/ Conversation 3)

Although ‘foreigners’ is not specified in these abstracts, it nonetheless points out the role of English within sectors with a high proportion of foreigners involved, namely schooling and the private sector. Due to the heavy financing of the tourism sector through English-speaking countries and a considerable proportion of tourists coming from English-speaking territories, namely approximately 12 percent, English enjoys special status throughout the tourism industry. T07 additionally stated that English in private schools was the effort of the private sector and not the government, which acknowledges the strong involvement of the private sector at school level.

Extract 16:

T07: no (.) no. use of english in private schools are because of the effort of mh (2) private sector
I: mhm
T07: it is not done by the government

(MP3 Player/ Conversation 7)

Equal conclusions can be drawn for the whole business or private sector. Because of the considerable involvement of NGOs and other countries in Nepalese program financing, the mediating language and therefore the lingua franca is English.

Extract 17:

I: ok (.) very good (.) ahhm how important do you think the english language is in nepal?
T08: it's very important (.) it's international language we have to know and then (.) ahh (.) most of the people nowadays that they have started in talking english (.) every in ngos (.) ingos ( ) they do in english
I: mhm
T08: it's very important
On the other hand, many of the interviewed teachers reported that it was not necessary to use English in governmental offices, which points towards the fact that English on governmental level among Nepalese is not an institutionalized variety, nor is it the lingua franca. English, then, is not used in the public governmental offices, unless they deal with foreigners. As Giri (2010: 90) points out: “Nepali is the language of official business”.

**Extract 18:**

T03: mhm (.) mostly because most of the people speak in nepali in the governmental offices (.) now in city (.) no (.) most of the people are well educated (.) now they speak and communicate with us in english but in villages and all (.) when we go out of the town (.) no (.) then we speak in nepali

T03 here refers to the fact that English is, in her opinion, a language used rather in urban areas than in rural Nepal. She also states that well-educated people communicate in English and therefore that speaking English is a question of education. Nepali, she agrees, is the language of governmental offices. Also another teacher supports the view that Nepali is spoken in governmental offices rather than English.

**Extract 19:**

T1: in government official most of the person use the nepali language (.) nepali and english (.) a mix nowadays (.) but what it is like our solu khumbu (.) there are so poor people and they are (.) how to say (0,5) deprived from education (.) yes (.) educational system (.) so (.) ahm (.) they can’t understand english (.) so if there is a used english from the official (.) yes (.) in the office (.) they would use (.) how to say (.) they would (.) ah (.) understand (.) they could understand. I: but together they would not use it? T1: yes.

A similar viewpoint can be reported in this abstract. T01 also refers to English as an urban language rather than a rurally used one. The Solo Khumbu region is a very remote area in the North-East of Nepal. In recent years it has become the centre of attention for the global mountaineering community due to the geographical position of Mount Everest. She also confirms the opinion of T03 that Nepali is used in governmental offices, while T01 also mentions that a mixture between English and Nepali, and maybe even
English loanwords, can be found at times. A suggestion to this view could be that T01 was also referring to offices using English which deal with foreigners.

Especially in the private sector, however, numbers or surveys on how many people use English every day could not be obtained. Reporting on impressions and opinions, the private sector in general seemed more open and remotely modernized, while especially the public sector still heavily promotes Nepali as the national language.

6.2.2. English in the educational domain

In the mid-nineteenth century, English was introduced as a foreign language in the national curriculum (Giri 2010: 88). Until this day, English, in theory, is postulated as a foreign language on educational grounds, although its effective usage may suggest it takes on a more significant role.

Currently, the group of students present in classrooms is far from homogeneous in most school settings in Nepal. The status planning decision to implement one language as the language of instructions (Cf. MOES 2005b) is therefore quite a serious choice – language wise, as well as politically speaking. With indigenous language movements gaining momentum all over the country, every step and plan undertaken by the government of Nepal is watched very closely and is being evaluated. One major step towards not only the recognition of the multilingual situation in Nepal but also the appreciation and fostering of minority languages would be the “[adopt[tion]] [of] [b]ilingual or multilingual teaching [...] in ethnically heterogeneous communities”. (MOES 2005b: 12)

However, the means to train teachers accordingly and supply mother tongue specific material, are not yet provided by the government, nor by the local governances. “Hence, the questions of using mother tongue as a medium of instruction and language transfer are the issues demanding specific policies and programs in relation to school education.” (MOES 2005b: 12)

Although these developments, at first glance, may not seem relevant for the roles English inherit in Nepal, they are, on the contrary, highly important. English has played a vital role in the language picture of Nepal for centuries and always has been considered in language planning enterprises. In the light of Nepal’s ongoing globalization and pending industrialization, the development of the educational sector in order to meet the requirements for participating on the global market seems of great significance.
English is regarded as one of the key-agencies for global participation and may take on the role of the language of social change. Historical developments, literacy rates, curricula and their implications, as well as recent language-planning efforts, i.e. the decision on which language should be the language of instructions at schools, should be taken into account when talking about the role(s) English and other languages play within the educational sphere.

In how far the roles of English are closely connected to the multilingual situation and the ongoing medium of instruction-debate will be illustrated in the following.

6.2.2.1. The Nepalese educational system – from past to present

In the case of Nepal, the earliest, documented schools were Hindu as well as Buddhist schools, respectively. The co-existence of both religions has a long tradition in Nepalese history. The gompas, Buddhist schools, and the Sanskrit schools, hinduistically run facilities, were opened as early as the 12th century. (Vir 1988: 29 ff.) Striking at this stage of educational efforts was that the Sanskrit schools were run on a one-teacher-basis, educating only the Hindu elite due to the mandatory high command of Sanskrit in spoken and written form, whereas the Buddhist gompas occupied more teachers and were later opened to all of the population. Under the reign of the Malla dynasty between 1200 and 1768, however, education in Sanskrit was given priority because of the Brahmanic ancestry of the Hindi-speaking Malla Kings. Also, Western missionaries were granted influence on the educational level, since they “tried to translate […] Hindu epics and manuscripts into English [sic!].” (Vir 1988: 31) In later years, however, the foreign missionaries were denied the privilege of staying in Nepal mainly because they had destroyed thousands of Hindu manuscripts deliberately. During the Malla dynasty, educational efforts were not fostered and did not continue because education was not regarded as the prime matter at this point. The kings rather were occupied with administrative as well as power-related affairs. (Vir 1988: 31)

When the Rana dynasty took over in 1846, King Jung Bahadur Rana continued the lackadaisical handling of educational matters, leaving schools in the hands of religious leaders. Being a rather strict and military-loving king, the promotion of education for the people seemed of secondary interest. Schools in the sense of the word today did not yet
exist. One major reason for this fact was that education for the masses was considered by the rulers to be power-threatening rather than a tool for maintaining power. However, Jung Bahadur Rana felt the need to educate his children after Western role models because of the imminent danger British India posed at this point. In order to handle business with the British and maintain the reign of his family and successors, tutors from Europe or India were appointed. In 1854, the first high school, Durbar High School, was opened for the children of the ruling elite. The king, rather unaware of his role in the greater language picture of later years, marked English as a prestigious language. (Caddell 2007: 4)

In 1901, educational matters became more pressing to the new Prime Minister Dev Shum Shere Rana, under the successor of King Jung Bahadur Rana, King Ranodip Rana. He introduced a new educational plan, sending one teacher to every district with up to 50 students. Subjects such as “reading, writing, arithmetic, history and geography” were taught and students were provided with free material and textbooks. (Vir 1988: 33) Although the Prime Minister tried everything in his power to educate the masses, other Rana members strongly opposed the idea of well-educated citizens. The efforts came to a sudden end when Shum Shere Rana was ousted by his own brother. The educational efforts suffered a major setback, when nearly all of the already established 150 schools were closed again. A new stance in education was taken up by Prime Minister Chandra Shum Shere, who planned on outsourcing education for some of the elite to Japanese schools. (Vir 1988: 33)

Although the Rana regime stated a clear opposition to educating the public, other developments in British India led to the first opening of schools for soldiers and therefore non-aristocratic members of society. The claim of the General of the British-Indian Army to educate the soldiers at least in reading and writing, led to the first ‘public’ schools in 1914. Up until the end of the reign of the Rana Kings in 1951, 11 more high schools were opened, 310 primary schools existed and two colleges on the tertiary level came into being. Tri-Chandra College, opened in 1918, only taught up to intermediate level, until, in 1934, a two-year Bachelor degree was established. (Vir 1988: 34ff.)

The Rana regime proved rather inhibiting to the development of Nepal during the years of rule, proved by that fact that fewer than five percent of Nepalese citizens were able to read and write. (Whelpton 2005: 165) In 1951, when the succeeding King
Tribhuvan declared his sympathy for the liberalization efforts of the common people especially in educational matters, the reign of the Rana Kings ended. A constitutional monarchy provided the base for fostering and re-organizing the educational system. Since up to 1951, no planned educational enterprises had been set into motion, the king recognized the right of the people for education for the first time in Nepalese history by instating a *Ministry of Education and Culture* (MOEC). Later, between 1951 and 1954, a *National Board of Education* (NBE) as well as a *Nepal National Education Planning Commission* (NNEPC) were established in order to organize and devise a plan for national education. However, education was not a right for every Nepalese, it proved to be the right of elitist classes and high-caste citizens. Schools with royal funding which were set up for the common people between 1951 and 1971 were of less quality than the privately run institutions which emerged after the king's decision to educate the masses, partly due to lack of financial means and partly because of the insufficient training of teachers (Bajracharya [et al.] 1998: 46).

In the period between 1951 and 1991, however, many primary, secondary, higher secondary and even tertiary institutions emerged which were operated for free up until secondary level from 1975 onwards. Three planning commissions, the NNEPC in 1956, the ARNEC (All Round National Education Commission) in 1961, and the NEC (National Education Commission) in 1990, were established to define and report on the needs of uneducated Nepalese citizens in terms of education. Several plans were conducted concerning themselves with accessibility of educational facilities as well as quality management. One of these plans, usually advised for four to five years, the NESP (National Education System Plan) in 1971 recommended free education at the primary level. Other plans were to follow, insisting on the need to make secondary education free of fees. These recommendations were granted in 1992 when, by decree of the government, secondary education at public level up to grade 10 was made free of charge for all Nepalese citizens. While in the years between 1951 and 1990 the focus of educational efforts was put on primary and secondary education with about 55 percent of the total of 13 percent of the budget being allocated to basic and primary education, the development of later years saw the formation of a *Higher Level National Education Commission* (HLNEC) in 1997, which emphasized the access to tertiary institutions. In addition to the already existing colleges and two universities, Tribhuvan and Mahendra Sanskrit University, four other universities, namely Kathmandu University in 1991,
Purbanchal University in 1994, Pokhara University in 1996, and Lumbini University in 2004 were opened. (Bajracharya [et al.] 1998: 21ff.) Interesting at this point is that Kathmandu University is run by solely private investors and that Purbanchal and Pokhara University were the first universities to open outside the Kathmandu Valley. Tertiary education efforts in the 1990s were mainly financed through a loan given by the World Bank. This so-called Higher Education Project (HEP) was initiated to “reform the university curriculum whereby three years Bachelor’s course [was] instituted replacing that of two years.” (Bajracharya [et al.] 1998: 23) This project was also initiated to implement the 10+2 system at higher secondary level.

Despite the efforts of the planning commissions, the educational system which emerged to educate the masses, although dedicated to all citizens in theory, proved to be rather unequal in many ways. Giri (2007: 215) described the situation by pointing out

[…] [d]iscrepancies in the quality of ELE [English Language Education] in urban elite schools and other schools […]. The deteriorating of ELE in the public schools created a congenial opportunity for Nepali anglophiles to set up a private school system. In this way a dual system of public vernacular Nepali medium schools and private English medium schools emerged, which created a two-tier citizenship in the country, perpetuating already existing class-division and power structure.

This development seems to have continued. The educational system is still divided into two school-types which are more or less financed by the Ministry of Education and Sports (MOES) and reflects the “two-tier”-system mentioned above. The privately run schools exist as schools for basic, primary, secondary and higher secondary education. Special private financial support goes to the higher secondary-schools, so called “10+2”-schools (Caddell 2007: 19). These private institutions are mostly financed through external donors or tuition fees, while the public schools are funded mostly by the government through community financing or partly by its users. Because the government has to share the costs of education with the communities and its users, communities which are poor do not have sufficient facilities, teachers or material resulting in the urban-rural schooling quality divide. (Caddell 2007: 45) Problems that occur within this system are rather apparent – those who can afford private schools with trained teachers, new and up-to-date material and sufficient facilities will not be likely to attend public schools. Private schools are said to be judging their tuition fees on the English proficiency level of their teachers. Caddell (2007: 9) describes the situation by pointing out that
Some schools even attempted to promote a unique selling point that further enhanced these ideas. Particularly highly prized was the presence of teachers from ‘outside’ – from Darjeeling or Kalimpong (who consequently warranted higher salaries than their Nepali counterparts) or, for one particularly sought after school in the district, the presence of volunteers from the United Kingdom.

This gap between private and publicly run schools mirrors the socio-economic situation within the country. High-caste, wealthy, urban citizens will have a better chance in finishing with a Bachelor, Master or Ph.D. degree than low-caste, poor and rural Nepalese, not least because of their higher proficiency in the language of the tertiary level - English. The loss in interest in public schools can be explained through the “perceived inferior quality of education”. One of the major results the government has to face is the “growth of private schools which [do] not seek community participation.” (Caddell 2007: 47) Although in terms of financing this development seems rather welcome in the eyes of low governmental expenditure, it also fosters privileging certain ethnic groups and classes. Although attempts on legal grounds to sort out the confusing educational landscape have been made and seem respectable, the fact remains that “English-medium instruction [has] emerged as an important source of differentiation” (Caddell 2007: 8) within the private and public sector.

In 2001 school-types were defined in order to sort out the issue of financing. So-called “trust schools (public or private) or institutional schools” were instated, accounting for the already existing two-tier system. (Caddell 2007: 18) Trustees for privately run schools were instated which were not allowed to profit in any way from the schools or their operation. If the school was to be disintegrated, all property would have to be passed over to governmental responsibility. “Institutional schools” on the other hand would solely be run by an external donor and would be listed as “private compan[ies]”, requiring the head of the company to pay taxes to the MOES. These taxes would be used to help rural schools with their financial issues. (Caddell 2007: 18ff.)

Other issues were taken up by the School Sector Reform Plan (SSRP) operating through 2001 to 2015 which tries to focus not only on higher language proficiency and minority language education in the public sphere, as well as availability of education even in the most isolated areas of Nepal, it also includes the change from a four-way division of the school structure to a three-way division, summarizing primary and lower secondary under the term basic education from grade 1 through 8. Furthermore, the plan subsumes secondary and higher secondary, grades 9 to 12, under just one term –
secondary education. This might lead to the restructuring of the educational system, thus removing pressure from the situations at university level and help pupils to a higher educational degree via improved accessibility. At tertiary level, a three year Bachelor degree, as well as an additional two years Master degree and a Ph. D. degree can be acquired. (Cf. MOES 2008)

Some facts demonstrate the magnitude of educational enterprises in Nepal. The enrolment rates over the past sixty years since 1951 have increased dramatically at all levels of education, not least because of the different attitude portrayed by the various-typed governments. EFA surely played a vital role in the valorization of the educational domain. From 1951 attitudes of Nepalese citizens seemed to have changed because more and more children were sent to school. This gives rise to the assumption that more Nepalese citizens have connected education with higher prosperity and wealth.

Between 1951 and 2001 the number of public primary schools in Nepal has risen from just 321 in 1951 to 27,525 primary schools in 2001. The same can be said for secondary schools. While only 11 public secondary schools existed in 1951, the number increased to 13,510 public secondary schools in 2001. Also in higher public secondary schools and on tertiary level the situation has changed greatly. In 2005, 991 higher secondary governmental schools and 495 universities were in operation. The total enrolment of learners at all levels of education in 2001 made up one third of the total population of Nepal, namely 7,863,548 students out of 23,151,423 Nepalese citizens. (Shiwakoti 2008: 65) Apart from the public schools, thousands of privately run institutions exist in Nepal. Unofficial numbers show that more than 1,000 private institutions were in operation only in Kathmandu in 2005. (Caddell 2007: 10)

The allocation of the budget to the educational sector is therefore a major issue of governmental concern. In order to grant sustainability and extension of education the expenditures of the government have risen from 2.2 percent of the gross domestic product in 1991 to 3.8 percent in 2005. In comparison to other Asian countries, however, this is only average to lower expenditure. (Shiwakoti 2008: 76) On the other hand, the public expenditure has not increased as fast as the expenditure on education between 1991 and 2005, which implies that education is given significant priority. At tertiary level, in 1951, only Trichandra College and a few other community colleges existed, while sixty years later six universities, as well as two academies of equal status
to universities offer Bachelor, Master and Ph.D. courses. (Shiwakoti 2008: 69) Although “higher secondary education is in [an] early stage of development and about 2 percent of the total population of Nepal [have] access to higher education” (Shiwakoti 2008: 66), the trend points towards a rapid expansion. In 2005, about 250,000 students were enrolled in colleges and universities, most of them affiliated to Tribhuvan University. (World Bank 2006)

These numbers demonstrate the amplitude of educational endeavors within Nepal. Coordinating all rural as well as urban parts of Nepal, implementing curricula to suit every situation and ethnic group and financing such great enterprises seems to be quite a challenge the government of Nepal is facing.

6.2.2.2. Literacy rates and internal efficiency
As already mentioned in earlier chapters, the illiteracy rate in Nepal is a subject of major concern in educational politics today. While in 1951 only 2 percent of the population was accustomed to basic skills like writing or reading, the percentage has increased drastically to 75 percent in 2009 but only among the 15 to 24 year-olds. The 6+ group has reached a literacy rate of 69 percent. The average literacy rate in 2009 of the 15 years and older group was at 56 percent, leaving about 46 percent of the Nepalese citizens ignorant of any proficiency in reading or writing. (MOES 2008: 2)

These figures pose serious challenges in educational politics as well as practices. The government and its EFA programme targets exactly the age group 6+ to improve literacy and with it the economic workforce of tomorrow. Estimates in the Flash Report of 2010/2011 published by the Ministry of Education in November 2010 (MOES 2010: 139) show that the target literacy rate in 2015 for the 15 to 24 year-olds is at 95 percent, at 90 percent for the 6+ group and at 75 percent for the population 15+ years. In order to achieve these percentages, the MOES has implemented the School Sector Reform Plan operating from 2009 to 2015, focusing on basic and primary education, especially for underprivileged ethnic groups such as Dalits and Janajatis. Further concerning is the striking disadvantage of girl in the educational sphere mirrored through the numbers of lower enrollment at all levels. Additionally, the internal efficiency rate of previous school years mainly from first to second grade is estimated to increase due to more indigenous language programs on primary level. In the Flash Report, MOE describes the situation as follows:
it helps to improve the internal efficiency of primary and basic education [...] by increasing the number of ECD centers [(Early Childhood Development)] to ensure access for the most vulnerable and marginalized children. (MOE 2010: 7)

Further, rural children are far less likely to finish school with a SLC, let alone a tertiary degree due to accessibility of mainly secondary, higher secondary and tertiary institutions. Another factor of hindrance seems to be the national language Nepali, since most of the children of indigenous language groups and rural areas, especially western Nepal, have not or hardly had contact with Nepali before school.

Literacy as well internal efficiency rates are serious issues Nepal still has to tackle before the government even considers implementing language programs promoting other languages than the indigenous ones or Nepali. Therefore, it seems rather bold to assume that English will play a particular role for the whole population in Nepal. Rather, it seems that language issues related to English as a second language are highly restricted to certain ethnic groups and to a specific social class.

6.2.2.3. National Curricula and their implications

The present situation of curriculum development in Nepal suggests great changes in future schooling. Keeping in mind the plans that have been undergone since 1951, Nepal has come a long way to modernize its educational domain and to find a system that accounts for its unique language situation. “[T]he three year interim plan [of 2007 to 2009] [suggested a] trilingual policy [...] as medium of instructions in early grades of basic education.” This plan further suggests that the choice of the language of instructions lies with the SMC (School Management Committee), which consists of selected teachers, and the local government but also that the language of instructions can only be chosen among the national language Nepali or an indigenous language. English is to be taught from grade one of basic education as a subject. (MOES 2008: 32)

The National Curriculum Framework for School Education (NCF) in Nepal in 2005 put forth a “three language policy, i.e. local, national, and English.” The implementation of this formula requires what has been realized in the interim plan of 2007 to 2009. English language teaching was implemented at an early age and has been one of the 6 core-subjects since 2003. This plan puts English in the position of a first foreign language in government-aided schools. As already mentioned earlier, when children receive mother-tongue education during the years 1 through 4, they can chose whether
to take English or Nepali as a subject from grade 5 onwards. Since Nepali is the national language and is needed in most domains, the choice of English might not be an option for many indigenous language speakers. A very important provision, however, was made in the NCF of 2005 by adding that “[t]he curriculum of English will include elements of teaching English as a second language.” (MOES 2005b: 22) Notwithstanding the fact that this is a rather vague commitment to ELT, it also seems to anticipate the present and future needs of English-language learners in Nepal. In the objectives to primary education, the need for a “develop[ing] basic knowledge and skills on at least two languages (Mother tongue, Nepali, English) necessary for self expression and communication with others” is given great attention, pointing towards the recognition of the bi- and multilingual situation at hand. (MOES 2005b: 27) Additionally, the transition from the mother tongue will be initiated from grade 4, either to Nepali, when the child chose the mother tongue and English, or to English, when the mother tongue and Nepali were chosen.

On secondary level, which is to say grades 9 through 12, two types of education can be pursued, namely general or vocational training. Grades 9 and 10 will be comprised of core subjects such as Language “[English and Nepali], General Science, Social Science and Mathematics”, while grades 11 and 12 will focus on the continuation of “academic” training or will switch to “[t]he technical and vocational field”. (MOES 2005b: 30) Three core subjects will have to be studied in both fields, namely Nepali, English and Social Science, thus giving English equal importance to Nepali on secondary level.

English will also be one of the obligatory subjects for the SLCs, where students have to score at least 40 percent to complete their 10-year education. (MOES 2005b: 32ff.) Although English is without a doubt important and enjoys equal status among the mother tongues and Nepali in basic and secondary education, the medium of instructions remains Nepali, which limits the time English is spoken, read, written and listened to at school dramatically. The multilingual country of Nepal in the public educational sector has decided to make Nepali or, for the first 4 years of primary education, the mother tongues the medium of instructions.

With so many language-related issues at hand, it seems that English will only play a subordinate role in terms of English as a language of instructions in several subjects on public-school level. At universities, on the other hand, English will most likely remain
the medium of instruction, granting it a privileged role among the languages of the educational sphere.

In the private sector, however, the picture seems to be quite different. Giri, an emigrated Professor at Victoria University, Australia, states that

[t]he advantage English language education exerts on Nepal is widely accepted. All sections of the population, for example, are keen to send their children, despite their exorbitant fees, to any school promising education in English. (Giri 2007: 212)

English as a medium of instruction can be found at institutionalized schools. These schools offer English as instructional language from grade 1 as mentioned by T02 when he explains during the interview that more and more families want to send their children to English medium schools.

Extract 20:

T02: yeah (.) it has becomes (.)(.) yeah (.) as english has developed as a international language (.)(.) yeah (.) that’s importance of english has increased a lot (.)(.) yeah and now i think that since last ten or fifteen years the peoples who speak english (.) yeah (.) is increasing (.) has been increasing (.)and nowadays peoples prefers (.)(.) parents prefers english medium schools (.)(.) yeah (.) so that their childrens know english and they can survive in this competitive worlds (.) yeah.

(MP3 Player/ Conversation 2)

These curricula-based differences in government-aided and private schools seem to change the perception of the people in Nepal, strongly pointing towards English as a major tool in the aspirational process towards economic wealth. Since English has to be used on campus at all times and it is even prohibited for the children to use their mother tongue when on school premises, these measures are perceived to help English speakers on the proficiency level. This move is, however, quite questionable in the light of the multilingual situation at hand. The practice to prohibit children with other mother tongues than English to speak their first language could lead to language impairment. This, again, could cause proficiency problems in English, seeing as the children would not be able to strengthen their mother tongue proficiency in any way.

Extract 21:

I: ok (.) good (.) ahm (.) where or in which situation do you think english is spoken in nepal? (.) with whom and (.) in which situations?

T03: (.) when i go to the high profile parties and when i meet the educated
Later on in the same abstract the teacher points out the sphere in which she uses English. The expression ‘high-profile parties’ in connection with ‘educated people’ strongly points towards the opinion that educated people use English and that it is a marker of prestige to T03. Thus, the aspiration to talk in English seems to be part of the elite and to set T03 apart from the other people in Nepal. The attitude seems to be ‘the more English – the better’.

The difference in curricula, thus, seems to have a major influence on the status of the English language in Nepal. Although English is also introduced at grade 1 in public schools, in private institutions the exposure to and usage of English is greater. English, therefore, seems to function as a tool for a two-tier educational system.

6.2.2.4. Textbooks

On the basis of textbooks, another highly interesting matter can be observed. While many efforts of the government were put into publishing Nepali textbooks for school, minority language material on primary level still lacks financing. In the current School Sector Reform Plan (SSRP) between 2009 and 2015, it is stated that the

C[urriculum] D[evelopment] C[enter] will mobile[z]e experts to update the textbooks in line with the N[ational] C[urriculum] F[ramework] and also to accommodate the objectives of an integrated basic education. (MOE 2009b: 20)

Although this can be seen as a rather vague commitment to the development of minority language textbooks, it sounds promising in terms of progress. Again, the SSRP only speaks of basic education, excluding all matters of textbooks on secondary education level in minority languages completely.

Another interesting matter is the clause of the SSRP to “[encourage] [t]he private sector […] to develop, produce and distribute textbooks in order to broaden students’ textbook choice [and] enhance textbook quality […].” (MOES 2008: 32) Since mostly Indian editions of English textbooks have been used in private schools due to the vastness of material coming from Indian printers, this clause seems quite interesting. The fact that
many Nepali school children have been using Indian editions of English school books so far, points towards a less than clear-cut textbook distributing system. The government, so it seems, wants to “encourag[e] partnerships with [the] private sector for textbook production and distribution” (MOES 2008: 10) so as to support Nepal’s own textbook tradition.

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, some of the school children at HHCA requested to have their social life included in the books. They argued that only Hindu-traditions were displayed rather than Christian or Buddhist traditions. This strongly points towards the children feeling the need to see their lives included in their own English textbooks. The pupils consciously de-contextualized the English language and made it their own property connected to their specific cultural group. Also, English textbooks from Austria were presented to them and although they seemed mildly interested in the tradition displayed, they applauded and jumped up and down when they found festivals they knew and celebrated in the Indian edition of their English textbooks.

The need of the pupils seems to correspond with the SSRP text to develop and foster the Nepalese school textbook market. It will, however, be questionable if minority language textbook for basic as well as secondary education are published. The same question can be asked for Nepalese English textbook editions. It seems that the private sector would need a financial incentive to do just that because the market for minority language textbooks as well as Nepalese English textbooks seems yet to be quite small.

6.2.2.5. The role of NGOs and educational financing

The role of Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) in educational financing is one of great importance. From 1951 onwards almost all educational efforts, structural as well as administrative and practical in Nepal have been partly financed by NGOs. The strong link between the government of Nepal and NGOs can be explained through the fact that Nepal is listed as the 32nd poorest country in the Human Development Report of 2010, devised by the United Nations. (UNDP 2011) One of the partners of Nepal, which granted support as early as 1964, was the World Bank. Although the financial grants were first not specifically related to the educational sector, soon money was delegated to schooling. In the 1970s programs such as the UNICEF and UNESCO program for female
teachers came into being, which focused on the education of women teachers to increase the percentage of disadvantaged groups in the Nepalese workforce. (Awasthi 2003: 18) Especially in the 1980s foreign assistance played a major part in educational development. The vocational sector as well as primary education was given considerable attention. In the years between “1981 [and] 1985, foreign assistance to education was approximately 19.7 percent of the total investment in education.” In the 1990s, 60 percent of the foreign-assistance budget was allocated to basic and primary education, mirroring the government’s policy to decrease illiteracy especially at primary level and to enroll as many children in basic and primary education as possible. (Bajracharya [et al.] 1998: 71) These programs targeted areas such as the provision of textbooks, teacher training, curriculum development or minority group participation. (Bajracharya [et al.] 1998: 16) The form in which foreign assistance was provided at the beginning of cooperation efforts with Nepal was grants, but beginning with the 1990s, organizations such as the World Bank warranted loans. Furthermore,

[...] Nepal’s education sector has witnessed a gradual shift from project to programme to sector-wide approaches, including a shift in funding modalities from bilateral to pooled to budgetary support. These changes provided a basis for recognizing the lead role of the government/MOES, with greater focus on policy formulation and programme execution.” (MOES 2008: 5)

Focus has therefore been put on the educational sector as a whole rather than on projects or programmes, since the implementation of any new policy should be recognized on every level and reflects the centralized structure of the educational system. While the government, communities, users and donors share the cost for education, the governmental offices, such as the MOES, administer financial grants. The funding of educational efforts is shared and includes many donations, loans or grants. Continuous support has been provided by the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, UNICEF, DANIDA (Danish International Development Agency), JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency), NORAD (Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation), or the EU.

In this respect, vocational training plays a highly important role in Nepal. Especially privately run institutions are commissioned to educate Nepalese citizens in vocational areas using English as a lingua franca. Most of the financial grants, therefore, go into vocational training such as Medicine, Forestry, Technical training, Engineering or
Science for the private sector. Within the greater picture Nepal plays on the global market,

[it] could have easily been developed as a hub of regional/ global diplomacy, economic and educational activities. Global workforce education with English as its lingua franca could have been given priority. This could have played a prominent role in the development of tourism and hospitality, travel and transportation, health [care] [...] [ect.]. However, development and modernization have remained stagnant and as a consequence, global workforce education, except for a few private institutes, has not prospered as expected. (Giri 2007: 215)

English plays a highly important role within vocational training, since education for a global workforce situated in Nepal requires a higher command of English. The participation of NGOs and several countries, thus, highly influences the fostering of vocational programmes in English within the private sector.

Major criticism has been voiced on the practices of donor participation within the private sector due to inequality reproaches and the two-tier system this situation creates. English, as in so many other countries, can be the tool of hegemonic, elitist operations. But English can also be seen as a tool for providing quality and standard education, especially in the vocational area, since it offers global knowledge and competitive ability. “English in this sense is considered as an economic liberator or equity provider rather than an enslaver.” (Giri 2007: 219)

6.2.3. Literary Creativity

As one of the main categories to distinguish whether a language has become institutionalized, Gargesh (2008: 91) points out certain requirements that need to be fulfilled in order to categorize the spread as highly advanced. The creation of literature in this specific language is one of the reference points.

In Nepal, the creation of literature in English cannot be described as advanced. Due to a rather recent evolution of Nepali literature in writing, English was not given any attention up until the 1990s. Nevertheless, in recent years a corpus of English literature has emerged, which presents itself as a collection of narrative character. *The Other Voice*, a book recently published to include English literature by Nepalese authors, lists almost 20 authors presently writing pieces, short stories or poems about Nepal and mainly social matters in English. The rather small number of published works is connected to the fact that there are hardly any literary agents, publishers or let alone an audience. The literary tradition in Nepal is still in its fledgling stages. Many writers have
to earn their money by writing columns in English newspapers, such as Sushma Joshi in the *Kathmandu Post*. Kesang Tseten is another example of a writer publishing in English. Although he is quite well known, he too cannot fully commit to writing, due to financial restrictions. (Thapa 2001: 72)

English in Nepal should be equally important as Nepali or other languages if English was to develop a nativized variety. As Kachru pointed out, “a body of nativized English literature [should] develop[…] [...] which marks it localized” (Kachru 1992: 55 - original emphasis). This body of nativized literature is not clearly defined as literature depicting localized linguistic features or literature which concerns itself with topics and themes connected to Nepalese cultural uniqueness. Nepalese writers view “the challenge of Nepal’s English literature […] to come to par with its Nepali-language literature”, rather than developing its own characteristics. This view is further strengthened by a famous writer, named Manjushree Thapa. In an interview conducted with her, she explains that she wanted her novel “to be like a translated Nepali-language novel: capable of allowing interested readers to feel the complexity of Nepal.” (Bhot 1992)

Recent developments described in academic discourse could point towards a Nepali-English nativized variety especially within news discourse. A study carried out by Shrestha in 2003 analyzed distinct features of Nepali English in newspaper discourse in comparison to Australian news discourse. The research questions posed were to “what the structures and patterns of English use in Nepali print media [can] be attributed” in relation to functions in the Nepali context, and “what the structures and patterns of English used in the Nepali print media tell […] about the use of English in Nepali context.” (Shrestha 2003: 80) Both linguistic patterns as well as functions within the Nepalese context were examined. The study, as reported by the author,

offers clear evidence that systematic and regular features of English have emerged in Nepali cultural context and these features have specific functions in Nepali linguistic and cultural context. (Shrestha 2003: 148)

The linguistic features, examined on a “lexical, collocational and syntactic/morphosyntactic” level, as well as “discoursal features of Nepali English”, show that “direct borrowings, native[z]ed/acculturi[z]ed items, hybrid innovation and items with semantic restriction/extension” could be found in several news discourse. Further the study claims to have found a higher level of formality in “collocational sets” in
comparison to Australian English news discourse. The “highly formal and stylized forms of use” of collocations occur due to “style shift and loan shift from L1 linguistic system and cultural norms of use into L2 variety.” (Shrestha 2003: 148)

On the syntactic/morphosyntactic level as well as regards discourse structure, Nepali English news discourse shows distinct features, which sets it apart from Australian news discourse. The functions, especially on the discourse structure level, point to multi-layered story elaboration rather than towards a single story being reported linearly and towards culture-specific reporting for an “in-group”. The author concludes his disquisition on a possibly emerging variety of Nepali English by claiming that “Nepali English is taking on life of its own by way of indigenization in the new environment”. (Shrestha 2003: 148ff. – emphasis added)

Concluding from the viewpoint of literary creativity and news discourse, a body of English literature as well as a nativized Nepali English variety is on its way of emerging in the literature.

6.3. Conclusion

Several domains in relation to the roles of English have been investigated in this chapter. The media, the private sector with tourism, as well as the educational sphere seem to strongly rely on English communication. Additionally, the field of literary creativity offers valuable clues as to what the role of English in Nepal might be. In other words, English is of crucial importance within these domains.

The distinction between written and spoken media is quite important when talking about roles English occupies within this domain. In spoken discourse, English is used by radio stations which broadcast news in English. Incidents of language mixing or the use of English loanwords in specific contexts in Nepali broadcasts are a daily occurrence. English TV programs, although quite costly, can be received all around Kathmandu.

English discourse in print media can be described as highly elaborate pointing towards the development of a Nepali English variety due to “[...] distinct diaspora features at various linguistic levels in varying degree and depth” (Kachru 2005: 25). Additionally, the expansion of the internet into more remote areas of Nepal will play an
important role for the use of English in the future. Most of the communication amongst the youth includes language mixing and the usage of English loanwords, especially on the world-wide-web.

Literary creativity in English seems to have emerged, especially in print media but also in terms of prose writing and poetic arts. The nativization process of English is especially palpable in the works of authors like Manjushree Thapa. Discourse in print media additionally shows features of the nativization of English, pointing towards a development of institutionalized rather than performance varieties. English in literary creativity and in print media seems to have developed to become a variety in its own right. These phenomena could account for a process of acculturation by adjusting English to the present language environment. Furthermore, the linguistic and cultural membership seems to be prioritized which, again, could indicate an emerging Nepali World English variety (Cf. Kirkpatrick 2010: 219)

The involvement of NGOs and private international investors is a crucial factor for the usage of English in the private sector in Nepal. Many companies already have subsidiaries in Kathmandu or invest in one or the other enterprise in the Himalayan country. Especially NGOs are numerous because Nepal is still one of the poorest countries in the world and receives developmental aid from various countries. The communication between the NGOs and the Nepalese government or other private institutions strongly reverts to English as a lingua franca. In tourism, 12 percent of all annual visitors come from English speaking countries, making the use of English as a lingua franca almost mandatory. Furthermore, the tourism sector in Nepal is the most important source of capital in Nepal. English, therefore, is given priority as ‘the’ lingua franca between non-natives as well as mother tongue speakers and non-natives. The main aim for the people engaged in discourse, especially in this sector, is “to be understood” (Kirkpatrick 2010: 219) “[…] [C]ode-mixing is unlikely to occur [in the private sector] when English is used as a lingua franca, as, […] by definition, people engaged in lingua franca communication do not share the same linguistic backgrounds.” (Kirkpatrick 2010: 219)

The educational sphere occupies a unique position in terms of English usage in Nepal. Many international NGOs invest in vocational training and primary education. The
language of communication between the investors and governmental and private schools is the lingua franca English.

In private schools, English is mostly used as the medium of instruction, essentially being taught as a second language. During the interview study, some teachers reported on the prestigiousness of English by stating that only educated people would use English. These comments are highly interesting, since they express a certain ideology about the use of English. The pupils’ view on this topic, however, seems to be quite a different one. They wanted their traditions and culture included in the English textbooks which could lead to the assumption that they thought English to be their property after all. Jenkins refers to this phenomenon by stating that Outer or Expanding circle citizens do not feel the need to "acquire [the] cultural practices along with the language" (Jenkins 2009: 163 – original emphasis)

Although governmental schools are urged to use Nepali as the medium of instruction, many schools try to introduce English as early and as extensively as possible. In 2005, the NCF added an objective to “include elements of teaching English as a second language” (MOES 2005b: 22) in national governmental school curricula. Anticipating future needs of the learners, the government seems to have adopted a supportive view of the multilingual situation in Nepal, including English in their considerations. (Cf. MOES 2005b: 27)
7. Conclusion

In this thesis, English on the basis of its status as a global language has been examined in reference to its functions within the Nepalese context. The question, whether English takes on the role of a second language, a foreign language or a lingua franca within the Democratic Republic of Nepal, has been investigated on various levels. The diachronic and synchronic situation, language policy issues, as well as important domains such as the educational sector, the private domain and literary creativity have been analyzed in great detail. Literary research as well as the collected qualitative data shows a highly diverse picture of the language situation in Nepal. The answer to the research question, that is which roles English occupies in Nepal, is not simply an ‘either-or’ matter, it is rather that English shows diverse properties in Nepal.

The historical developments of Nepal depict a situation closely related to colonized countries like India, although imperialistic powers never fully occupied the country. English was introduced as a foreign language in the 19th century, soon gaining a highly prestigious status through the king's decision to educate the royal family in English. The language of instructions on the educational level was viewed by many as the language of power and wealth. The historical development of English in Nepal, up until today, shows that English seems to be the language worth aspiring to. It is not seen as a means of political oppression of a super-power, which lingers over every important decision in Nepal. Rather, its use has expanded from a sole tool of the elite to proclaim their structure of power to a language connecting the masses of Nepalese citizens with each other and with the rest of the world.

The small-scale, qualitative interview study, which was carried out at two private schools in Kathmandu, partially used the method of OA to analyze teachers' opinions on the roles of English in Nepal. In these semi-structured interviews, the expert group stated that parents wanted to send their children to English medium schools in the hope that they would have a better future. The teachers' belief, reflected in their view of the role of English in the educational sector, clearly viewed English as the language of progress and wealth, socially and economically speaking. For some of the teachers, English took on the role of a second language while others saw English as an
international, i.e. a foreign language. The teachers further pointed out that English was the language of the private sector and tourism, as well as the language of the educational domain. Language practices showed that, in the private sector and in tourism, English is mostly used as a lingua franca. In education, the functions of English are not that easily explained. It is believed by the expert group that a two-tier educational system exists which is divided into governmentally-aided schools and privately run institutions. The latter is characterized as using English as a medium of instruction while in governmental schools Nepali is the medium of discourse. Some of the teachers expressed their beliefs concerning the role of English by stating that it was only used by educated people. These statements marked the language as highly prestigious, creating a feeling of superiority of speakers who were able to use it. Stated opinions corresponded with the concept of World Englishes since English seemed to be part of a “shared identity” (Kirkpatrick 2010: 219) among non-native users from the same linguistic background.

When speaking about the development of English in Nepal, it is necessary to point out that the usage of English has always been very closely intertwined with the growth of Nepali, the official national language of Nepal. Said to have been the lingua franca of many people in Nepal for decades, Nepali occupies the position of a first language for more than 49 percent of Nepal’s population. The steady expansion of Nepali as the first national language between the first census in 1952/54 and 1981 can be seen as an indication for the success of language policy enterprises, especially in the era of the Panchayet regime. The reason for the quite diverse positions English holds in Nepal is the fact that many speakers are bilingual or even multilingual. While 46 percent of Nepali mother-tongue speakers appear to be monolingual in the census data, approximately 27 percent of the total population of Nepal are bi- or multilinguals. The census data, however, does not give any indication as to what role English plays within the country. The presented monolingual speakers could essentially be bilinguals after all, since the interviewed Nepali-speaking teachers reported their second language to be English.

Being bi- or multilingual in Nepal strongly depends on the caste, class and linguistic community. Indigenous mother-tongue speakers are almost always bi- or multilingual speakers. Their mother tongues are frequently restricted to domestic settings, whereas Nepali is used to communicate in public spheres. The role of English,
therefore, strongly depends on the speakers and the situation. Nepali or indigenous languages speakers with a strong support within the community seem to speak English as their second language, as they use and consume the language in every-day life such as with their friends or in the media. Indigenous languages that have missed supportive initiatives so far tend to use Nepali as a second language and lingua franca with others, feeling the need to converse in the national language and the first language to almost half of the population. English, thus, takes on the position of a foreign language or a lingua franca rather than a second language.

Language management, in this respect, is a crucial factor for the present language situation in Nepal. While indigenous languages have been recognized only recently as official languages of Nepal, Nepali has been supported over decades as the national language. Especially status planning efforts have put emphasis on the integrative role of language learning, i.e. the importance of language learning as a symbol for a certain group “indicat[ing] […] awareness of and attendance to traditional cultural and status values” (Davies 2009: 49) The language choice, “conscious or unconscious”, which was induced by the political leaders of Nepal, reflects an active choice in both operational and institutional fields. (Davies 2009: 49)

The language management efforts of recent years have changed from solely promoting Nepali, especially in the educational sector, to the appreciation of the multilingual situation. This development is mirrored in the “three-language-formula” (Cf. Giri 2009; Lawoti 2004) of the NCF of 2005. The development of the NCF is the first occasion on which English is given official recognition by including elements of second language teaching. (MOES 2005b: 22)

Language practices, however, have shown a situation sometimes contrary to language policy efforts. Despite the fact that language policy in Nepal points towards an encouragement of indigenous languages as well as English, actual practices, i.e. financial support of English and indigenous language projects in rural areas, depict implicit discouragement. Language policy in Nepal essentially seems to be monolingual with the exception of some domains like the private school sector. In the Nepalese case it is quite clear that “[l]anguage policies [have] end[ed] in an effort to manage the language practices and ideologies of others”, not always in favor of multilingualism. (Spolsky
English, therefore, seems to play a more crucial role than recognized in language management efforts so far. Several domains use English as a language of discourse in one way or the other.

Particularly in the educational domain, wealthy families are more likely to be able to send their children to private institutions which foster ESL education. Generally it is believed that private institutions, in addition to having more and better material, also employ teachers with a higher English proficiency level. The private schools, however, do not seem to offer or support minority language programs. Less fortunate Nepalese citizens have to send their children to governmental schools, which often do not offer English as a language of instruction, nor do they provide sufficient mother tongue education or material. These facts point towards a two-tier educational system in Nepal. The one system frequently attracts wealthy Nepali and English-speaking bilinguals, the other system is attended by pupils of fewer means, who often share a minority language background.

The fields of vocational training and primary education are often connected to the private sector because of the considerable involvement of international investors, developmental-aid agencies and NGOs. Using English as a lingua franca, therefore, seems almost incontrovertible. International companies are not only involved in financing parts of the educational system but also take part in many projects concerning the tourism sector. This domain is the most profitable sector in Nepal, which is mostly due to its growing mountaineering community.

Another investigated domain in the context of the function of English in Nepal was the media. The role of English within this sector is not very clear, since the access to news in general is not very wide-spread in Nepal. While 82 percent of the households have access to radio, 35 percent watch TV, but only 1 percent of the Nepalese regularly goes online. The received radio programmes are usually broadcasted in Nepali but sometimes show incidents of code-mixing and –switching. Furthermore, the news is almost always read in English in addition to Nepali or another indigenous language. Specific vocabulary on environmental issues or traffic is often used in English.

In the print media and on the internet, English has acquired quite a different status, since a vast amount of English newspapers and magazines can be bought in
Kathmandu and the language of communication amongst the youth on the world-wide-web is mostly English. A study on English newspapers in Nepal “offer[ed] clear evidence that systematic and regular features of English have emerged in [the] Nepali cultural context” (Shrestha 2003: 148) This means that a nativization process has been observed, which could point towards a distinct Nepali English variety and the institutionalization of said variety. On the internet, English is the language of communication among young people. Since Nepali has been excluded largely from discourse on the internet so far, many Nepalese revert to English as medium of communication among each other. Incidents of code-switching and –mixing and the integration of English loanwords are a daily occurrence. Equally valid conclusions can be drawn from literary creativity in Nepali English literature. A corpus of literature on Nepal written in English has emerged, which demonstrates the integration of English into the sociocultural context of Nepal.

In order for English to emerge as a second language in Nepal, a nativization process needs to take place. According to Strevens (1992:42ff.) this happens through the institutionalization of English in various important domains, through intranational usage as well as through the emergence of literary creativity.

The roles of English have been investigated in the “context of multilingualism, [...] language policy[, especially] in education, [...]in the media, [business and tourism] and [...] [in] literary creativity [...]”. (Gargesh 2008: 91)

It has been found that for many speakers who use Nepali as a mother tongue, English certainly is a second language frequently and extensively used and consumed in education, the private sector, with foreigners and in the media. For people with mother tongues other than Nepali, a tri- or even multilingual situation is at hand. Their mother tongues are mostly restricted to private settings, while Nepali is used in official matters and in most of the media landscape. English is employed in education, the private sector and partially also in the media.

In Nepal, many of the objectives put forth by Kachru and Strevens (1992) for English to become a second language have been met. English has been used in an “extended range [...] in sociolinguistic context” at private schools, in parts of the media
and in the private domain in “greater depth”. (Kachru 2005: 25) Especially in news discourse “a body of nativized English literature” (Kachru 1992: 55) seems to have developed. In some instances an acculturation process of English has taken place.

However, many of the objectives have not or not yet been met in an ESL context. The intranational use of English is fairly restricted to parts of the media, tourism, the private sector and the educational sphere. Although English has undergone a process of acculturation in certain domains in Nepal, mainly the educational sector and parts of the media, it still exhibits properties of a performance variety in that it has not yet been used in official business in the governmental sector. While international documents, which have been related to bi- or multilateral agreements, have to be issued in English, official business within the Nepali community seems to strongly rely on Nepali.

The status quo of English in Nepal suggests that no detailed and in-depth survey about the role of English has been carried out in Nepal yet. Important information about the numbers on bi- and multilingual users in the Nepalese context still needs to be obtained. Consequently, it is difficult to get a clear-cut picture of the language situation in general and regards English in particular. With the ongoing globalization as well as democratization process, however, the language situation in Nepal is uncertain and might take a turn towards ESL or ELF in the future. No model yet exists which accounts for the complexity of the sociolinguistic situation of English in Nepal.
8. **References**


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Ferguson, Gibson. 2006. *Language Planning and Education.* Edinburgh: EUP.


9. Appendix

9.1. Appendix 1: Interview-questions

1. Introduction and formalities:
   - Introduction of the interviewer
   - Explanation of the aim of the interview
   - Approximate duration of the interview
   - Confidentiality statement

2. Asking general information about the interviewee:
   - Full name
   - Occupation
   - Age should talk freely
   - Marital status

3. Drawing and explaining their own language portrait (ice-breaker)

4. General questions concerning the language situation:
   - What is your mother tongue? (If not yet answered when explaining the language portrait)
   - Is Nepali your first/second/third language? (If not yet answered when explaining the language portrait)
   - Which language(s) do you usually use in your everyday life?

5. Questions about the English language in particular:
   - Do you use English in your everyday life? If yes, how often and in which situations?
   - Do you need English when dealing with official matters?
   - Where or in which situations do you think is English spoken in Nepal?
   - How important do you think is the English language in your country? Why?
   - Is there any official rule whether to use English in the government in Nepal?
   - Do you think that the English language has become less or more important over the last 10 years in your country? Why?
   - How important do you think will the English language be in your country in the future?

6. Questions about the media:
   - Which English newspapers, magazines, TV programs and radio stations in Nepal do you know of?
   - Do you read Nepali and/or English newspapers and magazines? Why? Why not?
   - Do you know what your friends' habits are?
   - Do you watch Nepali and/or English TV programs? Why? Why not?
   - Do you listen to Nepali and/or English Radio programs? Why? Why not?
7. Questions about school:
   - Is the language of instructions English or Nepali at your school?
   - How many lessons of English do the children have at your school as a subject?
   - Do you find the amount of lessons and the language of instructions appropriate or not? Why? Why not?
   - How important do you think it for the children to learn English at school also concerning job opportunities?

8. Ending:
   - Do you want to add anything that is important to you?
   - Thank you very much for your participation
### 9.2. Appendix 2: Transcription conventions as provided by VOICE 2007

(with necessary adaption)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker IDs</th>
<th>Names of interviewees were replaced by T01 to T10 due to confidentiality agreements.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> T03: it's good</td>
<td>Speakers are generally numbered in the order they first speak. The speaker ID is given at the beginning of each turn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> I: it's good?</td>
<td>The interviewer ID is also given at the beginning of each turn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation</th>
<th>Words spoken with rising intonation are followed by a question mark “?”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> I: nepali. and your third (.)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> I: english (.) ok. good. [...]</td>
<td>Words spoken with falling intonation are followed by a full stop “.”.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphasis</th>
<th>If a speaker gives a syllable, word or phrase particular prominence, this is underlined.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> T07: aand ah (1) nepali and my mother languages (.) are equally important [...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pauses</th>
<th>Every brief pause in speech (up to a good half second) is marked with a full stop in parentheses.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> T06: no no (.) just nepali language</td>
<td>Longer pauses are timed to the nearest second and marked with the number of seconds in parentheses, e.g. (1) = 1 second, (3) = 3 seconds.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lengthening</th>
<th>Lengthened sounds are marked with double or triple vowels depending on the length.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> T06: we have to speak language (.) aand it's medium english</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Repetition</th>
<th>All repetitions of words and phrases (including self-interruptions and false starts) are transcribed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> T06: yeah (.) t-there are not so many radios in nepal no (.) i-i (.) usually [...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T08: but i-i knew (.) [...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word fragments</th>
<th>Where a sharp breaking off of an utterance (word or sentence) occurs, a hyphen marks the part of the missing word.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> T05: [...] it's internat- (.) it's an international language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-English words</th>
<th>Non-English words are rendered in the standard variant of the original language.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> T05: so at any time (.) it can be called for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Uncertain transcription</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> T08: the people from (dhang) also they have learned to talk in english [...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word fragments, words or phrases which cannot be reliably identified are put in parentheses ( ).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> T06: three four years () in () elementary school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empty parentheses indicate that the word/ part of the word could not be understood and was therefore omitted entirely.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10. Omission of transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> I: mhm () ok () very well () i think this was it [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the actual speech was omitted because it was not relevant for this thesis. This is indicated by square brackets including three full stops [...].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>11. Transcription borders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> &lt;beg MP3 Player Conversation 1 - 00:00 min.&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The beginning of the transcript is noted by the recording device MP3-Player and the conversation number, as well as the exact position of the respective track in minutes and seconds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> &lt; end MP3 Player Conversation 1 - 25:03 min. &gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The end of the transcript is noted in the same way.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>12. Characters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a b c d e f g h I j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only alphabetic Roman characters are used in the transcript. No diacritics, umlauts or non-roman characters are permitted in the running text.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13. Decapitalization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> I: your mother tongue is (1) T1: rai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No capital letters are used</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14. Discourse markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All discourse markers are represented in orthography as shown below. The lists provided are closed lists. The items in the lists are standardized and may not represent the exact sound patterns of the actual discourse markers uttered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahm, aahm, ahhm, aand, ah, aah, soo, mmh, mhh, ehh, eh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesitation/ filler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhm, yeah, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backchannels and positive minimal feedback: affirmation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative minimal feedback</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isn't it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeking reassurance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# 15. Contractions

**Examples:**
- it's, everything's, that's, i'm, you're, i'll, won't, wouldn't, thanks
- don't, can't, , isn’t it, didn’t, shouldn’t,
- let's
- country’s language, friends’ habit

Whenever they are uttered, all standard contractions are rendered. This refers to verb contractions with *be* (*am, is, are*), *have* (*have, has, had*), *will* and *would* as well as *not*-contractions.

It is also used to represent the pronoun *us* in the contracted form *let’s*.

Also, it is used in the possessive singular and plural form.

# 16. Numbers

**Example:**
T01: [...] when i reach my room () ah () five () six o’clock [...]  

Numbers are fully spelled out as whole words.

# 17. Acronyms

**Example:**  
T05: [...] as far as i’m concerned aah i did my masters degree from tu [...]  

Acronyms (i.e. abbreviations spoken as one word) are transcribed like words.

They are not highlighted in any way.
MP3 Player/Conversation 1

Recording time: 25:03 min.

Person id: T01 age: 25+ sex: female langKnowledge: L1 thulung rai; nepali, english, khaling rai area: solu khumbu education: +2 and currently at college for b.a. in educational science occupation: nursery teacher school: hhca

1  <beg MP3 Player Conversation 1 - 00:00 min.>
2  
3  T01: english first (.)
4  
5  T01: eyes only nepali and english(,) here (,) english (,) nepali and rai also?
6  I: rai also.
7  
8  T01: only english (,) nepali (,) english  nepali  rai only?
9  I: yes (,) it's only the languages you speak (,) right? but can you also write another language you don't speak?
10  T01: yes (,) i rai but rai also different caste
11  I: ok. so you can also write what you can write but not speak you can put in (,)
12  but (,)
13  T01: khaling rai (,) thulung rai(,) i’m from thulung.
14  I: mhm (,) ok.
15  
16  I: yeah (,) i just wanted to ask you why you put for example english and nepali you put (,) and rai you put into your heart why?
17  T01: first i wrote english. but when i also (,) i didn't know (,) i didn't know english in heart (,) name of heart (,) i used to think and write and say in rai language
18  but i wrote english when i knew it in english (,) and some are there (,) i wrote rai first because i think in my mind first rai language and i describe it in english or another language (,) so i wrote here (,) and i (,) i wrote here english (,) nepal
19  i but i had to write here nepali (,) but i think and i see everything first of all in the nepal language and i describe or translate or i think in english language (1)
20  and rai (,) here also i wrote english (,) the (,) things are same what i wrote here and nepali (,) but ahm (,) mostly in thinking we think or see and say (,) used to say firstly our mother language (,) first of all (,) and we describe after this in english or another english language (,) so i wrote this like this and another reasons (,)
21  
22  I: your mother tongue is (1)
23  T01: rai.
I: rai.
T01: yes () rai () also thulung.
I: thulung?
T01: yes () thulung.
[...]
I: mhm () and your second language would be then (0,5)
T01: nepali.
I: nepali. and your third ()?
T01: nepali () and when i ()() first in nepal () our first language is nepali and
second is english. they say what () we have many () many language so (0,5)
I: which languages do you use usually in your everyday life?
T01: everyday i use () in my family i use rai language and with my friends
nepali language and with other () like you are ...() i use english language
I: yeah () very well. thanks.
I: so you use english in your everyday life () obviously () yes?
T01: yes.
I: in which situations () especially?
T01: english in most of the school and official situation () i use english language
() and we say foreigners like you are () yeah with foreigners i use english () and
others i use nepali.
I: do you need english for official matters () when you go to the government or
something?
T01: yes () yes. we need () it is our (national) () necessity also because we are
very poor in english () ah what to say () ah () it is so difficult to communicate
like we are () we are the poor english so we want to say many things with
another () (1) that is difficult to express our internal desires () or how to say
() so it is needed.
I: ahm () where do you think english is spoken in nepal () in which situations?
T01: yes () ahm () i think english must be spoken in every situation like
educated person from the () and if the educated person use the english and
they talk in english another also () ahm () hear and they want to (0,5) what to
say () ah () they also copy and want to practice to talk and to () how to say ()
this (1)
I: do you know which the official ruling is in the government () do they have to
use english or just nepali?
T01: in government official most of the person use the nepali language () nepali
and english () a mix nowadays () but what it is like our solu khumbu () there
are so poor people and they are () how to say (0,5) deprived from education ()
yes () educational system () so () ahm () they can't understand english () so
if there is a used english from the official () yes () in the office () they would
use () how to say () they would () ah () understand () they could understand.
I: but together they would not use it?
T01: yes.
I: ok () good.
I: ahm (.) do you think that english has become less or more important in the
last ten years (.) for your country?

T01: ah (.) english is more important but they don't use (.) ah (.) we don't use
mostly (.) so it is (.) ah (.) how to say (1)

I: so you think it's more nepali?

T01: yes (.) more nepali uses

I: mhm (.) and what do you think will be the role of english in the future (.) for
your country?

T01: ah (.) it mostly (.) most of the official are (.) like schools (.) most of the
government schools they don't use english (.) or there is english subject but
teachers use in nepali use to describe (.) yes yes (.) so (.) ah (.) private schools
like boarding schools (.) most of the schools use english language

I: mhm (.) mhm (.) that would have been one of my next questions
anyway (.) so very good (.) what kind of english newspapers do you know of in
nepal?

T01: most of the english newspapers would be (.) ah ...(. ) readable for every
persons (.) with (.) who are the habit (.) as a ( ) i want to say (.) so (0,5)
I: can you name some of them?

T01: yes (.) ahm (.) like (.) mh (.) most of the newspapers are good for our (.) but i
(.) there is difficult words are used so (.) they have the synonym words (.)
many synonym words (.) yes (.) if simple words are used there (.) they must be
good (.)

I: do you yourself read english newspapers?

T01: yeah (.) sometimes (.) mostly i use nepali language (.) yes (.)

I: and if you read english newspapers (.) which one would you read?

T01: mostly i use himalayan times (.) kantipur (.) but i also have to
read dictionary also (.) some words are very difficult

I: ok (.) ok. mhm (.) do you also watch tv programmes in english?

T01: sorry?

I: do you also watch tv programmes in english ... or rather not?

T01: mostly i don't see (.) because i don't have time also (.) i go to (.) when i reach
my room (.) ah (.) five (.) six o'clock is first (.) i reach (.) i get up early in the
morning and i have to walk to the campus and i'm direct from the campus to
school (.) so (.)

I: no time to watch tv (.)

T01: no time

I: ok and what about radio?

T01: radio?

I: yeah. do you listen to it?

T01: sometimes (.) if i have time i watch tv (.) mostly

I: but only in nepali or (.)?

T01: nepali english (.) all (.) which programme is a-a (.)

I: available?

T01: yes.
I: mh (. ) ok (. ) good. yes (. ) mh (. ) the language of instructions (. ) you said here at himalayan helpless child academy is english or nepali?

T01: is language of instruction at himalayan helpless (. ) ah (1)

I: the language of instructions means just that in which languages are the lessons held

T01: yes (. ) mostly (. ) here also used english language (. ) but lower teachers (. ) we are poor in english so sometimes we translate or we say for example (. ) know this (. ) we use to (. ) nepali (. ) most of the t-. (. )

I: do you know if there is an official rule from the government that says whether english or nepali should be the language you use?

T01: most of the government rules are not used in english (. ) there is no fixed rules (. ) most of the government office use the nepali language (. ) and there is no rules also

I. ok (. ) good (. ) ahm (. ) how many lessons do the children have here in the school (. ) english only subject?

T01: yes there is different lessons for the different subject, in science there is 7 (. ) 8 (. ) 18 (. ) 19 and different subjects and different lessons

I: and only in english (. ) you know? (. ) so english for communication or something (. ) how many lessons are there?

T01: ah (. ) english also different names (. ) like social study also in english (. ) and science also in english (. )

I: yes (. ) but the subject itself (. ) english?

T01: subject is only nepali (. ) there is use and teacher also (. ) but different lessons also (. ) yeah

I: ok. ahm (. ) do you think that the amount of lessons the children here have in english are appropriate or not?

T01: yes (. ) it must be (. )

I: you think it’s too much or too less or is it ok like it is?

T01: lesson is i think ok but it is (. ) it should be used from everybody and children and teacher (. )

I: english (. ) should use english (. )

T01: yes (. )yes (. )

I: ok. how important do you think it is for the children to learn english properly?

T01: it is important (. ) ah (. ) in situation on nepal and if they go in future in another country it is very necessary for (. ) story speak write read (. ) this (. ) it is very life necessary for english (. )

I: so also for jobs (. ) do you think it is really important?

T01: yes (. ) really important. nowadays (. ) if we apply for the job (. ) it should be written in english (. ) so (. )

I: mh (. ) ok (. ) very well (. ) i think this was it [...]

[...]

< end MP3 Player Conversation 1 - 25:03 min. >
< beg MP3 Player Conversation 2 - 00:00 min. >
I: what is your mother-tongue?
T02: nepali.
I: nepali?
T02: yeah.
I: mhm (.) and (.) which languages do you usually speak during the day?
T02: during the day (.) if there is no school i speak nepali (.) and when I come in
school (.) i have to speak english (.) yeah (.) but mostly i use nepali.
I: ok (.) ahm (.) do (.) yes (.) obviously you use english in your everyday life (.)
you just said
T02: yeah (.) yeah (.)
I: and how often and in which situations do you think you use english?
T02: english?
I: yeah
T02: (.) when i am in school (.) yeah (.) then it is quite necessary to speak in
english to teach them (.) and then i speak english (.) sometimes it
automatically comes (.) with my friends somewhere it automatically comes (.)
and they are all mostly use and then it automatically comes (.) and in this
cases i speak english
I: mhm (.) and with your friends you speak (.)
T02: my friends (.) my friends are from different backgrounds (.) yeah (.) just
like from the (house) they are not quite well educated (.) yeah (.) so i don’t
think i can exchange my views ideas i can communicate with thems only in
english (.) so to some of thems i communicate in nepali (.) to some i
communicate in maithili (.) yeah (.) and this mostly i use (.) the language
I: mhm (.) ok (.) good. and (.) do you need english when dealing with official
matters? when you go to town and you have to do something?
T02: ah (.) so far english is not necessary in the office purpose (.) so far (.) not
necessary. but i think that when i have to go to some school (.) to some
intellectual persons that it is necessary.
I. ok. ahm (.) where do you think or in which situations you think is english
spoken in Nepal?
T02: in which situations?
I: yes.
T02: in which situations (0,5) i think that especially done with schools (.)
especially not the governmental schools (.) we have governmental schools also
( .) especially private schools ( .) ah they prepare english and they encourage
the students to speak English and they are not allowed the students are not in
those schools (.) yeah (.) the student are not allowed to speak in their language
(.) especially in Nepali languages (.) so that in some private sectors (.) yeah (.)
or in this boarding schools (.) yeah (.) it is necessary to speak English (.)
otherwise it is not necessary in other (.) parts.
I: mhm (.) ok (.) very good. ahm (.) how important do you think English is in
your country (.) and why
T02: yeah (.) i think that English is quite important (.) especially important for
our well country (.) yeah (.) because so far we know our country is not that
developed (.) yeah (.) and we have to depend on other countries for such
things as donations (.) yeah (.) our country is run by the donations provided by
the other countries (.) yeah (.) and to deal with them (.) yeah yeah (.) and
there is no big industrial here (.) yeah (.) to attract them (.) here (.) yeah (.) to
provide the congenial and suitable environment for them (.) yeah (.)
that’s very good (.) and in higher education in Nepal (.) Nepal is not so good and
so every year students go abroad (.) yeah (.) to get the higher education and if
they are (.) if they know English well then they won’t feel any difficulty while
they go abroad to get an education.
I: mhm (.) good. do you know the official rule of the usage of English in the
government or in the bureaucracy?
T02: in Nepal?
I: in Nepal (.) yes?
T02: ahh (1)
I: do they have to release the papers in English (.) or only in Nepali
T02: yeah (.) they are (.) people have to release papers only in Nepali not English
(.) not the English (.) very least people prefer English in the office
sectors (.) especial in the government country sectors (.) yeah (.) in the private
I don’t know (.) but most people in government office they release (.) they issue
(.) they write their problems all in Nepali (.) yeah (.) Nepali.
I: ok. already on the second page (1)  ahm (.) do you think that English has
become less or more important over the last ten years in Nepal
T02: yeah (.) it has becomes (.) yeah (.) as English has developed as a
international language (.) yeah (.) that’s importance of English has increased a
lot (.) yeah and now i think that since last ten or fifteen years the peoples who
speak English (.) yeah (.) is increasing (.) has been increasing (.)and nowadays
peoples prefers (.) parents prefers English medium schools (.) yeah (.) so that
their childrens know English and they can survive in this competitive worlds
(.) yeah.
I: yeah (.) uhu (.) aand (.) how do you think (.) how important will English be in
the future for Nepal?
T02: ah (.) i think that (.) it’s very (.) it will be very important. so i think that
somehow the Nepali will be but substituted by English if this trained that do
peoples (.) everyone peoples is speaking (.) just like boarding school is
encouraging speaking in English (.) yeah (.) and some government (.) eh (.)
government also give education in English languages. Yeah, if this goes on (.) yeah (.) this (trains) continue (.) then definitely English will be a very important essential for the all peoples.

I: mhm (.) ok. Ahm (1) yes (.) which newspapers do you know?

T02: Newspapers Nepali?

I: yes (.) Nepali and English newspapers in Nepal.

T02: Nepali, the rising Nepal (.) the Himalayan Times (.) yeah (.) The Republica (.)

mhm (.) the Kathmandu Post

I: mhm (.) and in Nepali?

T02: In Nepali (.) Kantipur and (.) (Samachar Patra) (.) Annapurna (.) (SubTai)

 (. ) (. ) (. ) Himalayan Times (. ) mhm (. ) Daily newspaper?

I: Mhm.

T02: And this (.) (Nagrig) (.) Himalayan main magazine (.) Himal (.) Nepal (.) yeah

( . ) Himal (.) Nepal (0.5) and more other (.) yeah.

I: Wow (.) There are a lot (.) you know about a lot. And what about TV programmes? Ah (.) English and Nepali?

T02: Nepali? The most typical are broadcast in Nepali language but there is another the particular Nepali (.) they just (.) they speak in English sometimes in English also (.) no (.) Language some programmes are broad- especially in telepresent programmes (.) except for the news (.) Yeah (.) Except for the English News (.) There is no any programmes that (.) there is no any programmes that broadcast (.) that (.) that is broadcast in Nepal in English language from Nepals (.) Yeah.

I: So it’s just ah (.) Overseas TV programmes you can receive here also (.)

T02: Yeah.

I: Ok. And (.) Ahm (.) What about the radio stations?

T02: Radio stations? Radio stations (.) There are a lot of radio stations in Kathmandu valleys (.) Yeah (.) Especially from frequency modulation, the FM ( )

( . ) and this then (.) the (housers) of these radio stations are quite new and they are (expressed) candidates and most of them speak English (.) Yeah (.) English ( . ) There is a combination of a language (.) Just like (.) They are speaking in Nepali and sometimes (.) Some words they even don’t know what is in Nepali ( . ) Yeah ( . ) and some programmes (.) Ah ( . ) Some programmes are fully in English.

I: Mhm ( . ) Ok. Very good. And what you ( . ) What do you prefer reading as newspaper?

T02: I prefer English because I want to improve my English vocabulary ( . ) English guided knowledge moreover ( . ) and Ah ( . ) I also read in Nepali but somehow if I go to the shop ( . ) Stationary and I have to buy a paper ( . ) Yeah ( . ) and I sometimes I don’t know what me but I buy English newspaper.

I: Ok ( . ) And if you read Nepali newspaper what would that be?

T02: Be?

I: Yes ( . ) What-

T02: Sports
I: sports newspaper? yeah? and you also read kantipur or something like that or (.)?

T02: kantipur (.) yes kantipur (.) i read kantipur (.) yeah (.) and other papers

I: ok. big reader hu (.)

T02: yeah (.)

I: ok. aahm (.) what do you think that your friends' habit is about that (.) about reading newspapers?

T02: friends?

I: your friends (.) yes (.) do they read nepali newspapers or also english newspapers

T02: most of them reads nepali newspaper (.) yeah

I: mhm (.) and also (.) and are there also newspapers for (.) ahm (.) i don't know (.) smaller scale languages or (.)?

T02: yeah (.) there are no newspapers for the indian languages (.) so far i know that from kathmandu (.) mhm (.) newspaper print in maithili (.) there is no newspaper in maithili is printed from kathmandu (.) yeah (.) but in nepali (.) in some (.) in newari (.) because newari is the native language of the kathmandu valley (0,5) so newari nepali and english (.) and maybe in hindi

I: yeah (.) ok. ok (.) do you watch nepali or english tv?

T02: i watch sports

I: both?

T02: yeah (.) both (0,5) sometimes i watch english movie (.) i like thems (.) yeah (.). especially i like (.) ah (.) arnold schwarzenberg films (.) rambo (.) ah

I: ok (.) yes (.)

T02: and i have watched just (.) ah (.) titanic (.) yeah (.) that's good (.) and some others films and that (.) especially when there is (.) and i watch fox history channel (.) and animal planet (.) and these are the things i watch.

I: and in nepali?

T02: in nepali (.) there is telefilms (.) ( ) i watch

I: mhm (.) they are mostly also broadcasted in hindi?

T02: in hindi. there is a hindi television but (.) yeah (.) the cable news and telefilms (.) communications (.) yeah (.) ( ) smaller (.) there are broadcasted some hindi telefilms (.) these are not broadcast from nepals (.) that are from india

I: from india (.)

T02: but peoples from nepal prefer hindi telefilms (.) and i preserve to say that i prefer to watch the (.) especially for full commentary (.) the hindi commentary (.) well (.) ( )

I: yeah (.) ok (.) good to know.

I: ok. then something about school as well (.) ahm (.) is the language of instructions here english or nepali?

T02: what? interview?

I: the language of instructions here at school (0,5)

T02: yeah (.) english (.) english (.)
I: yeah (.) ok (.) english. and (.) ahm (.) do you know the official rule about the language of instructions in nepal? is there a official rule about whether to use nepali or english?

T02: ahm (.) i think that in the government controlled schools they have to write in nepali but here in the private schools there is no kind of limitations about the use or to write in nepali (.) ( ) you can provide (.) you can provide any language

I: mhm (.) ok. ahm (.) so how many lessons of english as a subject do the kids have here at school?

T02: here (.) except nepali (.) everythings (.) ah (.)

I: except nepali (.) yeah

T02: except nepali (.) everythings is (.) every subject are in english language (.) and next things is (.) except german also (.)

I: yes (.) true (.) but i would know (.) wouldn’t i

I: ok (.) ahm (.) how (1) yeah well that already answers the question anyway (.)

I: ahm (.) do you think that the amount of lessons they have in english are appropriate?

T02: i think that they are appropriate for thems to know the english language because the school is designed according to their levels (.) yeah (.) in the nursery levels there are some only pictures and their names only and some in class 1 and 2 simple (.) very simple sentences (.) yeah (.) and as their level increases the difficulty also increases (.) yeah (.) i think that it’s very suitable for them

I: so you (.) do you think they should have more nepali or is it ok like it is?

T02: i think that one or two subjects should be in nepali in my opinion because i (.) think that they are living in nepal and most of our students they are even sometimes they don’t know nepali (.) they are weak in nepali (0,5) that’s why one or two more subjects should be in nepali (.) in nepali language

I: ok. ahm (.) how do you (.) how important do you think it is for the children to have english at school (.) especially when it comes to job opportunities?

T02: it is very important. peoples prefer (.) the employer (.) yeah (.) prefer (.). prefer the person when is well educated and can speak english (.) yeah (.) that’s why i think that (.) and nowadays every sector (.) in every sector english is in (area) (.) not only management english is needed (.) yeah (.) to keep the records (.) and this company everything’s in the english language so other can read it so that (.) i think that in this world it is very necessary to have english knowledge (.) some knowledge.

[...]

MP3 Player/ Conversation 3

Recording time: 13:15 min.
Person id: T03 age: 40+ sex: female langKnowledge: L1 nepali; english, hindi education: b.a. in educational science occupation: teacher school: triyog

373  < beg MP3 Player Conversation 3 - 00:00 min. >
374  [...]
375  T03: hindi language also (. ) mh (. ) only three languages
376  I: do you maybe also understand languages you don't speak or (. )
377  T03: hindi i speak little bit
378  I: and (. ) you said your last name is [name3] (. ) right?
379  T03: mine? [name3].
380  I: ah [name3] (. ) ok (. ) yes (. ) ok
381  T03: hindi because we see hindi more visually (. ) no (. ) so we understand and
382  sometimes only (. ) if there is some indian people then we speak sometimes a
383  bit (. ) few sentences (. ) just to communicate (. ) and nepali is my mother tongue
384  and english we have to speak at some place international language
385  I: mhmm (. ) ok (. ) good. that's it (. ) ok thank you
386  T03: that's why
387  [...]
388  I: so you just said that your mother tongue is nepali (. ) right? so your first
389  language
390  T03: right.
391  I: what do you think is your second language (0,5) what would you say?
392  T03: english
393  I: english? and do you have any third language or (1) would you put (. )
394  T03: no
395  I: ok (. ) ahm (. ) which languages do you use in your everyday life (0,5) usually
396  T03: oh (. ) nepali mostly because it's my mother tongue and with my family i
397  always talk in nepali (. ) and in class and in school i speak in english
398  I: ok (. ) good (. ) ahm (. ) yes you just said that you need english in your
399  everyday life (. ) how often do you need it (. ) you think?
400  T03: english?
401  I: yeah english
402  T03: everyday life
403  I: everyday (. ) everyday (. ) mhm (. )
404  T03: because i love to speak in english (. )
405  I: yes
406  T03: every day we learn more things (. ) no (. ) to sharpen my (. ) you know (. ) to
407  improve my language (. ) also we try to speak in english everyday (. ) we learn
408  many things day to day (. )
409  I: mhm (. ) ok (. ) ahm (. ) and how do you feel when you use english?
410  T03: (. ) it's pleasant (. )
411  I: yes? (. ) ok (. ) do you need (. ) ah (. ) english when you deal with official
412  matters (. ) concerning the government or the school
T03: ah (.) it's very important for us (.)
I: yes?
T03: yes
I: ahm (.) also when you (.) i don't know (.) when you have to do something in
town (.) when you go to the governmental offices (.) do you need english there
(.) or do you (0,5)
T03: ah (.) sometimes only that day (.)
I: but mostly nepali or (0,4)
T03: mh (.) mostly because most of the people speak in nepali in the
governmental offices (.) now in city (.) no (.) most of the people are well
educated (.) now they speak and communicate with us in english but in
villages and all (.) when we go out of the town (.) no (.) then we speak in nepali
I: ok (.) good (.) ahm (.) where or in which situation do you think english is
spoken in nepal? (.) with whom and (.) in which situations?
T03: (.) when i go to the high profile parties and when i meet the educated
people and in all (.) obviously the foreigners (.) no (.) with the foreigners we
need to speak in english (.) and school also (.) we need to speak in english with
the students because this is an english school so we encourage them to talk in
english only (.) that's why (.)
I: mh (.) thank you (.) ahm (.) how important do you think is english in your
country and why do you think (.)?
T03: because now most of the schools have opened and made that (.) english
medium school (.) no (.) so it is a must also because english is an international
language (.) so it is a must also (.) it is very necessary for the (.) for all the
people to speak in english (.) mh (.) next is (5) that's all ()
I: that's all (.) ok (.) ahm (.) next question (.) ah (.) do you think that english has
become less or more important over the last 10 years in nepal?
T03: more important
I: mh (.) and why do you think (.)?
T03: because to communicate everywhere (.) no (.) english language is very
important for the people (.) and this is the second language for everyone (.)
isn't it (.) that's why (.) and secondly (.) oh (.) for the new generation it is a
must
I: how important do you think the english language will be in the future (.) in
nepal?
T03: in future also (.) it will be very (.) equally important as now
I: mh (.) ok (.) thanks (.) then i will ask you some questions about the media if
that's possible (.)
T03: mh (.) with that (.) i try my best but (.)
I: it's not knowledge questions (.) it's just your habits (0,5) do you read english
newspapers?
T03: sometimes (.) if i get time because i'm a housewife also and a teacher also
(.) if i get time i prefer to read english newspaper only (.) if there is nepali also

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I never touch because I want to improve and all (.) that's why

I: and which English newspapers would that be?
T03: the Himalayan Times

I: mhm ok aahm do you also listen to radio?
T03: yes.

I: yes (.) only in Nepali or also in English?
T03: ahh (.) actually I don't have enough time to listen to the radio (.) only in the early in the morning (.) for the ( ) you know ( )
I: yes

T03: ( )

I: ok aahm and what about TV (.) do you watch TV?
T03: some (.) I watch TV especially I watch news only but otherwise I hate ( )
I: mhm (.) in Nepali or in English?
T03: Nepali usually ( .) if its ti- ( .) if I have time ( .) I go to English news
I: mhm ok ( .) good aahm what what do you think your friends' habits are? are they the same as you ( .) your friends? do they also read English newspapers or more Nepali or
T03: yes ( .) English newspapers and Nepali also equally
I: yes? mhm ( .) do they also watch TV? do you know anything?
T03: they watch TV if they get time and ( .) it's like ( .) it ( .) depends on individuals no
I: yes
T03: because I don't have enough time to sit and doo ( .) but if they have time they sit
I: yes mhm aahm ( .) then some questions about your school if that's possible
ahm is the language of instructions here English or Nepali?
T03: English
I: English
T03: yes
I: aahm ( .) do you know any official rule made by the government whether the English ( .) aah whether the English language should be the language of instructions (1) is there any official ruling? ( .) concerning this no?
T03: no
I: ok ( .) aahm how many lessons do the children have ah as an ( .) as English subject? you know not like English as instructions but English subject in itself (1) everyday
T03: English subject two subjects ( .) English one literature and language
I: oh ok
T03: and other subjects like science ( .) Mathematics ( .) everything they do in English
I: mhm ( .) very good ( 1) aahm ( 1) do you find the amount of lessons in English good or is it too less or
T03: it's good
I: it's good?
T03: it's good
I: mhm ok (.) aahm how important do you think it is for the children to learn
english at school (.) especially if you think about the job situation
T03: (2) this is too important for them (.) because now these days the english
(.) is spoken everywhere (.) so we have to encourage them to speak in english
I: mhm (.) and do you know anything concerning the job market? do they need
to speak english when they apply for a job?
T03: yes yes (.) whenever they ask for the application and all (.) i saw
sometimes i read the papers no
I: mhm
T03: free in english and free (ads) in writing skills also (.) they demanded no
I: mhm mhm is required
T03: required
I: ok (.) thank you (.) i think that's (.) mh pretty much everything i wanted to
ask you (.) do you want to add anything i didn't ask anything you think is really
important?
T03: no
I: no? ok
T03: thank you thank you
I: thank you for taking your time aand
T03: thank you for giving me this opportunity to talk
I: that's really nice (.) thank you also for taking the time
T03: and it was really nice meeting you
I: yes you too (.) thanks
T03: no
I: thank you thank you
T03: thank you thank you
I: thank you for taking your time aand
T03: thank you for giving me this opportunity to talk
I: that's really nice (.) thank you also for taking the time
T03: and it was really nice meeting you
I: yes you too (.) thanks
< end MP3 Player Conversation 3 - 13:15 min. >

MP3 Player/ Conversation 4
Recording time: 17:04 min.
Person id: T04 age: 20+ sex: female langKnowledge: L1 nepali; tamang, english, hindi,
sanskrit, german education: +2 and currently student of science at tu occupation:
teacher school: hhca

< beg MP3 Player Conversation 4 - 00:00 min. >
I: yes (.) you just put the languages where you think they are in your body ok?
T04: you mean like english nepali and all?
I: yes
T04: mhm (4) mhm
I: ok (.) finished? yes (.) ok (.) so you put english and nepali in your head
I: and tamang and hindi in your stomach (1) ok (.) do you know any german?
T04: (3) aahm
I: you don't know any german?
T04: only simple words
I: you can really put (.) yeah but you can also put this in ok (.) you can also put dialects in if you want (.) so different tones
T04: (4) mhm (.) i ( write)
I: what about sanskrit
T04: sanskrit i studied for one year only (2) sankrit (.) sanskrit

I: ok (.) so tamang is in your neck and sanskrit is in your tummy (1) ok (.) good
I: so this is the language portrait (.) why did you put nepali and english in your head?
T04: because i can speak them thoroughly
I: yes (0,5) and hindi and sanskrit in your stomach
T04: because i know them but never use them
I: ok (.) and tamang in your neck
T04: because i can speak some words but not all of it
I: ok (.) and german in your arm
T04: because i have only practiced but not spoken and not done anything (.) so i have only written ( )
I: ok (.) well thank you (.) i am going to keep that (1) aand know the question part (1) and it's gonna be simple questions (1,5) ok (.) soo what is your mother tongue
T04: (1,5) it's nep- (.) nepali
I: yeah? aand (.) so nepali is your first language and what would you consider your second language
T04: my second language tamang
I: tamang (.) aand your third language
T04: english
I: english (.) ok (.) aahm which languages do you use in your everyday life (.) usually
T04: it's always nepali
I: nepali (.) aand (.) maybe english also?
T04: only when i have to talk to the students or to the volunteers (.) then i use (.) otherwise (i don't think so)
I: ok (1) aahm (.) so you just explained to me in which situations you use english right? aahm (.) do you know whether you need english in official matters (.) when you go to the government and you have to do something (1) do you need english there?
T04: (3) i don't know (.) (actually) but (.) if we speak in english then (2) anything they will think we have more knowledge or something
I: ok

T04: they will give us both more (private) ( )
I: ok ( ) how do you feel when you use english
T04: now ( ) (i feel) confident but before joining this school (i no used to) speak in english so
I: ok ( ) aahm where or in which situations do you think english is spoken in nepal
T04: (3,5) iiin when we have to talk (1) the poeple (.) the the bosses from higher post (. ) we use english language (1) aand (1,5) when we are talking to the foreigners then we use it and when you are a teacher and you talking to the students we use it ( ) other (no)
I: ok ( ) aahm (1) how do you (.) how important do you think is english in your country (1) is it
T04: (2) i (do) think it is important
I. yeah
T04: because (2) we ( ) tourists coming in our country so we need it
I: yeah (0,5) aahm ( .) well i already asked that question anyway (.) if you needed it in official matters
[...]
I: do you think english has become less or more important in the last 10 years (.) in your country
T04: more
I: it stayed like this or ( .) it's more important or less important
T04: ( ) nowadays more important
I: more important ( .) why do you think?
T04: (3,5) because ahm (6) mh
I: you don't know? ok ( .) aahm (1) and how do you think how important will the english language be in the future ( .) for your country
T04: (5) i don't know i think it can be important because ( .) nowadays in every offices in every (gov-) we have to use english cause english has become most in aall the offices nowadays
I: mhm
T04: so i think (1)
I: mhm ( .) so especially in the job ah (1)
T04: the job (purpose) yes
I: ok ( .) good ( .) mmh so which newspapers do you know of in english (2) and in nepali
T04: himalayan times ( .) kathmandu post ( .) rising nepal ( .) young adult ( .) (1)
I: you mean (2)
T04: nepali also? ( .) i mean you mean nepali magazines or
I: nepali also ( .) yes nepali (1) you know more hindi or hindu newspapers or
T04: hindi (i know newspapers)
I: and what about nepali newspapers
T04: ( ) kantipur (.) ghorkha patra (.) samachar patra (.) annapurna post (2) ( )
yeah (.) newspapers
I: ok (.) and what about tv stations (.) are there any english tv stations in nepal
T04: (3) which ah (.)
I: which broadcast in english
T04: ( )
I: mh?
T04: in in from (.) we get the (2)
I: no not like from overseas but in in nepal
T04: no
I: no ok aand nepali you know? Nepali aah
T04: yes (3)
I: what nepali newsstations are there (.) or tv stations
T04: (2) kantipur
I: mhm
T04: image channel (.) image metro (.) ntv (.) ntv metro (1) sagarmatha (.)
channel nepal
I: mhm
T04: abc (.) ( ) news
I: wow a lot (.) aand what about radio stations? Do you listen to radio?
T04: only sometimes
I: ok (.) and if you listen to radio (.) what kind of tv stati- aah radio station do
you listen to?
T04: where there is music and (.) i never listen to news or something
I: ok
T04: ( )
I: ok (.) aahm what do you think your friends' habits are in in reading
newspapers watching tv or listening to radio? do they (.) watch nepali or
listen to nepali more or
T04: you mean my friends?
I: yes
T04: they listen to nepali music (.) nepali (only)
I: ok (.) aand newspapers (.) do they read (.) any newspapers?
T04: no
I: no? ok (.) aahm (.) yes about school then questions (.) the language of
instructions in your school is (.) english or nepali
T04: english
I: english (.) aahm do you know the official rule about the language of
instructions (.) so the language they use for every subject in nepal? (.) is there
any official rule?
T04: i don't know
I: you don't know (.) ok (.) aahm (1) how many lessons of english do the
667 children have at the school as a subject as a subject
668 T04: in our school it's only two i think
669 I: english itself
670 T04: in english
671 I: but the language of instructions is also english so it is more right? yeah
672 ok you think that the amount of lessons in english is ok or should it be
673 less or more?
674 T04: no it's ok there shouldn't be less or more it's fine
675 I: ok and why do you think so?
676 T04: cause because our students mmh they are not improving and
677 in the english language and if we use english less then they
678 won't learn anything
679 I: mhm
680 T04: and if we use english language more then they won't learn anything also
681 I: ok so you think it's important for them to know english
682 T04: mhm
683 I: ok aahm what do you think will the knowledge of
684 english or the proper knowledge of english will they will it improve their
685 job opportunities
686 T04: yes yes
687 I: aand because you said that in the offices you usually need english now
688 T04: yes
689 I: ok right i think we are in the oon the end already aand do you
690 want to add anything anything that is important to you which you
691 think you want to share
692 T04: in general?
693 I: yes in general. questions i didn't ask which you think are important
694 T04: you asked me everything
695 I: ok well then thank you for participating aand thank you and good bye
696 [...] 697 < end MP3 Player Conversation 4 - 17:04 min. >

MP3 Player/ Conversation 5

Recording time: 21:55 min.

Person id: T05 age: 30+ sex: male langKnowledge: L1 nepali; dzongkha, english, hindi
area: bhutan education: m.a. in english occupation: teacher school: hhca

698 < beg MP3 Player Conversation 5 - 00:00 min. >
699 [...] 700 T05: ok
701 I: yeah
702 T05: (this is all)
I: yeah (. ) ok soo can you explain to me why you put english (1) in the head
T05: yeah english is ah (1) head (1) nepali (.) let me start with nepali (1)
I: ok
T05: nepali is my mother language mother tongue and that i really respects
from (.) that i really respect from my heart
I: mhm
T05: so as not ( ) this language (.) yeah so i ( ) so therefore it's in my heart (.) i
wrote it in (.) the place where heart is situated (.) in my body
I: mhm
T05: and english is an international language and since it could be thee (.) how
to say (.) it's internat- (.) it's an international language and almost every
people speaks english
I: mhm
T05: and it's the (.) language for communication and the people living in
different parts of the world they understand each other with this language
and therefore i put it on my head
I: mhm
T05: dzonghka (.) is my country's language
I: mhm
T05: i'm from bhutan
I: mhm
T05: and to your (.) for your (.) this is the information for you (.) so nepal is not
my country
I: mhm
T05: i'm from bhutan and ahm this language is the national language of that
country (.)
I: mhm
T05: and i'm the one of the citizens of that country and therefore it's
somewhere near my heart (.) dzonghka
I: mhm
T05: and hindi (.) is my neighboring language (.) is the language of india and
which is our neighboring country
I: mhm
T05: and ( .) i could speak a little bit (.) a little of this language and i could
understand (.) almost (.) completely
I: mhm
T05: and that's why hindi is down somewhere in my stomach
I: mhm ok very good (.) thank you
T05: you're welcome
I: dzonghka ( .) mhm ( .) i didn't know about that ( .) can i keep it?
T05: yes yes
I: ok thank you
T05: it iss (.) you need to (give it a name) ( .) you may give it
I: yeah ( .) good ( .) so now to the question part
154

T05: yes
I: of my interview with you (.) so what would you say is your first language?

T05: my first language nepali
I: nepali
T05: yes
I: and your second language
T05: english
I: english
T05: yes
I: and third language
T05: third language hindi
I: hindi
T05: yes
I: mhmm ok and what would you (.). where would you put dzonghka?
T05: dzonghka (2) somewhere
I: between first and second
T05: between first (.) first and second (.) yeah
I: yeah (.) ok (.) good aahm (.) that's actually the second page (1) ok aahm (.) in
which situations do you (.). i mean which language do you use in your everyday
life (.) usually
T05: which language i use in my everyday life? i use nepali language
I: nepali? yeah?
T05: yes
I: aand in any other situations any other languages? or
T05: aah (.) i don't have ah my mother tongue is also my mother language is
also nepali because i'm not from ethnic group (.) soo like most of the people
rais limbus tamangs they have their mother language but i do not have this is
my (.) they have another they have another language it's (also called) (.) this is
my language i use most oftenly
I: mhmm
T05: yeah (.) in almost every situations
I: mhmm (.) aand with your friends also you use nepali?
T05: with my friends i also use nepali
I: mhmm (.) aand during (.) when you when you ahm in your job you use nepali
as well most of the time
T05: yeah (.) most of the time yeah in (.) in so i have to talk (.) so this is my job
yeah (.) here in this institute (.) so here also and with my friends also most of
the time i use nepali i need to be honest yeah
I: yeah ok
T05: and other times (.). offices and other areas (.). aah with foreigners
I: mhmm
T05: with volunteers yeah i (.). i use english language
I: mhmm (.) ok good (0,5) aahm (1) do you need english when you're dealing
with official matters (.). for example when you go to the government and have
some business to do (.) do you need english there?
T05: of course not (.) of course not (.) ahh as far as i’m concerned ahh i did my masters degree from tu yeah so i had been there for submitting my fees and for other purposes also and the workers officers who are working there
I: mhm
T05: ahh used nepali language only yeah
I: mhm ok good (.) aahm how do you feel when you use english?
T05: (3) it’s not completely relaxing because (.) since it’s not my mother language mother tongue also say (.) so sometimes i find it quite difficult to express my complete feelings (.) opinions in english
I: mhm
T05: and in nepali i could (.) i don’t have (.) i do have no doubts i do have no (.) how to sayy (.) that’s not (.) iin iin english it’s definitely ahh (.) for non speakers
I: mhm
T05: (.) yeah (.) for non speakers ahm non english people it would be difficult
I: mhm
T05: as far as i’m concerned to express their feelings completely
I: mhm
T05: in black and white ink
I: mh
T05: (.) in black and white ink
I: mhm (.) ok thanks (.) aahm in which situations do you think english is spoken mostly in nepal?
T05: (2) situationss
I: with which people and
T05: i think with when (.) you have to deal with foreigners yeah (.) tourists (.) aah poeples from other countries not only from aah europe or america (.) aah but also the people from south asian countries when they come here when they are here when we have to aahm deal with them (.) when we have to (.) say something ah and ah give them information
I: mhm
T05: yeah (.) so when we are dealing with the foreigners (.) we have to use english
I: mhm
T05: we don’t have other alternatives and ah also (.) in the (.) embassies yeah
I: mhm
T05: foreign embassies
I: mhm
T05: and ah schools and colleges also (.)
I: mhm
T05: most of the private schools
I: mhm
T05: it is not practiced in our school (.) practicing (.) it’s not that ahh applicable in our school because our (.) we acknowledge because we are trying for the that also but in most of the private schools
I: mhm
T05: it’s rules and teachers and students they use this Eng-language

I: mhm

T05: mostly

I: mhm, ok, how important do you think English is in your
country?

T05: it’s very important because you know our country is not that developed

I: mhm

T05: and is in the process of developing in a developing stage

I: mhm

T05: so we need the help from people from outside abroad

I: mhm

T05: like especially people from European countries

I: mhm

T05: they are developed and they have mind yeah and they
must be with us to help us

I: mhm

T05: and our mission to be progressed

I: mhm

T05: so it’s very important and in our country in this context because
our country is underdeveloped

I: mhm

T05: in a developing stage so we need the help from the foreigners

I: mhm

T05: especially from America and Europe

I: mhm

T05: cause they are from a developed country

I: mhm

T05: and they have developed ideas skills and technologies and we must
get help from these people in this context I think English is very
important

I: mhm

T05: and I already said that English is an international language

I: yeah

T05: so it’s only the means of communication and we understand each other
through English only

I: mhm

T05: other languages is very difficult

I: mhm

T05: when I speak Nepali you will stay quiet and when you speak German
(,) I’ll have to stay quiet

I: true

T05: so we don’t have any communication
I: mhm

T05: yeah

I: very good (.) aahm do you know aahm of any official rule concerning the
usage of english in the government?

T05: official rule?

I: yes (.) is there any official ruling that the government should use english or
(.) is there not

T05: ahhm (.) i'm not sure ahhm

I: yeah

T05: because i already told you that i'm not from nepal

I: yes

T05: i'm not (.) i don't have nepalese citizenship and i don't have to go the (.)
office or offices for making my (citizenship) for the (works) or i don't know

I: mhm ok (.) no problem (.) aahm do you think that english has become less
or more important over the last 10 years in nepal

T05: (1) last 10 years in nepal

I: mhm

T05: mhm (2) i think it's getting more impor- it's getting (.) mhm important

I: mhm

T05: in last 10 years because you know (.) people (.) everybody almost every
poeple (.) is so in the craze towards english no (.) and so ahhm (.) how should
i say (.) ahhm (2) anyway poeple ya it's ah (3) i do have no right answer yeah
(.) what should i say?

I: there is no right or wrong answer (.) take your time

T05: mhm (.) i don't think ah poeple can (.) ever watch the nepali general tv
yeah and other medias (.) you would hear the journalist or the host anchor ( )
ah even nepali (.) they’re running nepali program but they do speak nepali ah
english language (.) they prefer they use english language and so (.) from this
area so we can say even a single every child is ah so in the craze towards
english yeah

I: yeah (.) mhm

T05: from this i can say that english is in more use in our country in the last
ten years

I: mhm (.) and what do you think the trend will be in the future?

T05: s trend?

I: the trend yeah (.) where do you think it will lead (.) you think it will lead to
more english or will it stay approximately the same or is it hoing to be less
english in your country

T05: in nepal (.) i think ahh this trend will be more in next ten years i think

I: mhm (.) in which fields do you think?

T05: in educational fields

I: mhm

T05: aand (1) in other fields also

I: mhm ok (.) aahm now bout questions about the media (.) you've already
said something now (.). aahm do you read english newspapers and magazines?
T05: (1) yes (.). cause every in the-
I: yes (.). and which?
T05: the himalayan times (.). and ah i (.). i (.). am habituated in listening to bbc
also
I: mhm
T05: news (on) bbc (.). so (.). and sometimes i even ahh read sports (.). sports (.)
also
I: mhm
T05: that's not nepali that's an indian newspaper
I: mhm
T05: so sometimes (.). that's not always available here (.). here in my locality
but when i (.). on this (.). on the way when i'm in the (.). on the street going
I: mhm
T05: (out go) (.). and that i when i find this ah paper this newspaper also i just
(.). i just go through
I: mhm
T05: so (.)
I: mhm ok (.). and what about tv (.). do you watch ah english tv?
T05: english tv (1) not ss (.). sometimes
I: mhm
T05: not always (.). not always (.). yes (.). aand sometimes ii used to watch ahh
animal planet aand ah (.)
I: mhm
T05: fox crime and fox history
I: mhm
T05: ehh (.). this channel mmh broadcasts history yeah
I: mhm
T05: and ah informative of course and therefore (.). i used to watch these
channels
I: mhm
T05: sometimes (.). not always
I: mhm (.). and what about radio stations? do you listen to radio (.). and if (.)
T05: radio (.). yes i do ahh
I: only in nepali or (.). also english
T05: ahh i used to listen to news especially
I: mhm
T05: so (.). i already told you that i sometimes i used to listen to bbc aand ah
I: mhm
T05: and ahh other times i used to listen to nepali news
I: mhm (.). ok. ahh (.). do you know about the habits of your friends? do they
also read ah english or only nepali and do they listen to (.). english radio or
nepali
T05: tttoday (.). tttoday?
I: yeah
T05: today no (.) i haven’t listened to the news (.) yeah (.) i didn’t have radio
with me
I: aha (.) ok
T05: so i don’t listen to the news (.) and in the morning (.) in the morning i
have listened to the nepalese (.) nepali news
I: mhm
T05: because these days the situation (is) nepal is not that good
I: mhm
T05: so at any time (.) it can be called for bhandi {strike} you know
I: mhm
T05: so i must be used to familiar with the news yeah
I: mhm
T05: so today (.) in the morning i listened to (.) i i have listened to nepalese
news
I: mhm
T05: (yeah the news)
I: and do you know about ah what your friends do? (.) do they (1) your your
friends (.) do they listen
T05: my friends?
I: yes (.) do they read english newspapers or
T05: yeah yeah (.) i (thought) that they are going through the english
newspapers also
I: mhm
T05: in our school there are the (. ) daily himalayan times es ( )
I: yeah
T05: aand most of our friends they ah they go through this newspaper and i
too
I: mhm (.) good (.) aahm now it’s questions about school (.) the language of
instructions in your school (.) is it english our nepali? (1) well sub- (.) in which
language are the subjects held
T05: instruction ahh english
I: english
T05: yes
I: what about-
T05: english and sometimes nepali also (.) if ah when the (.) ahh when the
speaker finds that the instruction is not conveyed
I: mhm
T05: to his (friends) and then nepali (.)
I: is used
T05: yeah (.) in the alternate (.) yeah
I: mhm (.) aahm do you know about any official ruling concerning ah the
language of instructions because here it is english right? but the government
give you a rule whether you should use english
1011 T05: no
1012 I: or nepali?
1013 T05: no no
1014 I: no
1015 T05: that rule is not there from the government
1016 I: ok (. ) good. aahm how many lessons do the children have in english during
1017 the day (. ) do you know?
1018 T05: in this school?
1019 I: yeah
1020 T05: ahh (. ) i think except nepali and german all the lessons are in english
1021 I: all in english
1022 T05: as far as i'm concerned yes (. ) english and nepa- german and nepa- how
1023 many (. ) i think german we have two ( ) per week and nepalii i think four or
1024 three lessons all together six (lessons are room per week) for nepali
1025 and other (. ) other lessons all in english
1026 I: mhm
1027 T05: in my school
1028 I: mhm (. ) aahm do you think that the amount of lessons in english is
1029 appropriate? or is it too less or too much or (. ) what do you think?
1030 T05: (3) it's appropriate
1031 I: yes?
1032 T05: i think yeah
1033 I: so there should not be more nepali or something?
1034 T05: yes
1035 I: ok (. ) good aahm how important do you think ahh english is for especially for
1036 the children concerning the job market?
1037 T05: this is very very important (. ) ah for the children to have ( ) ( ) they
1038 should be fluent speaker (. ) in english and and whenever a advertisement is
1039 done for any jobs yeah (. ) soo especially the fluent speaker in english is
1040 preferred (. ) so (first in jobs) in any institute english is very very important (. )
1041 I: mhm
1042 T05: yeah (. ) and therefore english is very very important
1043 I: mhm (. ) ok
1044 T05: yes
1045 I: i think this was ahhm- (. ) this was my last question actually (. ) do you want to
1046 add anything (. ) anything i didn't ask you but you find really important to say?
1047 T05: (4) no (. ) nothing
1048 I: nothing? well (. ) i thank you for taking the time and participating
1049 T05: thank you
1050 I: thanks
1051 < end MP3 Player Conversation 5 - 21:55 min. >
Recording time: 25:15 min.
Person id: T06 age: 30+ sex: male knowledge: L1 rai; nepali, english, hindi area: solu khumbu education: b.bs. in management occupation: teacher school: hhca

1052  < beg MP3 Player Conversation 6 - 00:00 min. >
1053  [...]
1054  I: and english (. ) why did you put english in your heart?
1055  T06: english (. ) ah english is international language (. ) soo mhh (3) yeah you
1056  know (. ) as you know english international language that's why every (. ) every
1057  peope of nepal and all over the world (. ) i think english ah everyone mhh (. )
1058  it's it's considered in nepal english language is necessary
1059  I: mhm
1060  T05: in every (. ) in our car- (. ) course (. )
1061  I: mhm
1062  T06: english is also (. ) compulsory english
1063  I: mhm
1064  T056: mhh mhh (. ) also nepal (. ) nepal (common) also (. ) design course is ah is
1065  english language compulsory
1066  I: mhm
1067  T06: from the- (. ) primary level in school
1068  I: mhm
1069  T06: because (2) it is essential for to get job or to get quality life or to get
1070  what to what to get job ( ) english language is compulsory
1071  I: mhm
1072  T06: that's why ah it (depends) i just i put (mouth) in english it is necessary to
1073  ah (. ) what to say
1074  I: to speak
1075  T06: to speak in english
1076  I: yeah
1077  T06: and it is (1) we consider without english there is noo (2) no way to get job
1078  I:mhm
1079  T06: and that's why i put there
1080  I: mhm
1081  T06: aand (. ) ok
1082  I: yeah (. ) aand what about thee
1083  T06: and this- my mother language (. )
1084  I: yeah
1085  T06: my mother tongue (. ) my my mother language (. ) rai language (. ) because
1086  i just put on my heart
1087  I: yes
1088  T06: ah soo (1) always i put myy (. ) ii (1) i don't speak in other (complex area)
1089  in ah in this language (. ) rai language
I: mhm
T06: but i put i i always think my mother is
I: yeah (.) yeah
T06: mother is ah
I: aha (.) and nepali?
T06: aand nepali language (.) aha to stomache (.) i put in stomache (.) soo just
ahh (.) i (.) it's not ah especial reason
I: yeah (.) ok (.) ok
T06: ok
I: good (.) thank you for the explanation (.) may i keep this?
T06: yes yes
I: thank you. ok (.) and now to the questions part of our little interview
T06: yeah
I: aahm (.) at first you said that your mother tongue is rai language (.) right?
T06: yes
I: so what would you consider your second language then
T06: nepali ()
I: nepali (.) and your third language?
T06: english
I: english (.) aand hindi? where would you also (.) would you put it-
T06: just in the-
I: fourth language or just ah
T06: yeah (.) just say fourth language
I: ok
T06: fourth language
I: good aahm and which languages do you use in your everyday life usually
T06: nepali
I: nepali?
T06: nepali language because ah (.) i'm aalone here
I: mhm
T06: and without my family i can't use my mother tongue
I: mhm
T06: that's why (.) if i i meet my relatives so the the u- usually (.) they they
don't speak (1) i don't speak to other relatives also (.) and from the rai caste
I: mhm
T06: we like with principal [name7] we also (.) sometime we use our rai
language (.)
I: mhm
T06: otherwise (1,5) usually we use the nepali language
I: nepali (.) ok (.) and with your friends (.) what do you use with your friends?
T06: nepali language
I: also nepali
T06: yes
I: mhm (.) aand in your job you have to use
T06: yeah
I: in your job you (.) you use nepali and
T06: nepali as well as english
I: english (.) ok. aahm do you need ahm english when you're dealing with
official matters (.) for example when you go to the government and you have to
do things there (.) do you need english there?
T06: no no (.) just nepali language
I: no (.) good. aahm and how do you feel when you use english?
T06: (2) aahm (.) it is a little bit difficult (.) it (will) get (a bit) difficult
I: mhm
T06: because wee ah don't use everyday life (.) we don't speak english
I: mhm
T06: that's why it's ahh get to speak difficult
I: mhm
T06: really difficult (.) not so easy (.) because of (.) the reason is why wee (.)
everyday our everyday life we use nepali language
I: mhm
T06: that's why it's a bit difficult
I: ok (.) aahm in which situations do you think ahh english is needed in nepal
or english is spoken in nepal?
T06: (1) oohm this this is ah (.) how to say (.) what to say (.) this is (.) in my
opinion (.) is ah when when nepal is now an underdeveloped country
I: mhm
T06: iis poor country (.) (said) poor country
I: mhm
T06: that's why (1) 'til nepal (2) developed as other say european countries
I: mhm
T06: we we it is needed language (.) english language needed i think yes
I: mhm (.) so especially in which situations do you think (.) you said it's a
developm- a developing country (.)
T06: 'til developed (.) it's it's only nepal (.) 'til nepal has become developed
country
I: mhm
T06: i think it's necessary to (learn the language)
I: mhm ok (.) and after that? you think it's- it'll also be necessary or not
anymore?
T06: not so necessary i think (.) because if it's it's own everything nepali
I: mhm
T06: has developed their own in in in ( ) instructor
I: mhm
T06: ahh (expected fields) aand in other (where i don't think) is nepali also is
( .) yeah
I: mhm (.) ok (.) aahm how important do you think english is in your country
then? now
T06: (2) it's important (1) i think it's im-important (1) because aahm there are
so many reason (.) first first i-i what i guess is first reason is ne-nepali english is important because is nepali is depend on tourism

I: mhm

T06: tourism ah sector

I: mhm

T06: ah t-tourism ( ) that's why ah english ( ) some some people speak english then they get job or if english being international language

I: mhm

T06: we have to speak language ( ) aand it's medium english

I: mhm

T06: medium's english ( ) that's why it's important

I: mhm ( ) ok ( ) thank you. aahm do you know any official ruling about the english usage in the government? do they have to use english in government?

I: mhm

T06: no ( ) no no no no

I: just-

T06: no

I: ok ( ) so if they file any documents ( ) do they all have to be in nepali?

T06: aahm ( ) actually nepali ne-ne- ( ) in administr- administration ne-nepali used but in o-o-officially (1) like say in ah ( ) embassy

I: mhm

T06: in all official like in embassy ( ) they use english

I: english ( ) mhm ( ) ok

T06: english

I: mhm ( ) ok ( ) thanks. aahm ( ) now ( ) do you think that english has become less or more important over the last ten years in nepal

T06: it is more- it is more important i think english ( ) more important

I: mhm ( ) and why do you think?

T06: ah because ehh (1) i-i already told you that

I: yeah yeah

T06: it is the the ahh ahh said toursim is tourism sector

I: yeah

T06: in nepal depend on tourism sector

I: mhm

T06: that's why is nepal is ah only the income source

I: mhm

T06: to get ah foreign currency

I: mhm

to receive foreign currency ahh nepal has no other resources i think think ah the main resources tourism tourism sector ( ) so to developed tourism sector english is important ( ) more and more important

I: mhm ( ) mhm ( ) so also you think in the future it will it will be more important (1) or less or same important as now or

T06: i-i can't say now because in future i already told you is nepali the only (1) developed
I: mhm (.) yeah
T06: it will be developed and nepali language also we can
I: mhm
T06: we can do i think
I: mhm (.) good. now i want to ask you some questions about the media (.) do you read english newspapers and magazines and if yes (.) which
T06: yes i read himalayan time
I: mhm
T06: aand and sometimes kathmandu post
I: mhm
T06: it is a daily newspaper and himalayan times is a daily newspaper
I: mhm
T06: aand everyday it is available here in our office in our school
I: mhm
T06: kathmandu post (.) i read kathmandu post
I: mhm
T06: it is also a daily newspaper
I: and also magazines (.) or just newspaper?
T06: newspaper
I: mhm. and do you watch tv programs (.) in english (.) aand
T06: mhm (.) sometime
I: mhm (.) and which?
T06: aahm (.) i (.) just i watch some (1) cns-cnn news
I: mhm
T06: aand bbc news
I: bbc news
T06: aand yeah
I: ok. and what about radio stations? you mentioned earlier that you listen to music a lot ahhm
T06: yeah (.) t-there are not so many radios in nepal no (.) i-i (.) usually i listen aahm kantipur (.) kantipur news you know in kathmandu
I: mhm
T06: kantipurs kathmandu's a old name is kantipur
I: mhm (.) yeah
T06: and you know kantipur fm
I: mhm
T06: this is called kantipur fm ( ) and now there is ah image ahh image fm i listen to for music
I: mhm
T06: for (international) music and news and it's updated always gives update news
I: mhm (.) is the news also in english or just in nepali
T06: aahm (.9 just in nepali
I: mhm (.) ok (.) good. aahm what do you think your friend's habits are in-
concerning reading newspapers? do they also read- only in nepali newspapers
or do they also read in english newspapers
T06: sorry i-i
I: your friends (.) you think they read english newspapers as well?
T06: friends
I: yeah fr- your friends
T06: (3) actually they (.) my friend is reads nepali news- newspaper sometime
(.) and rest i don’t know
I: mhm (.). ok. aahm (.). now (.). a few questions about the school (.). so the
language of instructions ah (.). is it english or nepali at your school?
T06: this actually ne- english
I: mhm
T06: but it’s not practice (.). it’s not in practice
I: yes
T06: here’s nepali and both nepali and english but we have too aahm (1)
english we have to use (.). we have to use english but not is in practice so
I: ok. aahm (.). do you know of any official rule from the government conerning
the usage of english as an instruction- as a language of instruction (.). is there
any rule whether you should use english or nepali as instructions (.). as a
language of instructions?
T06: ahh as a government official- officially or what do you mean to say?
I: yeah officially (.). do you know of any?
T06: actually no (.). i don’t know any offi- i don’t so (.). it’s ah not ahh (.). you
mean speak english
I: yeah
T06: in government
I: yeah yeah (.). no i mean in at school (.). the language of instructions (.). is
T06: in school (.). in school
I: yes (.). do you think that there is any offic-
T06: not governmental school (.). only private school (.). private like like this
school (.). they they they do the compulsory english
I: mhm
T06: they they in other schools private schools they they write in school
premises english (.). speaking (.)
I: only yeah
T06: yeah then only every teacher (.). every student (.). at any- at any cost (.)
they have to use english (.). they have to speak in english (.). no matter how (.)
how can (.). how can they (.). either correct or not but they have to speak
I: mhm
T06: because aand if the student or teacher are not ahh what to say (.). not
obey the rule (.). then they’re punished
I: oh
T06: they punish like ahh (.). they punish aand they punish physically
I: mhm
T06: to the students
I: mhm
T06: physical punishment
I: mhm
T06: or some school i think i heard but i'm not sure i heard (.) theyy what to say (.) theyy ransome (.) you know ransome? they they (.) if
the student
I: yeah
T06: charge money
I: mhm
T06: like once (.) if one student or one teacher (.) if one employer
use only speak (.) they they have to speak english but they nepali (.) if they use
nepali (.) then they some five rupees
I: ok
T06: like three times ten rupees (.) then the the this (pun) goes to school
officer (.) something like that
I: mhm (.) ok (.) and
T06: in our school (.) it is (.) we can't do we can't do (.) we cannot because of so
many reasons (.) i think you know
I: yeah (.) mhm
T06: that is why here it is ah hard to (1) it is a bit difficult to ( ) to make english
compulsory
I: mhm
T06: or german language to be compulsory (.) it is that i think it is our ()
I: mhm (.) yeah (.) and in governmental schools it's different?
T06: government schools it's different (.) government schools there is no
compulsory like if (.) if we do if (there one they do they one they)
governmental school
I: mhm
T06: but there only the private schools who (have run) it privately
I: mhm (.) did you go to a governmental school or to a private school?
T06: yes (.) before joining this project (.) i have work ()
I: mhm
T06: three four years (.) in ( ) elementary school
I: aha ok (.) that's why you know
T06: yeah
I: so how many lessons do the kids here have english as a subject (.) not as
medium of instructions but as a subject itself (.) english
T06: lesson?
I: yes
T06: lesson all-
I: per day
T06: beside nepali course (.) nepali books
I: mhm
T06: we are all in English
I: all in English
T06: but ah well you are teacher you teach them (.) as well me i also teach
them english (.) mathematics in English
I: mhm (.) yeah
T06: but i use nepali and ah both English
I: yeah (.) yeah
T06: nepali lang- English both
I: mhm (.) ok (.) good. aahm do you think that the amount of lessons in English
are appropriate or should there be less or more (.) or is it ok like it is
T06: (2) sorry the-
I: the ahm the
T06: English period (.) you mean English lesson (.) or
I: yes (.) i think (.) all in all the lessons yeah (.) are all held in English you said
T06: yeah yeah
I: you think it is ahh good that they are all in English (.) is it ok like it is or
should there be less English (.) or more English or what do you think
T06: well (.) it's ok because this this ah this we have been this ah (1) using this
ah English lesson as for our government rule so
I: mhm
T06: we have to obey (.) we have to follow the government (.) that's why
I: and for private schools the government says it should be English
T06: yeah
I: ok. aahm (2) yes (.) how important do you think it is for the children to learn
English (.) especially when it comes to the job market
T06: yeah it's important
I: mhm
T06: it is is important to learn English because every (2) now in in context of
nepal (.) now to to (1) to to get job in English is compulsory i think
I: mhm (.) yeah
T06: that's why i think so
[...]
< end MP3 Player Conversation 6 - 25:25 min. >

MP3 Player/ Conversation 7

Recording time: 19:23 min.

Person id: T07 age: 30+ sex: male langKnowledge: L1 rai thulung; nepali, english, hindi
area: solu khumbu education: b.bs. in management occupation: principal school: hhca

T07: i like English language very much so i want to keep it in my mind (.) yeah

< beg MP3 Player Conversation 7 - 00:00 min. >
[...]
T07: i like English language very much so i want to keep it in my mind (.) yeah
I: yes

T07: this is nepali and my mother language (30) mother language

( ) i’m not good

[...]

I: you finished? good. so why did you put english in your head?

T07: ahh (1,5) i like english very much ( ) and (1) this is (1) very very important for me

I: mhm

T07: i want to use it ( ) i want to ( ) with it ( ) so

I: mhm ( ) and why did you ( ) what is it? what language is it? the mother language?

T07: nepali and mother language

I: what is the mother language?

T07: i’m rai ( ) thulung rai

I: mhm ( ) yeah

T07: i speak my language very well

I: mhm

T07: aand ah (1) nepali and my mother languages ( . ) are equally important for me ( . ) aand i can write ah i can read ( . ) i can speak very well

I: mhm

T07: so ( . )

I: mhm ( . ) ok ( . ) so it is ahh in your stomache region ( . ) or where is it?

T07: so this is center

I: yes center ok

T07: aand this is mind ( . ) also another cen- ahm important center

I: mhm

T07: and german ( . ) mhh i know few words and i can write them

I: mhm

T07: so ( . )

I: ok ( . ) very good. can i keep this?

T07: yes yes

I: thank you (2) good ( . ) aand now to the questions part ( . ) ok ( . ) so the first questions i’m asking ( . ) well ( . ) you’ve already explained to me anyway that your mother tongue is ahh ( . )

T07: rai thulung

I: thulung ( . ) mhm ( . ) and your second language is is nepali

T07: nepali

I: nepali ( . ) mhm ( . ) and your third?

T07: ( . ) ahh english

I: english ( . ) ok good. ahh ( . ) which languages do you use in your everyday life?

T07: (2) mhh i mostly work in ( . ) i mostly stay in the school ( . ) during official o-official hour
T07: i use english
I: mhm
T07: aand ah nepali
I: nepali (.) mhm ok (.) aahm (.) so in which situations do you think you use
english most (2) during the day
T07: during the daytime yes
I: yeah (.) and and you said here in the office and somewhere else also or just
here in the office?
T07: (1) only in the office (.) yes
I: mhm
T07: somewhere else i use nepali language or my mother language yeah
I: ok (.) ahm (.) so (.) ah where do you use your mother tongue then (.) with
whom (.) you use your mother tongue?
T07: in my room
I: mhm (.) with your friends (.) or
T07: yes my brothers
I: mhm
T07: my sisters (1) and other relatives also
I: mhm (.) ok. do you need english when you're dealing with official matters (.)
for example when you're dealing with governmental matters or something
T07: no (1) it's not (.) it's not necessary
I: ok (1) only
T07: we only have to use nepali language there
I: mhm (.) ok. ahm how do you feel when you use english
T07: ahh (.) i like to use english language because i like it
I: mhm
T07: from my (2) childhood
I: mhm
T07: i like it (1) but i find it (1) difficult day by day (.) time by time (.) there are
many difficult words (.) that i cannot understand (.) though i (solve) them
I: yeah (.) i can understand (.) aahm (.) where or in which situations do you
think that english is spoken in nepal?
T07: mostly with tourists
I: mhm
T07: in tourism it is mostly used and iin private schools (.) english is used
mostly (.) most
I: ok (.) aand how important do you think is the english language for your
country?
T07: (3) it is very very important because english is spoken all over the world
(1) aahm it iss necesarry (1) foor regular communication
I: mhm
T07: if i don't know other languages and i know english language then i can
communicate with other people (.) foreigners (1) so it is very very important
(1) and in nepal tourism is the main mhh source of income
I: mhm
T07: ahh aand eh in (.) the trade (.) that is related to tourism people must know many languages (.) and english is most because english i- english covers very big area i think
I: mhm (.) right (.) ok ahhm do you know any official ruling about the usage of english in the government? do they have to use english or is it just nepali or (.)
T07: with tourists (1) government ahh personnel also (.) they use english
I: mhm
t07: otherwise our official language is nepali
I: mhm (.) ok (.) so they don't have to release the papers (.)
T07: they must not (.) yes yes (.) no
I: ok (.) good (.) ahh theen (.) do you think that the english language has come b-become more or less important in( the last ten years (.) in nepal?
T07: yes (.) its importance is increasing day by day
I: mhm (.) ok (.) aand what do you think the role of english will be in the future in nepal?
T07: it will be mhm more important (.) in future because toursim will grow a lot
I: mhm
T07: they cannot (.) people who are involved in tourism (.) they cannot write in english
I: mhm
T07: but they can understand (.) they can speack ahh (.) if they cannot speak in english ahh (.) if they cannot understand english (.) they cannot be involved in tourism
I: mhm
T07: other languages are also equally important but english is very very important
I: mhm
T07: it is already spoken (.) it is already known (.) understood (.) so english is more important
I: ok (.) ahh some questions about the media now (.) ahhm do you read newspapers and magazines in english?
T07: yes
I: yes (.) and which
T07: ahh in the school (.) himalayan- the himalayan times and i like kathmandu post also
I: mhm
T07: aand some (.) not only newspapers (.) but also magazines
I: mhm
T07: they publish weekly and bi-weekly (.) or monthly
I: mhm
T07: i read them also (.) i like them
I: mhm (.) ok (.) aahm what about tv programs (.) do you watch more nepali
or do you watch at all (.) or english also
T07: mhh (.) i watch some nepali (serials) also and ah i watch discovery (.)
geographic channel (.) animal planet
I: mhm
T07: aand sometimes i watch bbc (1) channel also
I: mhm (.) and what about radio stations? do you listen to radio too (.) nepali
or english if you (.) listen to
T07: ahh some news (.) ahh (.) i listen to (1) nepali stations also
I: mhm
T07: ahh i like bbc
I: ok
T07: yeah
I: good (.) aahm (.) do you know about your friends' habits concerning
newspapers? do they read english or nepali more or (.) what do you think
T07: mhh (3) there are sometimes there are hard words (.) in newspaper
I: mhm
T07: if there is a hard word it it ahh mhh (1) let's say breaks every situation
there (.) so (1) it iss difficult to read english newspaper (.) it is difficult for all
I: mhm
T07: one should have dictionary there (.) it is not available here (.) so they
mostly use nepali newspapers and magazines
I: mhm
T07: very few use english newspapers and magazines here
I: ok (.) good (.) ahhm do you know what the official rule is concerning the
english language (.) is there a official rule concerning the english language in
the media you think
T07: it is not (.) it is not compulsory
I: mhm
T07: but in the education sector (1) it is growing use of english (.) importance
of english
I: mhm
T07: are increasing (.) day by day
I: mhm
T07: we were we were we used to learn english from class four (.) now mhh
(1) it is from class one
I: mhm
T07: even in the governmental schools also
I: mhm (.) ok (.) yes (.) so the language of instructions in your school iis (.)
english?
T07: (1) in my school means (.) here
I: yeah
T07: aah (.) the background of our students is not so strong
I: mhm
T07: (2) ah some of them start going school here from upper classes
I: mhm
T07: they do not have good English background
I: mhm
T07: soo we have to use fifty fifty (. ) Nepali also and English language also
I: mhm (. ) ok. aahm do you know ahh about any official rulings concerning
the language of instructions (. ) the language of instructions just means that
other subjects are also held in this language (. ) ahhm is there any official
ruling (. ) ah from the government that says you should use Nepali or you
should use English or so
T07: no (. ) no. Use of English in private schools are because of the effort of mh
(2) private sector
I: mhm
T07: it is not done by the government
I: mhm (. ) ok. good (. ) aahm how many lessons of English as a subject on
itself do the children have in Himalayan helpless child academy
T07: in our school (. ) ahh (. ) except Nepali subject (. ) all subjects are taught in
English
I: mhm (1) aand English especially (. ) just the language English
T07: ahh (. ) two subjects
I: mhm
T07: one (. ) general English and other grammar (. ) English grammar
I: mhm (1) ok (. ) ahhm (. ) and do you find the amount of lessons od English
appropriate or not (. ) should it be more or less in your school or is it ok like it
is?
T07: (3) mhh about seven to ten subjects are taught in English (. ) so it is
sufficient now
I: ok (. ) good (. ) ahhm (. ) how do you think (. ) how important do you think it is
for the children to learn English
T07: all the languages are equally important (. ) but the importance of English
iss (1) more than other languages
I: mhm
T07: so (. ) the students
I: do you also-
T07: yes students have to be taught in English
I: mhm
T07: along with other languages also
I: so do you think especially concerning job opportunities (. ) it will- (. ) will they
need English a lot or what do you think
T07: yes (. ) if one has (. ) better English (. ) they can have job easily
I: mhm
T07: this iss one of the important components
[...]
< end MP3 Player Conversation 7 - 19:23 min. >
MP3 Player/ Conversation 8

Recording time: 14:10 min.

Person id: T08 age: 40+ sex: female langKnowledge: L1 nepali; english, hindi area: kathmandu education: slc from st. mary’s occupation: kindergarden teacher school: triyog

1609 < beg MP3 Player Conversation 8 - 14:10 min. >
1610 [...]
1611 T08: most of the time i talk in nepali
1612 I: mhm
1613 T08: though in school only i (. ) i sometimes talk in english with my kids also
1614 I: mhm
1615 T08: but most of the time i talk in nepali (. ) so i put nepali here (. ) in my head
1616 I: yes
1617 T08: there
1618 I: other languages also?
1619 T08: also. english also (. ) and after that (. ) eng-eng-engli- (. ) i also talk in
1620 english also (1) and i can put another language also?
1621 I: yes (. ) whatever you like
1622 T08: ook (. ) here english (. ) aand sometime- i never talk in hindi (. ) i watch tv
1623 only
1624 I: yes (. ) but you understand right? so you can put it somewhere
1625 T08: yeah yeah yeah
1626 [...] 
1627 I: any other languages?
1628 T08: no
1629 I: writing? maybe sanskrit or something (. )
1630 T08: sanskrit no
1631 I: ok (. ) good. why did you put hindi (. ) ahh (. ) did you put it in your stomache
1632 (. ) or where (. ) where is it?
1633 T08: yeah (. ) sometime only i talk but i easily- (. ) but i don’t like to talk in hindi
1634 also
1635 I: mhm
1636 T08: but i-i knew (. ) how to (. ) how they talk also and before i was in ( ) you
1637 know (. ) there (. ) that indian people (. ) i don’t like them (1) there aall were the
1638 indiian people and they aall the time (. ) and (. ) and my experience in ( ) was
1639 bitter (. ) was not so nice (. ) yes (. ) that’s why
1640 I: that’s why (. ) yeah (. ) ok (. ) and english in nepali in your head (. ) why?
1641 T08: english n-nepali (. ) it’s my mother tongue (. ) no (. ) i all the time talk in
1642 nepali at home
1643 I: mhm
1644 T08: and i like english also and i studied in convent also (. ) that’s why
I: mhm
T08: yeah (.) i like english also
I: mhm (.) very good.
[...]
I: what would you consider your second language?
T08: english
I: mhm (.) english (.) and any third language?
T08: no
I: ok . which languages do you usually use in your everyday life
T08: nepali
I: nepali
T08: nepali (.) i-in home time i talk in nepali n english with the kids only (.)
with in english in school only i talk in english
I: mhm (.) ok. do you use english in your everyday life and if yes (.) in which
situations do you use them?
T08: in english?
I: yes (.) you just- i mean you just said it anyway but (. ) ( )
T08: no (.) usually if i'm with anyone who talk in english (.) then i will talk in
english with them
I: mhm
T08: if i'm with anyone who talk in nepali (.) then i talk with in nepali
I: aha (.) ok
T08: if the (.) if the small kids also (.) if they talk in english (.) i talk english with
them
I: very good (. ) aahm (.) do you need english when dealing with official matters
(.) when it comes to governmental offices (.) or (.)
T08: no.
I: no? only nepali?
T08: nepali
I: and you use it at school also
T08: nepali
I: you talk with the headmaster also in english or (.) only nepali?
T08: principal?
I: mhm
T08: english only
I: english (.) mhm (. ) ok (.) how do you feel when you use english?
T08: na it's ok
I: ok?
T08: i-i like (.) i like talking english
I: mhm
T08: i'm not so fluent in talking english (.) i think i (2) but i like but i like (.)
then i have improved a lot after coming in triyog (.) i have improved a lot
I: mhm
T08: in talking english (.)
I: mhm
T08: before i used to write- ah i used to do everything (.) but (.) ahh (talking)
(.) it's a habit i think no
I: mhm
T08: the more you talk (.) it will be more easy for you
I: yeah
T08: so now it's ok
I: it's very good i think (.) aahm (.) whi- in which situations do you think
english is spoken in nepal?
I: mhm
T08: (3) in nepal (.) most of them talk in nepali (.) so it's ahh (.) educated
people i think
I: mhm
T08: if they (.) if they talk in english with us (.) we have to answer back in the
english
I: mhm
T08: small kids also
I: mhm
T08: with my daughters also (.) with the husband also sometime (.) if the
servant theyy (.) if i have to talk about the servant (.) i talk in english because
they didn't understand
I: ok (.) very good (.) aahm how important do you think the english language is
in nepal?
I: mhm
T08: it's very important (.) it's international language we have to know and
then (.) ahh (.) most of the people nowadays that they have started in talking
english (.) every in ngos (.) ingos ( ) they do in english
I: mhm
T08: it's very important
I: mhm (.) so good
T08: yeah
[...]
I: do you think that the english language has become less or more important
in nepal over the last ten years?
T08: ohh it has become more important i think (.) not less
I: why do you think?
T08: most of the people are educated here nowadays
I: mhm
T08: they have started- and yesterday i was listening to the radio (.) there-
there was one lady (.) she was talking ahh with that lady from (dhang) (.) and
she was talking such a nice english and i was so surprised
I: mhm
T08: the people from (dhang) also they have learned to talk in english so
nicely
I: mhm

T08: i was thinking like that (. ) ahh (. ) ( ) that the youth are becoming very smart
I: mhm
T08: i was thinking like that (. ) and i felt very nice also
I: yeah (. ) very good
T08: now they can communicate with whole world also (. )
I: mhm (. ) yes
T08: like they learn english (. ) it will be easy for them too
I: yeah (. ) very good (. )
T08: i think like that
I: mhm (. ) ok (. ) ahhm so (. ) do you think that the english language will be very important in the future for (. ) for nepal?
T08: yeah (. ) yeah yeah yeah
I: mhm (1) why do you think and in which sector do you think or (. )?
T08: you know in kathmandu it's already ahh (. ) they all know (. )
I: mhm
T08: but in the ahh villages also (. ) most of the ahh mhh (. ) most of the ahh from the villages they go outside for work and they also need to know eng- (. ) have to know the english i think (. )
I: mhm
T08: because they go out also (. ) it will be easier for them to communicate there also
I: mhm
T08: if they don't know anything (. ) it'll be very hard for them (. )
I: mhm (. ) yes
T08: if they go out alsoo (. ) if they- (. ) and they can check e-mails also (. ) if (. ) those that are staying here (. ) they can check e-mails also (. ) they can (. ) ahh with english they can learn so many things
I: mhm
T08: republica i read
I: republica (. ) ok (. ) aand do you also- you said you listened to radio right?
T08: sometimes (. ) if i get time (. ) i listen to radio
I: mhm (. ) only in nepali or also (. ) are there english news stations?
T08: noo (. ) english (. ) i sometimes look bbc news
I: mhm
T08: and sometime i watch movie
I: mhm (. ) in english?
T08: in english alsways
I: mhm (. ) ok
T08: and then most of the time Nepali or Hindi
I: yes, I'm watching Nepali and Hindi also a lot now. Okay, so what do you think your friends' habit is? Do they also listen or read Nepali ahh English?
T08: Mostly Nepali.
I: Mhm. Mostly Nepali?
T08: Yeah. Yeah.
I: Ok.
T08: Though some of my friends here they'd say those who teach English. They all do that.
I: Mhm.
T08: There was my friend, my room. One ahh she'd usually read English books and she also read-watch English movies.
I: Mhm. Ok.
T08: Some of them.
I: Ok. Aah, now some questions about the school. Is the language of instructions here English or Nepali? (1) The-all the subjects?
T08: English. All subjects are. Ii pardon?
I: Are they in English or in Nepali? The subjects?
T08: In English.
I: In English.
T08: Nepali is the one you learn. Subject Nepali. But I don't know how to teach Nepali. For I teach them only English.
I: Ok.
T08: English, maths, science. I teach them.
I: Mhm. Do you know there any official rule concerning the language of instructions? Does the government say anything about whether it should be English or Nepali? Do you know?
T08: Usually government work, they do in Nepali.
I: Mhm.
T08: I think they do in Nepali.
I: Ok, but there is-
T08: Nowadays they have started but very few. I think most of the government ahh in bank. That private sector banks. If you go there then they-there. They do in English.
I: Mhm.
T08: I think most of the places. It's in Nepali. I think.
I: Mhm. Ok. And do you know any official rule from the government a-about the schools whether they should English or Nepali?
T08: The private school. Most of the private school. They use ah English. Aah.
I: Mhm.
T08: That's Nepali only.
I: Mhm.
T08: it doesn't know. in class four only before they used to start abcd.
I: mhm
T08: when they used when they reached class four
I: mhm
T08: but now it's from class one i think
I: mhm
T08: when they used when they reached class four
I: mhm
T08: in my cl- in my kindergarden class?
I: yes
T08: ahh we have english
I: mhm
T08: and we have maths maths we also teach them in english
I: mhm
T08: so and one is gk general knowledge. in gk we teach them about the
environment
I: mhm
T08: about the parts of the body alsoo
I: mhm
T08: everything just like birds animals also
I: mhm
T08: and english itself you have one lesson
T08: yeah one
I:mhm
T08: english one- in english ahh we teach them grammars also
I: mhm
T08: ahh language also everything
I: mhm
T08: ahh of english as a language aare appropriate or not?
T08: for small children it's ok
I: yeah
T08: they can't learn so many
I: mhm
T08: they are really small kids
I: yes
T08: that is enough for them i think
I: ok very good.
T08: compared to the other school they have done a lot
I: mhm
T08: like i sometime i compare them my children with other school also
I: ok and last but not least how important do you think that it is
for the children to learn english especially when you think about job
opportunities
T08: ok for the small children
I: especially d-does not matter if it's small or general children

T08: now they have to l-learn e-english it's very- it's an international language if you go out- if they go out from the country also (.)
I: mhm

T08: they should learn english (.)
I: yes

T08: aand too study also all the coursebooks are in english
I: mhm

T08: they should learn english aand they find english easier than nepali nowadays
I: mhm

T08: my daughter she always gets fourty fourty five in nepali and she gets eighty three eighty five in english
I: ooh (.). ok (.). very good

T08: that is the thing they all enjoy eng- doing english more than nepali nowadays (.)
I: mhm (.). and do you think for jobs do they need english?
T08: yeah yeah it's (.). they have to write reports and all in english (.)
I: mhm

T08: it's very important i think
I: 

< end MP3 Player Conversation 8 - 14:10 min. >

MP3 Player/ Conversation 9

Recording time: 13:59 min.

Person id: T09 age: 25+ sex: female langKnowledge: L1 nepali; english, hindi education: b.b.s. management, montessori trained occupation: kindergarden teacher school: triyog

T09: only three languages
I: ok (.). why did you put english in your head?

T09: because i have to think (.). while speaking
I: yes

T09: that's why and nep- nepali is in my heart because i'm nepali (.). so (.)
I: yes

T09: and hindi (.). we often watch serials and films
I: mhm

T09: that's when it comes automatical when (.). hindi
I: yeah (.). ok

T09: do you know hindi?
I: yes (.). i-i
T09: yes, yes I know.
I: I don't speak though.
T09: We here in Nepal we watch Hindi movies and all.
I: Yes.
T09: [...
I: Ok, now the question part. So, what is your mother tongue?
T09: Nepali.
I: Nepali.
T09: Mhm.
I: Mhm, so it's your first language. What would you consider your second language?
T09: Hindi.
I: Hindi.
T09: Mhm.
I: Ok, now the question part. So, what is your mother tongue?
T09: Nepali.
I: Nepali?
T09: Nepali.
I: Only?
T09: Only Nepali.
I: Mhm, ok, also with your family.
T09: Ah, with my kid I speak in English.
I: Mhm.
T09: And if not Nepali, I use English most of the time with the kid.
I: Mhm, and with your friends.
T09: With the husband, also with the husband.
I: Ah, ok, and with your friends?
T09: With the friends, I think I speak in Nepali.
I: Mhm.
T09: Most of the time, I speak in Nepali.
I: Mhm, ok, and in school?
T09: In school here we use Nepali and some words in English.
I: Mhm.
T09: Not total, we don't speak, we don't communicate totally in English.
I: Mhm.
T09: We speak in Nepali, only some words of language. We use English language also.
I: Mhm, very good. Ahhm, so you just said you do use English in your everyday life and if yes in which situations?
T09: Maybe because something I have to tell to my son with near, near in
front of the servants (.) maybe about the- them (.)
I: yes
T09: that i- at that time i speak in english (.) with my kid especially (.)
I: mhm
T09: and with my husband also most of the time we speak english before the
kid (.) actually we speak often before the kid
I: mhm
T09: so he can listen and hear that it would be (.) that would be helpful for him
I: mhm
T09: to speak (.) that's why we are doing that
I: mhm
T09: actually (.) ahhm (.) but ah and sometimes when my ( ) also there i speak
in english when i have to school my son
I: mhm
T09: because they don't want me to school my son (.)
I: mhm (.) yes
T09: their grandson (.) so at that time also (.) i speak in english
I: ok (.) very good. aahm (.) do you need english when you're dealing with
official matters (.) for example when you're dealing with governmental offices
or something (.) do you need english there?
T09: that not official because here nepali is because most of the (1) i think most
of them they don't have that kind of english that they that they will understand
I: mhm
T09: they will be comfortable in nepali so they speak in nepali
I: mhm (.) how do you feel when you use english?
T09: (3) i feel (1) i have nothing to say on this (.) i-i don't have any kind of
thinking (.) but is there i speak (.) i feel like this is my second language (.)
because we don’t speak here fluently (.) means we don't speak all the time (.)
so i think that if i speak (.) that'll help me also
I: mhm
T09: to speak fluently (.) i feel that
I: mhm (.) ok (.) aahm (.) where do you think or in which situations is english
spoken in nepal?
T09: in which situations?
I: yes (3) with whom do you think most of the nepali people talk english?
T09: (7) dowadays (.) this is now (.) this n- (.) this n- ahh generation (.)
I: mhm
T09: most of them (.) thy speak in english
I: mhm
T09: means (.) like in our generation (.) we don't speak totally in english (.) the
students speak nepali and english together (.) but now most of them i find in
this new generation (.) try to speak in english (.) actually because they feel
comfortable with that language
I: mhm
1989  T09: aand you're (.) if you ask me that (.) which situations (.) what do you-
1990  what do you-
1991  I: in which situations do you think the nepalis use (.) ahh other nepali people
1992  use english (.) with- (.) especially with whom (.) when you're dealing with
1993  T09: when they (.) i think when they have to deal (.) for the kids in the schools
1994  (.) all of them speak english (.) otherwise i don't think they speak english
1995  I: mhm (.) ok (.) aahm how important do you think english is in your country?
1996  T09: it's very important (1) it's very important
1997  I: mhm (.) and why do you think?
1998  T09: here oh (.) english not spoken so frequently you know
1999  I: mhm
2000  T09: most of the time (.) when you ask anyone questions (.) they’ll speak in
2001  nepali (.) they don’t feel comfortable with english (.)
2002  I: mhm
2003  T09: because if they do start speak in eng- (.) it'll improve their english also
2004  I: mhm
2005  T09: and it will be helpful also
2006  I: mhm
2007  T09: soo (.) that's why
2008  I: mhm (.) ok (.) thanks (.) now on the second page already (.)
2009  T09: oh yeah
2010  I: ahhm (.) do you think that english has become less or more important over
2011  the last ten years?
2012  T09: more important (.) more important.
2013  I: mhm (.) why?
2014  T09: because (1) most of the things happens that we are going out of the
2015  country most of the times
2016  I: mhm
2017  T09: we are visiting other countries and (.) you know (.) english is an
2018  international language
2019  I: mhm
2020  T09: so that is very important (.) we should know about these things
2021  I: mhm
2022  T09: and here (.) sometimes happens (.) if you can speak english you are
2023  treated more (.) you are given more importance (.) and if you don't speak
2024  nepali (.) sorry (.) if you don't speak english
2025  I: mhm
2026  T09: people think that you are not educated (.) here is getting people also that
2027  don’t speak english (.) the fact is that
2028  I: mhm
2029  T09: they're educated (.) they're graduated (.) they are masters but they are
2030  n-n- (.) they feel comfortable in speaking nepali (.) other than english
2031  I: mhm (.) ok (.) good. and do you think that english will become more
2032  important in the future?
T09: if you what?
I: if english is coming - do you think english will more important in the future for nepal
T09: yes it's ju- english is going to be very important
I: mhm
T09: it's going to be important
I: mhm then some questions about the media do you read english newspapers?
T09: not daily
I: not daily
T09: not daily because actually i'm not that interest
I: mhm
T09: i don't want to be up to date that entire time
I: mhm ok
T09: because my profession is not that
I: yeah
T09: we don't need all these things
I: mhm
T09: only the basics we listen from we come to know through friends
I: mhm
T09: and through tv and all that is working for me i don't go through
I: yes mhm
T09: i don't want to be up to date
I: mhm
T09: because maybe from my profession
I: mhm
T09: i'm a teacher i don't need all these things
I: yeah
T09: because of that
I: yeah
T09: maybe because of that
I: ok do you read magazines then?
T09: magazines also not not that regular
I: mhm
T09: i love to read that film magazines
I: yes? so you watch a lot of tv?
T09: tv i watch most of the time when i have time
I: in hindi or also english sometimes?
T09: hindi aand english also the cartoons with my son because i have nothing to do i'm compelled to watch tv with me son
I: mhm
T09: so hee watches all those channels which comes in english
I: mhm
T09: and that also encourages him because that can help him
I. mhm (.) and do you also listen to radio or (.)
T09: radio no (.) not that often (.) not that often
I: mhm (.) ok (.) aahm tss ahh (1) some questions about school (.)
T09: yeah
I: aahm (.) is the language of instructions here english or-
T09: english (.) english (.) total english
I: ok
T09: only if some children- it happens in kindergarten (.) cause they don't
understand english
I: yes
T09: first of all (.) f-from the first year they start speak english (.) they don't
understand (.) so we speak and use to same thing repeat in nepali
I: mhm
T09: and after few (.) maybe after one or two month (.) they'll start to (.)
derstanding all the thing
I: mhm (.) ok. aand do you know of any official rule the government made for
the schools (.) that they should use english or should use nepali as a the-
T09: i don't know that
I: ok (.) how many lessons of english as a subject do the children have a day? (.)
do you know- not-not like english as instructions but english as a subject
itself
T09: i think it's english language and literature (1) too
I: do you find the amount of lessons in english appropriate or d- should it be
less or more? or what do you think
T09: i have no idea because i'm a kindergarden teacher
I: yes
T09: so i don't have any ideas about this
I: ok (.) aahm (.) what else (.) yeah (.) last question (.) how important do you
think it is for the children to speak english (.) especially when it comes to job
opportunities?
T09: it's very important because it's (.) they're are (.) now (.) i have the feel
that they not only have to be in nepal but they have to go out of the country (.)
I: mhm
T09: so that will help them a lot
I: mhm
T09: if they can speak english (.) they can understand (.)
I: mhm
T09: if they can speak
I: mhm
T09: and all these things
I: mhm
T09: it'll be very helpful for them (.) cause i am sure these children they don't
want to stay in this country
I: mhm
T09: because it's getting worse day by day
I: yes
T09: ( ) future (.) i know that everyone here (.) this generation (.) they think
that the future is out of of nepal
I: aha
T09: and that'll help them if they can speak proper english and they can
write english
I: mhm
T09: it is going to be very important
I: yes
T09: that's true
I: ok
T09: [...]
< end MP3 Player Conversation 9 - 13:59 min. >
9.4. Appendix 4: Language Portraits

T01
English
Nepali
Hindi
9.5. Appendix 5: German Summary (Zusammenfassung)


Die verschiedenen Kapitel behandeln zuerst allgemeine Themen, wie den Status des Englischen weltweit, um dann spezifischer auf die Sprachsituation in Nepal und in den einzelnen Bereichen des Alltags einzugehen. Im zweiten Kapitel werden besonders zwei Modelle hervorgehoben, die sich mit der globalen Position der englischen Sprache beschäftigen. Das dritte Kapitel beschreibt die angewandte Methode, sowohl als auch die verwendeten Daten und Probleme, die beim Analysieren und Verarbeiten dieser Daten entstanden. Im vierten Kapitel wird besonders der allgemeinen Sprachsituation in Nepal Beachtung geschenkt, da der Demokratisierungsprozess, auch relevant für das fünfte Kapitel, einen wichtigen Faktor bei der Sprachwahl in Nepal darstellt. Besonderes Augenmerk wird im fünften Kapitel auf sprachenpolitische Entscheidungen gelegt, da sie speziellen Einfluss auf die Entwicklung von Sprachen im Land haben. Das wohl wichtigste Kapitel, Kapitel sechs, beschäftigt sich nun eingehender mit der Verwendung von Sprachen in den relevanten Bereichen, wie Schule, Tourismus, Wirtschaft, Medien, aber auch ‚literary creativity‘. NGOs, sogenannte nichtstaatliche Organisationen, spielen ihrerseits eine wichtige Rolle in der Entwicklung Nepals und werden daher in die Überlegungen miteinbezogen. Am wichtigsten scheint an diesem Punkt, dass alle Informationen aus der einschlägigen Literatur durch Ausschnitte aus den einzelnen Interviews angereichert wurden, um der theoretischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem
Thema einen praktischen Bezug zu geben. Mithilfe der Interviews, die Meinungen von nepalesischen LehrerInnen wiedergeben, und der Literaturrecherche, wurden so Schlüsse bezüglich der Rolle des Englischen in Nepal gezogen.
9.6. Appendix 6: CV (Lebenslauf)

Kontaktdaten

Name: Anne Mühlbacher
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Persönliche Daten

Geburtsdatum: 4. September 1983
Geburtsort: Salzburg
Staatsbürgerschaft: Österreich
Familienstand: ledig

Ausbildung

Oktober 2004 - heute
Studium Englisch und Deutsch für das Lehrfach in Wien, Spezialisierung auf Deutsch als Fremd- und Zweitsprache (DaF/DaZ) und English for Specific Purposes (ESP)
Voraussichtliches Ende: Juli 2012
Thema der Diplomarbeit: „Roles of English in Nepal – Teachers’ Perspectives“

Oktober 2003 - September 2004
Studium der Rechtswissenschaften in Wien

Dezember 2003 - April 2003
Studium “Criminal Justice“ am College of DuPage nahe Chicago/ USA

Juni 2002
Maturaabschluss mit gutem Erfolg am Musischen Gymnasium Salzburg

1994 - 2002
AHS Unterstufe und Oberstufe Musisches Gymnasium Salzburg

1990 - 1994
Alfred Bäck Volksschule Taxham, Salzburg
**Berufliche Erfahrung**

Seit September 2010
Lehrerin am Berufsförderungsinstitut (BFI) Salzburg und Zell am See im Fach Deutsch für die Berufsreifeprüfung und Lehre mit Matura

September 2009 – Jänner 2010
Freiwillige Arbeit für das Projekt „Erstes Österreich Dorf“ als Lehrerin in den Fächern Englisch, Deutsch und Computer, sowie umfangreiche Freizeitbetreuung, an der höheren Schule „Himalayan Helpless Child Academy“, in Kathmandu/Nepal

März - Mai 2009
Hospitationspraktikum bei Acti Lingua in Wien im Rahmen des PS Methodik im DaF Unterricht im Ausmaß von 20 Stunden; sowie Absolvierung eines Unterrichtspraktikums mit eigener Lehrtätigkeit im Rahmen von 5 Stunden

Februar 2009
Leiterin eines DaF Intensivkurses für ErasmusstudentInnen an der TU Wien, Niveau B1-2

Juli 2004 – August 2009
Sommerjob als Reinigungskraft bei den Salzburger Festspielen

Mai - August 2003
Clientlogic Handelsgesellschaft m.b.H, Telemarketing Agent, Kundenbetreuung

Dezember 2002 - April 2003
Au- Pair in Elmhurst/ Chicago/ USA

Oktober - Dezember 2002
Alldirekt Callcenter GmbH, Telemarketing Agent, Kundenbetreuung

**Sonstige Kenntnisse und Fähigkeiten**

Sprachkenntnisse: Exzellentes Deutsch in Schrift und Sprache
Grundlegende Kenntnisse des Spanischen in Schrift und Sprache
Exzellentes Englisch in Schrift und Sprache

EDV- Kenntnisse: MS Office: Word, Excel, Power Point, Outlook; Blackboard Vista, Fronter, Moodle

Hobbies: Sprachen, Reisen, Bergsteigen, Klettern, Volleyball, Schwimmen, Musik, Singen, Literatur, Pädagogik; Lesen

Salzburg, am 21. Mai 2012