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Growing Craze in the Use of English in Nepali Public Domains

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Abstract

English in Nepal is taken as a foreign language but ground reality shows that it is one of the primary and dominant languages, which is extensively used in various spheres such as academic institutions, technology, business, tourism, social gatherings, and daily lives. This study attempts to analyze the growing craze in the use of English in Nepali public domains. We collected qualitative data from both primary and secondary sources. We purposively selected names of academic institutions, public vehicles, persons, places and things, Nepali movies, two billboards, one text from the social media, two teachers as well as our own experiences. The result reveals that there has been a growing craze in the use of English in Nepali discourses and public domains, along with code-mixing in speech and writing. Extensive use of English in naming, academic institutions, media, and everyday discourses justify that English is growing as a primary and dominant language in Nepal. Therefore, this study suggests that it is necessary to reassess the status and functions of English in Nepal and give it an official status.

Keywords: English craze, ENL, ESL, EFL

Introduction

With its rapid spread worldwide, English has become a global language which is currently on each and everyone's lips. Now, no global-scale communication can be held without English. Because of its global spread and significance, the whole world is moving on from 'Education for all" to "English for all" (Phillipson 9). English, which is the mother tongue of people living in core or inner circle countries such as America, Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, has become the common tongue for all. Now, "one in every four human beings can speak English to some degree of competency" (Karn 73). In the similar vein, K. Sharma describes the craze of English as "To ignore English in the present social context of Nepal is to be out of mainstream of social ideal and such person would be seen as odd and eccentric" (24). To put it differently, "Keeping away from the treasure of English is almost intended suicidal"

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(25). Furthermore, Giri views that if an educated Nepali does not know English, he or she is virtually deprived of all sorts of opportunities ("English" 66). Therefore, English has become an important part of one's everyday life.

As a language of glorification, English has been given several labels such as 'world language,' 'international language,' 'language for wider communication,' 'auxiliary language,' 'additional language,' 'link language,' 'window onto the world,' and 'neutral language' (Phillipson 282). These labels indicate how English has occupied its place in the world. With its global spread, English has evolved with many faces in the world: as a first language, a second language and a foreign language. Accordingly, the entire English world, as Saud claims, has been divided into English as native language (ENL), English as second language (ESL) and English as foreign language (EFL) worlds ("Teaching English" 32), particularly native-speaker and non-native speaker countries, or core- and periphery-countries. The world of native speakers is generally known as ENL or core countries; and those of non-native speakers are called ESL/EFL or periphery countries. Giri argues that three distinct types of English exist in Nepali society: English as a primary language, English as a secondary language, and English as an additional language ("Nepali English" 329), which reveals the growing craze of English in Nepal. However, there are still some problems, debates and controversies associated with English and its roles in Nepal. Although K. Sharma has described the influence of English in education sectors. Nepali media, and common chat with fewer examples (25-30), it is not enough to claim that English has its craze in Nepal. Some authors have described the functions and importance of English in Nepal. However, no empirical study is available that describes the craze of English in Nepal. In this scenario, this study describes the changing faces of English in Nepal and exemplifies how English craze is growing up in the everyday discourses, media, academic institutions, and public domains, replacing Nepali and other local languages.

Literature Review

In this paper, we review both the theoretical and empirical literature that informs this study. More specifically, we discuss ENL/ESL/EFL dichotomy (Saud 32) and the roles or functions of English in Nepal.

ENL/ESL/EFL Dichotomy

Although the population census 2011 indicates that there are 2,032 people who speak English as a mother tongue (CBS 165), English is more a foreign language than a native or second language in Nepal (Bhattarai 14; B. Sharma 80). Giri mentions that traditionally, ESL refers to the language spoken in former British colonies where it has some sort of official status, whereas EFL refers to the language taught as a subject in schools and it has no specified role ("The Many" 96). Unlike EFL, ESL has its colonial history and official status. Christopherson's distinction consisted essentially in the personal attitude and in the use that is made of the language: a foreign language, for him, is used for the purpose of absorbing the culture of another nation, whereas a second language is used as an alternative way of expressing the culture of one's own environment (cited in R. Shrestha 46). Marckwardt maintains that EFL is the language taught as a school subject solely for the purpose of giving students the competence to read literature and to entertain, whereas ESL is the language of instruction in the schools or a lingua franca between speakers of widely diverse languages (25). Similarly, according to Giri ("The Many" 96), Strevens uses the terms ENL, ESL and EFL to refer to English- speaking, English-using and non-English using countries, respectively, whereas Kachru's inner circle, outer circle and expanding circle countries roughly

correspond to ENL, ESL and EFL countries, which, in turn, are norm-providing, normdeveloping and norm-dependent countries, respectively (Kachru 138). In Kachru's classification, Nepal lies in the expanding circle (137) where the craze of English is rapidly increasing as an alternate language. In the similar vein, Richards and Tay maintain that in ESL countries like Singapore, English (a) is never referred to as a foreign language but an official language, (b) is an important language for education, (c) is a dominant working language, (d) is a language for intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication, and (e) is a language for the expression of national identity, but in the EFL contexts, English is taught and learnt as an international language (46-52). Slightly varying way, Richards, Platt and Platt state that in an ESL context, English is widely used within the country as a language of instruction at school, as a language of business and government, and of everyday communication by some people but it is not the first language of the population, whereas in an EFL context, English is taught as a subject in schools but it is not used as a medium of instruction in education nor as a language of communication within the country (123-124). Contextually, for Harmer, ESL is a term used to describe the type of language students learn when they live and work in the target language community (e.g. immigrants), whereas EFL is a term used to describe the language people study so that they can speak English around the world (How 273). As scholars vary in their opinions as regards the terms ESL and EFL, Nayar concludes, "...a great deal of referential fuzziness within the two and denotative overlap between the two are making the terminological distinctions unclear, impractical, and ineffective or, worse still, in some cases inauspicious and irrelevant" (9). Because of the fuzziness of the terms, it is difficult to say whether Nepal belongs to the ESL or EFL countries. The functional criteria of ESL/EFL distinction reviewed above shows that Nepal cannot be placed in the category of ESL since English is neither an intranational language nor a dominant working language (R. Shrestha 48), rather it is considered as a foreign language for the speakers of Nepali since it is taught as a school subject (Bhattarai 14; B. Sharma 80; K. Bista 3; K. Sharma 24; Mishra 28; R. Shrestha 48) but the status of English as a foreign language is not like that of Japanese, Korean and Chinese. Giri maintains that Nepal is categorised as an EFL country simply because it has had no colonial affiliation whatsoever ("The Many" 96) and it is not an official language, either. In other words, Nepal is not an ESL country but an EFL one. But the colonial history and official status do not only make whether English is a second or a foreign language. Giri cites from Rathbone that if English is a foreign language in Nepal, it must be taught as a foreign language. But the present courses, methods and examinations presume unjustifiably that English is the first language ("The Many" 98), and R. Shrestha also supports Rathbone that English continued to be taught in Nepal not as a foreign language but as a second language or even first language (51). Adhikari also accepts that English is used as an additional and primary language in many socio-economic and educational sectors in Nepal (181). Giri views that English has become one of the local languages in Nepal ("English is"). Thus, English in Nepal is no longer a foreign language now but a common language spoken by literate and non-literate people at all socio-economic levels. The status of English is gradually changing from EFL to ESL (Bhattarai and Gautam 2; Duwadi 46; K. Sharma 25; Giri "The Many" 94). It is the second most widespread language in Nepal after Nepali in terms of popularity, education, and use (Eagle 302). Crystal estimates that 27.6% people in Nepal speak English as a second language (63). According to Bolton and Bacon-Shone, current estimates indicate that 30% people speak English as a second language which counts to 8.7 million (56). Anecdotally, some linguists have estimated that around 40-50% of urban Nepalese are functionally literate in English (56). We agree with Duwadi that "Until recently, English

was taught as a foreign language. Nevertheless, its enormous demand and use have made it a second language" (45-46). The claims made by these scholars show that the tag of foreign language given to English for long is not quite justifiable now.

Functions of English

Historically, the role or function of English was much more instrumental in nature but now Giri ("The Many" 97) and R. Shrestha opine that English in Nepal serves four different functions pointed by Kachruvian framework (53).

The Instrumental Function

The instrumental function of English is evident in Nepal. English performs an instrumental function if it serves an instrument of education (Giri "The Many" 97; R. Shrestha 53). It is not only taught as a subject in schools and colleges but also a preferred medium of instruction in private schools and universities. In fact, the first ever Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC) survey of 1954 revealed that, on average, nearly half of Nepal's population wanted English to remain as the medium of instruction (Giri "The Many" 98). Similarly, Giri further mentions Subba's survey at the higher education level which reported English as the preferred medium of instruction in most disciplines at Tribhuvan University adding that English was the second language in education ("The Many" 98). For Mishra, English today is not only the window of the world but also the door to success, social power and prestige (28), which might be the reasons, according to Giri, why the common people expect that English must be for all, available at all levels and for all sections of the population even if the academics have always recommended that English cannot and should not be compulsory for all at all levels of education ("The Politics" 42). If English is only used as a medium of instruction in schools, it displaces the local languages and affects the cognitive development of the children.

The Regulative Function

English is the primary language in several commercial, academic and official domains. Giri maintains that English serves a regulative function when it is used to regulate or communicate commercial, academic, and official proceedings in a given context ("The Many" 97). The influence of English is so overloaded in Nepali media world that most of the announcements in the FMs and TV channels are in English or half in English and a lot of time is given for English songs and western music and English movies (K. Sharma 13). Similarly, Giri summarizes key findings of some studies by Yadav, who reported that 19% of the total programme time of Radio Nepal and 24% of total programme time on Nepal TV was given to the English language; by Verma, who reported that 25% of the news dailies were in English; by Humagain and Pokharel, who reported that with all print media combined, 40% of all materials was published in English; and by Giri, who revealed that 42.5% of all advertisements published in the national dailies were in English. Giri further mentions that over 85% of academic proceedings take place in English in Nepalese academia ("The Many" 99-100). With regard to the number of books in the libraries, Eagle cites from Jha's study that of the 145,000 books in the Tribhuvan University Central library in 1989, more than 80% were in English, and other libraries, where 60 to 100% of the books are in English, including the British Council Library, the USIS Library, the Kesar Library, the Indo-Nepal Library, the Russian Cultural Library, and the Integrated Women's Development Library (304). He also adds that almost 95% of the journals, magazines, and newspapers in these libraries are written in English (304). Likewise, the signboards, hoarding boards, menus,

bills, brochures, prospectuses, advertisements, and headlines in the Nepali newspapers are in English or include a lot of English words.

The Interpersonal Function

English in Nepal is used as a means of communication both intranationally and internationally. It serves an interpersonal function when it is a link language for its users and provides a code for symbolic elitism, prestige and modernity (Giri "The Many" 97; R. Shrestha 53). After Nepali, English is the most widely used means of communication in most tourist routes of the country, in most economic sectors, external affairs, education, science and technology, etc. Therefore, Kachru's idea that expanding circle learners learn English to talk in their workplace abroad but not to communicate in their homeland is not appropriate in the Nepali context. K. Shrestha refutes that Kachru's view is partially true since "mostly Nepalese people learn English to talk in their workplace either it can be home or abroad" (174-175). It indicates that the craze of English has reached to the workplace.

The Creative/Imaginative/Innovative Function

English serves creative/imaginative/innovative function since it is used in various literary genres. The Nepali writers have produced several creative writings in English, for instance, anthologies such as Gopi Sapkota's 'A Suicide Note,' Vishnu S Rai's 'Vagabond Verses,' and Prakash Subedi's 'Star and Fireflies;' some stories such as D.B. Gurung's 'Echoes of the Himalayas,' Samrat Upadhyay's 'The Royal Ghosts' and 'Arresting God in Kathmandu,' Manjushree Thapa's 'Tilled Earth,' Mahesh Paudyal's 'Of Walls and Pigeons,' and Vishnu S Rai's 'Martyr and Other Stories;' some novels such as Samrat Upadhyay's 'The Guru of Love,' Manjushree Thapa's 'Seasons for Flight' and Mani Dikshit's 'Come Tomorrow' and Sheeba Shah's 'The Other Queen;', some essays such as Govinda Raj Bhattarai's 'Reminiscing My Childhood Days' and Laxmi Prasad Devkota's 'The Witch and Other Essays;' some plays such as Vishnu S Rai's 'Realities,' and Abhi Subedi's 'Bruised Evenings 201.' These few examples also reveal that the craze of English is growing up in the creative works.

The literature reviewed above reveals that English is moving from a foreign language to a second or a local language in Nepal since it serves four different functions and is extensively used in different areas. However, no research has yet been conducted on the growing craze of English in everyday discourses, media, academic institutions, and public domains in Nepal. Therefore, this is a new area of research that vividly reveals the status and role of English in Nepal.

Methods

This study makes use of the situation analysis under qualitative research method. For this, we purposively selected billboards, social media, public names of vehicles, academic institutions, shops, movies, places, persons and things along with our own experiences and everyday expressions used by Nepali people in communication to collect the required data. The English names of different persons, animals, places, movies, academic institutions, public vehicles, shops, hotels, travel agencies, enterprises, other institutions and organizations were noted down in a diary. We also collected data from the everyday discourses, the researchers' experiences, and informal discussions with two teachers teaching in the community schools which also run English medium classes. Then the data were coded, thematized, and analysed descriptively. In this regard, Cohen, Manion and Morrison cite from Best that descriptive research describes the conditions that exist, practices that prevail, beliefs or attitudes that are held, or trends that

are developing, and is concerned with how *what is* or *what exists* is related to some preceding event that has influenced or affected a present condition or event (205). In this article, we categorized the collected data into four parameters such as naming, everyday discourse, academic institutions, and media and analyzed and interpreted them to justify how English craze is growing up in Nepal.

Results

The data collected from public names and other resources have been presented under four major themes with illustrations adding our own experiences.

Growing Craze of English in Naming

English craze is gradually growing up in Nepal. People love to use English in different walks of life. They name their dog as 'Tommy,' 'Victor'; child as 'Anus,' 'David,' 'Max,' 'Angel'; school or College as 'Cambridge,' 'Little Angels,' 'Hornbill,' 'Mount Everest,' 'Eastern View'; film as 'One-sided Love,' 'Homework,' 'Mero Best Friend,' 'Hostel,' 'Finger Print,' and 'Full Stop' and so on. Rather than Nepali terms, Nepali people use English kinship terms such as daddy, mummy, baby, uncle, aunt, sweety, and darling to address their family members. Many children do not understand Nepali words 'kaka' and 'kaki' these days but they understand and commonly use 'uncle' and 'aunt'. In this connection, here is how the first author experienced:

My son, who now studies at Grade Five, can read Grade Five English textbook better than Nepali one and write number names in English better than in Nepali. He sometimes asks me the meaning of many Nepali words more than that of English ones. I remember the English teacher, in my school life, would translate English texts into Nepali to make us understand. I learnt the English "rat" means "musa" in Nepali. But in my son's time, the teacher has to translate Nepali texts into English for the very purpose. My son and many students now learn "musa" means "rat" in English. (First author's experience)

This expression clarifies the paradigm shift in learning English some years ago and now. Similarly, the result of Secondary Education Examination published by the Office of the Controller of Examinations (OCE) on 2nd Asar, 2074 B.S. also showed the poorest result in Compulsory Nepali. Very few students secured A+ in that subject. All these instances show that it is not English but Nepali which sounds as if it is a foreign language. This is the result due to the craze of English medium education in Nepal as private schools use English as a medium of instruction (EMI) and even the community schools have been shifting to EMI (Saud "English Medium" 320), which implies that academic institutions are also responsible for increasing the craze of English in Nepal.

Naming in English has developed as a culture in Nepal. People name many public buses in English such as 'Fifa,' 'Metro,' 'Prime,' 'City Bus,' 'Google,' 'Tourist Coach,' 'Notebook,' 'New Chelsea,' 'Barcelona'; many of them have code-mixed names such as 'Sworgadwari Deluxe,' 'Momata Travel,' 'Muktinath Safari,' 'Samiksha Safari,' and 'City Yatayat'; others have English transliteration such as 'SajhaYatayat,' 'Ayush,' 'Mahadev', and 'Namaste.' People can see English words or names wherever they go and whatever they hear, see and read. They can see several shops, hotels, travel agencies, enterprises, institutions and organizations named in English such as 'Sky Salon,' 'Rose Beauty Parlour,' 'Moonlight Tailors,' 'Sunrise Department Store,' 'Hotel Centre Point,' 'International Computer and Language Training Centre.' Even the local and new places have been named in English such as 'Red Hill,' 'Happy Land,' 'Dream Land,' 'Smiling Park,' and 'Fun Park.' All these instances presented here justify the remark made by Jha about English that "It is not confined to specific domains; it is used even in socio-

cultural gatherings, family weddings, birthday celebrations, and in the interpersonal communication of ideas and views" (cited in Eagle 304). Therefore, English is not in the position of a foreign language in Nepal, rather a local language that has reached everywhere.

Growing Use of English in Everyday Discourse

English has become an important part and parcel in our daily lives. It is extensively used in our everyday discourses and media. Here is the short remark made by one of the students:

ma bihaanaai uthe. Toilet gaye. Brush gare. Morning walk gaye. Ghara aayepachhi bathing gare ani coffee ra biscuit khaaye. Ekchhin TV henre. Ani homework garen. Kitchen room maa gayera mommy lai khaanaa banaauna ekchhin help garen. And then khaanaa khaayera college aaye. (I got up early. I went to the toilet. I brushed. I went for morning walk. After I got home, I bathed and then took tea and biscuits. I watched TV for a while. Then I did my homework. I went to the kitchen room and helped my mother in cooking food. And then I went to college after having food.)

In the above excerpt, there are altogether 42 words out of which 16 are English words which occupy 38.1% in total. Even the everyday discourses of illiterate people include some English words, which justifies that different English words are no more English-only words. They have become Nepali-like which have been incorporated in the Nepali dictionary.

English has been used widely in everyday conversations in different public functions like birthday parties and concerts. In this connection, the first author' experience can be quoted as:

I have heard many singers or stage performers beginning their performance on the stage saying 'It's my pleasure to be here...,' 'Good evening, ladies and gentlemen,' 'Hi, guys...' 'Are you fine?' etc. and even the teacher of Nepali subject greets the students saying 'Good morning' or 'Good afternoon' while entering the class. (first author's experience).

Similarly, the discourse in Nepali cannot run easily without using words from English. It is said that English native speakers can understand the discourse in Nepali because of extensive code-mixing and code-switching. The English expressions such as 'Happy birthday to you, 'Thank you,' 'Sorry,' 'Welcome,' 'Bye or bye-bye,' 'Hello or hi,' 'Happy New Year,' 'I love you,' and 'I hate you' have become very common in Nepali discourses. Nepali people commonly use or say English words for Nepali ones such as 'toilet,' 'bathroom' or 'restroom' for 'charpi' or 'shauchalaya,' 'calendar' for 'patro,' 'bed' for 'ochchhyan,' 'kitchen' for 'bhansakotha,' 'homework' for 'grihakarya,' 'tooth brush' for 'dantamanjan,' 'tooth paste' for 'dantamalaham,' 'pen' for 'kalam,' 'office' for 'karyalaya,' 'fan' for 'pangkha,' and 'grammar' for 'byakaran.' Because of the frequent and widespread use of English words, many Nepali words are being redundant and obsolete. In the long run, such words are likely to be limited in the dictionaries. Whether we accept or not, English is gradually replacing and displacing Nepali and other indigenous languages. We really have 'Hi Hi Angreji' everywhere. Perhaps, no aspect of Nepali social life remains uninfluenced by the ubiquitous impact of English (K. Sharma 24).

English Craze in Academic Institutions

The craze of English is also flourishing in the academic institutions. Many schools and colleges have made their school and college premises as 'English-speaking

zone' where teachers and students are not allowed to speak other languages except English. In Morang, most model community schools have shifted their medium of instruction from Nepali to English. When discussed informally about it, one of the teachers responded:

English medium class is the demand of the guardians. They said that they wanted to educate their children in English but they cannot afford costly fees in the private schools. They demanded English medium classes in our school. In addition, the school has also run the English medium classes to reduce the dropout rates and to send the message that the model school runs the classes in different streams (Nepali and English).

Both the guardians and the school have increased the craze of English in the community schools. The guardians seem to have seen quality in the classes run in English as a medium of instruction. They are not too much concerned with who the teachers are and how qualified and experienced they are. Their focus is whether the school runs classes in English medium or not. Similarly, in the informal discussion, another teacher responded:

After we started English medium classes, the number of students in our school has increased dramatically. Many students studying in private schools have come to our school. We have more than four thousand students now. We have run the classes in the morning and day shifts. More teachers have got jobs. Some vacancies in the primary level have been added.

Whatever the purposes are, the community schools and universities have increased the craze of English by shifting the medium of instruction in English. Similarly, the policy of the government is also responsible for the expansion and use of English in Nepal. Besides teaching Nepali subjects, the universities of Nepal have made English as a mandatory medium of instruction in the classes run in the semester system. For the upcoming 10-year plan, the Ministry of Education wants to give top priority to the universities' shifting their focus to English as the medium of instruction and then slowly, over time, shift the focus on secondary schools and basic-level schools. In the university examinations, test papers except in Nepali contain questions in only English which entails both teachers and students to opt for English in the classrooms as well. English is now equated with quality, progress and prosperity. It is closely tied to the identity of a modern, educated, international citizen (Eagle 304). Therefore, even the poorest guardians wish to educate their children at the English medium schools that cost much more than they can afford. When their children are able to say 'Good Morning Papa,' 'Bye Bye Mommy,' 'Thank you uncle,' 'See you again, Auntie,' they become very happy and feel the sense of educational achievement in their children.

English in Media

English words and English transliterations are extensively used in Nepali billboards and social media. Here are a few illustrations.



Fig. 1 Transliteration in Commercial Billboard



Fig. 2 Transliteration in Commercial Billboards

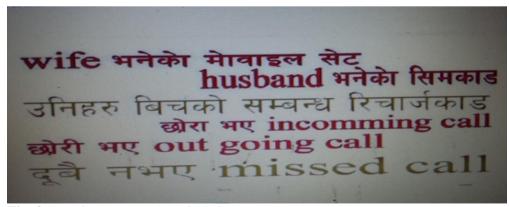


Fig. 3 Transliteration in Social Media

In figure 1, there are 18 words except numerical ones out of which 7 are English words transliterated into Nepali. In figure 2, there are 15 words in the names of two billboards out of which 8 words are English words and 7 words are transliterated forms. No single typical Nepali word is found in the billboards. In figure 3, out of 24 words, nine words are English words and four words are transliterated forms. These figures also show where we are heading to and how we are localizing English in Nepal.

Discussion and Conclusion

The present study revealed the growing craze of English in naming, everyday discourses, academic institutions, and media. English has become the flesh and blood of Nepali academia today. Giri maintains that during the Rana oligarchy, English in Nepal was imported and adopted for ideological and/or political reasons, i.e. for using it as a linguistic edge to strengthen the socio-political superiority of the ruling elites, and to reserve the access to world resources-economic and educational for themselves ("The Politics" 33). In theory, it has been available to anyone and everyone through public education since the 1950s. Phyak opines that when Nepal opened its door to foreigners after the end of the Rana regime in 1950, the flow of foreigners for tourism, business, research, development, religion and education increased briskly in Nepal which helped to flourish English in Nepal (III). Besides the establishment of Durbar School, ruling over in India by British Empire, the recruitment and the retirement of the Nepali British Army, British Council, American Embassy, and NELTA also played a significant role in the spread of English in Nepal. As Nepal is a developing country, it has to import several foreign goods and with them, English and English culture have entered, for instance, America produces the coca cola and sends it in third world, we people start to drink it (R. Bista, par. 9). Within some decades, it has reached every corner of Nepal through business, research, tourism, technology, education, mass media, and global cyber culture.

In this regard, Larsen-Freeman cites from Graddol that "the availability of English as a global language is accelerating globalization. On the other hand, the globalization is also accelerating the use of English" (68). Phyak agrees with Graddol and further says that globalization and neoliberalism are the two key forces for accelerating the use of English in Nepal (III). The establishment of world organizations like UNO and regional organizations like SAARC have excelled the cry of English. After the reintroduction of democracy, Nepal actively participated in such organizations which made English vital in Nepali Society (K. Shrestha 174). For R. Bista, the craze of English is expanding day by day because of the hegemony of westernization (par. 8) but the reality is that "individuals themselves are motivated to learn English on their own because of their interest in popular music, dance, sports, or computers" (Larsen-Freeman 69). Similarly, Giri incorporates the conclusion drawn by the study of Research Division, Tribhuvan University that people's attraction to and interest in using English expressions, the influence of media, especially TV and radio, and the spread of 'English medium' private schools across the country are some other reasons for the expansion of English craze in Nepal ("The Many" 102). With the rise of tourism, science and technology, and EMI, the craze of English will grow more in the future.

The study also revealed that English has penetrated to every walk of life, particularly from academic institutions to home, from markets to media, from public places to personal names, replacing Nepali and other local languages, which endorses K. Sharma that the role of English in Nepal has undergone a sea change from rulers'/elites' language to everybody's language (25). Now English has intermingled with Nepali life in such a way that it seems almost impossible to detach from their life (K. Shrestha 176). Regarding the changes of English in Nepal, Giri summarizes that (a) there has been a

change in attitude toward the use of English, (b) the status of English has changed since English now serves either as a primary language or as an alternative language in most domains of life, (c) a change has occurred in its knowledge base or source, (d) there has been a changed in the goals of ELE (more realistic locally negotiated goals), and (e) its pedagogic approaches have changed from designer methods to negotiated methods ("The Many" 110). Of course, English in Nepal is associated with power, progress, status, wealth, learning, intelligence, and civilization.

The study further revealed that the everyday discourse of the Nepali people is perhaps impossible without mixing English words. Therefore, codemixing is a natural phenomenon in the everyday discourse. It is also common in billboards. This finding endorses the result of a study conducted by the Research Division, Tribhuvan University on the impact of the language on the rural population, as mentioned by Giri, that the consciously or subconsciously, the rural population mix over 500 words in their everyday conversations ("The Many" 102). In this sense, English is in our taste, in our opinions, in our dreams, in morals and in intellects. We feel that we are proud of wearing tie and suit, hearing English pop songs, celebrating Valentine Day, Easter and Christmas Day, and eating pizza and hamburger. But, for many people, learning English is getting better- paying jobs rather than supporting a hobby (Larsen-Freeman 69). M. Agrawal states that "proficiency in the English language is essential to get any one of 90% of the available job" (cited in Eagle 304). In many countries, basic proficiency in English is a requirement for jobs. That's why, Nepali people are also motivated to learn English because they think that English language skills provide better job opportunities and greater information access, promote civic involvement and empower them. English has made them the citizens of the global world.

The study also revealed that the community schools are changing their medium of instruction from Nepali to English because of the demands of the guardians, reducing the dropout rates of the students, and attracting the students studying in the private schools to community schools, which has also increased the craze of English in Nepal. However, the dark side of English is also tragic since if more and more people speak English, languages will gradually be lost since English is killing several national and vernacular languages in the world. In Nepal, if English is made an official language, there is a doubt whether it will empower or further marginalize the ethnic communities and whether it will displace Nepali. Crystal warns that if English, in 500 years, is the only language left to be learnt, it will have been the greatest intellectual disaster that the planet has ever known (191). The loss of languages causes the loss of diversity, identity, culture, history, and knowledge.

But Larsen-Freeman cites from Graddol that the spread of global English is not the direct cause of language endangerment (69). Of the various reasons, it is the national language, Nepali, which has threatened the local languages rather than English in Nepal. Therefore, Harmer views that rather than fearing English as a destroyer, we should, perhaps, concentrate on how to maintain communities with a strong enough identity to preserve the language they represent, and it is even possible that the presence of English as a lingua franca actually provokes speakers of minority languages to protect and promote their own languages (The Practice 17). It is actually making the speakers of minority languages aware of their language and culture, and empowering and encouraging them to unite for their linguistic rights. In addition, the role of English in Nepal is going to be more prominent and widespread in uniting people, strengthening national harmony, helping them access the fruits of development, and in consolidating the same (Bhattarai and Gautam 33). As English is for everyone, its role is also beneficiary. Giri also views that English assists the local languages at least two of the

three main processes of language development, that is, codification (choice of script, orthography, pronunciation, grammatical forms, lexical items) and elaboration of functions (innovations and adaptations of vocabulary in the areas of scientific, imaginative and emotive experience) ("The Many"101). This need of English has further increased its craze in Nepal.

The findings of this study have great pedagogical implications at the policy, practice, and further research levels. The policy makers need to reassess the status and functions of English in Nepal and give it an official status. Furthermore, the growing craze of English has challenged the mother tongue education in Nepal. The community schools, colleges, and universities need to rethink the medium of instruction in their respective institutions. Similarly, teacher training should also be centred towards teaching other subjects through English.

In this article, we have described the changing faces of English in Nepal and exemplified how English craze is growing up in the everyday discourses, media, academic institutions, and public domains. Our analysis is based on limited data collected from informal discussion with teachers, public domains, and our own experiences. Future studies can be conducted in a large scale, collecting more data from different areas to validate the findings of our study. More specifically, English craze in social media, English craze in billboards and advertisements, and English codemixing and codeswitching in everyday discourses are some specific areas for future research.

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