

On liberation of English from purist pundithood through nativization in Nepal

Shankar Dewan, Sukuna, Tribhuvan University

Abstract: This qualitative content analysis paper attempted to explore the linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization employed by creative Nepali authors of English in their writings. I purposively selected three anthologies of stories, four novels, eight essays, one newspaper article, and four news stories/reports. Then, I went through the contents, examined the language used in those texts, noted down the unique features of Nepali English, and thematized them under linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization to make the analysis more explicit. I found that the creative Nepali authors of English intentionally nativized English to convey a distinct sense of Nepaliness and to deconstruct the so-called sacred cow model of English. Findings reveal that policymakers and pedagogues need to shift from the monomodel approach to the functional polymodel approach that only values the features of Nepali English as innovations, rather than errors.

Keywords: Nepali English, nativization, bilinguals' creativity, sacred cow model.

1. Introduction

Nepal is a multilingual and multicultural country where 0.01% of the total population speaks English as a mother tongue and 0.30% of them speak it as a second language (Central Bureau of Statistics 2014). However, Crystal (2003) estimated that 27.6% of people in Nepal speak English as a second language. Current estimates indicate that 30% of people speak English as a second language, and some linguists estimate that around 40-50% of urban Nepali people are functionally literate in English (Bolton & BaconShone 2020). Because of its rapid spread and use, English is overtaking Nepali in many crucial sectors like tourism, trade and business, education, science and technology, and most other economic sectors in Nepal (Giri 2020a). Various factors have contributed to the spread of English in Nepal from past to present, such as the entry and settlement of European missionaries in Nepal, British colonization over India and its direct and indirect influence in Nepal, the recruitment and retirement of the Nepali British Army, the establishment of the Darbar School and Tri-Chandra College, which adopted English as the language of education, the British Council, the American Embassy, Nepal English Language Teachers' Association (NELTA), business, research, tourism, technology, education (particularly private schools), mass media, and global cyber culture (Dewan & Laksamba 2020). With its nationwide spread, the forms and functions of English have changed in Nepal.

However, English has not yet been officially declared an official language in Nepal. Since Nepal had no colonial legacy and English was a foreign language, B. Kachru (1990) categorized Nepal under the Expanding Circle countries. But the colonial history and official status alone do not determine whether Nepal is an Expanding Circle or an Outer Circle country and whether English is a second or a foreign language. It is necessary to consider the functional penetration of English in many aspects of Nepali life (Giri 2020a). Unlike B. Kachru (1990), Bolton et al. (2020) argued that Nepal can be regarded as an Outer Circle country from a historical perspective since it was also influenced by British colonialism in South Asia and has had a long history of contact with English. In addition, Nepal can also be regarded as an Outer Circle country from the sociolinguistic perspective because of the significant educational, social, and economic roles played by English in Nepali society as other Outer Circle varieties of English have performed (Pandey 2020). Historically, too, English was the only medium of instruction until the 1950s, and as a subject, it continued to be taught as a second or even first, not a foreign language in Nepal at least up until 1971 (Shrestha 1983). Because of the growing craze of English in all socio-economic and educational sectors, Giri (2015: 95) claimed that

“English in Nepal has been anything but a foreign language”. It is the second most widespread language after Nepali (Eagle 1999), a primary language in various sectors (Adhikari 2018; Dewan & Saud 2022; Giri 2020a), and one of the local languages in Nepal (Giri 2020b). Along with the roles or functions of English, its forms have also changed with the contact of local languages.

In the bi/multilingual contexts, English has two Janus-like faces: nativization, the effect of English in a localized context, and Englishization, the effect on local languages in the same context (Bolton 2006; B. Kachru 1996, 2011). In the Outer and Expanding Circle countries, contact between English and local languages has resulted in the nativization of English and the Englishization of indigenous languages (Y. Kachru 2020). The term “nativization” refers to the changes that English has undergone due to its contact with various languages in diverse geo-cultural settings (Pandharipande 1987) or the adaptation of English in particular socio-cultural settings (Y. Kachru & Nelson 2011). Although the terms are different, some scholars use nativization, acculturation, indigenization, and hybridization for the same purpose (Pandharipande 1987). In this sense, an imported variety of “English” is nativized, acculturated, indigenized, or hybridized and becomes a local variety known as Nepali English (NE), Indian English, Chinese English, and many other kinds of English in different countries.

The nativization of English has been instrumental in slaughtering the “sacred cows of English”, the term used by B. Kachru (1988), which perpetuates the age-old mythology of linguistic purity (B. Kachru 2011). The purist pundits like Prator (1968) and Quirk (1985), who held the monolithic vision of English, advocated for the sacred cow model of English, ignoring the pluralistic features of non-native varieties of English. For the purist linguistic pundits, divergence from the so-called Standard English is labelled as error, deviation, and fossilization. They uncritically follow English native speakers, their models and methods of teaching English and their materials, and ignore the sociolinguistic realities where different Englishes are spoken (See B. Kachru 1988). Studies on different varieties of English reveal that the creative users of English seem to slaughter the sacred cows of English and establish new canons (B. Kachru 2011) by appropriating English in their own terms as per their needs, values, and aspirations (Canagarajah 1999). To liberate English from the purist pundithood and to ensure more intelligibility in the local contexts, Patil (2006) reported that the creative authors like India’s Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, and Khushwant Singh, and Nigeria’s Achebe and Ojaide consciously deviated English from the norms of the so-called native varieties of English.

In Nepal, the issue of nativization, or Nepaliness of English was first raised in the late 1970s. In 1977, Malla claimed that “there are a number of marked-style features in the Nepalese written English” (Cited in Shrestha 1983: 52). Backing up to Malla, in 1978, Shrestha analyzed some written samples of NE and found some marked features of English (Shrestha 1983). Both Malla and Shrestha indicated some kind of Nepaliness in the written English in Nepal. On nativization of English in Nepal, Shrestha (1983) argued that some degree and kind of divergence from the “parent” English language is discernible in the English spoken and written in Nepal and that a particular Nepaliness of English can be noticed in the Nepali people’s sound system, accent and intonation, and selection and arrangement of words. In this regard, Karn (2006: 76) stated, “...English here has been nepalized (nativized) in Nepal with its own typical features, borrowings, vocabulary, and phonology, and it is likely to diverge from the standard English in the future”. As a result of language contact, nativization, and bilinguals’ creativity, Rai (2006: 39) claimed with evidence that “a different kind of spoken as well as written English is emerging in Nepal... [.]”. Therefore, the researchers have focused their attention on the study of various forms and functions of NE. In light of this, the present article is particularly focused on exploring how the English language undergoes linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization within the Nepali context.

2. Review of related literature

This study is theoretically based on three kinds of nativization – linguistic, pragmatic, and creative (Bamgbose 1998; Falola 2003) and cultural nativization (Alptekin 2006). Linguistic nativization is the process of indigenizing a non-native variety of English (Bamgbose 1998), in which substitution, pluralization, introduction of culture-specific vocabulary items, semantic shifts, and different verb-preposition combinations take place (Falola 2003). Innovations at the levels of phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics fall under linguistic nativization. In the words of Bamgbose (1998), this type follows the feature form (structures or rules). Pragmatic nativization is culture-based (Bamgbose 1998) in which the rules of language use typical of English native situations are modified under the pressure of the cultural practices of another language environment, such as the use of numerous indigenous greetings and modes of address as per the social status and age (Falola 2003). English can function maximally in non-native situations only when it reflects the norms of appropriateness. Pragmatic nativization, therefore, is concerned with “both the indigenisation of the pragmatics of English as described in the third phase of Schneider’s (2003, 2007) model of postcolonial Englishes and the performance of certain actions via language by local speakers of English” (Funke 2020: 1). Creative users of English do not use English as it is, but rather appropriate or nativize it and use it as per their aspirations, needs, and values (Canagarajah 1999). Similarly, creative nativization reflects aspects of cultures by rendering authentic indigenous idioms and rhetorical patterns into English (Bamgbose 1998). In creative nativization, new words or expressions are coined, and local native idioms are translated into English to convey the message (Falola 2003). Of the three types of nativization, pragmatic and creative nativization are more accepted and tolerated than the linguistic one. Of the linguistic innovations, lexical and semantic innovations are easier to accept than phonological, morphological, and syntactic innovations (Bamgbose 1998). Besides the phonological innovations, this study highlights other types of innovations.

The notion of nativization, particularly cultural nativization, was further elaborated by Alptekin (2006: 499) as “the sociological, semantic, and pragmatic adaptation of the textual and contextual clues of the original story into the language learner’s own culture, while keeping its linguistic and rhetorical content essentially intact”. He described that textual cues have to do with settings, locations, characters and occupations, and contextual cues involve culture-specific customs, rituals, notions, structures, and values. More specifically, he argued that nativization through the sociological dimension includes culture-specific contextual clues of customs and rituals such as religious conventions, courting patterns, social festivities, interpersonal relationships, and home and family life. Nativization through semantic dimension incorporates the adaptation of culture-specific notions and structures, for instance, conceptual and lexical changes made in the areas of food, currency, clothes, drinks, and institutions. Finally, nativization through the pragmatic dimension encompasses the substitution of local cultural values for the target cultural values. Studies by Alptekin (2006) and Jalilifar and Assi (2008) showed that cultural nativization has a facilitative effect on comprehension of stories.

Nativization takes place both formally and functionally through various processes and at different stages. B. Kachru (1981) discussed both the formal and functional nativization of some new Englishes such as Indian English and West African English with some examples. In many Asian countries, B. Kachru (1998, 2011) argued that English has attained “functional nativeness”, which is determined by the depth (domains of functions) and range (the degree of social penetration) of a language in a society. In nativization, non-native speakers generalize rules from the established varieties and transfer the features from other languages used in each speech community (Lowenberg 1986). In the nativization process, the logic of the local languages is transferred to English; there is variation within the nativized varieties of English; and deviations of various types occur intentionally in the creative writing and newspaper registers and unintentionally in the ordinary speech (Pandharipande 1987). Such processes involve adjustments, borrowings, transfer, reduplication,

compounding, and deviations of grammatical patterns (Pandharipande 1987). But they do not come all of a sudden. Vethamani (1996) maintained that the nativization process comes in two stages. Firstly, new learners of English incorporate a number of culturally-loaded local words into English. Such words, which are generally cultural markers, do not have their exact equivalents in English. Secondly, nativized Englishes get liberated from the standards of English set by the native speakers. More local features get penetrated into English as people of different language backgrounds start using it as a *lingua franca*.

Several studies have been conducted on the nativization of English in different countries. Valentine (1992) studied how the creative authors nativize the subvarieties of gender, age, and ethnicity in the new English varieties. In his study on the nativization strategies used by Chinua Achebe in his fiction, Bamiro (2006) found linguistic hybridization and the Africanization of English as the two major strategies adopted by the author. Tunde-Awe (2014) studied the nativization of English in Nigeria and identified some typical phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic features of Nigerian English.

Some studies have been conducted on NE, which reveal how English is being nativized or localized in Nepal. Brett's (1999) study revealed the Nepalization of English at the lexical level. After Brett, Rai (2006) found how English in Nepal is being nativized through the entry of Nepali words in English, attachment of English suffixes to Nepali words and vice-versa, the change of word order of English in Nenglish, and the introduction of literal translation of Nepali proverbs in English texts. In his study on the nativization in various genres of literature written in Nepal, Karn (2012) found that the authors adopted various rhetorical strategies such as linguistic and cultural transfer, borrowings, hybridization, code-switching, translation of Nepali expressions, and reduplication. Later, Giri's (2015) study identified the attachment of Nepali suffixes to English words, large scale code-mixing and code-switching between Nepali and English words, transliteration of English words into Nepali, and modifications to the standard rules of English at the lexis, grammar, and writing levels. Likewise, Sharma et al. (2015) found some features of NE such as the incorrect use of articles, unnecessary use of the suffix "-s", unnecessary use of prepositions or the lack of them, unique use of certain words, code-mixing, and use of unnecessary words (e.g., "in the context of Nepal", for "in Nepal"). Similarly, Jora's (2019) study showed some phonological, syntactic, semantic, and discourse features of NE. In a study on hybridity in NE, Dewan and Laksamba (2020) found that the creative Nepali users of English adopted the strategies, such as hybrid affixation, hybrid reduplication, hybrid compounding, hybrid blending, hybrid neologisms, and hybrid calques to nativize English in Nepal. In a similar vein, Ghimire's (2021) study revealed that the creative authors nativized English through the entry of Nepali words, use of complete Nepali sentences, attachment of English suffixes to Nepali words and vice versa, the change in word order of English, and the literal translation of Nepali proverbs in English literature. The first study on bilinguals' creativity by Dewan (2021) revealed that the bilingual author adopted different linguistic and literary strategies such as direct lexical transfer, code-switching, hybridization, metaphors and proverbs, loan translation, and nativized discourse strategies to convey a distinct sense of Nepaliness.

All the literature reviewed above varies in terms of the data they used and their focus of study. My proposed study is the most comprehensive study on nativization based on a larger scale of data, in which data were collected from literary books written in English by Nepali authors, creative writings, and English newspapers. No research has yet been conducted focusing on linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization of English in Nepal, bringing the evidence of any feature from various sources to justify that the features described in this article are innovations since the more the knowledgeable people (writers, teachers, media practitioners, publishing houses) use any variety (Bamgbose 1998) and the more frequent or common the feature is (Mesthrie 2003), the higher the chances of the variety being accepted as an innovation. In the following section, I briefly describe the methods of study used in my study.

3. Methodology

The qualitative content analysis approach was adopted to explore the linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization of English in the creative writings. In qualitative content analysis, the text data are categorized into clusters of similar entities or conceptual categories to identify consistent patterns and relationships between variables or themes, are open to subjective interpretation, and reflect multiple meanings (Given 2008). I purposively selected three anthologies of stories, namely, Vishnu Singh Rai's *Martyr and Other Stories* (2016a) and Samrat Upadhyay's *The Royal Ghosts* (2006) and *Arresting God in Kathmandu* (2018); four novels, namely, Manjushree Thapa's *Seasons of Flights* (2012), Shiwani Neupane's *Crossing Shadows* (2015), Narayan Wagle's translated book *Palpasa Café* (2005/2016), and Sheeba Shah's *The Other Queen* (2018); Govinda Raj Bhattarai's essays, namely *A Recollection of a Journey to Stratford-upon-Avon* (2011), *Reminiscing my Childhood Days (Ignorance of Bliss)* (2012), and *A Day in the Kalaksetra Guwahaty, Assam* (2016); Laxmi Prasad Devkota's essay *Is Nepal Small?* (2017); Krishnachandra Singh Pradhan's essay *A Letter from Gautam Buddha to Ashoka* (2017); Vishnu Singh Rai's essay *Three Months in Austria* (2016b); B.P. Koirala's autobiographical essay *Atmabrittanta: Late Life Recollections* (2017); and CK Lal's essay *I am the Nepali* (2017). These texts were chosen because they were written by well-known Nepali authors with good writing skills in English and a strong academic background who "have the unparalleled privilege to 'bend' the language at times to suit their context-specific needs" (Li & He 2021), and because they were characterized by the acrolect variety of English, also known as the educated variety, used by people of a certain level of education (Bamgbose 1998), which encompassed "a remarkable degree of uniformity" (Fuchs 2016: 11) in the English language used in the texts. The English language used in those texts can be claimed as a linguistic innovation rather than an error since, as Bamgbose (1998) claimed, the more knowledgeable or educated people (for instance, authors, teachers, examination bodies, media practitioners, and publishing houses) are seen to use the variety, the higher the chances of the variety being accepted as an innovation. Similarly, I selected the NE literatures, which, according to B. Kachru (1996), are part of the local canons of creativity and the texts in the local literary books have their own context within the new canons of creativity, such as a context of sociocultural canons and canons of creativity. Such locally produced English literatures also show how the creative authors acculturate or nativize English in their local contexts to maintain the local colour as well as to add a distinct local flavour (B. Kachru 2011).

I selected one English article by Mandal (2020) from the English newspaper "The Kathmandu Post" and three news reports by Budha (2020), Ghimire (2020), and Pradhan (2020) from the English newspaper "Republica" and one news report by Khadgi (2020) from the English newspaper "The Kathmandu Post" because they are the popular English-language national newspapers published in Nepal, which also reveal the acrolect variety of English used by educated authors. Unlike literary texts, newspaper articles and news reports follow specific writing conventions and styles which reveal how English is used in the formal and public domains in Nepal. The study of media Englishes not only demonstrates the depth and range of variation but also questions the validity of claims that some languages are authentic and others are not (Moody 2019). Such English dailies incorporate lexical and grammatical nativizations and disseminate local varieties of English (Baumgardner 1987).

I also purposively selected essays from English textbooks and a journal, and news stories/reports and an article from the English newspapers, which all use the standard acrolectal variety of English. The rationale for using multiple sources is to present more evidence from different sources to justify that linguistically, creatively, and pragmatically nativized expressions are innovations.

In this study, I thoroughly read the sampled anthologies of stories, novels, essays, news stories/reports, and an article, examined morphological, lexical, semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic features of NE in the texts, underlined and noted down all the features in my diary, categorized them into different themes, compared them with the Standard English norms, and particularly employed

the theoretical ideas derived from Bamgbose (1998), Falola (2003), and Alptekin (2006) to describe how English has undergone linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization in the Nepali context. The results of this study are presented and discussed in the section below.

4. Findings and discussion

In this paper, I have presented and discussed the results of the study under the three broad headings, such as linguistic nativization, creative nativization, and pragmatic nativization.

4.1 Linguistic nativization

The study revealed that the creative Nepali authors of English nativized English linguistically, which reflects the sociolinguistic facts in language contact situations. The linguistic tools used to nativize English are discussed below.

Hybrid affixation

In NE, hybrid words are formed by attaching the Nepali suffixes to English words, and vice versa, which aligns with Rai (2006). The authors hybridized and nativized the words by attaching the Nepali suffix *-ji/jee* to proper nouns, such as Kisunji, Jayaprakashji (Koirala 2017), Michaelji, Hariji (Rai 2016a), Dipak-ji, Bandana-ji (Upadhyay 2018), Kabitaji, Pitamberji (Thapa 2012), Sureshji, Raghuji (Upadhyay 2006); to common nouns such as Punditji (Bhattarai 2012), poetji, sirji, sahuji (Rai 2016a), postmanji (Upadhyay 2018), sirjee (Neupane 2015), Guru ji/guruji (Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a); to surname such as Deepak Mishraji (Upadhyay 2018), Neupaneji (Thapa 2012); and to kinship terms such as muaji and buaji (Shah 2018) to show more respect and closeness. The English suffix “-s/es” was attached to Nepali words to pluralize them, such as *dokos* “wicker baskets”, *Nepalis* “citizen of Nepal” (Rai 2016a; Wagle 2005/2016), *paajis* “fools”, *rajas* “kings”, (Shah 2018), *namastes* (Thapa 2012), *kalashes* “pitchers or water vessels” (Rai 2016a), and *momos* “dumplings” (Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006, 2018). Other English affixes attached to the words included “-ic” in *Brahmanic* (Bhattarai 2012); “-ed” in *namasted* “the Nepali greetings by joining two palms” (Rai 2016a); “-ist” in *Buddhist* (Upadhyaya 2018); “-an” in *Teraian* “inhabitant of the plain or lowland” (Rai 2016b), “anti-” in *anti-chhaupadi* “against a menstrual taboo” (Budha 2020), “non-” in *non-Nepali* “one other than Nepali” (Devkota 2017) and *non-Gorkhali* “other than the inhabitants of Gorkha or the brave Nepalese people” (Lal 2017), and “-e” in *Americane* (Thapa 2012). All these examples reveal that hybridity is an unavoidable phenomenon in NE.

Pluralization of non-count nouns

Unlike British English (BE) or American English (AE), non-count nouns are also pluralized in NE, for example, works (Bhattarai 2016; Wagle 2005/2016), committees (Rai 2016a), luggages (Rai 2016b), jewelries (Bhattarai 2016; Rai 2016a), evidences, offsprings (Shah 2018), and researches (Pokharel 2020). In BE or AE, the word “work” is an uncountable noun which is not generally pluralized. “Work” as a countable noun refers to a book, piece of music, and painting, and “works” refer to activities involving building or repairing something (Stevenson 2010). In NE, it is generally pluralized to mean jobs or tasks to be done. Both Bhattarai (2016) and Wagle (2005/2016) have used “works” to refer to tasks that need to be done. The plural of “person” as “persons” (Bhattarai 2016; Rai 2016b; Shah 2018) is very common in NE, but it is only used in formal notices in Standard English (Brett 1999). The most common plural form of “person” is “people”. Similarly, the words “committee”, “offspring”, “evidence”, “jewelry”, and “luggage” are mass nouns, which are not generally pluralized in BE or AE but the examples show that pluralization of collective or mass noun is common in NE. Similarly, the word “research” is a non-count noun which is not pluralized in BE or AE but its pluralization is very common in NE. This might be because of the influence of the Nepali language since Nepali native speakers take them as a singular noun and add the Nepali plural

marker *-haru* after them, for example, *childrenharu*, *furnitureharu*, and *informationharu*. All the examples reveal that double pluralization is common in NE, which shows bilinguals' linguistic creativity.

Borrowings of local words having English equivalence

The study revealed that local words were borrowed even if they had their equivalent words in English to show Nepaliness such as *momos* "dumplings" (Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006, 2016; Wagle 2005/2016), *Sagarmatha* "Mount Everest" (Pradhan 2017; Shah 2018), *darbar/durbar* "castle or palace" (Rai 2016a; Shah 2018), *Belayat* "Britain" (Bhattarai 2011; Rai 2016a; Wagle 2005/2016), *chi/chi-chi/chee-chee!* "Yuck!" (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Upadhyay 2018); *aiya!* "Ouch!" (Upadhyay 2006, 2018), *oho!* "oh!" (Neupane 2015; Thapa 2012), *dahi* "yogurt" (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a), *Cheen* "China", *Mahasagar* "ocean", *Bhot* "Tibet", (Shah 2018), *himals* "mountains", *ghar* "home" (Thapa 2012), *gunda* "hooligan", *raksya* "drunkard", *juade* "gambler" (Rai 2016a), *langadi* "a lame", *sadhu* "sage" (Upadhyay 2006, 2018), *sipahi* "soldier", *jhakris* "shamans or witch doctors", *apsaras* "fairies" (Shah 2018), *hay Bhagwan* "Oh my god", *bhagya* "fate", *chia* "tea", *ullu* "idiot" (Neupane 2015), *Maobadis* "Maoists", and *bhoj* "feast" (Upadhyay 2006). These examples indicate how Nepali words are being globalized through their extensive use in creative writing texts. The substitution of Nepali words in place of English words makes the texts more comprehensible for the Nepali readers of English.

Use of culture-specific words

Linguistic nativization incorporates several culture-specific words. The creative Nepali authors linguistically nativized English by using culture-specific words related to clothes and wearing items such as *daura-suruwal* "national dress worn by Nepali men" (Bhattarai 2016; Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018), *topi* "Nepali national cap" (Bhattarai 2016; Koirala 2017; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018), *salwar-kurta*, or *kurta-salwar/suruwal/surwal/sural* (with different spellings) "trousers and collarless shirt worn by Nepali women/girls" (Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2018), *sindur/sindoor* "vermillion powder worn by married women in their hair part" (Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), and *janai* "a sacred thread worn by Brahmin and Chhetri men" (Bhattarai 2012; Shah 2018). These borrowed words convey the Nepali socio-cultural meanings.

The creative authors also borrowed words related to foods and drinks such as *raksi* "local liquor" (Rai 2016a; Upadhyay 2018), *dal-bhat/daal-bhaat* "traditional Nepali meal" (Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *chura/chiura* "beaten/flattened rice" (Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Wagle 2005/2016), *dhindo/dhido* "porridge prepared from boiled maize- or millet-flour" (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016b; Wagle 2005/2016), *achar* "pickle" (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2006; Wagle 2005/2016), *chhoila/choila* "buffalo meat prepared in a typical Newari style" (Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *aila* "Newari liquor" (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018), *gundruk* "fermented and dried vegetables made by pressing radish or mustard" (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018), *laddoo/ladoo* "sweets made of flour, ghee/oil and sugar" (Neupane 2015; Upadhyay 2006). Those words were borrowed to fill the lexical gaps.

Similarly, some other culture-specific words related to festivals and rituals borrowed by the creative authors incorporated *Dashain* "the biggest Hindu festival" (Bhattarai 2011, 2012; Neupane 2015; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *Tihar* "second biggest Hindu festival" (Bhattarai 2012; Pradhan 2020; Pokharel 2020; Upadhyay 2006; Wagle 2005/2016), *bratabanda* "a Hindu ritual to offer a boy to wear a sacred thread" (Bhattarai 2012; Khadgi 2020), *puja/pooja* "worship" (Bhattarai 2012; Neupane 2015; Pokharel 2020; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2006, 2018), *tika/teeka* "decorative mark put on the forehead" (Bhattarai 2012, 2016; Neupane 2015; Pokharel 2020; Rai 2016a, 2016b; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006), *jatra* "special celebration with worship at the

place of God or Goddess” (Khadgi 2020; Shah 2018), and *akshata/ acchheta* “sacred rice offered in worship” (Bhattarai 2012; Pradhan 2017). Other culture-specific words included *madal* “a folk Nepali musical instrument” (Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *sarangi* “a traditional folk musical string-instrument which is played by rubbing on a group of strings with a small stick fastened with some strings” (Devkota 2017; Shah 2018), *dohori* “a popular Nepali duet song sung in question and answer” (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018), *doko* “wicker basket” (Rai 2016a; Wagle 2005/2016), *piral/pirka* “wooden seat” (Rai 2016a; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2018), *khukuri/khukri* “national Nepali knife” (Bhattarai 2016; Neupane 2015; Pradhan 2017; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *lakh* “one hundred thousand” (Neupane 2015; Upadhyay 2006, 2018), *crore* “ten million” (Bhattarai 2016; Neupane 2015), *peepul/pipal* tree “a screed tree in the Hindu culture which is best for oxygen to human beings and is worshipped” (Devkota 2017; Neupane 2015; Upadhyay 2006), and *Harey Shiva* “Oh my god, a term used by the followers of Hindu religion to express their sorrow or grief” (Neupane 2015; Upadhyay 2018). All these cultural words do not have their exact equivalent words in English. Therefore, they were borrowed to remedy the linguistic deficit (B. Kachru 2011) or to fill the lexical gaps (Hockett 1958).

Semantic shifts

Many English words have undergone semantic shifts in NE, for example, cinema “movie/film” (e.g. When I am in a foreign land, I am watching cinema or a drama) (Devkota 2017), straight “simple-minded, or not talented” (Wagle 2005/2016), heroine “actress” (Neupane 2015; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006; Wagle 2005/2016), hero “actor” (Neupane 2015; Upadhyay 2006; Wagle 2005/2016), silly “clever” (Shah 2018), and tiffin “break time” rather than snack or lunch itself (Bhattarai 2012). In NE, the word “hero” is also used more negatively to refer to “a person who becomes over-smart” (e.g., Who asked you to be the hero?) (Upadhyay 2018). In the past, the word “master” was used to refer to a specific person, particularly a teacher who had mastery over any specific subject. The following examples show how the meaning of “master” has been changed:

- (1) Let’s have a look at your works– how your masters have written in your notebook. (Bhattarai 2012)
- (2) The classmate replied, ‘No, I’ll be a schoolmaster, Sir.’ This time the teacher had laughed. ‘Oh, you’ll be a master all right. A master tailor!’ (Wagle 2005/2016)
- (3) My master was calling me again, so I hurried to the kitchen to heat water for him. (Upadhyay 2018)

In example (1), the term “master” refers to “a teacher who teaches at school”. Its meaning has been changed into “tailor” in example (2) and “landlord” in example (3). In this way, the meaning of “master” is overextended in NE. The meaning of the word “knife” has semantically shifted from broad to narrow in NE. Bhattarai (2011) used the Nepali word *karda* (e.g., a *karda* knife) and Bhattarai (2012, 2016) and Upadhyay (2016) used the Nepali word *khukuri/khukri* with “knife” (e.g., *khukuri* knife) to convey the messages more explicitly. Similarly, the verb “give” is used quite differently in NE.

- (4) Say that you have a meeting to attend or I have an exam to give! (Neupane 2015)

In example 4, the word “give” has been used instead of “take”. In BE or AE, students or examinees take an exam or a test, and the examiners give it. In NE, the verb “give” is commonly used “to take” an exam. In a similar vein, the meaning of guru has gradually shifted from a religious teacher or an expert to anyone without any expertise and then to a driver.

(5) Guruji not only gave her a free ride...[.] (Rai 2016a)

In Nepal, the driver is addressed by adding the honorific suffix “-ji” to the word “guru”. This indicates that teachers are less respected and have a lower status than the drivers in Nepal. The findings endorse Dewan’s (2023) study that English words have undergone a semantic volte-face in Nepal, particularly from broad to narrow, from positive to negative and vice versa, and to something new or different in meaning, which are the variety markers of NE.

Unusual question tags

In Standard BE or AE, the same auxiliary verb from the statement is repeated in the question tag or the periphrastic “do” is used in the case of main verb in the question tag. But question tags in NE are formed using the Nepali expression “*hoina ta*” and the English word “no” as a question tag to make confirmation.

(6) Then he was caught, *haina ta*? (Shah 2018)

(7) I am weak, *haina ta*? (Shah 2018)

(8) The mornings here are so beautiful, no? (Upadhyay 2018).

In spoken English, the invariant question tag “isn’t it”, which is the direct translation of the Nepali question tag *haina ta*, is very common (e.g., You passed your exam, isn’t it?). In NE, the main verb “have” is also treated as an auxiliary verb, and the question tag is formed accordingly.

(9) I have to fill in some form, haven’t I? (Rai 2016a).

All these examples indicate the unique ways of forming question tags in NE, which make it different from other varieties of English.

Overuse and underuse of prepositions

Nepali speakers of English overuse and underuse prepositions, which makes NE different from other varieties of English.

(10) When he is home, he always demands, you know? (Rai 2016a)

(11) Is Mr. Mohan Kumar home? (Rai 2016a)

(12) When she was home she brewed organic beer... [.] (Thapa 2012)

In these three examples, the preposition “at” is missing. Unlike casual, informal spoken language, the preposition “at” is used in formal language. Another unique feature of NE is concerned with redundancy, which is shown in the following examples:

(13) I entered into the Cathedral – there are rows of benches inside. (Rai 2016b)

(14) I was undertaking a great venture by entering into an unknown world. (Bhattarai 2012)

The preposition “into” in (13) and (14) is overused, which is unnecessary. The verb “enter” would seem to have the same conceptual content as the preposition “into” (Langacker 2008). In Standard English, “enter into” is a phrasal verb which means “to start to become involved in something, especially a discussion or agreement” (Wong 2014). Similarly, the overuse of prepositions is found in the following examples:

- (15) We noticed from the media that political parties, government and parliament are now discussing about the ramification of MCC. (Ghimire 2020)
 (16) He returned back from Saudi Arabia... [.] (Rai 2016a)

Following Wong (2014), the co-occurrence of the preposition “about” with the verb “discuss” is motivated semantically in NE. Similarly, the preposition “back” is redundant with the verb “return” in example (16). All the examples show the least correspondence between the verb and the preposition in NE.

Unusual syntactic structures

In Standard BE or AE, people can be judged from appearance by using the sense verbs like look/sound/feel/taste/smell + adjective, look/sound/feel/taste/smell + like + a noun/noun phrase, and look/sound/feel/taste/smell + as if/though + a clause (Doff et al. 1991). In NE, unique sentences are formed.

- (17) It looked like it was dripping with blood. (Wagle 2005/2016)
 (18) She felt like she was a spectator in a massive parade... [.] (Neupane 2015)
 (19) And yet it still looks like he’s got every word down right. (Neupane 2015).

In these examples, “look/feel like” is followed by a clause. Such sentences are not generally found in BE or AE. Similarly, the verb “seem” is used as a linking verb or with a to-infinitive (Doff et al. 1991). However, in NE, it is used with “like + a clause”, which indicates that NE is different from other varieties of English.

- (20) Somehow Ayush Dai’s death seemed like it had nothing to do with the waging war... [.] (Neupane 2015)
 (21) But it seemed like they didn’t care at all. (Neupane 2015)

In NE, the word “already” is used as an aspectual marker to signal completion, which is akin to a feature of Singapore Colloquial English (Ferguson 2006).

- (22) They are already here... [.] (Neupane 2015)
 (23) I already have Lal Bahadur Thakuri on the case. (Neupane 2015)
 (24) Maybe other people are already helping her. (Upadhyay 2006)

Contrary to NE, as shown in (22), (23), and (24), the word “already” is often used with the present perfect or past perfect in Standard English. Similarly, in NE, the plurality of the noun is not marked like the nouns in Standard BE or AE.

- (25) Kirshna had failed in one of his test and had tried to buy Professor Parajuli. (Rai 2016a)

Some NE speakers do not add the morpheme “-s” to the nouns (e.g. test) when they are modified by definite and indefinite numbers (e.g. one). This finding endorses Karn (2011). Such linguistic nativization has caused the emergence of a unique English in Nepal.

Nepali language-induced English expressions

Reduplication is very common in the Nepali language, which has influenced the production of English sentences. The creative Nepali authors have produced Nepali language-induced English expressions by reduplicating the English words.

- (26) Here I am trying and trying, and you never appreciate what I do. (Upadhyay 2018)
 (27) ...the taste of hot hot momos... [...] (Upadhyay 2018)
 (28) ...I thought for the longest, longest time. (Shah 2018)
 (29) We wear different-different things. (Thapa 2012)
 (30) She talks about big-big things. (Thapa 2012)
 (31) We bought a second-hand car –cheap-cheap! (Thapa 2012)

In (26), the verb is repeated, and from (27) to (31), the adjectives are reduplicated. The adjectival reduplication generally intensifies the meaning, and verbal reduplication is usually used to express attenuation or continuity (Anesa 2019). Similarly, echo-reduplication is found in NE.

- (32) Shashi, Honey! Now leave this ‘but-shut.’ (Rai 2016a)

The author produced the echo-reduplication “but-shut” because of the influence of the Nepali language since echo-reduplication is very common in the Nepali language. In (32), the word “but” is repeated with the substitution of an initial sound. Similarly, some unique sentences in NE include:

- (33) You have crossed the seven seas. (Thapa 2012)
 (34) Manisha’s new film is playing at Kumari Hall. (Upadhyay 2006)
 (35) *Chhora*, come home quick. (Neupane 2015)

The sentence (33) is a direct transfer of the Nepali expressions, in which “the seven seas” refers to “abroad or a foreign country”. Another sentence (34) is a direct translation of the Nepali sentence *Manishako naya film Kumari Hallma chaliraheko chha*. In BE or AE, the inanimate subject “Manisha’s new film” cannot be the agent of the verb “play”. The sentence should actually be “Manisha’s new film is being played/run at Kumari Hall”. In the sentence (35), the word “quick” instead of “fast” was used because of the influence of the Nepali language. The following examples show how the creative authors nativize English in Nepal:

- (36) Our house is there. (Upadhyay 2018)
 (37) I’ll heat the water, *hajur*. (Upadhyay 2018)
 (38) I can buy people like you with my left hand. (Upadhyay 2018)
 (39) ...Gopal Sir would be selected because he was Head Sir’s right hand. (Rai 2016a)

The use of the locative adverbial “there” in (36) is akin to Indian English (e.g. coffee is there, tea is there) where BE speakers would prefer an existential construction (Ferguson 2006). In (37), the author used the word “heat” to mean “boil or warm” because of the influence of the Nepali word *tataunu*. Similarly, sentence (38) was formed by borrowing the meaning and structure from the Nepali sentence. In (39), the expressions “Gopal Sir” to mean “Mr. Gopal” and “Head Sir’s right hand” to mean “the Head teacher’s chief assistant or supporter” were formed due to the influence of the Nepali language. In a similar vein, the compound word “moustache-war” (Rai 2016b) was formed from the Nepali expression *jungago ladai*, which means “fight among people for power”.

- (40) What has happened has happened. (Shah 2018)

Sentence (40), which means “let bygones be bygones”, was derived from the Nepali expression *je hunu thiyo so bhayo*. All the examples mentioned above indicate that Nepal has transcreated, recreated, and modified English to appropriate it in the Nepali context.

Approximant quantification

The authors used two numbers together to mean “about” or “or” such as five-seven hours (Gautam 2020), two-three years (Mandal 2020), and 20-22 days (Koirala 2017), which indicate bilinguals’ creativity and nativization of English in local contexts. This finding is consistent with the feature of Indian English by Sridhar (2020).

4.2 Creative nativization

The study revealed that creative Nepali authors of English produced novel or creative words and expressions because of their bilinguals’ creativity (See Dewan 2021).

Coinage

The authors coined some new words such as blue films “porn movies”, Head sir “Principal or Head teacher”, *namasted* “greeted by joining two palms” (Rai 2016a), Second Sir “Assistant Principal or Head teacher in the school” (Bhattarai 2012), *bahun* bird “a child from the Brahmin caste” (Wagle 2005/2016), pin-drop silence “complete silence”, *Nepal bandh* “countrywide strike” (Neupane 2015), non-vegetarian “non veg meal” (Thapa 2012), east-coat jacket “sleeveless half-coat/jacket worn within a full coat/jacket” (Bhattarai 2016), inequality “inequality”, and unwritibale “something that cannot be written” (Rai 2016b). Similarly, Bhattarai (2012) coined new words by modifying the spelling of English words such as iskool for “school”, Hyallow for “Hello”, krau for “crow” and thrusty for “thirsty”, which reveal how the Nepali speakers of English creatively produce the English words. Rai (2016a) coined the word “leachy” by modifying the spelling of “litchi/lichee” to refer to a small fruit with the thick, rough reddish skin, white flesh, and a large stone.

The study revealed the invention of some new words through the hybridization of English and indigenous languages, such as neighbourhood *bhatti* “a nearby place where local wine is made”, wedding *doli* “a wooden palanquin to carry a bride during the wedding”, *kuirey* journalist “a British journalist”, (Upadhyay 2018), mutton *sukuti* “dried meat of he-goat”, skinny *bahun* “a very thin person from the Brahmin caste”, (Wagle 2005/2016), *angrezi* book “English book”, (Bhattarai 2012), mighty *angrez* “a powerful Englishman”, local *aila* “a kind of liquor from the Newari community” (Shah 2018), valley *bund* “strike in the valley” (Rai 2016a) (See Dewan & Laksamba 2020).

Translations of local proverbs into English

The creative Nepali authors of English formed the proverbs in English by imitating the Nepali proverbs which borrow the meaning from Nepali.

(41) A bull without horns can’t call himself sharp. (Upadhyay 2018)

(42) Husband-wife’s quarrel is like hay-fire. (Rai 2016a)

(43) Once a thief always a thief. (Shah 2018)

(44) Even the walls have ears. (Shah 2018)

Proverb (41) was formed from the Nepali proverb *jun gorooko singh chhaina usakai naam teekhe* “an empty vessel makes much noise”, the proverb (42) from the Nepali proverb *shriman-srimatiko jhagada paralko aago ho* “the quarrel between husband and wife is temporary”, proverb (43) from the Nepali proverb *ek patakko chor sadhaiko chor* “once you earn bad name, it will always be with you”, and proverb (44) is the literal translation of the Nepali proverb *bhittoko samet kaan hunchha* “be careful what you say as people may be eavesdropping”. These proverbs are the results of the authors’ bilingual creativity.

4.3 Pragmatic nativization

The study revealed that Nepali words and expressions were borrowed for greetings and other social functions, as well as for addressing people, which were pragmatically fit to the Nepali contexts.

Greetings and other social functions

NE replicates numerous indigenous greetings and other expressions that serve different socializing functions. In the examples, “And then he heard someone saying, Namaskar Sir” (Rai 2016a), “Namaste, Mister Pandey” (Upadhyay 2018), “Namaste, she said, pressing her palms together” (Wagle 2005/2016), “Namaste aunty” (Neupane 2015), “Did you do Namaste to him?” (Upadhyay 2006), and “Sushil and she exchanged polite namastes” (Thapa 2012), all the authors borrowed the Nepali word *Namaste* or *Namaskar*, which is used to greet someone or to say goodbye to someone who is older than the speaker. It is done by joining both palms. This shows that *Namaste*, or *Namaskar* is a NE word. No English word can pragmatically fit to these situations since English does not have its exact equivalent word. Similarly, Shah (2018) borrowed the Nepali word *salaams* (e.g. ...who greet him with exaggerated salaams) as a form of greeting. Similarly, Thapa (2012) adopted translanguaging practices for greetings, for example, “*Kasto chha?* How are you?” In the Nepali expression *Dhok chadayen, maharajdhiraj* (Shah 2018), the word *dhok* is a kind of greeting in which someone puts their forehead onto the feet of another person as a sign of respect. Thapa (2012) used the Nepali expression *Swaagat chha Americamaa* “Welcome to America” as a form of welcoming. In another example “You have to learn to say dhanyabad... [.]” (Shah 2018), the Nepali word *dhanyabad* is commonly used by Nepali speakers to thank someone.

Terms of address

The study revealed that the authors pragmatically nativized their texts by borrowing words from the local languages which do not have their equivalent words in English. Some common words include *sab/saab/saheb/sa'b/ sahi/sah'b* (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016) after the profession (e.g. Director sab, hawaldar sab, doctor saheb), surname (e.g. Chaudhari saheb), person's name (e.g. Prakash sab), kinship term (buasahib), other words like “mem” (e.g. memsab/saheb), and in isolation (e.g. We don't know anything, sah'b) to refer to a man or woman in a position of authority; *babu* (Rai 2016a; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016) after a person's name (e.g. Prem babu, Bhola babu), profession (e.g. Painter babu), and nationality (e.g. Belayati babu) to show affection; *nani* (Bhattarai 2012; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2018) as an affectionate term used to address a child or a junior person; and *hajur/hujoor/hajoor* (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2006, 2018) to address some respectable people (e.g. buahajur/Drive to the hospital, hajur?) and to accept or respond to a call by the senior people (e.g. Hajur, Sudhir sir). All the words described above have different pragmatic meanings in Nepali societies which do not have any equivalent words in English.

The Nepali words *shreeman/shriman* (Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016) and *pati parmashwar* (Shah 2018) have different socio-cultural meanings which cannot explicitly be expressed by the English word “husband”. The use of *parmashwar*, which means god, indicates that the husband in the Hindu tradition has been given the place of god. Nepali women generally address their husbands by using such honorific words. Other borrowed words included *bahun* “people from the Brahmin caste” (Bhattarai 2012; Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *dhami* “witch doctor” (Bhattarai 2012; Shah 2018), *lahurey/lahure* “British or Indian soldier” (Koirala 2017; Wagle 2005/2016), *damai* “someone traditionally involved in tailoring” (Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *Newar* “people from the Newari ethnic tribe” (Khadgi 2020; Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016, Upadhyay 2006), and *gaine* “a door-to-door singer” (Devkota 2017; Shah 2018), which do not have any equivalent words in English. The word *raja* used by Rai (2016a) as a modifier before the kinship term *chora* “son” magnifies the value of the son in Nepali societies. Shah (2018) and Upadhyay (2006) used the word *raja* to refer to “king”. Koirala (2017), Shah (2018), and Upadhyay (2006) used *maharaja* to mean “great king”. The word *guruji* (Koirala 2017; Rai 2016a) with the suffix “-ji” reveals the prestigious position of the “driver” in Nepali societies. But Neupane (2015) used the word

guruji to address a teacher, which is less common these days. Both Bhattarai (2011) and Rai (2016b) used *mahakavi* to mean “great poet”. However, they have different connotative meanings. *Mahakavi* is the title given to only Laxmi Prasad Devkota in Nepal.

The study also revealed that the use of Nepali kinship terms is very common in NE to address people having consanguineal, affinal, adoptive, ritual, and social relations. The most frequently and commonly used Nepali kinship terms included *bahini/baini/bainee/behen* “elder or younger sister” (Bhattarai 2012; Neupane 2015; Pokharel 2020; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *bhai* “younger brother” (Bhattarai 2012; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), *daju/dai/da* “elder brother” (Bhattarai 2012; Koirala 2017; Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Shah 2018; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), and *didi* “elder sister” (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a; Thapa 2012; Upadhyay 2006; Wagle 2005/2016). To demonstrate social relations, the terms *dai/daju* and *bhai* were also used to address any male and *bahini/baini/bainee/behen* and *didi* to any female. The terms “brother” and “sister” are more general which do not explicitly convey the meaning of Nepali kinship terms. Another borrowed kinship term *kaka/kaaka* (Bhattarai 2012; Rai 2016a, 2016b; Shah 2018; Wagle 2005/2016) refers to the father’s younger brother or uncle. But the word “uncle” has a more general and inclusive meaning than the Nepali word *kaka* and its use creates confusion among the Nepali speakers if the context is unknown. In Nepal, calling people by their names alone is assumed to be impolite (Thapa 2012). Therefore, Nepali people are called by the Nepali kinship terms after their name (e.g., Neeru-*didi*, Sushil-*bhinaju*, Harihar-*dai*, Soma *kaka*, Sharda-*ma*) or by the kinship term alone (e.g., *Bahini*, *Dai*). Other borrowed words included *ma/mua/ama* “mother”, *ba/bua/buwa* “father” (Neupane 2015; Shah 2018; Upadhyay 2006, 2018; Wagle 2005/2016), and *mama* “mother’s brother” (Rai 2016b; Shah 2018). However, Nepali people affectionately or politely address a woman as *ama* and a man as *ba/bua/buwa*, which indicates the social relation rather than the biological one.

The authors borrowed different Nepali kinship terms such as *chora/chhora* “son” (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a), *dharmaputra* “adoptive son” (Shah 2018), and *miit chhora* “a ritual son”, which indicate consanguineal, adoptive, and ritual relations, respectively. Similarly, they borrowed words such as *chori/chhori* (Thapa 2012; Wagle 2005/2016), and *beta* (Rai 2016a) to address the daughter. Rai (1995) mentioned that Hindi native speakers use the word *beta* for both their son and daughter, whereas Nepali speakers use it only to refer to their daughter; they never address their son as *beta*, rather they use *chhora*. He explained that the word *beta* being used to address a daughter confirms that the sociolinguistic factor is more important than any one. The use of *beta* to address the daughter reflects the modern attitude of treating a son and a daughter equally.

The findings also indicated that the authors used the Nepali kinship terms *buhari* (Neupane 2015; Rai 2016a) to refer to “daughter-in-law”, and *bhauju* (Rai 2016a; Upadhyay 2006) to refer to “elder brother’s wife”. Wagle (2005/2016) borrowed Nepali kinship terms such as *Miit* “ritual friend”, *Miitini* “ritual friend or wife of a ritual friend”, *Miit Ba* “ritual father”, *Miitini Aama* “ritual mother”, *Miit Kaaka* “ritual uncle”, and *Miit Chhora* “ritual son”, which are the social relations formed by friendship or ritual in the Nepali tradition. English does not have their equivalent terms to show social kinship. Alptekin (2006) maintained that nativization through the sociological dimension includes culture-specific contextual cues of customs and rituals. In Nepali societies, the expression “best friend” cannot actually incorporate the deep cultural value of the Nepali ritual kinship terms *miit* and *miitini*. Therefore, the author has borrowed the above kinship terms to fill the lexical gaps.

Unlike other varieties of English, NE has unique words to address some people, such as *kaanchha/kanchha* “last born (youngest) male” (Shah 2018; Thapa 2012) and *kaanchhi* “last born (youngest) female” (Shah 2018), *jetha-dai* “eldest brother” (Thapa 2012), *Thule* “first born (eldest) son”, *Maldai* “second eldest brother”, *Saila* “third born son”, and *Sane* “last born (youngest) son” (Bhattarai 2012). All these words do not have any equivalents in English.

Slang and swear words

The study revealed that Nepali slang and swear words are common in NE, which convey different socio-cultural meanings. The authors borrowed different Nepali slang and swear words, such as *chutiya/chuthiya* “an idiot or a worthless person”, *saley/saala* “a term of abuse” (Neupane 2015; Thapa 2012), *Shalini* “a term used to abuse a woman or a girl” (Rai 2016a), *muji/mujhi* “an asshole or an abusive word used to underestimate others” (Shah 2015; Upadhyay 2006), *chor* (Thapa 2012) and *jaattha chor* (Shah 2018) “words used to rebuke a man (*jaattha* means pubic hair)”, *machikni* “mother fucker”, *maampakha* “a slang word used when someone is angry” (Neupane 2015), *randi* “a whore”, *goru mute/namarda* “a coward”, *saitan* “devil”, *harami kuukkur* “a word used to abuse someone who has dog-like behaviour”, *paaji* “an abusive word to refer to an idiot”, *allichhini* “an abusive word used to address a woman who has bad manner”, and *pakhe* “a slang word used to denote an ignorant and uncivilized man who does not know the modern world” (Shah 2018). All these swear and slang words are instances of pragmatic nativization, which have only partial or no equivalent words in English because they are the typical words used in NE, which have pragmatic or cultural meanings in Nepali society. The authors borrowed them to fill the lexical gaps created by English.

5. Conclusion

This paper focused on the linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization employed by creative Nepali authors of English in their writings. The features of NE investigated on the basis of linguistic data collected from different literary texts, newspaper reports, and articles represent how English is being used in the Nepali context. The study revealed that the authors nativized English linguistically, creatively, and pragmatically in order to make it fit the Nepali context. They were found to be not linguistic purists but active agents who use English creatively and critically rather than mechanically and diffidently (Canagarajah 1999). The nativization processes exemplified and described in the paper “reflect the sociolinguistic rules, communicative conventions, and cultural traditions of the local people that suit best their communicative purposes” (Canagarajah 1999: 179-180). Creative Nepali authors of English nativized English to manifest their individual and sociocultural values, to seek their identities and dignity in World Englishes literature, to communicate Nepali social values to the rest of the world, to show some empathy towards English (Karn 2012), to make it comprehensible to the Nepali people and practicable in the Nepali context (Dewan 2022a, 2022b), and to liberate English from the so-called purist pundithood or the monolithic vision of English. In this sense, I agree with Baker and Egginton (1999) that monolingual writing as a norm for English writing needs to be revised to incorporate multi-norms of creativity and style and multi-norms of bilingual creativity.

The innovations observed in the paper say a lot about the linguistic, sociolinguistic, and educational realities, which must be taken into consideration while discussing the language policies and pedagogy of Nepal. Policy makers and pedagogues need to adopt the functional polymodel approach that accentuates issues of identity and sociocultural and interactional contexts (Kachru 2011). Students find materials with local context more appealing and interesting because of their familiarity and local flavor (Thirusanku & Yunus 2013). Such localized materials contain localized English and local knowledge. Lestari (2020: 291) maintained, “If this local knowledge is brought to EFL classes, the students, at least, do not have to learn from scratch, i.e., learning the language and contents at the same time”. As NE is presumably practically relevant and pedagogically convenient for the Nepali speakers of English, it is quite unequal, unjust, and undemocratic to impose BE or AE in education and label locally innovated Englishes as errors, deviations, and fossilizations. Such labels do not romanticize the equality of Englishes, although all Englishes are linguistically equal (Tupas & Rubdy 2015) and respect the bilinguals’ creativity.

Despite being non-recognized in the stated or visible language policy of Nepal, NE has constituted a valuable linguistic tool in the verbal repertoire of Nepali people. Findings show that NE has become a viable medium for literary creativity or creative writing. The culture bound localized

strategies transcended in English are more effective and culturally significant than the native strategies for interaction (B. Kachru 1991). Therefore, the teachers need to reexamine the appropriateness and practicality of the native English model embedded in teaching and assessment (Lin 2020), be flexible enough to understand and teach the kind of English that their students need (Brigg 2008), be positive towards their English and support them to flourish and nurture their linguistic insights (Bhattarai & Gautam 2008), offer them the appropriate English that fulfills their needs of the time (Harmer 2007), acknowledge and give space to local varieties of English in curricula and classroom teaching (Sharma 2008), and value the new varieties of English as innovations (Dewan 2021). Such a liberation model or view of English (or liberation linguistics) invites the traditional sacred cows of English to slaughter (B. Kachru 2011), enhances the position of a localized variety of English, and empowers its speakers. This study was confined to the linguistic, creative, and pragmatic nativization in the creative writings. Further research can be conducted on nativization in spoken discourses, social media, and advertisements/billboards in Nepal.

References

- Alptekin, Cem (2006). 'Cultural familiarity in inferential and literal comprehension in L2 reading'. *System*, 34: 494-508. DOI: <https://doi.10.1016/j.system.2006.05.003>
- Anesa, Patrizia (2019). *Lexical Innovation in World Englishes: Cross-fertilization and Evolving Paradigms*. New York: Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351109352>
- Baker, Wendy & William Gregory Eggington (1999). 'Bilingual creativity, multidimensional analysis, and world Englishes'. *World Englishes*, 18(3): 343-358. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-971X.00148>
- Bamgbose, Ayo (1998). 'Torn between the norms: Innovations in world Englishes'. *World Englishes*, 17(1): 1-14. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-971X.00078>
- Bamiro, Edmund O. (2006). 'Nativization strategies: Nigerianisms at the intersection of ideology and gender in Achebe's fiction'. *World Englishes*, 25(3/4): 315-328. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2006.00473.x>
- Baumgardner, Robert J. (1987). 'Utilizing Pakistani newspaper English to teach grammar.' *World Englishes*, 6(3): 241-252. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1987.tb00204.x>
- Bhattarai, Govinda Raj & Ganga Ram Gautam (2008). 'More eclectic and interdisciplinary approach to English: Call for time'. *Journal of NELTA*, 13: 11-14. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/nelta.v13i1-2.4627>
- Bhattarai, Govinda Raj (2012). 'Reminiscing my childhood days'. *Journal of Nepalese Literature, Art and Culture*, 7(1/2): 155-164.
- Bhattarai, Govinda Raj (2016). 'A day in the Kalaksetra of Guwahaty'. In Jai Raj Awasthi, Govinda Raj Bhattarai & Vishnu Sing Rai (eds.), *Readings for the new horizons*. Kathmandu: MK Publishers and Distributors. 305-311.
- Bolton, Kingsley & John Bacon-Shone (2020). 'The statistics of English across Asia'. In Kingsley Bolton, Werner Botha & Andy Kirkpatrick (eds.), *The handbook of Asian Englishes*. New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell. 49-80.
- Bolton, Kingsley (2006). *Varieties of world Englishes*. https://www.academia.edu/15066799/Varieties_of_World_Englishes. Retrieved September 6, 2019. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118791882.ch3>
- Bolton, Kingsley, Werner Botha & Andy Kirkpatrick (2020). 'Asian Englishes today'. In Kingsley Bolton, Werner Botha & Andy Kirkpatrick (eds.), *The handbook of Asian Englishes*. New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell. 1-12. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118791882.ch1>
- Brett, Louise (1999). 'Standard English? Welcome to Nepal'. *Journal of NELTA*, 4: 85-92. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/nelta.v4i1.3779>
- Brigg, Sandra J. (2008). 'Think globally, act locally (Key speech delivered at the 13th International

- conference of NELTA). *Journal of NELTA*, 13: 139-143.
- Budha, Dhan Bahadur (2020). 'We don't follow Chhaupadi' [News report]. *Republica*, January 4: 4.
- Canagarajah, A. Suresh (1999). *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Central Bureau of Statistics. (2014). *Population monograph of Nepal (Volume II)*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Crystal, David (2003). *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511486999>
- Devkota, Laxmi Prasad (2017). 'Is Nepal small?'. In Govinda Raj Bhattarai (ed.), *Interdisciplinary readings*. Kathmandu: Oriental Publication House. 227-234.
- Dewan, Shankar & Chandra Laksamba (2020). 'Hybridity in Nepalese English'. *Journal of World Englishes and Educational Practices*, 2(6): 13-32. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32996/jweep.2020.2.6.2>
- Dewan, Shankar & Mohan Singh Saud (2022). 'Growing craze in the use of English in Nepali public domains'. *The Outlook: Journal of English Studies*, 13: 125-137. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/ojes.v13i1.46701>
- Dewan, Shankar (2021). 'Bilinguals' creativity in Nepali English: Sheeba Shah's Novel *The Other Queen*'. *Scholars' Journal*, 4:38-52. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/scholars.v4i1.42461>
- Dewan, Shankar (2022a). 'English in Nepal: Attitudes towards Nepali English or other varieties of English'. *Journal of NELTA Gandaki*, 5(1/2): 1-16. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/jong.v5i1-2.49276>
- Dewan, Shankar (2022b). 'Nepali English or other varieties of English: Perspectives from English language teachers in Nepal'. *Journal of NELTA*, 27(1/2): 106-123. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/nelta.v27i1-2.53198>
- Dewan, Shankar (2023). 'Semantic vote face of English words in Nepal'. *KMC Journal*, 5(1): 35-52. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/kmcj.v5i1.52449>
- Doff, Adrian, Christopher Jones & Keith Mitchell (1991). *Meaning into Words Upper Intermediate: Students' Books*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Falola, Toyin (2003). *The Power of African Cultures*. New York: The University of Rochester Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781580466189>
- Ferguson, George (2006). *Language Planning and Education*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780748626588>
- Fuchs, Robert (2016). *Speech Rhythm in Varieties of English: Evidence from Educated Indian English and British English*. Singapore: Springer. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-47818-9>
- Funke, Nina (2020). 'Pragmatic nativization of thinking of South Asian Englishes'. *World Englishes*, 41(2): 1-15. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12517>
- Gautam, Ananda (2020). 'Opening of track linking Taplejung headquarters to China border point elates locals' [News report]. *The Kathmandu Post*, January 20: 5.
- Ghimire, Nani Babu (2021). 'Nepalese English (Nenglish): Diverse and expanded assortment of Standard English'. *Siddhajyoti Interdisciplinary Journal*, 4: 39-49. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/sij.v2i01.39237>
- Ghimire, Santosh (2020). 'China for any aid to Nepal without intervening by 'other forces': Envoy' [News report]. *Republica*, January 4:1.
- Giri, Ram Ashish (2015). 'The many faces of English in Nepal'. *Asian Englishes*, 17: 94-115. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13488678.2015.1003452>
- Giri, Ram Ashish (2020a). 'Nepali English'. In Kingsley Bolton, Werner Botha & Andy Kirkpatrick (eds.), *The handbook of Asian Englishes*. New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell. 317-336. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118791882.ch13>
- Giri, Ram Ashish (2020b, October 30). 'English is one of the local languages in Nepal' [Interview].

- ELT Choutari*, a professional blog. <http://eltchoutari.com/2020/10/english-is-one-of-the-local-languages-in-nepal-dr-giri/>. Retrieved November 12, 2020.
- Given, Lisa M. (ed.) (2008). *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. London: SAGE Publications. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963909>
- Harmer, Jeremy (2007). *The Practice of English Language Teaching* (4th ed.). London: Pearson Education.
- Hockett, Charles F. (1958). *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing.
- Jalilifar, Alireza R. & R. Assi (2008). 'The role of cultural nativization in comprehension of short stories in EFL reading contexts'. *The International Journal of Language Society and Culture*, 26: 62-79.
- Jora, Man Bahadur (2019). 'Globalization, Englishes, Global English, and features of Nepalese English'. *International Affairs and Global Strategy*, 69: 1-6.
- Kachru, Braj B. (1981). 'The pragmatics of non-native varieties of English'. In Larry E. Smith (ed.), *English for cross-cultural communication*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 15-39. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963909>
- Kachru, Braj B. (1988). 'The sacred cows of English'. *English Today*, 4(4): 3-8. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078400000973>
- Kachru, Braj B. (1990). 'World Englishes and applied linguistics'. *World Englishes*, 9(1): 3-20. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1990.tb00683.x>
- Kachru, Braj B. (1991). 'Liberation linguistics and the Quirk concern'. *English Today*, 7(1): 3-22. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S026607840000523X>
- Kachru, Braj B. (1996). 'World Englishes: Agony and ecstasy'. *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 30(2):135-155. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3333196>
- Kachru, Braj B. (1998). 'English as an Asian language'. *Links and Letters*, 5: 89-108.
- Kachru, Braj B. (2011). *Asian Englishes beyond the Canon*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Kachru, Yamuna & Cecil L. Nelson (2011). *World Englishes in Asian Contexts*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Kachru, Yamuna (2020). 'Speaking and writing in world Englishes'. In Cecil L. Nelson, Zoya G. Proshina & Daniel R. Davi (eds.), *The handbook of world Englishes*. New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell. 349-367. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119147282.ch20>
- Karn, Sajjan Kumar (2006). 'English: Then, now and in the days ahead'. *Journal of NELTA*, 11: 73-79. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/nelta.v11i1.3130>
- Karn, Sajjan Kumar (2011). 'On Nepalese English discourse granting citizenship to English in Nepal via corpus building'. *Journal of NELTA*, 16: 30-41. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/nelta.v16i1-2.6127>
- Karn, Sajjan Kumar (2012). 'This is how I can write: Towards Nepalese English literature'. *Journal of NELTA*, 17: 26-39. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/nelta.v17i1-2.8090>
- Khadgi, Ankit (2020). 'They speak Nepal bhasa and celebrate Ya: Mari Punhi. But they're not Newar' [News report]. *The Kathmandu Post*, January 20: 9.
- Koirala, Bisheshwar Prasad (2017). 'Atmabrittanta: Late life recollections' (Kanak Mani Dixit, trans.). In Govinda Raj Bhattarai (ed.), *Interdisciplinary readings*. Kathmandu: Oriental Publication House. 136-150.
- Lal, CK (2017). 'I am the Nepali'. In Govinda Raj Bhattarai (ed.), *Interdisciplinary readings*. Kathmandu: Oriental Publication House. 236-244.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (2008). *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195331967.001.0001>
- Lestari, Yuni Budi (2020). 'Teacher agency and localization of English language teaching in Indonesia'. *Asian EFL Journal*, 27(2.1): 290-315.

- Li, David C.S. & Deyuan He (2021). 'When does an unconventional form become an innovation'. In Andy Kirkpatrick (ed), *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes*. New York: Routledge. 624-640. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003128755-43>
- Lin, Han-Yi (2020). 'The impact of global English: Perceptions of English promotion, English education, and the ELT industry in Taiwan'. *Asian EFL Journal*, 24(1):102-140.
- Lowenberg, Peter H. (1986). 'Non-native varieties of English: Nativization, norms, and implications'. *SSLA*, 8: 1-18. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0272263100005805>
- Mandal, Chandan Kumar (2020). 'Green climate fund to support Nepal for achieving climate resilience'. *The Kathmandu Post*, January 14: 3.
- Mesthrie, Rajend (2003). 'The world Englishes paradigm and contact linguistics: Refurbishing the foundations'. *World Englishes*, 22(4): 449-461. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2003.00312.x>
- Moody, Andrew (2019). 'World Englishes in the media'. In Daniel Schreier, Mariane Hundt & Edgar W. Schneider (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of World Englishes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 653-675. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108349406.028>
- Neupane, Shiwani (2015). *Crossing Shadows*. Kathmandu: We Read Publishers.
- Pandey, Shyam Bahadur (2020). 'English in Nepal: A sociolinguistic profile'. *World Englishes*, 39(3):1-14. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12490>
- Pandharipande, Rajeshwari (1987). On nativization of English. *World Englishes*, 6(2):149-158. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1987.tb00189.x>
- Patil, Z.N. (2006). 'On the nature and role of English in Asia'. *The Linguistic Journal*, 1(2): 88-131.
- Pokharel, Usha (2020). 'Crossing the divide'. *Republica*, January 18: 7.
- Pradhan, Krishnachandra Singh (2017). 'A letter from Gautam Buddha to Ashoka'. In Govinda Raj Bhattarai (ed.), *Interdisciplinary readings*. Kathmandu: Oriental Publication House. 247-256.
- Pradhan, Sujita (2020). 'Gold hits new record of Rs. 74,500 a tola' [News report]. *Republica*, January 4: 9.
- Prator, Clifford H. (1968). 'The British heresy in TESL'. In Joshua A. Fishman, Charles A. Ferguson, & Jyotirindra Das Gupta (eds.), *Language problems of developing nations*. New York: Wiley. 459-476.
- Quirk, Randolph (1985) 'The English language in a global context'. In Randolph Quirk & Henry George Widdowson (eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-6.
- Rai, Vishnu Singh (1995). 'Semantic volte face in Nepalese words'. *Curriculum Development Journal*, 29: 66-72.
- Rai, Vishnu Singh (2006). 'English, Hinglish and Nenglish'. *Journal of NELTA*, 11: 34-39. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/nelta.v11i1.3120>
- Rai, Vishnu Singh (2016a). *Martyr and Other Stories*. Kathmandu: Oriental Publication.
- Rai, Vishnu Singh (2016b). 'Three months in Austria'. In Jai Raj Awasthi, Govinda Raj Bhattarai & Vishnu Singh Rai (eds.), *Readings for the new horizons*. Kathmandu: MK Publishers and Distributors. 277-289.
- Shah, Sheeba (2018). *The Other Queen*. Kathmandu: Sangri~laPustak.
- Sharma, Bal Krishna (2008). 'World Englishes, English as a lingua franca, and English pedagogy'. *Journal of NELTA*, 13: 121-130. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/nelta.v13i1-2.4658>
- Sharma, Sheetal, Pragyan Joshi & Edwin van Teijlingen (2015). 'Nepenglish or Nepali English: A new version of English'. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 4(2): 188-193.
- Shrestha, Ramesh (1983). 'English as a second language/English as a foreign language distinction: Its pedagogy and the Nepalese context'. *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 11(1): 45-59.
- Sridhar, S.N. (2020). 'Indian Englishes'. In Kingsley Bolton, Werner Botha & Andy Kirkpatrick (eds.), *The handbook of Asian Englishes*. New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell. 243-277. DOI:

<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118791882.ch10>

- Stevenson, Angus (2010). (Ed.). *Oxford Dictionary of English*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Thapa, Manjushree (2012). *Seasons of Flight*. New Delhi: Aleph Book Company.
- Thirusanku, Jantmary & Melor Md Yunus (2013). 'Lexical borrowings in the ESL classrooms in Malaysia'. *International Education Studies*, 6(9): 51-71. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5539/ies.v6n9p51>
- Tunde-Awe, Bola Margaret (2014). 'Nativization of English language in multilingual setting: The example of Nigeria'. *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 3(6): 485-492. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5901/ajis.2014.v3n6p485>
- Tupas, Ruanni & Rani Rubdy (2015). 'Introduction: From world Englishes to unequal Englishes'. In. Ruanni Tupas (ed.), *Unequal Englishes: The politics of Englishes today*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 1-17. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137461223_1
- Upadhyay, Samrat (2006). *The Royal Ghosts*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Upadhyay, Samrat (2018). *Arresting God in Kathmandu*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications.
- Valentine, Tamara M. (1992). 'The nativizing of gender: Speech acts in the new English literatures'. *World Englishes*, 11(2/3): 259-270. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1992.tb00070.x>
- Vethamani, Malachi Edwin (1996). *Character presentation and interaction: Styles of minority discourse in the Malaysian English novel* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Nottingham.
- Wagle, Narayan (2016). *Palpasa Café*. Bikash Sangruala (trans.). Kathmandu: Publication Nepa~laya. (Original work published 2005)
- Wong, May L.-Y. (2014). 'Verb-preposition constructions in Hong Kong English: A cognitive semantic account'. *Linguistics*, 52(3): 603-625. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2014-0001>