

CHAPTER - ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study is primarily intended to explore the use of languages made by multilingual speakers in Nepal. It is obvious that most Nepalese use more than two languages as per the situations they are in. This study looks for the factors that affect in code choice in multilingual settings. Moreover, it examines the role of languages in multilingual contexts and considers both how languages work and how they can be used by the multilingual speakers.

In this chapter, important concepts of monolingualism, bilingualism, multilingualism and use of languages are discussed including the language policy in Nepal, the review of related literature, objectives and significance of the study.

1.1 General Background

Language is one of the most important forms of human symbolic behavior and is a key component of communication in many speech communities because people belong to different speech communities and use two or more languages in different situation as a tool for communication and other purposes. The situation where people use more than two languages is multilingualism.

Simply put, multilingualism refers to the possession of more than two languages by a person or a community. A person is multilingual in such a case where s/he can communicate in more than two languages be it actively (through speaking, writing or signings) or passively (through listening, reading or perceiving). To be specific, the term multilingualism can refer to either "the language use or the competence of an individual to the language situation in an entire nation or society" (Clyne, 1998 in Coulmas, 1998, p.301). In other words, if people are capable of speaking more than two languages they are multilinguals.

Many linguists define multilingualism as ‘mastery over more languages’ but how much proficiency is required to get mastery over languages is still in a controversy. In fact, the multilinguals do not necessarily have exactly the same abilities in the languages they know. They have different degrees of competence in different languages mainly in terms of ability to use the language, knowledge over the language etc. A person may have good mastery of one language or any one of the skills of the language and in another skill of another language. So, the same degree of mastery over all skills of more than two languages is not possible. In this regard, defining multilingualism in terms of ‘mastery’ is very debatable and hypothetical. Thus considering all these issues, multilingualism can best be defined as a behavioural pattern of mutually modifying linguistic practices among more than two languages.

Multilingualism is the result of migration, spread of colonial power, the volunteer programmes, travel and tourism etc. (Spolsky, 1998). These factors are responsible for both societal and individual multilingualism. Nowadays, people are benefited being multilingual speakers. They have varying degrees of command of the different repertoires. Thus, since antiquity, multilingualism has become one of the natural phenomena of the societies.

1.1.1 Concept of Monolingualism

In ancient times, monolingualism is such a common feature in many countries. It is "an ability to use a single language which is widely accepted norm in so many parts of the western world" (Wardhaugh , 1998, p. 94). Thus, Chomsky stated the notion of 'homogenous speech community' which is hard to find in reality in today's world. Opposing Chomsky, Spolsky (1998, p. 51) argues. "Monolingual speech communities are rare; monolingual countries are even rarer. In fact, no society or country is monolingual today. People have to speak a number of languages for many reasons, one of which is that they have to interact within

various situations and with various speakers in their communities. Being monolingual speakers, they can not communicate properly in all contexts. In this regard, Wardhaugh (1998, p. 94) also mentions monolingual as "a misfit who lacks an important skill in society i.e. the skill of being able to interact freely with the speakers of other languages. So, bi/multilingualism is just a normal requirement of daily living that people have to speak several languages; one or more at home, another within the community, still another for the purpose of trade, administration and so on.

1.1.2 Bilingual Societies

It is true that monolinguals are rare in our societies, bilinguals and multilinguals are common on the other hand. Bilingualism is the possession of two languages by a person or a community. Generally, equal mastery over two languages is called bilingualism. But having an equal control over both the languages is unusual and perhaps impossible. Richards et al. (1999) define bilingualism as the use of at least two languages either by an individual or by a group of speakers.

In many parts of the world an ability to speak more than one language is not unusual. There are different language spoken in different nooks and corners of the world. It is also common in the Nepalese societies where linguistic diversity exists. People make use of their mother tongues and other second languages in a fluent way. So, there are by and large bilingual societies in Nepalese speech communities. Similarly, Wardhaugh (1998) also have given examples of Tukano community of the North West Amazon, Sinane of New Guinea and Paraguay and tried to stress that bilingualism and multilingualism are normal in many parts of the world.

1.1.3 Multilingualism in Nepalese Context

Nepal is a country where Nepali is the mother tongue of the majority of its population. According to CBS (2001), more than 92 mother tongues exist in Nepal which belongs to four language families namely, Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Burman and Dravidian. Among the speakers of those various languages, Nepali serves as the lingua franca. There are enough instances of bilingual and multilingual speech situations in Nepal. Since the political unification of Nepal (1977) by Prithivi Narayan Shah, different languages are spoken in different parts of the country such as Newari in the Kathmandu Valley, Limbu in the eastern hilly region called Limbuwan, Maithili and Tharu in the eastern and the western Terai respectively and different Rai languages in the Khumbuwan. Speakers of those languages also speak the Nepali language because Nepali has been declared as the national and official language since the unification of Nepal. Because of globalization they also use English for communication which is spreading all over the world. In other words, Nepalese use multiple languages in Nepalese speech communities.

In a multilingual society or a country like Nepal, people speak more than two languages. They use different languages in different situation where they are in. In spite of their own mother tongues, they speak Nepali and other languages like English fluently.

Before 1990, not much was done to change the monolingual language policy. At that time Nepali was the official and national language which was also the medium of education. But people in the Terai and the Kathmandu Valley, where Hindi and Newari respectively are widely used, have demanded that their languages to be the official languages in those places. These demands forced the government to think seriously on language issues. The Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) defines Nepali as official language and the medium of education but

at the same time, it makes a provision of using mother tongue in the primary education. This is a very significant step to promote minority and ethnic languages which also helps to preserve the multilingual feature of Nepal.

Multilingualism in Nepal has been reported to exist far greater in Nepal. The government is also flexible in following multilingual policy to preserve and promote all the languages. Mother tongues are allowed in education as a subject at primary level of education and mass media like in Radio Nepal for broadcasting news. Additionally, other languages like Nepali and English are widely used in education, mass media, trade, employment and so on for many decades. So, a number of Nepalese are found proficient not only in their mother tongues but also in lingua franca (e.g. Nepali) and other additional indigenous languages.

1.1.4 Language Policy in Nepal

Nepal is famous all over the world not only for the natural resources and cultural heritage but also for its linguistic diversity. It has been a multilingual country since antiquity. Yadava (2003) says,

A number of Nepalese are found proficient not only in their mother tongues but also in their lingua francas such as Hindi and English and/or neighboring indigenous languages. However, it does not exist in the country to a large extent (p. 155).

There is a hot debate on language issues in Nepal. It seems that the exact number of languages spoken in Nepal is different from one linguist to another. According to Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2001), so far there are 92 languages found in Nepal. To date, only the Nepali language has received maximum utilization of government facilities, support and official and national identity. And the rest of the languages of indigenous communities are not provided much attention.

In the Rana and Panchayat regimes, 'one nation one language policy' was adopted. Nepali was continued to grow and expand and was imposed to the speakers of other languages. The government not only promoted Nepali by making it the language of administration, education, information and mass media but also gave it the status of national language. The Constitution of Nepal (1990) declared Nepali as the national and official language, and other language as 'languages of the nation'. In Article 6, Part 1, it is mentioned that (i) the Nepali language in the Devanagari script is the nation's language. The Nepali language shall be the official language, and (ii) all the languages spoken as the mother tongue in the various parts of Nepal are national languages. Similarly, in Article 18.2 , Part 1, it is mentioned that (iii) each community shall have the right to establish schools for imparting education in the mother tongue of the concerned child. Though, the constitution had shown some hope for the promotion and preservation of indigenous languages nothing did so far in this area. In fact, the government made the policies but its implementation part was neglected. It means that the government was not in favour of promoting the languages other than Nepali, which indicates that more priority was given to monolingual policy at that time.

Similarly, the Interim Constitution (2007) has made some significant provisions about the identity of the indigenous languages in Nepal. More importantly, it has made no distinction between the nation's language and national language. Yet again more priority is given to the Nepali language as the official language neglecting other local language. In other words, it seems that “it has not adopted a clear policy to address linguistic diversity of Nepal” (Phyak, 2009, p. 217).

Nepal is now in the transition phase for federal state. At present, Nepali is the most powerful and prestigious because it is declared as the national and official language of the country. But it is not enough to preserve the multilingual identity of the nation. So, the state should also promote the status of other languages and should use them for wider communication. For that, the government should adopt

multilingual policy in Nepal. This means that in order to "recognize and promote the languages of the nation the concept of regional languages should be developed" (Rai, 2009, p. 282). Regarding the majority of the speakers of the certain region, the official language should be declared. Let us hope the new constitution that is going to be written will address the language issues of multilingual Nepal.

1.1.5 Types of Multilingualism

In general, multilingualism is a situation where more than two languages are used by an individual or by a group of people or society. The term covers both individual and society. That is to say, when a speaker uses more than two languages for communication, s/he can be a multilingual speaker and when multiple languages are used in the society, it can be said a multilingual society. So, in a broad sense, multilingualism can be classified into two different types: individual multilingualism and societal multilingualism.

i. Individual Multilingualism

Some people are monolingual who can use only one language and some are multilingual who can use more than two languages. In individual multilingualism, a person or a speaker is focused. It is basically "the feature of the speakers who know more than two languages" (Clyne, 1998 in Coulmas, 1998, p.307). For example, if a Nepali speaker learns to speak both the Newari and English, s/he is an individual multilingual. Thus, it refers to the multilingual profile of the individual.

Individual multilingualism, in general, is led by society because the social norms and values compel individual to be a multilingual. As an example, Wardhaugh (1998, p.95) mentions the marriage system in Tukano community where the husband and wife should speak the separate languages of their own. In that

situation, a newly born child becomes a multilingual by being exposed to father's language, mother's language and other languages speaking people. So, we can say that individual multilingualism depends upon society and social norms.

ii. Societal Multilingualism

Societal multilingualism refers to the kind of multilingualism that occurs broadly in a country or society. In other words, it refers to the language profile of the society but can also refer to the language policy of the specific country. Societal multilingualism is created by "contextual factors such as international migration, colonialism, international border and the spread of international languages" (Clyne, 1998 in Coulmas, 1998, p. 308). To be specific, multilingual societies evolve in a number of ways. One is as a result of migration, the voluntary or involuntary movements of people speaking one language into the territory of people speaking another. Similarly, the spread of English power and colonial policies also led to multilingual societies or states like India, Singapore etc.

It is a common fact that there are two groups of societies/ nations in the world: monolingual and bi/ multilingual. According to Trudgill (1983, p.129), "multilingualism is the norm in the world and monolingualism an exception". So, most of the societies are bi/multilingual and heterogeneous. Even China which claims to be a monolingual homogeneous society is dialectally diverse where there is no mutual intelligibility across the varieties of spoken Chinese. Similarly, in London today, it is estimated that approximately 300 languages are spoken. In this way, societal multilingualism is a very widespread phenomenon all over the world.

1.1.6 What is Multilinguals' Identity?

One of the most common ways of identifying a person is by his or her languages. Because language is inherently involved in socialization and when people belong

to the same group, they often speak in the same way. But there are many different groups in a community so any individual may share linguistic features with a range of other speakers (Holmes, 2008, p.184). Multilingual identity of the speakers is characterized by their ability to use multiple languages appropriately according to the contexts they are involved in. The multilingual speech communities allow the choice of language that fits to the situation in which the speakers are engaged. They can switch their code, or they may borrow certain linguistic items from another language appropriately in the given contexts. So, the ability of code switching, code mixing, borrowing, choice of language and so on provides with multilingual identity to an individual as well as to a speech community.

The way one uses a language gives him or her distinctive identity which is related to ethnic, social or national aspects. In other words, the linguistic forms that one has used signal the identity of the speaker. But what is an identity of multilingual speaker is an issue of debate among scholars. Multilinguals speak more than two languages and they may choose a particular code out of many that they know according to the context. For example, a Nepali speaker may use English in USA in the job, Nepali in the gathering or party organized by Nepali friends, their ethnic language such as Newari, Tharu etc. in the family and so on. Such an ability to use multiple languages contributes to develop multilingual identity of the speaker or the group of speakers.

When we concentrate on multilingual identity of a society, mainly, speakers use a language to indicate ethnic identities of them. Ethnic groups regularly use languages as one of their most significant identifying features. Commonly, “the names of ethnic groups and of their language are the same”(Spolsky, 1998, p.57). People believe that their language is the best medium for preserving and expressing their traditions. In this regard, the languages that the multilingual

speakers use indicate their social, national and ethnic identities of the speakers in different contexts.

1.1.7 Reasons for Choosing a Code

Most of the people are multilingual but which languages are spoken by the member of different speech communities in different situations and why they do so are the questions we have to discuss. In multilingual societies, people speak a number of languages for many reasons. Undoubtedly, they know more than two languages. Not only in different places and situations but also with the same place they use different languages. In other words, it seems that people are forced to use different languages in different situations and places in a multilingual setting. For example, s/he has to use one language at home, another at school or sometimes another at trade or other daily professional situations.

Basically, multilingual speakers choose the language and have to use that language for the situations they are in. For example, they may choose one language at home, another in social gatherings. Moreover, other languages may be used while talking with friends, in their study, in jobs, in religious works and so on. Probably, one of the main reasons is that one language may not be appropriate in all situations. There may be other reasons like ethnic identity, solidarity, easiness to use, interest and rule/ compulsion etc. In my research, I have explored the answer of the question: Why do the multilingual speakers choose languages in different places?

1.1.8 Language Use and Code Switching

Without knowing more languages, it is hard to communicate in a multilingual setting. While choosing a language in particular situation, the shared knowledge of other language motivates the participants to code switch. Code switching can be defined "as the use of two or more than languages in the same conversation or utterance" (Coupland and Jawarski, 1997, p.313). This is a common phenomenon

in many parts of the bilingual or multilinguals context. Code switching involves production of more than one language within one sentence or between sentences within a stretch of discourse. In other words, it takes place in a conversation when a speaker makes the use of different languages. The speaker may start using another language in the middle of the speech.

Generally, there are three different types of code switching that takes place in bilingual or multilingual situations:

- i. Situational code switching
- ii. Metaphorical code switching
- iii. Conversational code switching

i. Situational code switching

Situational code switching refers to switching from one language to another according to situation. It means one language is spoken in one situation and another in different situations. Wardhaugh (1998) states, situational code switching "occurs when the languages used change according to the situations in which the conversant find themselves ... no topic change is involved" (p. 103). In other words, it is determined by context and function of the language. For example, in our context, students in their English classroom speak English but as soon as they come out of the classroom they start speaking Nepali.

ii. Metaphorical code switching

When a change of "topic requires a change in the language used we have metaphorical code switching" (Wardhangh, 1998, p. 103). In other words, it refers to the shift from one register to another. For example, Nepali speakers switch from Nepali to English when they have to talk about scientific topics.

iii. Conversational code switching

It is a juxtaposition of two codes in the same speech. Here, the speaker essentially chooses one code but elements of another code are mixed up in the course of one single utterance. Wardhaugh (1998) called it code mixing since the code is not changed entirely from one to another but the elements of one code are mixed into the other. Since mixing of linguistic elements occurs within a sentence or an utterance. It is also known as intra-sentential code switching.

In multilingual situations, the speakers tend to switch their code frequently according to the changes in the contexts, topics, participants and so on. They switch to another language "as a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity with an addressee" (Holmes, 2008, p.35). In other words, it helps in developing personal relationships and building solidarity with social groups.

To conclude, code switching is an inevitable consequence of multilingualism. Anyone who can speak more than one language chooses between them according to the circumstances. This use of languages leads the speakers to code switch because they feel to be close by using their ethnic or native language and can express actual intentions of them by switching the codes. Thus, the use of languages and code switching are interrelated to each other. In other words, code switching is an impact that occurred while choosing languages by the multilingual speakers.

1.1.9 Language Shift in Multilingual Contexts

In multilingual situations the speaker of one language remarkably shifts from his or her native language to any other foreign or second language because of some specific purpose such as employment, education, trade and so on. This kind of situation compels the speakers of a language to shift from using one language to using another. This phenomenon is called language shift. According to Crystal

(2003, p. 259), "Language shift refers to the gradual or sudden move from the use of one language to another, either by an individual or by groups".

Language shift is different from code switching in the sense that the latter has no threat at all to the native language of the speakers. But in the case of language shift, the freedom of language might have a threat. For example, a Tharu speaker comes to Kathmandu from a rural area of Nepal in search of a job and higher education. Both, for his/her purposes, he/she cannot use his/her native language i.e. Tharu and he/she has to speak Nepali language all the time at work and at the university by giving up his/her own mother tongue. Such a shift not for short term but for long term has led to the language death.

There are different social factors which can lead an individual or a community to shift from using one language for various purposes, from using two distinct codes in different domains or to using different varieties of one language for their communicative needs. The factors that lead a community (i.e. the speakers) to shift from using one language to using another are illustrated as causes of language shift. Holmes (2008, pp. 60-63) mentions three major factors contributing to language shift.

i. Economic, social and political factors

The most obvious reasons for language shift include economic, social and political factors. The language used by economically and politically powerful groups, nations or communities is influential to different aspects of society. So, the people tend to use the language which is economically, socially and politically dominant. Holmes (2008, p. 60) suggests, "The most obvious economic reason for learning another language is obtaining work." The second important factor seems to be that the speakers shift to speak another language for survival in the multilingual speech community. In the Nepalese context, Nepali is a language which is economically, socially and politically dominant and majority of the speakers use it. So, it appears

very important for minority group to shift their languages to Nepali to achieve social and economic success.

ii. Demographic factors

Demographic factors are also "relevant in accounting for the speed of language shift" (Holmes, 2008, p. 60). Among them immigration is the central of all. Similarly, the marriage between the speakers of two different languages can also cause shift in language. For example, if a Newari speaking woman married with a Nepali speaking man, they use majority language to their child. Thus, Newari speakers tend to shift to Nepali because the majority of them use it.

iii. Values and attitudes

Language shift is influenced by the values and attitudes that the speakers of minority languages employ to their native or ethnic language and to the dominant language. i.e. the second language. Language shift may occur if the speakers undermine their native language. But when the language is taken as a "symbol of their identity, language shift obviously slows down" (Holmes, 2008, p. 63).

Language shift, of course, is not a new phenomenon in multilingual settings. It is going on for all of recorded history. Whenever two cultures/populations with different languages come in an intense contact, shift is possible. Typically, those groups who shift are the weaker groups but sometimes it is the more powerful one who shift as well. Thus, language shift is always preceded by multilingualism. We cannot shift to a new language unless we learn to speak it.

1.1.10 Factors Affecting Language Choice

People speak different languages and varieties of language according to the social situations. Within social situations there are many factors which shape language choice. The choice of language is determined by "the participants, topics, settings or contexts, channels, message forms, moods or tones and intentions and effects"

(Sankoff, 1972, in Pride and Holmes, 1972, p. 35). Among them, participants, topics, domains, setting and purposes are the most crucial factors for determining choice of language. In this regard, Holmes (2008) asserts:

Certain social factors –e.g. who you are talking to, the social context of the talk, the function and topic of the discussion-turn out to be important in accounting for language choice in many different kinds of speech communities (p. 21).

In other words, language choice is concerned with different social factors such as who are speaking, where they are speaking and for what functions they are speaking. Fishman (1965) also argues that participants, topics, domains, setting and purposes contribute more in choosing languages in multilingual setting.

i. Participants

Participants are the most important factor which shapes the choice of languages. With regard to the participants in a communicative event, knowledge of their individual characteristics and of the relationship between participants can go a long way towards predicting their choices among alternate speech varieties. The participants may be parents, brothers, friends, priests, teachers, employers etc. In other words, they are also known as interlocutors. They are closely interrelated to the choice of language in particular situations. So, it is difficult to break the nexus between interlocutors and language once a relationship has been established.

ii. Domains

Domains are defined as the "contextualized sphere of communication e.g. home, work, school, religion, friendship, community groups and so on" (Cooper, 1967 cited in Clyne, 1998, p. 308). In multilingual societies, the speakers make the choice of a given code to use it in the particular situation or setting. For example, in multilingual society of Nepal, people might use one language in the situation of

family conversation; they might use other languages in schools and so on. Not only in multilingual societies but even in monolingual ones people make choice of varieties of a given language such as formal , informal etc according to the speech situations they are involved in. Crystal (2003, p.148) also defines the notion of domain as "a group of institutionalized social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules such as family, school, temple."

The domain is a broad area of language use that determines who speaks which language to whom and when in multilingual communities. The choice of a language or of a language variety obviously depends upon the domain we are using it. In other words, certain languages are particularly suited to certain domains. Holmes (1998, p.21) states, "a domain involves typical interactions between typical participants in typical setting." Language use is, thus, determined in terms of the domains such as the family, religion, education, job etc. The domains mentioned in the following table have been analyzed in my research.

Table No. 1
Domains of Language Use

Domains	Addressee	Setting	Topic	Language choice
Family	Parents Brothers/Sisters	Home Home	Planning a family program	
Friendship	Friends	Park, Party	Holidays	
Religion	Deity	Temple, Church	To pray	
Education	Lecturer Friends	University	Talking about language course	
Job	Officer	Office	For administrative deal	
Business	Costumers	Supermarkets	Selling goods	
Mass media	Themselves	Public places	Reading newspapers	
Health	Doctor	Hospital	Usual check- up	

Source: Fishman 1972, p.23 (as cited Holmes 2008, p. 21).

iii. Topics

This term overlaps slightly with the domain. The choice of language is also determined by topic which is closely related to the purpose. Different types of experiences associated with a particular topic cause the people to choose languages such as talking about their family program, for administrative deal in office, about holiday plans with friends etc.

iv. Setting and purposes

In addition to topics, appropriate language choice may depend on setting (including locale and time of day) and purposes. A multilingual learner may use English with friends for the purpose of assimilation, Nepali for more clearance and their own mother tongue for the purpose of solidarity. The purpose is determined according to the participants and the topic.

1.2 Review of Related Literature

There are a numbers of research works carried out on issues related to bilingual and multilingual speakers. Having gone through the studies in the Department of English Education, T.U, it was found that there is negligible research on use of languages. Some major studies related to my study have been reviewed below:

Adhikari (2004) conducted a research on ‘English language proficiency of bilingual students’. She compared English proficiency of bilingual learners whose mother tongues are Nepali, Newari, Tamang, Magar and Gurung. She found that Nepali speaking students’ English language proficiency is found to be better though Newari speaking students are better on the average proficiency. In this way, Gurung speaking students are found to be more proficient than Tamang and Magar speaking students. But she hasn’t mentioned the attitude of the bilingual students towards English language.

Poudel (2007) carried out a study on ‘English and Nepali reading speed of Tharu students’ in which no concern is given to the choice of language. He has stated

that Tharu students' English reading speed was found better than Nepali reading speed. He found that an average reading speed of Tharu students was 102.5 words per minute and Nepali reading speed was 94 words per minute. Likewise, Adhikari (2008) attempted a study entitled 'Reading proficiency of bilingual and multilingual learners'. In his study, he compared the reading proficiency of bilingual and multilingual learners and found no significant differences between reading proficiency of bilingual and multilingual learners but in reading comprehension test bilinguals were better than their counterparts. Although this research explores the reading proficiency of bilingual and multilingual learners, it does not talk about the choice of language and language used by them.

Weninger (2007) carried out a study on 'Speakers' perceptions of code choice in a foreign language academic department. In this study, he focused on speaker's rationalizations of their everyday linguistic choices as members of a multilingual academic department in the US. He examined the language choices of the participants through in-depth interviews with them. He found out that most of the participants use an established dominant language when interacting one-to-one with other individuals in the department. He also argued that occasionally they switch to the non-dominant variety.

Phyak (2009) also conducted a research on ' Exploring ethnolinguistic identity in multilingual context of Nepal'. In the study, he has analysed the choice of language by multilingual speakers in connection with their ethnic identity. He explored how indigenous people position their ethnic identity in the multilingual context of Nepal and looked at the reasons behind the shift, loss and maintenance of the ethnolinguistic identity. He selected five Limbus, who could speak Limbu, Nepali and English, as participants of the study. He used individual interviews for data collection. He concluded that in the multilingual context of Nepal the indigenous minority language speakers construct multiple identities through different languages in different contexts for different purposes.

Though the present research is somehow related to the methodology adopted by Phyak (2009), this research focuses on the patterns of language choice of multilingual speakers in various domains and analyses the reasons for choosing languages in the multilingual context of Nepal. In the present context of Nepal, multilingualism is a very common phenomenon because people have their own mother tongues and they speak Nepali and English too within various domains. That is why, I realized the need of the present research. Moreover, this is a new venture in the field of sociolinguistic situation of Nepal.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study had following objectives:

- a. To identify the Nepalese multilingual speakers' language use in various domains.
- b. To explore their attitudes towards the languages they speak.
- c. To suggest some pedagogical implications.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The main aim of this study was to find out the factors which force the multilingual speakers in choosing a language. The study will be significant to all those who are directly or indirectly related to teaching/learning of English. Specially, the persons who are interested in the choice of language and language use will be benefited. The study will provide an insight on the issue: how the attitude of multilingual speakers in choosing a language in particular situations is crucial. It also helps sociolinguists, curriculum designers because the study has explored the choice of language of multilingual speakers. All the interested individuals will be benefited and can use it as a model for the future researches.

1.5 Definitions of the Specific Terms

This study includes the following terms which are defined as follows;

Bilingual: A person who has some functional ability in a second language (Spolsky, 1998, p.121).

Code: A neutral label for any system of communication involving language (Crystal, 2003, p. 78).

Code mixing: The transfer of linguistic elements from one language to another; a sentence begins in one language, then makes use of words or grammatical features belonging to another (Crystal, 2003, p. 79).

Code switching: Changing from language to language in the midst of an utterance (Spolsky, 1998, p. 121).

Domain: Typical social situation with three defining characteristics: place, role relationship and topic (Spolsky, 1998, p.122).

Language policy: Any effort to modify language form or use (Spolsky, 1998, p. 123).

Language shift: The gradual or sudden move from the use of one language to another, either by an individual or by a group (Crystal, 2003, p. 259).

Lingua franca: An auxiliary language used to enable routine communication to take place between groups of people who speak different native languages (Crystal, 1998, p. 271).

Multilingualism: A community or individual in command of more than two languages (Crystal, 2003, p. 79).

Variety: A term used in sociolinguistics to refer to any system of linguistic expression whose use is governed by situational variables (Crystal, 2003, p. 489).

CHAPTER-TWO

METHODOLOGY

While carrying out this research work, I adopted qualitative research design. A qualitative research is defined as the research which emphasizes naturalistic and uncontrolled investigation. It follows unstructured approach to inquiry in which things are studied as they are (Kumar 2006, p.12). Qualitative methods consist of three kinds of data collection; (i) In-depth open-ended interviews; (ii) Direct observations and (iii) Written documents (Patton 1990, cited in Best and Kahn 1996, p.184). In other words, it is flexible in nature and can accommodate a wide range of data related to the problem or issues.

There are different theoretical frameworks for language choices and its uses in multilingual settings which have been mainly concerned with the relationship between code choice and the contexts e.g. Fishman's (1965, 1972, 1975) domain based approach and interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1964; Hymes, 1967) etc. Based on those approaches, a number of studies have been conducted on code choice (e.g. Weninger, 2007). This study is also based on 'Fishman's domain based approach. Moreover, the following methodology was adopted.

2.1 Sources of Data

The study made use of both primary and secondary sources of data. However, primary sources were the basis for the research.

2.1.1 Primary Sources of Data

The research was mainly based on primary data from which the first hand information was collected. The opinions of the ten participants collected through the interview were the primary data for the study.

2.1.2 Secondary Sources of Data

As secondary sources of data, I consulted various books, journals and articles related to multilingualism and language use. Specially, Coupland and Jawarski (1977), Spolsky (1998), Wardhaugh (1998), Coulmas (1998), and Holmes (2008) were consulted.

2.2 Sample Population of the Study

Ten multilingual speakers of Kathmandu valley were sampled population. They were 22-25 years in average and are now residing in Kathmandu for different purposes. Among them, there were teaching, two were doing their own business, two were doing job in the office and others were not involved in any profession.

2.3 Sampling Procedure

For my study, I selected the multilingual speakers who could speak Nepali and English to get more information about the use of languages by them. There were ten participants who were selected using a purposive sampling procedure. I have used alphabets (A, B, C ...J) to keep the name of the participants anonymous.

2.3 Research Tools

An unstructured interview was used as the major tool for collecting the data. For interview, the guidelines were prepared to elicit information from the participants (See Appendix-I). Personal interviews were conducted in different times in the topic of discussion. The emergent issues were recorded carefully.

2.4 Data Collection Procedure

- i. First, I personally met the selected participants and explained the purpose of the study. I asked them to decide time and place for discussion and build

rapport with each other. Before taking the interview, general discussion was conducted among the participants related to the objectives of the study.

- ii. As per my interview guidelines, the participants were individually interviewed. For personal interview, the time and place were decided as per their convenience. I selected English as the medium of interview because they were master's and bachelor's level students in English Education. All the interviews were audio recorded and noted down to analyze and interpret the data.

2.5 Limitations of the Study

This study had the following limitations:

- i. Only ten multilingual speakers were interviewed to collect data.
- ii. Only the multilingual speakers who could speak at least three languages, Nepali and English were included.
- iii. Primary data were collected using unstructured interview.
- iv. Only the eight domains of language use such as the following have been analyzed:
 - Family
 - Friendship
 - Religion
 - Education
 - Job
 - Business
 - Health
 - Mass media

CHAPTER-THREE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

This chapter has been divided into two parts. The first part deals with the analysis of the reasons behind the use of different languages by multilingual speakers in eight major domains and the second part deals with the attitudes towards the languages the participants speak.

While analyzing the data, the recorded interviews of the each participant were transcribed and grouped under the common themes that emerged from all interviews. Then, I reviewed each interview of the participants and discussed the main theme i.e. the use of languages under various domains considering the responses of the participants. Similarly, I have also analyzed the attitudes of the participants towards the languages what they speak.

3.1 Analysis of Domains of Language Use

Under language use, I have analyzed the eight major domains i.e. family, friendship, religion, education, job, business, mass media and health which are identified in many speech communities. In the first part, I have analyzed the use of languages of ten selected multilingual speakers in those domains. According to the information given by the participants, I have coded the pieces of information connecting with the topic and explained them along with the reasons. While taking an unstructured interview, I noticed the participants far more excited and found them expressing their views with no hesitation. I felt quite easy while collecting the data from them. As they are all educated, they provided me with the information what I needed for my research. Though I found more variation in responses of the participants, I have grouped the commonalities under different dominant themes and analyzed accordingly.

3.1.1 Analysis of the Family Domain

In many studies of multilingual behaviour, the family domain has proved to be a very crucial one. The study showed that the parents use one language to their children but children were found to use another language while talking to each other. This implies that multilingualism often begins in the family and depends upon it. In the Nepalese context, it is seen that most of the families use more than two languages i.e. their own mother tongue, Nepali, English etc. I had asked the participants about their use of language i.e. which language they use in their family with their parents and/or brothers and sisters. On my query, PA said,

I speak my mother tongue i.e. Tharu with my parents...Because they are illiterate. For mutual understanding, I have to use my mother tongue with them. They cannot understand all languages as I can.

Similarly, PD added,

I use the Tharu language while speaking with my parents ... It is because they do not understand other language except Tharu. If I use other language they just stare at me and tell me to clarify what I want to say. It also shows my ethnic identity.

PE also had a similar view;

I speak the Newari language to my parents... Because my parents are using it traditionally while speaking with us.

Although, PG agreed that he uses his mother tongue with parents, he had expressed his idea in a different way,

While speaking with my parents I use the Nepali language... because there is domination of Nepali in my family. All of us understand and speak Nepali with each other. I feel close to them and can talk with them easily using Nepali.

The above excerpts reflect that participants speak their own mother tongue with senior family members in their family. It is used because their parents do not understand other languages due to lack of knowledge over those languages. The participants' views indicate that they have to give more priority to the use of mother tongue because it is dominant traditionally in their family and related to their ethnic identity. This supports Holmes (2008) view that they feel close and easy to share their feelings with seniors. In addition, mother tongue is used while speaking with senior family members to show solidarity with them.

But the participants expressed that except mother tongue they use English and sometimes Hindi too in the family while speaking with brothers and sisters who are educated and familiar with those languages. Thus, they understand English and Hindi easily. In this regard, PC said,

While speaking with my brothers and sisters, I use English... we feel joy while speaking in English. I use English to develop English proficiency and also to share my secret things with them. Sometimes I use Hindi too.

In other way, PH said,

I use Nepali most of the time. But while talking about the subject matter related to their course, I use English. Knowledge of English will be helpful in our future career. So, I am interested in English.

The above views of the participants showed that the participants are more interested to use English with brothers and sisters. As PC mentioned that he uses English at home while speaking with them. He also uses English to develop English speaking proficiency which is necessary in the present day world. Additionally, PH's view indicates that to discuss the 'subject matter related to the course' she uses English (Holmes 2008, p. 21). On the other hand, PF speaks his mother tongue with brothers and sisters because it is the easiest language to speak in order to fulfill the requirements of her daily life. Similarly, PJ also supports the

view of PF. This suggests that there is a variation in the use of language with brothers and sisters. Except PF and PJ all the participants have expressed similar idea about using English at home i.e. to develop English speaking proficiency.

3.1.2 Analysis of the Friendship Domain

As regards friendship domain, I had asked the participants what language they use while speaking with their colleagues at their birth place and the place where they are residing now. They expressed that their use of language is mostly determined by the place and situation while they talked with their friends. They also added that they do not use the similar language with all friends. It however shows their code choices with friends as tailored to individual interlocutors. In this regard, PA said,

In the village, I frequently speak Tharu with my colleagues. I hesitate to speak Nepali and English with them because they feel uneasy to response. But, in Kathmandu, I feel difficulty in speaking Tharu because most of the friends are Nepali speakers. It gives sense of friendship if I speak Nepali with them... Anyway, I want to be informal with all my friends.

Likewise, PB said,

I speak Newari with Newari friends and Nepali with Nepali speaking friends. I feel easy to use both languages with my friends.

Similarly, PC added,

In both formal and in formal situations, I use Nepali. All of my friends speak Nepali, in this case, without Nepali. It is difficult to communicate with them.

These three excerpts showed that the participants feel easy to speak their own mother tongue with the friends who are in the village. This suggests that mother tongue is used to show the group-membership and solidarity with the friends from

the same community. However, PA hesitates to speak his mother tongue with all friends because in Kathmandu valley Tharu is hardly used in daily life.

Furthermore, it is noticed that they use their mother tongue in informal situations with their friends but in the formal situations they use either Nepali or English. Similarly, their use of languages is linked to another important issue i.e. majority of friends speak Nepali. This clearly indicates that they have to use Nepali with them.

On my query whether they use English with their friends, they had a common view that they love to speak English when they are celebrating a party. In this regard, PF said,

I speak English with my friends while we are celebrating a party. There is no fixed reason. My friends understand and speak English. I also want to speak English with them.

Similarly, PI revealed,

While enjoying with friends at party I speak English. It atomically comes in my mouth because of same level.

PJ also expressed his view in the similar way,

Yes, I use English with my friends. I feel joy to talk with them in English. For that moment we all forget our mother tongue and speak English.... to share my feeling and to develop my ability of speaking English, I use English with my friends.

The data depicted that all participants use English with friends at party. PF said that though there is no fixed reason, he uses English with friends. He further added that all of them are able to understand and speak English. It is also determined by the same level of the knowledge of the participants. Here, the participants' views indicate that their level is the same and they enjoy using English. Moreover, as PJ mentioned, it seems that he uses English to share his feelings frankly. He also

viewed that he is interested to use English with friends to develop his ability of speaking English.

3.1.3 Analysis of the Religion Domain

The participants I selected belong to different religions such as Hindu and Buddhism. Among the ten participants, PB and PE belong to Buddhism and others belong to Hindu. According to their culture or ethnicity they believe and worship their own gods. In each society, we can find distinct cultures and all the members of the society are restricted within cultural boundary. They have to follow that tradition which is practiced by the people since antiquity. Thus, the use of languages is also determined by the religion. The participants shared their opinions related to the code choice in religion which are mentioned as follows:

Being a Newar, my religious language is Newari. Except Newari, I cannot use other languages for pray because it is believed that our God does not understand other languages. All the people in my community also use Newari so I have to follow them. [PB]

Likewise, PG said,

I belong to Hindu religion. All the books of my religion are written in Sanskrit and religious programs are also conducted using Sanskrit language. But, while praying with God I use Nepali. I have to use it because our culture prohibits using other languages to our God.

But PD expressed his view in a different way. He said,

I use Tharu as a religious language while praying with God. Actually, there is no significant reason to use it because I am just following the tradition what our seniors are doing.

In the above pieces of information, we saw that though the participants are multilinguals, they are restricted to use a particular language in the domain like

religion. They have to give more priority to the use of their mother tongues. PG opined that his culture prohibits using other languages for pray. PB's view also indicates that in his community people have beliefs that their God does not understand other languages except Newari so he uses it. But as PD mentioned above that there is no significant reason to use Tharu because he is just following the tradition. It seems that the participant use of language is limited in religion. This supports Holmes (2008) view that the use of mother tongue is also linked with their ethnicity.

3.1.4 Analysis of the Education Domain

All the participants of my study are educated and they are now studying in Master and Bachelor level. Out of the total participants, PA, PC, PD, PE and PH are studying at Master's level while the others are studying in Bachelor level. They are conscious about their education and know its value. In fact, they have left their birth place so that they can get proper education in their new place. Here, in Kathmandu, they are getting a favorable environment to complete their study and they are on that way. Most of the participants of my study are the students of English education. Thus, majority of them viewed that they use English with lecturers in their department. In this regard, PC said,

Being a student of English Education, no doubt, I use English in the classroom with my lecturers and friends. While discussing about the topic related to the course and vague ideas about the topic, I speak English. There is a necessity of using English in the classroom. So, I have to use it.

In the same way, PH said,

I speak English with my Lecturers and also with my friends where I study. It is for my own incentive to use this language because I want to improve my ability to speak English. They also encourage me to talk with them in English.

Although all agreed with this, PE had a slightly different idea. She said,

Mostly, I use English in university where I am studying. But I feel difficult to use English all the time. It is because I cannot express my opinion easily using English. Thus, sometimes I use Nepali also.

The first excerpt showed that he speaks English in the university because there is compulsion to use it with his Lecturers and friends in the classroom. While talking about an unclear concept related to his course and to express his ideas related to the topic he has to use English. He also added that it is a formal situation where English is necessary. The data support weinger (2007) that the choice of language in education is determined by the compliance of the students or whether the lecturer presses his/her preferences in the first place. On the other hand, English is used, as PH mentioned, due to his interest. He said that he uses English to develop his ability in speaking English.

But for PE, it is difficult to speak English all the time. Sometimes, she also uses Nepali to express her opinion easily. This indicates, first, that English is dominantly spoken in education and second that other languages like Nepali has limited use. Moreover, Nepali is used when they want to say something which they cannot express in English.

On my query on whether they use their mother tongue in university, the participants said that they also use mother tongue in university while talking with friends. All of them agreed that they use mother tongue if they find friends who speak the same language. They further said that mother tongue is used while doing informal talks to friends. Among them, PG had mentioned a notable point i.e. he uses mother tongue to preserve its existence and to show identity with others. These views show that the participants speak their mother tongues only in informal situations to talk with their friends. They also want to express love towards their ethnicity by using mother tongues.

3.1.5 Analysis of the Job Domain

Job is an important domain where the use of languages is recorded on the basis of the nature of the job and its coverage. Multilingual speakers are more benefited in jobs because they understand and speak more than two languages. They can select an appropriate language in one place and another language in another place. In this regard, it is said that multilingual speakers feel easy while doing their jobs. But it is also true that they cannot use all languages in one place and in one situation. To find out the fact that what language is given more priority in jobs, I selected three participants who are teaching and two more that are doing their jobs; one in government office and another in an INGO. They are working there for the last two years. For the recognition, PA, PC and PE are teaching while PH is working in an INGO and PD is working in a government office. At first, I had asked the participants (who are teaching) which language they use in their workplace. The participants replied that most frequently they speak English where they are teaching because they are working as a teacher of English. In this regard, PA said,

In my college where I teach I have to use English. I am working as an English teacher so English is necessary there. Nepali is least used but I do not use Hindi any more.

PC added,

I use English while teaching in school. Sometimes I use Nepali too. It is only used when I have to clarify the concepts which students do not understand. But the use of Hindi is prohibited in the classroom. It is spoken while talking with friends outside the classroom.

Likewise, PE agreed with them. But she expressed her view relating the problem that she is facing while teaching. She said,

I speak English while teaching. In the same way, I use Nepali too. It is because I am teaching in a government school and without using Nepali students do not understand whatever I teach them.

The above interview excerpts suggested that the participants use English while teaching as the rules and regulations of their institutes which prohibit them to speak other languages. This supports Holmes (2008) view that the 'necessity of using a particular language also determines the choice of language of multilingual speakers'. It seems that Nepali is the least used by them except PE. It is only used when they have to clarify more about the topic to which students feel difficult to understand. But in the case of PE, she is forced to use Nepali frequently because students do not understand properly what she teaches there. In this regard, Nepali is used as a medium which helps to bridge the gap between the teacher and students.

But, the case of PH and PD is different. They are working in an INGO and government office respectively. They had expressed their opinions about their use of languages as given below:

I speak English in workplace. I have to attend seminars with the persons from the different countries and as a medium of communication I use English I have to do all the works considering that all people should understand. For that, use of English is the best way for me. Except English, I speak Nepali too with my friends in break time. [PH]

But PD is now working in a government office. He said,

I speak Nepali with seniors in workplace. The government has declared that Nepali is an official language due to that I cannot use other languages for official purposes. I think this also helps to preserve our national identity. But while talking with my colleagues in informal way I use my mother tongue too.

The above mentioned views indicated that the participants use formal languages for official purposes. As PH mentioned, he uses English as a formal language where he works but PD uses Nepali as a formal because he is working in a government office. It is noticed that participants' use of languages is determined by the situations where they are in. In other words, the situations like formal and informal restrict the use of languages. It is seen that in formal situations, PH uses English in his office but in informal situation he uses Nepali. Similarly, PD speaks Nepali to do his official work but he speaks his mother tongue with colleagues while talking about his personal concern. Moreover, a notable point as mentioned by PD is that he uses Nepali to show his national identity. This implies that Nepali is used as a marker with the national identity of the participants.

3.1.6 Analysis of the Business Domain

Business is an area which needs a wide access of interaction with the people. While doing business, we have to interact with various kinds of people. They may be related to different nationalities, different ethnic groups and different languages. In this case, it is seen that one language may not be appropriate with all the customers. People who are engaged in business are forced to be a multilingual speaker.

To find out the reasons behind using languages with the customers, I analyzed two participants (PB and PF) who were doing their own business in Kathmandu. Being businessmen, they have to interact with many people. Regarding this, I asked them about their language use with the customers. As an answer, PB said,

I speak Newari with Newar customers and Nepali with Nepali speaking customers. Sometimes, I speak Hindi too with them. It depends upon who the customers are.

Similarly, PF said,

I speak Nepali frequently with the customers. Because they understand it easily. But, sometimes, I have to speak Hindi too because some customers understand Hindi. Generally, English is least used. I use English only with the foreigners.

These two excerpts reflected participants' use of languages in the business domain. Once again this supports Holmes (2008) view that depending upon who the customers are they use a particular language. Mostly, they use Nepali with the customers because the majority of their customers easily understand and speak Nepali. Similarly, they use Hindi with Indian customers and English with English speaking customers. This indicates that the participants' use of languages according to the customers show the language identity with all the customers. They use all the languages which are adequate to identify their membership in Newari, Nepali, Hindi and English speaking groups. In this regard, using Nepali with Nepali, Hindi with Indian, Newari with Newari and English with foreign customers show their multilingual identity. Furthermore, it is noticed that the participants speak those languages which their customers feel easy to understand and to maintain solidarity with them. It is also a business policy which helps in the promotion of their business.

3.1.7 Analysis of the Mass Media Domain

Mass media helps to provide a flow of information to the people. It makes their presence through language. There are numerous broadcasting corporations, televisions, newspapers, journals, magazines etc. in the world. They use various languages because in a nation various languages are used and the media of that nation have to address all those languages. If this is not so, there becomes a huge gap between the media and the people.

Mass media is a broad term which covers both electronic and print media. It is a field where different uses of languages are found. The multilingual situations exist to a large extent in the mass media in Nepal. It means multilingualism is practised both in electronic and print media. As an example, in electronic media, Radio Nepal where 18 languages including Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tamang, Newar, Nepali and English etc. have been used for broadcasting news. Similarly, in print media Nepali, English and Hindi are used e.g. Kantipur, The Kathmandu Post, Dainika Jagaran etc. Though Hindi newspapers and magazines are not published in Nepal, they are circulated for Hindi speakers. It is also seen that Nepali is a dominating language in Nepalese media because most of the people use Nepali.

To analyze the use of languages of the participants in the mass media, I asked the participants what language they use in media like while reading newspapers, for radio and television broadcast etc. All of them had a common view that according to the newspaper and other programmes they use languages. They further added that Nepali and English are prominently used in that case. In this regard, PA said,

No doubt, according to the newspapers or the programs, what I read and watch, I use languages. While reading Nepali newspaper I use Nepali and while reading English, English is used and in a similar way, I use Hindi too.

PC also said,

In general, I read both Nepali and English newspapers. While reading Nepali newspaper I have to use Nepali because I cannot use other languages at that time. While I read English Newspapers, there is no significance to use Nepali and Hindi. So, I have to use English.

PE also opined,

I use Newari, Nepali, English and sometimes Hindi too according to the newspapers and other programs. I think it is not possible to use one

language while reading newspapers or watching programmes of another language.

PG further said,

It is difficult to use English and Hindi languages if I am reading Nepali newspapers. So, I have to use Nepali. This also happens in radio and television programmes. Similarly, I use English and Hindi if English and Hindi languages are used there.

The data represented that the languages used in newspapers or radio and television programmes determine the use of languages by multilingual speakers. It means they have to use the language which is used in the media. A striking point, as PE mentioned, is that it is not possible to use one language while reading the newspapers or other programs in another language. Thus, it indicates that the language used in media seems to play a significant role in the use of languages. Additionally, the participants are benefited because they can understand Nepali, English and Hindi languages. They can grasp the information from the media where those languages are used. They viewed that it also helps them to access wider global information.

3.1.8 Analysis of the Health Domain

Health sectors e.g. hospital, pharmacy, clinic are also an important domain where we can find variations in language use. It does not mean that we use health related language. But while talking with doctors about our health problems we use different languages as per the situations. On my query, PB said,

I speak Nepali with the doctors in hospital. I feel very easy to express my problems in Nepali. Sometimes, I speak my mother tongue if they understand to share my secret things.

PD said,

I speak both Nepali and English with doctors while doing usual check-up. It depends upon where I am and with whom I am talking to. If I am in the Bir Hospital I widely use Nepali but in the Norvic Hospital, I frequently use English.

Likewise, PF further opined,

I speak Nepali in hospitals. There is no significant reason to use Nepali but I feel easy to share my feelings with doctors while using it. They also easily understand it.

PJ also agreed with this view and said,

I speak Nepali with doctors and nurses in hospital. In most of the hospitals Nepali is widely used. So, I have to use it. It is also a contact language which all the language speakers understand easily.

These excerpts reflected that most of the participants use Nepali in hospital while talking with doctors and nurses. All of them had a common view i.e. they feel easy to share their problems in Nepali. But, as PB mentioned that sometimes he uses his mother tongue with the doctors who understand it to share his secret things.

Similarly, the participants also use English but it is determined by the participants to whom they are talking and the place where they are in. In this regard, PD said that he speaks Nepali in the Bir Hospital but he frequently speaks English in the Norvic Hospital. It seems that the participants and contexts determine the use of languages. More to add, they use the language which is spoken and understood by all. They feel that it is easy to speak and understand Nepali. Thus, it is used as a means of communication with all the people in hospital.

Conclusion

In sum, it has been noticed that the participants had different views about the use of languages in above mentioned domains. The analysis of data showed that the use of languages largely depends upon the participants, settings, topics and contexts of language selection. The above discussion implied that various languages are used in a domain but one language is more dominant in a particular domain. The following table presents selection of languages in various domains based on the participants' views:

Domains	Addressee	Setting	topic	Language Choice
Family	Parents	Home	Planning a family	Mother tongue
	Brothers/sisters	Home	Program	Nepali, English Hindi
Friendship	Friends	Village Party	Holidays	Mother tongue, Nepali English, Hindi
Religion	Deity	Temple, Church	To pray	Mother tongue
Education	Lecturer Friends	University	Talking about language course	English, Nepali Mother tongue
Job	Officer	Office	For administrative deal	Nepali, English
Business	Customers	Supermarkets	Selling goods	Nepali, English, Hindi
Mass media	Themselves	Public places	Reading newspapers and other programmes	Nepali, English, Hindi
Health	Doctor	Hospital	Usual check-up	Nepali, English

The data depicted that the mother tongue of the participants is dominant in family domain while talking with parents and senior family members. They speak their mother tongue to share secret things and to show solidarity with them. Similarly, they also use Nepali, English and Hindi in the family domain with brothers and sisters. They mostly use English to develop their English proficiency. It is used

because they are also interested in speaking English. Sometimes, they use Hindi as well while doing informal talks with their brothers and sisters.

It is seen that the participants use their mother tongue only with the friends who are in the village to show ethnic identity and group membership with them. But in the Kathmandu Valley, they use Nepali because majority of their friends speak Nepali. They also speak English with friends while they are celebrating a party. In religion, all the participants use their own mother tongue. They cannot use other languages because their culture prohibits it. Similarly, English and Nepali are dominant in education. But they focus that English is widely used with lecturers in the university. They also use their mother tongue but it is limited with friends in informal talks in education. In their workplace, they use Nepali in government office and English in other situations due to the rule of the institute where they work. In this way, they use Nepali, English and Hindi as the languages of business and mass media. In those domains, the choice of language is determined by the addressee and the context. In business, they speak the languages based on who the customers are and in the mass media they use the language according to the newspapers and radio or TV programmes. Though they use both Nepali and English in health domain while talking with doctors, Hindi is not used any more. It means, the context where they are in, determines the use of languages.

In a nutshell, the data showed that Nepali is the most frequently used language which dominates almost all domains. This implies that they feel easy in speaking Nepali and it is used widely as a contact language in everyday life. It is also used to show national identity and as a medium to communicate with people from other languages. In addition, this supports Fishman's (1972) view that the participants' mother tongue is primarily associated with family and secondarily with friendship. It is only used with the senior members in the family and with the friends of the same language group. But it is seen that English is becoming a dominant language in various domains especially in jobs and education. It is because English is necessary for them while doing job and in their study. It is also needed to access global information.

3.2 Attitudes towards Different Languages

This part of the analysis deals with views related to the participants' attitudes towards the languages they speak and it also explores the factors for determining attitudes towards those languages in multilingual situations. An attitude is "a hypothetical construct that represents an individual's degree of like or dislike for an item (Garret, 2010, p.224). Attitudes are generally positive or negative views of a person, place, thing or event. Similarly, in multilingual contexts, people speak various languages and also have different attitudes towards the languages they speak (Wide, 2009, p.2). There are a number of studies on the attitudes related to the language.

Garret (2010) studied attitudes to language where he provided importance and impact of attitudes towards language, covering some of the main areas of research along with methodological and theoretical approaches, developments and debates. Likewise, Wide (2009) explored attitudes towards language diversity where she found out that factors such as the power, sociopolitical relationships, emigration etc. influence people's attitude toward language diversity. Bokhorst-Heng and Calean (2009) also studied the language attitudes of bilingual youth in multilingual Singapore towards their mother tongue and English and towards code switching between the two. In the remain of this thesis, I discussed the issues: Are the participants positive towards the languages what they speak? What do the participants feel while speaking those languages?

3.2.1 Attitudes towards Mother Tongue

Mother tongue is a language which is first acquired by the learners during their early childhood, normally beginning before the age of three. In other words, it is a language of one's native land where s/he is born or living. In this regard, the participants of my study also have their own mother tongue. Among ten

participants, PA, PD and PF speak Tharu as their mother tongue, PB and PE speak Newari as a mother tongue and others speak Nepali as their mother tongue.

Based on the information given by the participants, it is seen that they have a positive attitude towards their mother tongue. Specially, they use it with their parents and other senior members who are living in the village. They argue that it is easy to use mother tongue because it is spoken in the family and understood by all. In this connection, PA said,

[...]I feel proud to speak my mother tongue (Tharu). Because it shows my ethnic identity to the other people and makes me different from other language speakers. So, I love to speak Tharu.

Similarly, PB said,

[...] Being a Newar I feel proud and easy to speak Newari. I use it with the people who speak Newari to share secret things and to show solidarity with Newars.

PC further added,

[...] I speak Nepali as my mother tongue. It reflects my national identity to the other speakers Thus, while speaking Nepali with other people I feel proud.

But PD does not have a positive attitude towards his mother tongue, i.e. Tharu. Though he speaks his mother tongue, he frequently uses Nepali with his parents and friends. It seems that Nepali is dominating over his mother tongue. He said,

I feel uneasy to speak Tharu with other language speakers. Because majority of my friends do not understand it and it is least used. I have to use either Nepali or English in education, profession everywhere. Thus, I regularly use Nepali and English. There is no significant role of my mother tongue in everyday life.

In above excerpts, it is seen that except PD all the participants have a positive attitude towards their mother tongue. They feel proud to speak their mother tongue. It is because it shows their ethnic and language identity and group membership. They further added that mother tongue is used to show solidarity with the people. It suggests that mother tongue is used as a medium of intimacy with the people from same language background. But PD hesitates to speak his mother tongue because he is in Kathmandu where Tharu is hardly used in daily life. It is noticed that he feels uneasy to speak Tharu with the friends who speak Nepali and English. Furthermore, he said that there is no advantage of using his mother tongue.

3.2.2 Attitudes towards Nepali

Nepali is used extensively for official purpose, as a medium of instruction at various levels of education, commerce, legal practices and in public communication media. So, all the participants of my study speak Nepali without any difficulty. Regarding the views of the participants it seems that all the participants have a positive attitude towards Nepali which is spoken for different purposes. As a common view, they argue that Nepali is widely used in Nepal as a contact language. While expressing her attitude, PE mentioned,

[...] While speaking Nepali I feel very proud because it shows my national identity.

In another way, PH said,

[...] In Nepal, Nepali has a dominant role. It has such a power and prestige that other languages do not have that place. Thus, to speak such a language as my mother tongue I feel proud.

PF also said,

I love to speak Nepali because I feel easy to speak it. As a national and official language, it is used everywhere in Nepal. It is also related to my national identity.

The participants' views indicated that though they have their own mother tongue, they love to speak Nepali. It is because as PE mentioned that it shows national identity. So, she feels proud to speak it. Similarly, PF also respects Nepali as it is his national and official language. He added that it has wide coverage in the nation for communication. PH mentioned a notable point that Nepali is a dominant language in Nepal and it has both power and prestige which other languages lack. He feels proud to speak such a powerful language. This suggests Nepali is attached with the national identity of the participants. Thus, the majority of them speak it as a medium of wider communication in their daily life.

3.2.3 Attitudes towards English

On my query on what is your attitude towards the English language. PG said,

[...] English is an international language which is becoming a dominant in the Nepalese context. In my study, in the job, to access global information, everywhere, English is necessary. Thus, I have to speak English. Without English I cannot do further progress in my career. So, I am interested to use it.

This view showed that PG has a positive attitude towards English. He argued that knowledge of English is necessary for his career. He added that it is an international language and necessary for all. People need to speak English to access global information. Similarly, other participants have positive attitudes towards English. They have given more priority to the use of English because they thought that without using English, communication with different language groups may be impossible. In the same line, PB said,

[...] I have positive attitude towards English. It is necessary for me to have good command over English for wider communication. So, I try to speak it whenever and wherever possible to develop my proficiency.

PJ also had a similar view towards English. He further added,

English is also becoming a part of our life. I mean to say it is linked with our success. If I can speak English there are lots of opportunities for me like in job, in my study and so on. Now, I am joining language classes to learn English.

These three excerpts reflected participants' positive attitudes towards English. All of them had a common view that in the modern age English is being the most important language. Additionally, it seems that English is linked with the success of the participants because it helps them to provide many opportunities to develop their career. As PB expressed that if he has a good command over English he could use it for a wider communication which could help in the promotion of his business. To develop proficiency in English, he speaks whenever and wherever it is possible. Likewise, PJ is also joining language classes to learn English for job and to do better in his study. This suggests that all the participants are positive towards English which supports Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon (2009) that it is seen as a primary means of upward mobility.

3.2.4 Attitudes towards Hindi

All participants do not have positive attitudes towards Hindi. Among them PC and PJ said that Hindi is least used by them. It is because there is less significant role of Hindi in their daily life. They also added that there is no necessity for them to speak Hindi in any domain because all the people understand and speak Nepali and English. They feel that Hindi is others' language which can dominate their culture and identity. Thus, they have negative attitude towards it. But PB mentioned that he has to speak Hindi some because his customers speak in Hindi.

It is seen that among four languages Hindi is least used by them. It is only spoken with restricted addressees in limited domains. The participants use Hindi while talking with brothers, sisters and friends and also in the business domain with the customers who speak it. This also indicates that Hindi is not widely used in the multilingual situation of Nepal.

CHAPTER- FOUR

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the following findings and recommendations have been derived from the analysis of the data.

4.1 Findings

On the basis of the analysis and interpretation of the data, the following findings have been arrived of:

- i. Mother tongue is widely spoken in the family with parents and other senior members. But Nepali and English are found to be used while speaking with brothers and sisters. It is also found that mother tongue is used as a medium to show ethnic identity and solidarity with them.
- ii. Priority is given to Nepali while speaking with friends because they can communicate easily with all friends using Nepali. But English is used only in the party.
- iii. All participants use their mother tongue in religion because it is linked with their culture and ethnicity.
- iv. English is maximally used in education. It is necessary for their upward mobility. Nepali is used in education only as a means to clarify confusions. They do not use Hindi in the education domain.
- v. Majority of participants use English in their workplaces. Among them only one participant uses Nepali because he is working in a government office. It is found that Nepali is necessary in government offices in Nepal. It is used as a marker of national identity.

- vi. Nepali and English are prominent in the mass media. It is found that majority of the participants use Nepali because it is dominantly used in Nepalese media. They also use Hindi while reading Hindi newspapers and listening/watching Hindi programmes.
- vii. All the participants use Nepali widely in the health domain with doctors and nurses because they feel easy to share their problems in Nepali.
- viii. It seems that Nepali is dominantly used in almost all the domains by the participants. Even in the family domain, Nepali is frequently spoken. This domination of Nepali language is leading the participants to language shift. More to add, their mother tongue has been shifted in Nepali due to its wider use.
- ix. Majority of participants have a positive attitude towards their mother tongue except PD. Similarly, all the participants have positive attitude towards Nepali and English. But, except PC and PJ, others have negative attitude towards Hindi.
- x. Since all the participants are multilingual speakers they use different languages in different contexts for different purposes. It is noticed that multiple identities of the participants such as ethnic, national and language identities are constructed through the multiple languages what they speak.

4.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations have been made:

- i. It is necessary to make the wider use of the mother tongue to preserve and promote our culture and identity.

- ii. To preserve the multilingual identity of Nepal equal importance should be given to all the languages.
- iii. It seems that the languages what the participants speak have unequal power. With low status, the participants hesitate to speak those languages and shifting to Nepali and English. Thus, to stop language shift, status of those languages should be promoted.
- iv. To create positive attitude towards mother tongue the provision of mother tongue education should be seriously implemented and improved its access to wider opportunities.
- v. To promote the minority languages of the nation they should be codified and developed the uses of those languages in education, administration and as vehicles to mass communication.
- vi. In Nepal, census data is not available about people's proficiency in languages other than their mother tongues and second languages. So, to identify and determine the fact about this, a linguistic survey should be conducted.

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Appendix-I

Interview Guidelines

1. How many languages do you speak?
2. Name of languages
- Do you understand those languages?
- Do you speak those languages?
- Do you read those languages?
- Do you write those languages?
3. What is your mother tongue?

Language choice in domestic situations

- Speaking to older members of your family
- Speaking to your parents
- Speaking to your brothers and sisters

Language choice in non-domestic situations

- Speaking with friends
- Interactions with lecturers in college/university
- Religious activities
- Interactions with seniors and colleagues at work
- Interactions with customers
- Reading newspapers
- Watching television

4. What is your attitude towards those languages?
5. Which language is important among them?

Appendix-I
Interview Guidelines

1. How many languages do you speak?
2. Do you understand all languages?
3. Do you speak all languages?
4. Do you read all languages?
5. Do you write all languages?
6. Which is your mother tongue (first language)?
7. How did you learn to speak English?
8. Which language do you speak while speaking with parents?
9. Why do you use that language?
10. Which language do you use with your brothers and sisters?
11. Why do you use that language ?
12. Which language do you use with your colleagues?
13. Why do you use that language?
14. Do you use English with your friends at party?
15. What is your religious language like for pray?
16. Which language do you use with your lecturer in university?
17. Do you also use your first language at university?
18. Which language do you speak with seniors in workplace?
19. Which language do you use in mass media ?
20. Which language do you use in hospital?
21. What is your attitude on the Nepali and English languages?
22. Which language is the most important among them?

Appendix-II

Interview Details

Interview Details of PA

I: Interviewer

PA: Informant

I: Good afternoon, friend.

PA: Good afternoon.

I: I would like to take your time for the interview related to my study. I am going to ask some questions and hope that you will provide the information as you can.

PA: It's ok. I will try my best.

I: How many languages do you speak?

PA: I speak four languages. I speak Tharu as my mother tongue. I can also speak Nepali, English and Hindi too.

I: Do you understand all languages ?

PA: Yes, I understand.

I: Do you speak all languages?

PA: Yes I speak

I: Do you read all languages.

PA: Yes, I read.

I: How about writing?

PA: I can write other two languages but I feel difficulty in writing my mother tongue and Hindi.

I: Which is your mother tongue?

PA: Tharu

I: How did you learn to speak English?

PA: Since I started to go to school, learning English was started.

I: Which language do you speak while speaking with parents?

PA: I speak Tharu language with them.

I: Why do you use that language?

PA: Because they are illiterate and can not speak other languages. For mutual understanding, I have to use my mother tongue with them. They cannot understand all the languages as I can.

I: Which language do you use with your brothers and sisters?

PA: Mostly, I speak Nepali and sometimes English too.

I: Why do you use that language?

PA: There is no fixed reason. But they are educated and understand all languages. I feel joy to speak those languages with them.

I: Which language do you use with your colleagues?

PA: In the village, I frequently speak Tharu with them I hesitate to speak Nepali and English with them because they feel uneasy to response. But, in Kathmandu, I feel difficulty in speaking Tharu because most of the friends are Nepali speakers. It gives sense of friendship if I speak Nepali with them. Anyway, I want to be informal with all my friends.

I: Do you use English with your friends?

PA: Yes, but not significantly.

I: What is your religious language for pray?

PA: Tharu is my religious language. This is my obligation because of our tradition.

I: Which language do you use with your lecturer in university?

PA: Being a student of majoring in English I mostly use English language with lecturer in university.

I: Do you also use mother tongue in university?

PA: Yes, but with my friends only. I use it in order to become close with them.

I: Which language do you speak in workplace?

PA: In my college where I teach I have to use English. I am working as an English teacher. So, English is necessary there. Nepali is least used but I do not use Hindi anymore.

PB: I speak four languages i.e. Newari, Nepali, English and Hindi.

I: Do you understand all languages?

PB: Yes, I understand.

I: Do you speak all language?

PB: Yes, I speak.

I: Do you write all language?

PB: No I cannot write in Hindi.

I: Which is your mother tongue?

PB: Newari.

I: How did you learn to speak English?

PB: I learned English at school.

I: Which language do you speak while speaking with parents?

PB: I speak Newari language while speaking with parents.

I: Why do you use that language?

PB: It is because my senior family members use it widely in the family.

I: Which language do you use with your brothers and sisters?

PB: I speak Newari language most of the time but I use both Nepali and English too with them. When I want to share secret thing with them I use Newari. Otherwise, both Nepali and English are used.

I: Which language do you use with your colleagues?

PB: I speak Newari with Newari friends and Nepali with Nepali speaking friends.

I: Why do you use those languages ?

PB: I feel easy to use both languages with my friends.

I: Do you use English with your friends?

PB: Yes, I use English while we are celebrating a party. Sometimes while talking about the an interesting topic.

I: What is your religious language like for pray?

PB: Being a Newar, my religious language is Newari. Except Newari, I can not use other languages for pray because it is believed the our God does not understand other languages. All the people in my community also use Newari, so, I have to follow them.

I: Which language do you use with your lecturer in college?

PB: I use both Nepali and English with my lecturer but more prominently English is used.

I: Do you also use your mother tongue in college?

PB: Yes, but I least use my mother tongue. It is used only when I meet the friends of the same language groups. Some friends of mine speak Newari also.

I: Which language do you use in business?

PB: I speak Newari with Newar customers and Nepali with Nepali speaking customers. Sometimes I speak English and Hindi too with them. It depends upon who the customers are.

I: Which language do you use in mass media while reading newspapers and TV or radio programs?

PB: I mostly use Nepali but sometimes I use English too. It seems that Nepali is dominant in our media. So, I widely use it.

I: Which language do you use in hospital?

PB: I speak Nepali with the doctors in hospital. I feel very easy to express my problems in Nepali. Sometimes, I speak my mother tongue if they understand to share my secret things.

I: What is your attitude towards those languages?

PB: I have positive attitude towards all the languages. I feel proud to speak Newari. I use it to share secret things and to show solidarity with Newars. Similarly, I have a positive attitude towards English. It is necessary for me to have good command over English language for wider communications.

So, I try to speak it whenever and wherever possible to develop my proficiency.

I: Which language is important among them ?

PB : Newari.

I: Thank you for your help.

PB: Thank you.

Interview Details of PC

I: Interviewer PC: Informant

I: Good afternoon, friend.

PC: Good afternoon.

I: I would like to take your time for some moment.

PC: Its ok.

I: How many languages do you speak?

PC: I speak Nepali, English, Hindi, and Doteli also.

I: Do you understand all languages?

PC: Yes, I understand.

I: Do you read all languages?

PC: Yes, I read.

I: Do you write all languages?

PC: No, I cannot write all languages. I feel difficulty in writing Hindi.

I: Which is your mother tongue?

PC: Nepali is my mother tongue.

I: How did you learn to speak English?

PC: I learnt to speak English at home because all the members of my family are educated and they taught me to speak English.

I: Which language do you speak while speaking with parents ?

PC: I speak Nepali with my parents most of the time.

I: Why do you use that language?

- PC: It is because there is domination of Nepali language in my family. So, I have to use it.
- I: Which language do you speak with your brothers and sisters?
- PC: While speaking with my brothers and sisters I use English.
- I: Why do you use that language?
- PC: We feel joy while speaking in English. I use English to develop my English proficiency and also to share my secret things with them. Sometimes, I use Hindi too.
- I: Which language do you use with your colleagues?
- PC: In both formal and informal situations, I use Nepali. All of my friends speak Nepali. In this case, without Nepali it is difficult to communicate with them.
- I: Do you also use English with your friends?
- PC: Yes, I frequently use English with my friends while we are in a party or other situations. Because they all understand it and speak in a fluent way.
- I: What is your religious language for pray?
- PC: I use my mother tongue i.e. Nepali. It is our tradition that we should not use other languages. It is also concerned with our ethnicity. So, I give priority to speak Nepali.
- I: Which language do you use with your lecturer in university?
- PC: Being a student of Education English, no doubt, I use English in the classroom with my lecturers and friends. While discussing about the topic related to the course and vague ideas about the topic I speak English. There is necessity to use English in the classroom. So, I have to use it.
- I: Do you also use your mother tongue in university?
- PC: Yes, I speak my mother tongue while talking with my friends only in informal situation.
- I: Which language do you speak in workplace?

PC: I use English while teaching in school. Sometimes, I use Nepali too. It is only used when I have to clarify the concepts which students do not understand. But the use of Hindi is prohibited in the classroom. It is spoken while talking with the friends outside the classroom.

I: What language do you use in mass media like in reading newspapers?

PC: In general, I read both Nepali and English newspapers. While reading Nepali newspaper I have to use Nepali because I can not use other languages at that time. While I read English newspapers, there is no significance to use Nepali and Hindi. So, I have to use English.

I: Which language do you use in hospital?

PC: I speak Nepali language because it is easy to speak.

I: What is your attitude towards those languages?

PC: Except Hindi, I have positive attitude towards other languages. I speak Nepali as my mother tongue. It reflects my national identity to the other speakers. Thus, while speaking Nepali and other people I feel proud and English is also necessary for me. I am learning it.

I: Which language is important among them ?

PC: Nepali.

I: Thank you for your time.

PC: Thank you.

Interview Details of PD

I: Interviewer PD: Informant

I: How many languages do you speak?

PD: I speak four languages i.e. Tharu, Nepali, Hindi, English.

I: Do you understand all languages?

PD: Yes, I understand all languages

I: Do you speak all languages?

PD: Yes, I speak.

I: Do you read all languages?

PD: Yes, I read.

I: Do you write all languages?

PD: No, I can not write in Tharu language.

I: Which is your mother tongue?

PD: Tharu is my mother tongue.

I: How did you learn to speak English?

PD: I learnt to speak English by studying books, newspapers, literary books and practising it with my friends and teachers.

I: Which language do you speak with parents?

PD: I use Tharu language while speaking with my parents.

I: Why do you use that language?

PD: It is because they do not understand other languages except Tharu. If use other languages they just stare at me and tell me to clarify what I want to say. It also shows my ethnic identity.

I: Which language do you use with your brothers and sisters?

PD: I use Tharu and Nepali with my brothers and sisters.

I: Which language do use with your colleagues?

PD: I speak Nepali.

I: Why do you use that language ?

PD: Because they can understand it. And I can express my feelings easily with them.

I: Do you also use English with your friends ?

PD: Yes, I use English with my friends while we are in a party and to talk about any topic related to our course.

I: What is your religious language for pray?

PD: I use Tharu as a religious language while praying with God. Actually, there is no significant reason to use it because I am just following the tradition what our seniors are doing.

I: Which language do you use with your lecturer in university?

PD: I frequently use English and sometimes Nepali too with my lecturer in the university.

I: Do you also use mother tongue in university?

PD: No, I do not use my mother tongue in university.

I: Which language do you speak in workplace?

PD: I speak Nepali in workplace. The government has declared that Nepali is an official language due to that I can not use other languages for official purposes. I think this also helps to preserve our national identity. But while talking with my colleagues in informal way, I use my mother tongue too.

I: Which language do you use while reading newspapers?

PD: I mostly read English newspapers. So, I use English language while reading newspapers.

I: Which language do you use in hospital?

PD: I speak both Nepali and English with doctors while doing usual check-up. It depends upon where I am and with whom I am talking to. If I am in the Bir Hospital I widely use Nepali but in the Norvic Hospital, I frequently use English.

I: What is your attitude towards those languages?

PD: I feel uneasy to speak Tharu with other language speakers. Because majority of my friends do not understand it and it is least used. I have to use either Nepali or English in education, profession everywhere. Thus, I regularly use Nepali and English. There is no significant role of my mother tongue in everyday life.

I: Which language is important among them ?

PD: English.

I: Nice to talk with you. Thank you.

PD: Thank you.

- I: Which language do you use with your lecturer in university?
- PE: Mostly, I use English in university where I am studying. But I feel difficult to use English all the time. It is because I can not express my opinion easily using English. Thus, sometimes I use Nepali also.
- I: Do you also use mother tongue in university?
- PE: Yes, when I meet my friends with the same language group, I use my mother tongue.
- I: Which language do you speak in workplace?
- PE: I speak English while teaching. In the same way, I use Nepali too. It is because I am teaching in a government school and without using Nepali the students do not understand whatever I teach to them.
- I: Which language do you use while reading newspapers and watching programmes ?
- PE: I use Newari, Nepali, English and sometimes Hindi too according to the newspapers and other programmes. I think it is not possible to use one language while reading newspapers and watching programmes of another language.
- I: Which language do you use in hospital?
- PE: I speak Nepali language with doctors and nurses.
- I: What is your attitude towards those languages?
- PE: What you mean?
- I: Towards the languages what you speak?
- PE: I have positive attitude towards the languages what I speak. They are the heritage of the nation. While speaking Nepali language, I feel very proud because it shows my national identity.
- I: Which language is the most important among them ?
- PE: English.
- I: Thank you for your company.
- PE: Not mentioned.

- I: Which language do you use with your colleagues?
- PF: Frequently, I speak Tharu and Nepali with them but sometimes I use Hindi too if we are doing informal talk. Using those language I can express my thoughts and feelings easily.
- I: Do you use English with your friends?
- PF: Yes, I speak English with my friends while we are celebrating a party. There is no fixed reason. My friends understand and speak English. I also want to speak with them.
- I: What is your religious language for pray?
- PF: Tharu is my religious language because in my community all people use Tharu for praying with god.
- I: Which language do you use with your lecturer in college ?
- PF: As a student of Education English I always speak English with my lecturer in university.
- I: Do you also use your mother tongue in college ?
- PF: Yes, to express my thoughts and opinions with my close friends I use Tharu. It also shows my language identity to other speakers.
- I: Which language do you use with your customers?
- PF: I speak Nepali frequently with the customers. Because they understand it easily. But, sometimes, I have to speak Hindi too because some customers understand Hindi. Generally, English is least used. I use English only with the foreigners.
- I: Which language do you use in hospital?
- PF: I speak Nepali in hospitals. There is no significant reason to use Nepali but I feel easy to share my feelings with doctors using it. They also easily understand it.
- I: What is your attitude towards those languages?

I: Which language do you speak while speaking with parents?

PG: While speaking with my parents I use the Nepali language.

I: Why do you use that language ?

PG: It is because there is domination of Nepali language in my family. All of us understand and speak Nepali with each other. I feel close to them and can talk with them easily using Nepali.

I: Which language do you use with your brothers and sisters?

PG: I use Tharu and sometimes Nepali too with my brothers and sisters because they are still young.

I: Which languages do you use with your colleagues?

PG: I usually use Nepali with my colleagues because Nepali is easy to speak and understand for most of them.

I: Do you also use English with your friends?

PG: Yes, but not usually.

I: What is your religious language for pray?

PG: I belong to Hindu religion. All the books of my religion are written in Sanskrit and religious programmes are also conducted using Sanskrit language. But while praying with God I use Nepali. I have to use it because our culture prohibits to use other language to our God.

I: Which language do you use with your lecturers in college ?

PG: I speak English with them. But sometimes I also use Nepali if we are outside the classroom

I: Do you also use your mother tongue in college ?

PG: Yes, I do.

I: Why do you use that language?

PG: Because majority of my friends speak Nepali and it is my mother tongue also. I feel easy to speak with them in Nepali.

I: Which language do you use in mass media ?

PG: I am sorry. I am not getting your point.

I: I mean, while reading newspapers and for radio and TV broadcasting which language do you use?

PG: Yes, It is difficult to use English and Hindi language if I am reading Nepali Newspapers. So, I have to use Nepali. This also happens in radio and TV programmes. Similarly, I use English and Hindi if English and Hindi languages are used there.

I: Which language do you use in hospital?

PG: Usually I use Nepali language in hospital while talking with doctors and nurses. English and Hindi are least used there.

I: What is your attitude towards those languages?

PG: I have positive attitude towards all those languages what I speak. But I feel that English is more important among them. English is an international language which is becoming a dominant in Nepalese context. In my study, in the job, to access global information everywhere, English is necessary. Thus, I have to speak English, without English I can not do further progress in my career. So, I am interested to use it.

I: Thank you for your time.

PG: It's ok. Thank You.

Interview Detail of PH

I: Interviewer

PH: Informant

I: Good morning, friend.

PH: Good morning.

I: Shall I start to ask questions?

PH: Ok, I am ready.

I: How many languages do you speak?

PH: I speak mainly Nepali and English. But sometimes I speak Hindi and Newari too.

I: Do you understand all languages?

PH: Yes, I understand.

I: Do you speak all languages?

PH: Yes, I speak.

I: Do you read all languages?

PH: Yes, I read.

I: Do you write all languages ?

PH: Except, Newari and Hindi, I can write other languages.

I: What is your mother tongue?

PH: Nepali.

I: How did you learn to speak English?

PH: I learnt to speak English from teachers and by reading newspapers textbooks and also speaking with my friends.

I: Which language do you speak while speaking with parents?

PH: Nepali

I: Why do you use that language?

PH: Because it is my mother tongue and one of the ways of sharing feelings. It also helps to build up solidarity among them.

I: Which language do you use with your brothers and sisters?

PH: I use Nepali most of the time. But while talking about the subject matter related to their course, I use English. Knowledge of English will be helpful in our future career. So, I am interested in English.

I: Which language do you use with your colleagues?

PH: I use Nepali and sometimes Newari and Hindi too with them. We share our personal feelings using those languages.

I: Do you also use English with your friends?

PH: Yes, I use English with my friends. But it happens sometimes according to the context.

I: What is your religious language for pray?

PH: Nepali

- I: Which language do you use with your lecturer ?
- PH: I speak English with my lecturers and also with my friends where I study. It is my own incentive to use this language because I want to improve my ability to speak English. They also encourage me to talk with them in English.
- I: Do you also use your mother tongue in university ?
- PH: Yes, I use it while talking with my friends to be more clear about the topic.
- I: Which language do you speak in workplace ?
- PH: I speak English in workplace. I have to attend seminars with the persons from the different countries and as a medium of communication I use English. I have to do all the works considering that all people should understand. For that, the use of English is the best way for me. Except English, I speak Nepali too with my friends in break time.
- I: Which language do you use in mass media ?
- I: I mean while reading newspapers and other radio and TV programmes.
- PH: I use Nepali frequently while reading newspaper and radio and TV programmes. But, sometimes I use English too.
- I: Which language do you use in hospital ?
- PH: I use Nepali language widely while talking with doctors and nurses.
- I: What is your attitude towards those languages ?
- PH: I have positive attitude towards all languages. I know that they are concerned with our identity and there is no harm of learning any languages. But in Nepal, Nepali has a dominant role. It has such a power and prestige that other language do not have that place. Thus, to speak such a language as my mother tongue I feel joy and proud.
- I: Which language is important among them ?
- PH: Nepali.
- I: Thank you, friend.
- PH: Thank you.