

How Government Specific Language Favored Policies Shape Language Hierarchy in Multilingual Context: A Look Back at Nepal's History

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ARTICLE INFO

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Article History

Received: 19 March 2024

Revised: 22 May 2024

Accepted: 12 June 2024

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Cite

Sharma, H. M. (2024). How government specific language favored policies shape language hierarchy in multilingual context: A look back at Nepal's history. *Gipan*, 6(1), 31–46
<https://doi.org/10.3126/gipan.v6i1.68128>

ABSTRACT

This study explores the role of government specific language favored policies in shaping language hierarchy in multilingual contexts. The study looks back at Nepal's history illustrating governments' activities and behavior towards two languages: Nepali and Newar as representative cases. The study was based on macro-level analysis of contents related to governments' behavior and policies towards these two languages. It also analyzed the contents about influential individuals' contribution to the development of those languages to show how governments' particular language favored LPPs plays a determinant role in creating language hierarchy and positioning regardless of significant contribution of influential individuals to the development of a particular language i.e., either Nepali or Newar. The study reveals that governments' Nepali language favored policies uplifted the status of Nepali language whereas its unfavorable policies towards the Newar language degraded its status by confining it as an ethnic language, despite it having rich literature, advanced functions and large number of native speakers in the past.

Keywords: *determinant forces, language attitude, language hierarchy, Nepali language, Newar language*

Introduction

There are 124 languages in Nepal, belonging to Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic, and Dravidian language families including one isolate Kusunda where 117 languages that are spoken as second languages (NSO, 2022). Nepali is the primary language in official affairs, courts, commerce, mass media, and education for decades despite this linguistic diversity. For many years, it has resulted in the marginalization of other languages and the creation of a linguistic hierarchy where Nepali is considered the national language and the other languages are considered local, vernacular, or home languages. Before multi-party democracy in 1990, nearly all of them were

disregarded. All languages are acknowledged as national languages in the most recent constitutions, and some of them are already officially recognized at the policy level. The rest of them are still confined to the status quo, albeit positioning is still obvious in their behaviors.

Various reasons impact the language development and planning in Nepal. Three very influential forces are government, individuals, and institutions. Weinstein (1979, 1983) refers to the first two forces as government planners and influential strategists, respectively, and the third factor as "institutional strategists" (my term). Government officials who possess the authority to decide on LPP are referred to as "government planners."



Conversely, "individual strategists" are educated or politically connected elites who may advocate for language development in order to further their own political goals or as a form of resistance against the government (Weinstein, 1979, 1983). Finally, "institutional strategists" comprise colleges, divisions, organizations, committees, professional associations, NGOs, INGOs, and universities that support the advancement of language learning.

These forces have been directly or indirectly working for the preservation of linguistic history, protection of language ecology, and acknowledgment of all languages in diverse ways, as evidenced by the historical patterns of the national LPP of Nepal. Different NGOs and INGOs study different languages, governments create academies, interested people write and publish grammatical and literary works, and governments develop distinct language laws. However, the government always has the final decision over national LPP as well as the role and standing of various languages. Which language is restricted to being a vernacular, a local, or an ethnic language in a certain area and which is elevated as a national or official language in Nepal is decided by the government. Their language and attitude play a big role in this since they are important to LPP. Language placement and hierarchy are created as a result of the long-term deployment of the LPP in favor of one language. In light of this, the purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of particular language-favored national LPPs and the long-term implementation of these LPPs on the establishment of language positioning and hierarchy in a multilingual setting such as Nepal. The paper makes the case—based on an examination of Nepal's LPP history—that government-developed LPPs that prioritize the Nepali language and their sustained implementation have a significant influence on the status of Nepali language and various other languages, which has led to the establishment of linguistic hierarchy and positioning in Nepal's multilingual society.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of this study centers around the exploration of the impact of Nepali

language favored status as well as language-in-education planning and their implementation in creating language hierarchy in multilingual Nepal. The study seeks to examine the role of these attitudes in establishing a language hierarchy, despite the presence of multiple languages with rich literary histories and positive attitudes towards a language among its speakers. To achieve this objective the study will utilize a concept of language attitude and determinant forces of LPP (Weinstein, 1979, 1983).

Methods and Procedures

Nepali and Newar languages have been included in the study. These languages were chosen by using purposive sampling techniques where Nepali has been constitutionally ranked as the top language and has dominated Nepal's national LPP for centuries and became the language of choice for majority of people. Similarly, Newar language was based on its established historical background and status as one of Nepal's most ancient, sophisticated, and standard languages.

The study's data came from official publications such as constitutions, commission reports, research reports, newspapers, and journals, written records of political activities done by the ruling forces regarding the Nepali and Newar languages. Books, journals, and other scholarly works pertinent to the research topic were also studied. Additional details about the roles played by linguistic tactics and the evolution of Nepali and Newar in Nepalese society were supplied by these sources. The government's influence over the status of languages in Nepalese society is discussed in these sources.

Using the approach recommended by Ryan and Giles (1982), the study examines the information contained in a larger variety of documents. A technique called "content analysis" was first presented by Ryan and Giles in 1982 was followed. It entails looking for patterns, themes, and interpretations in the text, picture, video, and other document contents that are relevant to the subject at hand. Many relevant materials were evaluated, and conclusions were drawn that illustrate the positioning of two languages in Nepalese society.

Case Languages

The study focused on how the governments' language attitudes influenced language policy and contributed to the proliferation of a language positioning in multilingual country like Nepal. To illustrate this fact, Nepali and Newar language were purposively selected as sample cases. They are briefly introduced as follows.

Nepali Language

Nepali is the national level official language both legally as well as practically. It belongs to the Indo-Aryan language family and shares a close relationship with Hindi as well as other languages spoken in southern Nepal and northern India, such as Maithili and Bhojpuri. The Devanagari script, which is also used to write Hindi and Sanskrit, is used to write Nepali. Despite the fact that there are 124 languages, including Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Tamang, among others, it is the only official language in national level (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2021). Nepali is also the language of instruction in schools and a lingua franca throughout the country. Therefore, proficiency in Nepali is also required for government employment and official correspondence. Moreover, Nepali acts as a unifying language in a nation where several linguistic and ethnic groups are present (Chalise, 2011). But Nepali is not without its difficulties, even with its national level official status. Concerns over the marginalization of minority languages and dialects as well as the place of Nepali in governance and education are ongoing (Gellner, 2008). However, Nepali continues to play a significant role in Nepali identity and culture.

Newar Language

Newar language, is sometimes referred to as Nepal Bhasa and Newari/Newari language. Kansakar (1997) stated that the Newar language is known as "Nepal Bhasha" in indigenous writings written by Newar writers. Most native speakers just refer to the language as "Newaah Bhaae" in casual conversation. One of the four Tibeto-Burman languages, it is spoken by the Newar people, who are primarily from the Kathmandu Valley and some other parts of Nepal. They have a long-

written heritage. The language is renowned for its distinctive script, called Nepal Lipi, which is used alone for writing Newar language. It has a rich literary history, with works reaching back to the 11th century (Kansakar, 1997; Sharma, 2010). In contemporary Nepal, the Newar language has had difficulties despite its cultural importance. It has been neglected with other minority languages in the nation, with Nepali and English being the official languages and English serving as the language of instruction and international communication (Tuladhar & Ballav, 2014). Nonetheless, initiatives have been made to maintain and advance the Newari language and culture. The goal of the 1992-founded Nepal Bhasa Academy is to advance the use and advancement of Newari literature and language (Shrestha, 2009). The main aim is to foster cultural linkages and advance the language and legacy of Newar-speaking people (Malla, 2019).

Government-elite Attitudes and Behaviors

Debate and controversy have been generated by the governments and elites' views and actions regarding the Nepali and Newar languages. Since Nepali is the official language of the country and is mostly used for daily purposes, the government and elites actively promote and maintain its supremacy in the language. In contrast, despite their rich historical and cultural significance, other languages, like the Newar language spoken by the Newar ethnic group, have been marginalized and almost neglected. Some argue for acknowledging and fostering linguistic diversity, including the Newar language, while others support Nepali as a unifying language. Regarding these languages, the government and elites' views are indicative of larger problems with language politics and cultural identity in Nepal (Dahal, 2000; Gautam, 2021).

Local languages were suppressed and disparities between Nepali and local language speakers were maintained by the monolingual educational policy, especially during the Panchayat era (Shields and Rappleye, 2008). Linguistic and sociopolitical difficulties were resulted from the governments' preference for Nepali and English in educational planning (Giri, 2009, 2010).

Nepal's 1990 constitution recognized all Nepalese languages as national assets and resources, a multilingual educational policy was developed, with specific attention to mother-tongue-based education. Nevertheless, a monopolistic approach to language policy and planning and the reinforcement of the linguistic advantage of elites have emerged from a lack of political will among governmental authorities to execute policies in favor of local languages (Giri, 2009, 2011). The present social order has been upheld by the government's decision to exclude the general people from LPP formation and to give preference to elite linguists (Lawoti, 2004; Manandhar, 2002). To support the interests of political and educated elites, have intensified conflicts between dominant languages and minority languages (Phyak, 2011a, 2011b). This has affected attitudes toward language, sustained inequalities, and marginalized ethnic languages within the educational system (Sah, 2021). Neoliberal ideologies driven government activities have neglected ethnic languages that perpetuate language inequality (Gautam & Poudel, 2022) leading to a loss of linguistic variety. Despite the fact that multilingualism is recognized by the constitution, there is a discrepancy between this recognition and educational practices, which indicates that the government does not support linguistic diversity (Phyak & Ojha, 2019). The use and proficiency of ethnic languages have decreased as a result of this neglect, putting their existence in threat (Regmi, 2021). Some studies have argued that government planners should preserve indigenous languages, and local agencies should be included in developing policies for multilingual education as well (Phyak & De Costa, 2021; Sharma, 2018, 2020). In order to maintain linguistic diversity and incorporate ethnic languages into the educational system, Gautam (2021) emphasizes the government's initiatives and assistance. Sah and Karki (2020) argue against dominant language-favored LPP and its results, emphasizing the need for policy change to protect minority languages. The government-elite conflict and cooperative efforts to repress Newar and promote Nepali languages respectively have been covered in the sections that follow.

Newar Language: Government-elite Confrontation

The majority of people who have lived in the Kathmandu Valley since prehistoric times speak Newar language (Bista, 1976, Gautam, 2012, 2021; Gellner & Quigley, 1995). The language has a long and illustrious literary history that dates back to the fourteenth century, and it is still evolving now. The Malla dynasty encouraged the use of Newar language in manuscripts and inscriptions, which resulted in its preservation in the National Archives (Malla, 1981, 1982; Shrestha, 1999). In an inscription at Hanumandhoka in 1654, King Pratap Malla renamed the language from "Nepal Bhasa" to "Newar Language," changing its name from ethnic group affiliation to geography, especially the name of the country (Malla, 1991). After this renaming, Nepal Bhasa's significance changed from being a symbol of the national identity to that of the ethnic identity of the Newar people. Evidence of the language's prehistoric development can be found in a palm leaf from Patan Uku Bahal that dates to 1114 (Malla, 1990; Shrestha, 1999a, b).

After conquering the Nepal Valley in 1768–1769, Prithvinarayan Shah, the King of Gorkha State, established Kathmandu as the capital of a united Nepal. As a result, the Newar people who lived in the Kathmandu Valley saw a significant shift in their political power standing, going from a privileged group to a community that had been beaten (Bista, 1976). Malla kings and fighters who had fought against the Gorkha invaders were subjected to torture and exile, with some even facing the death penalty. These actions persisted until the invaders thought they were required. Following the Gurkha invasion, which resulted in the Newar language being displaced by Nepali, which was widely used in government offices and schools, Nepali was adopted as the official language used in law and administration, as defined by Gautam (2012) and Shrestha (1997). The Newar language progressively became obsolete, with the exception of certain official administrative, judicial, and religious traditions, as a result of this and the waning of Newari cultural practices that were formerly preserved as royal values and customs.

As the formal and official language, Nepali eventually took the place of Newar (Gautam, 2012, 2021; Shrestha, 1997; Shrestha, 1999a, b). Other minority languages are marginalized and excluded from public discourse, policies, and domains because Nepali is symbolically portrayed as the "national" language (Phyak, 2016). Inequalities between speakers of Nepali and other languages were maintained by the monolingual educational policy, which was especially prevalent during the Panchayat era and suppressed local languages like Nepal Bhasa (Shields & Rappleye 2008). With time, the rulers devalued the Newar language, which had formerly been the official language of the kingdom and was utilized for trade, administration, courts, and cultural activities. As a result, it was reduced to a mere asset of the vanquished identity (Malla, 1990; Shrestha, 1999a, b). The Newar language's downfall did not end with the Shah dynasty; rather, it worsened and persisted throughout the Rana and Panchayat systems that followed. The goal of the Rana regime was to eradicate all languages save Nepali, as seen by their suppression of the Newar, Hindi, and Maithili language movements (Gautam, 2021). Specifically, following Jang Bahadur's ascent to power, the Newar language was severely suppressed, and this pattern persisted under the Rana Rule.

Chandra Samsher, the prime minister at the time, outlawed the use of Newar in official settings like courts, government offices, and property registration in 1905. Furthermore, the government severely suppressed intellectuals from the Newar community (Malla, 1981, 1982, 1991, 1992). Many Newar language contributors and writers were imprisoned and exiled as a result of Chandra Samsher's successors' subsequent ongoing restrictions on the use of the language and written production (Shrestha, 1999a). With the exception of a few devotional songs, a large portion of Newar language literature and folklore vanished as a result.

The language and culture of the Newar people were despised by the Shah and the Rana emperors. Nevertheless, despite the challenging circumstances, a few prominent members of

the Newar community persisted in making contributions to the language's growth. The four most well-known writers of the era were Pandit Nisthananda Vajracarya, Siddhidas Amatya, Jagat Sunder Malla, and Yogvir Singh Kansakar. In 1914, Nisthananda released the first book written in Nepal Bhasa, or Newar language, titled "Ekavimsati Prajnaparmita." Later, he issued a second book in the same language, "Lalitavistara and Svayambhupurana." However, because of government control and prohibition, creating and publishing books became more difficult generally, and more so in the Newar language specifically. Even so, one of the most significant authors of Newar literature, Siddhidas Amatya, managed to produce almost fifty novels and inspired other writers to write in the language. Numerous other people also made significant contributions to the growth of the Newar language. For example, Jagat Sundar Malla founded a Newar language school in Bhaktapur in 1912 and was a strong supporter of mother tongue education. In addition, he authored textbooks and dictionaries in both Newar-English and Newar-Nepali. Likewise, Bhikshu Aniruddha authored a book in 1917 about the Newar language, and his pupil Chakraraj Vajracharya released a dictionary in 1927 (Shrestha, 1999a). Sukraraj Shastri, who authored the first Newar language grammar in 1928 and a textbook in 1933, is another significant figure in the history of the Newar language (Gautam, 2021). During the Panchayat era, a number of literary figures created works in the Newar language, including Gyanmani Nepal, Bal Krishna Sama, and Sidhdi Chharan Shrestha (Shakya, 2008). But these deeds just served to further suppress them. The Rana Government had arrested and imprisoned Jagat Sundar Malla, but he had not stopped working; in fact, he had even pretended to be insane in order to carry on working after being released from prison. Yogvir Singh Kansakar, another advocate of the Newar language, was also detained, punished, and repeatedly tortured in retaliation for his contributions to the language's advancement. Still, he persisted in advocating for his native tongue. Malla and Kansakar would disseminate their agendas and information among the populace using Malla's cloth shop as a covert

meeting place to write in the Newar language and avoid government scrutiny. They feared that the government would confiscate all of their writings and imprison or fine the writers. Over time, the government's persecution of the Newar people, language, and culture only got worse (Shrestha, 1999a).

To discourage writing in the Newar language, Prime Minister Juddha Samsher sentenced some well-known Newar authors to lengthy prison terms in 1933. Even in this harsh environment, these convicts persisted in their task. Rather, they persisted on beginning fresh writing assignments in Newar. Consequently, despite the government's attempts to repress it, the writings of these authors—among them Malla and Kansakar—helped to maintain and advance the Newar language. During Rana reign, the Newar language was suppressed in favor of Nepali language. This fact is shown in the excerpt quoted from Pradhan (1997) as follows:

One fine morning in November 1945 following 'Jnanamala Bhajan' processing from Swayambhu Hill to Kel Tole, the Police Superintendent, named Chandra Bahadur Thapa' appeared at the Prayer at the Prayer Inn followed by a large retinue of policemen. The policemen and their Colonel Thapa stood up surrounding the choir until the prayer was over. The [books] were snatched away all the copies of 'Jnanamala' at hand and then began to harass the reciters by asking a series of questions such as 'why do you use the book in the Newar language for recitation?', 'how dare you sing from a book not registered in the Government office?', 'why do you insult the national language-Nepali, by not using it?', (Pradhan, 1997).

The passage illustrates the Rana government's views on the Newar language, which was used to write the book "Jnanamala." The government's stance seems to be unfavorable because they disapproved of the usage of the Newar language during public prayers and charged that the reciters were demeaning Nepali, the official language of the country. The government's move of seizing the books and interrogating and accusing the reciters

is indicative of a linguistic policy that prioritizes the usage of Nepali over Newar. One could see the Rana government's stance on the Newar language as an effort to discourage its use and diminish its cultural significance.

On the other hand, the Newar community—who lived in both India and Nepal—was instrumental in the growth of the Newar language. Dharmaditya Dharmacarya, in particular, made significant contributions to the language's development and preservation when he founded the "Nepal Bhasa Sahitya Mandala" literary organization and the "Buddhadharmaya Nepal Bhasa" periodical in Calcutta in 1926. Additionally, the "National Forum of Newar People" was established in 1995, significantly pushing the efforts to enhance the status of the Newar language. The Newar language movement started in the late 1970s (Shrestha, 1999).

The Newar language had been fighting to hold onto its status as a language of greater cultural influence and communication since 1951, when Nepal made the move to democracy (Pradhan, 1997; Shrestha, 1999). Even though it was the language of a highly educated people, the new democratic governments did not cherish the language. Actually, Nepali, the native tongue of the Brahman/Chhetries and the Shah/Rana Rulers, was confirmed as the exclusive language of instruction by the interim government in 1956, with Newar being reduced to an elective topic (Nepal National Education Planning Commission [NNEPC], 1956; Sharma, 1990, 2020). Even when Nepali was designated as the country's national language in the 1959 Constitution, this marginalization persisted (Sharma, 2020). First, the country's constitution and the Commission's (NNEPC, 1956) recommendations served as the foundation for Nepal's language politics. However, discussions over language issues in the country began long before formal constitutions were written. The challenges of minority languages like Newar were made worse by these policies, which frequently favored Nepali over other ethnic languages (Gautam, 2021).

A worsening of the situation occurred during the Panchayat System. The "single language" policy,

which forbade the use of other languages in formal settings and was a key component of a nationalistic agenda favoring Nepali, was strictly enforced by panchayat governments. Hindi and Newar newscasts were discontinued by Radio Nepal in 1965. In line with the Panchayat motto, "one language, one dress, one country" (ek bhasha, ek bhash, ek desh), they promoted the exclusive use of Nepali language for administration, education, and media, rather than acknowledging all of the nation's cultures and languages. As a result, a monolingual nationalist ideology that sought to integrate various language communities into the mainstream culture was strengthened (Caddell, 2007; Gautam, 2021; Sharma, 2020). The state of the Newar language and other ethnic languages deteriorated to an extreme. Protests against the Panchayat System were sparked by the Rulers' and a small group of elites' dominance over many facets of peoples' lives as well as the continued repression of ethnic peoples' languages and cultures (Gellner, 1997; Maharjan, 2018). Protest meetings were scheduled by a number of ethnic and cultural organizations in the Kathmandu Valley. To control the protests, the Panchayat Government imprisoned and mistreated them. But it was unable to quell public outcry, and in 1979 King Birendra called for a political referendum, giving voters the choice between reinstating the multi-party system in the nation or keeping the enhanced Panchayat System with a few changes. It turned out to be the best opportunity for the Newar people to band together, gain enough strength to openly oppose the "one language, one dress, one nation" policy, and advocate for the equal linguistic and cultural rights of all Nepalese nationalities. Every ethnic group, including the Newar, requested the right to get an education in their mother tongue and to speak it in government media, courts, and administrative settings (Shrestha, Maharjan, 2018, 1999a, b). Following the Panchayat System's fall and the return of multiparty democracy to Nepal in 1990, legislative modifications pertaining to languages of the nation were implemented. The 1990 Nepalese Constitution designated Nepali as the "national language" and all other languages including Newar, as "languages of the nation" (The Constitution of

Nepal, 1990). Furthermore, in 1993, the Nepalese government established "The National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission," which advocated for the implementation of universal English in local administration and mother-tongue-based elementary education.

All ethnic groups are entitled to use, preserve, and advance their languages and traditions, and local and provincial governments are free to designate the official language of their province or municipality, according to the 2015 Nepalese Constitution. But in reality, Nepali is still the language of the media, courts, education, and administration, and people's silence feeds the stereotype that Nepali is still the language of everyday life and the national symbol of Nepal. While other languages—such as Newar, which has no national level official standing in the political, social, or economic spheres and is a significant minority language—have been safeguarded and acknowledged as assets and markers of ethnic identity (Shrestha, 1997; Gautam, 2021).

It is clear from the discussion above that the government's stance on language has a significant impact on how the Newar language is seen. The language's fall in usage and preservation has been greatly exacerbated by its neglect and suppression. The Newar language has not been given formal recognition by the central government, which has restricted its use and advancement in official correspondence and records. The lack of resources and support for the language as a result has made it challenging for the Newar community to maintain and advance their language.

The government's emphasis on teaching Nepali in schools while preventing the teaching of Newar has also contributed to the language's decline. The focus placed by the educational system on the Nepali language has caused many young Newar people to lose their fluency in it. Protests and resistance have resulted from the government's attempts to force the Nepali language on the Newar people, which has also incited conflict between the two communities. As a result, the government's attitude toward the Newar language is crucial in defining its status. While neglect and suppression

can contribute to the language's demise, recognition and support from the government can greatly encourage its usage and preservation.

Nepali language: Government-elite Joint Effort

This section concentrates on the post-reign flourishing of the language after that of King Prithvinarayan Shah. In order to subjugate minor princedoms in the Himalayan regions, King Prithvinarayan Shah assembled an army including soldiers from a variety of ethnic backgrounds and modernized them. The Gorkhali language (today known as Nepali language) took the place of Newar in courts and administrations after the Kathmandu Valley was conquered. Then, the Nepali language spread outside of Nepal to regions of Asia, including Bhutan, Myanmar, and other sections of the Nepali diaspora, as well as places in India including Sikkim, Darjeeling, Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Himanchal Pradesh, and Uttarakhand. The development and expansion of the usage of Nepali language in various spheres of people's lives was greatly aided by the government and powerful persons (Khadka, 2015; Burghart, 1984; Nakkeerar, 2011). The contributions of these people and government planners to the Nepali monolingual LPP are covered in the following sections efforts of individual strategists

The evolution of the Nepali language has been greatly aided by a number of people, both inhabitants of Nepal and outside. In fact, a British missionary by the name of Brian Houghton Hodgson wrote the first grammar in Nepali ever written by a foreign author. The first-ever grammar of the Nepali language was developed by him in 1828 and was titled "Outline Grammar of the Nepalese Language." It included a vocabulary list and an introduction to Nepali grammar, and it was written in English. Similarly, in 1915, Turnbull, a British missionary and prolific writer of works on Nepali language and culture, wrote *Nepali Grammar and English-Nepali, Nepali-English Vocabulary*, which was the first Nepali grammar. It included a thorough explanation of the syntax, grammatical structure, and lexicon of the Nepali language and was published in English.

The first comprehensive grammar in the Nepali language was written in 1912 by the well-known native speaker Jayaprithvibahadur Singh. Hemraj Guru's "Chandrika-Gorkha Bhasha Vyakaran" was another important work in this genre. Furthermore, a few initiatives to change the spelling of the Nepali language were started, including "Halanta Bahiskar Andolan" and "Jharrovari Aandolan." In order to improve the vocabulary repertoire of the Nepali language, R.L. Turner's "Nepali Shabdakosh" was also essential in systematizing imported vocabularies from languages like Sanskrit, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Marathi, Gujrati, and Bangla (Bandhu, 2060 vs [2003a, b]; Shrestha & Sharma, 2049 vs [1992]).

Despite coming from different ethnic communities, Onta (1997a, b) claims that Parasmani Pradhan, Dharanidhar Koirala, and Suryabikram Gnawali collaborated on a cultural integration project with three main goals: advancing the Nepali language, documenting the "National Bir History," and establishing a Nepali identity. These people were referred to by Onta as the "architects of Nepali culture" and the forerunners of the development of goods based on the Nepali language. Their tactics included enhancing knowledge of Bir history and Nepali identity as well as improving the language's standing. The text of the presidential speech given by Chair Hari Prasad Pradhan at the prestigious "Nepali Sahitya Sammelan" in 1924 reveals this fact:

We have thought that the name of this Sammelan (Conference) should be 'Nepali Sahitya Sammelan' because the word 'Nepali' has a broad meaning. The word designated all the Jatis of Nepal such as Magar, Gurung, Kirati, Newar, Limbu, etc. and also states that these Jatis and others are part of a single great Nepali nation. (Onta, 1996, p. 52)

According to the text, efforts were made at the conference to highlight the significance of the organization and the need of fostering the growth of the Nepali language. Under the banner of "Nepali Jati," or the Nepali nation, all the various vernacular languages, ethnic identities, and cultures were to be brought together. They employed

Bhanubhakta, a well-known author in the Nepali language, as a "icon" to support their theory of "Nepali Jati." Bhanubhakta wrote and published a number of literary works, including *Badhu Shiksha*, *Bhaktamala*, *Prashnottar*, and *RamGita*, in addition to translating the *Ramayana* from Sanskrit to Nepali. He was also often quoted by his successors, especially Motiram Bhatta, as a "icon" of Nepali identity. These initiatives contributed to the consolidation of the concepts of "Nepali Jati" and "Nepali language," as well as to a sense of cultural uniformity. Furthermore, the Nepali writer Balkrishna Sama made a substantial contribution to the growth of the Nepali language through his plays and his instruction in the language at Tri-Chandra College and Durbar School. These efforts helped to improve people's perceptions of the Nepali language and its potential to bring disparate ethnic groups together (Onta, 1997a).

National newspapers and magazines have a significant impact on the development of the Nepali language. Furthermore, the introduction of several prizes and their high status encouraged the production of literary works in Nepali (Shrestha & Sharma, 2049vs, pp. 232-250). National newspapers and magazines have a significant impact on the development of the Nepali language in addition to the efforts of notable people. The popularity and visibility of the Nepali language were boosted by often scheduled exhibitions of books, literary works, dictionaries, and grammars. While the main goal of these initiatives was to improve the corpus of Nepali language and standardize it, they also helped to elevate Nepali language's standing as the national language, the language of courts, offices, education, and general communication in an environment where hundreds of other languages are spoken (Bandhu, 2060vs; Shrestha & Sharma, 2049vs).

In conclusion, the combined efforts of numerous significant people—writers, academics, and political figures—led to the creation of the Nepali language. The forerunners of the development of resources in the Nepali language, including Parasmani Pradhan, Dharanidhar Koirala, and Suryabikram Gnawali, embarked on a cultural integration project to

improve the Nepali language, publish "National Bir History," and create "Nepali Jati." In a similar vein, Bhanubhakta and Balkrishna Sama were significant figures in the growth of Nepali literature and language. In addition to individual efforts, the development of several awards, the printing of periodicals and newspapers, and the display of books, literary works, dictionaries, grammars, and encyclopedias all contributed to the improvement and standardization of the Nepali language. These powerful people worked together to improve Nepali's standing as the country's official language and the language of courts, offices, education, and general communication. Different governments, albeit less supportive of other languages spoken in the country, was also instrumental in the growth of the Nepali language.

Roles of Governments

Onta (1997) asserts that numerous Nepalese governments made a contribution to the growth of the Nepali language in addition to the efforts of well-known individuals. Whichever regime was in charge, the government continued to prefer using Nepali in the courts, media, and other forms of communication as well as in education. Unlike their attitude toward the Newar language, the Ranas did not forbid the use and advancement of Nepali language and literature, despite their high regard for the English language. One of the Rana prime ministers, Dev Samsher, was well-known for his passion for the Nepali language and established about 200 Bhaska Pathshala (Nepali language schools) across the nation (Caddell, 2007; Eagle, 1999; Sharma, 1990a) during his short tenure. Chandra Samsher, his successor, banded the institutions and reopened a small number of English-medium schools. His disapproval of the growth and application of the Nepali language in the media, courts, and other official contexts, however, is not supported by any literature or other data that is now accessible. In contrast to their stance toward the Newar language, the Rana rulers did not oppose the use of Nepali in the media, government, court, or other formal activities, even though they were against public education. Unlike their Newar colleagues who experienced persecution, Nepali

language litterateurs did not suffer torture, arrest, exile, or other forms of punishment for their contributions to the Nepali language. Following the Rana era, the environment was more conducive to the use of the Nepali language (Onta, 1997a; Sharma, 2020).

Several authors (Caddell, 2007; Eagle, 1999; Sharma, 1990a) claim that while the 1950s democratic revolution in Nepal provided a chance for the growth of the Nepali language, it was not a good moment for other regional tongues like Newar. In order to evaluate the state of education and suggest a national education plan, the Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC) was founded in 1953 (NNEPC-1956). In addition, the commission gave priority to include Nepali as a mandatory subject and as a medium of instruction in the curriculum. Nevertheless, the report promoted "subtractive bilingualism" and imposed linguistic prohibition under the guise of nationalism, viewing local languages as a problem rather than a resource, despite the significance of multilingualism for the Nepalese people (Awasthi, 2004, 2008; Caddell, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Yadav (1990). This is demonstrated by the following excerpt:

... if Nepali is to become the true national language, then we must insist that its use be enforced in the primary school. Should Nepali not be the mother tongue of the teacher, then special care must be exercised that the teacher does not frequently lapse into local tongue or become indolent about encouraging first and second grade children to use Nepali as early as possible. Otherwise, Nepali, though learned, may remain a "foreign" language rather than the child's basic, thinking language. Local dialects and tongues, other than standard Nepali, should be vanished from the school and playground as early as possible in the life of the child (NNEPC, 1956, p. 96).

The same monolingual LPP, which stressed Nepali as the major language, was advised by NNEPC in 1956 and persisted despite changes to the political system and education policies (Awasthi, 2004, 2008; Caddell, 2007). The government

and political elites promoted Nepali during the Panchayat System as a source of pride in the country (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 1997). The reports' texts suggest that local languages other than Nepali were seen by government planners as obstacles rather than assets (Kontra, Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas, & Varady, 1999; NNEPC-1956; Ruiz, 1984). The 1990 restoration of democracy is seen favorably in terms of other languages' recognition, but it also emphasized the significance of the Nepali language. This information is revealed in the excerpt that follows:

Nepali is not only the national language. It is used for State business. Its values as the lingua franca can be hardly overstated. It makes a special contribution to the fostering of national solidarity and emotional integrity. For the sake of promoting national unity arrangement should be made to impart skill in the use of national language from the early age, particularly to those whose mother tongue is not Nepali. By the end of the primary education the level of their skill should be such as to enable them to receive secondary education in the Nepali language. (NEC, 1992, p.11)

According to the text, national unity should be emphasized through the promotion of the Nepali language rather than linguistic variety suppression. Promoting multilingualism is the main goal, although Nepali's significance as a uniting language is also acknowledged. Early language acquisition in Nepali is seen to be crucial for attaining emotional stability and national cohesion while also appreciating linguistic diversity.

In conclusion, a variety of people, including writers, academics, and political figures, contributed to the development of the Nepali language. The growth of the Nepali language was greatly aided by both citizens of Nepal and those who are not. Renowned figures such as Brian Houghton Hodgson, Turnbull, Jayaprithvibahadur Singh, Hemraj Guru, Parsmaini Pradhan, Dharanidhar Koirala, Suryabikram Gnawali, Balkrishna Sama, and Bhanubhankta are among those who made significant contributions to the development of the Nepali language. The

forerunners of the development of resources in the Nepali language focused on a cultural integration initiative to improve the language, publish "National Bir History," and create "Nepali Jati" (Onta, 1997a).

The forerunners of the development of products in the Nepali language focused on a cultural integration initiative to improve the language, publish "National Bir History," and create "Nepali Jati." The creation of several prizes, the printing of periodicals and newspapers, and the display of books, literary works, dictionaries, grammars, and other materials all contributed to the improvement and standardization of the Nepali language. Despite their seeming lack of support for other regional languages spoken in Nepal, the Nepali government was instrumental in the growth of the Nepali language. These powerful people worked together to improve Nepali's standing as the country's official language and the language of courts, offices, education, and general communication.

Discussion

Three distinct causes that have contributed in different ways to the evolution of different languages were found in the analysis of the national LPP of Nepal. This data somewhat corroborates Weinstein's (1979, 1983) claim that the two main factors influencing LPP creation are individual strategists and government planners. But in the Nepalese context, "institutional strategists," as different to both individual and government planners, have made enormous contributions to the growth, preservation, and revitalization of diverse languages as well as to the establishment of LPP offices, wider communication, and education.

They consist of groups, divisions, or forums dedicated to creating, safeguarding, and harmonizing specific languages. These institutional strategists include SIL, UNESCO, UNICEF, and numerous other organizations that are actively working on various languages in Nepal. This fact casts doubt on Weinstein's two-force model, which combines the efforts of government planners and individual strategists, and introduces "institutional strategists" as a new player with a larger role in the

creation of LPPs as well as the preservation and revitalization of other languages. Nonetheless, it was discovered that government planners' choices were and still are the most crucial determinants of language choice and the creation of LPP at the national level. The evolution of a language's status is unique to the language and its context, even though government actions can help language and corpus planning.

When the Newar language is discussed, it becomes clear that, in spite of its numerous local languages spoken in Nepal, functional significance, large number of native speakers, rich literary history, and the efforts of powerful elites, the language is still just one of many. On the other hand, the Nepali language, which was formerly spoken by a limited geographic area alone, rose to prominence as a national tongue, a representation of Nepali nationalism, and a source of pride for the country. This disparity isn't because individual strategists didn't aid in the growth of Newar, nor is it because Nepali was more developed than Newar at the time of its promotion. Instead, the suppression of the Newar language and people was caused by the government planners' negative attitudes against them combined with their positive attitudes for Nepali. The severe treatment of Newar writers and intellectuals, the restriction of Newar language usage, and the subsequent expulsion of Newar fighters by the Gorkhali invaders in favor of Nepali are all indications of this (Sarnoff, 1970). In addition, Chandra Samsher's 1905 suppression of Newar intellectuals and the prohibition of Newar from official functions demonstrated the disapproval of Newar language held by a number of government planners. As asserted by Sarnoff (1970), Day (1982), and Garrett (2010), the Ranas and Shahs were not fond of the Newar language. This behavior is in line with the claims made by Dragojevic, Fasoli, Cramer, and Rakic (2021) and reflects their negative views toward people as well as their unfavorable beliefs about Newar language. The invasion by Shah and the defeats of the Mallas were examples of the socio-political and socio-cultural systems that fostered the governments' negative attitudes against the Newar language.

The Newar language gradually lost its vitality due to the conflict between government planners and individual strategists, including powerful Newar elites who supported and worked for it. This clash occurred despite the significance of factors like status, demographic strength, and institutional support in determining a language's vitality. The Nepali language was highly prized by the government and powerful people, and it was established as the country's official language in contrast to the government planners' disapproval of the Newar language. The language of governance, the media, and religion was acknowledged to be Nepali. The Panchayat system placed further emphasis on the Nepali language as a source of national pride. It was officially recognized by the constitution as the national language and the primary medium of instruction in schools. The Nepali language was also developed by individuals, and both government and non-governmental organizations established rewards for people who made noteworthy contributions to Nepali literature. The government encouraged the growth of the Nepali language by acting in a way that demonstrated their good attitude toward it. As a result, whether a language was elevated or denigrated was greatly impacted by the government's attitude toward it; in the case of Nepali language, this attitude was quite positive.

A hierarchy of languages has been established in Nepal as a result of the usage of language and LPP. The Nepali language is recognized as the standard, lingua franca, national language of pride, and national identity. On the other hand, the Newar language, which used to be the tongue of the whole country, has been reduced to that of a single ethnic minority. Newar, which was formerly a language of the nobility, is now only a local tongue. Although it is regarded as a national language, it is merely one of the many assets of the nation; in contrast, Nepali is officially acknowledged as the national language and is revered as a national emblem. Thus, the perspectives of government planners are vital in deciding on the establishment and procedures of a particular LPP; over time, these choices give rise to a hierarchy or order of languages in multilingual Nepal.

Conclusion

The historical content analysis of Nepal demonstrates how linguistic hierarchy can be impacted by governmental attitudes on language. This dynamic is demonstrated by the increasing use of Nepali as the nationwide official language and the decreasing use of Newar as the ethnic language. While Newar, which originally served as the state's official language, had been reduced to the language of a single ethnic group, Nepali has become the nation's language, lingua franca, and symbol of nationalism because to government planners' supportive stance toward it. This study emphasizes the importance of governmental attitudes in forming language planning policies and hierarchies, highlighting the need for a more fair and inclusive strategy that values and encourages linguistic diversity.

Future studies could look at how Nepal's language policies affect minority languages and linguistic diversity as well as how language practices and attitudes affect social identities and power structures in the nation. Research can examine how various ethnic groups feel about language policies and planning, as well as how to involve them in the decision-making process. Additionally, it might look into how language policy in multilingual nations support national integration and social cohesiveness.

This article concludes by highlighting the significance of governmental attitudes in determining language planning and hierarchy. In multilingual nations like Nepal, it encourages policymakers to embrace a more inclusive and fair strategy that acknowledges and celebrates linguistic diversity in order to foster social cohesiveness and national unification. In the end, overcoming language barriers necessitates a careful comprehension of the intricate relationships between language growth and hierarchy as well as a dedication to maintaining linguistic variety and cultural heritage.

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