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Bilinguals' Creativity in Nepali English: Sheeba Shah's Novel *The Other Queen*

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Abstract

This paper attempted to address the issues related to bilinguals' creativity in Nepali English and their implications for World Englishes in the Nepali context. I purposively selected Sheeba Shah's (2018) novel *The Other Queen*, went through the contents, and examined the language used in the novel to investigate the linguistic and literary creativity. In this paper, I employed a theoretical framework derived from Kachru (1985) to describe how English is nativised in the Nepali context to convey the Nepali socio-cultural, political as well as historical information, and explore how Nepali literature written in English exhibits typical bilingual creativity of the Nepali writer. I found that the bilingual writer adopted different linguistic and literary strategies such as direct lexical transfer, code-switching, hybridisation, metaphors and proverbs, loan translation, and nativised discourse strategies to convey a distinct sense of Nepaliness. Evidences justify that the bilinguals' creativity contributes to develop new canons in Nepali English literature.

Keywords: World Englishes, Nepali English literature, creativity, nativisation, pedagogical approach

Introduction

The globalisation, diversification, nativisation, and hybridisation of English in different contact situations have paved ways to new varieties of English (e.g. Nepali English, Indian English, Singapore English, Hong Kong English, and Chinese English) that have emerged in the world. They are known as World Englishes (Kachru, 1985), transplanted or transported or twice-born Englishes (Kachru, 1981), reincarnated Englishes (Kachru, 2011), twice-born varieties (Patil, 2006), New Englishes (Ferguson, 2006; Jenkins, 2006), postcolonial Englishes (Schneider, 2003, 2007), and unequal Englishes (Tupas, 2015; Tupas & Salonga, 2016). With the emergence of such Englishes, the bi/multilingual writers have produced different kinds of English literature in the outer and expanding circles which are known as World Englishes literature, New literatures in English (Dawson 2011, 2012),

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contact literatures (Kachru, 1985, 2011), non-native English literatures (Kachru, 1981), and bilingual literatures (Karn, 2012). Although some scholars have used the term “Postcolonial Englishes” to refer to World Englishes (Schneider, 2003, 2007), postcolonial literature is not a synonym for World Englishes literature but a part of it (Dawson, 2011) since postcolonial literature “critically or subversively scrutinises the colonial relationship...sets out in one way or another to resist colonialist perspectives” (Boehmer, 2005, p. 3), and is never produced from the inner circle but from outer and expanding circles (Dawson, 2012). Therefore, for Dawson (2012), “[w]orld Englishes literature explores the culture(s) of the country and people from which it is written (these countries belong to Kachru’s Outer and Expanding circles)” (p. 17). He further elaborated that such literature usually “employs the English of that place (to a lesser or greater degree); and, moreover, the writer chooses to write in that English over other languages in which she could alternatively write” (p. 17). In a similar regard, the bi/multilingual Nepali writers have developed new canons in English literature in Nepal which is known as Nepali English literature. Regarding the history of English literature in Nepal, Karn (2012, p. 29) stated, “[i]t was in 1940’s that Mahakavi Laxmi Prasad Devkota and poet cum dramatist Bal Krishna Sama tried their hands in writing poetry in English. Followed by them were AbhiSubedi, Peter J Karthak and Padma Devkota during 1970’s.” He mentioned that the Asian English Language Teachers Creative Writing Group formed in 2003, Society of Nepali Writers in English established in 2000, and Nepal Literature Festival organised in Kathmandu twice in 2011 and 2012 by the Bookworm Trust in collaboration with Nepal Academy have contributed to promote English literature in Nepal.

However, most of the studies have focused on literary works from outer circle and therefore literary works from expanding circle have remained ignored (Karn, 2012). Recently, studies on English literatures from expanding circle have been given due emphasis (see Fallatah, 2017; Gao, 2005; Luke, 2013; Zhang, 2002). One of the important study areas in World Englishes literature is bilinguals’ creativity, the term coined by Kachru (1985), which refer to “those creative linguistic processes which are the result of competence in two or more languages” (p. 20) and reflects “the blend of two or more linguistic textures and literary traditions that provides the English language with extended contexts of situation within which they are interpreted and understood” (Kachru, 1987, p. 127). In South Asian context, bilinguals’ creativity refers to “creative uses of English in South Asia by those who are bilingual or multilingual, and who use English as one of the languages in their linguistic repertoire” (Kachru, 2011, p. 57). Such creativity entails not only designing a text using linguistic resources from two or more languages but also using verbal strategies with subtle linguistic adjustments for psychological, sociological, and attitudinal reasons (Kachru, 1985). Because the non-native speakers of English in the bi/multilingual countries have competence in two or more languages, they create “new meanings and innovations appropriate to the new cultural contexts” (Bolton, 2010, p. 458). As a result of the creative and functional uses of English, the nonnative variety becomes one among many varieties of competence, a means to express new identities, and a way to contextualise the language to fit the cultural norms

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appropriate to the bilingual (Valentine, 2019). Bilinguals' creativity incorporates a wide range of creative bilingual practices (Rivlina, 2020), which can be studied from different perspectives.

In Nigeria, Kenya, Singapore, India, Pakistan, and the Philippines, bilinguals' creativity is considered as a part of the national literatures which are national first and universal second (Kachru, 1996). In the present postmodern era, due attention has been given to the local English literatures which are "part of the local canons of creativity" (p. 145). Such creativity can be defined and understood properly by analysing the work of one author and comparing their use of language to others (Baker & Eggington, 1999). This paper studies the bilingual's creativity in the novel written by Sheeba Shah (2018) to explore creative innovations in English in the Nepali contexts, which indexes a distinct sense of Nepaliness. In what follows, I describe the key approaches framed by Kachru (1985) to study bilinguals' creativity.

Literature Review

Kachru (1985) first described three essential approaches to the study of the bilinguals' creativity: linguistic, literary, and pedagogical. Linguistic creativity refers to "a marked breaking or bending of rules and norms of language, including a deliberate play with its forms and its potential for meaning" (Carter, 2004, p. 9), "the breaking, re-forming, and transforming of established patterns" (Maynard, 2007, p. 3), "localised linguistic innovations" (Kachru, 2011, p. 123), "inventiveness in form," "innovations of meaning and of word creation in the Lexicon," and "the departure from what is expected in language" (Wales, 2011, p. 95). Functionally, linguistic creativity implies the "focus on the message for its own sake," (Jakobson, 1960, p. 365) which is the crux of Jakobson's poetic function, also known as "creative, imaginative, or aesthetic function" (Rivlina, 2020, p. 410). These ideas imply that linguistic creativity is the language users' ability to innovate new words and expressions that may have new meanings and to deconstruct the previous rules, norms, and patterns. Rather than being passive consumers, bilingual speakers "appropriate English, adopt and adapt it, subvert and play with it, in accord with their own creative needs" (p. 421). Linguistic creativity involves language mixing, that is, mixing of English with other local languages, which produces different code-mixed or hybrid varieties of English. Different researchers see bilingual linguistic creativity either in a broad or a narrow way (Rivlina, 2020). In the broad sense, bilingual linguistic creativity is often applied to "all types of linguistic innovations and deviations induced by language contact, including various new and unconventional linguistic forms, sometimes the very practice of code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing" (p. 410). It also involves lexical hybridisation, semantic shifts, and locally coined words and expressions. In the narrow sense, bilingual linguistic creativity is "dominated or determined by creative (poetic, aesthetic) function, focusing on the innovatively mixed linguistic form itself" (p. 410). Such creativity occurs in contact situations in the bi/multilingual countries. Kachru (2011) argued that contact linguistics will gain greater insights about linguistic creativity, that is, localised linguistic innovations and focused on how such innovations should actually be used in the pedagogical texts. In

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the case of linguistic creativity, Kachru (1985) focused on language mixing, contrastive discourse, interactional approaches which study the bilinguals' creativity in terms of the bilinguals' use of language in actual interactional contexts, and contrastive stylistics in which data is primarily taken from, for example, literary genres written by bilingual writers of transplanted (non-native) varieties of English.

The bilingual writers employ different linguistic strategies that exhibit their creativity. Osakwe (1999) found that Wole Soyinka employed literal translation, creative translation, transference, and stylistic translation as linguistic strategies in Yoruba poetry. Similarly, Carter (2004) incorporated the most frequent forms of linguistic creativity such as speaker displacement of fixedness, particularly of idioms and formulaic phrases, morphological inventiveness, verbal play, metaphor extensions, punning and parody through overlapping forms and meanings, and echoing by repetition. In the similar vein, Meynard (2007) explored the practice of linguistic creativity on three levels: Linguistic creativity on the discourse levels includes style and genre mixtures, linguistic creativity on the rhetorical level includes figures and language play such as metaphorical expressions and puns, and linguistic creativity on the grammatical level incorporates a number of sentential and phrasal phenomena. The researchers can focus on such various aspects or areas of linguistic creativity and “document and appreciate the linguistic and bilingual creativity that uses English with other Asian languages” (Moody, 2020, p. 770). Similarly, Fallatah (2017) investigated the forms and functions of bilingual creativity processes employed by Saudi comedians performing in English. In his study on bilingual creativity in Russia, Rivlina(2015) found that English-Russian linguistic creativity is manifested by Roman-Cyrillic writing system hybridisation and style shift, English-Russian punning and rhyming, hybridisation of English and Russian morphemes, and deliberate distortion and excessive Russification of English.

Literary creativity, another approach to study bilinguals' creativity, refers to the ability to create literary texts in a language other than one's mother tongue. Kachru (1985) incorporated three characteristics of such creativity: non-native varieties have developed institutionalised educated varieties in addition to several sub-varieties, there are features which may be characterised as “lectal mix,” and such creativity shows certain types of style-shifts which entail the designing of a particular shift on the basis of another underlying language. By studying different non-native literatures in English, he identified three main processes of creativity used in them such as expanded contextual loading of the text, altered Englishness in cohesion and cohesiveness, and transferred discourse strategies. Kachru (1986, as cited in Bolton, 2010) focused explicitly on creativity in literature, the pluricentricity of World Englishes and world literatures in English. He examined the bilinguals' creativity in the context of contact literatures in English and exhibited the processes of pragmatic and discursal nativisation and stylistic innovations in the literary works of Chinua Achebe, Amos Tutuola, and Raja Rao, which led to serious study in the literary creativity of World Englishes (Valentine, 2019). In the literary work produced in the bi/multilingual contexts, the writers employ different strategies such as codemixing, code-

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switching, nativisation, and other linguistic strategies, which exhibit bilinguals' literary creativity. Bilingual creative writers play with different mediums (hybridity of medium) to produce a cohesive text in a variety of English, which are called mixing and switching (Kachru, 2011). The Indian, Nigerian, and Singaporean writers have decanonised the traditionally recognised literary conventions and genres of English and introduced new Asian and African literary and cultural dimensions (Kachru, 1985). Some studies in the literary creativity include examining the use of speech acts in Indian English fiction (D'Souza, 1991), the nativisation of gender in new English literatures in several varieties of English (Valentine, 1992), the bicultural and bilingual features in Wole Soyinka's poetry (Osakwe, 1999), and the nativisation in stories, prose, drama, poetry, and novel written in English by Nepali writers (Karn, 2012). Studies on South Asian English literatures exhibit linguistic innovations and contextual extension as two primary components (Kachru, 2011).

The pedagogical approach states that the sociolinguistic contexts need to be considered to identify local norms of usage and differentiate between errors and innovations (Kachru, 1985). For Kachru (1985), "The terms interlanguage and fossilisation become less meaningful when creativity in localised registers, styles, and discourse strategies is taken into consideration using the local pragmatic, sociocultural, and literary norms" (p. 24). His ideas have brought a paradigm shift in theory, research, and pedagogy because of his strong arguments against the sacred linguistic cows associated with the native speaker and his strong campaigns for promoting local varieties of English and making them as the pedagogical norm and model. Local varieties of English can be the norms and models for the language acquisition and methods and materials need to be developed for appropriate localised pedagogical goals (Kachru, 1998). In pedagogical terms, some ideological transmissions have taken place in teacher training, curriculum design, pedagogical resources such as dictionaries and manuals, textbooks, and instruments of testing and evaluation (Kachru, 2011). In many non-native English situations, the content of the English textbooks has been nativised or localised by incorporating local words, local characters, local customs, and local situations. However, many textbooks still ignore non-native English norms or stigmatise them as errors and the schools and examination syllabuses still prescribe the so-called traditional standard norms and expect students to be tested in them (Bamgbose, 1998). In many countries, curriculum, textbooks, schools, and examination system ignore the sociolinguistic realities and pragmatic contexts. On the backdrop of sacred cows of English (Kachru, 2011), the prescriptivists and guardians of the language often ridicule the language mixers for their bad and irregular linguistic behaviour, accuse them of destroying the linguistic heritage, and characterise them as individuals who have difficulty expressing themselves, or have memory lapse (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008). Rather than resisting language mixing, interestingly "even bilinguals themselves become apologetic about their verbal behaviour... and promise to correct their verbal behaviour, vowing not to mix languages" (p. 14). Even the error analysis paradigm is traditional which has failed to provide any insights for separating errors from innovations (Kachru, 2011). Therefore, the bilinguals' creative or innovative expressions are labelled as errors or interlanguages. Such negative perspectives

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towards a mixed variety of English can be found in some countries such as ex-Soviet Union, France, and Singapore, where language mixing has been banned (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008).

Research on bilingual creativity attempts to investigate the creatively mixed linguistic resources from one or more languages, particularly a specific text's formal features and linguistic peculiarities as well as the subtle linguistic nuances that are made to achieve fundamental psychological, sociological, and attitudinal effects in the real world (Fallatah, 2017; Jones, 2010). The research studies reviewed above focused on different formal features and linguistic peculiarities of different literary and other kinds of texts produced in different varieties of English. However, no research has yet been conducted on the Nepali English literary text following the framework of Kachru's (1986) bilinguals' creativity. Therefore, this is a new area of research in Nepali English as well as Nepali English literature. In the section below, I briefly describe the methods of study used in my study.

Methods and Procedures

I adopted the qualitative content analysis approach to study the bilinguals' creativity in Nepali English literature. In qualitative content analysis, the text data are categorised into cluster of similar entities or conceptual categories to identify consistent patterns and relationship between variables or themes, are open to subjective interpretation, and reflect multiple meanings (Given, 2008). I purposively selected Sheeba Shah's novel "The Other Queen" as a sample. The main reason for selecting a novel written in English by a Nepali writer is that it not only reflects hybridity, language mixing, bilinguals' creativity, nativisation, and global-local interplay but also, following and slightly adapting to Proshina (2020), reveals the Nepali mindset and represents Nepali English as a variety. The novel also contains elements that provide local authenticity, such as personal names, titles, proverbs, discourse markers, and code-mixed dialogues (Kachru & Nelson, 2011), and is part of the local canons of creativity (Kachru, 1996).

In this study, I thoroughly read the selected novel, examined the typical linguistic and literary creativity, picked up the lexical items and expressions that exhibit bilingual's creativity, and particularly employed a theoretical framework derived from Kachru (1985) to describe how English is nativised in the Nepali context and how Nepali English literature exhibits typical bilingual creativity of the Nepali writer. I analysed two kinds of content: manifest and latent (Bryman, 2016; Schreier, 2013). I identified the manifest content or meaning by looking at a small segment of material, such as a single word, phrase, or sentence, and the latent content or meaning, the deep or hidden meanings, by taking context into account (Schreier, 2013). The results of the study are discussed in the following section.

Results and Discussion

Jones (2010) suggested that the researchers within the language and creativity paradigm use some linguistic tools to analyse literary and creative works. In this paper, I have presented and discussed the results of the study using the following linguistic tools:

Direct Lexical Transfer

The study indicated that the Nepali writer code-mixed the texts by borrowing lexical items from Nepali and other languages to remedy the linguistic deficit, which Kachru (2011) called deficit hypothesis, to fill a gap between the languages which Hockett (1958) referred to the need-filling motive, to convey the meanings easily which Ratnam (1993, as cited in Thirusanku & Yunus, 2013) called the convenience factor, to make English more relevant to the local context and to serve ideological purposes (Kachru & Nelson, 2011), to express the necessary idea or concept (Ying, 2012), and to ensure the preservation of linguistic and cultural identities of the borrowed items (Thirusanku & Yunus, 2013). If English equivalents of such terms were used in place of Nepali words, they would convey only fractional or hazy senses (Karn, 2012). The results of this study endorsed Brett (1999) that Standard English cannot adequately express some common features of Nepali life and culture. Similarly, the results of this study also indicated that most of the borrowed lexical items are from Nepali, which endorsed Kachru's (1994, 2011) dominance hypothesis that presupposes that borrowing takes place more from the dominant language to the subordinate one. All the lexical items and expressions from Nepali and Newari languages mixed in the novel are motivated by three factors such as speech accommodation, multiple identities and social distancing, situational factors, and message intrinsic factors (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008):

Kinship Terms

Sheeba Shah's novel has directly transferred the Nepali lexical items referring to kinship terms such as *buahajur/buasahib/buasahebjiu* for "father," *muahajur/muaji/ muajiu* for "mother," *kakajiu* "uncle," and some common kinship terms such as *baje* for "grandfather," *aama* for "mother," *dai* for "elder brother," and *baini* for "younger sister." The terms *dai* and *baini* were used to address any male and female characters, respectively. The terms "brother" and "sister" are more general which do not explicitly convey the meaning of Nepali kinship terms. The writer has used very honorific terms *patiparmeshwar* and *shriman* to address a husband. The use of *parmeshwar*, which means god, indicates that the husband in the Hindu tradition has been given the place of god. The writer has also used the words *mama* or *mamajiu* to refer to mother's elder or younger brother, *maiju* to refer to mother's brother's wife, *bhanja* to refer to elder or younger sister's son, or sister's husband's nephew and *sauta* to mean husband's co-wife. The writer has also borrowed the word *dharmaputra* to refer to an adoptive son. English does not seem to have exact equivalent words to replace Nepali kinship terms.

Terms of Address

Shah's novel is heavily nativised from linguistic and cultural perspective because she has directly transferred Nepali terms to address different people such as *Shree Paanch Maharajadhiraj* and *Shree Shree Shree Shree Shree Paanch Maharajadhiraj* as "a title for the king," *Shree Paanch Badamaharani* and *badamaharani* as "a title for the queen," *prabhu* for "god," *Sarkar* for "the ruler," *firangees* for "British people," *zamindar* for "landlord,"

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rajmata for “mother of king,” *dhai ma* for “breast feeder,” *bhariyas* for “porters,” *rajpurohits* as “Royal priests,” *angrez* for “the British people,” *damais* for “tailors,” *gaines* for “door-to-door singers,” *kaanchha/kaanchhi* for “last born child,” *nani* as “an affectionate term to address a child or one’s junior,” *gorasarkar* for “British rulers,” *rajguru* for “royal spiritual preceptor,” *vaidyas* for “Ayurvedic physicians,” *hakim* for “officer-in charge,” *dhamis* as “the oracles or spirit mediums,” *jhakris* for “shamans,” *purohit* for “priests,” and *sipahi* for “soldiers.” Such terms convey cultural messages, especially the status of the interlocutors and the power-relation between them (Zhang, 2002).

Slang, Curse and Swear Words

The writer has borrowed the slangs, curse, and the swear words from Nepali to fill the lexical gaps since they do not have their exact equivalent words in English, for example, *mori* as “a word used to abuse a woman,” *thukka* as “a word that denotes disgust or contempt,” *bhaduwa* [bhatuwa] as “a word used to abuse someone who helps others for food only or who is a beggar or an idler,” *kukkur* to address “a person who has dog-like behaviour,” *paaji* for “an idiot,” *namarda* for “coward,” *kapati* for “a deceitful or deceptive person,” *duijibre* for “hypocritical(double-tongued),” *jaattha* (literally means pubic hair) as “a term of abuse addressed to a man,” *allichhini* for “a mannerless woman,” *pakhe* as “a Nepali slang for an ignorant and uncivilised man who does not know the modern world,” *harami* as “an abusive word addressed to someone who is bastard or wicked” (Pradhan, 1997), *kondo* as “a slang word for the buttocks,” *randi* for “a prostitute or whore,” *mujhi* for “an asshole,” *gorumooto* for “coward or lazybones,” *randibaaji* for “prostitution,” *saitan* for “a devil,” *kaptini* for “a deceptive woman who keeps everything secret,” *bhedas* to address “someone who does not use their wisdom in their work,” and *chandalni* for “a very cunning woman.” Such words were produced when the speaker was angry at someone. However, they reflect the Nepali society and incorporate cultural meanings.

Clothes, Ornaments, and Other Wearing Items

Extensive number of Nepali and Newari words referring to clothes, ornaments, and other wearing has been borrowed by Shah (2018) in her novel such as *Dhaka topi* for “Nepali cap,” *daurasurwal* for “Nepali traditional clothes worn by men,” *sindoor* for “vermillion applied by married Hindu women along the parting of the hair,” *gajal* for “a black ayurvedic substance worn by Nepali women around their eyes,” *lalito* mean “the cosmetic applied by women or girls to color or beautify their lips,” *pharia* for “Nepali sari,” *chaubandicholo* for “a full sleeved blouse tied at four different corners,” *hakupatasi* to refer to “a traditional black and red sari worn by the Newari community,” *tilhari* for “heavy necklaces worn by married Nepali women,” *poskhak* for “uniform/dress,” *janai* for “a sacred thread worn especially by Brahmin and Chhetri men,” and *thangkas* to refer to “Nepali paintings on cotton or painted linen banners.”

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Foods, Drinks, and Other Eating Items***

The lexical items referring to foods, drinks, and other eating items borrowed by Shah (2018) in her novel encompass *paan* “a kind of food item made from leaves of betel plant wrapped around tobacco and betel nuts, and chewed,” *pindas* “food items offered to the dead ancestors,” *tama* “pickle made from young bamboo shoot,” *gundruk* “the fermented and dried vegetables made by pressing radish or mustard,” *lapsi* “a sour fruit used to make pickle,” *gundpak* “a popular sweet or product made of ghee, sakkhar, dry nuts, milk, almonds, cardamom, grated coconut, and other items,” *chatamari* “a kind of Newari bread,” *dyakula* “cooked buff meat, Newari food,” *alukoachar* “pickle made from potatoes,” *sandhekobhatmas* “food item of soybeans mixed with spices,” *choila* “Newari dish that consists of spiced grilled buffalo meat,” *aila* “liquor in Newari community,” *sel* “ring-shaped rice bread,” *malpua* “a pancake made from rice flour and sugar,” and *bandelkotauko* “food item made from the head of a wild pig.” The writer has borrowed them to fill the lexical and cultural gaps since English does not have their exact equivalent terms to replace them.

Weapons

She has borrowed words like *Korras* for “whips,” *vajrafor* “thunderbolt or a tool for cutting diamond,” and *khukurifor* “Nepali national knife/weapon.”

Music and Musical Instruments

The culture-specific words referring to music and musical instruments include *Sarangi* “a traditional folk musical string-instrument played by rubbing on a group of strings with a small stick fastened with some strings,” *murali* “a flute or fife made of bamboo which generally has six holes on it,” *lawah* “the Buddhist bugle,” *kaura*, also called *kauda* “a folk musical performance, traditionally associated with the Magar people of Nepal,” *dhime* “a typical Nepali musical kettledrum-like instrument,” *bhusia* “a kind of Nepali musical instrument,” *pinwacha*, also spelled as *piwancha* “a two- or threestringed instrument played especially by Newari farmers,” *jhyaure* “a kind of Nepali folk-song,” *madal* “a Nepali musical instrument played both sides,” and *dohori* “a popular Nepali duet song sung in question and answer.”

Locations, Buildings, and Countries

The writer has nativised the names of places, buildings, and countries such as *dhukuti* “a small room to store the grains,” *baithak* “a sitting room,” *mool chowk* “the main market area in the city at the junctions of the roads,” *aakhijhyal* “a small window in a house,” *Mahasagar* “ocean,” *Cheen* “China,” *Bhot* “Tibet,” *ghats* “burial/burning site,” *chautara* “an open raised area used for having a rest,” *birtas* “granted lands,” *maita* “parents’ home,” *tole* “a particular area in the city or market area,” *gully* “lane,” *baggikhana* “headquarters of traffic police, Kathmandu,” *mangal* “pit placed on top of the sewerage pipe in order to clear up the blocking of flow,” *filkhana* “the place where elephants are kept,” *durbar* “the

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palace," *chowkis* "police stations or jails," *Terai* "plain," *Sagarmatha* "Mount Everest," and *kot* "military storehouse or ammunition store." The writer has borrowed these Nepali words to localise English in the Nepali context.

Ethnicity, Festivals, and Rituals

The words referring to ethnicity, festivals, and rituals include *jatra* "a festival, particularly celebrated by Newari people at the place of god or goddess," *majhihpalkhay* "kind of masked dances, particularly celebrated by Newari people," *BadaDashain* "greatest Hindu festival," *Shivaratri* "a Hindu festival celebrated in the honor of Lord Shiva," *janmacheena* "a birth chart or astrological chart," *rudri puja* "an ancient practice of offering sacred things to Shiva along with chanting hymn," *aarati* "a Hindu religious ceremony of moving lighted lamp round the idol," *linga* (also *lingo*) "the long bamboo pole erected for religious purposes," *Hom* "a Hindu ritual practised in front of a sacred fire, often with mantras," *swastishanti* "a Hindu ritual practiced for peace and wellbeing of people or places," *havan* "a ritual in which an oblation of ghee or any religious offering is made into fire," and *swaha* "a word produced while making a burnt offering to a Vedic deity or a dead person." The writer has borrowed them because of the lack of their equivalent words in English.

Games

Shah has nativized her novel by borrowing words referring to games such as *baghchaal* "a traditional Nepali game played on a piece of ground divided into 25 squares, containing four stones representing tigers and twenty representing goats," *gor-bijor* "a traditional Nepali game in which the players play the game saying with the option even or odd," *Khopi* "a coin-throw game," *jhingedhaya* "a kind of game played with coins," and *chowka* "a turn or move of four in gambling." All these game-specific borrowed words from Nepali have made English more local.

Proper Names

Shah has used the characters with Nepali names such as Harka, Junge, Parvati, Shiva, Gagan, Devi, Phool Maya, Tara, Batuli, BubuAama, and Bhimsen and Nepali place names such as Asan, Indrachowk, Nagarjuna, Krishna Mandir, Ranipokhari, Gokarna, Thankot, Basantapur Durbar Square, Nautalle Durbar, Hanuman Dhoka Durbar, Thapathali Bridge, Swoyambhunath, Pashupatinath, Bhatbahteni, Gujeshwari, Budhanilkantha, Chandragiri, Soon Dhaara, Dakshin Kali, Bishnumati, CharkoseJhadi, and Nyasal Chowk. Zhang (2002, p. 309) maintained that "Through proper names, locality and immediacy is created, and therefore, a sense of cultural authenticity and historical accuracy." In the study, the writer deliberately selected Nepali characters and settings and events to demonstrate Nepali socio-political and cultural attributes (Karn, 2012). Following Zhang (2002), Nepali characters and place names usually have distinct meanings and cultural connotations that serve as cultural and historical landmarks.

Hybridisation

Lexical hybridization, in which words are made of local morphemes and morphemes borrowed from English, is a common form of bilingual creativity (Rivlina, 2015). In my study, different kinds of hybridity were found such as hybrid affixation – *rajas* “kings,” *pujas* “prayers,” *sipahis* “soldiers,” and *kalashes* “pitchers;” hybrid reduplication – *jaa*, go, *Bhann*. Tell me. Speak, *Randi!* You whore!, *Hamro raja* Surendraamarrahun! Long live our king Surendra, and *Bussa*, sit; and hybrid compounding – gold *kalash* “water-vessel made of gold,” gold *mohars* “Nepali coins made of gold,” doctor *saheb* “a respect word to address the doctor,” mighty *angrez* “a powerful Englishman,” royal *vaidyas* “personal Ayurvedic doctors of the Royal family,” local *jaand* “local liquor made from the fermented rice or other grains,” local *aila* “a kind of liquor from the Newari community,” black-uniformed *sipahis* “the soldiers with black uniform,” *bahun* bird “a child from the Brahmin caste,” *raksha* thread “sacred thread worn for protection,” *Indrajatra* tale “a story of celebrating the Indrajatra festival of Nepal,” *Gorkha* crown “the crown worn by the king or queen of the Gorkha kingdom.”

Code-switching

Code-switching is another feature of bilinguals' creativity. Bilinguals can switch from one language to another with ease and competence and mix two or more languages whenever necessary (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008). In the novel, there are a lot of examples of code-switching from Nepali to English and vice versa such as ‘*Tero bauko khappar chandalni*, you'll get into serious trouble someday... [.]; ‘*Tero khappar mori*, he did not leave to acquire the sum to pay his debt; ‘So what did she give you? *Sel, malpua, bandelko tauko?*; ‘*kanchha maharani Sarkar ko sawari bhai bakshyo!* The queen is on the move’ and ‘*Mu[j]hi, jaa[t] thaa... randiko choro.*’ He yells from where he lies prostrate on the ground. These examples indicate that code-switching, which is a natural outcome of the bilingual mind, is essentially an optimizing strategy rendering a wide variety of new meanings which the separate linguistic systems are incapable of rendering by themselves (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008) and plays distinctive stylistic and identity roles in writing (Kachru, 2011).

Metaphors and Proverbs

Metaphors and proverbs are culture-specific. A large number of Nepali proverbs have been borrowed such as *jo chor uskai thulo swor*, *jun gorooko singh chhaina usakai naam teekhe* “an empty vessel makes much noise,” *okhalma haath halnelai musoko ke dar* “a courageous person is not afraid of anything,” *aafubhalo ta jagatbhalo* “he, that is warm, thinks all are so,” *chokta khaana gayeki budi jholma doobera mari* “greed leads to disaster,” *bandarkohaath ma kupindo* “throwing pearls before the swine,” *ghaanti herera haad nilnu parcha* “cut your coat according to your size,” *aakashko phal aankhatari mar* “if the sky falls, we will catch larks,” *Lhasa ma sun cha mero kan buchhai* “do not regret for the thing that is beyond your reach,” and *Parbate bigriyo mauj le, Newar bigriyo bhoj le* “Hill Nepalis are always busy in partying and Newars in feasting.” The metaphors used in the novel reflect

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the Nepali cultures and attributes of Nepali people. The metaphor “The Nepalese are but a flock of sheep,” indicates that Nepali people follow the crowd without thinking the result and another metaphor “The firangees are termites” shows that British people destroy others’ languages and cultures. These results endorsed Zhang (2002) that metaphors and proverbs contain a rich load of cultural information.

Loan Translation

The loan translations are etymologically hybrid which borrow the meaning, structure, and one of their components from English and the other component from the local language (Christina, 2012). In my study, I found the expressions such as “What has happened has happened,” “What was to happen has happened,” “Even the walls have ears,” “Once a thief always a thief,” “raw buffalo meat,” “lots and lots of rice,” “sacks and sacks of load,” and “further down and down and down” created by imitating the expressions from the Nepal language which borrow the meaning from Nepali.

Nativised Discourse Strategies

In Nepali English discourses, the suffixes *-ji* (e.g. *gmuaji*) *-jiu* (e.g. *mamjiu*, *gurujiu*), *-sahib* (e.g. *buasahib*), and *-hajur* (e.g. *muahajur*) are also attached to the words to show more respect to the seniors. The writer has used the Nepali word *dhanyabad* to thank someone, *prasasthi* to praise or compliment the rulers, *maaf* to apologise when the speaker commits a mistake, *dhog* and *salaams* to greet others, *basa* to give someone permission to sit down, *jai hos* to wish for good thing, and *amarrahun* to wish for long life. The discourse particle *haina ta* is used for confirmation in the sentences “No one dare tell me what to do and what not to do, *haina ta* Jung Bahadur,” and I am weak, *haina ta?* Similarly, the kinship terms are used after the name in Nepali English discourses, for example, “*Jungedai* is dead!” “Oh, *Gagandai*, help me, I feel faint.” and “Then you do not know *Junge*, *Debi bhai*, whispers *Gagan* with a smile.” The Nepali interjection *aaabuiiii/abbuinee* is used to express fear (e.g. *Aaabuiiii!* Look at the *diyos* being placed all over the *kot*), and *alichina* to curse others when someone is angry (e.g. *Alichina!* You whore!). Another discourse strategy includes repetition and reduplication, for example, “*Retireti...reti* that is how I will slice you,” “Now come, come, you have your ladies for company,” “I thought for the longest, longest time,” and “She is clever, very very clever.” In the similar vein, the honorific words *prabhu* and *Sarkar* used by the writer to address the Royal family members as well as the use of imperatives such as “Take over from the queen,” “*Basa*, sit, mukhtiyar,” and “Shut up, *Batuli!*” indicate the Nepali social structure, that is, social hierarchy – kind of an authority or a rhetorical superiority.

All the examples presented and discussed above not only endorse Canagarajah (1999) that creative writers “appropriate the language in their own terms, according to their needs, values, and aspirations” (p. 176) but also reveal a distinct kind of bilingual writing which is significant at the literary, linguistic, and pedagogical levels. At the literary level, such writing “promises to further redefine world literatures in English to include the creative

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writing of those creative bilinguals giving voice to non-Eurocentric, non-Judeo-Christian, and non-western cultures (Kachru, 1995, as cited in Zhang, 2002, p. 313). At the linguistic level, the Nepali bilingual writer has employed a range of linguistic devices such as direct lexical transfer, hybridisation, code-switching, metaphors and proverbs, loan translation, and nativised discourse strategies to convey the particularities of Nepali political, historical, and socio-cultural life. At the pedagogical level, the linguistic features found in the novel are innovations but not errors, interlanguages, and fossilization.

Conclusion

The study reveals that the Nepali bilingual writer creates a new canon of Nepali English literature because of the use of their bilingual competence. Such literature reflects the pluricentric Nepali society, voices Nepali people's concerns, and Englishises the Nepali words. The study also reveals that it is not possible to convey different sociocultural information through the conventional sacred cows model of English, which strictly follows the monolingual norms. In this sense, I agree with Baker and Eggington (1999) that the monolingual writing as a norm for English writing needs to be revised to incorporate multi-norms of creativity and style, and multi-norms of bilingual creativity. Therefore, codemixing, codeswitching, and hybridity cannot be easily avoided in Nepali literature written in English. Rather, their presence in the texts reveals Nepali identity, reflects sociolinguistic realities, and symbolizes linguistic and cultural co-existence. Therefore, the error analysts, teachers, and other applied linguists need to change their monolithic visions of English and purist pundithood, and value the new Englishes as innovations.

However, traditional applied linguists seem to fail to consider sociolinguistic realities of new Englishes because "socioculturally determined 'innovations' in multilingual contexts tend to be categorised as 'errors' and deviations" (Kachru, 2011, p. 228). To label the creative innovations in new Englishes as deviations, errors, mistakes, fossilisation, and pragmatic failure is to ignore the linguistic and cultural experiences that motivate such innovations (Kachru & Nelson, 2011). Moreover, it is quite unjust to use such labels which do not romanticize the equality of all Englishes. To overcome the problems of separating errors from innovations, we need to consider how frequent a feature is, which subgroup use it, how it is regarded within the local community and what relationship it contracts with both more standard and more colloquial equivalent constructions (Mesthrie, 2003). More specifically, Bamgbose (1998) argued that five internal factors can decide whether a non-native variety is an error or an innovation: demographic (how many people use the innovation?), geographical (how widely is it dispersed?), authoritative (who uses it?), codification (how is the usage sanctioned?), and acceptability (what is the attitude of users and non-users of it?). In addition to the exploration of bilinguals' creativity in different literary genres, advertisements, and discourses, the future research on Nepali English should be directed towards the five factors highlighted by Bamgbose (1998) to claim that Nepali English is an innovation.

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