

How Does The Placement Of A School Matter? Urban-Centred English-Medium Schooling And Its Impact On Intergenerational Transmission Of Gurung Language In Nepal

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores how urban-centred English-medium private schools in Nepal cause migration of young women with their children from remote villages to urban and bring family as well as culture related problems which, ultimately, affect in the transmission of their language across generations. Visiting Hilekharka (i.e., a typical remote Gurung village located in the southern part of Tanahun District), listening stories of two migrant Gurung family cases in Aanboo Khaireni, and exploring experiences of some villagers via semi-structured interviews, this study found that English medium private schools which were centralised to Aanboo Khaireni had become the chief pull factor for the migration of Gurung young women with their children leading to change in family structure and cultural fluidity. Finally, it has created rupture in the intergenerational transfer of Gurung language across generations.

Keywords: Intergenerational language transfer; Urban-centred private school; Ghetto; Gurung language; Nepali language.

INTRODUCTION

English not only affected the traditionally practised Sanskrit, Gumpa and Madrasa education systems, but also has replaced the position of Nepali language as a medium of instruction in mass education since Jung Bahadur Rana became the Prime Minister of Nepal in 1850 (Bhattarai, 2018, p. 42). The space of English in Nepalese education remained more or less same during the Rana rule except during the short-lived time of Dev Samsher.

However, the situation was changed with the dawn of democracy in 1950. The newly formed governments as well as national authorities were not much interested in giving much space for English in national education (see NNEPC, 1956). This attitude of the then national authorities towards English in education continued during 1960s to 1970s and also remained until 1990s. As the main step to meet the national education objectives, the Nepali monolingual school education system was enacted throughout the country by narrowing down the space of English in curricula. Thus, Panchayat system remained almost unfruitful for English in Nepalese school education. However, it regained its status after the restoration of multi-party democracy in 1990.

Multiple governments after the 1990 encouraged privatisation in education and also recognised private schools as the centre of quality English medium education. It encouraged business-minded elites to invest their money in the opening of English medium schools. As a result, a number of English medium private schools were established (or have been established) throughout the country in an overwhelming way. However, they were dominantly urban-centred. The government authorities as well as educated elites advocated the contribution of private schools in national education and placed them in higher rank in the national index of education.

As a result, firstly elites from urban; later from periphery; and gradually ordinary people regardless their socio-economic, linguistic, cultural status, and residential distance from the urban, were/are highly motivated to admit their children to private schools assuming that these schools enhance their children's knowledge and English proficiency. A number of research have been carried out on the roles of English medium schools in national standardised tests (Thapa, 2015), English teaching and learning strategies (Bista, 2011); medium of instruction and its practices (Baral, 2015; Khati, 2015; Shrestha, 2016; and many others) examining how English as a medium of instruction is practised in local contexts, sometimes showing the lack of proficiency of some teachers in teaching. Giri (2009, 2010, 2011) discusses the status of English in context of Nepalese education, language politics and its discrepancies in linguistic mosaic of Nepal.

These studies have great contribution to shape understanding of policy-practice incongruities, opportunities and challenges in using English as a medium of instruction. However, tension, fluidity and dislocation in cultural practices and languages of indigenous communities that have occurred due to the overwhelmingly urban-centred English medium private schools have remained unnoticed and unstudied. Therefore, illustrating the case of Hilekharka, Tanahun, and portraying the village and family ethnography of Gurung children who were migrated from their village to urban to get English medium education in the urban-centred English medium private schools, this paper explores how urban-centred English medium private schools can directly/indirectly create incongruities in family, fluidity in cultural practices, and in turn language use and intergenerational transmission of Gurung language.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The scholarships reveal that family has a key role for preserving children's mother tongue (Schewartz & Verschik, 2013). Drawing examples from Cameroon, Anchimbe (2013) states that the life of indigenous language is directly connected to "a stable ancestral home." Moreover, the attachment of children to indigenous residence in villages, their relations and interaction with people from their home land play a decisive role for the survival or extinction of ethnic language But, if indigenous languages leave their homelands, family has a key role in maintenance and loss of their ethnic language. Advocating the importance of family, Fishman (1991) argues that use of ethnic language at home involving children is the most important starting point of its intergenerational transmission. But, unfortunately, almost all of the migrant families in urban areas have stopped using their mother tongue, and finally have lost bonding with it. Instead, they have become a conducive institution to enhance globalisation (Fishman, 2001).

With slightly different focus, Haugen (1972) advocates the role of both family and community in the creation of the initial platform for the child's language socialisation and language ecology viewing language as "an environment-dependent phenomenon." Yet, he claims that family is the

most pivotal environment for mother-tongue maintenance. The discontinuity in the intergenerational transmission of a language in the family can be the key grounds of language loss (Spolsky, 2012) where parents have the key role (Lanza, 1997, 2004) as they often conceive the use of their language as a cultural pride and a tool for strengthening family bond and children's cultural socialisation (Schewarz & Verschik, 2013, p. 6). The use of different languages by adults and children within the family can have negative effects on family relations (Caldas & Carroll-Caldas, 2002; Hua, 2008).

Highlighting the role of peer group pressure along with the family in children's language maintenance and loss, Harris (1995) explains that a child's socialisation is "highly context-dependent form of learning." According to her, children are influenced by family members in their childhood, however; in their adolescence, they become a part of sub-cultures created by their cohort outside home. Generally, the ethnic minority children are inclined to acquire the language of their peers rather than that of their parents. Consequently, their ethnic language is confined to be the heritage language (p. 462). Showing the importance of family location in acquisition and use of a particular language, Schwartz and Verschik (2013) discuss that which language (i.e., ethnic or dominant) a child acquires depends upon where the given family is located: in heterogeneous neighbourhoods or in their own speech community.

Irrespective of multiple theories on the key role of ancestor home, homeland and community for the maintenance of ethnic language and culture, the flow of migration in the globe is increasing among different age groups for various reasons. Different INGOs'/NGOs'/GOs' reports show that the motivation of youths for quality education is the main reason for their migration; whereas, the chief cause for the migration of adults is the desire of getting employment. Notwithstanding whatever reasons are underlying for migration, it has created complexities in the community for migrant children which ultimately affect the use and attitudes of migrant people towards their language. When families migrate from their original village, their cultures as well as languages go with them leading to greater linguistic and cultural diversity in the destination as well as linguistic and cultural fluidity in ancestor village. In this sense, there is a close relationship between migration and language; language ecology, use and indexing of a particular language.

Portes and Hao (2002) describe two main relationships between migration and language. On the one extreme, in large-scale migration in multiple destinations, the new migrants might not learn the dominant language. On the other extreme, the migrant children from different backgrounds might be motivated towards the new dominant language used in the destination. Ultimately, it results in the loss of native language skills across generations, especially the children confining their languages as a heritage language (Su'arez-Orozco, Darbes, Dias, & Sutin, 2011). Furthermore, as Rumbaut (2005) states, the acculturation process in new environments can create linguistic and cultural gaps between parents and children of migrant families which can cause and escalate intergenerational conflicts in the migrant families.

Linking these theoretical lenses, in this piece of work, my focus is to explore how the urban-centred English medium private schools in Nepal have been one of the principal pulling factors for migration of Gurung youths, especially women with their children, from remote villages to the near-by urban areas and, in turn, it has caused discontinuity in intergenerational transfer of their languages. Drawing the illustration from Hilekharka and migrant families in Aanboo Khaireni, this

study discloses the fluidity in continuation of language transfer across generations in Gurung community because of the migration caused by urban-centred English medium schools (especially, private schools) in Nepalese context.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This piece of work is based on the ethnographic fieldwork I carried out while studying through Language Planning and Policy in Nepalese School Education for my PhD degree. Discrepancies I found during my fieldwork such as the narrowing down fluency of Gurung language among Gurung students who were studying in different schools in Aanboo Khaireni encouraged me to explore the roles of urban-centred English medium private schools in intergenerational transmission of Gurung language. For this purpose, I firstly made a quick survey in all the schools in Aanboo Khaireni and got their demographic information. From the survey I found that all schools were demographically mixed with a larger number of children from dominant groups and from urban-elite backgrounds. Significant number of students were from Gurung and Magar ethnic backgrounds.

In some schools, the number of Magar students was larger than that of the Gurung, but in another, it was vice versa. Most of the Gurung students were from remote villages located in the southern part of Tanahun district. I purposely selected two private schools on the basis of the number of Gurung students studying in those schools. Among multiple possibilities of sites, I selected Hilekharka for two main reasons: Firstly, it was a typical remote village recognised as Gurung linguistic as well as cultural hub located to the catchment area of Aanboo Khaireni; secondly, out of total number of Gurung students in the selected schools, a considerable number of students were from Hilekharka and its periphery. Then, I selected 5 Gurung children from each school who were studying in grade nine and migrated from Hilekharka. Their families in Aanboo Khaireni were also other core sites for my study.

Observation, interview and field/family visits were the main techniques I used to collect information. During the fieldwork, I interacted with people, children and their family members, and took part in informal conversation and some festivals celebrated during the field visits. I visited Hilekharka different times, talked to people and observed their daily life pattern during my stay. The data were interpreted being based on the theories of relationship between language and family/community as discussed in the section of theoretical perspectives mentioned above.

YESTERDAY'S HILEKHARKA

Nepal is a land of ghettos, the specific ethnic ghetto, religious ghetto, and the territorial and the education of the ghetto also nurtured traditionally prescribed/described/ascribed/acquired caste and ethnicity based occupations and education systems. Even the politicians could not penetrate these ghettos but became a shareholder of them. Paradoxically, school on the other hand embraced students of different ghettos (Koirala, 2010, in Koirala, 2010).

Following the quotation made by Koirala as mentioned above, I categorise past Hilekharka, located at remote part of Aanboo Khaireni Rural Municipality, as an Gurung ethnic ghetto which was the residency of seventy-two Gurung households speaking Gurung language as a mother tongue as well as a daily language. In this sense, it was a Gurung linguistic ghetto. As this community used to practise its typical Gurung culture, in this sense it was a Gurung cultural ghetto. The village was located in sloppy landscape on the south face of "Mahabhaarat Range" surrounded by hills from

three sides facing towards Chure region with the coordinates of 27°53'12.3" N latitude and of 84°28'09.7" E longitude. It had both sloppy and terraced landscapes, but the main residential area was terraced. From this perspective, it was a geographical ghetto.

Previously, livelihood-oriented agriculture was the main source of running livelihood of the villagers: Cattle and goats tending, bee keeping, poultry farming and growing crops like maize and millet were their principal occupations. Besides this, some male youths used to join Indian/British Army leaving their wives and children at home in the village. Kinship's responsibilities to care for each other were the main principles to strengthen family bonds. In almost all of the cases, the household chores used to be distributed in terms of age and needs. Mostly adults and youths who were physically strong used to work in the farm/field, go to forest, look after cattle and goats and do other activities which needed more physical efforts. Almost all of the families would consist of three generations i.e., grandparents, parents and children; some of which included uncle/aunt and cousins, too. Generally, physically capable members would work on farms and outside home but elders with very small children would live at home. Because of this, the bond between the first and the third generations would be stronger.

Each member used to learn the culture of respect and love, understand kinship responsibilities, acquire the ability of living in a larger family with support and cooperation, love and peace. The children would get an opportunity to learn their culture and language from grandparents. Therefore, intergenerational transfer of their culture and language was possible. Gurung was spoken in the community and at home, although most of the people could speak Nepali language, too. Children had opportunities to take part in cultural activities, listen to folk tales, and understand values and mores. In this way, there was smooth intergenerational transfer of their language and culture, in turn, their language and also the culture were preserved.

This village was known as a typical Gurung village; as language and cultural hub. Each festival was celebrated with great importance that could offer new generations the opportunity to internalise their practices. Such typical characteristics of the ghetto were alive for centuries, but due to the migration of women with their children for different reasons, especially, for admitting their children to urban-centred English medium schools, the face of the village has been changed today.

TODAY'S HILEKHARKA

The previous shape of Hilekharka has been changed today. Firstly, the village consists of single generational families consisting of old couples at home due to the temporary migration of their sons and daughter-in-laws with their children. Sons' mobility was for jobs in or out of the country and migration of daughter-in-laws was supposed to admit their children to English medium schools located in urban areas. Secondly, the number of households are decreasing because of permanent migration of some of those families. Following the footsteps of their husbands' migration for jobs, migration of wives with their children has become a culture in this community.

Elderly couples have been continuing their traditional occupation to make their livelihood. Regardless they are not strong enough for physical work, they have to rear cattle, grow and harvest seasonal crops. But, they can neither get sufficient support from their family members nor can they get it in the community to cultivate their entire land. Because of lack of sufficient human

power, the number of cattle are reduced and most of the lands are left barren. In this way, the practised occupation of the village is diminishing.

AANBOO KHAIRENI: A DESTINATION OF MIGRANT FAMILIES

Aanboo Khaireni, an emerging hub and a gateway of education, business and jobs in the north-west corridor of Nepal, has been the main destination of migrants from Hilekharka. Being located in the eastern flank of Mahabharat Range and at the bank of Marshyandi River, it has become a junction to pass Terai and many western hilly districts such as Lamjung, Gorkha, Kaski, Parbat, Baglung, Myagdi, Mustang, and Manang. It is a montage of diverse lifestyles of people from multiple socio-economic as well as multicultural/multilingual backgrounds constituted with a mixture of long-term residencies and migrants having different linguistic as well as cultural backgrounds. During my fieldwork, I could observe three co-existing faces of Aanboo Khaireni i.e., Dense Market Area, Newly Emerging Residential Area and Old-style Residential Area (Sharma, 2020).

The "Dense Market Area" is relatively crowded and noisy caused by people, vehicles, compact houses and haphazardly displayed hoarding boards, flexes and pamphlets for advertising multiple products. The market area seemed quite busy due to different shops and stores such as grocery, fabrics, jewellers and owing to the rush of people to do business in offices, banks, and to catch vehicles. Therefore, it could be seen as the centre of language contact because people from different linguistic backgrounds meet there and communicate with each other. Nepali was the means of communication among people irrespective of their linguistic backgrounds. However, hoarding boards, signboards, flexes were displayed in Nepali and English languages. In some cases, English words were written in Devanagari script.

The Newly Emerging Residential Area revealed a different look of Aanboo Khareni. It was a quite peaceful area as it had relatively low density of population compared to that of the market area. Both old-fashioned houses as well as new concrete buildings built for residential purposes reflected the mismatched lifestyles of people. Except for some old-fashioned houses, almost all of the newly built concrete buildings stood opposite on two sides of gravelled roads. Most of the migrants had different mother tongues; regardless, Nepali was the language of community. Some migrant people in this area would occasionally speak their mother tongue, too. The recently migrated elderly people would speak their own language in the family, with their relatives, and neighbours having the same linguistic background. But they would speak Nepali while speaking with other people in the community. All the long-term resided people from Aanboo Khaireni, the migrated youths and their children would speak Nepali language (Sharma, 2020).

The Old-style Residential Area was in the outer layer of Aanboo Khaireni that conspicuously displayed old-fashioned-houses. These houses were made up of tin-roof, bricks and mud, typically having only a base floor, a few of them had a base floor and the first floor. This area was at the south corner of Aanboo Khaireni, relatively the residence of poor people; most of them migrated from remote villages and sheltered there in public land. Many of the migrant people had no land even to build a hut, and no regular job.

Being migrants having multiple socio-linguistic and geographical backgrounds, almost all of the people in this area had different home languages and preferred to speak them at home but they used to speak Nepali with people from different linguistic backgrounds. Traditional houses/huts

hidden among tall trees embedded with cattle shed, heap of dung besides, barn of hay, pen of goats and poultries, bee-hives, open fields/farms and rough roads, and frequent use of languages other than Nepali gave the glimpse of Old-style Area of Aanboo Khaireni (Sharma, 2020).

Within such faces we could not only observe the Aanboo Khaireni divide in terms of socio-economic structure, but also could see the spaces of Gurung, Nepali, and English languages in the community. Despite Gurung language being the mother tongue of Gurung people, Nepali was dominantly used in different domains such as business, offices, banks and schools and informal communications. Both private and community schools in Aanboo Khaireni theoretically adopted English as medium of instruction in education, however, Nepali was the dominant language of communication and classroom interactions.

I observed that migrant children from different linguistic backgrounds also would use Nepali while talking with classmates, teachers, and friends in the schools in and out of the classroom. Not only in the schools, the migrant Gurung speaking families would use Nepali dominantly at home and in neighbourhoods (Sharma, 2020).

DEMOGRAPHY OF SELECTED SCHOOLS

The rhetoric behind overwhelming opening of English medium private boarding schools in different parts of the Tanahun district was to support national development by promoting social harmony and cooperation among people, and by nurturing skilful and knowledgeable citizenship. The high motivation of people to admit their children to private schools resulted rapid increase in the number of students in those schools. Therefore, almost all of the private schools in Aanboo Khaireni had a greater number of students from various socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds compared to that of the community schools with the similar status.

Chhimkeshwari School (pseudonym), one of my study sites, was established in 1988 as an English medium school which was hidden behind the busy market area of Aanboo Khaireni. It had been running from Nursery to Grade 10 for some decades. During my fieldwork, there were 776 students from various ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds. Among them, 552 (i.e., 71.1%) were from Janajatis/Dalits (Here, in the category of Janajatis/Dalits, I have counted all the students except Brahmin/Chhetries backgrounds). The number of students from Gurung ethnic background was 111 (i.e., 20.1%) of the total.

Out of the total students in this school, the dominant number (i.e., about 80%) was from Aanboo Khaireni; some were from villages in the lower periphery, and some were from remote villages. The number of students in lower grades were greater than that was in higher Grades.

Similarly, Manakamana School (pseudonym), established in 2003, was located in the newly-expanded residential area i.e., about 100m away from the main busy market area of Aanboo Khaireni. About 460 students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds were studying in this school. Out of them, 88.5% were from Janajatis/Dalits background. Among the Janajatis/Dalit groups, about 36.3% were from Gurung ethnic group. While talking about the residency, the dominant number of students were from Aanboo Khaireni, some were from villages in the periphery, and some were from remote villages.

On the basis of categories of schools made by Seel, Yadava and Kadel (2017), both schools came under "Type 1 (b)" category. It refers to those schools where learners are homogeneously Nepali-speaking on entry to Early Childhood Education and Development (ECED)/ Grade 1(G1), but possess a different heritage language that is no longer much used in that community (see Seel, Yadava, & Kadel, 2017, p.24). In these schools, children enrolled in Nursery Grade were from various ethnic backgrounds having their own ethnic language.

However, for different reasons those languages were not much used in their communities, neither were their generations taught to speak it. As a result, they were homogeneously Nepali speaking, confining their ethnic language as a heritage language. However, such linguistic typology of each school had different degrees of composition (Sharma, 2020).

These schools adopted English as a medium of instruction in education as well as communication in school premises; however, almost all of the classroom interactions were practised mixing up English and Nepali languages. They used textbooks written in English but used mixed languages in interaction and conversation. The documentations and archives were developed in both languages. Students were expected to understand in Nepali and translate it in English, make notes and write in exams. However, Nepali was the dominant language of communication in school premises (Sharma, 2018, 2020). Such practices of schools had created pressure on children to learn English as well as enhance their Nepali proficiency simultaneously that supported to widen the gap between them and their language/culture.

MIGRANT FAMILIES: AS REPRESENTATIVE CASES

This section presents two Gurung families which were migrated from Hilekharka to Aanboo Khaireni for the sake of providing their children English medium education and had admitted them to English medium schools as described above. The focus of presenting these families is to direct the attention of the audience towards their language use, and cultural practices in the destinations due to various pressures and to disclose how their attitudes towards their language was changed over time. The descriptions are based on interviews with a family member of each family.

Riya's family

Riya's (pseudonym) family migrated to Aanboo Khaireni from Hilekharka ten years ago. The main reason for migration was for admitting Riya and her siblings to English medium private school there. So, Riya and her siblings were admitted to Chhimkeshwari English Boarding School. During my fieldwork, she was studying at Grade 9, her sister was in Grade 5 and her brother was in Grade 1.

Her mother migrated from Hilekharka to Aanboo Khaireni taking Riya and her sister immediately after her father went to Dubai. After four years of migration, her mother gave birth to her brother. Since then, Riya had been living with her mother and siblings in a rented room for seven years. But, now they built a house in the Newly Emerging Area of Aanboo Khaireni. Although Riya was living with her mother and siblings in the destination, she was born in a joint family in the village.

Her joint family was constituted with three generations: grandparents (i.e., the first generation); parents/uncle and aunts (i.e., the second generation; and Riya, her siblings, cousins and nephew (i.e., the third generation). In the village, they had several sources of income such as

farming, bee-keeping, poultry-farming, pension and salaries. But, since they migrated to Aanboo Khaireni, they were confined to remittance from her father as the only source for running their households, educational and health expenditures.

During her early childhood (up to 6 years) Riya was with her complete family in the village. So, her mother tongue was Gurung and could speak it fluently. But when she migrated to Aanboo Khaireni with her mother, she started speaking Nepali with her new friends in the school and in the community. Her mother whose everyday language was Gurung in the village also stopped speaking it and started Nepali even at home and also with neighbours. She used to speak Gurung only when she would meet people from her village.

In this way, Nepali became her everyday language by shadowing their ethnic language. According to her, she had to do so because Nepali was the only language used in every domain of the community; in the offices, in the banks, in localities where people from multiple linguistic backgrounds live together. Moreover, as she said, use of Gurung language could not support their everyday life in their community. Therefore, teaching Gurung language to her children was not much helpful for them and, so, she was not interested in teaching her children Gurung language. In this way, the language environment of Riya's family was changed due to the migration of her parents to the urban area. Gradually, Riya's fluency in Gurung language was diminishing. The following extract of Riya reveals this fact:

Although my mother tongue is Gurung and could speak it fluently while I was in the village, I never speak it now with my friends in school premises and classroom.

While teaching, teachers usually read English text from the textbook and explain it in Nepali; we also speak Nepali during the classroom interaction. My parents' everyday language was Gurung while they were in the village, but after they moved here, they stopped speaking it and started using Nepali even at home and in the community. As a result, my sister and brother don't know anything about Gurung language. Similarly, my fluency in Gurung has been diminishing gradually. Nowadays, I feel more comfortable to speak Nepali than Gurung as if my mother tongue was Nepali.

This excerpt discloses the language use and changed attitude of Riya's parents after they migrated to Aanboo Khaireni. After they departed from family, ancestor home and community, they changed their family language policy from Gurung-only to Nepali-only that shaped Riya and her siblings' attitudes towards Gurung language. The excerpt reveals the fact that when some members of a family migrate from their homeland, they automatically miss the opportunity to use their language in their everyday life. It helps to diminish the fluency in their language and over time that leads to the break of intergenerational transfer of their language from first generation to the next. Besides the changed attitudes of Riya's mother regarding the use of Gurung language, her cohort migrated from Hilekharka had also changed their attitudes towards the use of Gurung language. Let's analyse the following excerpt of Riya:

None of my friends even migrated from our village speaks Gurung in the school and outside.

There was one friend when we were at Grade Seven whose mother tongue was Gurung. She got back and was left in the same class. Later, she didn't show her interest in using it. There are 40 students in our section and most of them are from Nepali language background. They use Nepali each other during the class and in leisure periods. Therefore, we also use Nepali all the time except while we want to share our secrets.

The above excerpt of Riya exposes her cohort's attitude towards using Gurung language. Riya and her friends from Gurung language background seemed unwilling to speak Gurung even among them. It was because Nepali was dominantly used by her classmates and teachers in the classrooms and school premises which had created pressure for not using Gurung in the school classroom and school periphery. Beside this, they had community pressure which led to discontinue intergenerational transfer of Gurung language across generations. According to Riya, Nepali was dominantly used in her localities, although migrants from various socio-linguistic backgrounds lived there. The following excerpt shows this fact:

Nowadays almost all of the people in this locality speak Nepali. They do not give priority to Gurung language. It is because all the people adopt modernisation. Even though they have migrated from villages to urban areas, they do not value their own language.

It discloses the community pressure that had affected the continuation of use of Gurung language at home as well as supported to change the attitude of migrant parents and children. Instead of taking it as their ethnic and cultural pride, they did not value it for different perceptions i.e., it had no work for modernisation and no work for communication in the mixed community. In addition to the story of Riya's family, I also interviewed Taka's (pseudonym) grandfather to understand the attitudes of the older generation towards their language and also the language use in their family.

Taka's family

Taka's family also migrated from Hilekharka about three decades ago. The family included three circles of Gurung speakers; in the first circle Taka's grandparents were the native speakers of Gurung language and had strong bonds with their language and culture. The second circle included Taka's parents whose mother tongue was Gurung and used to speak Gurung when they were in the village, but after they migrated to Aanboo Khaireni they stopped speaking it. So, their bond with Gurung language and culture had gradually been weaker. The third circle was of Taka and his siblings who were completely influenced by the dominant language and culture of Aanboo Khaireni. So, their mother tongue and language of everyday use was Nepali and Gurung language was heritage language for them. The following excerpt of Taka's grandfather reveals this fact:

I migrated from Hilekharka 20 years ago. Twenty years ago, Hilekharka was a linguistic ghetto, where all the people used to speak only Gurung language, although some of them were bilingual in Gurung and Nepali. Two-third of my life was spent in Hilekharka, my language was Gurung, my culture was Gurung. I used to feel proud to speak Gurung and to celebrate each festival there. Gurung language and culture were our ethnic identity. So, Hilekharka was the hub of Gurung culture and language. But, the context is different now. Regardless of my strong bond with Gurung language, I dominantly use Nepali not only in localities, but also at home. It is because almost all of the communication at home and in the community is held in Nepali. Even those migrant Gurung people whose mother tongue is Gurung also speak Nepali dominantly.

The excerpt exposes the tension of elderly generation created by old and new environments. Those who want to continue to speak their mother tongue were bounded with context where Nepali was the dominant language not only in business, education and administration, but also in their locality. These people like Taka's grandfather started using dominant language not only in the community, but also at home. It weakened the bond with their language and culture, over time their perception towards their own language was changed. Let's see his next excerpt:

I have a son and two daughters. They were born and brought up in the village. At that time, there was only primary school, but it was not good enough in terms of infrastructure and learning environment. My children got primary education from there. My two daughters got married in the village, but my son joined a community secondary school in Aanboo Khaireni and continued his education up to Grade 10. But, he could not complete his secondary level education and returned to the village and got married there. Within the year, he joined the Gurkha Regiment in India. My daughter-in-law gave birth to a baby boy after a year. Up to that time, we used to live together in the village, but after a couple of years my daughter-in-law insisted to move to Aanboo Khaireni to give her son English medium education. We could not stop her and she moved to Aanboo Khaireni with her small baby. She rented two rooms in Aanboo Khaireni and admitted her son to a boarding school next year. After a couple of years of her migration, she gave birth of her second baby boy; he was Taka. Now he is in Grade 9. They bought a piece of land and built a house in Aanboo Khaireni and invited us to join the family here. So, we also left Hilekharka after a decade. I and my wife used to speak Gurung spontaneously about half a decade onwards, but its level was gradually diminishing because my daughter-in-law used to speak Nepali with us, and children at home. When we used to speak in Gurung language, she would respond in Nepali. When we realised that she had a slightly negative attitude towards Gurung language and towards its value for her sons, we also started using Nepali dominantly even with each other. In the beginning we felt embarrassed, but now we are habituated to use Nepali and completely distanced from Gurung language. Our attachment, affection and bond with Gurung culture and language have been weakening gradually. Now our family has turned into a homogeneously Nepali speaking family and accepted Nepali as our home language. For my grandsons Gurung language has been just a "Purkheuli Bhasha" (heritage language), not more than that.

These family cases unpack how migration of young parents has changed the use and attitude of family members towards their language. The main agenda of migration was for providing their children English medium education that was possible from private boarding schools centralised in Aanboo Khaireni. It was found that when some members departed from their ancestor home, it destroyed the previous family structure shifting each part of three-generational joint family into single-generational and two-generational families.

It reduced interaction, collaboration among family members which is very important for language transmission across generations. Besides this, the language exposure to the new generation was automatically reduced diminishing language use and narrowing down fluency. Due to the various reasons, pressure created by the community, school environment, and peer-group sub-culture in Aanboo Khaireni, both parents and children were inclined to adopt dominant culture and language so that they could feel as a part of the new community. Moreover, parents were not

much interested in teaching Gurung language to their children irrespective of their birth place and age. As a result, almost all of the young generations were unfamiliar with their forefathers' language and culture and were struggling with linguistic as well as cultural adjustment in the destination. Besides these, the migration of youths had a negative effect in their cultural practices which ultimately affected the intergenerational transmission of their language. Notably, the chief pulling factors for this kind of migration was urban-centred English medium schools in Aanboo Khaireni. The following excerpt of one of the villagers unpacks this fact:

Certainly, the effect of such migration is in cultural practices also. Nowadays, the practices of Gurung culture, especially which should be performed in groups, are gradually decreasing. The fact is that a single person cannot preserve the culture. There should be unity and collaboration among community people. In Gurung culture, a number of festivals, songs and dances such as Chudka, Dhote, Seraph can be celebrated/performed only in groups. Such festivals are slowly disappearing from Gurung community because of lack of youths' participation due to migration. Such festivals have positive impacts in strengthening bonds and relationships among people. Unfortunately, this bond is on the verge of extinction due to the lack of continuation of practices. In addition to this, some hymns and songs are composed in Gurung language which were transmitted from their ancestors across generations. But, while they are not performed, the typical accent, wording and meaning will disappear soon.

This excerpt of the villager shows how the migration of the young generation from the village brought problems in the continuation of cultural practices.

Many festivals, songs/dances activities in Gurung cultures had to be performed only in groups. But, due to the absence of energetic youths and adolescents, they were not performed which had a negative effect on their language. It was because each song, hymn or spell was composed of using typical words/phrases and vocalised in a typical accent to denote/connote certain meanings reflecting their cultural values, their history, lifestyle and so many others. Dances and other performances were the visual expressions of their cultural as well as linguistic meanings. The rupture in practices of such cultures hampered in the transmission of cultures across generations that has led to the discontinuity in intergenerational transmission of their language.

The migration of Gurung youths especially women with their children from Hilekharka has affected the intergenerational transfer of Gurung language in various ways. As we have seen above it has changed the traditional family structure, and practices of their cultures so that the village has been changed from a linguistic/cultural ghetto to a fractured field. It has created fluidity in the language use and has changed people's attitudes towards their own language. To create such a situation, the urban-centred English medium schooling (especially, private boarding schools) are responsible irrespective of the intention of the founders.

As a private educational company they have been established by personal investment like other forms of business. The owners of the schools invest their money expecting financial benefit as the first goal. Students are the source of their income, so they are inclined to place the school in urban areas. The schools established in Aanboo Khaireni were also established making it physically accessible for as many people as possible. They have attracted urban-elites to admit their children to their schools. For some decades, people from remote villages have also been motivated to admit

their children English medium education which is possible only from urban-centred private schools. Such urban-centred English medium private schools have become the chief pulling factor for young women's migration with their children which has directly affected the Gurung language transmission and cultural dislocation.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The stories mentioned above disclose that almost all of the migrant women forwarded the agenda of providing their children quality English medium education that was possible from English medium boarding schools located in urban areas. Among multiple destinations, they chose Aanboo Khaireni because of its geographical proximity from Hilekharka. Although worldwide observation shows that a large portion of migrants from remote to the urban are more educated, this study found that almost all of the migrants who migrated from Hilekharka for the sake of providing their children quality education were not significantly educated women.

But, irrespective of their educational backgrounds, women were hurried to leave their family and village whose husbands had gone abroad for employment. The decreasing use and attitude of migrants as mentioned above confirm the argument of Anchimbe (2013) made in the context of Cameroon that there is the relationship between a stable ancestral home and the maintenance or loss of indigenous language. In our context, while women left their ancestral home and village, almost all of them immediately adopted Nepali language not only to communicate in neighbourhoods, but also at home. Gradually, it replaced the fluency of their language which finally endorsed to change their attitude towards it. They did not see any use of teaching it to their children, too. It was the main starting point of the discontinuity of intergenerational transmission of their language and the main grounds of language loss.

The stories of two families described above confirm that a language, even a mother tongue, can lose its fluency if it is not frequently used by its speakers. It justifies the point of Schewartz and Verschik (2013) that family has a key role for preserving children's mother tongue and confirms Fishman's (1991) view that the use of ethnic language at home between mother and children is the departure of intergenerational language transfer. Here, Gurung was the mother tongue of both Riya and her mother, but due to the lack of its use she gradually turned to be non-proficient and uncomfortable to use it. It led her to be monolingual of dominant language (i.e., Nepali). Justifying the point of Su'arez-Orozco, Darbes, Dias, and Sutin (2011) which made in different context, the dominant use of Nepali ultimately had broken the intergenerational transmission of Gurung language to young generations confining it as the heritage language.

In this sense, I acknowledge Lanza's (1997, 2004) and Spolsky's (2012) notion that family has the key role for the effective acquisition, maintenance and loss of the indigenous language. The break in the use of Gurung language at home, school and community of the destination resulting the rupture in its intergenerational transmission also confirms Fishman's (2001) argument that such kind of migrant families lose their power in mother tongue ties; instead, they knowingly or unknowingly become a reliable agents for detaching from indigenous language and a welcoming institution for enhancing linguistic domination.

Besides the role of family, as Haugen (1972) argues, community creates the platform for the children's language socialisation and language ecology which might favour dominant language and

affect transmission of ethnic languages. Due to the residency in mixed community in Aanboo Khaireni from different cultural as well as linguistic grounds such as Brahmin/Chhetries, Magar, Darai, Newar, and Dalits, the migrant families came to contact with different cultures, languages, religions and lifestyles of people migrated from various places and different backgrounds. Their children came frequent contacts with different people and their cohorts in their schools which were demographically mixed and linguistically homogeneous i.e. Nepali speakers.

In this context, the migrant Gurung children and their mothers wanted to create their position in conversations, cohort's sub-cultures and dominant cultural practices. One excerpt of Riya, as shown above, proves the fact that she had the pressure of using Nepali language in and out of the classrooms. So, confirming Harris' (1995) statement, she gradually pushed her away from Gurung language and became closer to Nepali which was the dominant language in Aanboo Khaireni. While observing cultural practices of Hilekharka and activities and participation of migrant families in Aanboo Khaireni, I found cultural dislocation in their community: Firstly, the previous cultural pattern was moving away from its previous position and secondly, it was flowing towards new adjustment.

For instance, the migrant Gurungs were not willing much to practise their traditional cultural activities/festivals such as Ghaantoo, Chudka, Dhote and so many others; neither in new locality nor in their village. Instead, they tended to practise festivals of dominant culture such as Teej, Deepawali, Dashain and many others. Most of the migrants in Aanboo Khaireni started celebrating new festivals which were not previously celebrated by their forefathers. Such fluidity had badly affected the intergenerational transmission of Gurung language. There is a fear that this language might reach to the verge of extinction over time.

Young women's migration with their children was the main cause for the discontinuity and fluidity in transmission of Gurung culture and language across generations. The chief pull factor of such migration was the urban-centred English medium private schools. It is in the sense that, almost all of the young women's main agenda for leaving Hilekharka was admitting their children to English medium private schools which were centralised to Aanboo Khaireni.

About a couple of decades before, almost all of the community schools were run in Nepali medium throughout the country. Therefore, until then English medium schools were understood synonymously as private schools. They were also understood as boarding schools no matter whether they had a boarders system or not which were thickly established in Aanboo Khaireni, as a result, there were six private schools in Aanboo Khaireni. These schools became the main pull factors for the migration of young women and their children, which, as discussed above, have, finally, created fluidity and discontinuity in transmission of Gurung language across the generations.

Thus, English medium education in early childhood might have some positive impact in children's English proficiency, but it has brought many problems in the existence of Gurung linguistic ghetto. The children who come to contact with dominant groups in school and neighbourhood learn dominant language i.e., Nepali, from their childhood and become alienated from Gurung language. Family, school and peer-group pressure are the main socialising agents for a child, but none of which were supportive for the preservation of language and culture of Gurung children. As a result, while

I surveyed, I found only ten children out of thirty-seven studying in English medium schools could understand Gurung. Out of them, only two could speak it fluently. If such placement of English medium schools continues in the country, ethnic linguistic ghettos like Hilekharka will definitely be changed into fractured fields in near future.

Taking this fact in mind, I appeal to concerned stakeholders and researchers to conduct further rigorous study in this area, and also suggest policy makers and investors to consider about the language ecology of the country. My urgent request to the concerned authorities is to rethink the placement of such schools so that it can reduce women's and children's migration from their ancestor village to the urban. It can support the intergenerational transfer of ethnic languages like Gurung language.

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