



Limbu Poets' Experiences of Using Facebook for Promoting Endangered Indigenous Language

Dig Dhoj Lawati

Karna Rana

Nepal Open University, Nepal

ABSTRACT

The authors report an examination of Limbu poets' experiences of using Facebook to share Limbu poems expecting to promote their Indigenous language, literature, and culture, and preserve Indigenous identities. We employed online semi-structured interviews with participants and observation of their Facebook walls to gather qualitative data. We discuss how the Limbu poets attempted to promote their Limbu language through Facebook. Limbu poets used their Indigenous poems to inform and promote the value of their language and to preserve Indigenous cultural values. The poetic creation in the Limbu language received significant responses from readers, however, far less than the poems in Nepali and English. This result may have occurred because many members of the Limbu community might not have understood Limbu poems. It demonstrates the decline of Limbu, one of the Indigenous languages in Nepal, and the challenge of preserving and promoting the language. Limbu poets' more organized and innovative ways of using Facebook for promoting their Indigenous language may help them achieve their aim to restore their language.

Keywords: Facebook, Limbu poets, Indigenous language, Marginalized community, Nepal

INTRODUCTION

Facebook, which was initially used to connect students at Harvard University, has become a global social networking website (Capua, 2012). The platform hosts nearly three billion users who exchange ideas and communicate with each other (Hutchinson, 2020). Facebook has become a common media source to share feelings and events publicly, teach students from home and discuss issues with members in closed groups (Giri & Rana, 2022). Teachers, writers, and researchers communicate their rhetorical writings, poems, and expressions about socio-cultural values and academic discourse through social media (DePew, 2011). Many people use Facebook for personal and mass communication, and educational activities (Aydin, 2012). Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn strengthen the scholarship of teachers, researchers, and students by increasing their academic communications (Sauter, 2014). Social media including Facebook can be a tool to strengthen relationships, ease communication and get entertainment (Kosinski et al., 2015; Rana, 2022). Facebook has become a medium to develop relationships with people, advertise businesses, and teach students.

Every medium of communication helps create an imaginative relationship between authors and their audiences (Brake, 2012). Writers can share their academic activities on personal blogs to attain self-directed satisfaction and communicate ideas through various pieces of writing such as poetic verses and lyrics with imagined audiences. Facebook and other social media platforms can help writers publish their literary arts and increase their popularity. However, Hanusch and Tandoc (2019) argue that responses from readers to writers' content on social media determine their level of engagement on social media and increase their number of followers. Diverse responses from readers on social media generate a distinct digital cultural heritage (Bareket-Bojmel et al., 2016). The growing use of Facebook has attracted researchers to study emerging cultures through the use of social networking sites. In recent years, it has become a medium for sharing Indigenous culture, language, and arts in Nepal. However, Phyak (2015) argues that Facebook language policing (i.e., homogeneity of language) in Nepal does not provide diverse space for linguistic heterogeneity and flexibility but creates monolingual ideologies which enforce hegemony. The iconization of Nepali as a national language and English as a language of technology and universal market narrows the language space for minoritized people to use their native languages on Facebook and in other spaces (Phyak, 2015). Sharma (2012), for example, reports that college students create their bilingual identity by blending local and English languages on Facebook. Although rare, Indigenous languages are present on Facebook walls, as Facebook has somewhat become a space for Indigenous languages in recent years. However, Limbu, one of the 129 Indigenous languages in Nepal (Khabarhub, 2022), is rarely seen on Facebook walls. Although the Limbu language has its script, dictionary, and grammar, the systematic exclusion of Indigenous languages including Limbu from education and official

functions for centuries (Phyak, 2015) jeopardized its presence on social media as one such consequence.

This paper examines Limbu poets' use of Facebook to promote their Indigenous language through poetic creations. The analysis of Limbu poets' experiences of using Facebook to share Limbu poems and the discourses obtained from Facebook walls of both poets and other participants is reported in this paper. This study is noteworthy because it opens a new way of conducting social media research by exploring Facebook discourses about an ethnic language. We also attempt to examine how the social media interaction between Limbu poets and their readers contributes to building a distinct digital ethnic culture.

Creative Discourse on Social Media

Social networking websites have become common tools to develop communities of learning and where people share ideas publicly (Kuss & Griffiths, 2017). For example, studies in Saudi Arabia (Al-Jarf, 2015, 2018) reported that Arabian Facebook users shared poems, short stories, feelings, personal experiences, and proverbs written in literary style. Wu and colleagues (2016) found that social media produced social, informative and habitual capital which increased users' creative performance on social network sites in Taiwan. In their study in Taiwan, Chai and Fan (2017) reported that the use of social media helped the students of design education increase their creativity. Moreover, Rahmah (2018) found that Quick, a video editing app, and Instagram provided students with a digital platform for creative writing to enhance their learning experiences and writing in English in Indonesia. Similarly, Ali and colleagues (2019) revealed that teamwork on social media increased the efficiency of a team's creative knowledge and performance in China. Creativity and innovation on social media rely on technology (Ratten, 2017). Some studies (Flew, 2018; Miller, 2016) demonstrate that social media provides enthusiasts with unique and innovative opportunities for extending their social connection and sharing creative art and product.

How social media operators use these platforms to publish their art increases the value of social media for communicating ideas (Miller, 2016). For example, Li and Duan (2018) found that the blog, Weibo, played an important role in promoting cultural sites and museums in China. Marchukov (2016) discussed how the use of websites and social media strengthened the cultural diplomacy of Germany and Japan. Especially, both the countries chose their official websites and social media platforms to share and promote their cultures and arts and it helped to promote their national culture abroad. Kavakci and Kraeplin's (2016) study demonstrated that Muslim women living in European countries constructed online identities by using Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube as tools to advertise fashionable hijab (a religious scarf to cover a woman's head and hair). The authors argued that, although the publicly visible women's presentation of hijabs would not represent all those typically used hijabs across all Muslim communities, the

technological advancement changed religious beliefs, traditions, and values. The growing use of social media for personal, professional, and social communications has also transferred and made socio-cultural properties visible across the world (Meikle, 2016).

Indigenous Languages on Social Media

Some researchers have focused on social media posts to analyze the presence of Indigenous languages (Outakoski et al., 2018; Rice et al., 2016). For example, we know that the presence of Maori, a minority language of New Zealand, on social media increasingly promoted the development and preservation of the language (Keegan et al., 2015; Waitoa et al., 2015). Lindgren and Cocq (2017) reported that Twitter enabled marginalized communities to communicate with other similar groups and share their common interest on a global scale. However, Wyburn (2018) found that the dominant use of English on social media imperilled the Welsh language in Ireland. Some studies reported that hashtag tweets in Welsh, Irish, and Frisian languages significantly increased the use of these languages (Ferré-Pavia et al., 2018; McMonagle et al., 2019). Similar studies (Jongbloed-Faber et al., 2016; Jongbloed-Faber et al., 2017) in the Netherlands identified that the use of Frisian and Dutch languages on Twitter rapidly attracted the speakers of these languages and increased the number of followers.

Social media has become a powerful tool to promote Indigenous languages in many countries. For example, Facebook became instrumental in the process of revitalising Maya, an Indigenous language in Mexico (Cru, 2015). In particular, the use of Spanish and Maya together on Facebook functioned as a language lesson for youths. The strategy of making Maya visible on Facebook, a bottom-up approach, significantly increased the number of Maya users and the chance of increasing legitimacy from the government. Similarly, Stern (2017) found that Facebook groups are an effective tool to encourage the use of Balinese in Indonesia. Especially, her strategy of following those who did not want to join Balinese Facebook group increased the number of members particularly teens in the group and the likelihood that they would continue to use Balinese as their main language. Deschene (2019) reported that the use of social media and websites to share audio-visual materials of Coptic, an endangered Egyptian language, attracted a significant number of viewers and most viewers expressed an interest in learning the language. Other studies found that the use of social media for the revival of Indigenous languages such as Maori in New Zealand (Lee, 2018), Udmurt in Russia (Pischlöger, 2016) and Low German in northern Germany (Wiggers, 2017) significantly promoted the use of these languages in common communications in the respective countries. For the promotion of Indigenous languages, Belmar and Glass (2019) suggest Indigenous people consistently boost their virtual communication on social media. These studies indicate how social media help promote and preserve Indigenous languages. Unfortunately, there is limited

literature particularly focused on the use of Indigenous language in poetic arts on social media.

Narrative, Identity Construction, and Blogging Status on Social Media

Some scholars have focused their study on identity construction, story posts, and blogging updates on social media. For example, Dayter (2015) and Page (2010) revealed that short narrative stories on social media were not literary work, but they were sources to understand the concepts of narrative theory. Jeon and Mauney (2014) reported that political face work on social media was intended to negotiate and discuss the online identity of communicators and to keep the face stable by bringing a new strategy. Gündüz (2017) argues that status updates on social media are mainly related to identity construction, positioning oneself among friends and building cultural identities. Alsaggaf (2015), for example, reported that Saudi women's use of the Arabian language on social media to share their socio-cultural activities helped them establish their identity. Shlezak (2015) investigated that narrative writing on Facebook helped adults construct new social identities. Gonzalez-Polledo and Tarr (2016) reported a significant contribution of Flickr and Tumblr apps to develop communities of common language users.

Micro-blogging and status updates on social media which belong to local languages and literacy practices are usually not included in the curricular activities of educational institutions and the government (Zhang & Ren, 2020). For example, Outakoski and colleagues (2018) reported that, although Sapmi, an Indigenous language in northern Europe, was systematically used on Twitter, blogs, YouTube videos, and personalized mobile apps to attract native speakers, it did not get a significant number of readers. Sharma and Phyak (2017) argue that the exclusion of Indigenous languages from education and official functions, and the imposition of the English language in education in Nepal have jeopardized Indigenous languages. However, McDaniel and colleagues (2012) earlier suggested that the use of one's mother tongue on social media to share ideas and creations would help develop a bond among the speakers of the languages and preserve minority languages. In particular, social media can be an instructional tool for learners of Indigenous languages (Carpenter & Krutka, 2015). For example, Guta and Karolak (2015) reported that Saudi Arabian women's blogging in the Arabian language enabled them to build a strong community of their language and fight against the hegemony of foreign languages. Liu and colleagues (2016) emphasize that the use of minority languages on web blogs can motivate their speakers to explore local values, cultures, and identities. Li and colleagues (2018) argue that web blogs can be instrumental to preserve the diversity of language, culture, and traditions.

Current Study

In absence of local literature, international studies provide a picture of how the use of various social media platforms helped promote the use of Indigenous

languages. In particular, the use of Facebook to share Arabic poems, stories, and personal experiences in Saudi Arabia (Al-Jarf, 2018), other social media platforms to preserve Maori in New Zealand (Keegan et al., 2015; Waitoa et al., 2015), and the use of Twitter to promote the Frisian and Dutch languages (Jongbloed-Faber et al., 2016; Jongbloed-Faber et al., 2017) significantly increased the use of those Indigenous languages. Moreover, the practice of Facebook to revitalize an Indigenous language in Mexico (Cru, 2015) and encourage the use of Balinese in Indonesia (Stern, 2017) are related to the purpose of the current study: to examine how Facebook would help Limbu poets to preserve Limbu language, culture, and literature. The following research questions were posed: (1) What are Limbu poets' experiences of using Facebook to share Limbu poems? (2) What is the perception of Limbu speakers towards Limbu poets' use of Facebook to share Limbu poems? and (3) What is Limbu speakers' motivation towards their mother tongue?

METHODS

Participants

The participants in this study were Limbu Indigenous people who spoke Limbu as their mother tongue and Nepali as a link language (i.e., a language to communicate with other language speakers). Participants also used Facebook to share Limbu poems or comment on other poems on Facebook. Their age ranged from 25 to 50. Some participants from Nepal lived in the Eastern Hills of the country or lived in cities after migrating from the Eastern Hills. Participants from Sikkim (a state of India bordered by Nepal) resided in villages and cities.

We selected participants based on their use of Facebook to post and comment on Limbu poetry. In particular, we focused on those who used Facebook at least once a week to post or comment on poems. Participants were four Limbu poets and four readers. Most participants were from Nepal, while three Limbu poets were from Sikkim. Table 1 summarizes the participants' demographics. Participants' names are replaced by pseudonyms to maintain anonymity.

Table 1

Participant Location and Demographic Information

Participant	Location	Sex	Age
Sese (Poet)	Panchthar District (Middle East Nepal: Hills)	Male	31
Parajungung (Poet)	Panchthar District (Middle East Nepal: Hills)	Male	40
Seri (Poet)	Panchthar District (Middle East Nepal: Hills)	Male	28
Khohang (Poet)	Jhapa District (South-East Nepal: Terai)	Male	45

Parajung (Reader)	Panchthar District (Middle East Nepal: Hills)	Male	35
Larang (Reader)	Tehrathum District (Middle East Nepal: Hills)	Male	36
Niyara (Reader)	Ilam District (Middle East Nepal: Hills)	Male	34
Semi (Reader)	Dhankuta District (Middle East Nepal: Hills)	Male	36
Pahang (Poet)	Sikkim (North-East State, India)	Male	48
Mukla (Poet)	Sikkim (North-East State, India)	Male	44
Sesephung (Poet)	Sikkim (North-East State, India)	Male	36

Research Instrument

An interview protocol was used to conduct interviews with the participants. A list of questions guided the interviews and issues raised by participants during the interviews were used to continue the conversation. The questions posed to participants are listed in Table 2.

Table 2
Interview Questions

Lead questions to poets are as follows:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. How is your experience of using Facebook to share Limbu poems? b. In what ways do you promote the use of the Limbu language? c. Why do you choose Facebook to share Limbu poems? e. What is your expectation of writing Limbu poems and sharing them on Facebook? f. If you expect to preserve the Limbu language, culture and literature through poems, how does it work? g. Which script do you often use to write and share poems? h. If you prefer to use the Limbu script, why?
Lead questions to readers of Limbu poems are as follows:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. How is your perception of sharing Limbu poems on Facebook? b. What do you think about the contribution of Limbu poems in the preservation of Limbu language, culture and literature? c. In what ways do you respond to Limbu poets? d. How is your perception of using Facebook to share Limbu poems? e. If you expect to preserve the Limbu language, culture and literature through poems, how does it work? f. Which script do you often use to comment on poems? g. If you prefer to use the Limbu script, why?

Although a specific rating scale or a checklist was not used to observe the poets and readers' activities on Facebook walls, our observation was guided by the language they used, the content they discussed, and prompt comments and replies. In addition, the issues raised in the interviews also led to our observation of participants' Facebook walls.

Procedure

After we obtained ethics approval from our institution, we recruited participants by identifying potential participants through Facebook. We obtained informed consent by emailing both information sheet and consent form through email. We asked participants to accept our friend request on their Facebook accounts, which allowed us to view their Facebook walls and communicate through messenger. We then sent a request through Facebook Messenger to about 15 Limbu poets and 15 readers of Limbu poems on Facebook asking for their participation with the hope that we would recruit eight poets and four readers of Limbu poems. Only seven poets expressed interest in participating in this study and four readers participated.

We used qualitative research methods to examine Limbu poets' experiences using Facebook to share Limbu poems with Limbu speakers. We employed online semi-structured interviews and observation which allowed us to gather Limbu poets and their poem readers' experiences of using Facebook to share Limbu poems and comment on them. Online semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participants on multiple occasions by using a mobile phone and Facebook Messenger. The voice feature of Facebook Messenger was used to interview participants as the video was not used. All the interviews were recorded on a mobile phone. The interview protocol was administered in Limbu.

Conducting an observation of participants' Facebook posts and comments strengthened the interview data. Participants' Facebook walls were followed for about three months. The first author visited participants' Facebook walls daily to note Limbu poets' shared content and to see readers' comments on poets' poems. Poets and Limbu poetry readers' comments on Facebook were recorded on a smartphone and also stored on a laptop. Specifically, screenshots of their public communications on their personal Facebook were stored on these devices.

Data Analysis

We analyzed interview and observation data following the principles of thematic analysis. First, the first author, who speaks Limbu, transcribed interview audio records and translated them into the English language. Then, we generated themes and organized the data into those themes. In particular, an inductive coding scheme (Braun & Clarke, 2006) helped identify themes, organize the data gathered through interviews and observations, and analyze the data. We read various

archived documents such as journal articles, books, reports, theses, and websites against the data gathered through interviews and observations.

FINDINGS

This section demonstrates the data analysis of interviews and observations by its outstanding themes.

Limbu speakers' perception of using Facebook to promote Limbu language

Observations of Limbu poets' Facebook posts and their poetry readers' responses, and interviews with them showed that most participants significantly used Facebook for approaching readers. Because it is the most popular social networking site in Nepal (Giri & Rana, 2022), they preferred Facebook to other social media platforms. Participants identified it as highly accessible for readers, as responses from the virtual world are not possible in the traditional way of publishing and printing books. For example, Sese, a poet, said:

There is an increasing number of readers of creations in the Limbu language on Facebook. Our collective creations on Facebook have created some literary trends worldwide. I am very satisfied with the responses of the audience. I hope I will get more Limbu readers.

Sese's comment indicated that there are some Limbu speakers, who followed Limbu language poets. The poems that appeared on Facebook created literary trends and movement because Limbu speakers had a sense of affection and pride in their mother tongue. They found that the audience liked their poems, which motivated them to create poetry and post them on social media. However, few participants among the poets were practicing writing and post poems in more than one language. For example:

They read and liked my poems. Some hit likes by reading and others without reading. I have got friends from different language communities like Nepali, Magar and Rai. When I post Nepali poems, I get likes and comments from Nepali language users. (Pahang, poet)

Pahang's expression reflected that Limbu poets kept the audience in their minds while posting their poems on social media. They posted short poems in Limbu and Nepali languages to reach both language speakers. Their strategy of using both languages provides a picture of how Limbu poets tried to develop their popularity and gain higher social respect from wider communities. Poets remained active in posting their poems on Facebook because they believed the readers were engaged in the poems they shared. Parajungung, a poet, said:

There are many readers of Limbu poems posted on Facebook. Facebook seems a friendly place for those poets who are from Indigenous communities. Nowadays, when they post their poems, they immediately get responses. So, they prefer to use social media to reach readers.

His expression reflected that he, an Indigenous poet, intended to promote the value of the Limbu language through the development of poetry and increase the awareness of the language in the community. The increasing reactions to the Limbu poems on Facebook indicated the growth of people's awareness of the Limbu language as well as the creation of poetry. For example, Larang, a reader of Limbu poems on Facebook, said:

I have responded to the poems on Facebook. I often hit like and comments but sometimes I don't get a response from poets. I comment in Limbu and many others also use Limbu. This is how we can promote the use of Limbu in conversations.

His comments provided a much clearer picture of how Limbu poets' Facebook approach contributed to increasing the use of the Limbu language in the discourses on Facebook. His idea would have motivated many other Limbu speakers to use their mother tongue in common communication too.

Mother Language Motivation

We explored Limbu poets' expectation to restore Limbu, one of the endangered Indigenous languages in Nepal, and develop Limbu literature and culture. Poets appreciated that Facebook was an appropriate and friendly tool for sharing creative writings in the mother language. They were aware that on social media they could rapidly spread their poems and get immediate responses from readers. Their strategy of using two languages (Nepali and Limbu) increased their social connection within Nepal and across the world with people who could read their poems. Parajung, a reader of Limbu poem, said:

Nowadays Limbu poets even can use Sirijunga script on webs and social media because it is already registered in Unicode. I find even the poems and comments in Sirijunga script. Facebook is one of the best tools to make Limbu people aware of their language.

Parajung's observation about the Limbu poets' space on Facebook indicates that they were well-informed about social media and its capacity to connect with many people. His comment provided a clear picture of how the Limbu poem was expected to increase the value of the Limbu language and

promote its use. Facebook would have helped them reach the unreached Limbu community and speakers across the world. They expected that social media including Facebook would help them develop their mother language, literature, and culture.

Poets' expectations of promoting the Indigenous language reflected how they could preserve their Indigenous identities. They, thus, seemed to choose Facebook to share Limbu poems as an instrument to make Limbu people aware of their language, literature, and culture. Facebook was found to support the Limbu language and its script. The Limbu poets and their readers were able to interact in their script on Facebook. The responses they received from readers motivated them to use Facebook to promote their language through poetry.

Only few posts appear in the mother tongue. More writings appear in English and Nepali on my wall. Though Limbu people are settled all around the world, only few people are there who can read and write in their mother tongue. (Mukla, poet)

Mukla's comment indicates how Limbu language speakers are decreasing and the language is declining from communities. It indicates that it is essential for Limbu speakers to seek the inclusion of their Indigenous language in education to save it. Poets' initiative of publishing poems in their language has, at some level, developed an awareness of their Limbu language, culture, and literature. They could use their own Sirijunga script of the Limbu language on Facebook to let people know about the unique script. It was observed on their Facebook walls that few poets and readers could read and interact in their mother tongue. However, the majority of readers who engaged in interaction used Nepali and English scripts. Limited comments in Sirijunga script on poems indicated that there were few, who could understand the Limbu language and were aware of Limbu poems. In comparison to the writers of Nepali poems, the Limbu poems occupied little space on Facebook. Seri, a poet, said:

There is no value of Limbu poems as Nepali literature gains, though we sometimes post better Limbu poems than Nepali poems. I do not find a friendly environment on Facebook for Indigenous poets like me. When I post Nepali poems, they get more likes and comments than my Limbu poems.

It was a difficult job for Limbu poets to promote their Indigenous language in a context where only Nepali is the language of Education and administration. Her frustration reflects the grounded reality because most people understand the Nepali language. The speakers of the Limbu language are fewer, and it gets a limited number of readers. Limbu poets would have realized that the number of

speakers determines the promotion of specific literature in a particular language. Although they consistently published poems in the Limbu language and sometimes in Nepali, their publication of poems in Nepali received far more responses than the poems in their Limbu language. This tendency significantly increased poets' frustration that Limbu, one of the Indigenous languages, may rapidly decline in the communities. It also indicated that Indigenous poets were underrated and ignored by many social media users. It might have happened because of the minority language. In both Nepal and Sikkim, the Nepali language is the language of communication, education, and office. The Nepali language is dominant over the Limbu language and Limbu poets received limited responses in their Indigenous language. Most readers, who were Limbu speakers, were not interested in creative writing in the mother language. Their expressions reflected that they would not care about what was shared in their language on Facebook. For example, Khohang said:

I do not find there is a positive view for those writers, readers, and mother tongue on Facebook. Facebook users are only in provocative posts. They are not interested in language, literature, and culture. Only those close companions react positively but they do not go thoroughly in my posts. Most of the people from the same community remain indifferent. They even do not hit like, comment, and share.

Khonang's comment indicated that Limbu speakers have a low level of awareness of their language, literature, and culture. His comment showed the gradual decline of Limbu and similar Indigenous languages from communities. Limbu speakers' lack of interest in their Limbu language poems provides a much clearer picture of how it is losing social existence. For example, Semi, a reader of Limbu poem, said:

There are Limbu poets who write in the Nepali language to become popular but they don't write in Limbu. Many Limbu people cannot read the script. There is a lack of awareness of the mother tongue in the Limbu community. Because of that, a lot of people can't read and write in their mother tongue. So, in my opinion, though the Facebook platform is suitable, Limbu people don't understand the importance of literature, culture, and tradition. There are not many readers for Limbu poems.

Other participants echoed that they saw Indigenous identity in crisis and the challenges of regaining it. Because the Indigenous languages have been excluded from education and administration for centuries, an individual effort such

as the Limbu poets' initiative in this study might not be adequate to revitalize the Indigenous languages and restore Indigenous identities. However, the poets in this study had a high level of motivation to reach out to maximum Limbu speakers with poems through Facebook, increase their awareness of Indigenous identities, and restore them.

Facebook as a Means of Restoring Limbu Language, Culture, and Literature

It was evident from interviews and observations that the Limbu people expressed their frustration and stress against the decline of social and cultural identities. At the same time, they showed their will to revive their declining identities through Facebook. For example, Limbu poets' Facebook wall showed their proactive engagement with poetic content where they frequently posted their poems in their mother language and commented on others' posts. They appreciated the interactive features of Facebook such as sharing, commenting, and tagging that allowed them to reach out to a wide range of readers across the world and promote the practice of writing poems in their Limbu language. Their expressions reflected their motivation of gaining space in the formal education for their Indigenous language and getting justice. For example, Sese, a poet, shared:

These Limbu folk poetic forms are not taught at any universities of the world but on Facebook, it is possible to study, share, and comment. Whatever I post on Facebook, I immediately get a reply which is not possible in the case of printed books. There is a tool to get a reply and interact with readers on Facebook. It is like a university.

He wished that the universities would have included the Limbu language in the curriculum and allowed people to learn about Limbu culture, values, and arts. Unfortunately, none of such languages is covered by the higher education curriculum. He, therefore, appreciated Facebook for being a source of sharing and learning Limbu poems. For example, Parajung, a reader of Limbu poems, said:

In a traditional way of publishing and producing books and magazines, readers get those things after long, but social media made it easy to read on their devices. As soon as they post something on social media, they get responses from the audience. From those responses, Limbu poets get a chance to improve their creations.

Parajung's expression reflected how Facebook became instrumental to promote the use of the Limbu language and contribute to restoring its declining

status. Because Facebook allowed Limbu poets to share their literature, particularly with the people from Limbu communities, the poets were, at some level, successful to attract many Limbu people to their poems, and increase the Limbu people's awareness of their Indigenous language, literature, and culture. Quick responses from readers helped Limbu poets improve their creations in their mother tongue and accelerate their initiative of reaching out to maximum readers across the world. None of the poets had the stress of the number of readers of their Limbu poems, although they were worried about how the speakers of the Limbu language are rapidly declining.

I interact with them. Some readers guess the meaning of my poems and others comment that they do not understand my words. Some complain that I use myths unknown to them. Many people may not know typical Limbu terms and phrases. (Sesephung, poet)

Sesephung's comment provided a picture of why many readers did not understand the typical poetic language of Limbu. The exclusion of the Limbu language from education and administration was probably one of the major causes that prevented Limbu people to learn the typical Limbu language, especially the poetic genre. Readers who could generally speak the Limbu language were probably just literate but not highly educated. For example, Sese, a poet said:

Discriminatory language policy has endangered many Indigenous languages including Limbu. For centuries, only Nepali [has been] used in administration and as a medium of instruction in education. Indigenous languages were excluded from education. Instead of promoting local languages, the government has allowed schools to use English as a medium of instruction. Although the recent constitution states the right to basic education in the mother tongue, it is yet to be implemented.

Future studies can further investigate how Limbu speakers' level of education plays a role in their understanding of Limbu poetic language. However, poets' comments indicated Limbu speakers' increasing engagement in the Limbu language. This suggests that Facebook became instrumental to increase Limbus' awareness of the Limbu language, culture, and literature.

When I post Nepali poems, I get likes and comments from Nepali language users. Some readers respond to me by messaging on Facebook messenger. Some readers give me the advice to publish those poems in the anthology. Some readers respond by calling me. (Pahang, poet)

Pahang sounded that Facebook significantly contributed to the promotion of Limbu poems which implied the preservation of the Limbu language. Especially live communication features such as comments and chat allowed both poets and readers to share their experiences and ideas about poems and their mother language. Both poets and readers expected that the people of their community would have channelled their practice of sharing ideas on Facebook to educational activities to promote the use of the Limbu language in daily communication.

As far as I see the likes and comments on Limbu poets' poems on Facebook, I think they are being inspired and praised to move ahead by the reader audience. Facebook readers seem to encourage them to create more and post more Limbu poems. I think Limbu poets get inspiration to keep on creating poems. My comments on their poems are taken positively by Limbu poets. (Niyara, Reader)

Niyara's comments provide a picture of how readers' responses energized Limbu poets to promote their Indigenous language through Facebook. In particular, their use of Facebook for sharing Limbu poems was found to be instrumental and that might have contributed to the Limbu community's initiative for restoring their Indigenous language, culture, and literature.

DISCUSSION

Findings suggest that Limbu poets' interest in publishing their Limbu poems on Facebook emerged from the motive of promoting the Limbu language. Limbu poets appreciated Facebook that it allowed them to share their poems and reach out to a large number of readers, which was not possible in the traditional way of publishing and printing books. Some poets reported that they intended to increase the number of readers by posting short poems which would be comfortable for readers to read. One of the readers observed that Limbu poets had an increasing readership and quick responses to their poems in the Limbu language on Facebook. Responses from readers enabled Limbu poets to improve their creations and increase the number of readers across the world. Limbu poets' initiative of using Facebook to share their poems in their Limbu language greatly contributed to the promotion of the Limbu language, literature, and cultural value. It was, to some extent, consistent with the findings of Bigelow and colleagues (2017) in the United States, a different context, that the use of social media in language classrooms enabled students to develop culturally and linguistically rich content for global audiences.

Mainstream education is based on either Nepali or English or both languages although students have the right to education in their mother tongue (Rana, 2018). Some studies (Phyak, 2013; Sah, 2020) suggest ensuring the implementation of mother-tongue-based education to promote the use of local

languages and ease teaching and learning in students' mother tongues. However, the exclusion of Indigenous languages from education and administration (Rana & Sah, forthcoming) has alienated those languages from many Indigenous families and made it difficult to preserve them as Indigenous identities. Thus, Facebook can be a platform for identity construction (Ditchfield, 2020) and the development of Indigenous people's awareness of their language, literature, and culture.

Connecting many Limbu people scattered across the world, however, seemed to be a challenging job for Limbu poets. Also, many Limbu descendants might have lost their family language because of the Nepali language (Phyak, 2019). It was evident from interviews that the majority of Facebook users were more comfortable reading poems in Nepali and English than in Limbu. Moreover, poems in the Nepali language received more comments than poems in Limbu. It has happened because the population of Limbu language users is far less than Nepali speakers. In addition, many people could not read Sirijunga script although Limbu poets preferred to use their unique script on social media to promote their language. However, one of the readers observed that only a few poems in Sirijunga script appeared on his Facebook wall. Readers appreciated interaction in their Sirijunga script on Facebook. One of the poets, however, expressed his frustration that most of the elite Limbu people did not show any interest in his poems. Limited comments on Limbu script poems indicate the gradual decline of the Limbu language from the communities. Poets and readers' experiences indicated that Nepali and English, the dominant languages on social media, influenced Limbu, a marginalized Indigenous language. The discriminatory language policy that excluded Indigenous languages from education and administration (Sharma & Phyak, 2017) might have jeopardized the Limbu language. In this situation, Igboanusi and Peter (2004) suggest maximizing the use of Indigenous languages in common communication to revive the endangered languages.

It was evident from interviews and observations that the online communication feature of Facebook played a significant role to promote and preserve the Limbu language. Communicative features such as like, share, tag, and group on Facebook, however, enabled Limbu poets to interact with a large number of readers. Poets, thus, appreciated the interactive features on Facebook which enabled them to engage in communication with readers. Some readers observed that Limbu poets were motivated by immediate responses to their poems on Facebook. Poets received an increasing number of comments following their regular posts of Limbu poems on Facebook. It indicated how the number of readers of Limbu poetry on Facebook was increasing. It reminded the findings of Honeycutt and Cunliffe (2010) in Wales that Facebook significantly increased the use of Welsh which gradually came to be a language of common communication. Although the interactions in the Limbu language on Facebook indicated the increasing use of the language, it was not visible whether Limbu speakers increased the use of their Indigenous language in their daily communication.

Limbu poets, however, were aware of the capacity of social media to reach many people across the world. They were striving to promote their language and use it on social media. Limbu poets and their readers were found engaged in interaction in their language. They were introducing their identical script to their readers from the Limbu community. However, the use of the Limbu language was less than the Nepali and English languages on Facebook. This account of experiences indicated that the minority of Limbu speakers were compelled to use their mother tongue and another dominant language on social media. This finds a resonance in the findings of Shafie and Nayan (2013) in Malaysia, a different context, that, although the Bahasa language was used as a base language on Facebook walls, English words were frequently mixed in writings. It indicates a threat from dominant languages such as Nepali to many Indigenous languages including Limbu that are seeking cultural restoration in Nepal.

Limbu poets, therefore, expressed their frustration that they had limited Limbu speakers. Most users were indifferent toward creative writing in their mother language. Limbu poets had a belief that they were found underrated and ignored by many Facebook users. It indicated that Limbu poetry received a low level of readers' attention on Facebook. It, to some extent, resonates with the findings of Androutsopoulos (2015) who reported that readers always have the flexibility to choose their comfortable language to communicate on social media which determines the promotion of the diversity of cultural discourses. The findings of the present study suggest that many Facebook users, albeit they were from Limbu communities and could speak their Indigenous language, probably had a low level of awareness of their language value or were uninterested in their community language. Limbu poets expressed their frustration that they were unable to get a highly motivating environment on Facebook for writers and their creative writing in the Limbu language. Although findings showed the Limbu people's increasing awareness of their language, literature, and culture following the poets' poems and comments on them, the poets expressed their dissatisfaction with the level of Limbu speakers' awareness of their Indigenous identities. They perceived that the level of effort they applied to restore the Limbu language, literature, and culture through Facebook was inadequate. They probably needed to explore a much more innovative way of using Facebook not only for sharing poems and replying to readers' comments but also for increasing Limbu speakers' understanding of their social and cultural identities and participating in their initiative. It might help them achieve similar to the findings of Velázquez (2017) in Spain who found that Spanish people preferred to use Spanish on social media to promote their language and culture. The organized effort of using Facebook would help promote minority languages (Cunliffe, 2019). Limbu poets in this study had a low level of expectation that Facebook would help preserve their Indigenous language as an identity. It indicates the challenges of preserving the Limbu language and its creative poetic arts. However, the participants in this study

had a motivation to explore more innovative ideas of utilizing Facebook to develop an organized effort to promote their Indigenous language, literature, and culture.

CONCLUSION

Limbu poets' use of Facebook for sharing poems in the Limbu language was expected to promote their Limbu language, literature, and cultural value. Their initiatives attracted readers from across the world and there was an increasing number of readers of their poems on Facebook. They received quick responses from readers, and it motivated them to share more poems on Facebook. However, although they had many Limbu speakers connected on Facebook, only a few people actively engaged in poems and commented on them. In this process, the online communication features of Facebook played a significant role for Limbu poets to shape their poetry and engage with readers. Communicative features of Facebook enabled Limbu poets to reach many readers across the world. The language feature of Facebook allowed them to introduce and create poems in their Sirijunga Limbu script and communicate with their readers on Facebook. However, the users of the Limbu language were compelled to use the Limbu language and another dominant language – Nepali or English – on Facebook. Unfortunately, Limbu, an Indigenous language, received far less response than the Nepali language from readers.

Because the Limbu language is excluded from education and administration for centuries, it has lost its formal status with the decline of its users. While Nepali and English are dominantly used on social media including Facebook, the Limbu language occupied very limited space on Facebook. However, Limbu poets consistently raised their voice through poems to promote their Indigenous language, literature, and culture. Nevertheless, they had frustration following the low-level participation of Limbu speakers in their poems on Facebook. Many Limbu speakers probably had a low level of awareness of their language which prevented them from extensively using their language in communication on Facebook. It indicated the gradual decline of Limbu speakers and their language. In particular, the Limbu language, one of the endangered languages in Nepal, may die if it is not timely promoted in education or so. It suggests including Indigenous languages in education for restorative justice.

Finally, this study included a limited number of participants who were only identified as male, because we were unable to recruit female participants. Data from a more diverse sample of participants across more districts of Nepal and Sikkim may help generate much more powerful findings.

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank all the participants in the study and acknowledge that the study was conducted in the original lands of the Limbu people.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

We have received no funding from any organization.

REFERENCES

- Ali, A., Wang, H., & Khan, A. N. (2019). Mechanism to enhance team creative performance through social media: A transactive memory system approach. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *91*, 115-126. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2018.09.033>
- Al-Jarf, R. (2015). Discourse and creativity issues in EFL creative writing on Facebook. *International Journal of Signs and Semiotic Systems (IJSSS)*, *4*(1), 54-81. <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-5622-0.ch001>
- Al-Jarf, R. (2018). Exploring discourse and creativity in Facebook creative writing by non-native speakers. In M. Danesi (Ed.), *Empirical research on semiotics and visual rhetoric* (pp. 1-31). IGI Global. <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-5622-0.ch001>
- Alsaggaf, R. M. (2015). *Identity construction and social capital: A qualitative study of the use of Facebook by Saudi women* [Doctoral thesis, University of Leicester]. England. <https://leicester.figshare.com/account/articles/10160807>
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2015). Networked multilingualism: Some language practices on Facebook and their implications. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, *19*(2), 185-205. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006913489198>
- Aydin, S. (2012). A review of research on Facebook as an educational environment. *Educational Technology Research and Development*, *60*(6), 1093-1106. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11423-012-9260-7>
- Bareket-Bojmel, L., Moran, S., & Shahar, G. (2016). Strategic self-presentation on Facebook: Personal motives and audience response to online behavior. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *55*, 788-795. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.10.033>
- Belmar, G., & Glass, M. (2019). Virtual communities as breathing spaces for minority languages: Re-framing minority language use in social media. *Adeptus* (14). <https://doi.org/10.11649/a.1968>
- Bigelow, M., Vanek, J., King, K., & Abdi, N. (2017). Literacy as social (media) practice: Refugee youth and native language literacy at school. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *60*, 183-197. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.04.002>
- Brake, D. R. (2012). Who do they think they're talking to? Framings of the audience by social media users. *International Journal of Communication*, *6*, 1056-1076. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/932/747>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>

- Capua, I. D. (2012). A literature review of research on Facebook use. *The Open Communication Journal*, 6(1). <https://doi.org/10.2174/1874916X01206010037>
- Carpenter, J. P., & Krutka, D. G. (2015). Engagement through microblogging: Educator professional development via Twitter. *Professional Development in Education*, 41(4), 707-728. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19415257.2014.939294>
- Chai, J., & Fan, K. (2017). Constructing creativity: Social media and creative expression in design education. *Eurasia Journal of Mathematics, Science and Technology Education*, 14(1), 33-43. <https://doi.org/10.12973/ejmste/79321>
- Cru, J. (2015). Language revitalisation from the ground up: Promoting Yucatec Maya on Facebook. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 36(3), 284-296. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2014.921184>
- Cunliffe, D. (2019). Minority languages and social media. In G. Hogan-Brun & B. O'Rourke (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of minority languages and communities* (pp. 451-480). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54066-9_18
- Dayter, D. (2015). Small stories and extended narratives on Twitter. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 10, 19-26. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2015.05.003>
- DePew, K. E. (2011). Social media at academia's periphery: Studying multilingual developmental writers' Facebook composing strategies. *Reading Matrix: An International Online Journal*, 11(1), 54-75. https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/english_fac_pubs/29
- Deschene, D. N. (2019). Coptic language learning and social media. *Languages*, 4(3), 73. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages4030073>
- Ditchfield, H. (2020). Behind the screen of Facebook: Identity construction in the rehearsal stage of online interaction. *New Media & Society*, 22(6), 927-943. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819873644>
- Ferré-Pavia, C., Zabaleta, I., Gutierrez, A., Fernandez-Astobiza, I., & Xamardo, N. (2018). Internet and social media in European minority languages: Analysis of the digitalization process. *International Journal of Communication*, 12, 1065-1086. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/7464/2285>
- Flew, T. (2018). Social media and the cultural and creative industries. In J. Burgess, A. Marwick, & T. Poell (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of social media*. Sage.
- Giri, P. C., & Rana, K. (2022). Lessons learned from teaching English through Facebook Live for future. *International Journal of Technology in Education and Science (IJTES)*, 6(1), 14-31. <https://doi.org/10.46328/ijtes.309>
- Gonzalez-Polledo, E., & Tarr, J. (2016). The thing about pain: The remaking of illness narratives in chronic pain expressions on social media. *New Media & Society*, 18(8), 1455-1472. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814560126>
- Gündüz, U. (2017). The effect of social media on identity construction. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 8(5), 85-85. <https://doi.org/10.36941/mjss>
- Guta, H., & Karolak, M. (2015). Veiling and blogging: Social media as sites of identity negotiation and expression among Saudi women. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 16(2), 115-127. <http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol16/iss2/7>
- Hanusch, F., & Tandoc, E. C. (2019). Comments, analytics, and social media: The impact of audience feedback on journalists' market orientation. *Journalism*, 20(6), 695-713. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917720305>

- Honeycutt, C., & Cunliffe, D. (2010). The use of the Welsh language on Facebook: An initial investigation. *Information, Communication & Society*, 13(2), 226-248. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691180902914628>
- Hutchinson, A. (2020). Facebook closes in on new milestone of 3 billion total users across its platforms. *Social Media Today*. <https://about.fb.com/company-info/>
- Igboanusi, H., & Peter, L. (2004). Oppressing the oppressed: The threats of Hausa and English to Nigeria's minority languages. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2004(170), 131-140. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.2004.2004.170.131>
- Jeon, L., & Mauney, S. (2014). "As much as I love you, I'll never get you to understand": Political discourse and 'face' work on Facebook. Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Symposium about Language and Society-Austin, Rice University, USA.
- Jongbloed-Faber, L., Van de Velde, H., Van der Meer, C., & Klinkenberg, E. (2016). Language use of Frisian bilingual teenagers on social media. *Treballs de sociolingüística catalana*, 27-54. <https://raco.cat/index.php/TSC/article/view/316429>
- Jongbloed-Faber, L., van Loo, J., & Cornips, L. (2017). Regional languages on Twitter: A comparative study between Frisian and Limburgish. *Dutch Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 6(2), 174-196. <https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011501100105>
- Kavakci, E., & Kraepelin, C. R. (2016). Religious beings in fashionable bodies: The online identity construction of hijabi social media personalities. *Media, Culture & Society*, 39(6), 850-868. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443716679031>
- Keegan, T. T., Mato, P., & Ruru, S. (2015). Using Twitter in an Indigenous language: An analysis of Te Reo Māori tweets. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 11(1), 59-75. <https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011501100105>
- Khabarhub (2022). Six new languages added to the list of languages spoken in Nepal: Number of languages spoken in Nepal reaches 129. <https://english.khabarhub.com/2019/05/53137/>
- Kosinski, M., Matz, S. C., Gosling, S. D., Popov, V., & Stillwell, D. (2015). Facebook as a research tool for the social sciences: Opportunities, challenges, ethical considerations, and practical guidelines. *American Psychologist*, 70(6), 543. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039210>
- Kuss, D. J., & Griffiths, M. D. (2017). Social networking sites and addiction: Ten lessons learned. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 14(3), 311. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph14030311>
- Lee, M. (2018). Navigating the social media space for Māori and Indigenous communities. In I. Piven, R. Gandell, M. Lee, & A. M. Simpson (Eds.), *Global perspectives on social media in tertiary learning and teaching: Emerging research and opportunities* (pp. 51-71). IGI Global. <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-5826-2.ch003>
- Li, Q., Guo, X., Bai, X., & Xu, W. (2018). Investigating microblogging addiction tendency through the lens of uses and gratifications theory. *Internet Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IntR-03-2017-0092>
- Li, X., & Duan, B. (2018). Organizational microblogging for event marketing: A new approach to creative placemaking. *International Journal of Urban Sciences*, 22(1), 59-79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/12265934.2017.134315>

- Lindgren, S., & Cocq, C. (2017). Turning the inside out: Social media and the broadcasting of Indigenous discourse. *European Journal of Communication*, 32(2), 131-150. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323116674112>
- Liu, Z., Min, Q., Zhai, Q., & Smyth, R. (2016). Self-disclosure in Chinese micro-blogging: A social exchange theory perspective. *Information & Management*, 53(1), 53-63. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.im.2015.08.006>
- Marchukov, A. (2016). Promoting culture abroad: The experience of Germany and Japan in the field of cultural diplomacy. *Journal of Philological, Educational and Cultural Studies*, 1(2). <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/promoting-culture-abroad-the-experience-of-germany-and-japan-in-the-field-of-cultural-diplomacy>
- McDaniel, B. T., Coyne, S. M., & Holmes, E. K. (2012). New mothers and media use: Associations between blogging, social networking, and maternal well-being. *Maternal and Child Health Journal*, 16(7), 1509-1517. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10995-011-0918-2>
- McMonagle, S., Cunliffe, D., Jongbloed-Faber, L., & Jarvis, P. (2019). What can hashtags tell us about minority languages on Twitter? A comparison of cymraeg, frysk, and gaeilge. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 40(1), 32-49. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2018.1465429>
- Meikle, G. (2016). *Social media: Communication, sharing and visibility*. Routledge.
- Miller, G. (2016). Social media and creative motivation. In R. Garner (Ed.), *Digital Art Therapy: Material, Methods, and Applications* (pp. 40-53). Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Outakoski, H., Cocq, C., & Steggo, P. (2018). Strengthening Indigenous languages in the digital age: Social media-supported learning in Sápmi. *Media International Australia*, 169(1), 21-31. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X18803700>
- Page, R. (2010). Re-examining narrativity: Small stories in status updates. *Text & Talk*, 30(4), 423-444. <https://doi.org/10.1515/text.2010.021>
- Phyak, P. (2013). Language ideologies and local languages as the medium-of-instruction policy: A critical ethnography of a multilingual school in Nepal. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 14(1), 127-143. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2013.775557>
- Phyak, P. (2015). (En)countering language ideologies: Language policing in the ideospace of Facebook. *Language Policy*, 14(4), 377-395. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-014-9350-y>
- Phyak, P. (2019). Transformation from the bottom up: Ideological analysis with Indigenous youth and language policy justice in Nepal. In T. L. McCarty, S. E. Nicholas, & G. Wigglesworth (Eds.), *A world of Indigenous languages: Politics, pedagogies and prospects for language reclamation* (pp. 194-213). Multilingual Matters. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781788923071-013>
- Pischlöger, C. (2016). Udmurt on social network sites: A comparison with the Welsh case. In R. Toivanen & J. Saarikivi (Eds.), *Linguistic Genocide or Superdiversity* (pp. 108-132). <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783096060-006>
- Rahmah, R. E. (2018). *Quickgram for facilitating the students' creative writing tasks*. 2nd English Language and Literature International Conference (ELLiC) Proceedings, Indonesia. <https://jurnal.unimus.ac.id/index.php/ELLIC/article/view/3533/3348>

- Rana, K. (2018). Retention of English language tension in multilingual communities of Nepal: A review of teachers' narratives. *Journal of NELTA*, 23(1-2), 40-53. <https://10.3126/nelta.v23i1-2.23347>
- Rana, K. (2022). How teachers developed remote learning during the Covid-19 crisis: What can we learn from rural teachers in Nepal? In M. Hammond (Ed.), *Supporting remote teaching and learning in developing countries: From the global to the local* (pp. 48-61). British Council. https://www.britishcouncil.org.np/sites/default/files/teaching_learning_book.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3QxkAFWmZT7hxYi4ES2gzQMPinajhyh1un2mcQy50vRzmFjRTQlxb5rVk
- Rana, K., & Sah, P. K. (forthcoming). English as a medium of instruction policy in Nepal's higher education. In P. K. Sah & G. Fang (Eds.), *English Medium Instruction in Asian Universities: Policies, Politics, and Ideologies*. Routledge.
- Rasheed, M. I., Malik, M. J., Pitafi, A. H., Iqbal, J., Anser, M. K., & Abbas, M. (2020). Usage of social media, student engagement, and creativity: The role of knowledge sharing behavior and cyberbullying. *Computers & Education*, 159, 104002. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2020.104002>
- Ratten, V. (2017). Social media innovations and creativity. In A. Brem & E. Viardot (Eds.), *Revolution of innovation management* (pp. 199-220). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-57475-6_8
- Rice, E. S., Haynes, E., Royce, P., & Thompson, S. C. (2016). Social media and digital technology use among Indigenous young people in Australia: A literature review. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 15(1), 81. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-016-0366-0>
- Sah, P. K. (2020). English medium instruction in South Asian's multilingual schools: unpacking the dynamics of ideological orientations, policy/practices, and democratic questions. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2020.1718591>
- Sauter, T. (2014). What's on your mind? Writing on Facebook as a tool for self-formation. *New Media & Society*, 16(5), 823-839. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1461444813495160>
- Shafie, L. A., & Nayan, S. (2013). Languages, code-switching practice and primary functions of Facebook among university students. *Study in English Language Teaching*, 1(1), 187-199.
- Sharma, B. K. (2012). Beyond social networking: Performing global Englishes in Facebook by college youth in Nepal 1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 16(4), 483-509. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2012.00544.x>
- Sharma, B. K., & Phyak, P. (2017). Neoliberalism, linguistic commodification, and ethnolinguistic identity in multilingual Nepal. *Language in Society*, 46(2), 231-256. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404517000045>
- Shlezak, A. (2015). The narrative discourse in Facebook electronic communication. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 209, 476-483. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.11.259>
- Stern, A. J. (2017). How Facebook can revitalise local languages: Lessons from Bali. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 38(9), 788-796. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2016.1267737>

- Velázquez, I. (2017). Reported literacy, media consumption and social media use as measures of relevance of Spanish as a heritage language. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 21(1), 21-33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006915596377>
- Waitoa, J., Scheyvens, R., & Warren, T. R. (2015). E-whanaungatanga: The role of social media in Māori political empowerment. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 11(1), 45-58. <https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011501100104>
- Wiggers, H. (2017). Digital divide: Low German and other minority languages. *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*, 8(2), 130-142. <https://doi.org/10.7575/aiac.all.v.8n.2p.130>
- Wu, Y., Li, E. Y., & Chang, W. (2016). Nurturing user creative performance in social media networks. *Internet Research*, 26(4), 869-900. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IntR-10-2014-0239>
- Wyburn, J. (2018). Media pressures on Welsh language preservation. *The Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, 42(1), 37-46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0022250X.2017.1396984>
- Zhang, Y., & Ren, W. (2020). ‘This is so skrrrrr’—creative translanguaging by Chinese micro-blogging users. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2020.1753746>
-

DIG DHOJ LAWATI is an MPhil scholar in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Education, Nepal Open University, Nepal. His major research interests lie in the area of minority language use in social media, decolonization, post-colonialism, and Indigenous studies. Email: hilihanglawati@gmail.com.

KARNA RANA, PhD, is an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Education, Nepal Open University, Nepal. His areas of research interest are online learning, digital technology and education, ICT and education policy, e-based learning, social media in education, language teaching and policy, Indigenous studies, multilingualism and mother-tongue-based education. Email: karnabdr@gmail.com.

Manuscript submitted: August 17, 2021

Manuscript revised: November 4, 2021

Accepted for publication: February 4, 2022