

The Kshetteli Language: Sociolinguistic and Linguistic Situation & Some Strategies for Its Preservation

Prof. Dr. Dan Raj Regmi

Central Department of Linguistics, T.U

danrajregmi8@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper briefly introduces the current sociolinguistic and linguistic situation of the Kshetteli language and suggests some strategies for its preservation. Kshetteli, a Tibeto-Burman language, is spoken by only four speakers residing in Jhusku, Salli and Khatti villages of Apihimal Rural Municipality of Darchula district of Nepal. This language, which was recently discovered, is used merely in the limited domains of language use. Only some sociolinguistic and linguistic features (viz. some vocabularies and grammatical features) of the language have been scantily recorded by personal and institutional efforts. Named after the Kshetti village, it was exclusively spoken by Bohara in the bygone days. Later, it was spoken as a common tongue by Bohara, Dhami, Rokaya, Manyal and Atyal. Now-a-days, Kshetteli has been considered as one of backbones of identity of the municipality as well. Many linguistic features have been lost and shifted to Nepali or other local dominant language. Sociolinguistically, this is a critically endangered language (viz., vitality level 8b) as it is spoken by only the people of grandparent generation. Thus, appropriate to the current vitality level, some community-based language development strategies like identification and restoration of historical links, top-down and down-up integration, language revitalization, radio programs and mother/child language programs and establishment of language learning center including the local language policy need to be developed in collaboration of local government, community, community organizations, experts and national and international agencies immediately for its preservation.

Keywords: Nomenclature, Language vitality, Language attitude, Basic words, Moribund

Background

This paper briefly introduces the current sociolinguistic and linguistic situation of the Kshetteli language and suggests some strategies for its preservation. Kshetteli is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by only four speakers of grandparent generation residing in Jhusku, Salli and Khatti villages of Apihimal Rural Municipality of Darchula district of Nepal. In a

multilingual and multiethnic country like Nepal diverse indigenous communities have been using different languages and their dialects in different times and situations. However, they have not yet been judiciously recorded by the censuses of Nepal. Neither is Nepal ready to conduct ethno-linguistic survey. Linguistic assimilation ideology still persists in Nepal. Consequently, many ethno-linguistic communities like Kshetteli have almost ceased speaking their mother tongues. They have been shifted towards Nepali or local dominant languages. After the formation of Language Commission, some attempts have been made to identify such languages in Nepal. Kshetteli is the ninth recently identified language of Nepal by Language Commission. The eight languages were already identified by the Language Commission (Language Commission, 2077 BS). A very little information is available about this language. Bohara (2073BS) provides some information about lexicon and grammatical features. Regmi et al. (2081 BS) briefly discusses some major morphological and syntactic features. However, no attempt has been made to describe the current sociolinguistic and linguistic situation and suggest strategies appropriate to the current vitality level of the language. In this context, this paper, attempts to address the following four major research questions:

- (a) What are the major sociolinguistic features of the Kshetteli language?
- (b) What are the major linguistic features of this language?
- (c) What are attitudes and aspirations of the people towards this language?
- (d) What are the strategies appropriate to the current vitality level of the language?

This paper is organized into seven sections. Section 1 has provided the background information. In Section 2, research methodology used in this study has been presented whereas in Section 3, some major socio-linguistic features of the Kshetteli language have been discussed. Section 4 deals with the linguistic state of affairs of the language. Section 5 discusses the efforts to preserve this language. Section 6 discusses the strategies required for the preservation and development of the language. Section 7 presents the conclusion of the paper.

Research Methodology

The main research problem of this paper is to identify the current sociolinguistic and linguistic situation of the Kshetteli language and suggest strategies appropriate to its current vitality level. To address this problem, this paper has employed the descriptive research method. It has used both primary and secondary data. In order to collect primary data (both qualitative and quantitative data), mainly observation and surveys tools have been used. It has also used related published works as the secondary data. Besides, Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) model proposed by Lewis and Simons (2010) has been used for assessing the vitality of the languages of Nepal including Kshetteli. While suggesting appropriate strategies Sustainable Use Model (SUM) proposed in Lewis and Simons (2017) has been taken into consideration.

Sociolinguistic Situation

The Interim Constitution, 2007 for the first times recognized all mother tongues spoken in Nepal as languages of the nation. Constitution of Nepal, 2015 has identified Nepal as a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-cultural country and has resolved to build an

egalitarian society based on the principles of socialism, inclusion and equity. All the mother tongues spoken in Nepal have been strongly reconfirmed as the languages of the nation. Article (32) of the constitution has granted every Nepali community living in Nepal the right to promote and protect their language, script, culture, cultural civilization and heritage. The constitution seems to be very liberal about linguistic rights. However, due to the lack of framing a multilingual policy at the national level, Nepal seems to be lagging far behind in ensuring linguistic rights in practice. As a result, many languages and dialects like Kshetteli in Nepal are losing their identity. Languages that originated in the soil of Nepal like Kshetteli are turned to be critically endangered. However, Kshetteli exhibits some sociolinguistically interesting features. They are briefly discussed as follows:

Nomenclature

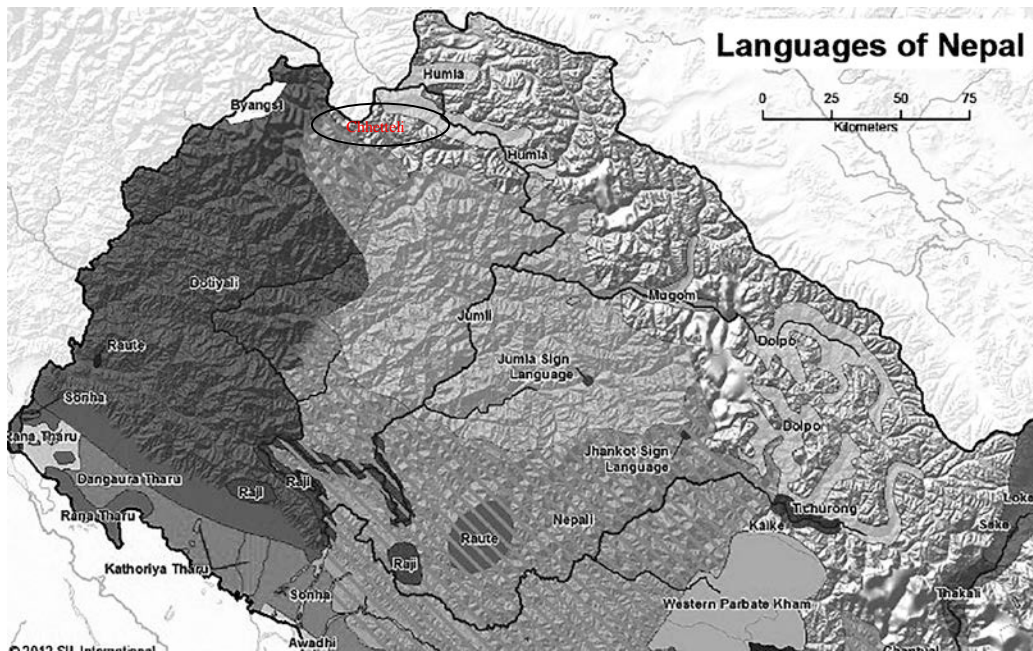
Most of the languages spoken by the indigenous communities in Nepal are named after castes/ethnicities. Languages like Magar, Gurung, Bhujel, Tamang, Thakali, Sherpa, Rajbansi, Dhimal and Tharu are named after certain ethnicities. The languages spoken by the Rai community in Nepal are also named after the various sub-groups within the Rai. Languages such as Dotyali, Bajhangi, Bajureli and Darchuleli are found to be named after a particular geography instead of a particular caste or ethnicity. The Kshetteli language is named after a particular geography referred to as Kshetti. It is the last village of Apihimal Rural Municipality. The village is close to another village called Ghazir. According to Bohora (2073:2), in the beginning this village was inhabited by an ethnicity named Letyauli. This ethnicity was considered as lower in terms of social stratum. In course of time, some people belonging to Shahi Thakuri (viz., a higher caste presumably speaking Nepali or dialects of Nepali) came to live in this village. They got married to girls from the Letyauli community. As they were married to the women of lower caste/ ethnicity, they began to be called Bohara. As time passed, they too began to learn the language spoken by the Latyal. They were ethnically and linguistically assimilated to Latyal. However, they came to form a new linguistic community. The language was named after the same village. Due to the regular contact, they have been fully shifted to Darchuleli and Nepali, Indo-Aryan languages. It has been informed that this language has been almost stopped being spoken for about last sixty years.

Alternate Names

Kshetteli is a language of multi-ethnicities consisting of Bohara, Dhami, Rokaya and Atyal. The villages where this language was spoken for a long time as mother tongue are located in the foothills of the Api Himalaya. They were located in a geographically remote and inhospitable area. Consequently, they could not meet other speakers for a long time. Even now some people including local political leaders have argued that the name of the rural municipality should be identified as Maldesh rural municipality and the Kshetteli language should be natively referred to as the Maldesh language. Hence, the alternative name of this language may be assumed to be the Maldesh language.

Geolinguistic Situation

At present, this language is spoken by the people residing mainly in Ward No. 3 and 4 of Apihim Rural Municipality in Darchula district of Nepal. It is roughly located in 29.8154° N and 80.8478° E. The elevation of the villages where the speakers of the Kshetteli language are residing ranges from 1700 to 2400 meters. Map 1 presents the core area (within a circle) where Kshetteli is spoken (Regmi, 2022).



Map 1: The core area in Far-Western Province where Kshetteli is spoken

Ethnolinguistic Situation

There is a deep connection between caste/ethnicity and language. Language is taken as a social object. People exchange ideas through language. Language is also the backbone of ethnic identity. Language is also considered a carrier of culture and civilization. It is also considered as a source of power. Language is essential for communication and interaction within the community. In the beginning, the native speakers of the Kshetteli language were Latyauli, but later it became the mother tongues of Bohora, then Dhami, Atyal and Manyal. In the latter days, it became the language of all the people of this region. Bohora and Dhami, who live in this region with their own customs, rituals and traditions, have been informed following the Hindu culture and tradition. The people are involved in agriculture, business and trade. They grow corn, wheat, millet, rice, beans, cauliflowers, cabbage etc. Photograph 1 shows the geographical situation of the major villages (viz., Jhusku, Salli and Khatti) where the language speakers mainly reside.



Photograph 1: Geographical situation of the major villages where the language speakers mainly reside

Genetic Classification

Based upon the preliminary comparison with the neighbouring languages, Kshetteli has been found to be genetically close to Byansi and Dhuleli. It is presumably a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal. It is a member of the Western Himalayish subdivision under the Himalayish division. Figure 1 presents the genetic classification of the language among other Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal (Regmi, 2079BS).

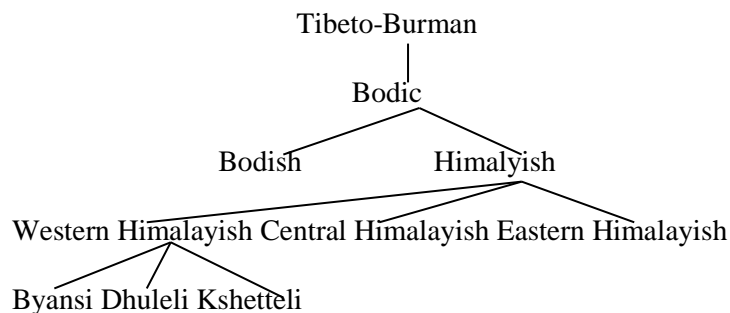


Figure 1: Position of Kshetteli among other Tibeto-Burman languages

Language Vitality

Language as a living thing has its own ecosystem. Language is born, grows and thrives in the favorable environment. In adverse conditions, it becomes weak and even dies. In the process of dying or weakening, first the sentences and then the phrases, words and sounds disappear. Many languages are on the verge of extinction in Nepal due to migration, inter-

marriages, linguistic and ethnic assimilation policy of the nation.¹ However, there has not yet been made detailed analysis of the language vitality of the languages of Nepal.² Now, there are 124 mother tongues in Nepal (National Statistics Office, 2023). Regmi (2023) presents a preliminary analysis of the language vitality of the languages of Nepal enumerated in the 2021 Census based employing Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale model proposed by Lewis and Simons (2010). Table 1 presents an assessment of the vitality of the languages based on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale model proposed by Lewis and Simons (2010).

Table 1
Vitality of the mother tongues in Nepal

LEVEL	LABEL	NO. OF LANGUAGES	100%	REMARKS (UNESCO)
0	INTERNATIONAL	1	0.8%	Safe
1	NATIONAL	1	0.8%	Safe
2	PROVINCIAL	3	2.4%	Safe
3	WIDER COMMUNICATION	-	-	-
4	EDUCATIONAL	7	5.6%	Safe
5	DEVELOPING	7	5.6%	Safe
6A	VIGOROUS	40	32.3%	Safe
6B	THREATENED	46	37.1%	Vulnerable
7	SHIFTING	11	8.9%	Definitely Endangered
8A	MORIBUND	2	1.6%	Severely Endangered
8B	NEARLY EXTINCT	4	3.2%	Critically Endangered
9	DORMANT	1	0.8%	Extinct
10	EXTINCT	1	0.8%	Extinct
		124	100%	

Table 1 presents an appalling situation of vitality enumerated in the 2021 census and declares that 47.6% mother tongues are safe and 52.4% mother tongues are facing different labels of language endangerment in Nepal. As mentioned before, there are now only four speakers of grandparent generation in Kshetteli including Mr. Man Singh Bohara (96), Mr. Tula

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- 1 Indigenous language communities were deliberately minoritized by the language policy based on monolingual ideology (one nation, one language) taken up before the reinstate of democracy in 1990.
 - 2 Regmi (2021b) presents a preliminary analysis of the language vitality of the languages of Nepal enumerated in the 2011 Census based on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale model proposed by Lewis and Simons (2010).

Singh Bohara (88), Mrs. Laxima Atyal (86) and Manira Dhama (86). They can communicate with each other in a limited way. While assessing the vitality level using this Scale, the Kshetteli language is rightly awarded the vitality level indicated by 8b and labeled as nearly extinct. UNESCO has categorized such languages as critically endangered. In such languages, the only remaining speakers represent the grandparent generation or older. Moreover, such speakers have a little opportunity to use their language. Photograph 2 presents the speakers of the Kshetteli language at present.



Photograph 2: (From left) Laxima Atyal, Manira Dhama, Tula Singh Bohara and Man Singh Bohara

Language Attitude

Due to the language assimilation policy of the nation, Kshetteli people are speaking Darchuleli and Nepali language instead of their mother tongue. However, all the people of the community consider the Kshetteli language as the backbone of their identity and have a positive attitude towards this language. The local bodies have also been pressurized to make the language taught in the primary schools. Attempts have also been made to prepare textbooks. Photograph 3 shows their willingness to welcome the institutions and experts to work on their critically endangered language.



Photograph 3: (From left, front) Tula Singh Bohara, Lal Bahadur Bohara, Prof. Dr. Dan Raj Regmi, Ramesh Prasad Bhattarai, Surya Prasad Bhattarai and Man Singh Bohara. (Behind) four ladies with their traditional dress and ornaments

Multilingualism

All the people of this community have been speaking the local language, viz., Darchuleli since their childhood. Apart from Darchuleli everyone fluently speaks Nepali, the official language of Nepal. Apart from that everyone also understands Dotyali and Hindi. At schools, children also learn English as a subject.

Aspiration for Language Development

The people of this community want to teach the Kshetteli language as a subject in school. There is a demand from the community that this language should be officially recognized. There is a big aspiration of the community to create a dictionary, write grammar and develop the script and bring the language into written form. They demand that their language should be preserved by the local and federal government. Photographs 4 present two old women, Mrs. Laxima Atyal and Mrs. Manira Dhami in between Mr. Sher Singh Dhami and Mr. Lal Bahadur Bohara demanding for the preservation of their language before their death.



Photograph 4: (From left) Sher Singh Dhami, Laxima Atyal, Manira Dhami and Lal Bahadur Bohara

Linguistic Situation

Kshetteli is a critically endangered language. However, it still contains some basic words along with some phonological, morphological and syntactic features. They are briefly presented as follows:

Basic words

About 700 basic words with their meaning in Nepali were listed in Bohara (2073BS). Later, in Bohara (2079 BS) around 1230 words with their meaning in Nepali and pronunciation in IPA (International Phonetic Alphabets) have been recorded by using Ontology³. In Regmi et al. (2081BS) around two hundred new words have been added to the previous word list. Now, the basic words in the languages amount to around 1430. These words roughly exhibit different categories (Bohara, 2073BS; Bohara, 2079BS).

³ It is a guide for collecting words in an undescribed language.

(a) **Kinship terms and organs of the human body**

kərou	‘grandfather’	amma	‘mother’,	posemba	‘male’,
mitshina	‘daughter’	or	‘head’	kuṇ	‘hand’
kun	‘ear’	aṇ	‘tooth’	misu	‘eye’,
li	‘stool’	niku	‘knee’	nisu’	‘forehead’
Linaga	‘anus’,	baphulənuhu’	‘testicle’	bətsu	‘younger brother’
Bhau	‘wife of husband’s younger brother’	min	‘younger sister’		

(b) **Food and utensils**

Bjam	‘rice’	kaâ	‘vegetable’	bətti	‘butter milk’
khoda	‘walnut’	thi	‘water’	kəseṇi	‘small water jug’
Im	‘fried food’				

(c) **Names of crops, grains and tools**

khōr	‘plough’	rinka	‘blade/furrow’	gu	‘land’
Ik	‘banko’	sjam,	‘paddy’	Tsuṇkhu	‘okhal’,
Sek	‘sickle’	Sjak	‘basket’		

(d) **Domestic and other livestock**

Dum	‘male lophophorus’	duməni	‘female lophophorus’	tshəwa	‘frog’
Ga	‘ox’	phu	‘cow’	tshamtshjal	‘sheep’
se	‘domestic deer’	ra	‘thar’	Dam	‘young male calf’
naməna	‘snake’	gəmdum	‘rabbit’	sen	‘mouse’
Phaṇ	‘wild boar’	gə	‘a kind of monkey’	bəhutitho	‘bear’,
kunəma	‘mongoose’	mwamu	‘munal’	Mamu	‘lizard’
sjago	‘porcupine’				

(e) **Names of grass, firewood and other woods**

Sin	‘firewood’	tshar	‘grass’	Dzug	‘green grass’
khumwi	‘pine’	bara	‘nigalo’	Kaber	‘bamboo’
ghatsena	‘tree of peach’	kamudi	‘myrica esculenta’	dumnum	‘dudila tree’
Aṇkhor	‘Dante Okhar’				

(f) **Other words**

Nam	‘sun’	ləudi	‘moon’	phuŋ	‘snow’
Bis	‘thread’	munthi	‘yesterday’	tapari	‘topri’
Nidzam	‘ghost’	su	‘god’	tso	‘one’
nissə	‘two’	sumba	‘three’	riwa	‘four’
nəuwa	‘five’				

(g) **Some verbs**

Sjaga	‘to explain’	dzakha	‘to eat’	Madzau	‘not to eat’
wənha	‘to dig’	sjaseppha	‘to have intercourse’	Sela	‘to kill’
Tshnni	‘to wash’	tsanəgənəha	‘to weave’	Ga	‘to cross the river’
Buga	‘to sit’	dhəwa	‘to get up’	tsham pənna	‘to spin wool’
Hwawa	‘to plow’	siŋga	‘to cover’	Puna	‘to spin’
məhək	‘to breath’	goho	‘to laugh’	phəljuha	‘to run’

It is to be noted that the word list so far recorded is not enough for the normal communication. Many words, especially, verbs have to be borrowed from other dominant languages if a long conversation takes place. Verb morphology for different tenses, aspects, moods and modalities cannot be properly analyzed. In other words, many bound morphemes have been lost due to the lack of massive use of the language for different domains of language used.

Phonology

Kshetteli presents a set of twenty-nine consonant phonemes (Regmi et al., 2081BS). It lacks tones. Table 2 presents segmental consonant phonemes in Kshetteli.

Table 2

Segmental consonant phonemes in Kshetteli

	Labial	Dental	Alve- olar	Retro- Flex	Palatal	Vela r	Glottal
Plosives	P	t		□		k	
	Ph	th		ȳ h		kh	
	b	d		d̪		g	
	Bh	d̪h		d̪h		gh	
Nasals	m	n				ŋ	
Affricates			Ts tsh				

		dz	
		(dzh)	
Fricatives		s	h
Trills/taps		r	
Laterals		l	
Approximants	w		j
ts			

Kshetteli contains six oral vowels. Table 3 presents an inventory of six vowels. It lacks length contrast.

Table 3

Inventory of vowels in Kshetteli

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	TM	o
Low		a	

Morphology

Kshetteli is an agglutinating language. It is a morphologically ergative language. It presents eleven types of cases, viz., absolutive (-O), ergative (-gu), instrumental (-gu), dative (-lan), genitive (-gTM), comitative (-tsan), ablative (-lTMη), locative (-nan), allative (-jTMlpo), inessive (-muntho) and similarative (-tTMk). It displays a consistent ergative-absolutive pattern of marking of case-roles in simple clauses. The nouns in a clause in different case roles are marked by different case-role markers. There is no grammatical gender and number in Kshetteli. There are two tenses in this language: past and present. The past tense is marked by *-tsi* in the complex of the verb. In this language, the second person singular is *dziη* and the first person singular is *dzi*. The third person singular is *ahit*.

Syntax

Kshetteli is an SOV language. It displays a rigid word order. However, the grammatical roles of clause constituents are basically coded by the nominal morphology. S (subject) O (object) and V (verb) is a common neutral word-order in Kshetteli. It exhibits different types of sentences. Following are the examples:

(1) Declarative

- a. *dzi munthi oltsji*
dzi munthi ol-tsi
1SG yesterday come-PST
'I arrived yesterday.'
- b. *dzi nisse odanu*
dzi nisse oda-nu
1SG yesterday come-NPST
'I will come tomorrow.'

(2) **Interrogative**

a. *dziŋ aphə ret*

dziŋ	aphə	Ret
2SG	who	COP

‘Who are you?’

b. *gilimko gahu*

gilimko	gahu
when	do.PASSIVE

‘When is it done?’

(3) **Negative**

thi muni

Thi	mu-ni
Water	NEG-COP

‘There is no water.’

(4) **Imperative**

a. *dhula dusəu*

dhula	du-səu
Flour	prepare-IMP

‘Prepare the flour.’

b. *bhitsolən de mitotshəm*

bhitso-lən	De	mito-tshəm
oven-LOC	fire	light-IMP

‘Light the fire in the oven.’

So far linguistic features have been discovered till the day, they are only tentative. A detailed documentation program has to be launched to record all the grammatical features for certainty and clarity.

Efforts for preservation

Personal Effort

Bohara (2073BS) has explored the origin of the Kshetteli language and its condition in a personal effort and presented a preliminary analysis of words and grammar. It is very sketchy; however, it is the first linguistic work in the Kshetteli language.

Institutional efforts

With the incessant request of Mr. Sher Singh Dhami, a teacher and language activist, the first field study of this endangered language was organized by Language Commission in

March, 2022. The study team consisting of Prof. Dr. Dan Raj Regmi (Linguist, Tribhuvan University) and Mr. Lal Bahadur Bohara (Language Researcher) was accompanied by Ramesh Bhattarai (Section Officer, Language Commission), Surya Prasad Bhattarai (Accountant, Language Commission) and Sher Singh Dhami (Kshetteli Language Speaker Coordinator). This team observed different aspects of the language and started collecting words and cross-checked the words collected in Bohara (2073BS). The second field study of this endangered language was organized by Language Commission in 2023. The study team was formed of Prof. Dr. Dan Raj Regmi (Linguist, Tribhuvan University) and Mrs. Kumari Nirmala Bohara (Language Researcher) and Mr. Laxman Singh Bohara (Language Researcher). This team was accompanied by Mr. Jaya Ram Adhikari (Secretary, Language Commission), Mr. Madhav Prasad Dahal (Deputy-secretary, Language Commission), Mr. Ramesh Bhattarai (Section Officer, Language Commission), Mr. Bhupendra Joshi (Computer Operator, Language Commission) and Mr. Sher Singh Dhami (Kshetteli Language Speaker Coordinator). The study team collected the data on different aspects of the grammar (especially morphology and syntax) and recorded some texts from the native speakers of the language. The team submitted the report of the study to the Commission (Bohara, 2080BS) in due time. Recently, the grammar and word collection have been published in a single book (Regmi et al., 2081BS).

Strategies for preservation

It is indeed not an easy task to preserve a critically endangered language like Kshetteli. Lewis and Simons (2017) has identified four levels of sustainable language use. They include sustainable literacy, sustainable orality sustainable identity and sustainable history. Kshetteli is presumably associated with the third level of sustainable language use, viz., sustainable identity. This language does not have fully proficient speakers; however, the community wants to associate its identity with the language. It has almost ceased to be used for day-to-day communication. To preserve such language, it has to be raised to the upper level, viz., sustainable orality by developing community-based language activities appropriate to its current vitality level. By doing so, their dream of implementing mother tongue education at the primary school level and their desire for imparting to youth the knowledge essential to their lives may be realized. This language cannot be preserved merely by collecting words, compiling dictionary, writing grammars and preparing textbooks. By implementing some specific strategies, the critically endangered language like Kshetteli may be revived or brought into active use. Some specific strategies are as follows (Regmi, 2021a).

(a) Identification and restoration of historical links

Kshetteli is unknown to the outer world. Many young people of the community are not familiar with the existence of this language. Thus, first and foremost, this language has to be recognized by the government (viz., local, provincial and federal) as one of the languages of the nation. This language has not yet been sufficiently studied linguistically. Except words collected in Bohara (2073BS), Bohara (2079BS) and a sketchy grammatical description (Regmi et al., 2081BS), this language lacks other many aspects of language documentation. However, the speech community may be again linked with their history of language use and the original

place. By doing so, the desire to maintain the language may be inculcated in the members of the speech community.

(b) Top-down and down-up integration

External agencies and communities, such as the Language Commission, Central Department of Linguistics, TU., Maldeshi Language and Cultural Development Society, Apihimal Rural Municipality and other non-governmental organizations working for language preservation in Nepal may involve together in documentation, corpus development and teacher training in this language. This strategy must be continuously pursued in this language.

(c) Creating bilingual homes and parent meetings

The community may decide to use the Kshetteli language in their home. According to this strategy, first, children should be taught to think about the worldview of their heritage culture. Second, children should be encouraged to practice in an artificial environment through language lessons. Third, children should be encouraged to use the language of their heritage in the natural environment. Schools involved in the promotion of the local language should regularly hold parent meetings to encourage parents to use their mother tongue in their home. Language cannot be saved without its use in the home and society.

(d) Language revitalization

Language revitalization is a very effective strategy for languages like Kshetteli. Lewis and Simons (2017) notes that the people involved in language revitalization have to be managed into four groups. They may be called awareness group, records group, language group and fund group. An awareness group is a group that raises awareness in the community about the importance of learning this language to the younger generation. Language groups provide information about languages to help encourage local communities to use local languages at home. After that, the restoration activities can be started. These include archiving and grammar construction, alphabet and writing system development, dictionary development, curriculum development and the establishment of community language learning centers. This is the most important strategy to preserve the language like Kshetteli.

(e) Radio programs and mother/child language programs

Radio programs in such languages can encourage people to use the language of their heritage for face-to-face communication and to pass on their knowledge to younger generations. When caring for children, they should be encouraged to use the local language.

(f) Establishment of language learning center

Language learning should be encouraged by establishing a language learning center for the strong use of the words now collected. Teachers should be trained to teach basic level children in the community. Besides, the local government has to frame a language policy to preserve, promote and develop the Kshetteli language immediately and devise other suitable strategies as well.

Conclusion

Kshetteli is also the language of the nation. It contains useful knowledge of life. It is a unique means of cultural expression. It represents countless generations of traditional knowledge and ways of knowing that knowledge. The life-crucial knowledge embodied in the language should be passed on to the future generations. Due to the lack of use, this language has turned to be a critically endangered language. There are only four old speakers of this language. The key to language preservation is to encourage the linguistic community to speak. If the language is not spoken, the language dies. The Kshetteli language is now live basically at the vocabulary level. Many important grammatical features of the language are lost. Thus, without making any delay, this language has to be recognized as one of the languages of the nation and community-based language development programs have to be immediately launched in the community. Besides, language documentation project has to be immediately launched by the national and international agencies devoted to the documentation of the endangered languages of the world to preserve the life crucial knowledge embodied in the language and to set up an inclusive society aspired by the constitution based upon the principles of socialism and equity. Thus, an appeal to national or international agencies is made to immediately launch documentation project to preserve this language.

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