

LANGUAGE DISTRIBUTION IN NEPAL AND QUESTION ON UNIT OF ADDITIONAL OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

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Nepal has 123 languages within six families of spoken languages and a sign language. She has federal administrative structure and three levels of government. There is no majority language at national level. Nepali is the only majority language at province level with majority in 4 among the 7 provinces, and 21 majority languages at local level. The distribution of languages in terms of mother tongue speakers varies considerably among the different levels – national, province and local – as well as among the different units of the same level – among the provinces and among the local levels. According to the provision in the prevalent constitution, one or more majority language(s) spoken as mother tongue in a province can be additional official language of the province provided by the particular province through province law. This paper looks at the language data at different levels and concludes that the province is not the appropriate unit for use of additional official language in terms of cost effectiveness and inclusiveness, instead local level is the appropriate unit. Thus it suggests to consider local level as the unit of implementation and include the languages above 25% mother tongue speakers in the local level for the additional official language.

Keywords: Nepalese languages, language distribution, majority language, language policy, official language

1. Background

Report of the National Census 2011 has listed 123 languages and two other categories "other" and "not reported" which are spoken as mother tongue in Nepal (CBS 2012: 164-67). These languages are affiliated to five families of spoken language viz. Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Afro-Asiatic –, a language isolate Kusunda, and a sign language Nepali Sign Language (henceforth NSL). Nepal has three administrative levels known as federal or central level, state or province level, and local level. There are 7 units (provinces) at province level and 753 units at local level. Main policy document is the Constitution of Nepal (2015) regarding use of the languages of Nepal in government business, education, and information and media.

This paper explores on the constitutional provision regarding the unit of using additional official language and aims to answer whether the province is an appropriate unit? The following sections discuss the mother tongue data from the Nepal government at national, province, and local levels, review the constitutional provisions regarding the additional official language and the policy discussions. On the basis of these data and discussions the paper concludes that the province as unit of the use of additional official language according to the constitutional provision is not appropriate, and suggests that the local level be considered as appropriate unit for this purpose. The paper is based on the three conference papers Regmi 2019a, 2019b and 2019c.

2. The data

The data used in this paper is obtained from Central Bureau of Statistics (henceforth CBS), Nepal Government's agency for statistics. The local level, district level, province level and national level raw data on mother tongue is available. Ward level data is not available thus not discussed in this paper. District is not an administrative unit in present political system, thus irrelevant and left without discussing. The data are generalized (in per cent) to compare them among various languages at various administrative units. National level data are based on CBS 2012 and province and local level data are based on the unpublished source obtained from CBS as file name "GP_Indv_Table04" which has table heading "Table 2.4: Population by mother tongue and sex".

Newly restructured local levels are still changing specifically on their headquarters or centers as well as many of the local levels' names have been changed. Thus, the names appeared in the data from CBS have been checked against Nepal Rajpatra (Nepal Gazette) and other official sources such as related government portals to update.

3. Language distribution in Nepal

Nepal has three administrative levels federal or centre or national level, state or province level, and local level. The distribution of the languages spoken as mother tongues in Nepal is analysed separately based in these three levels in this section.

3.1 Languages at national level

Total population of Nepal as of National Census 2011 is 26,494,504 (CBS 2012). Only 14 languages among the 123 languages have above 1% of national population who speak the language as mother tongue. These languages are: (1) Nepali, (2) Maithili, (3) Bhojpuri, (4) Tharu, (5) Tamang, (6) Newar, (7) Bajjika, (8) Magar, (9) Doteli, (10) Urdu, (11) Avadhi, (12) Limbu, (13) Gurung, and (14) Baitadeli. See Annex 1 for the details on the languages at national level. The data presented here may differ from the data in Yadava (2014: 57-60) as the later has changed to round figure at second decimal place.

Sharma (2014: 32) has included Rai within 15 major languages of Nepal with rank 11th and 2.3% of mother tongue speakers in 2011. Rai used to be taken as a single language till 1991 Census, there was no Rai language but many languages from Rai group in 2001 Census, and many Rai languages and a separate Rai language in 2011 Census. Thus, the latest census is misleading regarding the term Rai as a separate language. Taking Rai as a group of languages for a comparison in order to see whether there is a change in the size of mother tongue speakers across the censuses is not a problem. However, taking the term Rai without any clarification is misleading as Rai ranks 15th with 0.6% mother tongue speakers according to Census 2011.

These data on language at national level show that there is no majority language which is spoken as mother tongue. Only language spoken by population above 25% is Nepali. The language at the second position is Maithili with 11.67% mother tongue speakers. Maithili

is followed with remarkable gap by Bhojpuri, Tharu, and Tamang which have between 5 and 6 per cent of mother tongue speakers. The remaining 9 languages with above 1% have below 5% mother tongue speakers. There are 109 languages which have below 1% mother tongue speakers and the language with lowest number of mother tongue speakers is Arabi which is spoken by 8 people. Besides, there are 47,718 people who did not report their mother tongue and 21,173 people's mother tongue has not been identified thus placed under 'Not reported' and 'Other' categories in the census data.

3.2 Languages at province level

There are seven provinces in Nepal. Some of the provinces have received their names and the remaining provinces are in the process. When the provinces were formed they had no names thus denoted by number 1-7 beginning from the east. The Province 3 is now Bagmati province, Province 4 is now Gandaki province, Province 6 is now Karnali province, and Province 7 is now Sudur Paschim province. The remaining provinces have yet to receive their names. Thus, for the sake of uniformity, all provinces are denoted by number in this paper. An overview of the languages spoken as mother tongue in the provinces is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Total number and the number of mother tongues above 1% in provinces

Province	Total languages	Number of mother tongues spoken by above 1%
1	104	14
2	88	7
3	111	6
4	84	6
5	83	7
6	53	2
7	84	6

Language distribution in the provinces is different from the national level as well as among the provinces themselves. One noticeable difference between the national and province level is that there is a majority language in some of the provinces. Nepali has majority of mother tongue speakers in provinces 3 (57.42%), 4 (73.46%), 5 (51.14%) and 6 (95.55%).

Nepali in provinces 1 (43.07%) and 7 (30.17%), Maithili in province 2 (45.29%) and Doteli in province 7 (30.45%) have mother tongue speakers between 25-50%. At this level, Maithili in province 1 (11.18%), Bhojpuri in provinces 2 (18.57%) and 5 (11.31%), Bajjika in province 2 (14.64%), Tamang (18.31%) and Newar (12.29%) in province 3, Avadhi in province 5 (11.07%), Tharu in Province 5 (13.27%) and 7 (17.01%), and Baitadeli in Province 7 (10.64%) have between 10-25% mother tongue speakers.

The languages between 5-10% mother tongue speakers in the provinces are as follows: Limbu has 7.31% in province 1. Nepali has 6.66% in Province 2. Urdu has 5.86% in province 2 and 5.08% in province 5. Magar has 9.88% and Gurung has 8.77% in province 4. Achhami has 5.58% in province 7.

Tharu, Tamang, Magar, Bantawa, Urdu, Rajbanshi, Rai, Newar, Chamling, Sherpa and Santhali in province 1, Tharu and Tamang in province 2, Magar, Tharu, and maithili in province 3, Newar, Tharu and Tamang in province 4, Magar and Maithili in province 5, Magar in province 6, and Bajhangi in Province 7 have between 1-5% mother tongue speakers.

When the unit has been shifted to province level from national level the seven languages Achhami, Bantawa, Rajbanshi, Rai, Chamling, Sherpa and Santhali are included in the above 1% mother tongue group. Among these languages only Achhami has above 5% mother tongue speakers at province level.

Among the provinces, province 1 is similar to the national level as there is no majority language. Nepali has first position with similar percentage with national level, and Maithili has second position with similar percentage with national level, and 14 languages have above 1% mother tongue speakers. See Annex 2 for the details of the languages spoken as mother tongue at province level.

3.3 Languages at local level

There are 753 local levels including 6 metropolitan city (Met), 11 sub-metropolitan city (SMun), 276 municipality (Mun) and 460 rural municipality (RMun).

There are 21 majority languages in various local levels in Nepal in literal sense, i.e. above 50% mother tongue speakers in a specific local level. These are Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tharu, Tamang, Newar, Bajjika, Magar, Doteli, Urdu, Avadhi, Limbu, Gurung, Baitadeli, Achhami, Bantawa, Sherpa, Bajhangi, Kulung, Khaling, and Lhopa.

A brief information on the distribution of these languages in the local levels is presented in Table 2. The detail information is available in Annex 3.

Table 2: Majority languages at local levels and their distribution

S.N.	Language	RMun	Mun	SMet	Met	Total
1.	Nepali	206	145	5	3	359
2.	Maithili	38	34	1	-	73
3.	Bhojpuri	27	7	1	1	36
4.	Tharu	6	7	-	-	13
5.	Tamang	35	-	-	-	35
6.	Newar	-	1	-	-	1
7.	Bajjika	8	16	-	-	24
8.	Magar	9	-	-	-	9
9.	Doteli	19	10	-	-	29
10.	Urdu	1	2	-	-	3
11.	Avadhi	6	3	-	-	9
12.	Limbu	3	-	-	-	3
13.	Gurung	7	-	-	-	7
14.	Baitadeli	6	4	-	-	10
15.	Achhami	2	1	-	-	3

16.	Bantawa	1	-	-	-	1
17.	Sherpa	3	-	-	-	3
18.	Bajhang	2	-	-	-	2
19.	Kulung	2	-	-	-	2
20.	Khaling	1	-	-	-	1
21.	Lhopa	2	-	-	-	2
	Total	384	230	7	4	625

3.4 Language distribution at different levels: no similarity

Language distribution at various levels as well as various units of the same level is not similar. There is no majority language at national level. Nepali is majority language in four provinces as it has above 50% mother tongue speakers in Provinces 3, 4, 5 and 6. Nepali has first position in Province 1 as well as in the national level but it ranks fourth in Province 2 and second in Province 7. Maithili and Doteli rank first in Province 2 and 7 respectively. At another level, local level, there are 21 majority languages (See Table 2). The order of the languages at national level and province level does not apply in many of the local levels. Some of the selected cases can be taken as example to make the point further clear.

Nepali ranks first in Province 1 with 43.07% mother tongue speakers which is very close to its percentage at national level. It has below 1% mother tongue speakers in Harinagar municipality in Sunsari district and 80.97% mother tongue speakers in Likhu rural municipality in Okhaldhunga district in the same province. It has fourth position in Province 2 with 6.66% which is different situation from its national position. It has 68.20% mother tongue speakers in Thori rural municipality in Parsa district and below 1% in Pokhariya municipality in the same district of the same province. It ranks first in Province 6 with 95.55% which is the highest per cent of mother tongue speakers of any languages in any provinces in Nepal. It has below 1% mother tongue speakers in Dolpobuddha rural municipality in Dolpa district and 99.57% mother tongue speakers in Mudkechula rural municipality in the same district of the same province.

On the other hand, some of the languages with below 1% mother tongue speakers at national level are majority languages in the local levels. Achhami, Bantawa, Bajhang, Kulung, Khaling and Lhopa are some examples of such languages. Among these languages, Lhopa has below 1% mother tongue speakers at both national level and in the respective province but has majority of mother tongue speakers in Lo-Ghekar Damodarkunda (69.14%) and Lomanthang (87.46%) rural municipalities in Mustang district of Province 4.

Another remarkable situation regarding distribution of languages in Nepal is that some of the languages are concentrated in one of the provinces such as Limbu in Province 1, Doteli and Baitadeli in Province 7, and Bajjika in Province 2. Some other languages are concentrated in one province but have remarkable presence in other provinces as well such as Maithili in Province 1 and 2. Some other languages are distributed with remarkable number in more than two provinces such as Bhojpuri in Province 2 and 5,

Tharu in Province 5 and 7, Magar in Province 4 and 5. Some other languages have quite a large number in the local levels of another province which is not basically supposed to be the area of the language in question such as Gurung in Province 6, Tamang in Province 2 and 6. A few languages of Nepal are scattered all over the country regardless whether the languages have their concentration area or not such as Urdu. Some other languages are concentrated in a small area and they have remarkable presence in one or a few local levels though their number is too small at national level such as Kulung, Khaling, Chamling and Lhopa.

It is not possible to present language distribution in all the local levels in this paper. So, some of the purposefully selected cases are presented in Table 3-5 to show such uneven distributions of the languages in various levels.

Table 3: Some languages with above 25% in local levels with less than 1% in both national and province levels

Language	Local level (Rural municipality)	Per cent
Nachhiring	Sotang, Solukhumbu, Province 1	33.30%
Kulung	Mahakulung, Solukhumbu, Province 1	79.60%
Thulung	Thulung Dhudha Koshi, Solukhumbu, Province 1	35.77%
Khaling	Dhudhakoshi, Solukhumbu, Province 1	53.73%
Wambule	Manebhanjyang, Okhaldhunga, Province 1	33.44%
Sampang	Kepilasgadhi, Khotang, Province 1	31.39%
Chepang	Raksirang, Makawanpur, Province 3	35.97%
Thami	Kalinchowk, Dolakha, Province 3	33.96%
Lhopa	Lomanthang, Mustang, Province 4	87.46%
Dolpali	Chharka Tangsong, Dolpa, Province 6	49.82%
Sherpa	Shey Phoksundo, Dolpa, Province 6	56.72%

Table 3 presents languages with higher percentage at the local levels ranging from 31.39% to 87.46% which have below 1% mother tongue speakers both at the national and province levels.

Table 4: Some languages in local levels with below 1% speakers in national level

Language	Local level (Rural municipality)	Per cent (Province)	Per cent (Local Level)
Sherpa	Khumbu Pasanglhamu, Solukhumbu, Province 1	1.48%	60.60%
Chamling	Diprung, Khotang, Province 1	1.65%	27.05%
Bajhangi	Durgathali, Bajhang, Province 7	2.63%	51.74%
Rajbanshi	Kachanakawal, Jhapa, Province 1	2.67%	44.33%
Bantawa	Jante Dhunga, Khotang, Province 1	2.88%	25.69%
Achhami	Chaurpati, Achham, Province 7	5.58%	96.67%

Table 4 presents the languages with below 1% mother tongue at national level but above 1% at the province level which have quite sizeable mother tongue speakers at local levels ranging from 25 to 96.67%.

Table 5: Some languages out of their concentration area (provinces)

Language	Local Level	Nepal	Province	Local level
Tharu (mainly in province 5, 7)	Khairahani, Chitwan, Province 3	5.77%	1.33% (5th)	25.77%
Tamang (mainly in province 3)	Narpabhumi, Manang, Province 4	5.11%	1.45% (6th)	60.59%
Magar (mainly in province 4, 5)	Tinpatan, Sindhuli, Province 3	2.98%	1.82% (4th)	32.58%
Tamang (mainly in province 3)	Thori, Parsa, Province 2	5.11%	1.93% (7th)	25.76%
Tharu (mainly in provinces 5, 7)	Gramthan, Morang, Province 1	5.77%	3.91% (5th)	55.50%

Table 5 presents the languages with larger percentage in other province(s) but minority in the provinces shown in this table are relatively larger number in the local levels ranging from 25 to 60.59%. This type of distribution is shown by the languages which have concentration in one province but also scattered to other provinces as well.

4. Language Policies and discussions in Nepal

Scholarly discussions, especially available in written form, on language policy in Nepal can be viewed in the light of the constitutional provisions prevalent at that time. Seven constitutions were promulgated in Nepal since 1948. The following constitutions were promulgated in 1951, 1959, 1962, 1990, 2007 and 2015 (The Kathmandu Post 2015). Among these, only four constitutions have provisions on language and these are getting more and more elaborate in the subsequent ones. The policy discussions have been presented here under the constitution as headings of the section so that it can be easier to assess the views in terms of the constitutional provisions.

4.1 Constitution of Nepal 1962

Constitution of Nepal 1962 is the principal legal document of the autocratic political system known as Panchayat existed between 1960 to 1990. Article 4 of the constitution recognizes Nepali in Devanagari script as Nepal's language of the nation.

Malla (1973: 115) criticizes the government's language policy which shows the determination of the Government to promote Nepali as an instrument of national integration and to discourage all linguistically divisive tendencies. He also notes that "the political instability of post-1950 Nepal greatly favoured all kinds of linguistic wishful thinking" (ibid: 116).

Dahal and Subba (1986: 248) have indicated that the language policy of Nepal needs reform as they have noticed little pressure on the government to reconsider its language policies at that time and think growing self-awareness among ethnic groups may cause appearance of demands regarding language recognition and development. They foresee the situation that the government may recognize some of the languages of relatively advanced groups but neglect the languages of the majority, and threat saying "selective token recognition is not the answer" (ibid: 250).

These discussions express dissatisfaction on the existing monolingual policy but present no overt recommendations, however, indicate the need of multilingual language policy.

4.2 Constitution of Kingdom of Nepal 1990

Constitution of Kingdom of Nepal 1990 categorizes the languages of Nepal into two groups with different functional loads and status, viz. Nepali in Devanagari script as language of the nation and the official language (Article 6(1)), and all other mother tongues of Nepal as the national languages (Article 6(2)).

Pokharel (2050BS: 52) suggests that for an illiterate person, court should have provision to use his/her language where an interpreter should be provided by court itself.

Bandhu (2050BS: 102) discusses on whether there is any possibility of using other languages at government offices, specifically at district level. However, he rules out the possibility of using regional languages as there is no regional level (Mountain, Hill and Terai) level unit of administration. He has expressed similar view as Pokharel regarding using mother tongue at civil administration offices and courts.

Language Policy Recommendation Commission (henceforth LPRC) 1994 has two recommendations on use of language in administration. They suggest considering practicality of the use of local languages in local administration to make them more efficient and beneficial for the people (no. 14), and providing translators for people who do not know the national language (no. 15).

Dahal and Regmi (2058BS: 26-27) recommend that national languages be used as associate official language along with Nepali in the region of the language in question. They further suggest to amend the constitution to bring all the languages in the mainstream of development and integration, and avoid the religious, ethnic and cultural tensions and conflicts based on language (ibid: 28).

Among these discussions, Pokharel (2050BS) and Bandhu (2050BS) are in favour of provision of language support to individual in the government office especially courts but do not disagree with the constitutional provision on official language. On the other hand LPRC, and Dahal and Regmi have strong suggestion for the use of languages in local level administration.

4.3 Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007

The interim constitution 2007 is the most progressive in terms of language policy in Nepal. It recognizes all the languages spoken as mother tongues in Nepal as the languages of nation (Article 5(1)). It assigns the official function to Nepali language in Devanagari script (Article 5(2)). Article 5(3) is more important regarding multilingual policy which states:

Notwithstanding anything contained in Sub-Article (2), nothing shall be deemed to prevent the using of any language spoken as the mother tongue in a local body and office. The State shall maintain records by translating the languages so used in the official language.

Yadava and Shakya (2065BS: 80-83) have 13-point suggestions in order to implement these constitutional provisions. They suggest that state and the units inside the province be formed on the basis of language. The point is similar to the trilingual policy of India. Though it is now irrelevant as the state reform has already been settled and functional now which is not on the linguistic basis, it will be relevant to mention that linguistic basis for state formation has been the source of controversy in India itself. As Pattanayak (1986: 38) mentions:

Language as a factor in region formation has never been taken seriously. Controversy regarding peripheral areas continues even today. Moreover, while the principle was conceded in case of dominant languages, no clear-cut policy was enunciated in regard to languages spoken by relatively smaller numbers of people and in regard to minority languages within majority zones.

The other points can be summarized as follows.

- Units be specified for the official use of language, at federal or central level Nepali be official language, additional language be used at province level along with the federal language
- Translation be arranged between the languages used as official languages
- Additional language can be used at district and Village Development Committee (VDC)/municipality level along with the federal and province level languages
- Vertical communication be in federal language between province and centre, and either federal or provincial language between province and the lower levels
- Horizontal communication be in federal language or any provincial language between provinces on consensus, and federal, provincial or any other local language between below province levels on consensus
- A citizen should be given the right to submit application in their mother tongue, except in the court
- Authentic official document should be in the federal language

Though the recommendations are in elaborate form and most of them are in line with the constitution as well as fairly practical. The points on vertical and horizontal communication among the administrative units, provision of translation and determination of the authentic documents are important points which the later constitution lacks. The second last point seems more emotional rather than practical.

Angdembe (2014) proposes two formula for saving endangered languages of Nepal viz. official language formula, and mandatory mother tongue formula. He states that the first formula is useful for languages with larger population in their respective states where as second formula is useful for languages with smaller population.

Both the discussions in this section are in favour of the smaller territory as unit for official language with smaller population however Angdembe (2014) is more critical.

4.4 Constitution of Nepal 2015

Constitution of Nepal 2015 recognizes all the languages of Nepal as national languages (Article 6). Article 7(1) assigns official function in Nepal to the Nepali language in the

Devnagari script and Article 7(2) states "A State may, by a State law, determine one or more than one languages of the nation spoken by a majority of people within the State as its official language(s), in addition to the Nepali language."

The constitutional provision of using additional official language has not yet been implemented. For this purpose, there have been discussions on the selection criteria for the language(s) to be used in the additional official language.

Regmi (2018: 44-46) has proposed 10 criteria for determining the official language(s) at province level along with a numeric rating evaluation scheme with 1= poor, 2=fair, 3=good, 4= very good, and 5=excellent.

Among the criteria, 1) Population, 2) Language vitality, 5) Linguistic geography, and 6) Linguistic originality are based on the number of speakers and their affiliation to the land (in this context particular province) as these criteria will include those languages which have larger population as their speakers which are certainly vital and are either spoken only in Nepal or cross-border. Criteria 3) Ethno-linguistic identity, 4) Accessibility and linguistic right are rather abstract and more importantly apply to all the languages of Nepal thus can not be utilized as determining factors. Criteria 7) Development of writing system, 8) Linguistic material development, and 9) Corpus development are crucial not for determining whether a language be used in offices but for its functioning when it is determined as official language. These resources (7-9) can be developed within a year by a team of linguists with community members which can be continued for developing literature (10) by community members themselves. Thus the main question is a population in the specific unit where the language in question be used for official function. A view expressed by Pattanayak (1986: 34) regarding India's language policy is relevant in this regard:

... the simple linguistic fact that any language has the potential of meeting any communicative need, be it science, philosophy, or politics. No language was "developed" before it was called upon to meet the need of society at any time, not even the English language.

Dhakal and Khatiwada (2075BS) present a comprehensive review of theoretical literature, policies and legal practices regarding official language in various multilingual countries. They present language data from various states of India, province level language data from Nepal and local level language data from Gandaki province or Province 4. The authors have not been reached to any conclusion from the local level data. They suggest Maithili for official function in Province 2 on the basis of province level data, however, add that acceptance from the mother tongue speakers of Bhojpuri and Bajjika need to be sought. Their opinion on Doteli is to wait until it has sufficient development though it has sizeable number of mother tongue speakers for official function in Province 7. They conclude that the state mechanism for the development of languages need to be ready before the constitutional provisions is implemented.

Though the authors do not say anything overtly, they indicate through the vaguely written conclusion that the constitutional provision on using additional official language at province level is impractical.

Concluding the policy discussions, there are very few scholars who express their disagreement on the constitutional provisions and even fewer among them suggest constitution amendment. The majority of the scholars present their views in line with the constitutional provisions and very few among them present creative as well as practical support to the existing constitution. Another crucial point linked also to the earlier section, the current constitutional provisions on official use of language are not based on the linguistic data. Among the constitution, the Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 was most practical.

Two serious problems with the present constitutional provision of official language are (1) official record which is also related to the issue of translation among the official languages, and (2) unit of use of official language. Regmi (2018: 83-87) has discussed on the issues of translation and official record, this paper deals only with the unit of use of official language.

5. Language data supports local level as unit not the province

This section presents how the language data supports local level as unit in terms majority, cost effectiveness, and inclusion.

5.1 Majority

In terms of the constitutional provision, the only criterion for selecting the additional language(s) to be used in the official function is number which is also convincing as discussed in the previous section (§4.4). There is a choice between plain number and generalized number. The population of the local levels as well as the number of mother tongue speakers of a language in that unit vary significantly. Kathmandu metropolitan city has larger population (975,453) than the Bhaktapur municipality (81748) has and the population of Newar mother tongue speakers in Kathmandu is also larger (185,330) than in Bhaktapur (63,133). On the basis of the plain number, there are more Newar mother tongue speakers in Kathmandu than Bhaktapur, however, the number of Newar mother tongue speakers in Kathmandu is only 18.99% of the total population of Kathmandu whereas the number of Newar mother tongue speakers in Bhaktapur is 77.22% of the total population of Bhaktapur. So, the generalized number gives the clear picture of the population by placing the population in question in the context. For this reason, generalized number (in per cent) is chosen for the data in this paper instead of plain number.

Another point to be clarified regarding the number criterion is whether it is the majority in literal sense or it is above certain threshold. If we take the term majority in literal sense, only majority language at the province level is Nepali, thus, the provision of additional official language is irrelevant. However, there is a clue in the same clause of the constitution as it states 'one or more than one languages spoken by majority of the

population of that province'. It is not possible to be more than one majority languages in one unit in the literal sense, thus it assumes some threshold for a language to be majority language.

If the majority criterion is taken in literal sense, there is no majority language other than Nepali at province level, however, there are 21 majority languages at local level. If any threshold is set in order to include any language in the majority group, any number (per cent) need to be taken as threshold. The number may be 25% (only to include Maithili and Doteli), 10% (to include Maithili, Bhojpuri, Bajjika, Tamang, Newar, Tharu, Avadhi, Doteli, and Baitadeli), or 5% (to include also Magar, Gurung, Limbu, Urdu, and Achhami), or even lower number at province level. The higher number as threshold will exclude greater number of languages whereas the lower number as threshold is impractical at one hand and it will be unmanageable as there will be 5 languages in most of the provinces even with 5% threshold. However, threshold of 25% at local level is comfortable number as there will be no more than three languages in any of the local levels where 33 more languages will be included in the official use. There will be 330 Local levels with one official language, 384 with two official languages, and 39 with three official languages in this case (See Table 6 for summary and map presented in Annex 4 for the visual form). The map in the annex 4 shows the local levels with one official language, two official languages and three official languages presented in different shades.

Table 6: Number of local levels in terms of number of languages above 25% mother tongue speakers

Province No.	Number of local levels with one official language		Number of local levels with two official languages		Number of local levels with three official languages		Total
	No language above 25%	Only Nepali above 25%	One language other than Nepali above 25%	Nepali and another one language above 25%	Two languages other than Nepali above 25%	Nepali and other two language above 25%	
1	2	66	23	39	6	1	137
2	-	4	112	6	14	-	136
3	-	47	18	53	1	-	119
4	-	57	6	21	1	-	85
5	-	55	22	22	7	3	109
6	-	73	3	-	3	-	79
7	-	26	48	11	3	-	88
Total	2	328	232	152	35	4	753
	330		384		39		

Thus, the language data supports local level as unit of additional official language instead of province where 25% of mother tongue speakers in a local level can be threshold.

5.1 Cost effectiveness

The sum of the administrative units in Nepal is 7630 including 7 provinces with 50 ministries, 77 District Coordination Committees, 753 local levels, and 6743 wards. The total number of these units shows the number of personnel required in these administrative units to handle the language issues when the constitutional provision on additional official language at province level is implemented with minimum possibility, i.e., one additional language each province. Besides, there are province legislatures, district and high courts, hospitals, and many other government offices at local, district and province levels. This shows that the required number of personnel will be no less than 8000 (a round figure estimate). However, the situation is not so straight forward. If only one additional language is selected from one province Limbu from Province 1, Bhojpuri from Province 2, Newari from Province 3, Gurung from Province 4, Bhojpuri from Province 5 and Tharu from Province 7 will be left. To include these languages the threshold need to be set as low as 7%, in this case there will be 15 languages (while counting the languages selected from more than one provinces separately though the actual number of languages in official function will be 12 as Maithili, Bhojpuri and Tharu will be selected from two provinces each) selected for the official function excluding Nepali. This will be resulting the cost about double, i.e., about 16,000 personnel (another round figure estimate).

On the other hand the total number of local levels where additional official language is used is 462 based on the threshold of 25% in local level as unit of official language use. The total number of wards in these local levels is 3931 (See Table 7). The total of these two units (local level and ward) is about 4400. The number can be increased up to 5000 considering other government offices in the local level. The number remains one third of the personnel when the unit is province.

The information on wards in Table 7 is to show only how many wards are there in a particular local level, not for the linguistic information in those wards.

Table 7: Languages with above 25% mothertongue speakers in number of local levels and total number of wards in the local levels

SN	Language (Province)	Local levels	Wards	SN	Language (Province)	Local levels	Wards
1.	Maithili (1, 2)	88	796	2.	Tamang (2, 3, 4, 6)	65	515
3.	Bhojpuri (2, 5)	42	373	4.	Tharu (1, 2, 3, 5, 7)	39	357
5.	Doteli (7)	34	281	6.	Bajjika (2)	30	279
7.	Magar (1, 3, 4, 5, 6)	27	202	8.	Limbu (1)	26	187
9.	Avadhi (5)	16	160	10.	Urdu (1, 2, 5)	15	131
11.	Gurung (4, 6)	14	104	12.	Baitadeli (7)	10	84
13.	Sherpa (1, 3, 6)	9	60	14.	Newar (3)	8	105
15.	Bantawa (1)	7	59	16.	Bajhang (7)	5	35
17.	Chamling (1)	4	28	18.	Achhami (7)	3	29
19.	Kulung (1)	3	16	20.	Chepang (3)	2	19
21.	Dolpali (6)	2	12	22.	Lhopa (4)	2	10
23.	Kham (5)	1	14	24.	Khaling (1)	1	7

25.	Thami (3)	1	9	26.	Thulung (1)	1	9
27.	Dungmali (1)	1	9	28.	Nachhiring (1)	1	5
29.	Bote (6)	1	7	30.	Yamphu/Yamphe (1)	1	6
31.	Rajbanshi (1)	1	7	32.	Wambule (1)	1	9
33.	Sampang (1)	1	7		Total	462	3931

The languages when presented in the descending order in terms of number of local levels as in Table 7 show no similarity with their position at national level. This is by the fact that the concentration in a local level with relatively large size of mother tongue speakers have maintained the position. Type of local level is also the determining factor. The languages in the metropolitan city, sub-metropolitan city and municipality have smaller number of local levels whereas the languages in the rural municipality have larger number of local levels. This fact can explain why Tamang has more local levels with above 25% mother tongue speakers than Bhojpuri.

5.3 Inclusion

Shifting the unit of use of additional official language from province to local level will be more inclusive. There is no majority language at province level. Even the threshold is set as low as 7%, there will be only 12 languages as we discussed in earlier subsection and 5% will include two more languages Urdu and Achhami in the official function. On the other hand there will be 33 more languages in the official function at local level with the threshold of 25%.

This increment in the number of official languages will benefit three types of mother tongues, languages which are out of the concentrated areas, which are scattered in various provinces thus smaller number in provinces but concentrated in certain local levels, and which are concentrated in a local level though the total number is smaller. Gurung in Province 6, Tamang in Province 4 and Province 2, Magar in Province 1, and Tharu in Province 1 and 2 are the examples of first type of mother tongues. Similarly, Urdu is the example of second type, and Chamling, Kulung, Khaling, Chepang are the examples of the third type.

6. Conclusion

Nepal being the home of more than 123 languages which are unevenly distributed at different levels of administrative units is a sensitive place for language management perspective. Whether it is the people's aspiration expressed in every political moves since 1950s or the scholars' views in various documents, multilingual inclusive policy is long awaited matter in this country. Though the present constitution of Nepal has provision to use one or more languages at province level as additional official language, it seems not a practical approach. On the basis of the language data, the appropriate language policy of Nepal is to choose local level as a unit of additional official language where there is possibility to include 33 additional languages for official use. This change in the provision will respect the term 'majority' used in the constitution as 25% is the

comfortable size though not the majority in literal sense. It is cost effective way as well as an instrument for managing social tension through inclusion of more languages in the official function as suggested by Dahal and Regmi (2058BS: 26-27) . However, this is not possible without amendment of the constitutional provision. So, the amendment of the present constitution for effective, practical, inclusive and promotional which is fundamentally multilingual policy is the conclusion.

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Annexes

Annex 1: Languages of Nepal spoken as mother tongue at national level

Above 1%

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) Nepali 11,826,953 (44.63%) | (2) Maithili 3,092,530 (11.67%) | (3) Bhojपुरी 1,584,958 (5.98%) |
| (4) Tharu 1,529,875 (5.77%) | (5) Tamang 1,353,311 (5.10%) | (6) Newar 846,557 (3.19%) |
| (7) Bajjika 793,416 (2.99%) | (8) Magar 788,530 (2.97%) | (9) Doteli 787,827 (2.97%) |
| (10) Urdu 691,546 (2.61%) | (11) Avadhi 501,752 (1.89%) | (12) Limbu 343,603 (1.29%) |
| (13) Gurung 325,622 (1.22%) | (14) Baitadeli 272,524 (1.02%) | |

Below 1%

- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| (15) Rai 159,114 | (16) Achhami 142,787 | (17) Bantawa 132,583 |
| (18) Rajbanshi 122,214 | (19) Sherpa 114,830 | (20) Hindi 77,569 |
| (21) Chamling 76,800 | (22) Bajhang 67,581 | (23) Santhali 49,858 |
| (24) Chepang 48,476 | (25) Danuwar 45,821 | (26) Sunuwar 37,898 |
| (27) Magahi 35,614 | (28) Uranw 33,651 | (29) Kulung 33,170 |
| (30) Kham (Magar) 27,113 | (31) Rajasthani 25,394 | (32) Majhi 24,422 |
| (33) Thangmi 23,151 | (34) Bhujel 21,715 | (35) Bangla 21,061 |
| (36) Thulung 20,659 | (37) Yakkha 19,558 | (38) Dhimal 19,300 |
| (39) Tajpuriya 18,811 | (40) Angika 18,555 | (41) Sampang 18,270 |
| (42) Khaling 14,467 | (43) Wambule 13,470 | (44) Kumal 12,222 |
| (45) Darai 11,677 | (46) Bahing 11,658 | (47) Bajhang 10,704 |
| (48) Yholmo 10,176 | (49) Nachhering 10,041 | (50) Yamphu 9,208 |
| (51) Bote 8,766 | (52) Ghale 8,092 | (53) Dumi 7,63 |
| (54) Lapcha 7,499 | (55) Puma 6,686 | (56) Dungmali 6,260 |

(57) Darchuleli 5,928	(58) Athpariya 5,530	(59) Thakali 5,242
(60) Jirel 4,829	(61) Mewahang 4,650	(62) NSL 4,476
(63) Tibetan 4,445	(64) Meche 4,375	(65) Chantyal 4,283
(66) Raji 3,758	(67) Lohorung 3,716	(68) Chhintang 3,712
(69) Gangai 3,612	(70) Pahari 3,458	(71) Dailekhi 3,102
(72) Lhopa 3,029	(73) Dura 2,156	(74) Koce 2,080
(75) Chhiling 2,046	(76) English 2,032	(77) Jerung 1,763
(78) Khas 1,747	(79) Sanskrit 1,669	(80) Dolpali 1,667
(81) Hayu 1,520	(82) Tilung 1,424	(83) Koi 1,271
(84) Kisan 1,178	(85) Waling 1,169	(86) Musalban 1,075
(87) Hariyani 889	(88) Jumli 851	(89) Lhomi 808
(90) Punjabi 808	(91) Belhare 599	(92) Oriya 584
(93) Sonaha 579	(94) Sindhi 518	(95) Dadeldhuri 488
(96) Byangshi 480	(97) Assamese 476	(98) Raute 461
(99) Sam 401	(100) Manange 392	(101) Dhuleli 347
(102) Phangduali 290	(103) Surel 287	(104) Malpande 247
(105) Chinese 242	(106) Khariya 238	(107) Kurmali 227
(108) Baram 155	(109) Lingkhim 129	(110) Sadhani 122
(111) Kagate 99	(112) Dzonkha 80	(113) Bankariya 69
(114) Kaike 50	(115) Gadhawali 38	(116) French 34
(117) Mizo 32	(118) Kuki 29	(119) Kusunda 28
(120) Russian 17	(121) Spanish 16	(122) Nagamese 10
(123) Arabi 8	Not reported 47,718	Others 21,173
Total 26,494,504		

Annex 2: Languages of Nepal spoken as mother tongue at province level

Province 1

Above 1%

(1) Nepali 1953396 (43.07%)	(2) Maithili 507275 (11.18%)	(3) Limbu 331685 (7.31%)
(4) Tharu 177789 (3.92%)	(5) Tamang 177613 (3.91%)	(6) Magar 146252 (3.22%)
(7) Bantawa 130958 (2.88%)	(8) Urdu 125625 (2.77%)	(9) Rajbanshi 121291 (2.67%)
(10) Rai 120791 (2.66%)	(11) Newar 77559 (1.71%)	(12) Chamling 75061 (1.65%)
(13) Sherpa 67305 (1.48%)	(14) Santhali 48921 (1.07%)	

Below 1%

(15) Gurung 35460	(16) Kulung 32670	(17) Uranw/Urau 29053	(18) Thulung 20016
(19) Dhimal 18807	(20) Tajpuriya 18560	(21) Angika 18553	(22) Sampang 18011
(23) Bhujel 17488	(24) Yakkha 17426	(25) Bhojpuri 17422	(26) Sunuwar 14973
(27) Khaling 14141	(28) Bangla 14103	(29) Hindi 12573	(30) Wambule 12177
(31) Rajsthani 11781	(32) Bahing 11112	(33) Nachhiring 9854	(34) Yamphu/Yamphe 9152
(35) Danuwar 9005	(36) Dumi 7507	(37) Majhi 7270	(38) Puma 6641
(39) Dungmali 6225	(40) Athpariya 5490	(41) Mewahang 4484	(42) Meche 3947
(43) Chhintang 3712	(44) Lohorung 3633	(45) Magadi 3484	(46) Ganagai 3280
(47) Lapcha 2911	(48) Koche 2078	(49) Chhiling 2034	(50) Jero/Jerung 1658
(51) Avadhi 1527	(52) Tilung 1403	(53) Thami 1367	(54) Koyee 1244
(55) Kisan 1176	(56) Waling/Walung 1133	(57) Sanskrit 1096	(58) Magadi 1017
(59) NSL 989	(60) Doteli 933	(61) Bote 791	(62) Hariyanwi 774
(63) Kumal 771	(64) Hyolmo/Yholmo 704	(65) Lhomi 634	(66) Sindhi 411

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(67) Musalman 410	(68) Khash 408	(69) Sam 401	(70) Ghale 367
(71) Phangduwali 290	(72) Malpande 240	(73) Khariya 232	(74) Kurmali 220
(75) English 215	(76) Assami 203	(77) Belhare 187	(78) Thakali 165
(79) Chepang 135	(80) Tibetan 131	(81) Lingkhim 121	(82) Byansi 106
(83) Sadhani 103	(84) Kagate 91	(85) Punjabi 67	(86) Jirel 63
(87) Baram 63	(88) Hayu/Vayu 62	(89) Oriya 61	(90) Bajjika 56
(91) Achhami 45	(92) Chhantyal 32	(93) Pahari 29	(94) Kuki 29
(95) Darai 27	(96) Dzonkha 21	(97) Raji 19	(98) Chinese 7
(99) Mizo 6	(100) Nagamese 5	(101) Kusunda 5	(102) Kaike 1
(103) Khamchi(Raute) 1	(104) Arabi 1	Others 12838	Not stated 13297
Total 4534943			

Province 2

Above 1%

(1) Maithili 2447978 (45.29%)	(2) Bhojpuri 1003873 (18.57%)	(3) Bajjika 791642 (14.64%)
(4) Nepali 360276 (6.66%)	(5) Urdu 317060 (5.86%)	(6) Tharu 203575 (3.76%)
(7) Tamang 104984 (1.94%)		

Below 1%

(8) Magar 42931	(9) Magadi 31049	(10) Newar 16944	(11) Danuwar 8670
(12) Hindi 8625	(13) Rajsthani 6661	(14) Rai 6529	(15) Sunuwar 5689
(16) Uranw/Urau 4069	(17) Majhi 3984	(18) Doteli 2607	(19) Gurung 1567
(20) Limbu 1515	(21) Yakkha 1488	(22) Bangla 1278	(23) Avadhi 747
(24) Ghale 702	(25) Bhujel 625	(26) Musalman 613	(27) Baitadeli 418
(28) Bote 394	(29) Sherpa 389	(30) Meche 341	(31) Hyolmo/Yholmo 298
(32) NSL 289	(33) Ganagai 252	(34) Thami 245	(35) Bahing 204
(36) Santhali 196	(37) Chamling 179	(38) Chhantyal 179	(39) Darai 163
(40) Punjabi 158	(41) Chepang 155	(42) Mewahang 148	(43) Wambule 128
(44) Bantawa 117	(45) Hariyanwi 107	(46) Sanskrit 105	(47) Tajpuriya 104
(48) Rajbanshi 93	(49) Kham 88	(50) Pahari 84	(51) Thulung 76
(52) Lapcha 76	(53) Thakali 75	(54) Hayu/Vayu 72	(55) Sindhi 56
(56) Nachhiring 46	(57) Jero/Jerung 45	(58) Lhomi 42	(59) English 31
(60) Khaling 29	(61) Assami 26	(62) Waling/Walung 17	(63) Dhimal 15
(64) Sampang 15	(65) Jirel 11	(66) Athpariya 10	(67) Baram 7
(68) Kumal 6	(69) Bankariya 6	(70) Raji 5	(71) Tilung 5
(72) Oriya 5	(73) Kurmali 5	(74) Khash 5	(75) Yamphu/Yamphe 4
(76) Khariya 4	(77) Lohorung 4	(78) Puma 3	(79) Kagate 3
(80) Sadhani 3	(81) Kulung 2	(82) Dura 2	(83) Lingkhim 2
(84) Achhami 2	(85) Angika 1	(86) Dzonkha 1	(87) Malpande 1
(88) Chinese	Others 738	Not stated 22174	Total 5404145

Province 3

Above 1%

(1) Nepali 3175246 (57.42%)	(2) Tamang 1012862 (18.31%)	(3) Newar 680027 (12.29%)
(4) Magar 100796 (1.82%)	(5) Tharu 74279 (1.34%)	(6) Maithili 67142 (1.21%)

Below 1%

(7) Gurung 52553	(8) Chepang 46235	(9) Bhojpuri 42198	(10) Sherpa 41466
(11) Rai 28231	(12) Danuwar 28089	(13) Hindi 27015	(14) Thami 21499

(15) Sunuwar 16860	(16) Majhi 12700	(17) Limbu 9469	(18) Urdu 8917
(19) Hyolmo/Yholmo 8215	(20) Darai 6728	(21) Rajsthani 6282	(22) Jirel 4692
(23) Bangla 4231	(24) Tibetan 4122	(25) Lapcha 3861	(26) Ghale 3680
(27) Pahari 3321	(28) Kumal 3221	(29) Doteli 3190	(30) Bote 2282
(31) English 1522	(32) Chamling 1465	(33) Thakali 1429	(34) Hayu/Vayu 1383
(35) Bantawa 1354	(36) Wambule 1164	(37) NSL 864	(38) Avadhi 820
(39) Rajbanshi 706	(40) Kham 695	(41) Thulung 549	(42) Dhimal 469
(43) Kulung 460	(44) Bajjika 426	(45) Bhujel 424	(46) Oriya 402
(47) Manange 392	(48) Chhantyal 363	(49) Yakkha 339	(50) Bahing 335
(51) Sanskrit 290	(52) Khaling 287	(53) Punjabi 253	(54) Sampang 218
(55) Baitadeli 196	(56) Santhali 181	(57) Uranw/Urau 156	(58) Nachhiring 137
(59) Chinese 132	(60) Tajpuriya 129	(61) Dumi 125	(62) Achhami 116
(63) Surel 114	(64) Bajhangi 113	(65) Dura 106	(66) Lhomi 104
(67) Khash 70	(68) Bankariya 63	(69) Assami 61	(70) Jero/Jerung 60
(71) Lohorong 57	(72) Dolpali 52	(73) Lhopa 49	(74) Magadi 46
(75) Yamphu/Yamphe 44	(76) Belhare 38	(77) Dungmali 34	(78) Puma 33
(79) Meche 29	(80) French 29	(81) Koyee 27	(82) Mizo 26
(83) Athpariya 24	(84) Sindhi 21	(85) Kaike 20	(86) Sadhani 16
(87) Spanish 16	(88) Russian 16	(89) Darchuleli 16	(90) Byansi 15
(91) Mewahang 15	(92) Chhiling 12	(93) Ganagai 12	(94) Waling/Walung 11
(95) Raji 10	(96) Musalman 10	(97) Tilung 10	(98) Baram 9
(99) Bajureli 9	(100) Kusunda 8	(101) Lingkhim 6	(102) Gadhawali 6
(103) Kagate 5	(104) Dzonkha 5	(105) Hariyanwi 4	(106) Nagamese 4
(107) Khamchi(Raute) 2	(108) Koche 2	(109) Angika 1	(110) Kisan 1
(111) Arabi 1	Others 5066	Not stated 5754	Total 5529452

Province 4

Above 1%

(1) Nepali 1765855 (73.46%)	(2) Magar 237582 (9.88%)	(3) Gurung 210953 (8.77%)
(4) Newar 41739 (1.73%)	(5) Tharu 36134 (1.50%)	(6) Tamang 35084 (1.45%)

Below 1%

(7) Bhojpuri 10551	(8) Urdu 8647	(9) Maithili 5368	(10) Kumal 5343
(11) Darai 4664	(12) Hindi 4375	(13) Kham 3822	(14) Ghale 3284
(15) Thakali 3071	(16) Lhopa 2980	(17) Chhantyal 2804	(18) Bhujel 2380
(19) Bote 2276	(20) Rai 2222	(21) Dura 2044	(22) Chepang 1900
(23) Bajjika 1275	(24) Khash 1103	(25) Hyolmo/Yholmo 923	(26) Sherpa 877
(27) NSL 861	(28) Bangla 543	(29) Limbu 395	(30) Majhi 351
(31) Doteli 283	(32) Tibetan 148	(33) Sanskrit 148	(34) Sunuwar 132
(35) English 122	(36) Bantawa 104	(37) Avadhi 101	(38) Oriya 99
(39) Santhali 59	(40) Uranw/Urau 59	(41) Jirel 52	(42) Belhare 40
(43) Kulung 35	(44) Rajbanshi 31	(45) Rajsthani 30	(46) Yakkha 25
(47) Musalman 25	(48) Punjabi 24	(49) Chamling 21	(50) Baram 19
(51) Thami 17	(52) Sampang 14	(53) Lhomi 14	(54) Kaike 12
(55) Kusunda 11	(56) Assami 11	(57) Baitadeli 11	(58) Dhimal 6
(59) Khaling 6	(60) Malpande 6	(61) Danuwar 5	(62) Thulung 5
(63) Bajhangi 5	(64) French 5	(65) Lapcha 4	(66) Raji 4
(67) Yamphu/Yamphe 4	(68) Chinese 4	(69) Tilung 4	(70) Waling/Walung 3

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(71) Nachhiring 2	(72) Meche 2	(73) Wambule 1	(74) Hayu/Vayu 1
(75) Byansi 1	(76) Dungmali 1	(77) Dzonkha 1	(78) Nagamese 1
(79) Tajpuriya 1	(80) Ganagai 1	(81) Achhami 1	(82) Russian 1
(83) Dolpali 1	(84) Gadhawali 1	Others 517	Not stated 2110
Total 2403757			

Province 5

Above 1%

(1) Nepali 2301305 (51.14%)	(2) Tharu 597163 (13.27%)	(3) Bhojpuri 509192 (11.31%)
(4) Avadhi 498264 (11.07%)	(5) Urdu 228671 (5.08%)	(6) Magar 205080 (4.55%)
(7) Maithili 54826 (1.21%)		

Below 1%

(8) Newar 27839	(9) Gurung 19834	(10) Kham 17461	(11) Hindi 15777
(12) Tamang 3454	(13) Doteli 3406	(14) Kumal 2880	(15) Bote 1328
(16) Rai 999	(17) Sherpa 900	(18) Bhujel 760	(19) Raji 757
(20) Bangla 721	(21) Chhantyal 720	(22) NSL 645	(23) Rajsthani 531
(24) Sonaha 503	(25) Santhali 432	(26) Thakali 374	(27) Limbu 371
(28) Yakkha 251	(29) Sunuwar 220	(30) Uranw/Urau 193	(31) Punjabi 184
(32) Assami 155	(33) English 96	(34) Darai 87	(35) Achhami 86
(36) Ganagai 67	(37) Rajbanshi 64	(38) Ghale 56	(39) Chepang 51
(40) Majhi 44	(41) Danuwar 39	(42) Hyolmo/Yholmo 33	(43) Sindhi 30
(44) Sanskrit 27	(45) Jumli 24	(46) Lohorung 21	(47) Baram 20
(48) Meche 18	(49) Bantawa 17	(50) Musalman 17	(51) Oriya 15
(52) Dailekhi 14	(53) Chamling 11	(54) Khash 11	(55) Thami 10
(56) Magadi 10	(57) Lhomi 10	(58) Baitadeli 10	(59) Puma 9
(60) Tajpuriya 8	(61) Jirel 7	(62) Chinese 7	(63) Thulung 6
(64) Sampang 6	(65) Arabi 6	(66) Dumi 5	(67) Lapcha 5
(68) Waling/Walung 5	(69) Bajjika 4	(70) Kusunda 4	(71) Hariyanwi 4
(72) Athpariya 4	(73) Kulung 3	(74) Tibetan 3	(75) Dzonkha 3
(76) Nachhiring 2	(77) Mewahang 2	(78) Tilung 2	(79) Dhimal 1
(80) Bahing 1	(81) Hayu/Vayu 1	(82) Khamchi(Raute) 1	(83) Kurmali 1
Others 164	Not stated 2924	Total 4499272	

Province 6

Above 1%

(1) Nepali 1500553 (95.55%)	(2) Magar 32643 (2.07%)
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Below 1%

(3) Tamang 11328	(4) Tharu 6631	(5) Gurung 4104	(6) Sherpa 2911
(7) Kham 2386	(8) Dolpali 1614	(9) Bote 1403	(10) Maithili 1046
(11) Raji 980	(12) Hindi 910	(13) Newar 885	(14) Urdu 610
(15) Belhare 332	(16) Bhojpuri 301	(17) NSL 286	(18) Doteli 161
(19) Chhantyal 150	(20) Avadhi 120	(21) Rai 71	(22) Khamchi(Raute) 66
(23) Thakali 57	(24) Baitadeli 51	(25) Tibetan 27	(26) Bantawa 26
(27) Limbu 25	(28) Bajhangi 23	(29) Achhami 21	(30) English 19
(31) Khash 18	(32) Kaike 17	(33) Jumli 17	(34) Bajureli 10
(35) Yakkha 7	(36) Thami 6	(37) Darai 6	(38) Chamling 5
(39) Sunuwar 4	(40) Dura 3	(41) Baram 3	(42) Sanskrit 2

(43) Bangla 1	(44) Rajsthani 1	(45) Dhimal 1	(46) Kumal 1
(47) Jirel 1	(48) Meche 1	(49) Pahari 1	(50) Hayu/Vayu 1
(51) Punjabi 1	(52) Tajpuriya 1	(53) Surel 1	Others 76
Not stated 493	Total 1570418		

Province 7

Above 1%:

(1) Doteli 777247 (30.45%)	(2) Nepali 770322 (30.17%)	(3) Tharu 434304 (17.01%)
(4) Baitadeli 271838 (10.64%)	(5) Achhami 142516 (5.58%)	(6) Bajhangi 67440 (2.64%)

Below 1%:

(7) Magar 23246	(8) Bajureli 10685	(9) Maithili 8895	(10) Hindi 8294
(11) Tamang 7986	(12) Darchuleli 5912	(13) Dailekhi 3088	(14) Kham 2661
(15) Urdu 2016	(16) Raji 1983	(17) Newar 1564	(18) Bhojpuri 1421
(19) Gurung 1151	(20) Sherpa 982	(21) Jumli 810	(22) Lapcha 642
(23) NSL 542	(24) Dadeldhuri 488	(25) Khamchi(Raute) 391	(26) Byansi 358
(27) Dhuleli 347	(28) Bote 292	(29) Rai 271	(30) Bangla 184
(31) Avadhi 173	(32) Surel 172	(33) Limbu 143	(34) Khash 132
(35) Uranw/Urau 121	(36) Punjabi 121	(37) Rajsthani 108	(38) Chinese 92
(39) Sonaha 76	(40) Majhi 73	(41) Thakali 71	(42) Santhali 69
(43) Chhaling 58	(44) Dzonkha 49	(45) Bhujel 38	(46) Meche 37
(47) Chhantyal 35	(48) Baram 34	(49) Gadhawali 31	(50) Rajbanshi 29
(51) English 27	(52) Pahari 23	(53) Yakkha 22	(54) Sunuwar 20
(56) Assami 20	(57) Tibetan 14	(58) Bajjika 13	(59) Danuwar 13
(60) Magadi 8	(61) Tajpuriya 8	(62) Bantawa 7	(63) Thami 7
(64) Thulung 7	(65) Sampang 6	(66) Bahing 6	(67) Khaling 4
(68) Yamphu/Yamphe 4	(69) Lhomi 4	(70) Jirel 3	(71) Hyolmo/Yholmo 3
(72) Ghale 3	(73) Darai 2	(74) Khariya 2	(75) Oriya 2
(76) Athpariya 2	(77) Belhare 2	(78) Dhimal 1	(79) Dumi 1
(80) Lohorong 1	(81) Mewahang 1	(82) Sanskrit 1	(83) Kisan 1
(84) Kurmali 1	Others 1774	Not stated 966	Total 2552517

Annex 3: Majority languages at local levels

Maithili, 2nd position at national level, in 73 local levels in 2 provinces.

Province 1: Morang district: Jahada RMun (53.31%), Dhanpalthan RMun (53.30%)

Sunsari district: Kosi RMun (66.44%), Dewangunj RMun (81.95%), Barju RMun (57.30%)
Bhokraha Narsingh RMun (55.51%)

Province 2: Dhanusa district: Aurahi RMun (95.71%), Kamala Mun (87.69%)

Chhireswarnath Mun (86.90%), Ganeshman Charnath Mun (65.86%)

Janaknandini RMun (88.42%), Janakpur SMet (87.61%), Dhanusadham Mun (74.25%)

Dhanauji RMun (86.25%), Nagarain Mun (95.12%), Bateshwar RMun (66.15%)

Mithila Bihari Mun (91.19%), Mukhiyapatti Musahariya RMun (95.21%)

Laxminiya RMun (96.27%), Videha RMun (89.00%), Sabaila Mun (92.43%)

Sahidnagar Mun (96.95%), Hansapur Mun (95.06%), Mithila Mun (55.17%)

Mahottari district: Ekdara RMun (89.97%), Aurahi RMun (93.07%), Gaushala Mun (78.37%)

Jaleshwar Mun (89.94%), Pipara RMun (93.27%), Balawa Mun (85.12%)

Bhangaha Mun (80.78%), Matihani Mun (88.34%), Manarashisawa Mun (91.99%)

Mahottari RMun (95.24%), Ramgopalpur Mun (91.78%), Loharpatti Mun (82.31%)

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Sonama RMun (95.33%), Samsi RMun (61.19%)
Saptari district: Kanchanrup Mun (66.72%), Chhinnamasta RMun (96.86%)
Dakneshwari Mun (86.91%), Tirhut RMun (97.27%), Tilathikoiladi RMun (98.78%)
Balanbihul RMun (96.30%), Belhichapena RMun (96.49%), Bodebarsain Mun (87.92%)
Mahadewa RMun (96.69%), Rajbiraj Mun (86.06%), Rupani RMun (85.83%)
Bishnupur RMun (91.75%), Hanumannagar Kankalini Mun (94.19%), Khadak Mun (57.59%)
Shambhunath Mun (64.60%)

Sarlahi district: Parsa RMun (83.82%), Haripurwa Mun (74.69%), Kabilasi Mun (52.09%)

Siraha district: Arnama RMun (86.39%), Aurahi RMun (98.89%), Karjanha Mun (79.66%)
Kalyanpur Mun (91.83%), Golbajar Mun (73.42%), Dhangadhimai Mun (73.63%)
Naraha RMun (86.35%), Nawarajpur RMun (96.76%), Bariyarpatti RMun (97.82%)
Bhagawanpur RMun (95.94%), Mirchaiya Mun (89.79%), Laxmipur patari RMun (92.36%)
Lahan Mun (69.95%), Bishnupur RMun (97.70%), Sakhuanankarkatti RMun (96.95%)
Siraha Mun (90.24%), Sukhipur RMun (96.91%)

Bhojpuri, 3rd position at national level, in 36 local levels in 2 Provinces.

Parsa district: Kalikamai RMun (83.44%), Chhipaharmai RMun (95.86%)
Jagarnathpur RMun (86.31%), Dhobini RMun (96.51%), Pakaha Mainpur RMun (90.95%)
Paterwa Sugauli RMun (81.51%), Parsagadhi Mun (58.97%), Pokhariya Mun (95.87%)
Bahudarmai Mun (97.00%), Bindabasini RMun (82.71%), Birgunj Met (78.61%)
Sakhuwaprasauni RMun (78.87%)

Bara district: Adarshakotwal RMun (93.42%), Kalaiya SMet (89.48%), Devtal RMun (96.13%)
Pachrauta Mun (95.54%), Parwanipur RMun (96.91%), Prasauni RMun (94.40%)
Pheta RMun (85.19%), Baragadhi RMun (88.95%), Mahagadhimai Mun (89.17%)
Bisrampur RMun (92.16%), Simraungadh Mun (91.43%), Subarna RMun (96.94%)
Karaiyamai RMun (55.74%)

Province 5: Nawalparasi-West district: Palhinandan RMun (94.78%), Pratappur RMun (78.07%)

Ramgram Mun (77.13%), Sarawal RMun (75.68%), Susta RMun (66.01%)
Rupandehi district: Omsatiya RMun (54.81%), Kotahimai RMun (90.30%)
Marchabari RMun (89.51%), Mayadevi RMun (82.08%), Rohini RMun (85.51%)
Sammarimai RMun (89.76%)

Tharu, 4th position at national level, in 13 local levels in 4 provinces.

Province 1: Morang district: Gramthan RMun (55.50%)

Province 2: Bara district: Kolhabi Mun (50.76%)

Province 5: Bardiya district: Barbardiya Mun (73.15%), Rajapur Mun (77.78%)
Geruwa RMun (63.19%), Thakurbaba Mun (58.08%)

Dang district: Lamahi Mun (58.97%)

Province 7: Kanchanpur district: Belauri Mun (60.46%), Laljhadi RMun (76.71%)

Kailali district: Kailari RMun (88.46%), Janaki RMun (60.09%), Joshipur RMun (79.41%)
Bhajani Mun (65.71%)

Tamang, 5th position at national level, in 35 local levels in 3 provinces.

Province 3: Kavrepalanchok district: Khanikholi RMun (79.78%), Temal RMun (73.07%)
Mahabharat RMun (69.57%), Bethanchok RMun (52.46%), Roshi RMun (59.07%)

Dhading district: Khaniyabas RMun (86.75%), Rubi valley RMun (85.36%)

Nuwakot district: Dupcheshwar RMun (79.44%), Myagang RMun (84.32%)
Kakani RMun (52.79%), Kispang RMun (72.08%), Tadi RMun (55.87%)
Shivapuri RMun (54.09%)

- Makawanpur district: Indrasarobar RMun (71.57%), Kailash RMun (67.00%)
 Bagmati RMun (60.40%), Bakaiya RMun (73.12%), Bhimpheedi RMun (55.35%),
 Makawanpurgadhi RMun (58.65%), Raksirang RMun (50.43%)
- Rasuwa district: Amachhodingmo RMun (95.22%), Gosaikunda RMun (68.24%), Naukunda
 RMun (88.01%)
- Lalitpur district: Konjyosom RMun (75.04%), Bagmati RMun (58.30%)
- Sindhuli district: Ghyanglekh RMun (73.86%), Marin RMun (56.06%)
 Hariharpurgadhi RMun (66.59%)
- Sindhupalchok district: Jugal RMun (58.66%), Panchpokhari Thangpal RMun (59.40%)
 Lisangkhupakhar RMun (54.78%)
- Province 4: Manang district: Narpabhumi RMun (60.59%)
- Gorkha District: Chumnuhari RMun (54.67%)
- Province 6: Mugu district: Mugukarmarong RMun (67.43%)
- Humla district: Namkha RMun (98.30%)
- Newar*, 6th position at national level, in one local level in Bhaktapur Mun (77.22%) in Province 3
 Bhaktapur district.
- Bajjika*, 7th position at national level, in 24 local levels in Province 2.
- Rautahat district: Katahariya Mun (81.29%), Gadhimai Mun (78.94%), Garuda Mun (79.37%)
 Gaur Mun (64.39%), Durgabhagawati RMun (69.17%), Dewahigonahi Mun (73.44%)
 Phatuwabijayapur Mun (53.74%), Brindaban Mun (70.36%), Baudhimai Mun (84.26%)
 Madhavnarayan Mun (94.76%), Maulapur Mun (94.50%), Rajdevi Mun (85.28%)
 Ishnath Mun (56.28%), Paroha Mun (52.90%), Yamunamai RMun (52.96%)
- Sarlahi district: Kaudena RMun (75.88%), Godaita Mun (88.94%), Chakraghatta RMun (64.82%)
 Dhankaul RMun (95.40%), Barhathawa Mun (60.90%), Balara Mun (85.80%)
 Basbariya RMun (93.86%), Ramnagar RMun (91.03%), Bishnu RMun (91.99%)
- Magar*, 8th position at national level, in 9 local levels in 2 provinces.
- Province 4: Tanahu district: Rising RMun (63.79%)
- Nawalparasi-East district: Bunddikali RMun (61.84%), Bulintar RMun (64.24%)
 Hupsekot RMun (59.15%)
- Province 5: Palpa district: Nisdi RMun (83.87%), Purbakhola RMun (75.04%)
 Mayagadhi RMun (72.28%), Rambha RMun (61.39%)
- Rolpa district: Thabang RMun (60.23%)
- Doteli*, 9th position at national level, in 29 local levels in province 7.
- Kanchanpur district: Bedkot Mun (50.95%), Bhimdatta Mun (58.57%)
 Shuklaphanta Mun (61.66%)
- Kailali district: Godawari Mun (59.64%)
- Dadeldhura district: Ajayameru RMun (99.51%), Amargadhi Mun (90.10%)
 Alital RMun (79.42%), Ganyapdhura RMun (96.34%), Nawadurga RMun (98.89%)
 Parsuram Mun (91.32%), Bhageshwar RMun (95.84%)
- Doti district: Adarsha RMun (99.36%), K. I. Singh RMun (98.90%), Jorayal RMun (72.67%)
 Dipayal Silgadhi Mun (85.78%), Purbichauki RMun (99.04%), Bogatan RMun (94.52%)
 Shikhar Mun (97.75%), Sayal RMun (99.16%), Badikedar RMun (67.23%)
- Darchula district: Apihimal RMun (98.03%), Dunhun RMun (94.34%), Naugad RMun (99.79%)
 Byans RMun (88.27%), Mahakali Mun (93.58%), Marma RMun (92.25%)
 Malikarjun RMun (98.62%), Lekam RMun (99.04%), Shailyashikhar Mun (98.62%)
- Urdu*, 10th position at national level, 2 local levels in two provinces.

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Province 1, Sunsari district: Harinagar RMun (52.71%)

Province 2, Rautahat district: Rajpur Mun (68.20%)

Avadhi, 11th position at national level, in 9 local levels in districts of Province 5.

Kapilbastu district: Kapilbastu Mun (63.79%), Maharajgunj Mun (73.56%)

Bijayanagar RMun (51.31%), Suddhodan RMun (69.79%), Krishnanagar Mun (65.91%)

Mayadevi RMun (63.04%), Yashodhara RMun (66.80%)

Banke district: Janaki RMun (59.79%), Duduwa RMun (54.37%)

Limbu, 12th position at national level, in three local levels in Province 1.

Taplejung district: Phaktanglung RMun (62.69%), Meringden RMun (56.00%)

Panchthar district: Phalgunanda RMun (63.79%)

Gurung, 13th position at national level, in 7 local levels in two provinces.

Province 4: Gorkha district: Dharche RMun (85.41%)

Manang district: Nason RMun (72.91%), Manang Ngisyang RMun (79.97%)

Mustang district: Baragung Muktichhetra RMun (59.78%)

Lamjung district: Khwolasonthar RMun (62.49%), Dudhpokhari RMun (59.04%)

Province 6: Dolpa district: Dolpobuddha RMun (56.06%)

Baitadeli, 14th position at national level, in 10 local levels in Baitadi district of Province 7.

Dilasaini RMun (98.80%), Dasharath Chand Mun (96.00%), Dogadkedar RMun (99.20%)

Pancheshwar RMun (99.16%), Patan Mun (98.59%), Purchaudi Mun (98.08%)

Melauli Mun (98.55%), Shivanath RMun (99.36%), Sigas RMun (93.75%)

Surnaya RMun (98.49%)

Achhami, 16th position at national level, three local levels in Achham district, Province 7.

Chaurpati RMun (96.67%), Mellekh RMun (94.43%), Sanphebagar Mun (89.22%)

Bantawa, 17th position at national level, in one local level Hatuwagadhi RMun (54.33%) in Bhojpur district of Province 1.

Sherpa, 19th position at national level, in three local levels in 2 provinces.

Province 1: Sankhuwasabha district: Bhotkhola RMun (55.76%)

Solukhumbu district: Khumbu Pasanglhamu RMun (60.60%)

Province 6: Dolpa district: She-Phoksundo RMun (56.72%)

Bajhangi, 22nd position at national level, in two local levels in Bajhang district of Province 7.

Chhabispathibhera RMun (50.37%), Durgathali RMun (51.74%)

Kulung, 29th position at national level, in 2 local levels in province 1

Sankhuwasabha district: Silichong RMun (65.23%)

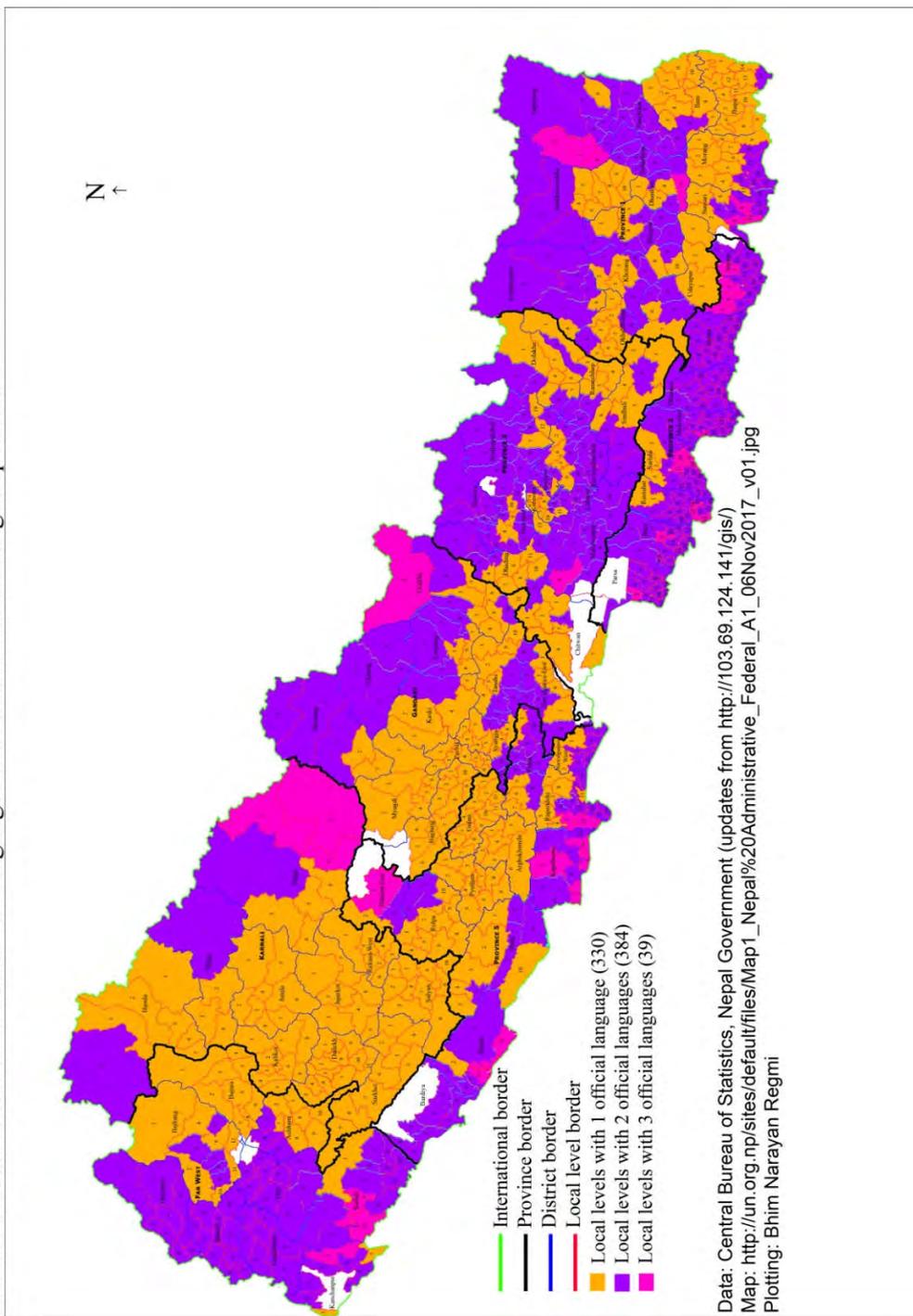
Solukhumbu district: Mahakulung RMun (79.60%)

Khaling, 42nd position at national level, in one local level Dudhkoshi RMun (53.73%) in Solukhumbu district of Province 1.

Lhopa, 72nd position at national level, in two local levels in Mustang district of Province 4.

Lo-Ghekar Damodarkunda RMun (69.14%), Lomanthang RMun (87.46%)

Annex 4: Local levels with number of languages above 25% mother tongue speakers



Data: Central Bureau of Statistics, Nepal Government (updates from <http://103.69.124.141/gis/>)
 Map: http://un.org.np/sites/default/files/Map1_Nepal%20Administrative_Federal_A1_06Nov2017_v01.jpg
 Plotting: Bhim Narayan Regmi