

The Kirati Languages and the Issue of ‘Rai’ in the Censuses of Nepal: A Critical Review

Tara Mani Rai 

Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University

Abstract

This study critically examines the trends of the Kirati languages in the national censuses of Nepal conducted in 2001, 2011, and 2021. Employing the quantitative and qualitative methods as the interpretation, this paper analyzes trends of distribution of the speakers and status of the intergenerational transmission. The findings reveal an unusual and uneven distribution of the Kirati languages. Along with this, many smaller languages are identified as not only marginal but also highly vulnerable. Notably, several languages show increases in the number of speakers over time; they are not an outcome of the demographic growth alone. Instead, they are reflections of ethnolinguistic awareness and identity the communities are engaged with. Besides, a major issue examined in the study is the case of ‘Rai,’ which appeared in the last two censuses, 2011 and 2021. There are a number of inconsistencies in the naming and spelling of the Kirati languages. The emergence of new languages and complexity of the censuses are discussed, questioning the reliability of the censuses. The paper argues that census data need to be more accurate and recommends clearer identification and classification of the languages and better enumeration practices.

Keywords: census data, mother tongue, language identification, ancestral language

Article Info.

Article History

Received: March 12, 2026

Revised: June 18, 2026

Accepted: July 28, 2026

Email

tara.raai@cdl.tu.edu.np

Cite

Rai, T. M. (2026). The Kirati languages and the issue of ‘Rai’ in the censuses of Nepal: A critical review. *Gipán*, 8(1), 29–42. <https://doi.org/10.3126/gipán.v8i1.98718>

Introduction

The Kirati languages, belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family, have been increasingly enumerated in the national censuses of Nepal. Since the censuses of 1952/54, data on the languages have been systematically recorded. Early groupings were limited and often subsumed under the broader category of the ‘Rai-Kirati group’ (Gurung, 1997, p.149). Over time, many remaining Kirati languages have been individually identified and listed.

Over the censuses, the number of reported Kirati languages has increased. This trend can be found to be growing because of political awareness (Yadava, 2003; Sharma 2014). During the Panchayat regime, the number of languages was relatively low. However, following the restoration of democracy in 1991, the number of languages increased, as is the case with the Kirati languages. After the federal state, this trend continued, with the total number of languages rising from 92 to 123 and

then to 124 in the 2001, 2011, and 2021 censuses, respectively. The naming of the languages was standardized, and the spellings were corrected through community-driven self-identification and linguistic awareness.

Notably, in 2021 introduced the category of ancestor languages for the first time. It is believed that the identification of the ancestor language is to trace the history of the ethnicity and their connectedness with the proto-language affiliations.

In addition, the recent census 2021 has expanded the dimension of mother tongue and second language reporting; ancestor language has been added. It may not be the functional use of the languages but provides the historical legacy and identity the communities have. Hence, the trends observed in the Kirati languages must be examined critically and with care. This paper answers the following research questions:

- a) What are the statuses of mother tongue, second language, and ancestral (ancestar) language among the Kirati languages?
- b) How does the Kirati languages show particular trends compared to previous censuses?

The purpose of this study is to critically examine the distribution, identification, and changing dynamics of Kirati languages in Nepal through the census data of 2001, 2011, and 2021 and field-based observations.

Methods and Materials

This study employed both the quantitative analysis of census data and the qualitative interpretation. The data examined in this study is primarily based on the 2021 census data and, thus, is compared with the censuses of 2011 and 2021, concentrating on the Kirati languages. First, the mother tongues of the Kirati languages were observed based on the 2021 census, whereas

they were compared with the second languages and ancestral languages. These datasets are supplemented by the field-based observations, especially on Tilung, Lungkhim, and Phangduwali, made during the sociolinguistic survey led by the LinSuN project (2008-2019). Similarly, secondary sources, published surveys, and policy reports were also entertained. Besides, the inconsistencies in the spellings and naming, such as Yamphu/Yamphe, Nacchhring/Nachhiring, Koi/Koyee, and Lingkhim/Lungkhim, were identified and carefully examined. In addition, the 'Rai' is distinguished as the ethnonym but not the language group. The analysis and interpretation are grounded in critical socio-ethnolinguistic perspectives. Descriptive statistical methods were also entertained to identify general trends, such as shifts in speaker numbers and changes in language reporting patterns between 2011 and 2021. This study has certain limitations, too. In terms of ethical considerations, the study used publicly available data and does not involve direct human participants.

Results and Discussion

Mother Tongues

The latest census, 2021, has enumerated around 3 dozen of the Kirati languages. The census shows a highly uneven distribution with a few large languages and many smaller ones. Of the Kirati languages, Yakthung/Limbu stands in the first position with 350,436 speakers. *Rai is in the second, which is not the language of an ethnic group (see the detail in section 4), followed by Bantawa language (138,003). There are mid-sized languages such as the Chamling language (89,037 speakers) and the Kulung language (37,912). In contrast, the majority of Kirati languages fall into the small and very small categories. Table 1 presents the distribution of the Kirati languages. reported in the census 2021.

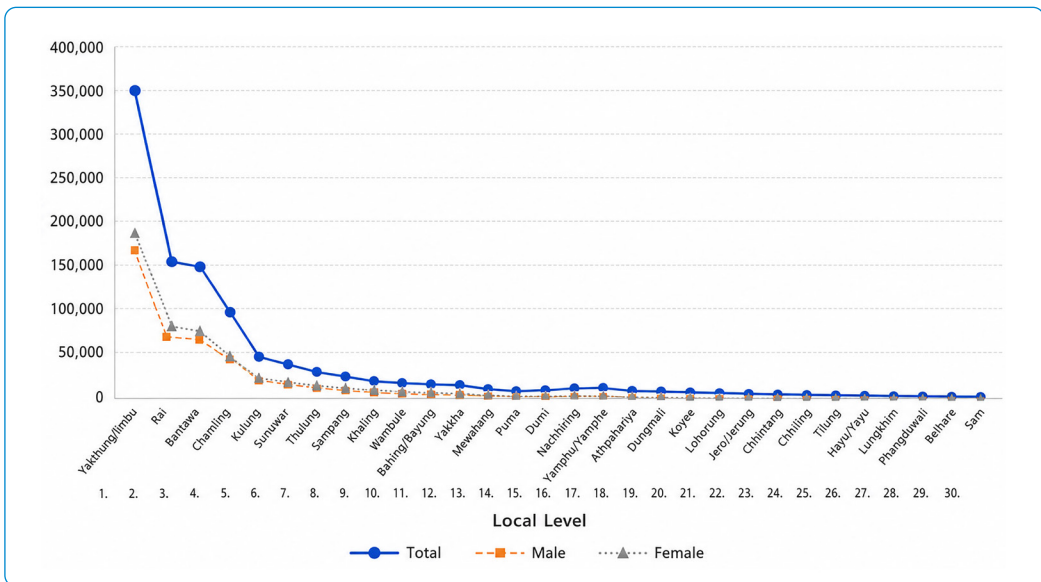
Table 1*Mother Tongues in the Kirati Languages*

S.N.	Mother Tongue	Total	Male	Female
	All Mother tongues	29164578	14253551	14911027
1	Yakthung/Limbu	350436	169889	180547
2	*Rai	144512	68357	76155
3	Bantawa	138003	67300	70703
4	Chamling	89037	43512	45525
5	Kulung	37912	18713	19199
6	Sunuwar	32708	16182	16526
7	Thulung	24,405	12,139	12,266
8	Sampang	21,597	10,503	11,094
9	Khaling	16,514	8,274	8,240
10	Wambule	15,285	7,494	7,791
11	Bahing/Bayung	14,449	7,099	7,350
12	Yakkha	14,241	6,946	7,295
13	Mewahang	7,428	3,730	3,698
14	Puma	6,763	3,300	3,463
15	Dumi	8,638	4,265	4,373
16	Nachhiring	9,906	4,927	4,979
17	Yamphu/Yamphe	10,744	5,354	5,390
18	Athpahariya	5,580	2,651	2,929
19	Dungmali	5,403	2,655	2,748
20	Koyee	4,152	2,084	2,068
21	Lohorung	3,884	1,876	2,008
22	Jero/Jerung	2,817	1,380	1,437
23	Chhintang	2,564	1,327	1,237
24	Chhiling	2,011	992	1,019
25	Tilung	1,969	1,017	952
26	Hayu/Vayu	1,133	540	593
27	Lungkhim	702	362	340
28	Phangduwali	247	142	105
29	Belhare	177	84	93
30	Sam	106	62	44

Note. (NSO, 2023)

Figure 1

Mother Tongues in the Kirati Languages



As can be seen in Table 1, the smaller languages such as Lohorung (3,884), Chhiling (2,011), and Tilung (1,969) have very limited speakers. The situation is more critical for languages like Lungkhim (702), Phangduwali (247), Belhare (177), and Sam (106), which show extremely low populations. The large number of the small languages indicates that many of them are at high risk.

The distribution of the languages in terms of gender is relatively balanced. However, the languages like Yakthung/Limbu, Chamling, and Kulung exhibit higher female counts in the context of the national censuses.

Tendencies of the Mother Tongues During the Censuses (Censuses 2001, 2011, and 2021)

The comparison of the last three censuses (2001-2021) in Nepal reveals diverse trends or the shifting patterns among the Kirati languages. The data shows the changing trends in both the linguistic identification and the distribution of the speakers. It is interesting that the Bantawa language, which once appeared as the largest

Kirati language in the 2001 census, declines in the following two censuses (2011-2021). In contrast, the Limbu language (reported as Yakthung/Limbu in 2021) consistently increases in number and emerges as the largest Kirati language in the later censuses. It indicates that the Yakthung/Limbu are in consistent intergenerational transmission along with the ethnolinguistic identity.

Among the Rai group, Bantawa stands as the largest language. But it presents a fluctuating pattern. In the census, Bantawa was reported as having 371,056 speakers, but it got reduced to 132,583 in 2011 before slightly recovering to 138,003 in 2021. This fluctuation shows that the Bantawa language was enriched by the number of 'Rai' that appeared in the following censuses, 2011-2021.

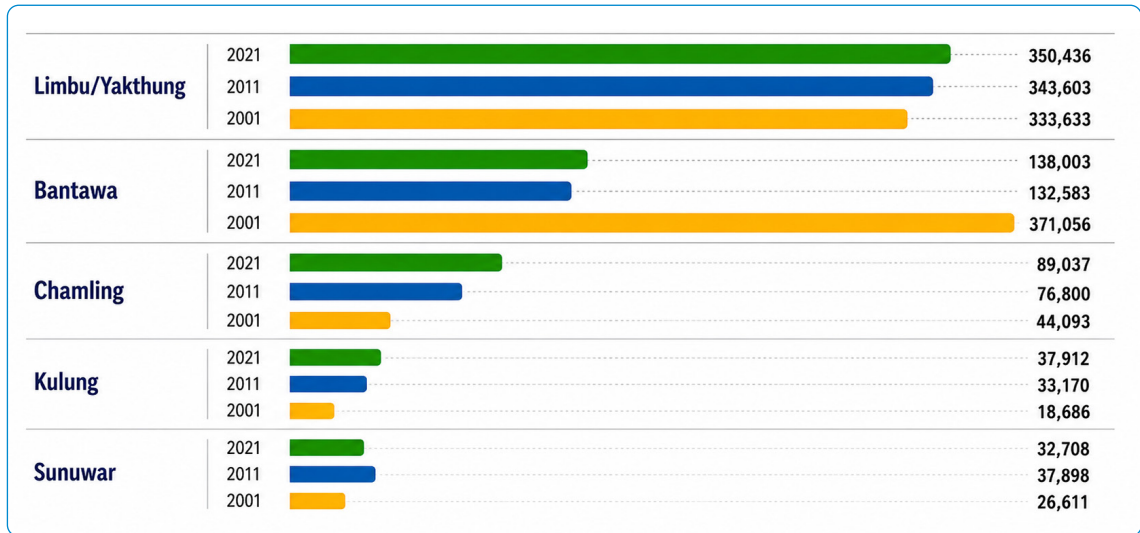
Chamling and Kulung exhibit consistent growth across all three censuses. Chamling increases from 44,093 (2001) to 89,037 (2021), while Kulung rises from 18,686 to 37,912 in the same period. In these languages, the increment of the speakers appears to be natural because of the

linguistic awareness. To the contrary, Sunuwar language shows a unique pattern, increasing from 26,611 in 2001 to 37,898 in 2011, followed by a decline to 32,708 in 2021. This indicates that the

Sunuwar language is being shifted, probably toward dominant language Nepali. Figure 2 presents the trends of the major five Kirati languages.

Figure 2

Trends of the Kirati Languages Based on 2001, 2011, and 2021 Censuses



Note. NSO (2021)

Smaller Languages and Empirical Observation

There are a large number of the smaller Kirati languages. The languages like Tilung, Chhiling, and Lohorung are found to be maintaining very few speakers in all three censuses (see Annex II). The increment of the speakers shows that they are aware of their identity and mother tongue recognition. Similarly, other small Kirati languages also exhibit a limited number of speakers. For example, Dungmali increases from 221 (2001) to 6,260 (2011) before declining to 5,403 (2021). Similarly, Mewahang grows from 904 (2001) to 4,650 (2011) and further to 7,428 (2021). Likewise, Yamphu/Yamphe increases from 1,722 (2001) to 9,208 (2011) and 10,744 (2021), and Nachhiring (Nacchhring) rises from 3,553 (2001) to 10,041 (2011) before declining to 9,906 (2021). However, these increases are limited in comparison to the other above major languages.

The increment of the speakers may raise crucial questions about the reliability of the census data. This is because of the ethnolinguistic awareness and issues of the identity. During the fieldwork on some of the Kirati languages, we personally visited the community and made the empirical observations. For instance, Tilung is reported to be spoken by a handful of speakers in survey-based studies (Rai, 2017), while the census report showed the higher number of speakers. Similarly, the Lungkhim language is spoken by only six individuals according to field reports (Rai and Gautam 2018), yet it is enumerated as having 227 speakers in the 2021 census. My field visits to Phangduwali and Muga-speaking communities further show that the census figures (2021) do not accurately represent the actual number of speakers.

Adding New Languages

There are notable changes in the 2011 and 2021 censuses: the appearance of several languages that were absent in 2001, including Belhare, Athpahariya, Phangduwali, and Surel. This phenomenon should not be interpreted as the emergence of new languages, but these were not enumerated due to the lack of linguistic awareness and identity, advocacy, and changes in census enumeration practices in earlier period.

Misconception of the “Rai” Language

“Rai” is rather a broader term but not a single language. Rai is an ethnic/indigenous group that comprises more than 25 languages (Rai, 2024). Before the 2011 census, the Rai were not reported as the linguistic group, but it appeared in the past two censuses, 2011 and 2021. A number of respondents identify “Rai” as their language (159,114 in Census 2011; 144,512 in Census 2021). This brought the complexity between the ethnic and linguistic identities. As a result, the speakers of the Bantawa were massively reduced and reached fewer than the speakers of the Yakthung/Limbu. In the census report of 2001, Bantawa was reported as the largest Kirati language. The speakers of the Chamling and Kulung languages were also highly affected in the previous two censuses, which might have been recognized as the ‘Rai’ languages.

Nepal presents a highly complex multilingual context. As Yadava (2003) notes:

Nepal’s languages, being a multiethnic nation, interact in a threefold ethnic-linguistic structure: a. one (ethnic group)-to-one (language), e.g., Rajbanshi speaking a single language, namely, Rajbanshi; b. one (caste/ethnic group)-to-many (languages), e.g., Yadav speaking Maithili, Bhojपुरi, and Avadhi languages in the east, central, and western Tarai regions; c. many (castes/ethnic groups)-to-one (language), e.g. Bahun, Kshetri, Kami, Damai, Thakuri, Sarki and Sanyasi speaking a single language (pp. 152-153).

In this framework, linguistic and ethnic boundaries do not always come together. The Rai people represent a clear example of this complexity, as they encompass more than 25 distinct languages rather than a single unified language.

This misguided data did not only reduce reliability but also highly created challenges for institutions such as the Language Commission of Nepal in language planning and policy. While recommending the province languages, the Language Commission could not identify the ‘Rai’ language and which group it belongs to. It has been really sad that reducing the ‘Rai’ language, not a language of the Rai group, are recommended for the provincial languages (Language Commission Report, 2021; Rai, 2024).

Standardization of the Spellings

The comparison of the three censuses (2001, 2011, 2021) in Nepal shows a lack of consistency in the spelling of several language names. For example, the Limbu language is reported as Yakthung/Limbu in 2021, whereas it was Limbu in the previous censuses. However, many inconsistencies remain. variations such as Nacchhring vs. Nachhiring, Yamphu vs. Yamphe, Bahing vs. Bayung, Koi vs. Koyee, and Lingkhim vs. Lungkhim indicate the absence of uniform spelling conventions. Overlapping labels such as Jero/Jerung vs. Jerung further complicated classification.

Distribution of the Second Language

If we observe the 2021 census data, most of the languages show only a limited number of second-language speakers. There is a tendency of moving toward Nepali, a dominant lingua franca. The limited spread of these languages as second languages reflects that their functional domains are being narrowed and the growing influence of Nepali in education, administration, and everyday interaction.

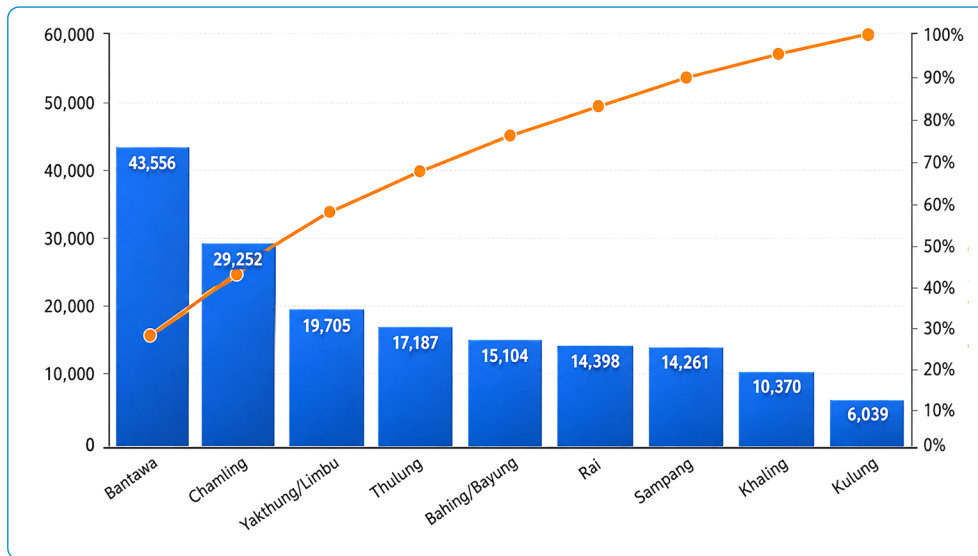
Of the 32 Kirati languages, the ten most widely reported second languages are Bantawa (43,536), Chamling (29,252), Yakthung/Limbu

(19,705), Thulung (17,187), Bahing/Bayung (15,104), Rai (14,398), Sampang (14,261), Khaling (10,370), Kulung (6,039), and Dumi (5,870), which are presented in Figure 2. This data shows the patterns of regional multilingualism, where social

interaction and geographic proximity promote the acquisition of neighboring languages as second languages. At the same time, the limited speakers indicate the dominance of Nepali.

Figure 3

Distribution of the Second Languages Spoken in the Kirati Group



Note. NSO, 2021

As Figure 3 has shown, the remaining languages also show a highly declined number of second-language speakers. These include Wambule (5,227), Puma (4,271), Mewahang (3,669), Nachhiring (3,176), Chhintang (2,135), Tilung (1,762), Sunuwar (1,597), Belhare (1,491), Dungmali (1,271), Jero/Jerung (1,245), Koyee (928), Yakkha (704), Chhiling (685), Lohorung (622), Yamphu/Yamphe (494), Athpahariya (320), Phangduwali (85), Sam (79), Lungkhim (28), and Mugali (23). The data that have low figures suggest that they have very limited roles as second languages. This pattern highlights the marginal status of most minority languages in terms of wider communicative use. They are losing the functional domains and crisis at the vitality due to the context of where Nepali has the role of the lingua franca.

Comparison of the Mother Tongues With the Second Languages in 2011 and 2021

The comparison of second languages in the Kirati group has been made between 2011 and 2021 in Nepal. If we look at the pattern, we find not only unevenness but also inconsistency. The larger languages like Yakthung/Limbu and the *Rai (not the language) show a slight decline (Limbu: 22,202 to 19,705; Rai: 17,199 to 14,398). It shows that larger languages may not be expanding significantly as second languages due to the dominance of the Nepali language as the lingua franca. Likewise, several other Kirati languages also exhibit the significant increases. The Bantawa language rises from 28,459 to 43,536, and the Chamling language from 6,359 to 29,252.

Further, Thulung (1,599 to 17,187), Sampang (2,001 to 14,261), Khaling (1,167 to 10,370), and Bahing/Bayung (3,552 to 15,104) show substantial growth. These increases are unlikely to represent natural expansion; rather, they may have increased ethnolinguistic awareness and identity-based reporting.

Smaller languages also exhibit noticeable increases in the use of the second language, i.e., Dumi (1,017 to 5,870), Puma (317 to 4,271), Mewahang (226 to 3,669), and Tilung (209 to 1,762). However, despite this growth, their overall proportions remain extremely low.

Interestingly, the dataset discloses the inconsistencies and irregularities. Some languages tend to appear in one census but not the other (e.g.,

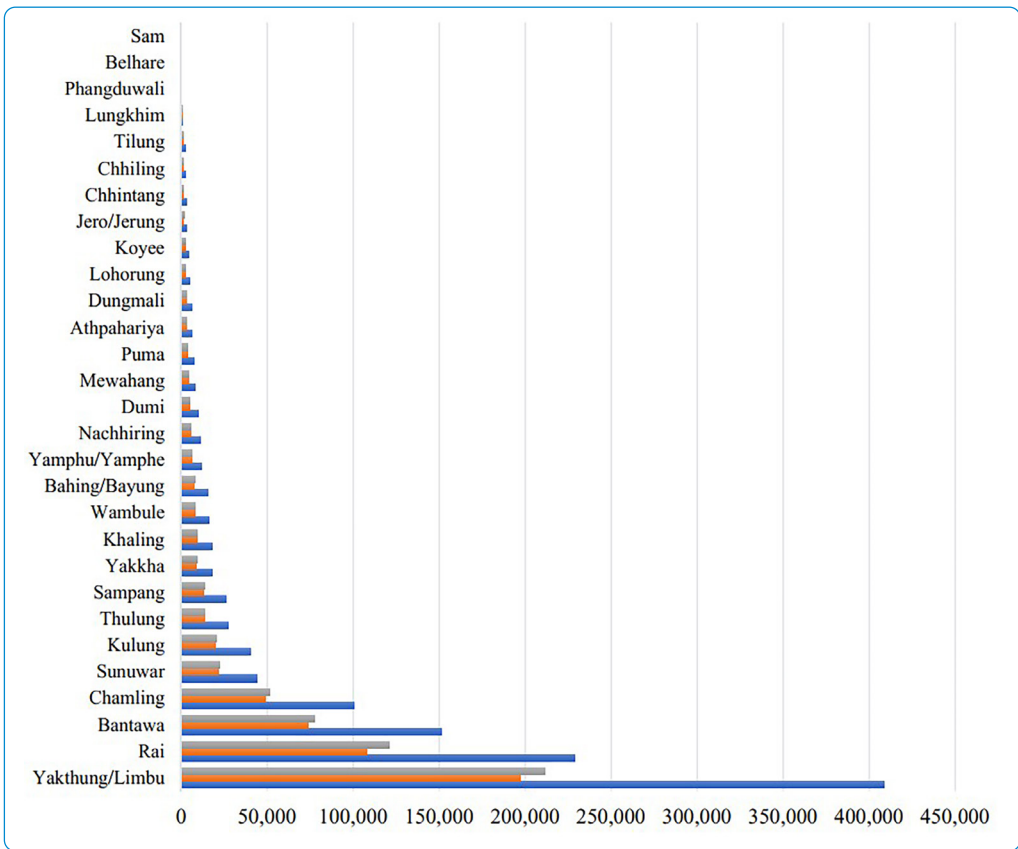
Sunuwar missing in 2011; Mugali), while others show instant increases (e.g., Belhare: 12 to 1,491). These patterns show doubt on the reliability of the data and reporting practices. Overall, the trend suggests that Kirati languages are increasingly reported as second languages, but there is not uniformity in the expansion, and it is found to be influenced by identity-based issues rather than actual communicative use. The dominance of the Nepali language continues to limit the wider functional role of these languages.

Ancestor Languages Among the Kirati Group

In the history of the censuses held in Nepal, the inclusion of the ancestral language ‘Purkhako Bhasa’ has been the first practice. Table 3 presents the ancestor languages of the Kirati cluster.

Figure 4

Distribution of the Second Languages Spoken in the Kirati Group



As can be seen in Figure 3 (see Annex-3), there is a hierarchical pattern that is evident in the distribution of ancestor languages of the Kirati indigenous group. Among the Kirati culture, the Yakthung/Limbu stand for the first position, with 408,577 individuals speaking Yakthung/Limbu as the ancestral language. This is followed by the Rai language (228,502), which is controversial (discussed above under the section) as an umbrella term rather than a specific language group. There are languages from the Rai group, i.e., the Bantawa language (151,346) and the Chamling language (100,754). These are the major languages among the Kirati language groups.

Beyond these major groups, there are mid-sized ancestor languages, i.e., Sunuwar (44,276); Kulung (40,479); Thulung (27,246); and Sampang (26,108).

There are a number of smaller ancestor languages; i.e., Yakkha (18,125), Khaling (18,173), Wambule (15,932), Bahing/Bayung (15,290), and Yamphu/Yamphe (12,024) represent intermediate tiers, while many others fall below 10,000 speakers. These include Nachhiring (10,957), Dumi (10,009), Mewahang (8,214), Puma (7,408), Athpahariya (6,236), and Dungmali (6,067). At the lower end of the spectrum, very small populations are recorded for languages such as Lohorung (4,925), Koyee (4,455), Jero/Jerung (3,007), Chhintang (2,811), Chhiling (2,679), and Tilung (2,123), whereas the extremely small groups have fewer than 1,000 speakers, i.e., Lungkhim (738), Phangduwali (241), Belhare (173), and Sam (164). The distribution of these languages shows a long tail pattern, where a few languages have a large number of speakers.

The gender distribution appears to be consistent, where a slight female is higher than the male as can be seen in the national demographic structure. However, in the cases of Yakthung/Limbu, Bantawa, and Chamling, the female counts exceed those of the male counts. Besides, a few minor deviations in small populations tend to appear as deviations rather than systematic trends

due to localized demographic variation. Otherwise, there is gender balance in the ancestral language identification.

Comparison of the Ancestor Language With the Mother Tongue

The census data of ancestor language provides crucial insight into the intergenerational linguistic profile of the Kirati languages in Nepal. When compared with current mother tongue figures, the status of the ancestor languages shows the language retention, shift, and identity continuity across generations. For instance, the Yakthung/Limbu language shows 408,577 speakers of the ancestor language but only 350,436 current mother tongue speakers. There is a reduction in the mother tongues compared to the actual ethnic community. Similarly, the Bantawa language declines from 151,346 (ancestor) to 138,003 (mother tongue) and the Chamling language from 100,754 to 89,037. The 'Rai' language also has the same story, which records 228,502 speakers as an ancestor language but only 144,512 as a current mother tongue. It is unfortunate that the Rai is reflected in the ancestor and mother tongue.

There are mid-sized languages such as Sunuwar, Kulung, Thulung, and Sampang that also exhibit consistent reductions while comparing ancestor and mother tongue figures. For example, Sunuwar decreases from 44,276 to 32,708, and Kulung from 40,479 to 37,912. Although these differences are smaller compared to larger groups, they still indicate gradual erosion of intergenerational transmission.

The relatively smaller gaps in some of these languages may suggest stronger community cohesion or localized maintenance, but the overall trend remains one of decline. Similarly, Dumi, Nachhiring, Puma, and Athpahariya also show reduced mother tongue speakers compared to their ancestral languages. In the figure, Dumi declines from 10,009 to 8,638 and Puma from 7,408 to 6,763. In very small languages, Belhare, Phangduwali, and Sam, the gap between ancestral

and current speakers is minimal but still vulnerable. These languages already have critically low populations and indicate that they are at the risk of endangerment or extinction.

If we observed the gender distribution in the ancestor-language data, it is similar to mother tongue data, where there is a slight female majority across most groups. This consistency shows that the language shift is not gender-specific but rather a community-wide phenomenon. Therefore, the driving forces behind language shift are more likely to be socioeconomic, educational, and political, rather than demographic imbalances.

Conclusion and Implications

This study concluded with the critical analysis of the censuses of the Kirati languages conducted from 2001 to 2021. The census data exhibit the increment of the Kirati languages along with their reported speakers. The datasets do not only reflect the linguistic growth but also link to the rising ethnolinguistic awareness and the linguistic identity the communities are seeking. Notably, the issue of the 'Rai' is really problematic; it appeared in the 2001 census for the first time as the individual language, creating ambiguity. In fact, it is rather an ethnic or indigenous group than a language. In the context of Nepal, there is a threefold correspondence between the language and ethnicity. First, one ethnic group, one language. Second, one ethnic group, many languages. And lastly, many languages, one ethnic group. The Rai is subsumed under the one ethnic group having many languages. But this was not reflected in the census reports after 2001 and followed by 2021. As a result, the outcomes created practical difficulties for the language planning and policy. On the basis of the 2011 census, the language commission could not recommend the language from the 'Rai group,' though there was potential. The study also discussed the inconsistencies in naming the languages and spelling errors that are increasingly standardized. In addition, new languages are added that have broadened the diversity of Nepal. A similar issue is in the case of the second languages,

where reported speakers are depicted less and lack functional domains. It indicates that the majority of the speakers are shifting to Nepali, the lingua franca. The data clearly show that there are uneven patterns within the Kirati groups. Undoubtedly, a few languages remain relatively stable, whereas many smaller languages are highly vulnerable. Empirical studies on the field site selections reveal the gap between the census figures and actual language use, i.e., Lungkhim and Tilung.

These findings lead to a number of implications. Of them, first, future censuses should clearly distinguish language and ethnic group and the categories. Naming conventions should also be standardized, and enumerators should be trained well before they are sent to gather the data. Second, there should be a collection of data accurate for effective language planning and policy as they are used for language planning and policy, i.e., the institutions like the Language Commission Nepal must use it. Third, smaller Kirati languages need focused documentation and revitalization efforts, supported by field-based linguistic research. Overall, the study shows that census data are not neutral records of linguistic reality. They are shaped by social, political, and institutional processes.

References

- Central Bureau of Statistics. (2001). *Population census 2001: National report*.
- Central Bureau of Statistics. (2012). *National population and housing census 2011: National report* (Vol. 1).
- Gurung, H. (1997). Linguistic demography of Nepal. *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 24(2), 147–185.
- Language Commission Nepal. (2021). *Determination of criteria for languages of official work and language-related recommendations: Five-year report*.
- National Statistics Office. (2021). *National population and housing census 2021, 12th population census*.

- National Statistics Office. (2023). *National population and housing census 2021: National report (Vol. 1)*.
- Rai, T. M. (2017). *A sociolinguistic survey of Tilung: A Tibeto-Burman language* [Research report]. Linguistic Survey of Nepal, Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University.
- Rai, T. M., & Gautam, B. L. (2018). *Lungkhim bhasako samajbhasa baigyanik adhyayan [A sociolinguistic survey of the Lungkhim language]* [Research report]. Language Commission.
- Rai, T. M. (2024). Unraveling the relationship among the Kirati languages. *Nepalese Linguistics*, 38(1), 91–98. <https://doi.org/10.3126/nl.v38i1.71561>
- Regmi, D. R. (2024). Ancestral languages of Nepal in the 2021 census. *Nepalese Linguistics*, 38(1), 99–110. <https://doi.org/10.3126/nl.v38i1.71562>
- Sharma, P. (2014). *Some aspects of Nepal's social demography: Census 2011 update*. Social Science Baha; Himal Books.
- Yadava, Y. P. (2003). Language. In *Population monograph of Nepal* (Vol. 1, pp. 137–172). Central Bureau of Statistics & United Nations Population Fund.
- Yadava, Y. P. (2013). Linguistic context and language endangerment in Nepal. *Nepalese Linguistics*, 28, 262–274.

Annex-I

Comparision of the Censues (2001, 2011 and 2021)

S.N.	Languages	2001	Languages	2011	Langauges	2021
1.	Bantawa	371056	Limbu	343,603	Yakthung/Limbu	3,50,436
2.	Limbu	333633	Rai	159,114	Rai	1,44,512
3.	Chamling	44093	Bantawa	132,583	Bantawa	1,38,003
4.	Sunuwar	26611	Chamling	76,800	Chamling	89,037
5.	Kulung	18686	Sunuwar	37,898	Kulung	37,912
6.	Yakkha	14648	Kulung	33,170	Sunuwar	32,708
7.	Thulung	14034	Thulung	20,659	Thulung	24,405
8.	Sangpang	10810	Yakkha	19,558	Sampang	21,597
9.	Khaling	9288	Sampang	18,270	Khaling	16,514
10.	Dumi	5271	Khaling	14,467	Wambule	15,285
11.	Wambule/Umbule	4471	Wambule	13,470	Bahing/Bayung	14,449
12.	Puma	4321	Bahing	11,658	Yakkha	14,241
13.	Nacchhring	3553	Nacchering	10,041	Yamphu/Yamphe	10,744
14.	Bahing	2765	Yamphu	9,208	Nachhiring	9,906
15.	Koi/Koyu	2641	Dumi	7,638	Dumi	8,638
16.	Hayu	1743	Puma	6,686	Mewahang	7,428
17.	Yamphu/Yamphe	1722	Dungmali	6,260	Puma	6,763

S.N.	Languages	2001	Languages	2011	Languages	2021
18.	Chhiling	1314	Athpahariya	5,530	Dungmali	5,403
19.	Lohorung	1207	Mewahang	4,650	Athpahariya	5,580
20.	Mewahang	904	Lohorung	3,716	Koyee	4,152
21.	Tilung	310	Chhintang	3,712	Lohorung	3,884
22.	Jero/Jerung	271	Chhiling	2,046	Jero/Jerung	2,817
23.	Dungmali	221	Hayu	15,20	Mugali	2,834
24.	Lingkhim	97	Jerung	1,763	Chhintang	2,564
25.	Sam	23	Tilung	1,424	Chhiling	2,011
26.			Koi	1,271	Tilung	1,969
27.			Belhare	599	Hayu/Vayu	1,133
28.			Sam	401	Lungkhim	702
29.			Lingkhim	129	Phangduwali	247
30.					Belhare	177
31.					Surel	171
32.					Sam	106
33.					Lungkhim	702

Annex-II

Comparison of the Second Languages (2011, 2021)

S.N.	Languages	2011	Languages	2021
1.	Limbu	22,202 (0.08%)	Yakthung/Limbu	19,705 (0.1%)
2.	Rai	17,199 (0.06%)	Rai	14,398 (0.0%)
3.	Bantawa	28,459 (0.10%)	Bantawa	43,536 (0.01%)
4.	Chamling	6,359 (0.02%)	Chamling	29,252 (0.01%)
5.	Sunuwar		Kulung	6,039 (0.0%)
6.	Kulung	1,389 (0.00%)	Sunuwar	1,597 (0.0%)
7.	Thulung	1,599 (0.00%)	Thulung	17,187 (0.01%)
8.	Yakkha	1,490 (0.00%)	Sampang	14,261 (0.0%)
9.	Sampang	2,001 (0.00%)	Khaling	10,370 (0.01%)
10.	Khaling	1,167 (0.00%)	Wambule	5,227 (0.0%)
11.	Wambule	869 (0.00%)	Bahing/Bayung	15,104 (0.01%)
12.	Bahing	3,552 (0.01%)	Yakkha	704 (0.0%)
13.	Nacchering	727 (0.00%)	Yamphu/Yamphe	494 (0.0%)
14.	Yamphu	328 (0.00%)	Nachhiring	3,176 (0.0%)

S.N.	Languages	2011	Langauges	2021
15.	Dumi	1,017 (0.00%)	Dumi	5,870 (0.0%)
16.	Puma	317 (0.00%)	Mewahang	3,669 (0.0%)
17.	Dungmali	209 (0.00%)	Puma	4,271 (0.0%)
18.	Athpahariya		Dungmali	1,271 (0.0%)
19.	Mewahang	226 (0.00%)	Athpahariya	320 (0.0%)
20.	Lohorung	258 (0.00%)	Koyee	928 (0.0%)
21.	Chhintang	1,008 (0.00%)	Lohorung	622 (0.0%)
22.	Chhiling	197 (0.00%)	Jero/Jerung	1,245 (0.0%)
23.	Jerung	3,619 (0.01%)	Mugali	23(0.0%)
24.	Tilung	209 (0.00%)	Chhintang	2,135 (0.0%)
25.	Koi	201(0.00%)	Tilung	1,762 (0.0%)
26.	Belhare	12 (0.00%)	Chhiling	685 (0.0%)
27.	Sam	10(0.00%)	Lungkhim	28 (0.0%)
28.	Lingkhim	18(0.00%)	Phangduwali	85(0/0%)
29.			Belhare	1,491(0.0%)
30.			Sam	79 (0.0%)

Annex-III

Population by Ancestor's Language and Sex (Among the KIRATI Cluster)

Ancestor Language Census 2021	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Total	29164578	14253551	14911027
Yakthung/Limbu	408,577	197,111	211,466
Rai	228,502	107,734	120,768
Bantawa	151,346	73,698	77,648
Chamling	100,754	49,120	51,634
Sunuwar	44,276	21,848	22,428
Kulung	40,479	19,960	20,519
Thulung	27,246	13,539	13,707
Sampang	26,108	12,771	13,337
Yakkha	18,125	8,823	9,302
Khaling	18,173	9,072	9,101
Wambule	15,932	7,819	8,113
Bahing/Bayung	15,290	7,483	7,807

Ancestor Language Census 2021	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Yamphu/Yamphe	12,024	5,968	6,056
Nachhiring	10,957	5,472	5,485
Dumi	10,009	4,960	5,049
Mewahang	8,214	4,118	4,096
Puma	7,408	3,606	3,802
Athpahariya	6,236	2,966	3,270
Dungmali	6,067	2,984	3,083
Lohorung	4,925	2,399	2,526
Koyee	4,455	2,236	2,219
Jero/Jerung	3,007	1,466	1,541
Chhintang	2,811	1,458	1,353
Chhiling	2,679	1,323	1,356
Tilung	2,123	1,090	1,033
Lungkhim	738	387	351
Phangduwali	241	138	103
Belhare	173	81	92
Sam	164	91	73

