

Language Retention in the Magar Languages: Evidence From the Census Data (2021)

Tara Mani Rai¹, Urika Thapa²

¹Assistant Professor, Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University

²MPhil-PhD Scholar, Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University

Abstract

This paper examines the language retention of the Magar languages, i.e., Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, Magar Kaike, and Tichhurong Kaike, belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal, being based on the censuses of 2001, 2011, and 2021. This study employed the quantitative method, including a qualitative approach for the interpretation of the data. The key findings reveal that the national level of the Magar ethnic population covers 2,013,498, out of which 903,703 are speakers, including the four Magar languages, which labels the language retention as 44.88%. At the province level, language retention seems to be lower in Lumbini Province and highest in Koshi. At the district level, Magar Dhut is retained highly in Tanahu, Palpa, Syangja, and Nawalparasi (Bardaghat East) and low in Kathmandu, Lalitpur, and Bhaktapur. Magar Kham is concentrated in Rolpa and Rukum, and Tichhurong Poike is in Dolpa with a few speakers. In accordance with the ecological belts, the mountain belt retains a high percentage, that is, 83%, but no conclusion can be drawn from this outcome alone. In the hill belt, Magar Dhut and Magar Kham are found to be densely populated, covering 45%, while the Terai exhibits 40.4%. Unless there is unprecedented planning made for language revitalization, the language may not retain its speakers. Along with the language planning and policy, along with the strong implementation, only the new life of the Magar Dhut language may be given.

Keywords: language vitality, language planning and policy, retention

Corresponding Author

Tara Mani Rai

Email

tara.raai@cdl.tu.edu.np

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Introduction

Magar languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken primarily in the western part of Nepal. However, the people who speak Magar languages are found to be scattered throughout Nepal. “Magar” is taken to be an umbrella term that covers the languages like Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, Magar Kaike, and Tichhurong Poike, which can be reflected in the census (NSO, 2021). This reflects the diversity of Nepal, where different numbers of languages are spoken, which has been recognized in the country for many decades (Yadava 2003; Sharma 2014, p. 76).

In the history of the census, since 1952/54, the languages were recorded as a varying number of languages: 44 languages (1952/54); 36 languages (1961); 17 languages (1971); 18 languages (1981);

31 languages (1991); 92 languages (2001); 123 languages (2011); and 124 languages (2021) (NSO, 2021 and Yadava, 2013). Since the first census, Magar has been found to be listed; however, the name has been varied during the last 6 censuses.

There is no correspondence between the ethnic/indigenous names and the language names. The Magar languages have been recorded as Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, and Magar Kaike, with the prefix 'Magar', except Tichhurong Poike (NSO, 2021). To gain insights into the real ground, we need to understand the complex multiethnic and 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, Bhojpuri, 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)

Magar is one of the indigenous communities that has 4 distinct languages, which belong to the category of (b) one caste/ethnic group to many languages. In the Magar languages, there exist a number of research works relating to the documentation (Shepherd & Barbara, 1971; Subba, 1972; Grunow-Hårsta, 2008) and sociolinguistic surveys (Thakur, 2013; Regmi and Regmi 2022a, Adhikari, 2017), but there are not enough studies on the census data. With this research gap, this study aims to meet the objectives of the research work.

Research Objective

- o How does the retention of the Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, Magar Kaike, and Tichhurong Poike vary across the provinces?

- o Why is the Magar language losing its domains and being under threat?

Methods and Materials

This study employed the quantitative-descriptive approach based on the secondary sources, especially census data (CBS 2001, CBS 2011, and NSO 2021). Since the Magar is an ethnic/indigenous community with linguistic diversity where Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, Magar Kaike, and Tichhurong Poike are spoken. The language retention has been formulated with the proportion of the Magar ethnic population that reports a Magar language as its mother tongue. For instance, national-level data from the 2021 census reports that there are 2,013,498 Magar people and 903,703 speakers of the four Magar languages included as $903,703/2,013,498 \times 100 = 44.88\%$. The formula shows the language retention rate of Magar languages.

The formula used for the language retention rate:

$$\text{Language Retention Rate} = \frac{\text{Total Magar Language speakers}}{\text{Total Magar Ethnic Population}} 100\%$$

This formula was applied in the case of the provinces, and the data were analyzed accordingly. The language retention is observed on the basis of the national population, whether the speakers are lower or higher. The distribution of each language, Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, Magar Kaike, and Tichhurong Poike, was observed. With this, the analysis comprises descriptive statistics, including frequencies, percentages, ratios, and provincial comparisons. The presentation of the data is given in the tables and figures.

Since this study is based on the censuses, there may be questions on the data quality, which is very limited to gain the full information about understanding intergenerational transmission, language shift, and vitality. For

this, the complementary sources, particularly the sociolinguistic surveys conducted by the LinSuN project around a decade ago, were also consulted to get insights into the status of the language vitality with the thematic areas: attitudes, migration, education, and language policy.

Results and Findings

The pattern of language retention in the Magar languages varies if we take a look into the levels from the nation, province, and district. This

section deals with the language retention rates that are reflected in the different layers based on the censuses.

Retention of the Magar Languages at the National Level (Census 2021)

The census report of the national level held in 2021, out of the 2,013,498, Magar Dhut is reported as 810,315, Magar Kham 91,753; Magar Kaike 1,225, and that accounts for 903, 293 which are presented even in Table 1.

Table 1

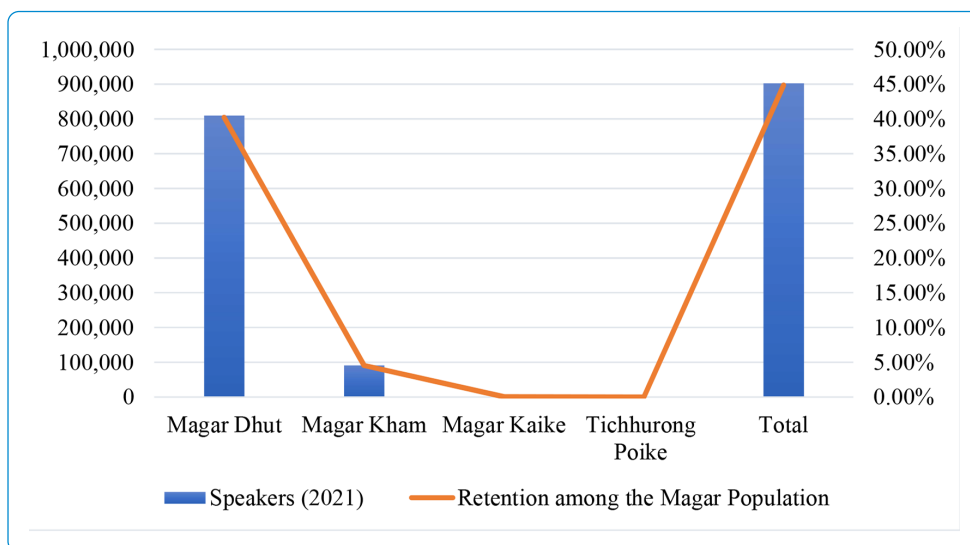
Retention of the Magar Languages at the National Level

The Magar Language	Speakers (2021)	Retention Among MAGAR Population
Magar Dhut	810,315	40.24%
Magar Kham	91,753	4.56%
Magar Kaike	1,225	0.06%
Tichhurong Poike	410	0.02%
Total	903,730	44.88%

Note: NSO, 2021

As can be seen in Table 1, the latest census, 2021, enumerates the Magar indigenous population as 2,013,498, of which the Magar language speakers cover the percentage of 44.88%. They are Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, Kaike, and Tichhurong Poike. As this data indicates, 55.12% of the total Magar population does not speak this language. It means that the Mogar language, in comparison to its population, is gradually losing its position. But it is not sure of how many individual Magar languages are lost, which is not clearly mentioned in the census. Sometimes this substantial difference between ethnic affiliation and mother-tongue identification may not correspond to each other and is not necessarily taken to be the source of the language retention.

Among the four Magar languages, Magar Dhut shares 40.24%, Magar Kham 4.56%, Kaike 0.06%, and Tichhurong Poike represents 0.02%. This shows that there may be the distinct linguistic identity with the single ethnic/indigenous identity. With this figure, the Magar Dhut seems to be stronger in language retention, while, secondly, Magar Kham tends to appear, whereas Magar Kaike stands in third position and the Tichhurong Poike is in the last position. But there arises the question of whether the status of the language vitality of these languages and thus their language transmission is in the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Transcription (EGIDS) framework.

Figure 1*Retention of the Magar Languages at the National Level*

Distribution of the Magar Languages Across the Provinces

The constitution of Nepal, promulgated in 2015, did not only follow the federal government but also restructured the entire nation into seven provinces. The earlier demography was in a certain structure provisioned by the then administrative division, in which there were 14 zones, 75 districts,

and thus, the village development committees. The present constitutional provision with its core themes of the federal republic nation moving towards socialism has managed its federal administrative structures (Constitution of Nepal, 2015). Table 2 presents the distribution of the Magar languages, namely Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, Magar Kaike and Tichhurong Poike across the 7 provinces.

Table 2*Distribution of the Magar Languages Across the Provinces*

Area	Magar Population	Magar Dhut	Magar Kham	Magar Kaike	Tichhurong Poike	Total
Nepal	2,013,498	810,315	91,753	1,225	410	903,703
Koshi	196,618	143,117	1,836	59	—	145,012
Madhes	65,142	44,385	288	—	—	44,673
Bagmati	312,409	146,738	1,457	41	—	148,236
Gandaki	464,310	236,729	8,030	—	—	244,759
Lumbini	746,154	194,948	59,104	33	—	254,085
Karnali	176,068	27,072	13,535	958	410	41,975
Sudurpaschim	52,797	17,326	9,156	129	—	26,611

Note: NSO, 2021

As shown in Table 2, the distribution of the Magar languages across the province levels is uneven. Although the Magar Dhut and Magar Kham were found to be spoken across 7 provinces, Magar Kaike and Tichhurong Poike are not distributed across all seven provinces.

Among the provinces, Lumbini has the largest Magar ethnic population, which is 746,154, followed by Gandaki (464,310) and Bagmati (312,409). In the same vein, the combined Magar-language speakers are highest in Lumbini province (254,085), which is followed by Gandaki (244,759) and Bagmati (148,236). Koshi, despite having a considerably smaller Magar population of 196,618, has 145,012 speakers of the four languages.

Retention of the Magar languages

Being based on the data provided and combining them all together, all four languages and the ethnic population would be better to resolve the language retention. So the language retention is observed at the province levels.

Among the provinces, Koshi shows the highest range of language retention; combining the Magar language speakers with the ethnic population (196,618), there are 145,012 (73.75%). There is the presence of Magar Dhut in the Koshi province. Other Magar languages are rarely spoken, but none of the Tichhurong Poike speak them. This indicates that the ethnic population of the Magar is to some extent matchable with the number of speakers.

In Madhes province, 68.58% of Magar languages are spoken as their mother tongues out of the ethnic population (65,142), which stands in the second position among the seven provinces. In this province, Magar Dhut has the highest number of speakers, whereas only 288 Kham speakers are reported. It shows that 68.14% of

the Magar Dhut speakers reside in this province and speak Magar Dhut. In Gandaki province, the retention rate is around 52.71% out of the ethnic population (464,310). It indicates that half of the Magar population speaks the Magar languages. Of the Magar languages, Magar Dhut has 236,729 speakers, while Magar Kham has 8,030 speakers.

In the case of the Lumbini province, the language retention rate is comparatively low, where the ethnic/indigenous Magars cover 746,154 people, but only 254,085 are mother-tongue speakers. It means 34.05% only speak, which is very low in the national population of the Magar people. On the other hand, 65.95% of the ethnic/indigenous Magars have lost their mother tongue. There are 7.2% of the Kham Magars that show there is the presence of the Magar communities.

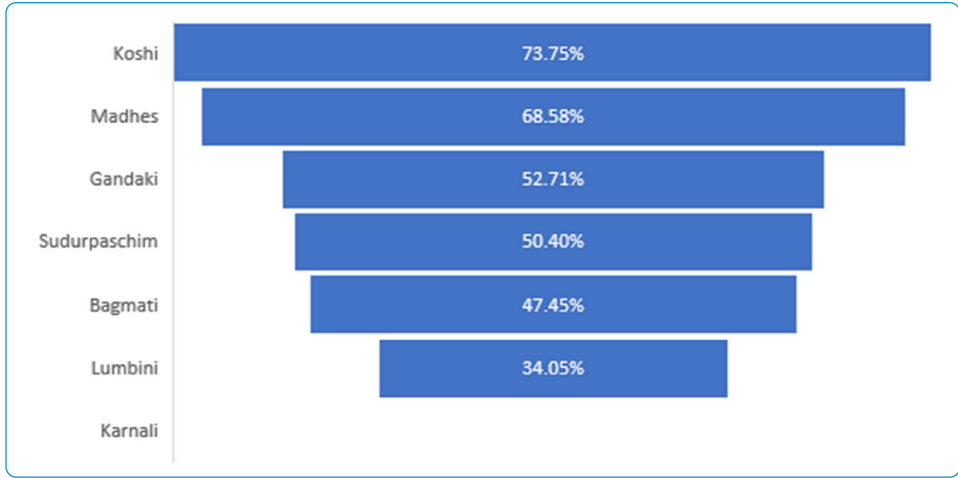
Karnali is evident with the linguistic diversity compared to the rest of the provinces. In this province four Magar languages are spoken. Magar people in this province are reported as

176,068 Magar people, of whom only 41,565 speak that, indicates 76.39% of the Magar people do not speak their mother tongue. Karnali is the origin of the Magar Kaike, where alone 958 speakers are reported, and thus, Tichhurong Poike is also confirmed from this province.

It is the Sudurpaschim province that shares the language retention of the Magar languages with 50.40%, which is roughly half of its Magar population. Magar Kham retains the language 17.34% with the 9,156 speakers. Bagmati has a retention rate of 47.45%, which is slightly above the national average. Its Magar population is relatively large (312,409), and Magar Dhut is overwhelmingly dominant among its Magar-language speakers.

Figure 2

Lanague Retention of the Magar Languages



Retention of the Four Magar Languages at the District Level

The language retention across the Magar languages varies from district to district. Magar Dhut retains 80% in Nawalparasi (Bardaghat Susta East), which is 83,178 out of 103,949 of the district's Magar population, while Tanahu has 76%, which is supposed to be the heartland of the Magar Dhut people, and Palpa has a 64% retention rate (see the distribution of the languages in Annex 2). This indicates that there is not only a presence of Magar Dhut but also intergenerational transmission in these districts. However, the data from urban areas such as Kathmandu show that Magar Dhut is losing its speakers, as there are only 42,546 Magar Dhut speakers out of 92,851 Magar people, which is a retention rate of just 46%. The same is the case in Bhaktapur and Lalitpur, where there is a lower presence of speakers. This indicates that there is a huge language shift towards Nepali, the language of wider communication.

Magar Kham, on the other hand, stands as the functional language in the Midwestern hill districts, namely Rolpa and Rukum. The retention of Magar Kham is reflected in Rolpa at 31%, which is 30,756 speakers out of a Magar population of 100,475.

However, in Rukum, Magar Kham is retained at 64%; that is, 18,096 Kham speakers out of 28,076 Magar people. In Dolpa, the language retention of Kham Magar tends to appear as 80%, which is 4,168 out of 5,185 total Magar people. This indicates that districts such as Rukum, Rolpa, and Dolpa are the dominant places.

Magar Kaike seems to be concentrated in Dolpa, although the language is distributed in many other districts with a small number of speakers, i.e., Jumla (110 speakers), Doti (43 speakers), Ilam (19 speakers), Kathmandu (18 speakers), Lalitpur (14 speakers), Baitadi (31 speakers), and Kailali (19 speakers). Similarly, Tichhurong Poike only appears in Dolpa, with 410 speakers. Its absence in 76 districts indicates that this language is either smaller or restricted in its enumeration in other districts.

Language Retention in Terms of the Ecological Belts

The Magar people are found to reside throughout Nepal, with some areas being densely populated and others having smaller populations. This may also be reflected in the ecological belts, i.e., mountain, hill, and Terai, as observed in Table 3.

Table 3*Language Retention of the Magar Languages in Terms of the Ecological Belts*

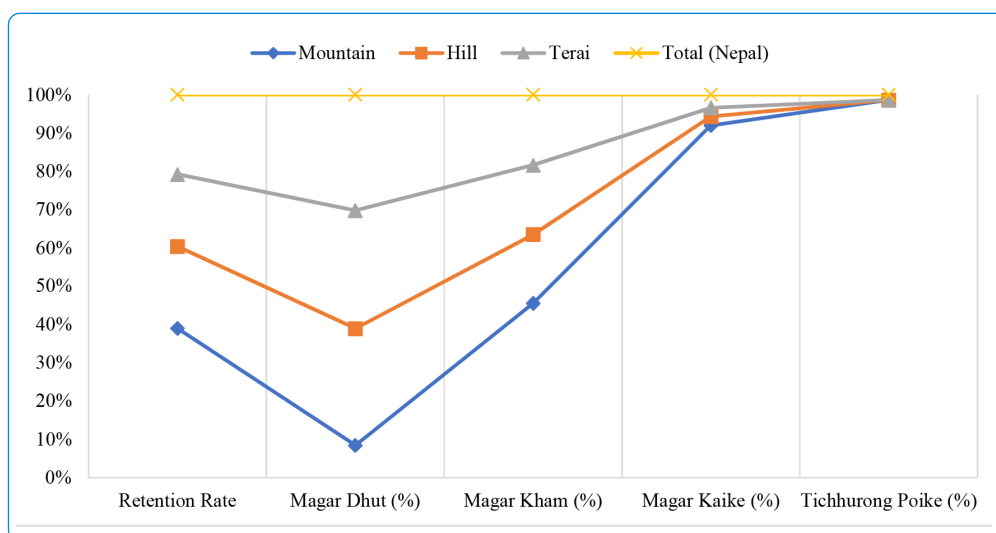
Ecological Belt	Retention Rate	Magar Dhut (%)	Magar Kham (%)	Magar Kaike (%)	Tichhurong Poike (%)
Mountain	83.3%	22.0%	48.4%	0.8%	2.8%
Hill	45.7%	79.8%	19.1%	0.02%	0.0%
Terai	40.4%	80.6%	19.3%	0.02%	0.0%
Total (Nepal)	44.5%	79.1%	19.6%	0.03%	0.04%

Note: NSO, 2021

As can be seen in Table 3, there is a distribution of the Magar languages across the nation in terms of the ecological belts: mountain, hill, and Terai. This parameter not only shows the geographical settlement but also the densely populated areas, which are considered to be the origin of the speech communities.

Among the three ecological belts, the hill belt retains the language much more than the

other belts, representing 45%, which is 708,225 out of 1,550,623 people. The Terai belt has a retention rate of only 40.4%, of whom 241,527 out of 597,223 are Magar people. Surprisingly, the retention rate seems to be higher in the mountain belt, with a smaller population of 17,465, of whom 14,553 are speakers, which accounts for 80.3%. Figure 3 shows the language retention of the Magar language in terms of the ecological belts.

Figure 3*Language Retention of the Magar Languages in Terms of the Ecological Belts*

There is a disparity in the relationship between the ethnic population and the languages among the Magar. This is, to some extent, complex in the sense that the Magar are a single ethnic identity with four

different languages: Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, Magar Kaike, and Tichhurong Poike. It will not be adequate to reach a conclusion based solely on the ethnic population and the number of language

speakers. Although the ethnic population is reported in total, how many speakers of the four languages contribute to the national Magar ethnic population is not clear. However, the fact is that the language retention rate is gradually declining. On the basis of the total ethnic population of Magar, only 44.88% retain the languages, based on the total number of speakers reported in the 2021 census; however, it cannot be determined exactly how many of the actual ethnic populations of Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, Magar Kaike, and Tichhurong Poike they belong to.

At the provincial level, the ratio of language retention varies. In Koshi, the retention rate is 73.75% (145,012 out of 196,618), while in Madhes, it is 68.6% (44,673 out of 65,142), which is comparatively higher. In contrast, Karnali has a retention rate of 23.6%, which is approximately one-fourth of the total population. Surprisingly, Lumbini is supposed to be a densely populated area of the Magar people, with 746,154 reported, of whom only 34.05% retain the language. This clarifies that language transmission is being interrupted because of various reasons that need to be foregrounded in the discourse.

It is interesting that the ethnic population in Koshi Province is lower; however, the language retention ratio is somewhat higher than expected, while in Lumbini, language retention is not as high as expected in comparison to the population there.

In response to language retention at the district level, Magar Dhut is necessarily reflected in the major areas of Magar settlements, such as Tanahu, Palpa, Syangja, and Nawalparasi (Bardaghat East), while in urban districts such as Kathmandu, Lalitpur, and Bhaktapur, language retention compared to other districts seems to be weaker. It indicates that language vitality in urban areas is not strong, and these areas are highly influenced by Nepali as a wider means of communication.

Magar Kham is concentrated in Rolpa and Rukum, where the communities themselves are loyal to their mother tongue. Magar Kaike is reported in Dolpa, where it has a smaller number of speakers, and the same applies to Tichhurong Poike. On the basis of the census data, it would be hasty to declare that these languages, Magar Kaike and Tichhurong Poike, are at high risk. As mentioned above, the exact ethnic population of the speakers of the Magar languages, or the extent to which they have been losing their mother tongues, is not clear. This requires further empirical studies and in-depth sociolinguistic research.

In terms of the ecological belts, the mountain region retains a high percentage, that is, 83%, but no conclusion can be drawn from this outcome alone. In the hill belt, Magar Dhut and Magar Kham are found to be densely populated, covering 45%, while the Terai exhibits 40.4%. This indicates that the lower percentage may suggest either linguistic diversity or a comparatively higher degree of language shift. However, this is not sufficient to establish this fact conclusively; rather, there may be some social indicators, such as internal migration, intermarriage, urbanization, language policies, or the interruption of language transmission among the younger generation.

If we see the language vitality of the Magar languages on the basis of the sociolinguistic survey conducted by various research projects, we may see their levels assessed by the EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale). EGIDS was developed by Lewis and Simons (2010), being based on the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) of Fishman (1991). Table 4 presents the EGIDS level of the Magar languages, namely Magar Dhut, Magar Kham and its varieties, and Magar Kaike. But the Tichhurong Poike is not yet established in EGIDS, which came into the record of the national census in Nepal for the first time.

Table 4*EGIDS Level in the Magar Languages*

Magar Languages	EGIDS	Category	Sources
Magar Dhut Eastern	6b	Threatened	Epele et al. (2012); Thakur (2013)
Magar Dhut Western	6b	Threatened	Epele et al. (2012); Thakur (2013)
Magar Kham	6a	Vigorous	Sapkota (2013)
Kham Eastern Prabate	6b	Threatened	Epele et al. (2012)
Gamale	6a	Vigorous	—
Shesi	6b	Threatened	—
Magar Kham Parbate Western	5	Developing	—
Magar Kaike	6a	Vigorous	Epele et al. (2012) Regmi (2013); Regmi & Regmi (2022b)
Tichhuring Poike	—	Not established	Adhikari (2075)

Note: NSO, 2021

Conclusion

This paper examined the language retention of the Magar languages: Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, Magar Kaike, and Tichhuring Poike on the basis of the census data. On the basis of the total ethnic population of Magar, only 44.88% retain the languages, based on the total number of speakers reported in the 2021 census. But it is crucial that how Magar Dhut, Magar Kham, Magar Kaike, and Tichhuring Poike are represented in the ethnic population is not clear. In the case of the province levels, Koshi (73.75%), Madhes (68.6%), Karnali (23.6%), and Lumbini (34.05%) exhibit language retention. At the district level, Magar Dhut appears pervasively in almost all the districts; however, the data indicate that the core areas of the Magar Dhut are Tanahu, Palpa, Syangja, and Nawalparasi (Bardaghat East). But in the urban districts like Kathmandu, Lalitpur, and Bhaktapur, there is very little presence of the Magar Dhut language. Magar Kham is concentrated in Rolpa and Rukum, and Tichhuring Poike is in Dolpa with a few speakers. In accordance with ecological belts, the mountain region has a high percentage, that is, 83%, but no conclusion can be drawn from this outcome alone.

In the hill belt, Magar Dhut and Magar Kham are found to be densely populated, covering 45%, while the Terai exhibits 40.4%. This indicates that the lower percentage may suggest either linguistic diversity or a comparatively higher degree of language shift. However, this is not sufficient to establish this fact conclusively; rather, there may be some social indicators, such as internal migration, intermarriage, urbanization, language policies, or the interruption of language transmission among the younger generation. Since there are certain limitations of the census data, further empirical studies are required.

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Annex 1: Retention of the Magar Languages in Terms of the Ethnic Population

Province	Magar population	Magar-Language Speakers	Retention
Koshi	196,618	145,012	73.75%
Madhes	65,142	44,673	68.58%
Gandaki	464,310	244,759	52.71%
Sudurpaschim	52,797	26,611	50.40%
Bagmati	312,409	148,236	47.45%

Province	Magar population	Magar-Language Speakers	Retention
Lumbini	746,154	254,085	34.05%
Karnali	176,068	41,565*	23.61%*

Note. Central Bureau of Statistics, National Population Census Reports 2078 and 2068. The translation preserves the source's historical claims and terminology rather than independently fact-checking or modernizing them.

Annex 2: Language Retention of the Magar Languages at the District Level

Area	Magar Population	Magar Dhut	Magar Kham	Magar Kaike	Tichhurong Poike	Total
Taplejung	1,323	1,104				1,104
Sankhuwasabha	5,615	4,474				4,474
Solukhumbu	5,476	1,580				1,580
Okhaldhunga	16,048	13,541				13,541
Khotang	9,100	7,931				7,931
Bhojpur	7,809	5,559				5,559
Dhankuta	15,580	13,973				13,973
Terhathum	2,470	2,219	17			2,236
Panchthar	6,305	5,881				5,881
Ilam	14,551	9,831		19		9,850
Jhapa	21,049	10,587	36			10,623
Morang	28,680	18,266	55			18,321
Sunsari	17,175	10,540	23			10,563
Udayapur	45,437	37,631	21			37,652
Saptari	3,129	2,012	40			2,052
Siraha	6,749	4,320	184			4,504
Dhanusha	9,199	6,206				6,206
Mahottari	14,760	12,410				12,410
Sarlahi	16,694	12,285				12,285
Rautahat	4,925	3,251				3,251
Bara	7,321	3,231	25			3,256
Parsa	2,365	670	30			700
Dolakha	2,997	898				898
Sindhupalchok	4,598	1,741				1,741
Rasuwa	528	96				96
Dhading	26,831	8,921	45			8,966

Area	Magar Population	Magar Dhut	Magar Kham	Magar Kaike	Tichhurong Poike	Total
Nuwakot	6,413	921				921
Kathmandu	92,851	42,546	1,004	18		43,568
Bhaktapur	12,871	6,216	50			6,266
Lalitpur	28,048	14,779	167	14		14,960
Kavrepalanchok	14,556	5,884				5,884
Ramechhap	18,380	10,416				10,416
Sindhuli	42,168	24,335				24,335
Makwanpur	20,862	6,780	78			6,858
Chitwan	41,306	23,205	103			23,308
Gorkha	28,956	13,570				13,570
Manang	263	126	23			149
Mustang	1,694	396	195			591
Myagdi	38,013	3,983	728			4,711
Kaski	58,424	23,533	1,543			25,076
Lamjung	3,840	1,550	19			1,569
Tanahun	83,639	63,241	150			63,391
Nawalpur	103,949	83,178	24			83,202
Syangja	55,594	38,939				38,939
Parbat	15,249	2,481	862			3,343
Baglung	74,689	5,732	4,476			10,208
Eastern Rukum	28,076	1,810	18,096			19,906
Rolpa	100,475	2,422	30,756			33,178
Pyuthan	78,104	7,799	162			7,961
Gulmi	54,918	6,392	138			6,530
Arghakhanchi	34,730	2,200	123			2,323
Palpa	129,940	82,538	48			82,586
Nawalparasi	27,543	14,288	70			14,358
Rupandehi	121,793	46,310	674	28		47,012
Kapilvastu	24,069	7,497	963			8,460
Dang	98,061	14,465	7,618			22,083
Banke	34,619	6,254	266			6,520
Bardiya	13,826	2,973	190			3,163

Area	Magar Population	Magar Dhut	Magar Kham	Magar Kaika	Tichhurong Poika	Total
Dolpa	5,185	636	4,168		410	4,804
Mugu	68	10	15			25
Humla	651	48	750			798
Jumla	222	46	311	110		467
Kalikot	638	149	489			638
Dailekh	22,896	7,463	1,347			8,810
Jajarkot	16,937	547	1,422			1,969
Western Rukum	22,971	295	2,038			2,333
Salyan	34,809	1,067	2,429			3,496
Surkhet	71,691	16,811	566			17,377
Bajura	57	36	394			430
Bajhang	71	39				39
Darchula	230	115				115
Baitadi	126	19	13	31		63
Dadeldhura	5,153	2,324	1,694			4,018
Doti	7,275	2,056	2,755	43		4,854
Achham	1,681	256	1,089			1,345
Kailali	31,240	10,386	3,052	19		13,457
Kanchanpur	6,964	2,095	155	32		2,282



