

Loanwords in Manipuri and their impact

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1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Manipuri language

The Manipuri language is spoken primarily in the valley region of Manipur, a state in North-East India, in the adjoining Indian states of Assam, Tripura, and in the neighboring countries Myanmar and Bangladesh. It is the mother tongue of the Meitei and is known locally as Meiteilon; the name itself is a compound of Meitei 'Meitei' and lon 'language.' The language is the lingua franca of 29 other different ethnic groups of Manipur (Yashawanta Singh 1995). It is spoken by about 60% of the state population (38th Annual Report 2003:77). According to the Students Britannica India (Britannica India 2000:361-366), there are 11,80,000 native speakers of Manipuri. Manipuri, along with English, are the official languages of Manipur state.

The Manipuri language and literature has been increasing in prestige. In 1972 the Sahitya Akademi, the highest body of language and literature of India recognized Manipuri (Manipuri Sahitya Parisad 1986:82). Since August 20, 1992, Manipuri has been one of India's national languages and was included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India by the 71st amendment; it is the first Tibeto-Burman languages of India to have been included. Chatterjee (1979) commented on Manipuri's rich and vast literature.

Manipuri belongs to the Tibeto-Burman subgroup of Sino-Tibetan languages, but its precise subgrouping in Tibeto-Burman is not yet

clear. According to Grierson (1904) Manipuri is a link language between the Kuki-Chin languages and the Kachin languages. Shafer (1955, 1966) included it under a separate branch called Meithei, which Shafer placed under the Kukish section of his Burmic division of Tibeto-Burman. Benedict (1972) subgrouped the language in the Kuki-Naga subgroup of the Kachin group of the Tibeto-Burman. Burling (2003), however, resisted prematurely subgrouping Manipuri, leaving it as a distinct entity outside the Kuki-Naga grouping.

1.2. The Manipuri writing system

Manipuri writing system is alphabetic (Gopendro 1998). It has two writing systems, a traditional system, which is written with ancient, indigenous letters called 'Meitei Mayek' and a modern writing system, written with Bengali letters. The ancient native Manipuri script, Meitei Mayek dates back to the 15th century A.D. (Bhat and Ningomba 1995:2). Meitei Mayek is the system in which all of the ancient Manipuri literature (scripture) was written before the advent of Hinduism in Manipur in the 18th century A.D. The modern Bengali-based system is of recent origin and was introduced in Manipur only after its adoption of Hinduism in the 18th century A.D. This is now the dominant writing system and is employed in most of the modern publications, including literature and newspapers. However, of late, there is revivalist movement supported by the state government attempting to popularize the traditional system.

1.3. Manipuri phonology

The phonology of Manipuri language may be broadly divided into two layers, an older layer associated with old and native Manipuri words and a more modern phonology which includes numerous loanwords borrowed from other languages along with the structural changes these have brought. In the older phonology, there were six vowels, six

diphthongs and fifteen consonants (Subadani 1987; Gopendro 1998). In the modern Manipuri phonology, the same six vowels and six diphthongs remain but the number of consonants has increased to 24, nine more consonants having been added (Subadani 1987; Gopendro 1998). The source of the additional consonant phonemes is the many loanwords from Sanskrit, Hindi, and Bengali, three Indo-Iranian languages, which entered the Manipuri lexicon during the period from the early 15th century A.D. to the end of the 19th century A.D. These loanwords produced phonetic changes in the native Manipuri language, giving birth to nine new consonant phonemes: the voiced plosives /b/, /d/, and /g/, the voiced affricate /j/, the flap /r/, and the so-called voiced aspirates /bh/, /dh/, /gh/, and /jh/ (Subadani 1987; Yashawanta 2002). The six vowels, the six diphthongs of Manipuri are shown in Chart I and the 24 consonant phonemes are shown in Chart II.

Chart I: Vowels and diphthongs

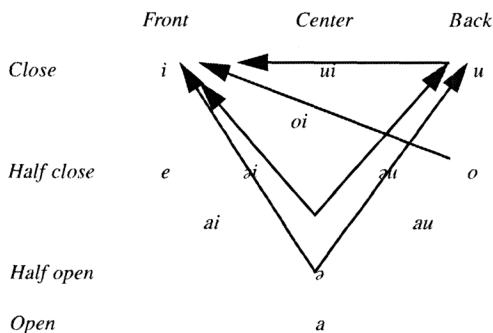


Chart II: Consonants

	bilabial	dental/ alveolar	pre-palatal	palatal	velar	glottal
plosives						
voiceless unaspirated	p	t			k	
voiceless aspirated	p ^h	t ^h			k ^h	
voiced	*b	*d			*g	
voiced aspirated	*b ^h	*d ^h			*g ^h	
affricates						
voiceless unaspirated				c		
voiced				*j		
voiced aspirated				*j ^h		
nasals	m	n			ŋ	
lateral		l				
flap		*ɾ				
fricatives		s				h
approximates	w			y		

[Consonants marked with * are loan phonemes.]

1.4. Manipuri tone

Manipuri is a tone language with two phonemic tones: a level tone and a falling tone. Every vowel of Manipuri carries one of the two tones. The pitch (frequency) of level tone is lower than the pitch of the falling tone; thus some authors (e.g., Chelliah 1997) have termed the level and falling tones low and high, respectively. The level tone is usually unmarked while falling tone is marked as /'. Both tones appear initially, medially and finally, but the level tone is much more frequent than the falling tone. Suffixes and prefixes in Manipuri have no tone associated with them.

2.0. CONTACT OF MANIPURI WITH OTHER LANGUAGES

2.1. Contact with Indo-Iranian languages

The first contact between the Manipuri and the Indo-Iranian languages is traced back as far as the 15th century A.D. During the regime of King Kiyamba of Manipur (1467- 1508 A.D), Sanskrit scholars came to Manipur and settled there (Jhaljit 1965, 2003). Slowly they came to influence the king and under his aegis, they promoted Hindu practices among the common people. Under the king's patronage, they constructed a Vishnu Temple at Bishenpur, 18 miles to the southwest of Imphal, the capital city of Manipur. These Sanskrit scholars succeeded in converting some Manipuri to Hinduism from their original animistic religion Sanamahi. Successors of King Kiyamba allowed still more Sanskrit scholars to come to preach Hinduism among the masses. Charai Rongba was the first Manipur King (1697-1709 A.D.) who was formally initiated to Hinduism. After the death of King Charai Rongba, his son Gareeb Niwaz ascended to the throne of the kingdom of Manipur and ruled the kingdom for about 39 years (1709-1748 A.D.). Being impressed by the practice of Hinduism, he formally made the Vaisnavism sect of Hindu religion the state religion and attempted convert his subjects to Hinduism through various forms of coercion (Kabui 1991). The influence of the Chaitanya School of Vaishnavism from Navdwip and Sylhet led to King Gareeb Niwaz withdrawing royal support for the native Manipuri script, Meitei Mayek; older scriptural writing of the animistic religion and other historical documents written in Meitei Mayek were publicly burnt. The Bengali script was adopted as the official script for writing in Manipuri (Khelchandra 1969). During the regime of king Gareeb Niwaz much of the Sanskrit literature, such as the Ramayana, Mahabharata, and Shree Mad Bhagavad Geeta were

translated into Manipuri. Sanskrit and Bengali were accorded high prestige in Manipur due to their status as languages for religious writing.

The conversion of Manipuri to Hinduism had enormous implications for their culture, literature and language. As a result of literature written in Bengali script, particularly religious literature, many Sanskrit, Hindi, and Bengali words entered Manipuri. Many of these words had themselves been borrowed at an earlier time into Hindi and Bengali. Thus, Hindi and Bengali served as the vehicle of importation of indirect loans from Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Pashto, and from English, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, and Malay.

After Indian independence in 1947, Hindi became the national language of the country and its use in Manipur increased many-fold; it is taught as a compulsory subject up to the class eight standard. One result is that the number of Hindi (and Sanskrit loanwords coming through Hindi) has been increasing in Manipuri, while Manipuri social contact with Bengali speakers has almost been cut-off, stopping the flow of Bengali loanwords (and Sanskrit loanwords coming through Bengali). At the same time, Manipuri social contact with neighboring Assamese speakers has been increasing, with a resultant increase in Assamese loans. Hindi has been further popularized through television, radio, newspapers, cinema, magazines, and periodicals, leading to still-increased borrowing.

2.2. Contact with European languages

Manipur remained an independent kingdom until the defeat of the Manipuri King Kullachandra by the British in the Anglo-Manipuri War in 1891, when it lost its sovereignty and became part of the British Government of India, already ruling the India (Roy 1973). From then onwards, until India regained its independence from the British in 1947, the British Government ruled Manipur. Thus for a 57-year period (1891-1947 A.D.), English and Manipuri were the official languages.

During the same period, British missionaries like Rev. Pettigrew used English as the medium of education, leading to English loanwords entering Manipuri. Even after Indian independence in 1947 when Manipur became a state of India, English remained an official language of Manipur as it was an official language of India.

Today also, English remains an official language of Manipur and occupies a central place in government, and in the schools, colleges, and universities. Over time, the use of English has been not only accepted but has become increasingly popular. Quite a large number of English words have entered the Manipuri vocabulary and have begun not only enrich the Manipuri word stock, but to bring about changes in the phonetic structure of Manipuri.

Although Hindi and English are both official languages of India, English is often preferred. There are four basic reasons for this: (i) most of the text books from grade school through university are written in English; (ii) most of the instruction in schools, colleges and universities is in English; (iii) English is the language used for administration of the state and (iv) there is anti-Hindi sentiment in Manipur.

3.0. LOANWORDS IN MANIPURI

Manipuri has a large number of loanwords imported from other languages. Even proper names have been affected; many Manipuri names are found to be of Indo-Iranian or English origin. For instance Shyam, Bijoy, Shankar, Kumar, Arun, Budhi, Indra, Ajit, Jaya, Rita, Indu, Suchila, Bina, Shanti, and Anjali originated in Indo-Iranian languages, while James, Michael, Elizabeth, Victoria, Diana, and Anthena come from English.

Nonetheless, much remains to be learned. The literature does not contain a complete survey of Manipuri loanwords. However, this work attempts to identify the source languages for Manipuri loanwords, to

identify the languages that served to carry these words into Manipuri, and to analyze their impact on the structure of Manipuri.

To carry out the present study, a sample of 2300 loanwords in Manipuri was collected from different sources including literature and local dailies published in Manipuri. The loanwords in English were collected from a detailed survey of four popular local dailies in Manipuri: *Poknapham*, *Naharolgi Thoudang*, *Sanghai Express* (Manipuri), and (iv) *Huyen Lanpao* published during a period of the eight months from the first of December 2002 to the thirty-first of July 2003; the cited loanwords represent a class of English loanwords in Manipuri freely used by literate Manipuri. The etymologies of all the loanwords used in the present study were identified by consulting the following literature: *Samsad Bengali-English Dictionary* (1982), *The Pronouncing Anglo-Assamese Dictionary* (1997), *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary* (1993), *Sanskrit-Hindi Kosh* (1969), *Sanskrit- English Dictionary* (1981), *Brihat Hindi Kosh* (1992), *Hindi Shabda Sagar* Vol. 1-11 (1973), *Urdu Hindi Shabda Kosh* (1997), *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (1972) and *Compact Oxford Reference Dictionary* (2003). Loanwords in Manipuri are classified below as coming from Indo-European languages and non-Indo-European languages (see Table 1).

TABLE 1. Sources of loanwords

1. Indic	2. Iranian	3. Other Indo-European	4. Non-European
Sanskrit	Persian	English	Arabic
Hindi	Pashto	Portuguese	Turkish
Bengali		French	Tamil
Assamese		Greek	Malay
			Chinese
			Japanese

Table 2 shows the statistical distribution of loanwords into Manipuri arranged by the various donor source languages.

TABLE 2. Distribution of loanwords among donor languages

Group	Language	Number of loans	Nature of borrowing
Indic	Sanskrit	452	direct
	Hindi	312	direct
	Bengali	270	direct
	Assamese	10	direct
		1044	
Iranian	Persian	135	indirect
	Pashto		
Other European	English	960	direct
	Portuguese	22	indirect
	French		
	Greek		
		982	
Non-Indo-European	Arabic	102	indirect
	Turkish	10	indirect
	Tamil	27	indirect
	Malay		
	Chinese		
	Japanese		
		2300	

From Table 2 it is quite evident that most of the loanwords in Manipuri come from Indo-European family of languages with only a few loanwords from outside Indo-European (with the possible exception of 102 loanwords from Arabic). Roughly the same number of loanwords were imported to Manipuri from Indo-Iranian (Indic and Iranian) as from the rest of Indo-European.

The loanwords in Manipuri may also be classified as direct borrowings and indirect borrowings. Direct borrowings are loanwords which were borrowed directly into Manipuri from their donor languages and thus often appear as they are in their source language; indirect borrowings are those loanwords which came to Manipuri via an intermediary language. All the direct borrowings in Manipuri come from one of five languages, four Indic languages—Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali and Assamese and one non-Indic Indo-European language—English. These five languages are not only the sources for all the direct borrowings (loanwords) in Manipuri but also are the intermediary languages for indirect borrowings from other languages such as Arabic, Persian, Pashto, Turkish, Portuguese, Chinese, Malay, Japanese, and so on.

3.1. INDO-EUROPEAN LOANWORDS IN MANIPURI

3.1.1. Indo-Iranian loanwords

The following are the main Indic sources of Indo-Iranian loanwords in Manipuri: Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali and Assamese. The Sanskrit loanwords in Manipuri may be either direct borrowings from the Sanskrit language itself or indirect borrowings from Sanskrit through Hindi and Bengali. Manipuri has many tatsama loanwords—words borrowed from Sanskrit, which were also widely borrowed by other Indo-Iranian languages, such as Hindi, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, and Nepali. The Hindi, Bengali, and Assamese loanwords, on the other hand, are direct borrowings. Here the analysis is complicated

by the fact that the modern Indo-Iranian languages descend from a common parent: Apabhramsh [Apabhramsh < Prakrit < Pali < Sanskrit] (Tiwari 1955).

The Indo-Iranian loanwords in Manipuri have often undergone semantic change, “broadening,” “narrowing,” or “shifting” from the meaning of original words. Often accompanying the semantic changes are the adjustment of loanword sounds to the Manipuri sound system: the replacement of non-Manipuri consonants by the nearest Manipuri equivalent: /f/ by /s/, /ch/ by /s/, /d/ by /d/, /ɽ/ by /r/, the suppression of length, and the introduction of tone. Table 3 illustrates a sampling of these changes.

TABLE 3. Indo-Iranian loans into Manipuri

	Manipuri	source
1.	<i>asa</i>	< a:śa: (Sanskrit)
	hope	hope; trust; wish
2.	<i>atma</i>	< a:tma: (Sanskrit)
	soul	soul; the self; the ultimate reality
3.	<i>bebhar</i>	< vyāvāha:ra (Sanskrit)
	manner	action; customary practice; manner; dealings; case
4.	<i>ingit</i>	< ingit (Sanskrit)
	hint	inner impulse; desire; hint; gesture
5.	<i>itihas</i>	itiha:s (Sanskrit)
	history	history; tradition; narrative poems of great heroes
6.	<i>keinya</i>	< kanya: (Sanskrit)
	bride	unmarried girl or woman; daughter
7.	<i>niyom</i>	niyam (Sanskrit)
	principle	restraint; principle; law; vow
8.	<i>pārikha</i>	< pāri:kṣa (Sanskrit)
	examination	investigation; experiment; examination; trial by ordeal

TABLE 3. Indo-Iranian loans into Manipuri

	Manipuri	source
9.	<i>praja</i> people	< <i>prāja</i> : (Sanskrit) people; tenants; descendants
10.	<i>prāman</i> proof; evidence	< <i>prāmaṇ</i> : (Sanskrit) proof; evidence; means of knowledge
11.	<i>sṛṣṣkar</i> cremation of a dead body	< <i>sṛṣṣkaṛ</i> : (Sanskrit) perfecting; finishing; purificatory rites including funeral rites, education, etc.
12.	<i>sasən</i> governing	< <i>śa:sən</i> (Sanskrit) governing; command; discipline etc.
13.	<i>satrə</i> student	< <i>śa:trə</i> (Sanskrit) student
14.	<i>upai</i> means	< <i>upa:y</i> (Sanskrit) means; scheme; plan; treatment
15.	<i>vigyan</i> science	< <i>viḡṇa:n</i> (Sanskrit) science; acquired knowledge of the world
16.	<i>alu</i> potato	<i>a:lu</i> : (Hindi) potato
17.	<i>cəkka</i> wheel	<i>ca:ka</i> : (Hindi) a wheel; a ring-shaped object; a mill
18.	<i>cəna</i> chick-pea	< <i>cəna</i> : (Hindi) chick-pea
19.	<i>cəppəl</i> sandal	< <i>cəppəl</i> (Hindi) a sandal; an open- heeled slipper
20.	<i>cithi</i> a letter	< <i>ciṭṭhi</i> : (Hindi) a letter; a note; a bill; a ballot
21.	<i>cukti</i> settlement	< <i>cukti</i> : (Hindi) settlement; sentence of a court
22.	<i>dəhi</i> curd	< <i>dəhi</i> : (Hindi) curd
23.	<i>dakghər</i>	< <i>ḍa:kghər</i> (Hindi)

TABLE 3. Indo-Iranian loans into Manipuri

	Manipuri	source
	post-office	post-office
24.	<i>daku</i>	< <i>ḍa:ku:</i> (Hindi)
	a robber	a robber; one of a band of robbers
25.	<i>dhāmka</i>	< <i>dhāmka:</i> (Hindi)
	threat	sound of falling; shock; threat; closeness
26.	<i>gari</i>	< <i>ga:ri:</i> (Hindi)
	cart; carriage; vehicle	cart; carriage; vehicle
27.	<i>ghi</i>	< <i>ghi</i> (Hindi)
	clarified butter	clarified butter
28.	<i>jhal</i>	< <i>jha:l</i> (Hindi)
	cymbal	fusing; pungent; cymbal
29.	<i>mama</i>	< <i>ma:ma:</i> (Hindi)
	uncle	maternal uncle
30.	<i>suti</i>	< <i>chutti:</i> (Hindi)
	holiday	discharge; holiday
31.	<i>banan</i>	< <i>ba:na:n</i> (Bengli)
	spelling	spelling; orthography
32.	<i>bamon</i>	< <i>ba:mən</i> (Bengali)
	a brahmin	a brahmin; a brahmin priest or cook; a dwarf
33.	<i>bhallo</i>	< <i>bhalo</i> (Bengali)
	excellent	excellent; honest; genuine; prosperity
34.	<i>bondhu</i>	< <i>bondhu</i> (Bengali)
	friend	friend; patron; comrade; associate
35.	<i>cāmcām</i>	<i>cāmcām</i> (Bengali)
	a Bengal sweet	a variety of Bengal sweet
36.	<i>cara</i>	< <i>ca:ra:</i> (Bengali)
	young plant	young plant, tree, fish; new-born

TABLE 3. Indo-Iranian loans into Manipuri

	Manipuri	source
37.	<i>dabi</i> demand	< <i>da.bi</i> : (Bengali) right; demand; prayer; complaint
38.	<i>ghot</i> a small earthen or metal pitcher	< <i>ghot</i> (Bengali) a small earthen or metal pitcher; a receptacle; brain; body
39.	<i>kerani</i> clerk	< <i>ker.a.ṇi</i> : (Bengali) clerk
40.	<i>khura</i> younger brother of father; uncle	< <i>khuṛa</i> : (Bengali) a younger brother of father; uncle
41.	<i>kolami</i> an edible aquatic plant (kalamia)	< <i>kōlmi</i> (Bengali) an edible aquatic plant (kalamia)
42.	<i>komla</i> orange	< <i>kōmla</i> : (Bengali) orange; an appellation of goddess Lakshmi
43.	<i>kouta</i> small tin container	< <i>kouṭa</i> (Bengali) small container or box with a lid
44.	<i>langol</i> a plough	<i>langol</i> (Bengali) a plough
45.	<i>soi</i> signature	< <i>səl</i> (Bengali) signature; impression as the substitution to signature
46.	<i>kobi</i> cabbage	< <i>kōbi</i> : (Assamese) cabbage
47.	<i>mekhela</i> Assamese lady's dress	< <i>mekhela</i> (Assamese) Assamese lady's dress
48.	<i>pukhri</i> pond	< <i>pukhuri</i> (Assamese) pond
49.	<i>khurum</i> wooden sandal	< <i>khorom</i> (Assamese) wooden sandal

3.1.2. Iranian, Arabic, and Turkish loanwords

The Manipuri loanwords from Persian (Farsi), Arabic, and Turkish are all indirect borrowings, having entered Manipuri via Hindi and Bengali. These Manipuri loanwords were first integrated in Hindi and Bengali before being borrowed from Hindi and Bengali into Manipuri. (See Table 4)

TABLE 4. Indo-Iranian, Arabic, and Turkish loans in Manipuri

	Manipuri	Indo-Iranian	source
50.	<i>baki</i> credit balance	< <i>bakhi</i> : (Bengali) credit balance; left over; balance oustanding	< <i>ba:qi</i> : (Arabic)
51.	<i>dakhol</i> possession; occupation; hold; right to hold or possess	< <i>dakhəl</i> (Bengali) possession; occupation; hold; right to hold or possess; knowledge; skill; aptitude	< <i>daxəl</i> (Arabic)
52.	<i>dəlil</i> a deed	< <i>dəlil</i> (Bengali) a deed; a document; piece of evidence	< <i>dəli:l</i> (Arabic)
53.	<i>hək</i> rightful claim or title	< <i>hək</i> (Bengali) rightful claim or title; rightful or just	< <i>həqq</i> (Arabic)
54.	<i>ijət</i> honour or chastity	< <i>ijjət</i> (Bengali) honour; chastity; pres- tige; dignity	< <i>izzət</i> (Arabic)
55.	<i>jamin</i> a bail	< <i>ja:min</i> (Bengali) a bail; guarantor	< <i>za:min</i> (Arabic)
56.	<i>kanun</i> law; regulation	< <i>ka:nu:n</i> (Bengali) law; regulation	< <i>qa:nu:n</i> (Arabic)
57.	<i>khəbər</i>	< <i>khəbər</i> (Bengali)	< <i>xəbər</i> (Arabic)

TABLE 4. Indo-Iranian, Arabic, and Turkish loans in Manipuri

	Manipuri	Indo-Iranian	source
	newspaper	news; intelligence	
58.	<i>khājna</i>	< <i>kha:ja.na</i> : (Bengali)	< <i>xiza.na</i> (Arabic)
	revenue	treasury; revenue; rent	
59.	<i>phārək</i>	< <i>fārəq</i> (Hindi)	< <i>fārəq</i> (Arabic)
	difference; discrepancy	distinction; difference; discrepancy	
60.	<i>sapon</i>	< <i>sa.bun</i> (Hindi)	< <i>ša.bun</i> (Arabic)
	soap	soap	
61.	<i>təbəla</i>	< <i>təbəla</i> (Hindi)	< <i>təbəla</i> (Arabic)
	percussion instrument	percussion instrument	
62.	<i>tarikh</i>	< <i>ta:rikh</i> (Bengali)	< <i>ta:ri:x</i> (Arabic)
	date	date	
63.	<i>tolob</i>	< <i>tələb</i> (Bengali)	< <i>tələb</i> (Arabic)
	salary	salary; a call; a summon	
64.	<i>ukil</i>	< <i>ukil</i> (Bengali)	< <i>vəki:l</i> (Arabic)
	an advocate	an advocate; supporter	
65.	<i>angur</i>	< <i>ā:ṅgu:r</i> (Bengali)	< <i>āgu:r</i> (Persian)
	grape	grape	
66.	<i>bədnam</i>	< <i>bədnə:m</i> (Bengali)	< <i>bədnə:m</i> (Persian)
	discredit; disgrace; infamous; calumny	discredit; disgrace; infamous; calumny	
67.	<i>bajar</i>	< <i>ba:ja:r</i> (Bengali)	< <i>ba:za:r</i> (Persian)
	market	market; a fair	
68.	<i>dərkar</i>	< <i>dərka:r</i> (Bengali)	< <i>dərka:r</i> (Persian)
	necessity; need, require- ment	necessity; need; require- ment; use	
69.	<i>dag</i>	< <i>da:g</i> (Bengali)	< <i>da:G</i> (Persian)
	mark; scar; stigma; a bounded plot (of land)	mark; scar; spot; stigma; rust; a bounded plot	
70.	<i>dolal</i>	< <i>da:la:n</i> (Bengali)	< <i>da:la:n</i> (Persian)

TABLE 4. Indo-Iranian, Arabic, and Turkish loans in Manipuri

Manipuri	Indo-Iranian	source
storeyed building	a brick-built or stone-built building; a corridor	
71. <i>dukan</i> a shop	< <i>duka:n</i> (Hindi) shop; stall; workshop	< <i>du:ka:n</i> (Persian)
72. <i>həpta</i> a week	< <i>həfta:</i> (Hindi) a week	< <i>həfta</i> (Persian)
73. <i>jəban</i> <i>statement</i>	< <i>zəba:n</i> (Hindi) <i>tongue; a speech; promise</i>	< <i>zəba:n</i> (Persian)
74. <i>karkhana</i> workshop	< <i>ka:rkha:na</i> (Bengali) workshop; factory; mill	< <i>ka:rxa:na</i> (Persian)
75. <i>rəsid</i> a receipt	< <i>rəsi:d</i> (Bengali) a receipt	< <i>rəsi:d</i> (Persian)
76. <i>ruman</i> handkerchief	< <i>ru:ma:l</i> (Bengali) handkerchief	< <i>ru:ma:l</i> (Persian)
77. <i>səhər</i> a city; a town	< <i>fəhər</i> (Bengali) a city; a town	< <i>fəhər</i> (Persian)
78. <i>sərkar</i> a government	< <i>sərka:r</i> (Bengali) master; owner; a ruler; government; collecting clerk	< <i>sərka:r</i> (Persian)
79. <i>Sajai</i> punishment	< <i>sa:ja:</i> (Bengali) punishment	< <i>səza:</i> (Persian)
80. <i>Siphai</i> a soldier	< <i>sipa:i</i> (Bengali) a soldier; an armed guard; police constable	< <i>sipa:hi:</i> (Persian)
81. <i>təbu:j</i> water-melon	< <i>təbu:j</i> (Bengali) water-melon	< <i>təbu:j</i> (Persian)
82. <i>begəm</i>	< <i>begəm</i> (Bengali)	< <i>begəm</i> (Turkish)

TABLE 4. Indo-Iranian, Arabic, and Turkish loans in Manipuri

	Manipuri	Indo-Iranian	source
	a queen; a Muslim lady	a queen; a Muslim lady	
83.	<i>naspati</i>	< <i>na:ʃpati</i> :	< <i>na:ʃpati</i> : (Turkish)
	pear	pear	
84.	<i>top</i>	< <i>top</i> (Bengali)	< <i>top</i> (Turkish)
	a cannon	a cannon; a big gun	
85.	<i>urdu</i>	< <i>urdu</i> : (Hindi)	< <i>urdu</i> : (Turkish)
	Urdu language	Urdu language; army; camp market	

3.1.3. European loanwords

Of the non-Indo-Iranian loans in Manipuri, it is the English language that contributes the most. Of the large number of English loanwords in Manipuri, most are scientific and technical terms. Except for the naturalization of English sounds to the nearest Manipuri equivalents, the style and structure of the English scientific and technical terms in Manipuri remain unchanged.

Virtually all the English loanwords in Manipuri are direct borrowings. Loans from other European languages, such as Portuguese, French, Greek, and Latin, are indirect borrowings imported through two Indo-Iranian languages, Bengali and Hindi, or through English. For instance, we have found that most of the Portuguese loanwords in Manipuri came via Hindi and Bengali while the French loanwords came via English.

Table 5 gives some familiar European loanwords in Manipuri as examples to illustrate the changes in their style and structure when borrowed into Manipuri, but no attempt has been made to trace the ultimate source of the English loanwords.

TABLE 5. European loanwords in Manipuri

	Manipuri	< English / Indo-Iranian	< Older source
86.	<i>bicycle</i>	< 'baɪsɪkl (English)	< <i>bi</i> (Latin) + <i>kyklos</i> (Greek)
	bicycle	bicycle	
87.	<i>biskut</i>	< 'bɪskɪt (English)	< <i>bischoit</i> (Old French)
	biscuit	biscuit	
88.	<i>bol</i>	< bɒl (English)	< <i>bal</i> (Middle English)
	ball; single	ball; single	
	delivery of ball	delivery of ball	
89.	<i>building</i>	< bɪldɪŋ (English)	< <i>gebyld</i> (Old English)
	building	building	
90.	<i>camera</i>	< 'kæmrə (English)	< <i>camera</i> (Latin)
	camera	camera	
91.	<i>cimni</i>	< 'tʃɪmni (English)	< <i>cheminee</i> (French)
	chimney of	chimney of	
	oil lamp	oil lamp	
92.	<i>doktər</i>	< 'dɒktə(r) (English)	< <i>docere</i> (Latin)
	doctor	doctor	
93.	<i>drama</i>	< 'drɑ:mə (English)	< <i>drama</i> (Latin)
	a play	a play (radio, TV, theatre)	
94.	<i>eropləin</i>	< 'eərəplem (English)	< <i>aer</i> (Greek) + <i>planum</i> (Latin)
	airplane	airplane	
95.	<i>gilas</i>	< gləs (English)	< <i>glæs</i> (Old English)
	glass	glass	
96.	<i>gliserin</i>	< 'glɪsə'rɪn (English)	< <i>glykeros</i> (Greek)
	glycerine	glycerine	
97.	<i>gitər</i>	< gɪ'tɑ(r) (English)	< <i>guitare</i> (Old French)
	guitar	guitar	

TABLE 5. European loanwords in Manipuri

	Manipuri	< English / Indo-Iranian	< Older source
98.	<i>hospital</i> hospital	< <i>hospitl</i> (English) hospital	< <i>h ospital</i> (Old French)
99.	<i>hostel</i> hostel	< <i>hostl</i> (English) hostel	< <i>hostel</i> (Old French)
100.	<i>iskul</i> school	< <i>sku:l</i> (English) school	< <i>schole</i> (Greek)
101.	<i>jāj</i> judge	< <i>dʒadʒ</i> (English) judge	< <i>juger</i> (Anglo-French)
102.	<i>kar</i> kar	< <i>ka(r)</i> (English) automobile; car	< <i>carre</i> (Old French)
103.	<i>kelendār</i> calender	< <i>ʔælində(r)</i> (English) calender	< <i>calendier</i> (Old French)
104.	<i>ketli</i> kettle	< <i>ʔetl</i> (English) kettle	< <i>cetel</i> (Old English)
105.	<i>kolej</i> college	< <i>ʔolidʒ</i> (English) college	< <i>college</i> (Old French)
106.	<i>kort</i> court	< <i>kɔ(r)t</i> (English) court	< <i>cort</i> (Old French)
107.	<i>laibreri</i> library	< <i>ʔaibrəri</i> (English) library	< <i>librarium</i> (Latin)
108.	<i>mail</i> mail	< <i>mail</i> (English) mail	< <i>mille</i> (Latin)
109.	<i>militari</i> army	< <i>militən</i> (English) army; of soldiers	< <i>militari</i> (Latin)
110.	<i>ministār</i> minister	< <i>ʔministə(r)</i> (English) minister	< <i>minister</i> (Latin)
111.	<i>nərs</i> a nurse	< <i>nə:ɜ</i> (English) nurse	< <i>norrice</i> (Old French)
112.	<i>ofis</i> office	< <i>ʔofis</i> (English) office	< <i>officium</i> (Latin)

TABLE 5. European loanwords in Manipuri

	Manipuri	< English / Indo-Iranian	< Older source
113.	<i>omlet</i> omlette	< 'ʊmlɪt (English) omlette	< <i>omlette</i> (French)
114.	<i>petrol</i> petrol	< 'petrl (English) petrol	< <i>petra-oleum</i> (Latin)
115.	<i>photo</i> photo	< ʃʌtəʊ (English) photo	< <i>photos</i> (Greek)
116.	<i>piknik</i> picnic	< 'pɪknɪk (English) picnic	< <i>piquenique</i> (French)
117.	<i>polis</i> police	< pə'lis (English) police	< <i>politia</i> (French)
118.	<i>praij</i> prize	< prəʒ (English) prize	< <i>pris</i> (Old French)
119.	<i>sarkəs</i> circus	< 'sekəs (English) circus	< <i>circus</i> (Latin)
120.	<i>sekretari</i> secretary	< 'sekrəteri (English) secretary	< <i>secretarius</i> (Latin)
121.	<i>sinema</i> cinema	< sɪnəmə (English) cinema	< <i>cinema</i> (French)
122.	<i>teblet</i> tablet, pill	< 'tæblət (English) tablet, pill	< <i>tablete</i> (Old French)
123.	<i>tiket</i> ticket	< 'nɪkt (English) ticket	< <i>estiquet(te)</i> (Old French)
124.	<i>ambari</i> wardrobe	< alma:ri: (Bengali) wardrobe; cupboard	< <i>armario</i> (Portuguese)
125.	<i>ingrej</i> Englishman	< ingrej (Bengali) Englishman	< <i>inglês</i> (Portuguese)
126.	<i>ərpın</i>	< a:lpɪ:n (Bengali)	< <i>alfinete</i> (Portuguese)

TABLE 5. European loanwords in Manipuri

	Manipuri	< English / Indo-Iranian	< Older source
	a pin	a pin	
127.	<i>baltin</i>	< <i>ba:ti</i> (Bengali)	< <i>balde</i> (Portuguese)
	a bucket	a bucket	
128.	<i>phita</i>	< <i>fita</i> : (Bengali)	< <i>fita</i> (Portuguese)
	a tape	a tape; a lace; a ribbon	
129.	<i>girja</i>	< <i>girja</i> : (Bengali)	< <i>igreja</i> (Portuguese)
	church	church; chapel	
130.	<i>isti</i>	< <i>istri</i> : (Bengali)	< <i>estirar</i> (Portuguese)
	smoothing iron	smoothing iron	
131.	<i>kaju</i>	< <i>ka:ju</i> : (Bengali)	< <i>ka:ju</i> (Portuguese)
	cashew nut	cashew nut	
132.	<i>misti</i>	< <i>mistri</i> : (Bengali)	< <i>mestre</i> (Portuguese)
	artisan; mechanic	artisan; mechanic; smith	
133.	<i>nilam</i>	< <i>nila.m</i> (Bengali)	< <i>leila:o</i> (Portuguese)
	an auction	an auction	

3.2. Non Indo-European loanwords in Manipuri

There are only very few loanwords in Manipuri from non-Indo-European languages. Loans from Arabic and Turkish have already been discussed. Other non-Indo-European languages that contributed to the Manipuri word stock are Tamil, Malay, Chinese, and Japanese. These are all indirect loans, coming through Hindi or English (see Table 6).

TABLE 6. Non-Indo-European loanwords in Manipuri

	Manipuri	path	source
134.	<i>dosa</i>	< <i>dofa</i> : (Hindi)	< <i>dofa</i> : (Tamil)
	rice pancake	rice pancake	
135.	<i>idəli</i>	< <i>ideli</i> : (Hindi)	< <i>ideli</i> : (Tamil)

TABLE 6. Non-Indo-European loanwords in Manipuri

	Manipuri	path	source
	steamed rice-cake	steamed rice-cake	
136.	<i>səmbər</i>	< <i>saṭbhar</i> (Hindi)	< <i>saṭbhar</i> (Tamil)
	spiced lentil and vegetable curry	spiced lentil and vegetable curry	
137.	<i>godam</i>	< <i>gəɖdʌn</i> (English)	< <i>godong</i> (Malay)
	warehouse	warehouse; go-down	
138.	<i>kəmpaund</i>	< <i>kompʌnd</i> (English)	< <i>kampong</i> (Malay)
	compound	compound	
139.	<i>cou cou</i>	< <i>cou mein</i> (English)	< <i>chao mian</i> (Chinese)
	chao mein	chao mein	
140.	<i>ciku</i>	< <i>ciku</i> : (Hindi)	< <i>ciku</i> : (Chinese)
	saphodilla	saphodilla	
141.	<i>lici</i>	< <i>lychee</i> (Hindi)	< <i>li-chi</i> (Chinese)
	litchi	litchi	
142.	<i>judo</i>	< <i>judo</i> (English)	< <i>judo</i> (Japanese)
	judo	judo	
143.	<i>rikso</i>	< <i>rikso</i> : (English)	< <i>jinrikisha</i> (Japanese)
	rickshaw	rickshaw	
144.	<i>samurai</i>	< <i>samurai</i> (English)	< <i>samurai</i> (Japanese)
	long sharp sword	member of military caste in old Japan	

4.0. IMPACT OF LOANWORDS

It is generally agreed that the entry of loanwords in a language from other languages correlates with acculturation and cultural diffusion (Lehmann 1962:216). The pressure on learners of a prestige language to acquire it without flaws helps, in the long run, bring about

phonological modification, changing the phonemic and morphological structure of the borrowing language. Certainly, this happened to Manipuri as a result of contact with the speakers of Indo-Iranian languages (Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindi) during the long period from the early 15th century A.D. to the end of the 19th century A.D. Phonologically, loanwords led to the addition of a voiced and a voiced aspirated (breathy) stop series. New consonant phonemes came into existence: /b/, /d/, /g/, /j/, /r/, /bh/, /dh/, /gh/, /jh/ (Subadani 1987:70; Yashawanta 2002:77-85). Examples of loanwords reflecting the development of these phonemes in Manipuri phonology are found in the following Manipuri literature (scripture) written in the native Manipuri script, Meitei Mayek: *Thawan Thaba Hiral*, *Khongjom Nubi Nungarol*, *Chothe-Thanwai Pakhangba*, *Nongpok Hiram* and so on. For examples, see Table 7; loanwords have been marked with *.

TABLE 7. Loan-consonant phonemes in Manipuri morphemes

	loan C	in initial		in medial		in final	
145.	/b/	*bajar	market	<i>iba</i>	to write	*bhab	idea
146.	/d/	*dan	charity	<i>mædu</i>	that	*ræsid	receipt
147.	/g/	*gom	gum	<i>magi</i>	his, her	<i>səŋg</i>	companion
148.	/j/	*jati	nation	<i>phajəbə</i>	beautiful	*mej	table
149.	/r/	*rəŋ	colour	<i>mərəm</i>	cause	*khəbər	newspaper
150.	/bh/	*bhari	lot	*bebhar	respect	*gerbh	pregnant
151.	/dh/	*dhup	incense	*budhi	thought	*gəndh	smell
152.	/gh/	*ghot	pot	*ləghu	small	*səŋgh	society
153.	/jh/	*jhuli	bag of mendicant	*ojha	teacher	<i>həjh</i>	pilgrimage to Mecca

The direct borrowings into Manipuri from Indo-Iranian languages and indirect borrowings in Manipuri from other languages via the Indo-Iranian languages led to significant changes in Manipuri terminologies.

For instance, the borrowing of many Bengali kinship terms led to a simplification of kinship terminology and changes in the structure of proper names in Manipuri (Pramodini 1989).

The loanwords in Manipuri have also produced phonological and semantic changes in Manipuri vocabulary. Whenever the loanwords contain phonemes, which are non-existent in Manipuri, these phonemes have been replaced by the nearest equivalent sound in Manipuri, as schematized in Table 8:

TABLE 8. Phoneme substitutions in loans

	change	source	> Manipuri	gloss
154.	/k/ > /t/	<i>kerosin</i>	> <i>terosin</i>	kerosene
155.	/l/ > /r/ :	<i>æ:lpɪ:n</i>	> <i>æ:rpɪn</i>	pin
156.	/z/ > /j/ :	<i>jəha:z</i>	> <i>jəhaj</i>	ship
157.	/x/ > /kh/ :	<i>xəbər</i>	> <i>khəbər</i>	newspaper
158.	/d/ > /d/ :	<i>dəŋdɪ:</i>	> <i>dəndi</i>	punishment, compulsion

The above examples support Henderson (1970:54) who wrote: "Foreign words may be taken into a language in two ways: a) they may be recast in a form already acceptable to the borrowing language; or b) they may retain some alien features, and so introduce new phonological patterns."

Semantic changes associated with loanwords in Manipuri may be manifested as "broadening", as "narrowing" or as "shifting" in the meaning of the loanwords. However, "narrowing" occurs most frequently, followed by "broadening" case, with "shifting" being the least common.

TABLE 9. Semantic changes

source	gloss	Manipuri	gloss	category
159. <i>thana</i>	police station	<i>thana</i>	police personnel or station	broadening
160. <i>dəŋdi:</i>	punishment	<i>dəndi</i>	punishment, compulsion	broadening
161. <i>sərkār</i>	government, master	<i>sərkār</i>	government	narrowing
162. <i>Samskāra</i>	finishing, refin- ing, perfecting, purification rites (the first taking of solid food, investiture with sacred thread and funeral rites)	<i>səŋkar</i>	funeral rites	narrowing
163. <i>puja:ri:</i>	worshipper	<i>pujari</i>	cook	shifting

The borrowing of Indo-Iranian loanwords has resulted in the formation of many hybrid compound words consisting of native words and loanwords; in Table 10 words with asterisks (*) are Indo-Iranian loanwords:

TABLE 10. Compounds containing a loanword component

compound	component	component
164. <i>bhərəmcətpa</i>	*bhərəm	+ <i>cətpa</i>
to get nervous	nervousness	go
165. <i>ghotcəphu</i>	*ghot	+ <i>cəphu</i>
a pot used in worshipping	a small earthen or metal pot	pot

TABLE 10. Compounds containing a loanword component

compound	component	component
166. <i>houjikkal</i>	<i>houjik</i>	+ *kal
nowadays	now	time
167. <i>irəmnala</i>	<i>irəm</i>	*nala
drainage	drain	sewage drain
168. <i>pūjaləmpak</i>	*puja	+ <i>ləmpak</i>
worshipping ground	worship	ground
169. <i>səngari</i>	<i>sən</i>	+ *gari
bullock cart	bull	cart
170. <i>sutithaba</i>	*suti	+ <i>thaba</i>
discharge from duty	holiday	rest

Most of the English loanwords found in Manipuri are of recent origin, a finding consistent with the present Manipuri trend in favor of importing a large of vocabulary from English, particularly scientific and technical terms. This is mainly because the English fills gaps in the Manipuri vocabulary.

If the present trend toward English borrowings continues, it is likely to have a further effect on the phonological structure of Manipuri. For example, Manipuri does not have at present the fricative /f/ or the fricative palatal consonant /ʃ/. Loanwords containing the consonants /f/ and /ʃ/ are usually pronounced /ph/ and /s/, respectively. However, we have found that most educated speakers of Manipuri now have /f/ and /ʃ/ and usually use these consonants when they pronounce those English loanwords.

TABLE 11. English borrowings introducing new sounds

sound	example	gloss
/ph/ > /f/	171. /phis/ > /fɪʃ/	fish
	172. /phadər/ > /fa:dər/	father
	173. /phaibh/ > /farv/	five
/s/ > /ʃ/	174. /eŋlis/ > /ɪŋɡlɪʃ/	English
	175. /dis/ > /dɪʃ/	dish

In addition, although the English loanwords are of recent origin, they have already appeared in many hybrid compound words, as may be exemplified by the following examples; words with double asterisks (**) are English loanwords:

TABLE 12. Compounds with English components

compound	component	component
176. <i>halfthaba</i>	**half	+ <i>thaba</i>
interval	half	rest
177. <i>tebəlphida</i>	** <i>table</i>	+ <i>phida</i>
tablecloth	table	cloth
178. <i>pərikhahol</i>	<i>pərikha</i>	+ ** <i>hall</i>
examination hall	examination	hall
179. <i>karsemphəm</i>	** <i>car</i>	+ <i>semphəm</i>
car workshop	car	workshop
180. <i>tiketəkphəm</i>	** <i>tiket</i>	+ <i>kəphəm</i>
ticket counter	ticket	counter
181. <i>kicənka</i>	** <i>kicən</i>	+ <i>ka</i>
kitchen room	kitchen	room

5. DISCUSSION

The entry of loanwords into Manipuri and formation of compound words are some of the mechanisms which enrich the Manipuri vocabulary stock. All dynamic languages use this mechanism; Manipuri is no exception. English, for instance, has tens of thousands of loanwords imported from a large number of languages, more than 75 in number (Finegan 1987).

Most of the loanwords in Manipuri are from Indo-European languages, with Sanskrit, Bengali, and Hindi, among the Indo-Iranian group and English, among the others, being the most prolific donors. The Indo-Iranian loanwords in Manipuri have already produced structural changes in the phonology of the language, while it remains to be seen how the continuous influx of English loanwords in Manipuri will bring about changes in the phonological structure of Manipuri. The Manipuri loanwords along with the accompanying changes in its phonetic structure are what one expects of a dynamic, growing language as are the creation of new hybrid compounds and the presence of semantic changes.

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