

**Interdisciplinary Journal of Linguistics**  
**Volume [16] 2023, Pp. 39-50**

## **LOCATING BISHNUPRIYA MANIPURI THROUGH THE LENS OF LEXICON**

**Nazrin B. Laskar\***

### **ABSTRACT**

*The European plantation creoles have been analyzed by creating a schism between the superstratum and substratum languages in most studies. Generally, the lexicon of creoles is restructured to the extent that it becomes often difficult to trace its lexifier languages. In this paper, we make an attempt to scrutinize the 'basic and the cultural' lexicon of Bishnupriya Manipuri, a lesser-known contact language spoken in parts of Assam and Tripura in North-East India. The structure and distribution of these semantic categories of lexicon enable us to locate the socio-historical and demographic contact of the language varieties of two distinct language families, Eastern Indo-Aryan, and Tibeto-Burman that lead to the creation of Bishnupriya Manipuri. This study reveals that identifying and filtering the lexifier language in Bishnupriya Manipuri is not possible given the complex process of multiple contacts among diverse linguistic and cultural groups that led to the emergence of Bishnupriya Manipuri. This study shows how lexicon can provide cues in tracing the genetic composition of a contact language, especially in Indian context.*

**Keywords:** Contact Language, Basic Lexicon, Cultural Lexicon, Sylheti, Meitei

### **1. Introduction**

Bishnupriya Manipuri is a contact language that arose as a result of interactions between varieties of Eastern Indo-Aryan (primarily Sylheti<sup>1</sup> and Assamese) and Tibeto-Burman (particularly Meitei) in the

---

\* Department of Linguistics, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh , India

<sup>1</sup> Sylheti is considered as a variety of Eastern Bengali (Chatterjee, 1926). It is spoken in southern Assam (covering Cachar, Karimganj and Hailakandi Districts), Tripura and extends upto Sylhet in Bangladesh. Though it is considered as a variety of Bengali, it is phonologically and structurally very different from standard Bengali. In Assam and Tripura, the Sylhetis are referred to as Bengali both in public discourse and official documents.

north-eastern state of Manipur in India. At present, the Bishnupriya Manipuris are found in small concentration in the southern part of Assam, Tripura and parts of Bangladesh.<sup>2</sup> The oldest linguistic description of Bishnupriya Manipuri is found in Grierson (1903), where it is described as a 'mongrel form of Assamese'. Following Grierson, Sinha (1968, 1981, 1986) documents Bishnupriya Manipuri as an Indo-Aryan language despite acknowledging the presence of various Tibeto-Burman features in Bishnupriya Manipuri. Drawing evidences from a large corpus of natural data of Bishnupriya Manipuri, we have analyzed Bishnupriya Manipuri as a contact language (Laskar, 2003, 2008, 2012, 2020-2021; Satyanath and Laskar, 2003, 2008, 2009).

There are various theories on the origin of Bishnupriya Manipuri (henceforth BM). Some theories trace the presence of Bishnupriya Manipuris to sixth century (see Singh, 1987; Satyanath and Laskar, 2008). Based on the evidences from available sources we proposed in our earlier studies that the Bishnupriya Manipuri developed in Manipur due to the spread of Vaishnavism and its adoption by the Meitei King in late seventeenth century or eighteenth century (See Laskar, 2003; Satyanath and Laskar, 2008). In the present study, we endeavor to show BM as a contact language by drawing evidence from the lexicon that covers everyday life of the BM speech community. The study is based on 55 hours of natural data collected from 45 BM speakers ranging from 6-91 years from the BM settlements in Hailakandi, Karimganj and Cachar Districts in South Assam. The data was collected utilizing sociolinguistic interviews and participant observations following Labovian paradigm (Labov, 1984; Feagin, 2002)

### **1.1 Lexicon of Bishnupriya Manipuri**

In this section, we present a discussion on the lexicon of Bishnupriya Manipuri. The lexicon forms the basic foundation structure of a language. The most vital information for establishing the genetic relationship of a language is yielded by lexicon (vocabulary). The BM lexicon can be traced to various languages belonging to the Eastern Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman (see Laskar 2003; Satyanath and Laskar, 2008). The primary lexifier languages of BM appear to be Sylheti, Assamese (Eastern Indo-Aryan) and Meitei (Tibeto-Burman). In this paper, we delve on nouns representing kinship terms, body parts, festivals, costume, cuisine etc.

---

<sup>2</sup> In all these regions, the Bishnupriya Manipuris live in close proximity with the Sylheti population with whom they are in a second contact.

## 2. Kinship Terms

The kinship terms in BM can be traced to various sources. The kinship terms attested in our data suggest that 70 % of these terms in BM are from Indo-Aryan (I-A) sources while 30% are shared with Tibeto-Burman (T-B), specifically Meitei (Laskar, 2003; Satyanath and Laskar, 2008) as shown in examples (1)-(30). However, it is to be noted that a majority of kinship terms in BM that are traced to Indo-Aryan sources are suffixed with *-k*, *nak* or *-lak* terminations. The suffixes *-nak* or *-lak* are used with kinship terms denoting females. The kinship terms in Tibeto-Burman are attached with pronominal affixes to designate the relationship with the possessor (Grierson, 1903). Assamese, though an Eastern Indo-Aryan language, also illustrates this pattern of marking kinship with pronominal affixes (Kakati, 1941). The *-k* termination occurs in Assamese kinship terms as well. A few Meitei kinship terms also use *-k* termination as in ‘*ābok*’, ‘*tambak*’ ‘only child’. Hence it is difficult to ascertain the source of *-k* termination in BM kinship terms. BM uses the term ‘*imā*’ for mother like the Meiteis by prefixing the Meitei first person pronominal affix *i-* with ‘*mā*’ ‘mother’. In our data, ‘*imā*’ alternates with ‘*mālok*’ in the speech of Bishnupriya Manipuris. But most often ‘*imā*’ ‘mother’ is used exclusively as a direct address term.

Kinship Terms	Gloss	Source
1. mālok	‘mother’	Indo-Aryan
2. bāpak	‘father’	Indo-Aryan
3. khurtāk	‘father younger brother’	Indo-Aryan
4. jertāk	‘father’s elder brother’	Indo-Aryan
5. jetāk	‘father’s elder brother’	Indo-Aryan
6. peyanak	‘father’s sister’	Indo-Aryan
7. beyak	‘brother’	Indo-Aryan
8. banak	‘sister’	Indo-Aryan
9. māmāk	‘mother’s brother’	Indo-Aryan
10. māmieak	‘mother’s brother’s wife’	Indo-Aryan
11. mohonak	‘mother’s sister’	Indo-Aryan
12. girak	‘husband’	Indo-Aryan
13. putak	‘son’	Indo-Aryan
14. jilak	‘daughter’	Indo-Aryan
15. haurak	‘husband/wife’s father’	Indo-Aryan

## 2. Kinship Terms

The kinship terms in BM can be traced to various sources. The kinship terms attested in our data suggest that 70 % of these terms in BM are from Indo-Aryan (I-A) sources while 30% are shared with Tibeto-Burman (T-B), specifically Meitei (Laskar, 2003; Satyanath and Laskar, 2008) as shown in examples (1)-(30). However, it is to be noted that a majority of kinship terms in BM that are traced to Indo-Aryan sources are suffixed with *-k*, *nak* or *-lak* terminations. The suffixes *-nak* or *-lak* are used with kinship terms denoting females. The kinship terms in Tibeto-Burman are attached with pronominal affixes to designate the relationship with the possessor (Grierson, 1903). Assamese, though an Eastern Indo-Aryan language, also illustrates this pattern of marking kinship with pronominal affixes (Kakati, 1941). The *-k* termination occurs in Assamese kinship terms as well. A few Meitei kinship terms also use *-k* termination as in ‘*ābok*’, ‘*tambak*’ ‘only child’. Hence it is difficult to ascertain the source of *-k* termination in BM kinship terms. BM uses the term ‘*imā*’ for mother like the Meiteis by prefixing the Meitei first person pronominal affix *i-* with ‘*mā*’ ‘mother’. In our data, ‘*imā*’ alternates with ‘*mālok*’ in the speech of Bishnupriya Manipuris. But most often ‘*imā*’ ‘mother’ is used exclusively as a direct address term.

Kinship Terms	Gloss	Source
1. mālok	‘mother’	Indo-Aryan
2. bāpak	‘father’	Indo-Aryan
3. khurtāk	‘father younger brother’	Indo-Aryan
4. jertāk	‘father’s elder brother’	Indo-Aryan
5. jetāk	‘father’s elder brother’	Indo-Aryan
6. peyanak	‘father’s sister’	Indo-Aryan
7. beyak	‘brother’	Indo-Aryan
8. banak	‘sister’	Indo-Aryan
9. māmāk	‘mother’s brother’	Indo-Aryan
10. māmiek	‘mother’s brother’s wife’	Indo-Aryan
11. mohonak	‘mother’s sister’	Indo-Aryan
12. girak	‘husband’	Indo-Aryan
13. putak	‘son’	Indo-Aryan
14. jilak	‘daughter’	Indo-Aryan
15. haurak	‘husband/wife’s father’	Indo-Aryan

16.	haurick	'husband/wife' s mother'	Indo-Aryan
17.	dehorok/deyorok	'husband's brother'	Indo-Aryan
18.	nātinak	'grand-daughter'	Indo-Aryan
19.	bauci	'daughters-in-law'	Indo-Aryan
20.	bābā	'father'	Indo-Aryan
21.	dādu	'grand-father'	Indo-Aryan
22.	kākā	'father's younger brother'	Indo-Aryan
23.	didi	'elder sister'	Indo-Aryan
24.	dāmān	'husband'/'groom'	Indo-Aryan
25.	baudi	'brother's wife'	Indo-Aryan
26.	nātinātal	'grandchildren'	Indo-Aryan
27.	nātin	'grand-daughter'	Indo-Aryan
28.	bauji	'brother's wife'	Indo-Aryan
29.	imā	'mother'	Meitei
30.	niṅṅal	'daughter'/'girl'	Meitei

Some of the kinship terms which can be traced directly to Assamese and Sylheti have undergone phonological changes. Terms such as *jerthāk* 'father's elder brother', *khurtāk* 'father's younger brother' can be traced to Assamese *jethāk* and *khurāk*. In BM, there is an insertion of [r] before the second consonant in these words, creating a medial consonant cluster. Some of the kinship terms used in BM are also found in some of the regional varieties of Bengali spoken in southern part of Assam but are not present in the mainstream Bengali of Kolkata. These terms also take *-k* termination as in (31) – (32).

	Bengali	Bishnupriya Manipuri	Gloss
31.	hāi	heiyak	'husband'
32.	māug	mailak	'wife'

There are some lexical (used to form kinship) items, which BM does not share with Assamese, Sylheti or Meitei, though they appear to be of Indo-Aryan origin. These terms do not take *-k* terminations, but are affixed with other morphemes denoting gender distinction. This pattern of morph-agglutination is similar to the ones found in Tibeto-Burman. For example, the most frequently occurring term is *'sau'* 'child' that is affixed with other morphemes. The kinship terms formed with *'sau'* refer to terms, which generally connote younger ones (endearment) and

show affinity with the speaker. Such terms occur very frequently in the data. The list of such kinship terms is given in (33) – (38).

- |     |                                 |                 |
|-----|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| 33. | sau                             | 'child'         |
| 34. | jelā                            | 'female/girl'   |
| 35. | muni                            | 'male/boy'      |
| 36. | muni-sau-go<br>male-child-CI    | 'son/boy'       |
| 37. | jelā-sau-go<br>female-child-CI  | 'daughter/girl' |
| 38. | puri-jelā- go<br>full-female-CI | 'woman'         |

## 2.1 Festivals

The Bishnupriya Manipuris have cultural affinities with the Meiteis. Like the Hindu Meiteis, the Bishnupriyas Manipuris are followers of Vaishnavism as well<sup>3</sup>. Hence, Lord Krishna is the main deity worshipped by both Bishnupriya Manipuris and the Hindu Meiteis. The Hindu festivals like *Janmashtami* and *Holi* form an integral part of the religious life of Meiteis as well as Bishnupriya Manipuris. '*Rasa lila*' a devotional dance-drama celebrating the love of Lord Krishna and Radha, forms the main cultural engagement of the Bishnupriya Manipuris and the Hindu-Meiteis. It is to be noted that '*Rasa lila*' is not significant for the other Indo-Aryan population, such as, Sylheti co-existing in the region. It is observed that Goddesses Durga and Kali which are worshipped by Bengali Hindus (Sylhetis) living in the adjacent areas do not occupy an important place in the religious life of the Bishnupriya Manipuris. Bishnupriya Manipuris also share the indigenous gods, deities and rituals of the Meiteis as shown in (34) – (38). The Bishnupriya Manipuris, like the Meiteis, have a tradition of revering their ancestors by performing various rituals.

39. āpokpā
40. pāhānpā
41. sarārel/n
42. lamordau
43. githanipuṅ

<sup>3</sup> Vaishnavism is a Hindu sect that practices devotion to Krishna or Vishnu as God.

## 2.2 Costume

The traditional costume of the Bishnupriya Manipuris is identical with the Meiteis. Weaving forms an important part of the life of BMwomen as with the Meitei womenfolk. All the rural BMwomen seem to have knowledge of weaving. The older urban women also possess the knowledge of weaving. The ethnic motifs and the materials used by Bishnupriyas Manipuris are the same as that of the Meiteis. Even the terms used by the Bishnupriya Manipuris, to refer to their costume, are shared with that of the Meiteis. On the contrary, the Sylhetis, residing in adjacent localities, have no knowledge of weaving and there are no looms in the houses of Sylheti families living in proximity with the Bishnupriyas Manipuris. The attire of these Sylhetis is distinct from that of the Bishnupriya Manipuris. Though modern costumes have become popular with the BM younger generation, the traditional dresses are used in festivals, weddings and day-to-day casual use. The names of the costumes that the Bishnupriya Manipuris share with the Meiteis are listed in (44)- (49).

	<b>Costumes</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
44.	khutlei	'shawl'
45.	irupi	'towel'
46.	phenek	'garment worn by women that hangs down the waist'
47.	lisempi	'blanket'
48.	moirangpi	'dress of women which is woven in Moirang'
49.	potloi	'bridal dress'

## 2.3 Cuisine

The traditional cuisine and food items of the Meiteis also form part of the food-habits of the Bishnupriya Manipuris. The list of such recipes and food items, such as, vegetables, fruits is given in (50) - (59). Some BM speaker revealed that Sylheti recipes have recently made their entry in the BM cuisine.

	<b>Food items and recipes</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
50.	ikāitāpi	'water-plant'
51.	yānām	'a type of garlic'
52.	kontum	'bottleguard'
53.	owāphālitām	'leafy vegetable'

54.	thorow	'flower of banana'
55.	irapñi	'a dish of boiled vegetables and fermented fish'
56.	ithumpñi	'sweet dish'
57.	gwāñ	'betelnut'
58.	heimāñ	'mango'
59.	seikam	'milk'

With the exclusion of 'gwāñ' 'betelnut' and 'thorow' 'flower of banana', the food items enlisted in (50)- (59) are not shared by the local non-Bishnupriya Manipuri population living in the area. These food items and cuisine are shared by the Bishnupriya Manipuris with the Meiteis residing in Manipur or elsewhere. Despite the fact that the Bishnupriya Manipuris left Manipur and settled in the Sylheti dominated areas of Assam long ago, we see the presence of such terms in Bishnupriya Manipuri. This strongly suggests that an intimate contact between the IA population and the Meiteis might have existed in Manipur, which led to the genesis of a new group called Bishnupriya Manipuri with a distinct cultural and linguistic representation.

## 2.4 Body Parts

The names of the body-parts in Bishnupriya Manipuri appear to be primarily from Indo-Aryan sources though there are a few that are from other sources. Bishnupriya Manipuri shares these names with Assamese, Sylheti and Hindi. The list of body-parts in Bishnupriya Manipuri is shown in (60).

	Body-parts	Gloss	Sources
60.	āñh-hāñ	'hand'	I-A
61.	jāñ-hāñ	'leg'	I-A
62.	kāñ-hāñi	'ears'	I-A
63.	kakāñi-hāñ	'waist'	I-A
64.	kohoni-hāñ	'elbow'	I-A
65.	ju-hāñ	'tongue'	I-A
66.	ātartarā-hāñ	'palm'	I-A
67.	bākal-khāñ	'palm'	I-A
68.	niral-hāñ	'forehead'	Unknown
69.	pāmpol-hāñ	'bicep'	Meitei
70.	mur-go	'head'	I-A



71.	āhi-go	'eyes'	I-A
72.	gāl-gi	'cheeks'	I-A
73.	nāk-go	'nose'	I-A
74.	oth-gi	'lips'	I-A
75.	peth-go	'stomach'	I-A
76.	chuwal-go	'chin'	Unknown
77.	nok-gi	'fingers'	I-A
78.	mudā-go	'heel'	I-A
79.	ātu-gi	'knees'	I-A
80.	urāth-gi	'lower legs'	I-A
81.	bukh-go	'chest'	I-A
82.	aanguli-gi	'fingers'	I-A
83.	thoruwā-gi	'thigh'	Unknown

The names of body-parts cannot occur on their own in BM. Though the body parts are primarily of I-A origin, they are obligatorily marked with classifiers *-hān* and *-go*, which is neither the practice in the relevant I-A languages nor in Meitei. Both in Meitei and in other T-B languages, the body-parts, like the kinship terms have to be affixed with pronominal prefixes (Grierson, 1903). The names of body-parts are not simply borrowed from the source languages. They have gone through phonological changes as shown in (84) – (87).

Hindi	Assamese	Sylheti	Meitei	Bishnupriya	Manipuri
84.	ākḥ	soku		souk	--āhi-go
85.	jibh	jibhā		jibrā	--ju-hān
86.	--	--		muṭā--	mudā
87.	--	--		--	pāmbon pāmpol

There is innovation also as we can see in *dāthsuri* 'jaw'. As *siri* means a line in Sylheti, *suri* in *daathsur* may have been taken from Sylheti and *dāthsuri* may be an innovation in Bishnupriya Manipuri as in:

88. dāth + suri 'jaws'  
teeth line

### 3. Meitei Lexicon in Bishnupriya Manipuri

Apart from sharing the cultural lexical items, Bishnupriya Manipuri shares a large number of lexical items belonging to various grammatical categories with Meitei as exemplified in (89) – (90). These words embody various aspects of everyday life. These words are neither shared nor understood by the local non-Bishnupriya population. Except for a few words that have undergone specific phonological changes, the words are similar to their Meitei correspondences. The word *nuarā* ‘sick’ in Bishnupriya Manipuri shows an integration of a Meitei morpheme *nua* ‘sick’ and infinitival affix from IA *-rā* (from *korā* ‘to do’, *pārā* ‘to be’) to form a noun/adjective. It is important to note that in Assam, the Bishnupriya Manipuris do not reside near the Meitei speaking population. Hence, the possibility of borrowing lexical items from Meitei is very less.

Meitei word in Bishnupriya Manipuri	Gloss	Category
89. niŋjal	‘daughter’	N
90. hadzak	‘medicine’	N
91. marup	‘friend’	N
92. ishālpā	‘singer’	N
93. yāri	‘story’	N
94. leirik	‘book’	N
95. o jā	‘teacher’	N
96. niŋsing	‘memory’	N
97. phām	‘bed’	N
98. nuŋei	‘happy’	A
99. leirāpā	‘poor’	N
100. nuŋsi	‘pity’	N
101. yāthāŋ	command’	V
102. sau	‘angry’	A
103. niyām	‘many’	A
104. siŋ	‘intelligent’	A
105. nuarā	‘sick’	A
106. selpā	‘man’	N
107. siŋkāp	‘an instrument for weaving’	N
108. siŋāl	‘weaving tool’	N
109. siŋlup	‘committee’, ‘feast’	N
110. sei	‘threshold’	N
111. sākti	‘bad’	A
112. leimā	‘queen’	N
113. lālon	‘cross’	V

#### 4. Discussion

We have considered the basic lexicon (kinship and body-parts) and cultural lexicon (cuisine, clothes, festivals) in Bishnupriya Manipuri. The basic lexicon, that is, kinship and body-parts though primarily may be traced to Indo-Aryan sources, follow morpho-syntactic features of Tibeto-Burman. The Indic kinship terms are affixed *-k*, *-nak*, *-lak*, a pattern that is analogous with Tibeto-Burman kinship terms. We have also seen Bishnupriya Manipuri forming kinship terms through morph-agglutination (*mumisango, jelāsaugo*). The formation of poly-lexemic kinship terms through agglutination is ubiquitous in Tibeto-Burman. A few Meitei kinship terms are also used by the Bishupriya Manipuris. Even though the body-parts in BM are largely from Eastern Indo-Aryan, the obligatory use of classifiers with these terms is suggestive of a contact between Indic and Tibeto-Burman (See Laskar, 2003; 2008; forthcoming; Satyanath and Laskar, 2003; 2008; 2009). The use of classifiers, though very common in Tibeto-Burman, is not a typical feature of Indo-Aryan. The lexicon from various sources are not simply implanted in BM. In BM, these lexicons undergo various innovations and internally motivated changes. The lexicon reflecting cultural practices, such as, cuisine, costume, religious and spiritual activities are primarily from Meitei. This is indicative of an intense contact between Meitei and Eastern Indo-Aryan population that led to the genesis of a new linguistic community, the Bishnupriya Manipuri. The presence of Meitei cultural lexicon in the synchronic data gathered from Bishnupriya Manipuris in Assam provide evidence for the stability and continuity of this community as a mixed linguistic community. We have noted in our earlier study that approximately 67% of nouns in BM are of I-A origin (see Satyanath and Laskar, 2008). It is interesting to note that the rest 30% Meitei terms are the vocabularies that represent the cultural and religious life of Bishnupriya Manipuris. In addition, the lexicon from Meitei mentioned in section 1.2 are words that involve mind, cognition and emotion (*nijsing, sij, nujei, nujsi, sau*). The presence of these Meitei words in Bishnupriya Manipuri cannot be simply attributed to borrowing. Campbell (2003: 264) asserts that basic vocabulary occurs more due to common inheritance than diffusion. The nature of the Meitei words in Bishnupriya Manipuri suggests that these words must to be residues of intense contact. The genetic composition of the Bishnupriya Manipuri nouns throws light on the socio-historical contact of multiple linguistic groups that eventually led to the emergence of a new linguistic identity called Bishnupriya Manipuri. The study of lexicons (nouns) provides diachronic evidence to the multiple layers of contact that Bishnupriya Manipuri owes its origin to in Manipur and its subsequent existence in Assam and Tripura. Unlike structural features, lexicon didnot get much prominence in the study of language contact. The study of Bishnupriya Manipuri lexicon

(basic and cultural) reveals the historical relationship Bishnupriya Manipuri had with Eastern Indo-Aryan varieties and Meitei. Lexicon provides vital cues for reconstructing the genetic composition of the contact language like Bishnupriya Manipuri.

#### Abbreviations

- Cl Classifier  
I-A Indo-Aryan  
T-B Tibeto-Burman

#### References

- Bhat, D. N. S., & M. S. Ningomba. (1995). *Manipuri Grammar*. Mysuru: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Campbell, Lyle. (2003). How to Show Languages are Related: Methods for Distant Genetic Relationship. In Brian D. Joseph & Richard D. Janda (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. (pp 262-282). Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Chatterjee, Suniti. Kumar. (1926). *The Origin and Development of Bengali Language*. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press. Repr. 1970. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Chelliah, Shobana L. (1997). *A Grammar of Meitei*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Feagin, Crawford. (2002). Entering the Community: Fieldwork. In J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling -Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. (pp 20-39). Oxford, Malden: Blackwell Publishers.
- Goswami, G.C, & Jyotiprakash Tamuli. (2003). Asamiya. In George Cordona & Dhanesh Jain (eds.), *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. (pp 391-443). London, New York: Routledge.
- Grierson, George, A. (1903-28). *Linguistic Survey of India (LSI)*. Vol. III (III) and V (I) Calcutta: Government of India. Repr. 1968. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Kakati, B. K. (1941). *Assamese: Its Formation and Development*. Gauhati: Lawyers Book Stall. 1972.
- Labov, William. (1984). Field Method of the Project on Linguistic Change and Variation. In J. Baugh & J. Sherzer (eds.), *Language in Use: Readings in Sociolinguistics*. (pp28-53). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Laskar, Nazrin B., & Zeeshan Khushboo. (2022). Morpho- Syntax of Nominal Categories in Ganderbal Kohistani. *Indian Linguistics* 83 (1-2), 27- 47.

- Laskar, Nazrin B. (2003). *Contact between Tibeto-Burman and Indian Languages: The Case of Bishnupriya*. MPhil. Dissertation, University of Delhi.
- Laskar, Nazrin B. (2008). Temporality in Bishnupriya. In Stephen Morey & Mark Post (eds.), *North East Indian Linguistics*, (pp191-202). New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- Laskar, Nazrin B. (2012). *Study of Variation and Change in a Bilingual Context: The Case of Bishnupriya*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Delhi.
- Laskar, Nazrin B. (2020-21). Phonology of Bishnupriya, a Contact Language. *Aligarh Journal of Linguistics* 10 (1).
- Laskar, Nazrin B. Variation and Change in the Use of Classifiers in Bishnupriya Manipuri. Forthcoming.
- Lefebvre, Claire. (1998). *Creole Genesis and the Acquisition of Grammar: The Case of Haitian Creole*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lefebvre, Claire. (2004). *Issues in the Study of Pidgin and Creole Languages*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Satyanath, Shobha, & Nazrin B. Laskar (2009). Ethnicity, Bilingualism, and Variable Clitic Marking in Bishnupriya Manipuri. In James N. Stanford & Dennis R. Preston (eds.), *Variation in Indigenous Minority Languages*, (pp. 441-462) Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Satyanath, Shobha, & Nazrin B. Laskar. (2003). Variability in the Use and Distribution of Classifiers in Bishnupriya, a Contact Language. Paper Presented at NWAV 32. University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.
- Satyanath, Shobha, & Nazrin B. Laskar (2008). Lexicon in a Contact Language: The Case of Bishnupriya. In Stephen Morey & Mark Post (Eds.), *North East Indian Linguistics*. (pp. 75-92). New Delhi: Cambridge University Press
- Singh, Ch. Manihar. (1987). A Clarification on the Bishnupriyas in Relation to the Manipuris. Imphal: Manipuri Sahitya Parishad.
- Sinha, K. P. (1968). *A Study of the Bishnupriya Manipuri Language*. Ph. D. Dissertation. Jadavpur University.
- Sinha, K. P. (1981). *The Bishnupriya Manipuri Language*. Calcutta: Firma KLM.
- Sinha, K. P. (1986). *An Etymological Dictionary of Bishnupriya*. Calcutta: Punthi Pustak