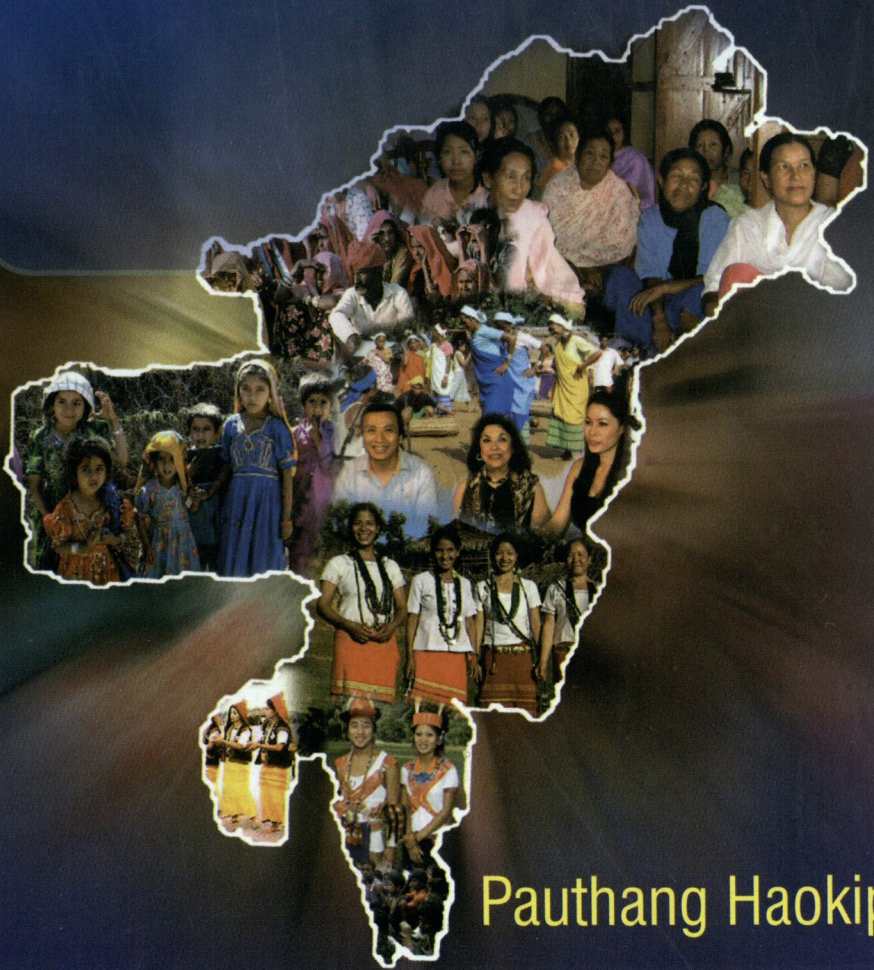


# Socio-Linguistic Situation in North-East India



Pauthang Haokip

This is a unique book exclusively devoted to describe Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin and Naga languages spoken in North-East India besides highlighting situation of different ethnic linguistic groups in the State of Manipur and stressing at length on mother tongue education. It also elaborates sociological and political factors faced by the Kuki-Chin linguistic community in their quest for common nomenclature with suggestive remedial measures to arrest such impasses which stand in their way of unification.

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**Pauthang Haokip**



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## North-East India

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### 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Located in the North-Eastern most part of India, North-East shares 4,500 km long international border with five neighbouring countries—Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar, China, and Nepal. The whole of North-East region is connected to the rest of the country just by a strait of 22 km land corridor through Siliguri in the state of West Bengal—a link that is often referred to as “Chicken’s Neck”. The North-Eastern states are bounded by the mountainous region of the Himalayas in its eastern slopes with Arunachal Pradesh rising all the way up to its border with Tibet. Linguistically, North-East India is the most heterogeneous area which houses almost half of the languages listed by the Census of India. North-East is surrounded by various subgroups speaking the Tibeto-Burman languages—from Arunachal Pradesh on the north to Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram in the east. In addition to the major linguistic groups in the North-East India, viz., Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan and Austro-Asiatic, there are some languages and *lingua francas* used in inter-lingual contact situations which are not even documented. The socio-linguistic profile of the eight states in the region offers a wide variety of speech forms and intriguing typology of pluralistic situations.

#### **Assam**

Located just below the Eastern Himalayan foothills, Assam is surrounded by other North-Eastern states and occupies an important place in the region. It forms a gateway to the rest of the region. It is

also the largest in size and population and lie at the centre of Brahmaputra valley. The state of Assam is somewhat different geographically, ethnically and linguistically from the six hill states. Assamese an Indo-Aryan language is the major language of the state as well as the lingua franca for many ethnic communities in the state. Apart from Assamese, Sylheti (a variety of Bengali) is widely spoken throughout the Cachar district and Barak valley of lower Assam. Apart from Assamese and Bengali, Rajbongshi or Deshibhasa and Bishnupriya are other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the state of Assam. Rajbongshi is spoken in the western part of Assam and in entire North Bengal and has a higher influence of Bodo group of the Tibeto-Burman family. Bishnupriya is spoken in Cachar, Hailakandi and Karimganj districts of Barak Valley. It is also spoken in parts of Manipur, North Tripura and in Bangladesh. Over years of contact with Manipuri, it has incorporated a lot of Manipuri lexical items. According to Masica (1991), Bishnupriya retains a pre-Bengali features and is closer to Bengali and Assamese. According to Census of India 2001, Bishnupriya is spoken by 77,545 speakers. The total number of speakers statewide are: Manipur = 1,457, Tripura = 21,716 and Assam = 53,812. Apart from these Indo-Aryan languages, there are substantial numbers of Bodo-Garo and Kuki-Naga subgroups of the Tibeto-Burman family spoken in different parts of Assam. The Bodo-Garo subgroup is not only spoken in the hills surrounding it, but, also along the low laying plains of Brahmaputra. These include Bodo, Dimasa, Rabha, and various Koch dialects (or languages) in lower (western) part of the valley, and Deuri, which is spoken by a small group in the upper valley. Tiwa (formerly known as Lulong) is spoken primarily in Karbi Anglong District of Assam. The Kuki-Naga languages are primarily spoken in autonomous District council of N.C. Hills and in the surrounding hills of Cachar District. These include Rongmei, Zeme, Hmar, Bete, and Thadou-Kuki, etc. It should be noted here that Assam is also the home of Tai or Thai speaking people which is spoken in Karbi Anglong District.

### **Arunachal Pradesh**

To the north of Assam lies the state of Arunachal Pradesh with hilly terrains all around. Arunachal Pradesh shares an international border with Bhutan, China, and Burma. It is the home of various groups and subgroups who speak different Tibeto-Burman and Thai-Chinese

languages. Some of the major languages of Arunachal Pradesh are: Adi, Adi Gallong/Gallong, Monpa, Wancho, Tangsa, Mishmi, Miri/Mishing, Nocte, Tagin, Apatani, Idu-Mishmi, Khamti, Singpho, Deori, Tutsa, Ruga, Tase, Nisi, Sherdukpen, and some lesser known languages such as Puroik also known as Sulung.

### **Meghalaya**

Khasi in Meghalaya along with Jaintia, War and Lyngngam together constitute the only Austro-Asiatic language that links up the Mon-Khmer languages of the Southeast Asia with the Munda languages of central India. Garo which belongs to Bodo-Garo subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman family is spoken in Garo Hills of Meghalaya. Substantial population of Garo also live both in Assam to the north of the Garo Hills and in the district of Bangladesh, and as far to the south of Tripura. It should be noted here that Garo has a number of dialects known by such names as Achick/Munde, A'we, A'bung Matchi, Dual and others. Apart from Khasi and Garo, there are substantial numbers of Hmar and Bete speakers in small pockets in the Jaintia Hills. The capital city Shillong (also capital of undivided Assam) houses almost all the languages of the North-East India as well as other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. Shillong has been a centre of learning and tourism which had attracted people of diverse linguistic groups throughout the country. Thus, it can be termed as the linguistic paradise of North-East India.

### **Nagaland**

To the South-East of Assam and North of Manipur lies the state of Nagaland. It is the home of different Naga tribes who speak different forms of Tibeto-Burman languages which are conceived to be mutually unintelligible. The major languages of Nagaland are Ao, Angami, Rengma, Lotha, Sumi/Sema, Khezha, Sangtam, Chang, Konyak, Phom, Khiamniungan, Chokri, Sangtam, Yimchunger, Zeme, and Liangmai. All these languages are introduced in schools as mother tongue or first language from pre-primary level. Kuki, which is spoken by few number of population is also treated equally with other Naga languages and is taught as first language for Kuki speaking children from pre-primary to class VIII. It is to be noted here that, Nagamese, a pidgin, which is now creolized, is a form of Assamese. It is used as

a lingua franca for inter-groups communication throughout the state of Nagaland.

### **Tripura**

Still further to the south lies the state of Tripura. Kokborok (formerly known as Tipra or Tripuri) along with Riang (also called Bru) which is considered to be a dialect of Kokborok constitutes the largest Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the state. Kokborok which belongs to the Bodo-Garo subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman family was once the most dominant language of the state before they were reduced to minority by Bengali speakers. Apart from Kokborok, there are substantial numbers of closely related "Old Kuki" languages, viz., Darlong, Ranglong, Rangkhoh, Chorai, Kaipeng, and Sakhachep, etc., spoken by a small number of speakers. Today, they embraced themselves under a common nomenclature "Hallam". It is to be noted here that Koloï, which is a variety of Kokborok embraced themselves under "Hallam" which is not a linguistic grouping but an ethnic grouping for many ethnic groups in Tripura.

### **Mizoram**

Sandwiched between Myanmar in the east and south and Bangladesh in the east with a total of 630 miles, Mizoram is the home of the Kuki-Chin cluster called 'Kukish' proper by Shafer. These include Lushai or Dulian, Hmar, Pawi, Lakher or Mara, and Kuki tribes. Apart from the Kuki-Chin languages, there are sizable population of Riang and Chakma spoken in the state. According to 2001 census of Mizoram state Chakma is spoken by 1,76,458 speakers.

### **Sikkim**

Sikkim is the landlocked state located in the Himalayas. It is the least populous state in India and second smallest in area after Goa. Sikkim was an independent state ruled by Chogyal monarchy until 1975, when a referendum to make it India's twenty second state succeeded. Sikkim shares an international border with Nepal in the west, the Peoples Republic of China to the north and east, Bhutan in the south-east and West Bengal to its south from the Indian side. The official language of the state is Nepali. Other major languages include Bhutia,

Lepcha, Limboo, Gurung, Sherpa, Tamang, Newari, Hindi and English. The predominant religions are Hinduism and Vajrayana Buddhism. Gangtok is the capital and largest town.

## Manipur

To the south of Nagaland lies the state of Manipur which shares an international border with Myanmar. The Meiteis/Manipuris, Kukis and Nagas together constitute the Tibeto-Burman group in the state. Apart from these three Tibeto-Burman subgroups, there are substantial numbers of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian speakers in different parts of the state. (See for detailed discussion on the languages of Manipur in the Chapter 4).

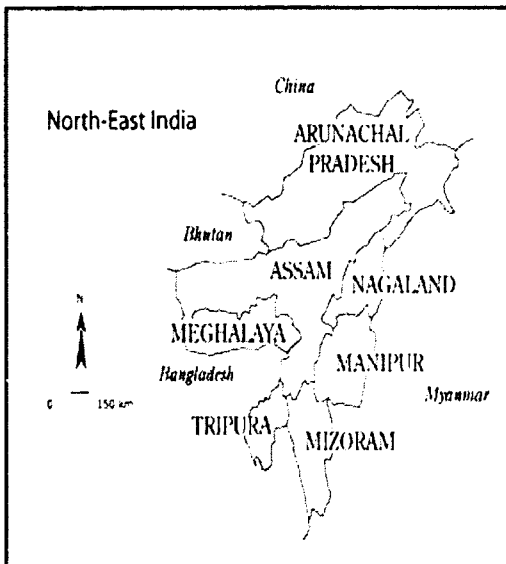


Fig. 1: Map of North-East India

### 1.1. PROBLEMS OF LISTING THE LANGUAGES OF THE NORTH-EAST INDIA

In addition to the major linguistic groups in the North-East India, viz., Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan and Austro-Asiatic, there are some

languages and lingua francas used in inter-lingual contact situations which are not even documented. The languages of the North-East cannot be counted primarily because the region is linguistically unexplored and the knowledge about them is too scanty. The estimated number of languages spoken in North-Eastern India runs as high as two hundred (Downs, 1994), but others suspect that this figure might have been reached by including many mutually intelligible dialects as separate languages. Some of the problems of listing the languages of the North-Eastern India are discussed as follows:

Firstly, many North-Easterners do not differentiate between language and tribe. To them, each tribe is presumed to have its own language, and each language is presumed to be spoken by just one tribe. This presumption comes about because of the fact that by tradition tribes and languages are called by the same names. For example, Angami is spoken by Angami tribe, Garo is spoken by Garo tribe, Khasi is spoken by Khasi tribe, Mizo is spoken by Mizo tribe and so on throughout all the hundred or so languages that are spoken in the North-East. The tradition of naming a language according to each tribe is not true all the times. In North-East India, many people speak language(s) to which they may or may not have tribal membership. Burling (2007) explained how the Rabha living in the low country just north of the Garo Hills, between the hills and the Brahmaputra river are comfortably bilingual and are able to use both the Indic languages of the Assamese and their own Tibeto-Burman Rabha. "Other Rabhas, however, speak only Assamese. Perhaps their grandparents or great-grandparents once spoke Rabha, but the grandchildren do not. They regard themselves as Rabhas and are so regarded by their neighbours, but they violate the expectation that language and tribal membership will always correspond."

Secondly, the difficulty in listing the languages of North-East comes from the fact that, many mutually intelligible dialects are classified as separate languages on the one hand and different speech forms which are conceived to be mutually unintelligible under a single language on the other. This is on account of the fact that the North-Easterners usually give different meaning for what linguists would call 'dialects' (forms of speech that are mutually intelligible) and 'languages' (forms of speech having autonomous system). For them, whatever is spoken by a 'tribe' is likely to be called a 'language', and whatever is spoken by a 'sub-tribe' is a 'dialect'. But this is not true all the time. Sometimes, understandability does not correspond to

recognized tribal boundaries. (See section 4.3.2. of chapter 4 for further discussion)

Not only listing the languages of the North-East is also complicated, but the groups and subgroups by which they are called are often confusing because of the changing nomenclatures. Many of the tribal names given by the British have been changed after the independence. Thus, the people formerly known as Lushai came to be known as Mizo, the Mikir came to be known as Karbi, and the Miri became to be known as Mising. Other groups such as Rabhas and Koch, formerly regarded as separate tribes realigned themselves under the slogan 'Rabha are Koch, Koch are Rabha' (Burling, 2003). For long time, most of the indigenous people of Nagaland, together with some ethnic groups in the neighbouring areas of Manipur, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, and Myanmar have been taken for granted as a linguistic subgroup until recently when Burling (2003) suggested that "The languages spoken by 'Nagas' fall into at least two, and more possibly several, completely distinct branches of Tibeto-Burman." Burling opines that the recognition of 'Naga' ethnicity may have come after the British gave the name 'Naga'. But this term should not befool us in believing that they must have same linguistic family group.

## 1.2. PROFILE OF THE MAJOR LANGUAGES OF THE NORTH-EAST INDIA

This section deals with the profile of some major languages of North-East India pertaining to their geographical location, population, domain of language used and some scholarly works. For those languages whose figures are not available from Census of India, they are taken from Ethnologue. (See chapter 4 for the language profile of Manipur).

### **Assamese**

Assamese is the official state language of Assam. It is a link language for various linguistic groups across the state. The language is also spoken in the neighbouring states of West Bengal, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and in the neighbouring countries of Bangladesh and Bhutan. The total population of Assamese speakers is 1,31,68,484 (Census of India 2001). The alternate names are

Asambe, Asami, Asamiya, Jharwa (Pidgin), Mayang, Standard Assamese, Western Assamese. Assamese belongs to Indo-Aryan family of the Indo-European. Assamese script is used as their writing system.

### **Nagamese**

Nagamese a pidgin form of Assamese is widely used in inter-groups communication in the state of Nagaland. A variety farthest from Assamese is spoken by the Yimchenger Naga, and varieties closest to Assamese by the Angami Naga, and around Dimapur and Kohima. The total number of people who speak Nagamese is 30,000 (Ethnologue, 2005). It is used by most of the 5,00,000 speakers of 29 Naga languages as second language. Though Nagamese is not used as a subject of instruction, it is used as teaching medium, i.e. teaching language in schools of Nagaland.

### **Bishnupriya**

Bishnupriya is an Indo-Aryan language mainly spoken in the Assam districts of Cachar, Hailakandi and Karimganj. The speakers are also found to live in North Tripura district and in Bangladesh. For a long time, Bishnupriya had been regarded to be a Bengali-Meitei Creole. But recent studies reveal that it retains pre-Bengali features (Masica, 1991) and is closer to both Bengali and Assamese. The total population of Bishnupriya is 77,545 (Census of India, 2001). It is also known by various names such as Bisna Puriya, Bishnupria Manipuri. The speakers use Assamese and Bengali scripts. The most notable academic work in the language is that of Kim, Amy and Seung Kim. 2008. *“Bishnupriya (Manipuri) speakers in Bangladesh : a sociolinguistic survey.”*

### **Khasi**

Khasi is spoken mainly in the state of Meghalaya. The speakers are also found in the district of Cachar, Nowgong, Lakhimpur, and Kamrup District in Assam. Khasi is also spoken in parts of Manipur; West Bengal; Tripura and also in Bangladesh. The total population of Khasi is 11,28,575 (Census of India, 2001). The alternate names are Khaasi, Khasiyas, Khuchia, Kassi, Khasa, and Khashi. The

different dialects of Khasi are Bhoi-Khasi, Lyngngam (Megam), War, Cherrapunji (Sohra), Khyntium. Bhoi is spoken in Nongpoh block and Nonglung in East Khasi Hills. Lyngngam dialect in Mawshynrut block in West Khasi Hills is divergent and may not be a dialect (Abbi : 1997). War (Amwi) is a separate language (B. Comrie, 1989). Khasi is the official regional language of Meghalaya and used in administration, mass media, newspapers, radio programmes and in television. The language is taught in primary schools in Roman script. Some of grammatical works include:

1. K.S. Nagaraja, Poona, 1978. "*Descriptive Analysis of Khasi*".
2. K.S. Nagaraja, CIIL, 1990. "*Khasi Phonetic Reader*".
3. K.S. Nagaraja, CIIL, 1994. "*Khasi dialects : a typological consideration*".
4. K.S. Nagaraja, CIIL, 1996. "*The Status of Lyngngam*".
5. I.M. Simon, 1997. "On first looking into Paul K. Benedict's Sino-Tibetan".
6. Alves, J. Mark, 2001. "*Distributional properties of causative verbs in some Mon-Khmer languages*". Khasi Bible "Ka Testamen Barim Bad Ba Thymmai" was translated around 1891.

## Garo

Garo along with a number of dialects such as A'we, A'beng, Matchi, Dual etc. is spoken in western half Meghalaya also known as of Garo Hills. The speakers of Garo also live in Assam districts of Goalpara, Kamrup and Karbi-Anglong and Mymensing district of Bangladesh, which all skirt the Garo Hills. Van Driem (2007) located the Garo speakers even further to the south of Bangladesh hinterland about 15,000 in Modhupur. Garo speakers also live in Nagaland, south Tripura district, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar districts in West Bengal. The total population of Garo is 8,89,479 (Census of India 2001). General level of education is low compared to Khasi. They use Roman script as their writing system. The language is taught in primary schools.

The most notable grammatical works in the language include:

- (1) Mason, C. Marcos, *et al.*, Shilong, 1905. "*English-Garo-Dictionary*".

- (2) D.S. Nengminza, Tura, 1946. "*The School Dictionary (Garo into English)*".
- (3) Burling Robins, Deccan College, Pune, 1961. "*A Garo Grammar*".
- (4) R.G. Momin, Tura, 1968. "*English-Garo-Dictionary*".
- (5) Marak, W. Harendra, Guahati, 1975. "*Ku'bidik*."
- (6) Marak, W. Harendra, Guahati, 1975. "*Ku'bidik : A Garo-English-Assamese Dictionary*".

### **Bodo**

Bodo is the only Tibeto-Burman language to be included under the Eighth Schedule after Manipuri. It is also the official language of the recently created Bodoland Territorial Council. Bodo is primarily spoken in the entire lower Assam stretching up to Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar districts of north Bengal and in the upper districts of Dhimaji, Lakhimpur, Nagaon, Sonitpur, Karbi-Anglong. The Bodo also live in Tikrikilla block of west Garo Hills in Meghalaya and in Jhapa district in Nepal. The language is spoken by 13,50,478 people (Census of India 2001). Bodo has adopted Devanagari script as their writing system.

Some of the grammatical works in the language include:

- (1) D.N.S. Bhat, Deccan College, Pune, 1968 "*Bodo Vocabulary (with a grammatical sketch)*".
- (2) P.C. Bhattarcharya, Guwahati, 1977, "*A Descriptive Analysis of Bodo Language*".
- (3) Mochari, Moniram. Bengtol (Assam), 1985. "*Bodo-English Dictionary*".

### **Koch**

Koch which includes Rabha, and other small Koch languages such as Pani Koch, Wa'ng, Tintikia and Mandai is considered to be dying out. A'tong and Moribund Ruga also belong to the Koch sub-group. It is spoken in west Garo Hills district of Meghalaya, Assam, Tripura, West Bengal, Bihar and in Bangladesh. The population of Koch is 31,119 (Census of India, 2001). Koch of Meghalaya can speak Bengali, Assamese. Educated youths can speak English and Hindi. The speakers use Assamese script.

### **Rabha**

Rabha is spoken in Darrang, Goalpara and Kamrup districts of Assam. The language is also spoken in Nagaland; East Garo Hills district of Meghalaya; and in Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar districts in West Bengal. The total population of Rabhas according to Census of India 2001 is 1,64,770. The different dialects of Rabhas are Maitaria (Maituri, Maitoria), Rangdania (Rongdani). Maituri and Rongdania have inherent intelligibility to each other's speakers. There is a third dialect called Koch Rabha, spoken in Assam close to West Bengal border. It is not intelligible with Rongdania (Fr. Jose, 2002). The majority of the ethnic groups speak Assamese as their first language and the rest speak Rabha as their first language. Rongdani is the standard dialect but is almost dying out. Most Rabha are bilingual in Assamese and they use Assamese script. The language is also used in radio programmes and in television. The major works is that of U.V. Joseph, Guwahati, 2002. "*Rabha-English Dictionary: Khúrangnala*".

### **Dimasa**

Dimasa is another major language of Bodo-Garo subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman family spoken in the state of Assam. In Assam, Dimasa is mainly spoken in the districts of Cachar, Karbi Anglong, Nowgong and N.C. Hills of Assam. It is also spoken in Nagaland. It should be noted here that the term Hill Kachari was employed in the past literatures to refer to those Dimasas living in N.C. Hills and in and around Nagaland. And those Dimasas living in parts of Nagaon in regions like Longkah, Hojai, Khampur, etc. are known as plain Kacharis or simple Hojai Kacharis. Another name for the Dimasas living in and around Cachar district such as, Silchar and Hailakandi is Rohini Kachari. The total population of Dimasa speakers according to Census of India, 2001 is 1,11,961. Recently, Dimasa was introduced up to class 2 in the primary schools of Assam. The Dimasa have been writing in Assamese, Benglai and Devanagari scripts. Now, under the pressure from the Dimasa literary society and the demand of the younger generation, use of Roman script is increasing day-by-day. Some of the existing literatures include: Thaosen, Sonoram, Haflong, 1994. "*Dimasa Bhasha Bijnan Parichay (in Bengali)*".

**Rajbangshi**

Rajbangshi is spoken in the western part of Assam and in the entire North Bengal. It is an Indo-Aryan language with a higher influence of Bodo group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The total population of Rajbangshi is 82,570 (Census of India 2001). Rajbangshi is also known by various names such as Kamtapuri, Rajbangsi, Rajbansi, Rajbangshi, Tajpuri. The first treatment of Rajbangshi language was by Grierson in his LSI, where he named it the "Rajbangshi dialect of Bengali". Assamese is spoken by the Rajbangshi in Assam. The language is used in poetry, magazines, and videos. Some literatures available in the language include dictionary and "*A Sketch of the Phonology and Grammar of Rajbangshi*" by Wilde, Christopher P. 2008.

**Tiwa**

Tiwa or Lalung as it is known is spoken in Kamrup, and Morigaon Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts of Assam. The language is also spoken in Karbi-Anglong district formerly known as 'Mikir Hills'. Tiwa is also spoken in Khasi Hills district of Meghalaya. The total population of Tiwas is 27,960 (Census of India, 2001). The Tiwas are currently using Assamese script. Some of the literatures in the language include dictionary and grammar. The New Testament is also translated into the language.

**Deuri**

Deuri is spoken in Lakhimpur, Dhemaji, Tinsukia, and Jorhat districts of Assam. The population of Deuri is 27,960 (Census of India, 2001). Most Deuri are bilingual in Assamese but women, older and uneducated people are observed to have less proficiency in Assamese. The speakers are currently using Roman script as their writing system.

**Miri/Mishing**

It is spoken in North Lakhimpur, Sonitpur, Dhemaji, Dibrugarh, Sibsagar, Jorhat, Golaghat and Tinsukia districts of Assam. In Arunachal Pradesh, it is spoken in Lower and Upper Subansiri district, Ziro subdivision and a few villages near Pasighat, on both sides of

the Kamla River and Daporizo subdivision. The Hill Miri in Arunachal Pradesh and the Plain Miri are in Assam. The total population is 4,00,000 (Ethnologue: 2005). The alternate names of the language are Mishing, Mising, Takam. Idu may be its dialect. Grierson classify the language as North Assam group of the Tibeto-Burman family. But, G.D.P. Sastry (1991) prefer to call it as Tani group simply because the speakers prefer to call themselves as "Ami" or "Tani". Speakers use Hindi and Assamese.

### **Karbi/Mikir**

It is spoken in the Karbi-Anglong district of Assam or 'Mikir Hills' as well as in the neighbouring districts of Kamrup, Nowgong and Sibsagar. The total population of Karbi is 4,19,534 (Census of India, 2001). Majority of its speakers are bilingual in Assamese, and amongst the younger generation the ancestral language is being abandoned at an alarming rate in favour of Assamese. Karbi is a Tibeto-Burman language, but its exact place within the group is not yet ascertained.

### **Kokborok**

Kokborok formerly known as 'Hill Tippera' is spoken in the low rolling hills of Tripura. It was once the most dominant language and constitutes at least 70 per cent in the state at the time of India's independence in 1947 from Great Britain and merely 30 per cent were Bengali speakers. Today, the Kokborok constitute just a 30 per cent minority in their own homeland, having been swamped by large scale Bengali immigrants from Bangladesh. Today, the Bengali speakers make up over 85 per cent of the total population of Tripura. The language is also spoken in Assam and in Chittagong Hill tracks of Bangladesh. The various names of Kokborok are Tripuri, Tipura, Usipi Mrung, Tripura, Kakbarak. and Kokbarak. The language is spoken by 8,54,023 (Census of India, 2001). The various dialects of Kokborok are Jamaitia, Koloi, Rupini, Tripura, Noatia, Murasing, Laitong, Uchoi, Rieng, Puram, Debbarma. Debbarma is spoken by the royal family and is the medium of communication with the other dialects. It is understood by all, but not *vice versa*. In Tripura, the policy of the state government is to use the Bengali script for all the languages. But the speakers of Kokborok, Chakma and Hallam Kuki

also use the Roman script (with some modifications) on informal occasions/in non-official publications.

The most notable works on Kokborok language are:

- (1) Pushpa Paine Karapurkar, CIIL, 1976. "*Kokborok Grammar*".
- (2) K.S. Francis, Guwahati, 1992. "*English-Kokborok Dictionary*". Bible was translated in 1998.

### **Riang**

Riang or Kau Bru as it is known is spoken in the state of Tripura; Karimganj district in Assam; Aizawl, Lunglei and Chhimitupui districts in Mizoram, mostly along the bank of Kamafuli River. The language is also spoken in Bangladesh. Riang is considered to be a dialect of Kokborok but the Riangs themselves spurn to be identified as Kokborok. It is spoken by 76,450 speakers (Census of India, 2001). Literacy rate is very low. The speakers use Roman and Bengali script. It is said that the Riang of Tripura are different from Riang of Myanmar, a Mon-Khmer language though Muanthanga says they speak a dialect of Kokborok called "Polong-O".

### **Darlong**

Darlong is spoken in Kailashahar and Kamalpur subdivisions of Tripura. The speakers are also found in Bangladesh. The total population of Darlong is 6,000 (Ethnologue, 2005). It is also known by the alternate name Dalong. Darlong belongs to the Central Kuki-Chin subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman family. The speakers use Roman script. The New Testament was translated into Darlong in 1995.

### **Adi**

Adi is spoken in East, West, and Upper Siang districts and in Upper Subansiri and Dibang Valley Districts of Arunachal Pradesh. It is also spoken in Assam. The total population of Adi is 1,98,462 (Census of India, 2001). The alternate names are: Abhor, Abor, Boga'er Luoba, Lhoba, and Luoba. The language may be classified under the Tani group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The speakers also use Assamese,

Hindi, or Nepali. They use Roman script as their writing system. New Testament was translated in 1988.

### **Adi/Galo**

It is spoken in West Siang, East Siang, Dibang Valley (South), Lohit (East), Changlang (North-East), and some in Upper Subansiri (West) Districts of Arunachal Pradesh. The total population of Adi/Galo is 61,887 (Census of India, 2001). It is known by various names such as Adi, Adi-Gallong, Adi-Galo, Gallong, Galong. The language is reportedly intelligible with other Adi dialects but they are socio-linguistically distinct. The language may be classified under the Tani group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The language is used in homes and villages. Most of the speakers use Hindi and Assamese. English is spoken by the educated and by the younger folk. A few older adults are monolinguals. The speakers use Roman script and the language is also used in Radio programmes.

### **Apatani**

It is spoken in Assam, Nagaland and around seven villages in and around Hapoli and Zirol in Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh. The total population of Apatani is 28,422 (Census of India, 2001). The language is also known as Apa. Apatani belongs to Tani group of the Tibeto-Burman family. Speakers use Assamese, Hindi, and Nepali. Literacy rate is very low. The most notable work on the language is that of P.T. Abraham, CIIL, 1985. "*Apatani Grammar*".

### **Idu-Mishmi**

It is spoken in Dibang Valley district of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and West Bengal. The total population of Idu-Mishmi is 33,955 (Census of India, 2001). The language is known by alternate names such as Chulikata, Chulikotta, Ida, Idu, Midhi, Midu, Yidu Luoba. The language is closest to Digaro-Mishmi. Different from Boga'er Lhoba. The language may be classified under the Tani group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The speakers use Assamese and Hindi. Only the educated speak English. Literacy rate is very low. Two most notable works on the languages are: (1) G.D.P. Sastry, CIIL, 1984. "*Mishmi Phonetic Reader*" and (2) G.D.P. Sastry, CIIL, 1984. "*Mishmi Grammar*".

**Nisi**

It is spoken in Assam, Darrang district, Lower Subansiri and East Kameng districts of Arunachal Pradesh. The total population of Nisi is 1,18,111 (Census of India, 2001). The alternate names are “Dafla”, “Daphla”, Nissi, Nishi, Nyising, Nyishi, Bangni, Lel. The different dialects are Aka Lel, Bangni, Tagin, Nishang. Nisi is related to Apatani, Adi and Yano. Tagin may be a separate language. The language may be classified under Tani group of the Tibeto-Burman family. Nisi has been used as a cover term for the western Tani languages. The name “Dafla” means ‘wild man’ and is considered derogatory. The speakers use Assamese script.

**Nocte**

Nocte is spoken in Khonsa, Namsang and Laju circles in Tirap district and in Changlang District of Arunachal Pradesh. The speakers are also found to live in Lakhimpur district of Assam and in Mon district of Nagaland. The total population of Nocte is 32,957 (Census of India, 2001). The alternate names of Nocte are Borduria, Jaipuria, Mohongia, Namsangia, Nocte, and Paniduria. The language may be classified as Bodo-Konyak sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. Assamese or Hindi is used mostly by young and educated people. Others speak Assamese only for trade. English is used by educated office workers. The language is used in Radio programmes too.

**Wancho**

Wancho is spoken in south-eastern Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh. It is also spoken in Assam and Nagaland. The language may be classified as Bodo-Konyak sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The total population is 49,072 (Census of India, 2001). The alternate names are Wancho, Banpara Naga, and Joboka. The major dialects are Changnoi, Bor Muthun (Bor Mutonia), Horu Muthun and Kulung Muthun (Mithan). There is a significant variation between the language spoken in the upper regions and the lower ones. Wancho is close to Chang Naga and Konyak Naga. The younger generation speaks Hindi or Assamese as second language. The speaker use both Roman and Devanagari scripts. New Testament was translated in 2002.

### **Tutsa**

Tutsa is spoken in South Changlang and East Tirap districts of Arunachal Pradesh. Their total population is 25,000 (Ethnologue, 2005). It is also known by the alternate names Totcha or Tutsa. The language may be classified under Bodo-Konyak sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The language is used mainly in homes and in villages. The speakers of the language consider themselves separate from Nocte and Tase. Assamese is spoken by young people; Hindi by young and slightly educated people and English by educated young people. Literacy rate in second language is very low.

### **Monpa**

It is spoken in Tawang and West Kameng districts of Arunachal Pradesh. In China the speakers of the language are found to the east of Bhutan, partly in south-eastern Tibet, mainly on the Yarlung-Zanbo River, Medog, Nyinchi, Cuona counties. The total population of Monpa is 55,876 (Census of India, 2001). The alternate names of the language are: Monba, Mompa, Monpa, Momba, Menba, Men-Pa. The various dialects are Matchopa Nagnoo (But), Chug, Sangla (Dirang), Kalaktang (Southern Monpa), Kishpignag (Lish), Monkit (Northern Monpa, Tawang). The Lish, But, and Chug dialects differ from the others, resembling Aka, Miji, and Sherdukpen languages (Singh). Monpa is identical or closely related to Cuona Monpa in Tibet and Brokpa and Brami of Bhutan (Andvik, 2002). The language may be classified under the Kiranti group of Tibeto-Burman family. The speakers use Devanagari script. The language is used in Radio programmes.

### **Sherdukpen**

Sherdukpen or Ngnok as it is known is Tibeto-Burman language spoken mainly in the villages of Rupa, Shergaon, and Jigaon in the south-western corner of Kameng district, but are also settled in area in and around the Tenga valley south of Bomdila. Culturally, the Sherdukpen are distinct from the other Kho-Bwa language communities because they have adopted a Tibetan Mahayana Buddhist *Hoch-kultur* (Van Driem, 2007). The total population is 3,100 (Ethnologue, 2005). The different dialects of Sherdukpen are: Bugun

(Khoa), Lishpa and Butpa might be related, but are little-known languages (Sun Tianshin Jackson, 1993). Speakers also use Hindi or Tshangla.

### **Puroik**

Puroik or Sulung as it is known is spoken by a small hill tribe in the north-eastern hills of East Kameng, Papum Pare and north-western hills of Lower Subansiri districts, along the Par River of Arunachal Pradesh. They are scattered over the nine administrative circles of East Kameng district, viz., Chayangtajo, Pipu, Pakke Kessang, Lada, Bameng, Seijosa, Seppa, Sawa, Khenewa and Pipu-Dipu circles. The language does not seem to share affinity with the neighbouring tribes like, Aka, Nyishi and Maji except for the shared vocabulary and areal features. However, they are said to share a mutually intelligible language with the Khowas (Bunguns) of the West Kameng district (Remsangpuia, 2008). The total population of Puroik is 5,443 (Census of India, 1991). The position of Puroik within the Tibeto-Burman sub-group of family is not yet known for the very reason that no Tibeto-Burmanist has ever attempted to classify the language within any sub-group.

### **Khamti**

Khamti is spoken in Lakimpur district of Assam; Siang and Lohit districts of Arunachal Pradesh and in North-western Myanmar. The population of Khamti according to Census of India, 1991 is 8,462. The alternate names are: Kham-Tai, Hkamti, Khampti, Khamti Shan, Khantis, Tai Kham Ti. Khamti is said to have a number of dialects as Assam Khamti, North Burma Khamti, Sinkaling Hkamti. In India Khamti is related to Phakaes, Aiton, Khamjang, and Turung. The language may be classified as Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai, Be-Tai, Tai-Sek, Tai. In Myanmar speakers also use Burmese or Jingpho. Academic publications include: Robinson, Edward Raymond. 1994. *Further Classification of Southwestern Tai "P" Group Languages*.

### **Ao**

Ao is one of the largest Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the state of Nagaland. It is mainly spoken in the central Mokokchung district and parts of Assam. The language belongs to Kuki-Chin-Naga sub-group of

the Tibeto-Burman family. The major dialects of Ao are Mongsen, Changki, and Chungli which are said to be mutually unintelligible. The language is spoken by 2,61,387 speakers (Census of India, 2001). The speakers also use Assamese, English, Naga Pidgin or Hindi. They use Roman script as their writing system. Some of the notable grammatical works in the language are:

- (1) K.S. Gurubasave Gowda, CIIL, 1975. "*Ao-Grammar*".
- (2) K.S. Gurubasave Gowda, CIIL, 1985. "*Ao-English-Hindi Dictionary*".
- (3) K.S. Gurubasave Gowda, CIIL, 1992. "*Ao-Naga Phonetic Reader*".
- (4) E.W. Clark, Gian Publication, Delhi, 1981e. "*The Ao-Naga Grammar with Illustrations, Phrases and Vocabulary*".
- (5) A.R. Coupe, Pacific Linguistics (No. 543), Canberra:2003, "*A Phonetic and Phonological Description of Ao*". Bible was translated in 1964.

## Angami

Angami is spoken in western Nagaland and in Kohima district. But in recent times, the language became to be known as Tenyidie. Angami belongs to Kuki-Chin-Naga sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. Other alternate names include Gnamei, Ngami, Angamis, Tsoghami, Tsugumi, Monr, and Tsanglo. Naga Chokri and Naga Kezhama are eastern Angami groups with their own dialects. Tenyidie is the standard dialect and is understood by all. There are 2 southern varieties, viz., Viswemal and Jakhama that are not intelligible. The total population of Angami speakers is 1,32,225 (Census of India, 2001). Speakers also use English, Naga Pidgin, or Hindi. Most young people read Angami. Literacy among older people is lower. The speakers use Roman script. Magazines, Dictionary and grammar books are also available in the language.

Some notable works in the language include:

- (1) N. Ravindran, CIIL, 1974. "*Angami Phonetic Reader*".
- (2) P.P. Giridhar, CIIL, 1980. "*Angami Grammar*".
- (3) P.P. Giridhar, CIIL, 1987. "*Angami-English-Hindi Dictionary*". Bible was translated in 1970.

## **Chang**

Chang belongs to Bodo-Konyak sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. It is spoken in thirty-six villages in Tuensang District in East Central Nagaland. The population of Chang is 62,408 (Census of India, 2001). The language is close to Wancho. Dialect of Tuensang village is most intelligible to all. The various names of Chang are Mojung, Machongrr, Mochumi, Mochungrr, and Changyanguh. Speakers also use Naga Pidgin, Ao, Assamese, English, or Hindi. The speakers use Roman script as their writing system. New Testament was translated in 1982.

## **Konyak**

Konyak is another language which falls under the Bodo-Konyak sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. It is spoken in Sibsagar district of Assam and in Mon and Tuensang Districts in Nagaland. The total population of Konyak is 2,48,109 (Census of India, 2001). The major dialects are Angphang, Hopao, Changnyu, Chen, Chingkao, Chinglang, Choha, Gelekidoria, Jakphang, Kongon, Longching, Longkhai, Longmein, Longwa, Mohung, Tableng, Mon, Mulung, Ngangching, Sang, Shanlang, Shunyuo, Shengha, Sima, Sowa, Shamnyuyanga, Tabu, Tamkhungnyuo, Tang, Tobunyuo, Tolamleinyua, Totok. Tableng is standard dialect spoken in Wanching and Wakching close to Phom Naga. The speakers also use Naga Pidgin, English, or Hindi. Literacy rate in first language: 13 per cent (Singh, 1994). The language is taught in primary schools in Roman script. The major works in the language include:

1. K.S. Nagaraja, CIIL, 1994. "*Konyak-Hindi-English Dictionary*".
2. K.S. Nagaraja, CIIL, 1994. "*Konyak Folklore*".
3. K.S. Nagaraja, CIIL, 1997. "*Kinship terms in Konyak Naga*". Bible was translated in 1992.

## **Khamniungan**

Khamniungan is spoken in central part of Tuensang district in Nagaland and north-western Myanmar. The total population is 37,755 (Census of India, 2001). The language is also known as Khamngan, Khamniungan, Khienmungan, Khemungan, and Kemmungam. The language is

classified under Bodo-Konyak sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. In Myanmar the speakers of the language are referred to by the alternate names such as Makware, Nokaw, Para, Ponyo, and Welam. The speakers use Roman script. New Testament was translated in 1981.

### **Phom**

Phom is spoken in 36 villages in Longleng subdivision of Tuensang district in Nagaland. The total population is 1,22,508 (Census of India, 2001). The alternate names are Phom, Phon, Tamlu Naga, Chingmengu, and Tamlu. The language is classified under Bodo-Konyak sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The speakers also use Naga Pidgin. Like most Naga languages the speakers of Phom use Roman script.

The most notable work in the language is that of:

Burling, Robbins and L. Amon Phom, *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman area*, 21:43-71, 1999. "*Phom Phonology and Word List*". New Testament was translated in 1978.

### **Chokri**

Chokri is spoken in Phek district of Nagaland, Cheswezumi is the main village. The total population of Chokri is 83,560 (Census of India 2001). Chokri is known by various names such as Eastern Angami, Chakrima Naga, Chakru, Chökri, and Chakhesang. The language may be classified as Angami-Pochuri sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. Most Chokris are bilingual in Angami Naga and English. The speakers use Roman script as their writing system.

### **Sangtam**

Sangtam is spoken in Chare Circle and Kiphire subdivision of Tuensang district in Nagaland. The total population of Sangtam is 84,273 (Census of India, 2001). The major dialects of Santham are Kizare, Pirr (Northern Sangtam), Phelongre, Thukumi (Central Sangtam), Photsimi, Purr (Southern Sangtam). Kizare is spoken north of Meluri. It is not known how much it differs from other Sangtam. Santham may be classified as Kuki-Chin-Naga sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The speakers also use Naga Pidgin, Ao, Hindi, or English. Bible was translated in 1995. Chokri, Khezha, and a small section of Sangtam make up the Chakhesang Naga community.

## Sumi

Sumi/Sema is spoken in Central and Southern Nagaland. The major settlements of Sumi are in Zunheboto, Kohima, Mokokchung, and Tuensang districts of Nagaland. It is also spoken in seven villages in Tinsukia district of Assam. The total population of Sumi is 1,03,529 (Census of India, 2001). The language is also known as Sema, Simi, and Sumi. The language may be classified as Angami-Pochuri sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The speakers also use Naga Pidgin, Angami, Ao, Lotha, English, or Hindi. The speakers use Roman script as their writing system.

Some of the notable works in the language include:

- (1) M.V. Sreedhar, CIIL, 1976. "*Sema Phonetic Reader*".
- (2) M.V. Sreedhar, CIIL, 1980. "*Sema Grammar*".
- (3) Akilyemiqo, CIIL, 1979. "*Ghenguno Akimi (Tribal Adult Literacy Reader in Sema)*".

## Lotha

Lotha is spoken in Workha district in West Central Nagaland. The total population of Lotha is 1,70,001 (Census of India 2001). Lotha is known by various names such as Chizima, Choimi, Hlota, Kyong, Lhota, Miklai, Tsindir, Lutha, Lotha, Tsontsii. The various dialects of Lotha are: Tsontsu, Ndreng, Kyong, Kyo, Kyon, Kyou. The language may be classified as Kuki-Chin-Naga sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The speakers also use Naga Pidgin. The language is taught from primary to class X. The speakers use Roman script as their writing system.

The most notable piece of grammatical work is that of:

K.P. Acharya, CIIL, 1983 "*Lotha Grammar*". Bible was translated between 1967–2000.

## Khezha

Khezha live in Phek district in southern Nagaland and in Ukhrul district in North-East Manipur. There are only fourteen Khezha villages which are thickly populated (Kapfo: 2005). Out of the 14 villages, Zhesami in Manipur and Pfüitsero in Nagaland are sub-divisional headquarters. Scholars working on the language in question

called Khezha by various names: Grierson (1904) called them Kezhama; Hutton (1921) called them as Kezami or Kezama; Marrison (1967) called them Khezha and Matisoff (1980) explains that the names “Kheja, Kheza and Khezha are co-allograms of the single name referring to a single group. The total population of Khezha is 40,768 (Census of India, 2001). The major dialects include eastern Angami groups with its own language. The language may be classified as Angami-Pochuri sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman. The speakers use Roman script as their writing system.

Some worth mentioning scholarly works in the language are:

- (1) Kapfo, CIIL, 2005. “*The Ethnology of the Khezhas and the Khezha Grammar*”.
- (2) Kapfo, CIIL, 2007. “*Khzhal-Chahale Dikshueri*”.

### **Rengma**

Rengma is spoken in Kohima district, and Tseminyu subdivision of Nagaland. The total population of Rengma is 61,345 (Census of India, 2001). The alternate names are Rengma, Rengma Naga, Mozhumi, Moiyui, Mon, Unza, Nzong, Nzonyu, Injang and Southern Rengma. Tseminyu is the main centre for the principal dialect. Southern Rengma and Northern Rengma are reported to be inherently unintelligible to each other. The language may be classified as Angami-Pochuri sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The speakers also use Naga Pidgin or English. The speakers use Roman script as their writing system. Bible was translated in 2000.

### **Mizo**

It is spoken in Mizoram; Assam; Churachandpur district of Manipur; Jampui Hill range, Chittagong Hills Track, Sylhet in Bangladesh and in Western Myanmar. The total population of Mizo is 6,74,756 (Census of India, 2001). The different alternate names are Dulien, Duhlian Twang, Lusai, Lushai, Lusei, Lushai, Lukhai, Lusago, Sailau, Hualngo, Whelngo. Dialects: Fannai, Mizo, Ngente, Tlau, Le. Mizo is related to Hmar, Pankhu, Zahao (Falam Chin), Ralte, Dulien, Le. Mizo belongs to Central Kuki-Chin sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The language is taught till post-graduate. The speakers use Roman script. The language is used in magazines, radio, newspapers, and films. Some of the major works in the language include:

- (1) James Herbert, Lorrain. 1940. *Dictionary of the Lushai language*. Calcutta : Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- (2) Rochung Buchchwna, Khiangte. 1964. *Lushai grammar*. Aizawl, India: Sinngula.
- (3) Remkunga. 1977. *Mizo grammar thar* (New Mizo grammar). Revised. 1984. Aizawl, India: Nazareth Press.
- (4) Chhangte, Lalnunthangi (Unpublished M.A Dissertation), University of Texas, Arlington, 1986, "*A Preliminary Grammar of Mizo Language*".
- (5) Chhangte, Lalnunthangi, Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area, Vol. 12:1, 1989, "*Complementation in Mizo (Lushai)*". Bible was translated into Mizo between 1959–1995.

### Mara/Lakher

It is spoken in around 60 villages in Chhimtuipui district of Mizoram. The language is also spoken in Myanmar. Population of Mara/Lakher is 34,751 (Census of India 2001). The alternate names: Lakher, Zao, Maram, Mira, Mara. The different dialects are Tlongsai (Tlosai-Siaha), Hlawthai. The language is reported to be affiliated with Lai (Haka Chin). Tlosai-Siaha dialect is the lingua franca of all Mara. The language belongs to Kuki-Chin sub-group of Tibeto-Burman. Speakers also use Mizo or English. The speakers use Roman script.

The following tables show the total number of both scheduled and non-scheduled languages spoken in North-Eastern India according to Census of India, 2001.

**Table 1: Scheduled Languages of the North-East (Census of India, 2001)**

Out of the total 22 scheduled languages, only five languages are spoken in North-East India included under scheduled languages.

Sl. No.	Name	Total number of speakers
1.	Assamese	13,168,484
2.	Bengali	83,369,769
3.	Bodo	12,778,735
4.	Manipuri	1,466,705
5.	Nepali	2,871,749

**Table 2: Non-Scheduled Languages of the North-East (Census of India, 2001)**

Again, out of 100 non-scheduled languages mentioned in the Census of India, 2001, around 55 languages are spoken in North-East.

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Total number of speakers</i>
<b>1.</b>	<b>Adi</b>	<b>1,98,462</b>
	(i) Adi	97,012
	(ii) Adi Gallong/Gallong	61,887
	(iii) Adi Miniyong/Miniyong	17,274
	(iv) Others	22,289
<b>2.</b>	<b>Anal</b>	<b>23,191</b>
<b>3.</b>	<b>Angami</b>	<b>1,32,225</b>
<b>4.</b>	<b>Ao</b>	<b>2,61,387</b>
<b>5.</b>	<b>Gangte</b>	<b>14,500</b>
<b>6.</b>	<b>Garo</b>	<b>8,89,479</b>
<b>7.</b>	<b>Haim</b>	<b>38,275</b>
<b>8.</b>	<b>Hmar</b>	<b>83,404</b>
<b>9.</b>	<b>Kabui</b>	<b>94,758</b>
<b>10.</b>	<b>Kom</b>	<b>14,673</b>
<b>11.</b>	<b>Konyak</b>	<b>2,48,109</b>
<b>12.</b>	<b>Kuki</b>	<b>52,873</b>
<b>13.</b>	<b>Mishmi</b>	<b>33,955</b>
<b>14.</b>	<b>Monpa</b>	<b>55,876</b>
<b>15.</b>	<b>Nissi/Dafila</b>	<b>2,11,485</b>
	(i) Apatani	28,422
	(ii) Bangni	18,842
	(iii) Nissi	1,18,111
	(iv) Tagin	38,244
	(v) Others	7,866
<b>16.</b>	<b>Nocte</b>	<b>32,957</b>
<b>17.</b>	<b>Paite</b>	<b>64,100</b>
<b>18.</b>	<b>Tangkhul</b>	<b>1,42,035</b>
<b>19.</b>	<b>Tangsa</b>	<b>40,086</b>
<b>20.</b>	<b>Thaao</b>	<b>1,90,595</b>
<b>21.</b>	<b>Tripuri</b>	<b>8,54,023</b>
	(i) Kokbarak	7,61,964
	(ii) Reang	76,450
	(iii) Tripuri	15,002
	(iv) Others	607
<b>22.</b>	<b>Bishnupuriya</b>	<b>77,545</b>
<b>23.</b>	<b>Chakhesang</b>	<b>11,415</b>
<b>24.</b>	<b>Chakru/Chokri</b>	<b>83,560</b>
<b>25.</b>	<b>Chang</b>	<b>62,408</b>
<b>26.</b>	<b>Deori</b>	<b>27,960</b>
<b>27.</b>	<b>Dimasa</b>	<b>1,11,961</b>

(Contd.)

**Table 2 (Contd.)**

<i>Sl.No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Total number of speakers</i>
28.	English	2,26,449
29.	Karbi/Mikir	4,19,534
<b>30.</b>	<b>Khasi</b>	<b>11,28,575</b>
	(i) Bhoi Khasi	14,882
	(ii) Khasi	8,28,545
	(iii) Pnar/Synteng	2,43,441
	(iv) War	25,886
	(v) Others	15,821
31.	Khezha	40,768
32.	Khiemnungan	37,755
33.	Lakher	34,751
34.	Liangmei	34,232
35.	Lotha	1,70,001
36.	Lushai/Mizo	6,74,756
37.	Maram	37,340
38.	Maring	22,326
39.	Miri/Mishing	5,51,224
40.	Pawi	24,965
41.	Phom	1,22,508
42.	Pochury	16,744
43.	Rabha	1,64,770
44.	Rai	14,378
45.	Rengma	61,345
46.	Sangtam	84,273
47.	Sema	1,03,529
48.	Sherpa	18,342
49.	Simte	10,225
50.	Vaiphei	39,673
51.	Wancho	49,072
<b>52.</b>	<b>Yimchungre</b>	<b>92,144</b>
	(i) Tikhi	16,828
	(ii) Yimchungre	72,030
	(iii) Others	3,286
53.	Zeliang	61,547
54.	Zemi	34,110
55.	Zou	20,857

Excludes figures of Paomata, Mao-Maram and Purul subdivisions of Senapati district of Manipur for 2001 Census.