

## Colonization, Migration and New Dialect Formation

KAKOLI DEY  
SHOBHA SATYANATH

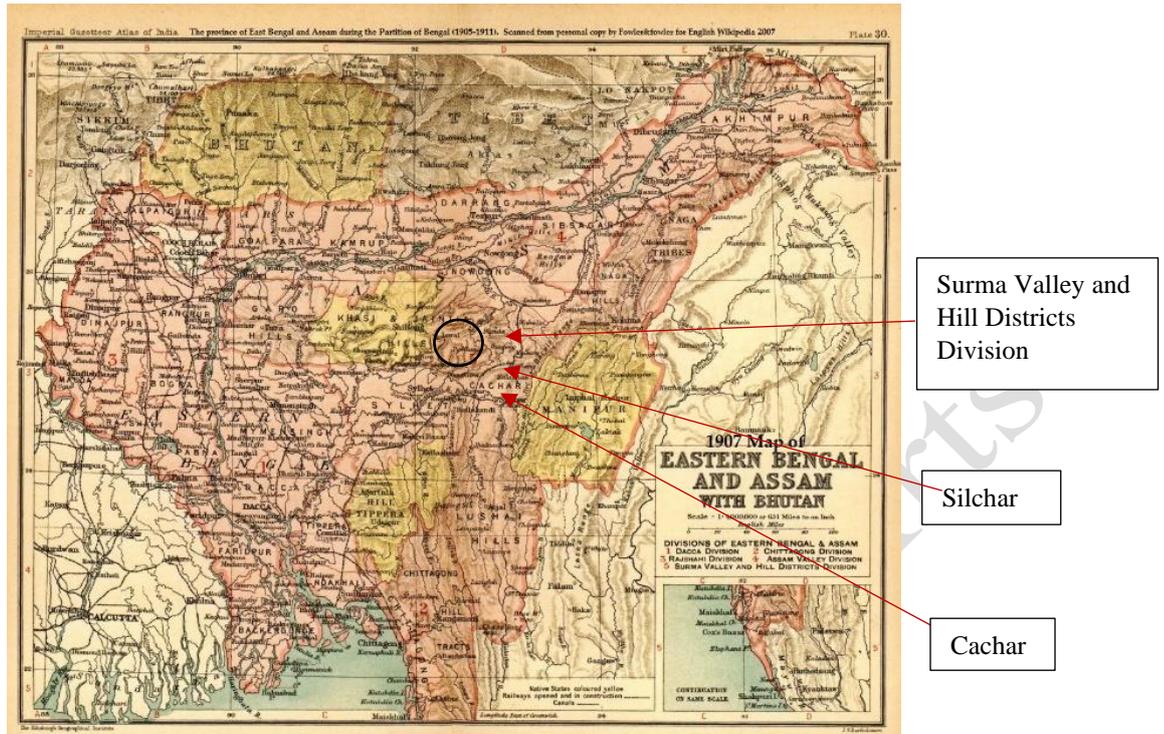
### Abstract

*There exists an intricate relationship between population mobility and language change. The European plantations caused mass movement of working classes to overseas locations in Caribbean, Pacific, Suriname, Mauritius and South Africa. The new versions of the European language that developed on these colonies were a direct outcome of such mass mobility, popularly labelled as 'pidgins' and 'creoles'. A large population of Indian descent also traveled to such colonies during the 1838 and 1930s resulting in new Indian 'Koinés' (New dialect formation). While such overseas koine has received considerable attention, similar koine that developed on Indian soil under similar conditions have been overlooked. The present study reports on the formation of a new town koine that developed on the erstwhile tea plantations of Assam.*

**Keywords:** *New dialect formation, Assam, language contact, Tea plantation, Silchar Bengali*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Many of the European plantations (dating back to the 18th century or earlier) worldwide were supported at first by slavery (until the early part of the 19th century) and subsequently by indentured labour from the colonies elsewhere, in particular Asia, resulting in huge dispersal of populations from their places of origin. It is commonly believed that the new languages that developed on such plantations were caused by the lack of a pre-existing common language (see, e.g., Hymes, 1971; Bickerton, 1973; Holm, 1988). However, Satyanath (1998, 1991, 2003, 2006) has pointed out several additional factors including language policies of the plantocracy and the colonizers, and the subsequent internal mobility and urbanization which shaped the new languages through the processes of contact and change on such colonies. The same colonies also received a large segment of population from India during the indentured period. Further, the plantations declined over time giving rise to new rural and urban settlements. Just as new languages modeled on the European languages have been widely reported from the erstwhile plantations, Hindustani/Bhojpuri based koinés have also been widely reported from these locations. These include Fiji (Siegel, 1972); Guyana (Gambhir, 1981); Trinidad (Mohan, 1978), Mauritius (Ranjan, 1997); South Africa (Mesthrie, 1992); and Surinam amongst other (for further details see Satyanath, 2003, a,b). However, similar cases have not been studied in the Indian contexts. This is despite the fact that similar conditions prevailed in the contexts of British plantations in India during the colonial period. The present study fills this gap by reporting on the linguistic outcomes from the tea plantations in Assam located in Cachar district. Satyanath (1998) till date remains the only work that studied the labour migration patterns to the tea Plantations in Assam. The study also undertook a survey of several tea gardens in Assam to understand the various reported linguistic outcomes of such population mobility, and in particular, the factors associated with the rise of two varieties popularly labelled as 'Bagani Hindi' and 'Bagani Bengali' on such plantations. The present study reports on the formation of urban Silchar Bengali (District of Cachar, Assam) which has its roots in the erstwhile Tea plantations in Assam. Maps 1 and 2 show the location of Silchar within the erstwhile provinces of Bengal and Assam and the other in Surma Valley of Assam. Earlier North Cachar Hills (N.C Hills), Hailakandi, Karimganj and Cachar together formed the district of Cachar.



**Map 1: Provinces of Eastern Bengal and Assam (1907)**

(Accessed on June 21, 2021 from <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1907-east-bengal-assam3.jpg>)



**Map 2: Surma Valley Showing the Districts under Discussion**

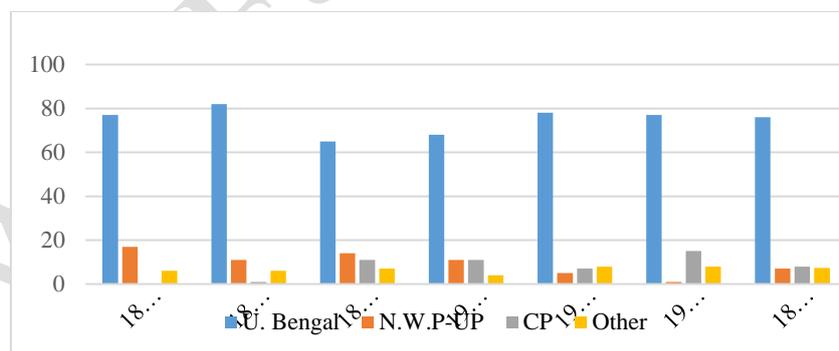
(Source: Extracted from State map of Assam, Survey of India, Government of India, 2013; Accessed on June 21, 2021 from: [https://www.surveyofindia.gov.in/files/assam\\_WITH\\_WATERMARK.pdf](https://www.surveyofindia.gov.in/files/assam_WITH_WATERMARK.pdf))

## 2. HISTORY OF TEA PLANTATIONS IN ASSAM

The history of commercial tea plantations in Assam goes back to the 1830s. Though the tea gardens first came up in Brahmaputra valley, by 1850s they were extended to Surma valley of Assam as well as other locations in erstwhile Bengal. By 1860 there were as many as 160 tea gardens which grew to 1058 by 1880 (Satyanath, 1998:13). In Cachar the first tea plantations

were set up in 1856 and by 1872 there were 80 Tea Estates covering 91,000 acres of land in Cachar alone (Griffiths 1967, Satyanath 1998).

The growth of tea industry was supported by recruiting labour from other parts of India. About fourteen lakh migrants came to Assam during 1841 and 1960, a substantial number of whom were tea labourers. The available separate figures for Brahmaputra Valley and Surma Valley in the initial decades suggest that Surma Valley received as much as 42% of the total migrants. The labour population was drawn from as many as 11 provinces/States such as the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madras, North-Western Provinces (N.W.P), United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (U.P.) and Central provinces (C.P.). Until 1921 figures for Bihar and Orissa are included under undivided Bengal. As the recruitment was done through both licensed and unlicensed agents and multiple routes were used for transporting the labour, the history of migration is complex. A complete history of the same is beyond the scope of the paper and readers are guided to Satyanath (1998). However the trend shown in Figure 1 suggests that a substantial proportion of migrants came from the provinces of undivided Bengal but not necessarily from the Bengali speaking regions alone. A large number of them came mainly from the tribal belts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa including Chota Nagpur Plateau (Satyanath 1998) bringing in diverse languages including Munda and Dravidian. This contributed to the presence of a highly diversified population on these plantations. Satyanath (1998) suggests that many languages were reported from the plantations in Cachar. While many of the languages that the migrants brought might have continued, Bengali and Hindustani formed the two important target languages, the two being part of the colonial language policy of Bengali Presidency (Satyanath, 1998). Contrary to what has been reported, the so called koine developed in both dialect and language contact settings. If creoles were based primarily on one of the European target languages, likewise the Indian Koine developed were based on the Indian target languages- language of the recruitment depots and the language of the plantocracy as dictated by the colonial powers. In Assam the target language was Bengali (and not Assamese as Assam was part of Bengal presidency during 1826-1874), and Hindustani as one of the languages of the recruitment Depot. This is unlike the overseas koine, which were based on Hindustani.



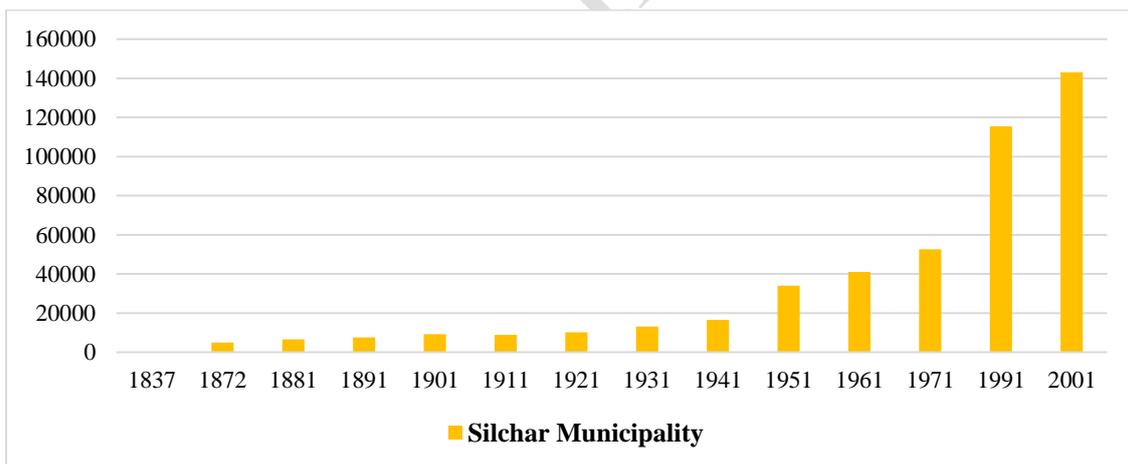
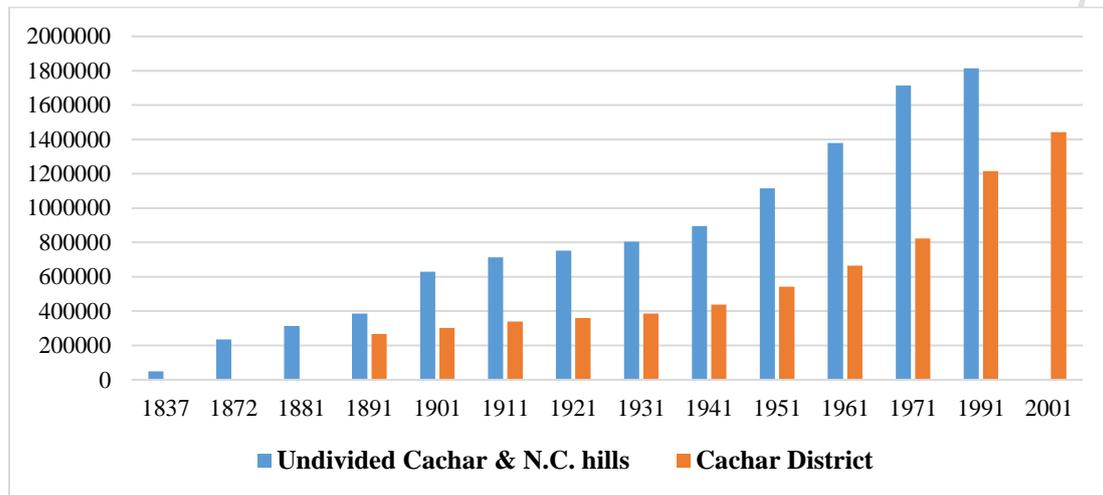
**Figure 1. Provinces of Origin of Migrants**

(Based on Satyanath, 1998). Figures for Bengal are inclusive of Bihar and Orissa; there were also migrants from outside India not shown here. The percentages were adjusted to the nearest whole digit).

### 3. URBANIZATION AND GROWTH OF CACHAR AND SILCHAR

Though the migration continued until 1960, a large number of tea estates in Silchar had slowly started winding up their operations paving way for new rural and urban settlements. Only two tea estates still continue to exist in and at the outskirts of Silchar. However, many more exist across Surma Valley. Though not much is known about Silchar's earlier history, it was set up as a Sadar station and a Cantonment area in 1834 by the British. It became an important

commercial center and a municipal town in the 1880s. The growth of the population of the district of Cachar (and North Cachar Hills) and Silchar town is provided in Figure 2a,b. The increase in the population between 1834 and 1872 is clearly a fallout of the tea activity in the region which moved people to the region (Figure 1). While the population of the district as a whole grew steadily, Silchar municipal areas grew more rapidly after 1900 and particularly post 1940. The reasons include people moving out of the tea gardens from Silchar and across the district and the growth of urban infrastructure in Silchar town which created opportunities for newer jobs and services as well as higher education. The urbanization and internal mobility further caused contact among population that was moving out of the tea gardens. It is this mobility that was responsible for shaping the new urban dialect of Silchar.



**Figures 2 a, b. Growth of population of the District and Silchar town (based on Dey, 2010)**

Overall, Silchar is semi-urban in character, parts of it being more urban and parts of its being more rural. It is important to mention that the presence of Bengali in the eastern Bengal region dates prior to the arrival of British as recorded in various early documents. Bengali is spoken over the vast tracts in the valley regions of Bengal covering both sides of the deltas of Bay of Bengal and stretching up to Arakan, the northern Myanmar (Satyanath, 2010). However, it does not constitute a single uniform linguistic area. Bengali spoken in the region varies significantly across dialect regions. In addition, it coexist with numerous Non-Indo Aryan languages. It is

also important to mention that much of the areas where tea garden came up were retrieved from either forest or marshy lands.

#### 4. THE STUDY AND FINDINGS

To test the linguistic outcomes, data was drawn from three urban locations (two in Silchar Municipal area; one in urban suburb) and one rural location (adjacent to two tea garden and with active association with the tea gardens) keeping in view the history of Silchar and its growth over time, its socio-economic composition etc. Though a majority of the speakers identified themselves as Bengali, a few of them claimed Hindustani-Bhojpuri as their primary linguistic identity. Both were included in the sample. An age graded sample was constructed representing ‘apparent’ time (use of present to explain the past, see Labov, 2001). The residents in various neighbourhoods are well connected through dense social and family networks. A majority of the families have their roots in the tea gardens though many people also do not want to admit this. The data comprises casual speech recordings through structured sociolinguistic interviews (Dey, 2010; Labov, 1984). Additional data was also collected through experiments to explore attitudes and other metadata. The study also utilized diachronic data from Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1903) which provides the earliest speech samples from the region. In order to investigate specific linguistic developments and changes over time, it was necessary to combine both apparent time (age graded synchrony) and real time data (historical time). The varied backgrounds of speakers in the sample further contributed to the strength of the case study.

##### 4.1. The variable

In the following we report research findings with respect to one linguistic feature ‘spirantization’ which is a rather popularly believed marked feature of the Eastern Bengali region. However, as will be shown later, this feature is not uniformly attested or distributed across the Bengali speaking regions. Spirantization is partly shared with the Assamese region (Satyanath, 2010, 2013), but spirantization of labial obstruents is unique to the region. Therefore, the variable constitutes an important test case to understand how the feature diffused and further developed in Silchar Bengali. Spirantization as a process refers to the realization of plosive sounds into corresponding fricative sounds. In this case, plosives /p/ and /ph/ correspond to /f/ as in (i) and (ii) respectively. The realizations of the plosives are marked in bold in (i) and (ii). The unaspirated and the aspirated plosives contrast in Silchar Bengali as in *pula* ‘son’: *phula* ‘swollen’. The process of spirantization results in loss of the contrast by merging /p/ and /ph/. This process therefore should not be confused with the widely attested tendency to realize only the aspirated /ph/ as /f/. However, this process operates in Silchar Bengali variably, implying that tokens of /p/ and /ph/ are variably realized as corresponding fricatives or remain variably unchanged. It is important to note that sociolinguistics which models’ language variation and change considers grammars as not simply categorical but more importantly as variable. This is because language itself is designed to be inherently variable; it constantly innovates itself through change. The overall rate of spirantization is shown in Table 1.

(i) Realizations of unaspirated plosive /p/	Examples	Gloss (italic words)
[p]	chele-ta shikkha pawar pore	‘after getting’
	kapor pawajae	‘clothes are available’
[f]	perment (sakri) oar fore rotna-r biya	‘permanent’; after
	fuzar shomoe to jaite lag-bo-i	Festival-genitive’

	gatta mara fua	Boy
	oi for, golfo khoros kita	'read'; talk/gossip
<b>(ii) Realizations of aspirated plosive /ph/</b>	<b>Examples</b>	<b>Gloss (italic words)</b>
[ph]	Silchor-er <i>phashi</i> ghor	'execution room'
	ar <i>phalaiya</i> boilo <i>phen</i> ajke bag-er mukhe <i>porsilae</i>	'having kept'; 'again'
[f]	ek <i>futa</i> jol	'drop'
	mats aniya <i>falaise</i>	'kept'
	beli <i>fule-er</i> gondo	'flower-Gen'

**Table 1. Variable Spirantization in present Silchar Bengali (Based on Dey, 2010)**

No	Variables		[p]	[ph]	[f]	Total
1.	(p)	%	38.4	--	61.6	
		N	439	--	705	1144
2.	(ph)	%	--	13.1	86.9	
		N	--	8	53	61
(p+ph)			37.1 % [447]		62.9 % [758]	1205

#### 4.2 Sources of spirantization across Bengal

The earliest speech records on Bengal come from Linguistic Survey of India (LSI, Grierson (1903). The specimens were collected in the last quarter of the nineteenth century from a number of locations from across the entire Bengal region. Although the tea gardens started coming up in 1850s, it nevertheless provides a vantage point to view the developments. The table 2 provides a broad survey of labial-spirantization from across Bengali speaking regions.

**Table 2. A survey of spirants attested across Bengali dialect regions (Based on Dey, 2010)**

Bengali dialect Regions		Spoken in	Spirants		Total Tokens
			%	N	
Eastern New	Cachar (Dey 2002)*	Silchar	<b>62.9</b>	758	1205
	Cachar (Dey 2002)	Hailakandi	<b>60.9</b>	28	46
Eastern LSI	Eastern (Grierson 1903)	Cachar (Assam)	<b>32.6</b>	15	<b>46</b>
		Sandip, Noakhali	<b>5.1</b>	2	<b>39</b>
		Backergunge	<b>7.3</b>	3	<b>41</b>

	*Adjacent to Cachar	*Eastern & Western Sylhet, Tippera	0	0	0
		Mymensingh, Dacca, Haijong	0	0	0
East-Central LSI	East-Central (Grierson, 1903)	Khulna	2.7	1	37
		Jeasore, South-East Faridpur	0	0	0
South-Eastern LSI	South-Eastern Bengali (Grierson, 1903)	Hatia, Noakhali	47.6	10	10
		Chhagalnaiya, Noakhali	45.8	11	13
		Ramganj, Noakhali	52.3	11	11
		Chakma	0	0	0
Other LSI	Central, Western Bengali (Grierson, 1903)		0	0	0

Note. \* The new data was gathered during the fieldwork in 2002 by the first author.

It is interesting to note that the LSI recorded presence of labial-spirantization from Cachar in 1900 even though the same is not attested in the neighbouring regions of Sylhet and Tippera. Sylhet is also reported to have provided labour in the initial years for a limited period. Therefore, it is unlikely that Sylhet contributed spirantization to Silchar. Spirantization is not attested in any of the Western and Central dialect regions either. It is attested only in parts of the South-Eastern dialect regions which are at the other extreme end of the erstwhile Bengal. The only two dialect regions of eastern Bengali that have spirantization as reported in LSI are located closer to the South-Eastern dialect boundary and have only minimal presence of spirantization; these are also located far from Cachar.

The existing research on Koineization from western settings has reported that the marked features generally get levelled out and the majority features win (Kerswill and Williams, 2000; Britain & Trudgill, 2005). Following such studies, Mesthrie (1992) also suggests that similar processes were at play in the formation of Bhojpuri based koine in South Africa. In the present case, there is no evidence that migrants coming from south Eastern dialect regions constituted the majority. Such migrants, if at all might have come only after 1900 (Satyanath, 1998). The regions of Bengal (Western and Central) that supplied maximum labour until 1900 do not have a history of spirantization at all. Furthermore as evident in Table 2, there is much variation across the dialect regions in which spirantization is attested.

**Table 3. A survey of spirantization in Tibeto-Burman in Cachar district including North Cachar hills (based on Dey, 2010).**

Tibeto-Burman Dialects	Spoken in Assam	Examples	Source
Plain Kachari (Bodo)	Darrang Dt.	<i>a-fa</i> 'my father' <i>fafu</i> 'sin'	Grierson (1903)
Mech (Bodo)	Goalpara Dt.	<i>a-fa</i> 'my father' <i>faf</i> 'sin'	Grierson (1903)
Lalung (Bodo)	Nowgaon Dt.	<i>faf</i> 'sin' <i>fathar</i> 'field'	Grierson (1903)
Dimasa Kachari (Bodo)	North Cachar Dt.	<i>bufa</i> 'father' <i>fadain</i> 'field'	Grierson (1903)
Hojai (Bodo)	Nowgaon Dt.	<i>pafa</i> 'father' <i>pap</i> 'sin'	Grierson (1903)

Tipura (Bodo)	State Hill Tipperah	<i>bu-fa-no</i> 'his-father-to' <i>bufang</i> 'tree' <i>pap</i> 'sin'	Grierson (1903)
Aka / Hrusso (Siamese-Chinese)	North hills of Assam valley (Darrang)	<i>ph um</i> ~ <i>pf umn</i> 'five' <i>ph u-gra</i> ~ <i>fugra</i> 'horse'	Grierson (1909)
Kokborok (Bodo)	Kumarghat (Tripura)	<i>buphang</i> ~ <i>bufang</i> 'tree' <i>buphuru</i> ~ <i>bufuru</i> 'when' <i>phaklai</i> ~ <i>faklai</i> 'roof beam'	(Satyanath and Dey, 2003)

Considering the fact that Bengali is embedded within a Tibeto-Burman (Bodo, in particular) ecology, there is a possibility that such languages spoken in the district have might have a possible role in introducing spirantization in Silchar. However, a survey of spirantization in Tibeto-Burman languages in the districts of Cachar and N.C. Hills rules out such a possibility (Table 3). As evident in Table 3, limited spirantization is attested only in loan words of Indo-Aryan origin. Beyond this, there is also limited evidence only in two languages. However, there is a remote possibility of such languages influencing spirantization, particularly among the migrants on the tea estates. The tea estates did not report any significant (if at all) presence of Bodo population. Such a possibility can be further ruled out considering that LSI did not record spirants in Tippera. Furthermore, Nagamese (spoken in Nagaland) does not have any such process attested despite the presence of affricates and spirants in various Naga languages (Suokhrie, 2015, 2016).

### 4.3 Dialect contact and spirantization

We now consider the possibility of dialect contact on tea plantations and subsequent mobility. Tables 4 and 5 provide frequency of spirantization among the oldest speakers belonging to the two groups. The oldest Bengali speaker, a migrant, is 99 years old woman (at the time she was interviewed) who was born in 1903. She came from Bengali speaking region. In comparison, the oldest non-Bengali speaker, who is 107 years old was born around 1895 and represents the second generation, that is, the first locally born on the plantation in Silchar. His ancestors came from non-Bengali speaking regions. By looking at the spirantization scores of people born during 1895 and 1937, we can construct substantial part of the history. The table provides scores the first locally born generations. Some of these reported that they were born on the plantations, though at the time they were recorded, none of them were staying on the tea gardens.

**Table 4. Oldest descendants of immigrants from Bengali speaking areas**

	Speakers	Gender	Birth Year	Age	Generation	[f] %	Total [N]
	S	Fem	1903	99	Migrant/ 1st Gen	96.9	31/32
	M	Fem	1922	80	2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen	75.0	75/100
	G	Male	1926	76	2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen	73.0	27/37
Tea Garden	S	Fem	1927	75	2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen	90.2	46/51

	<b>A</b>	Male	1928	74	2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen	59.4	41/69
	<b>R</b>	Fem	1931	71	2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen	95.1	77/81
	<b>J</b>	Male	1937	65	2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen	34.0	34/100
	<b>Total</b>					<b>70.4%</b>	<b>331/470</b>

**Table 5. Oldest descendants of immigrants from Non-Bengali Indo-Aryan areas**

	Speakers	Gender	Birth Year	Age	Generation	[f] %	Total [N]
Tea-Gardens	R	Male	1895	107	2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen	2.4	1/42
	S	Fem	1922	80	2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen	18.4	7/38
	<b>Total</b>					<b>10%</b>	<b>8/80</b>

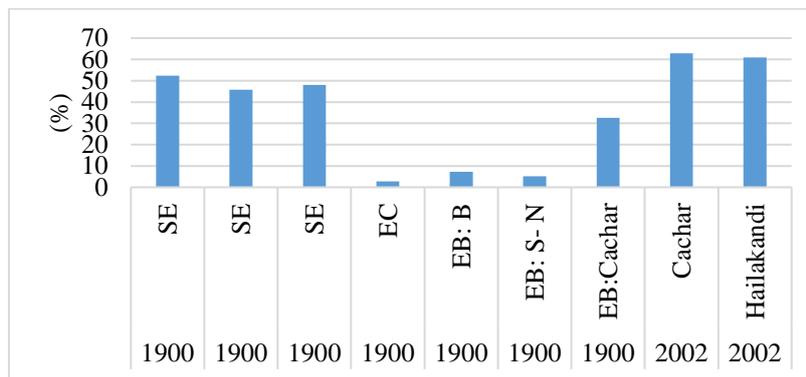
We notice that those arriving from the Bengali regions or born to Bengali parents have a high rate of spirantization present in their speech. In contrast those arriving from the non-Bengali regions have very little spirantization attested in their speech. The older speaker born in 1895 has insignificant presence of spirantization whereas the other speaker has relative higher but much lower compared to speaker G born during the same year but from a Bengali region. Further, all the first locally born generations have a very high score of spirantization in their speech as evident from Table 4. While it can be argued that the locally born generations might have acquired spirantization from their older peer—those who had already settled on the plantations, it is important to note that the migrant from Bengal has near categorical spirantization. This clearly suggests that spirantization was introduced by those coming from Bengali regions. The fact that there is much comparability among those who were born on the tea-gardens (relatively recent arrivals) and those outside the tea garden suggests that a stable local dialect was already in place by 1900. Even those who came from the non-Bengali or non-spirant regions acquired it subsequently from their peer. We have shown elsewhere that there is much more to the social dynamics of the rise of spirantization in Silchar involving social class and gender. Initially, it was more associated with women than men. However, that discussion is beyond the scope of the present paper.

#### **4.4 Language Change and Rise of a New Dialect**

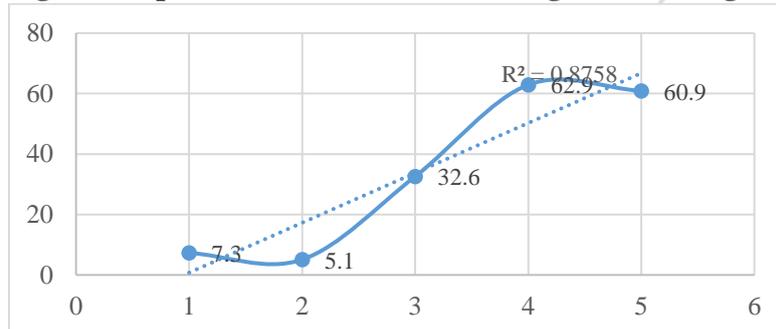
We now demonstrate that spirantization that developed in Silchar Bengali, though contributed by contact and diffusion is not a replica of any particular dialect region. Instead, it is a new dialect that is shaped by mobility and contact but more importantly by internal change and transmission across the new speech community (Figures 3 and 4). This can be demonstrated by comparing the grammatical constraints that operate on spirantization. We will compare just one constraint- that is the word position constraint (Figure 5).

##### **4.4.1 Change Over Time: Rise in Spirantization**

We first compute the change that has taken place over time within Cachar by plotting data from 1900 (LSI) and the more recent data (2002) from two locations in Cachar: Silchar and the neighbouring town of Hailakandi. This is shown in Figures 4. Figure 3 plots the scores for spirantization from all the dialect regions, where spirantization was attested as late as in 1900.



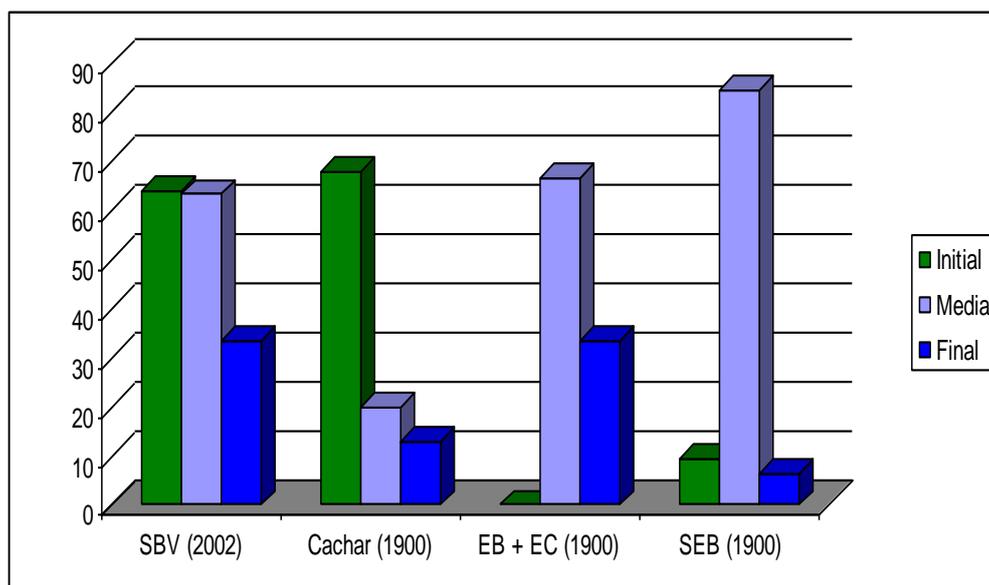
**Figure 3. Spirantization attested in Bengali dialect regions**



**Figure 4. Change (%) over time in Cachar during 1900-2002 in comparison with other Eastern Bengali regions.**

#### 4.4.2 Acquisition of New Constraints and Change in Grammar

Spirantization is significantly constrained by a number of phonological, prosodic, lexical and grammatical factors, many of which are local developments. One of such constraint is the word position constraint. A comparison of distribution of spirantization across word positions as in Figure 5 suggest varied distribution across locations/dialect regions. In the Eastern Central regions (EC and EB) spirantization is confined to non-initial positions. In South Eastern Bengali (SEB) too which report maximum spirantization, it is mostly confined maximally to the medial position. While the data from 1900 is scanty, a comparison of data from Cachar suggests that spirantization increased by expanding to initial word positions. In 1900 it is maximally concentrated to the initial position which is markedly different from the other locations (EC and SEB). This particular change could not have been the act of levelling. In fact levelling should have resulted in greater concentration in medial position. In a span of 100 years, spirantization has clearly spread to other words positions. The variable distribution across final and non-final positions is the result of interaction with phonological constraints (not discussed here). Assuming that there was no or little spirantization attested in Cachar prior to 1900, our findings suggest that Cachar has developed spirantization in word initial position for which a preexisting strong model did not exist.



**Figure 5. Word constraint across space and time (Source: Dey, 2010)**

## 5. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

We have shown that the formation of new dialect, in this case Silchar Bengali is a direct result of commercial tea activity in the region which was supported by procuring labour from other parts of India, particularly from other provinces of Bengal. Our findings suggest that the development of Silchar Bengali as a new dialect is not the result of levelling of variation as reported in much of the existing literature on koine formations elsewhere. A levelling should have resulted in removal or reduction of variation in favour of the more unmarked plosives, but that has clearly not happened. In fact, there is considerable variation across individuals, groups and within the speech of individuals. Furthermore, there is no evidence of leveling in the word constraint either. Instead, we observe development of a newer constraints (in this case word constraint) which are the result of internal developments. The contact settings generally accelerate the pace of language change and this is what we observe here. A new dialect is born when it acquires a distinct identity as well as distinct grammar. In the present case both the conditions are met fully. Therefore, it is a new dialect in its own right with its own grammar which separates it from the other dialect models that might have contributed to spirantization. A model based on diffusion and transmission (Labov, 2007) accounts for the present developments far more convincingly than a model based on levelling of alternations, simplification and reallocations. We find evidence of both continuity and change across generations. Despite having Western Bengali as the state official language, Silchar Bengali continues to maintain its distinct identity. There are many more questions that need to be addressed but are clearly beyond the scope of the present study.

## REFERENCES

- Bickerton, Derek (1973). *Dynamics of a creole system*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- Britain & Trudgill (2005). New dialect formation and contact-induced reallocation: Three case studies from the English Fens. *International Journal of English Studies*. 5 (1), 183-209.
- Dey, Kakoli (2010). *Silchar Bengali: A sociolinguistic study*. (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Delhi).

- Gambhir, Surendra (1981). *The East Indian speech community in Guyana: A sociolinguistic study with special reference to koine formation*. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).
- Grierson, George. A. (1903). *Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. V. Part I: Bengali and Assamese*. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing (Reprint 1994, Delhi: Low Price Publications).
- Grierson, George. A. (1909). *Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III, Part I: Tibeto-Burman Family*. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing (Reprint 2005, Delhi: Low Price Publication).
- Griffiths, Percival. (1967). *The history of the Indian tea industry*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Holm, John A. (1988) *Pidgins and creoles: Volumes 1&2*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hymes, Dell (1971). *Pidginization and creolization of languages: Proceedings of a Conference held at the University of the West Indies Mona, Jamaica, April 1968*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kerswill, Paul and Williams, Ann (2000). Creating a new town koine: Children and language change in Milton Keynes. *Language in Society*. 29(1), 65-115.
- Labov, William (1984). Field methods of the project on linguistic variation and change. In J. Baugh and J. Sherzer (eds.), *Language in use* (pp. 28-53). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Labov, William (2001). *Principles of linguistic change, Vol II : Social factors*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Labov, William (2007). Transmission and diffusion. *Language*. 81(2), 344-387.
- Mesthrie, Rajend (1992). *Language in indenture: A sociolinguistic history of Bhojpuri-Hindi in South Africa*. London: Routledge.
- Mohan, Peggy R. (1978). *Trinidad Bhojpuri*. (Doctoral dissertation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan).
- Ranjan, Rakesh (1997). *On Mauritius Bhojpuri*. (Doctoral dissertation. University of Delhi).
- Satyanath, Shobha (1997). *Language on Assam tea plantations. UGC Research Project Report*. Unpublished Manuscript. Assam University, Silchar.
- Satyanath, Shobha (2003a). On the maintenance of transplanted languages overseas. In Sharma and Annamalai (Eds.), *Indian diaspora in search of identity* (pp.85-104). Mysore: CIIL.
- Satyanath, Shobha (2003b). A bibliography of the Indians overseas. In Sharma and Annamalai (Eds.), *Indian diaspora in search of identity* (pp.338-347). Mysore: CIIL.
- Satyanath, Shobha (2006). English in the new world: Continuity and change, the case of personal pronouns in Guyanese English. In Parth Bhatt & Ingo Plag (Eds.). *The structure of creole words: Segmental, syllabic and morphological aspects* (pp.179-200). Tubingen: Max Verlag Niemeyer.

Satyanath, Shobha and Dey, Kakoli (2003). *Kokborok. LIS India Project report*. Manuscript. Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

Satyanath, Shobha. (1991). *Variation and change: (Daz) in Guyanese*. (Doctoral Dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).

Seigel, Jeff (1972). *The Indian community in Fiji*. Unpublished Ms. University of Hawaii Pacific Collection.

Suokhrie, Kelhouvinuo (2015). *Internal variation in Angami: A case study of Kohima village*. unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, University of Delhi, Delhi).

Suokhrie, Kelhouvinuo (2016). *Clans and clanlectal contact: Variation and change in Angami*. *Asia-Pacific Language Variation*. 2(2), 188-214.

© WE-Faculty of Arts