Impact of Bengali in Meitei Invitation Cards

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Abstract

The main attempt of the paper is to examine how the Bengali words amalgamated with Manipuri. The influence of Bengali culture over the religion and language of Meitei society is intense. This cultural syncretism rose up the status of Bengali in the Meitei society. The Bengali words started employing in the invitation cards in Manipur since the Meitei (Manipuri) merged with the Hinduism in the early 18th century. Ironically, the Manipuri speakers considered their mother tongue unsuitable to be used for ritual purposes. The religious beliefs of the people which are rooted in the history of the Meitei community were challenged leading to the downfall of Manipuri culture and language. A statistical survey based on the percentage of Bengali words used in invitation cards is also taken to analyze and to support the argument of this paper.

Keywords: Meitei, Bengali, Meitei laining, Cultural Syncretism.

1 Introduction

A particular culture is dynamic in nature. It's exposure to various convergences and impact from time to time prevents it from being static. It is very questionable—how far this static nature of culture affects the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of a particular community and how the identity and religious beliefs of a particular society are in stake due to the influence of one culture to another? This paper will reveal the effect of the static nature of culture over a language, exploring the major cultural transformation and identity crisis caused in the Meitei society due to the heavy influence of Bengali culture.

Labov's Martha's Vineyard theory '(1963) shows the establishment of non-standard dialect: i.e shifting in the phonetic position of the first elements of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ by the Vineyarders (Fishermen in specific) in order to protect their identity from the influence of the wealthy summer visitors support the idea of social factors being one of the major reasons of language change. In 1979 Wierzbicka introduced an approach 'Ethnosyntax' that focus particularly on cultural meaning. She endorsed the view that grammatical constructions are semantically arbitrary but their meanings are related to broader cultural understanding. The cultural movement took place in the end of 18th century in the German speaking areas of Europe also implemented the idea of treating language as related to nation, people and culture. An anthropologist 'Dell Hymes' observes that giving a detailed grammatical structure of a language is incomplete without examining or describing the cultural value of the society. He analyzes how people use language in different types of social situation. For this he tried to understand the social and cultural knowledge via his 'ethnography approach'. Many scholars and researchers have acknowledged the integrated relationship between language and culture and became a topic of research during the last 10 years.

An interdisciplinary approach 'CDA' (Critical discourse analysis, developed by Lancaster school linguists) views the relationship between language and society in two ways: 1) language is influenced by society and 2) Society is shaped by language. CDA surveys the relation between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs. The context of language needs to be critically analyzed in understanding the sociocultural system of a society.

Considering the important role of a written text in understanding the history or earlier lives of a society, this paper will be committed mainly on the analysis of a specific written text of the Meitei society i.e. Invitation card. The paper examines two types of invitation card: 1) Invitation card of Meitei Hindu and 2) Invitation cards for Meitei laining (religion).

2 Research Methodology

The paper underwent a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data. For the fulfillment of this present paper the following modest approach is made:

- a) a collection of invitation cards for different occasion: Marriage ceremony, death ceremony, Chura karan (Head Shaving ceremony) and religious feast.
- b) 50 (25 for Meitei-laining and 25 for Meitei-Hindu) invitation cards for each ceremony were collected for the purpose.
- c) Number of loan words (L W) and number of indigenous Meitei words (LMW) are analyzed.
- d) Bengali words employed in the invitation cards along with their counterparts are also shown in the paper.
- e) Numbers of grammatical lexical vocabularies borrowed from the Bengali vocabularies, Percentage, Graphical charts are also shown in the paper.

3 Hinduism in Manipur

The birth of Hinduism and its impact over the religion and language of Meitei society holds an unerasable place in the history of the Meitei society. Many scholars have documented about the Meitei conversion to Hinduism. The existence of Vaishnavism in the state during the time of Kyamba(15th century)was documented in the Royal chronicle (Cheitharol Kumbaba). But nothing major changes or impact of it were not mentioned in it. The people of the state witnessed three episodes of Hinduism during a short period of time (Manipur Vaishnavism: A Sociological Interpretation).: 1) Nimbarka (Nimandi,1704) 2) Ramandi (17090) 3) Cheiteina (1759). The three episodes give certain degree of impact in the Meitei society and the people have to undergo a crisis of faith. The new vaishnavite faith called Nimandi spread in the state. It was brought in by a Brahmin called Nimbarka in 1704 A.D. Even so it received a mortal-blow in the hands of Ramandi sect of Hinduism and the cult of Radha and Krishna couldn't reach its zenith. The then Meitei Kings used to punish those who adopted the Namandi sect of Hinduism in the state. The whole scenario changed with the coming of Ramandi sect of Hinduism, brought in by a Bengali Brahmin named Shantidas Gosai in 18th century A.D

Effects of Hinduism The Meitei society had undergone a drastic cultural transformation with the coming of Ramandi sect of Hinduism. It became the state religion in 1714 A.D during the reign of Garibaniwaz (real name Pamheiba, 1709-1748). Hinduism held sway over the then Meitei kings. They used every trick in the book to promote and develop Hindu culture and tradition in the state. Consequently, many important Hindu Gods and Goddess were introduced and numbers of temples were inaugurated at different places. The traditional Meitei Gods were equalized with the Hindu Gods. For instance, Pakhangba as Lord Vishnu, Panthoibi as Goddess Durga, etc. Hence, Bengali culture found its way into the social and religious matters of the Meiteis. Most of the religious ceremonies were started performing in relation to Hinduism replacing the old traditional way of performing any religious ceremony. As for extant Bengali cultural traits, examples that can be cited are the replacement of the traditional rituals of Meitei society with the Hindu analogous such as Swasti puja for Ipan thaba (Birth ceremony), Subha Bhibha for Punshi leipun/luhongba (Wedding ceremony), etc. The important festivals of Hindu like Rath Yatra, Krishna janmashtami, Deepawali (Diwali), Holi, etc. are celebrated in the state as significantly as its traditional festivals. As a result of the above factors, the status of the Bengali culture rose up in the state. The then native people of the Meitei society along with the king himself considered Bengali culture to be of high standard and more prestigious than their own native culture. From the ancient time, the Meiteis are categorised into 7 Yek Salais (clans) with number of surnames in it. Eventually due to the impact of Hinduism over Meitei culture. Meitei yek salais (clans) were equalized with the Hindu gotras: Shandilya for Mangang, Kashyap for Luwang, Madhugalya for Khuman, Kaushika for Angom, Aitereya for Moirang, Gautam for Khaba-Nganba and Bhardhwaj for Sarang leishangthem.

The impact of Bengali culture was so much intense that the then people of Meitei Society were in risk of losing their own identity. The syncretism of these two cultures brought a chaos in the society. As different strokes for different folks, there were also group of people in the state who were against the acceptation of Hinduism as state religion. They have firm belief in their traditional culture and religion (Sanamahism). As a result of this, the Meitei society were dissected into two—Meitei-Hindus (who have faith in Hinduism, 41.39%, 2011 census) and Meitei-laining (who have faith in their native culture and religion, 7.78%, 2011 census).

3.2 Effect of Hinduism— Usage of Language Borrowing and using of loan words enrich a language. It so happened that the Bengali culture not only effect the socio-culture of the Meitei society but also gives a huge impact in the linguistic structure of the society. The history of Manipuri literature can be discussed in three different aspects- 1) From ancient history to 1750CE 2) From 1750CE to 1900CE 3) From 1900CE to present. One of the Sahitya academy awardee, Yumlembam Ibomcha said 'The pre-Hindu Manipuri literature is distinct from post-Hindu literature' in IHC (Indian Habitat Centre), Indian language festival. The impact of Hinduism is not evident in any of the literary works of the first phase; examples like Takhel Ngamba, Cheitharol Kumbaba and Samjok Ngamba, etc can be cited and these were all written in Meitei script (Meitei-Mayek). In a period from 1750 CE to 1900CE, the impact of Bengali culture and its language reached its peak that the native people

underrated their own native language. A person who has the knowledge of Bengali among the Meitei was considered as learned scholar and splashing some vocabularies of it was regarded as a sign of respect and status. In an attempt to achieve this esteem, scholars have translated many important religious books of Hindus' like some segments of Ramayana, some chapters of Mahabharata, etc. Devotional songs adoring the Gods and Goddess of Hindu were written and made publicly available.

With the introduction of Bengali literature brought a change in the previously existing Manipuri literature. The Puyas (Archaic Manipuri literature) written in own Meitei script called Meitei Mayek were burned to ashes as ordered by King Garibaniwaz (real name Pamheiba) in 18th Century A.D through the suggestion of Shanti Das Goshai. This event leads to the eradication of native Meitei script from the state and consequently increased the use of Bengali script. The dominance of Bengali language over Meiteiroin has reached its peak that it was soon widely accepted to be of more ritualistic and purer and started using in many religious related ceremonies. In the realm of chanting mantras, the Hindu Sastra is considered to be more effective powerful and religious rather than the Meitei Sacred text. The consideration of using Hindu gotras in performing religious ceremonies is believed to be of Bengali influence. As a result of this, native language was soon considered to be of rustic, casual and not fit for religious purposes. The influence left by this culture are reflected today not only culturally but also linguistically. For instance, the use of Bengali script and Bengali vocabularies in Billboards, Standard textbook, Newspaper, and Invitation cards, etc.

4 Language Usage in Invitation Card

An invitation card is a medium of giving information of an occasion in a formal way. The printed mode of invitation card is most common than others in the present time. It is usually decorated with polite and ceremonious lexical items and unceremonious words are restricted from employing in it. Before the existence of printing machine, people of the Meitei society used to invite people verbally, a pack of betel leaves or petals of flowers were used in place of cards. Invitation cards are constructed and stylized culturally. The invitation cards in the Meitei society employed a number of Bengali or Sanskrit words and many meaningful symbols, icons, image, etc. which are closely related to the Hindu culture. But some Meitei revivalist strongly attempts to employ the native Manipuri words in place of Bengali. The revivalist movement started in the late 1930's with the formation of an organization "Apokpa Marup" of which Naoriyaphullo was the most prominent figure. A major catalyst in the push for indubitable identity and linguistic purification was in 14th May, 1945, when an organization called Meitei Marup was formed concertedly in the state. They strived to remove the Brahmanical domination in Meitei socioreligious spheres and to avoid all existing Bengali words.

Sanamahism gained a strong foundation at the close of the 20th century. The people who have converted to Hinduism were reconverted to Sanamahism. The resuscitation of the extinct Meitei words and Meitei script has been undergone in the state. But in spite of the tremendous efforts being made by the revivalist they cannot eliminate 100% of the Bengali words in the Invitation cards.

For the fulfillment of this present paper the following modest approach is made: a collection of invitation cards for different occasion: Marriage ceremony, death ceremony, Chura karan (Head Shaving ceremony) and religious feast.

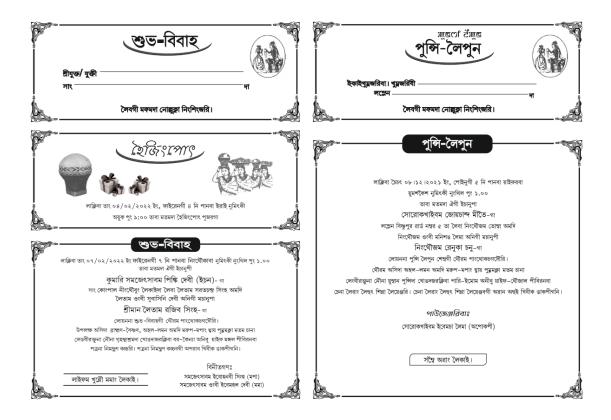
5 Marriage Ceremony

The title of the invitation card of Meitei-Hindu for marriage ceremony is written as /subhə-vivbhə/ and /punsi-leipun/ or /luhoŋbə /for Meitei laining. The Invitation card consists of 5 obligatory moves for both the two faith i.e Meitei-Hindu and Meitei laining. The following table shows some of the words used in the card:

Moves	Purposes	Meitei-laining (LW)	Meitei laining (IMW)
First move	To state the name and	1./sri-jʊk//jʊktə/	1./ikəi-khumnərəbə/ ./ikəi-
	address of the guest.	'Fortunate male-female'	khumnərəbi/ 'Respected male and female'
		2./saŋ/ 'address'	
		J	or /ebemə-ebuŋo/ 'Polite way of saying male and female in the Meitei society'
			2./layphəm/ 'address'

Second move	To state the date and venue of the occasion.	/taŋ/ 'date' (a corrupted form of a Bengali word /tərik/	/ceicət/ 'Date'
Third move	To convey the name of the bride and the bridegroom.	1./kumari/ 'unmarried girls' 2./sriman/ 'Gentleman' The name of the bride and bridegroom is adorned with these titles. For instance: Kumari Thokchom Priya and Shriman Huiningsubam Rishi	The invitation card of Meitei laining avoids this type of unnecessary embellishment and mentions only their names and surnames. For instance: Thokchom Priya and Huiningsumbam Rishi
Fourth move	To request the participation of the guest.	1./upələkʃjə/ 'Celebration' 2./məŋgəl/ 'Blessing' 3./grihəsthə asrəm/'being in and occupied with home, family' 4./brahman-vaiʃnava/ 'Brahmin-Vishnu lover/ 5.pət-trə/ 'letter' 6./niməntrən/ 'Invite' 7./əpəradhə/ 'crime'	1./thouram/ 'function' 2./jaiphathouJal/'Blessing' 3./jumban lambi-da / 'stepping in the path of marriage' 4./ahal laman/ 'Elderly people' 5./ce/ 'paper' 6./pawJel/ 'spreading of news/ 7./aran-asoi/ 'Mistakes'
Fifth move	To specify the name of the inviters along with their address	/binit/ 'host'	/noluk-cəri-bə/ 'with due respect' Or /pəwjel-jəri-bə/ 'a person who spread news'

Table 1: Words employ in each move.



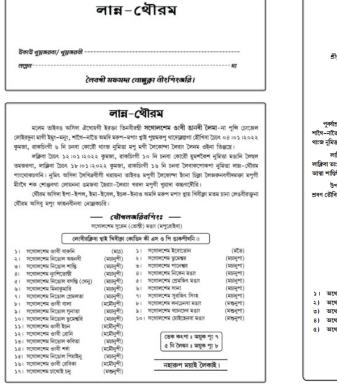
6 Death Ceremony

The title of the Invitation card for Meitei-Hindu for death ceremony is /sri-sri-gəwrə-cəndrənam/ and /lannə thourəm/ for Meitei laining. The card has one optional move and five obligatory moves:

Moves	Purposes	Meitei-Hindu (LW)	Meitei laining(IMW)
First move	Name and address of the guest.	Same as above	Same as above
Second move	Invitation message	1./purvə-srəm/ 'the home that one used to live before	1./malem təibəŋ/ 'residence of the living soul'.
		shifting to a new one'	2/ : : 1//2:0
		2./ sri-guru kripə/ 'with the	2./punsi ceŋjel/ 'life span'
		blessing of shri Hari(a HinduGod)	3./məpu-gi leikol/ 'the garden of Gods'
		3./vrindəbən prapti/ 'achieved Brindaban (one of Hindu holy place)	

Third move	State about the event including the time.	1./asti sənjei/ 'a death ceremony for Hindus performed at the 13 th day of the demise'	1./məŋani leihun/ 'a death ceremony perfomed after 5days of the demise'
		2./atmə/ 'Soul'	2./thəwəinə/ 'Soul'
		3./ sənti/ 'Peace'	3./iŋnə chiknə/ 'peace'
		4./ sri-sri-gəwrə-cəndrə məha prəbhu gi cərən/ 'Feet of Gods'	4./məpu-gi khujədə/ 'in the feet of God/
Fourth move	Request for the participation of the guest.	Same words are employed as in the above table (2.1) excluding the Second and third.	Same words are employed as in the above table (2.1) excluding the Second and third.
Fifth move	Specifies the name of the inviters along with their address	Same as above	Same as above

Table 2: Words employ in each move.



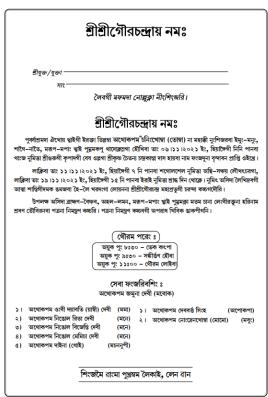


Figure 2: Invitation cards for death ceremony.

7 Head shaving Ceremony (held between the age of 5 to 6 years, in which a child will have his first haircut in a ritual manner)

The title of the invitation card is written as /curəkərən/ for Meitei-Hindu and /lukokpə//or /mei-irətpa/ for Meitei laining. The card has 5 obligatory moves:

Moves	Purposes	Meitei-Hindu(LW)	Meitei laining(IMW)
First move	Name and address of the guest	Same as above	Same as above
Second move	Invitation message	/curəkərən/or /jeigə/	/məru-kokpə/ 'shaving of hair'or /mei-irətpa/ 'worshipping fire'
Third move	Request for the participation of the guest.	Same as the above (2.2) table, in addition the word / məŋgəl/ 'Blessing' is used.	Same as in the above (2.2) table, the counterpart /./jəiphə-thouJəl/ is used.
Fourth move	Time of the event	Nil	
Fifth move	Specifies the name of the inviters along with their address	Same as above	Same as above

Table 3: Words employ in each move.

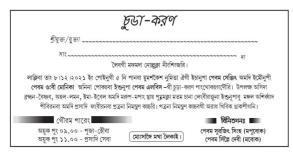




Figure 3: Invitation cards for head shaving ceremony.

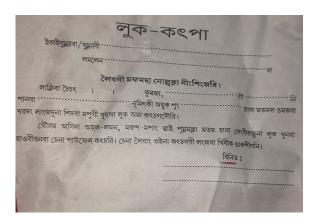
8 Religious feasts

The title of the invitation card of Meitei-Hindu is /usop/ and /luk-kətpə/ for Meitei laining. The card has 4 obligatory moves for both the faith:

Moves	Purposes	Meitei-Hindu (LW)	Meitei-laining (IMW)
First move	Name and address of the guest.	Same as above	Same as above
Second move	Invitation message	1./usop/ 'Celebration'	1.//luk-kətpə/ 'offering of food in the name of God'.
		2./sri həri/ 'one of Hindu God'	2./shidəba məpu/ 'Meitei God)
		3./cərən/ 'feet of God'	3./khujə/ 'feet of God'
		4.//prəsadi/ ' a devotional offering made to God'	4./ luk-khunbə/ 'the act of having the offering by the attendees'

Third move	Request for the participation of the guest.	Same as above	Same as above
Fourth move	Specifies the name of the inviters along with their address	Same as above	Same as above

Table 4: Words employ in each move.



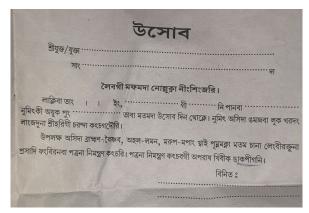


Figure 4: Invitation cards for religious feast.

9 Findings

The evidence of language mixing is clearly witnessed while analyzing the Invitation cards for Meitei-Hindu. It consists most of the Bengali words comparatively to the invitation cards of Meitei laining. A number of Bengali words are borrowed in the invitation cards of every ceremony not only to fill the lexical gaps but also to make it appear more gracious and cultured; examples like addressing the guest as /sri-jok//joktə/ and using the Bengali word /saŋ/ in place of the native word/laiphəm/ 'residence' can be cited.

The invitation cards of each faith for each ceremony have same number of moves and the Meitei-Hindus' invitation cards follow a fixed pattern with limited number of Bengali vocabularies. The first and last moves of the invitation cards employ same vocabularies in it. The words employed in the cards highly imply the Hindu philosophy and they are solely meant for formal and religious purposes.

The revivalists have coined and translated words directly or indirectly into Manipuri to eradicate the trace of Bengali from the soil of the state. The study has also come across some semantic and pragmatic differences between the original and the translated version or the coined words. For instance:

- 1) /utsəv/ is transliterated as /usop/ and translated as/luk-kətpə/ "offering of food in the name of God".
- 2) /prəsa:d_/ " a devotional offering (food) made to God is transliterated as /prəsadi/ and coined a term / luk-khunbə/ (the act of having the offerings by the attendees)

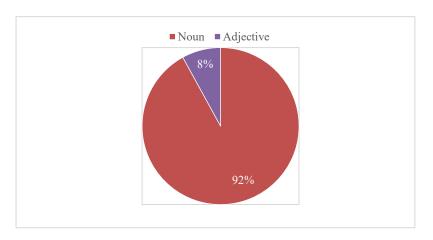
It may be possibly due to the difference between the philosophy of the two cultures or due to the insufficient knowledge of the source language which needs further and detailed investigation. The participation of /brā-hman-vaisnava/ (Vishnu lovers) was considered to be salient in Hindu religion. So, in the move for 'Requesting the guest for participation of every occasion, the Meitei-Hindu never fail to mention Brahmin-Vaishnava. But the revivalists are strongly against this belief and avoid mentioning it in the invitation card of the Meitei-laining.

Variables	Mei	tei-laining	Meitei-Hindu	
	Native words	Loan words	Native words	Loan words
Marriage ceremony	100	0	69	31
Death ceremony	100	0	33	67

Head shaving ceremony	100	0	31	69
Religious feast	100	0	72	28

Table 5: Percentage value of the above given data.

Graphical Chart of the pyramidical lexical items found in the invitation cards:



Note-Others lexical items are not found to be employed in the Invitation cards.

10 Conclusion

The huge impact of Bengali brought lots of chaos and changes in the state and its impact is not yet fully eradicates inspite of the tremendous effort being made by the revivalist. Both kinds of Invitation card used Bengali Script as medium of writing.

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