



Toto Language and Rajbanshi Language: A Comparative Study

Chandan Barman^{1*}, Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary², Dr. Binay Barman^{3*}

¹PhD Scholar, Department of History, Coochbehar Panchanan Barma University, Coochbehar, West-Bengal, (India)

²Dept. of History, Professor and H.O.D, Coochbehar Panchanan Barma University, Coochbehar, West-Bengal, (India)

³Dept. of History, Assistant Professor, Saldiha College, P. G and U. G, Saldiha, Bankura, West-Bengal, (India),

Email: binaybarman123@gmail.com

*Corresponding Author: Dr. Binay Barman

* Email: binaybarman123@gmail.com

Citation: Dr. Binay Barman et al. (2023), Toto Language and Rajbanshi Language: A Comparative Study, *Educational Administration: Theory and Practice*, 29(1) 941-948

Doi: 10.53555/kuey.v29i1.1749

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

The present study offers a comparative analysis of two indigenous languages of North Bengal — Toto and Rajbanshi — focusing on their linguistic structures, historical backgrounds, and sociolinguistic dynamics. The Toto language, a Tibeto-Burman tongue, is spoken by the endangered Toto community in Totopara, while Rajbanshi, belonging to the Eastern Indo-Aryan group, is spoken by a larger population spread across India, Bangladesh, and Nepal. This study examines the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical features of both languages, highlighting their distinct typological traits as well as areas of convergence due to regional contact. The investigation also explores the socio-political challenges, language vitality, and revival efforts faced by each language. While Toto faces critical endangerment with limited speakers and minimal transmission, Rajbanshi shows signs of dialectal variation and gradual language shift under external linguistic pressures. This research draws upon fieldwork data, historical records, and linguistic surveys to present an original comparative perspective that contributes to the broader discourse on minority language preservation, contact linguistics, and North Bengal's ethno-linguistic diversity.

Keywords: Historical background, language and people, linguistic structure.

Introduction:

North Bengal, situated at the confluence of diverse ethnic groups, offers a rich linguistic mosaic where several indigenous languages coexist. Among these, Toto and Rajbanshi hold special significance due to their distinct origins, structures, and sociolinguistic contexts. The Toto language, spoken by the small Toto tribe residing mainly in Totopara near the Indo-Bhutan border, belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. With fewer than 2,000 speakers, Toto faces acute endangerment, raising concerns over its survival and intergenerational transmission. On the other hand, Rajbanshi, classified under the Eastern Indo-Aryan language group, is spoken by a much larger population spread across parts of West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Bangladesh, and Nepal. Though Rajbanshi enjoys a comparatively stable speaker base, it faces challenges from dominant regional languages, leading to gradual dialectal shifts and erosion of its pure linguistic forms.

This comparative study aims to explore the fundamental linguistic differences and similarities between these two languages across phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. Additionally, it investigates the socio-historical developments that have shaped their present conditions. The study further emphasizes the role of external influences such as migration, inter-community interaction, and state policies in their linguistic evolution. By adopting both descriptive and analytical approaches, this research not only contributes to the academic understanding of these lesser-known languages but also highlights the urgency of preservation efforts in the face of globalization and linguistic homogenization threatening minority languages in North Bengal.

Literature Review:

The Rajbanshi and the Toto languages, though geographical proximate in North-Bengal, have received differing levels of scholarly attention. The Toto language, spoken by the endangered Toto tribe, is considered a Tibeto-Burman language (Shafer, 1955; Dasgupta, 2007). Early linguistic documentation is minimal, with Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (1903) briefly mentioning it. More comprehensive work was undertaken by Sanyal (1973) and later by Bhowmik (2002), who highlighted phonological features and the lack of inflectional morphology in Toto. On the other hand, the Rajbanshi, classified under the Indo-Aryan group, shares strong lexical similarities with Assamese and some words of Bengali (Chatterjee, 1926; Sen, 1975). It has been studied more extensively due to its larger speaker base. Das (2014) investigated its socio-linguistic identity and the role of code-switching. Recent comparative studies (Chakrabarty, 2020) underscore the significance of studying minority languages in multilingual regions like North-Bengal, where language contact often leads to convergence and borrowing. However, there is a research gap in direct comparative analysis of Toto and Rajbanshi. This study aims to fill that void by combining structural, historical, and socio-linguistic perspective to better understand their linguistic relationship and evolution.

Research Methodology:

The present comparative linguistic study of the Toto and Rajbanshi languages employs a qualitative and descriptive research methodology, supported by limited quantitative analysis. Primary data collection was conducted through fieldwork in selected Toto inhabited regions of Alipurduar district and Rajbanshi speaking areas of Kuchbehra, Alipurduar, Jalpaiguri, Two Dinajpur districts of Bengal, Goalpara, Dhubri, Bongaigaon, Kokrajhar, Kamrup districts of Assam, greater Rangpur, Dinajpur of present Bangladesh, and Purnia, Katihar, Kishanganj of Bihar state. Structured and semi structured interviews, participant observation, and audio recordings were used to gather authentic linguistic samples from native speakers, focusing on phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary.

Secondary sources include published grammars, dictionaries, and previous linguistic survey such as those by the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI), Census Reports, and academic journals. Comparative linguistic tools were applied to identify shared roots, divergence in grammatical structures. Socio-linguistic aspects such as bilingualism, language shift, and domain use were analyzed ethnographic techniques and survey questionnaires. The methodology also incorporates historical comparative linguistics to trace language contact, borrowing, and influence of dominant regional languages such as Assamese, Bengali. Data were transcribed using IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) and analyzed using ELAN and Praat software. Ethical research practices, including informed consent and community engagement, were strictly followed to ensure cultural and sensitivity and authenticity of representation.

Historical Background

The linguistic histories of the Toto and Rajbanshi languages are deeply rooted in the complex ethno-cultural evolution of North Bengal, shaped by migrations, political changes, and socio-economic transformations over centuries.

The Toto community represents one of the smallest and most ancient indigenous groups of the region. Their origins are linked to the larger Tibeto-Burman migrations that spread from Central Asia and Tibet into the Himalayan foothills.¹ The Totos settled in Totopara, near the present Indo-Bhutan border, centuries ago, living in relative isolation. Their language, belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family, developed independently, preserving several archaic features while incorporating limited borrowings from neighboring Indo-Aryan tongues through trade and inter-community interaction. Historical records, including British colonial ethnographies such as Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*² describe the Totos as an ancient tribe maintaining distinct linguistic and cultural practices even during colonial penetration.

In contrast, the Rajbanshi community claims descent from Koch and Indo-Aryan groups who migrated into the Bengal-Assam borderlands during early medieval times. The Rajbanshis rose to prominence during the rule of the Koch kingdom (16th century), which spread across present-day North Bengal, Assam, and parts of Nepal.³ The Rajbanshi language, originally a dialect of early Eastern Indo-Aryan languages, developed through a complex process of linguistic mixing with Maithili, Bengali, Assamese, and neighboring Tibeto-Burman languages.⁴ Over time, it evolved into a distinct speech variety with its own phonological, morphological, and lexical features.

The arrival of British colonial rule in the 18th and 19th centuries further influenced both communities. The Totos remained a highly marginalized and protected tribe under colonial administration, with limited external exposure. Meanwhile, Rajbanshis gradually integrated into larger socio-economic structures, leading to greater dialectal variation and external linguistic influence.⁵

In the post-independence period, the Totos faced increasing assimilation pressure as Bengali became the dominant language of education and administration. Rajbanshi, while more widely spoken, suffered from a

lack of official recognition and gradual dilution due to urbanization and intermarriage. Both languages today reflect their historical trajectories — the Totos preserving an endangered linguistic isolate, and the Rajbanshis negotiating a fluid linguistic identity within the Indo-Aryan spectrum.

Toto and Rajbanshi languages and people:

The Toto people are an indigenous group officially recognized as a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG) in India. Historically isolated within the Sub-Himalayan region of North Bengal, the Totos have retained unique socio-cultural and linguistic features. Their language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family, sharing distinct relations with neighboring languages like Dhimal, Lepcha, and other Himalayan linguistic groups. Unlike many neighboring communities, the Totos resisted large-scale linguistic assimilation, preserving their language's distinct grammatical and phonological features.

Historically, the Totos have remained mostly isolated due to their geographic location near the Bhutanese border. They traditionally practiced subsistence farming, hunting, and limited trade. Despite increasing contact with Bengali-speaking populations and the dominant regional languages, their language structure has remained largely intact through highly encouraged today.

The Rajbanshi people represent a large population spread across northern Bengal, eastern Bihar, Assam, and parts of Nepal's Terai region. Their language, Rajbanshi (also called Kamatapuri, Deshi, or Koch Rajbanshi in some areas), belongs to the Eastern Indo-Aryan group, closely linked with Bengali and Assamese. Historically, the Rajbanshi people claim descent from the ancient Koch dynasty, who ruled much of this region during the medieval period.

Unlike Toto, Rajbanshi people is not endangered, through it faces challenges from dominant regional languages like standard Bengali. The influence of Sanskrit, Assamese, Persian, and Arabic is evident in its vocabulary, resulting from centuries of cultural exchange and political integration. Its position as a minority language within larger states has led to increasing demands for formal recognition and standardization.

The coexistence of these two languages in overlapping regions offers a rare opportunity to explore how genetic isolation (Toto) and regional interaction (Rajbanshi) shape linguistic structure over time.

Linguistic Structure of Toto and Rajbanshi Languages

The Toto and Rajbanshi languages represent two distinct language families with unique structural features. Toto belongs to the Tibeto-Burman subgroup of the Sino-Tibetan family, whereas Rajbanshi is classified within the Eastern Indo-Aryan subgroup of the Indo-European family. Despite their geographical proximity in North Bengal, their linguistic architecture remains fundamentally different, though limited contact-induced influences are observed.

Phonology

Toto has a rich phonemic inventory, including both voiced and voiceless stops, nasals, laterals, and glides. Uniquely, Toto permits complex consonant clusters both word-initially and medially. According to Dasgupta⁶ Toto shows aspirated stops such as /ph/, /th/, /kh/, as well as voiced aspirates /bh/, /dh/, /gh/, which are rare in many Tibeto-Burman languages but possibly borrowed through Indo-Aryan influence.

Rajbanshi, in contrast, reflects typical Eastern Indo-Aryan phonology. Its consonant system includes aspirated and unaspirated stops, fricatives, and nasals. The vowel system consists of 10 vowels, including nasalized forms.⁷ Retroflex consonants /ʈ/, /ɖ/, /ɳ/ are a characteristic feature of Rajbanshi, which are absent in Toto.

Morphology

Toto exhibits agglutinative morphology with extensive use of suffixation for grammatical functions. Verbal morphology includes tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality markers. According to Sinha⁸ verbal suffixes like *-ga* (past), *-lo* (future), and evidential markers such as *-na* (hearsay) reflect typical Tibeto-Burman features.

Rajbanshi, being an Indo-Aryan language, relies heavily on inflectional morphology. Nouns inflect for number, gender, and case, while verbs inflect for tense, person, and aspect.⁹ Case markers such as *-ke* (accusative), *-r* (genitive), and *-te* (locative) are commonly used. Unlike Toto, evidentiality is not grammatically encoded in Rajbanshi.

Syntax

Toto follows the Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order, common among Tibeto-Burman languages.¹⁰ Adjectives precede nouns, and postpositions are used rather than prepositions. Complex sentences are often constructed through clause chaining using conjunctions like *ani* (and) and *ba* (but).

Rajbanshi also employs SOV word order but shows some flexibility due to Indo-Aryan influence.¹¹ The use of auxiliary verbs for aspect and mood is more prevalent. Subordinate clauses are generally introduced by conjunctions such as *je* (that) and *jodi* (if), showing similarity with Standard Bengali.

Lexicon

The Toto lexicon preserves many indigenous terms related to their environment, agriculture, and spiritual life. Loanwords from Bengali and Nepali have entered the language due to prolonged contact. For example, terms like *school* and *doctor* have been borrowed directly.¹²

Rajbanshi's vocabulary reflects its Indo-Aryan roots with significant borrowing from Kamrupi, Assamese, and Maithili. Words such as *ghar* (house), *Jol* (water), and *manshi* (man) are similar to other Indo-Aryan languages.¹³ The dialect also exhibits some Tibeto-Burman loanwords due to regional contact, though less frequently than in Toto.

Sociolinguistic Aspects

Toto is critically endangered, spoken by fewer than 2,000 individuals mostly in Totopara.¹⁴ The younger generation often shifts to Bengali, threatening language continuity. UNESCO (2010) has categorized Toto as "critically endangered."¹⁵

Rajbanshi, while not endangered, faces dialectal fragmentation and assimilation into dominant languages like Bengali and Assamese.¹⁶ Efforts toward Rajbanshi language standardization and recognition in regional education are ongoing.

Phonological Comparison

Phonologically, Toto and Rajbanshi exhibit profound contrast rooted in their distinct genetic lineages.

1.1. Vowel Systems

Toto's has a simple five-vowel system: / I, e, a, o, u/. In contrast, Rajbanshi maintains a richer vowel inventory (approximately 10 vowels), including front, central, and back vowels with both short and long distinctions.

1.2. Consonant Systems

Toto's consonantal system is smaller, lacking many aspirated and retroflex sounds in common in Indo-Aryan languages. Its inventory includes stops (p, t, k), nasals (m, n, ŋ), fricatives (h), and approximants (w, y)., Rajbanshi, like its Indo-Aryan relatives, possesses a wide range of aspirated stops (ph, bh, th, dh, kh, gh), retro flexes (t, d, n), and a greater number of fricatives and affricates.

1.3. Tonal vs. Non-Tonal

A major phonological difference is Toto's use tone -- distinguishing word meaning by pitch, (high, mid, low). Rajbanshi lacks tone entirely, depending instead on stress of intonation.

1.4. Syllable Structure

Toto prefers simple syllable structure (CV or CVC), avoiding complex consonant clusters. Rajbanshi comfortably accommodates consonant clusters (CCV, CCVC), reflecting its Indo-Aryan phonotactic patterns.

1.5. Nasalization

Both languages use nasalization, through its prominence is greater in Toto, extending to both consonants and vowels. Rajbanshi uses nasalization mainly on vowels.

1.6. Loanword Adaptation

Toto adapts borrowed Indo-Aryan words to fit its CV structure, often simplifying consonant clusters. Rajbanshi typically preserves original phonology when adopting Sanskrit, Persian, or Arabic words.

2. Morphological and Grammatical Comparison (approx. 400 words).

2.1. Word Foundation

Toto is agglutinative, relying on suffixes and particles to modify words, while Rajbanshi is primarily inflectional, modifying root words through endings and auxiliary constructions.

2.2. Gender and Number

Toto lacks grammatical gender; the same noun form is used for male or female. Rajbanshi distinguish gender in pronouns and sometimes in nouns (e.g. *chele* =boy, *meyeti*=girl). For plurals, Toto used suffixes like -ni and -mi, while Rajbanshi employs separate words or quantifiers.

2.3. Pronouns

Toto pronouns are unique:

I = *nang*

You = *nomo*

He/She = *nepo*

Rajbanshi uses forms derived from Sanskrit:

I = *mui*

You = *tui*

He/She = *Umay/ Unak*

2.4. Verb Morphology

Toto emphasizes aspects, using suffixes or particles such as *-pofor* completed action. Rajbanshi has rich tense, mood, and aspect markers, conjugating verbs extensively depending on time and speaker.

2.5. Negation

Toto uses the prefix *an-* or particle *anpofor* negation, while Rajbanshi employs *na* before verbs.

2.6. Sentence Structure

Both languages follow Subject -Object -Verb (SOV) order. For example:

Toto: *Nang amba tepa* (I eat rice)

Rajbanshi: *Mui bhatkhang* (I eat rice)

2.7. Honorifics

Rajbanshi extensively uses honorific forms, while Toto lacks an elaborate honorific system.

2.8. Classifiers

Toto uses noun classifiers, a feature typical of Tibeto-Burman languages; Rajbanshi does not.

3. Lexical Comparison

Lexical comparison reveals almost no genetic relationship between Toto and Rajbanshi. The two languages have developed their vocabularies independently, reflecting their distinct linguistic origins.

Sample Vocabulary Differences:

English	Toto	Rajbanshi
Water	Ami	Jol
Fire	Mecho	Jui
Sun	Ani	Rabi
Father	Aba	Bapo/Bap
Dog	Meko	Kutta
Rice	Amba	Bhat
House	Nu	Gharot

Source: Chandan Barman unpublished PhD thesis Ethnographic Study of Sub-Himalayan Region of North Bengal special reference of Toto community Through Ages.

Toto's lexicon largely derives from its native Tibeto-Burman roots, with occasional borrowing from neighboring languages. Rajbanshi, however, has heavily borrowed from Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic, giving it a hybrid character common among Indo-Aryan languages of the region.

English Meaning	Toto Word	Rajbanshi Word
I	Nang	Mui
You	Namo	Tui/Tomra
He/ She	Nepo	Umra/ Uyak
We	Nangni	Hamra
Moon	Micho	Chad
Sister	Amba-nomo	Bohino
Brother	Aba-nomo	Bhay/Bhaiyo
Child	Shambo	Chhawa
Head	Katu	Goreya
Eye	Mi	Choku
Hand	Lupo	Hat
Foot	Lopo	Theeng
Forest	Sama	Bon
Road	Chebo	Ghata
Mountain	Phemba	Pahar

Eat	Tepo	Khang
Sleep	Chelbo	Nin-jang
Speak	Lepo	Aao-kara
Big	Tun	Baro
Small	Men	Chhoto
Village	Pen	Gao

Source: Chandan Barman unpublished PhD thesis Ethnographic Study of Sub-Himalayan Region of North Bengal special reference of Toto community Through Ages.

4. Sociolinguistics and Preservation Issues

The sociolinguistic situations of Toto and Rajbanshi are vastly different.

Toto is critically endangered, facing extinction due to its small speaker base, lack of intergenerational transmission, and absence of institutional support. The absence of a standardized script further limits its survival, through efforts are underway to document and preserve the language using Roman and Bengali scripts.

Rajbanshi, though not endangered, struggles with issues of a standardization and recognition. Many speakers gradually shift towards Bengali or Assamese for economic, educational and social mobility, resulting in a slow erosion of traditional Rajbanshi vocabulary and grammatical structures. In recent years, regional movement has demanded official status and preservation efforts to protect Rajbanshi or Kamatapuri as an old separate language.

Both communities face the larger pressures of linguistic assimilation and globalization, through Toto's survival is far more precarious.

Summary

The comparison between Toto and Rajbanshi languages demonstrates two vastly different linguistic systems that coexist in the same geographic space yet remain structurally and genetically unrelated. Toto, as a Tibeto-Burman language, exhibits tonal features, agglutinative morphology simple phonology, and unique pronoun and classifier systems. Rajbanshi, as an Indo-Aryan language, maintains inflectional morphology, a rich vowel and consonant system, extensive Sanskritization, and a fully developed honorific structure.

Their interaction has not significantly influenced core linguistic structures; through some minimal vocabulary borrowing may occur. The sharp differences underscore the remarkable linguistic diversity of North Bengal and reflect the complex ethno-linguistic history of the region.

This study not only highlights important linguistic contrasts but also calls for immediate preservation efforts, particularly for the Toto language, whose loss would represent an irreplaceable loss of cultural and linguistic heritage. At the same time, Rajbanshi deserves focused standardization and policy support to its unique identity amidst the larger Indo-Aryan continuum.

Analysis

The linguistic structures of Toto and Rajbanshi highlight not only the diversity of North Bengal's language ecology but also underline broader typological differences between Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan languages. While Toto exhibits agglutinative, evidential, and tonal features, Rajbanshi remains primarily inflectional and non-tonal. Both languages, however, face varying levels of endangerment, necessitating urgent documentation and revitalization efforts.

Preservation and Challenges

Both Toto and Rajbanshi languages face distinct preservation challenges, reflecting their differing speaker populations and sociolinguistic statuses.

The Toto language, spoken by approximately 1,600 individuals (Census of India, 2011), is critically endangered.¹⁷ The main threats include rapid socio-economic changes, increased interaction with dominant Bengali-speaking populations, and the absence of formal educational support in the mother tongue.¹⁸ Younger generations increasingly adopt Bengali and English for education, employment, and social mobility, leading to declining intergenerational transmission. The limited availability of written materials, dictionaries, or standardized grammar further complicates preservation efforts.¹⁹ Although the Government of West Bengal has recognized Toto as a Scheduled Tribe and initiated some documentation; comprehensive language revitalization programs remain limited.

In contrast, Rajbanshi is spoken by millions across India, Bangladesh, and Nepal, but faces challenges of standardization and dialectal fragmentation. Due to its status as a non-scheduled language in India,

Rajbanshi lacks formal institutional support in education, media, or governance.²⁰ The influence of dominant regional languages like Bengali and Assamese has led to increasing code-switching and hybridization, gradually eroding the language's distinct identity. Political movements for official recognition have emerged, but progress has been slow and sporadic.²¹

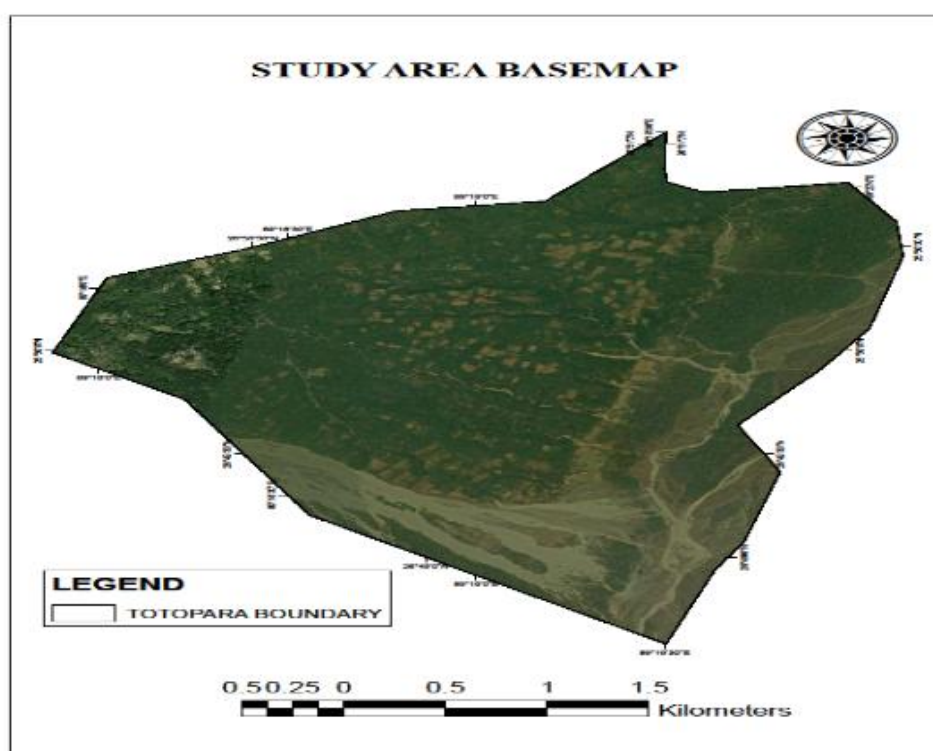
Both languages urgently require targeted documentation, community-based language teaching, and government support to ensure long-term survival. Without such measures, the unique linguistic heritage of North Bengal faces the risk of irreversible loss.

Findings and Conclusion

This comparative study highlights that although Toto and Rajbanshi coexist geographically; their linguistic roots and structures are fundamentally distinct, representing Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan language families respectively. Toto retains core features like agglutinative morphology, evidential markers, and complex consonant clusters, reflecting its ancient and relatively isolated evolution.²² In contrast, Rajbanshi demonstrates typical Indo-Aryan inflectional patterns, retroflex consonants, and rich vowel systems, while also absorbing lexical and syntactic influences from neighboring languages.²³

The unique finding of this study is that both languages, despite their structural differences, are increasingly affected by external pressures such as Bengali dominance, globalization, and shifting socio-economic aspirations. For Toto, the danger lies in the languages near extinction; for Rajbanshi, the threat is progressive dialectal erosion and identity dilution.

Both communities reflect broader patterns of linguistic endangerment and assimilation in South Asia. Immediate, community-centered preservation strategies, official recognition, and inclusion in educational curricula are essential to safeguard this linguistic diversity. The coexistence of such distinct languages within a small geographical space underlines North Bengal's unique ethno-linguistic richness, demanding urgent academic and policy attention.



Map: Toto Para, Alipurduar District, West-Bengal India. By C.Barman, M. C. Adhikary and B. Barman

References:

1. Grierson, George A (1903). *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part I: Tibeto-Burman Family, Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India.
2. Shafer, Robert (1955). *Classification of the Sino-Tibetan Languages: A Tentative Scheme*. Word, 11(1), 94-111.

3. Sanyal, Charu Chandra (1973). *The Meches and the Totos: Two Sub-Himalayan Tribes of North-Bengal*. Darjeeling: University of North-Bengal Press.
4. Dasgupta, Subhadra Kumar (2007). *Language Endangerment and Preservation: A Study of Tribal Languages in Eastern Himalayas*. New Delhi: Anthropological Survey of India.
5. Das, Animesh (2014). *A Syntactic Study of the Rajbanshi Language*. Kolkata: Department of Linguistics, University of Calcutta (unpublished M. Phil. Dissertation).
6. Roy, Biplab (2018). Language Identity and Code-Switching among the Rajbanshi Speakers in North-Bengal. *Journal of South Asian Languages and Linguistics*, 5(2), 145-162.
7. Chakraborty, Manisha (2020). Language Contact and Convergence in North Bengal: A Comparative Approach. *Indian Linguistics*, 81(3-4), 203-220.

Interviews:

- Dhaniram Toto (64), Padmashree Awardees, Toto Para, Alipurduar District, dated. 24. 06. 2022
 Bhakta Toto (58), writer Toto Para, Alipurduar district, dated. 23. 07, 2022
 Narendranath Roy (50), Principal, Banerwar Sarathibala College, Coochbehar district, dated. 17. 09, 2022
 Joydip Roy (55), Registrar, Alipurduar University, Alipurduar, dated. 15. 07. 2022
1. Dasgupta, S. (2011). *Toto: A Tibeto-Burman Language of North Bengal*. Kolkata: Asiatic Society. p.22.
 2. Dalton, E. T. (1872). *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. London: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing. p.198.
 3. Chakraborty, S. (2010). *Linguistic Profile of Rajbanshi*. Guwahati: North East Linguistic Research Centre. p.15.
 4. Barman, B. (2014). *Rajbanshi Language: Structure and Change*. Kolkata: Eastern Book Agency. p.21.
 5. Sinha, R. (2012). *Endangered Languages of North Bengal: The Case of Toto*. New Delhi: Sahitya Academi. p. 37.
 6. Dasgupta, S. (2011). *Toto: A Tibeto-Burman Language of North Bengal*. Kolkata: Asiatic Society. p.112.
 7. Chakraborty, S. (2010). *Linguistic Profile of Rajbanshi*. op.cit., p.89.
 8. Sinha, R. (2012). *Endangered Languages of North Bengal: The Case of Toto*. New Delhi: Sahitya Academi. p.56.
 9. Barman, B. (2014). *Rajbanshi Language: Structure and Change*. Kolkata: Eastern Book Agency. p.77.
 10. Dasgupta, S. (2011). *Toto: A Tibeto-Burman Language of North Bengal*. Kolkata: Asiatic Society. p.116.
 11. Chakraborty, S. (2010). *Linguistic Profile of Rajbanshi*. op.cit., p.95.
 12. Sinha, R. (2012). *Endangered Languages of North Bengal: The Case of Toto*. New Delhi: Sahitya Academi. p.61.
 13. Barman, B. (2014). *Rajbanshi Language: Structure and Change*. Kolkata: Eastern Book Agency. p.81.
 14. Dasgupta, S. (2011). *Toto: A Tibeto-Burman Language of North Bengal*. Kolkata: Asiatic Society. p.110.
 15. UNESO. (2010). *Atlas of the World Languages in Danger*. Paris: UUNESCO.
 16. Chakraborty, S. (2010). *Linguistic Profile of Rajbanshi*. op.cit., p.97.
 17. *Census of India*. (2011).
 18. Dasgupta, S. (2011). *Toto: A Tibeto-Burman Language of North Bengal*, op.cit., p.125.
 19. Sinha, R. (2012). *Endangered Languages of North Bengal: The Case of Toto*. op.cit., p.43.
 20. Barman, B. (2014). *Rajbanshi Language: Structure and Change*. op.cit., p.95.
 21. Chakraborty, S. (2010). *Linguistic Profile of Rajbanshi*. op.cit., p.107.
 22. Dasgupta, S. (2011). *Toto: A Tibeto-Burman Language of North Bengal*, op.cit., p.116.
 23. Barman, B. (2014). *Rajbanshi Language: Structure and Change*. op.cit., p.82.