

CHAPTER – 1

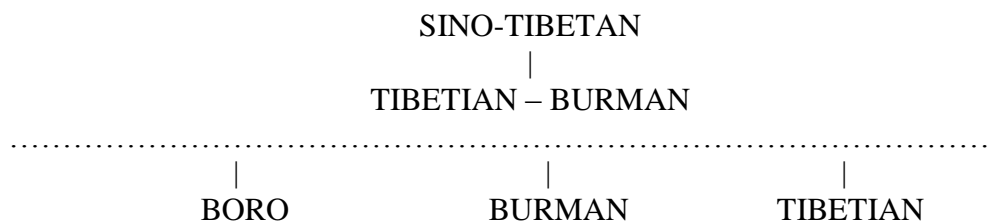
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Language.

The Bodo Language has developed linguistically from Tibeto-Barman branch of Sino-Tibetan language family. The Tibeto-Barman has four sub groups as – (i) Tibetan (ii) Himalayan (iii) North-Assam Group (iv) Assam - Burma Group. The Bodo language is 4th subgroup of Assam-Burma group. The Assam Burma sub group is sub divided in two branches as – Bodo-Naga and Burmese-Kuki-Chin Kachin-Lolo. The Bodo, Kachari (Dimasa), Garo, Mech, Rabha and Tripura (kok Borok) has came from Bodo-Naga group. They are settled in different states of North east India – Assam, Tripura, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, and neighbouring state North Bengal and Country Nepal and in border area of Bhutan and Chittagong hill tract of Bangladesh. The total Bodo speaking people in B.T.A.D. was 8, 59, 731 according to 2001 population census and 12, 96,162 in Assam out of 13, 50, 478 total Bodo speakers in the country .

According to Ranjit Kumar Bhattachariya “*Most of Tribal of North-East belongs to Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto Chinese origin.*”¹

Figure – 1: Classification of Sino-Tibetan.



(Development of Tribal Languages. A hope for the mission. (Development of the Tribal languages: Some Observation) by R.K. Acharyya, p.126)

On the settlement of Bodo language Daniel Cody Wood give opinion as “*Boro-Garo belongs to the greater Boro-Konyak-Jinghpaw sub-branch of TibetoBurman and consists of at least eleven languages: Bodo, Garo, Deuri, Rabha, Tiwa, Dimasa, Kokborok, Atong, Wanang, Moran, Koch. These languages can be furtherDivided into various dialect communities which are found in the northeastern IndianStates of Assam, Meghalaya and Nagaland, as well as across theNational border in Nepal and Bangladesh*”.²

Again Bakhul Chandra Basumatary opines as “*The historical writings, archaeological findings and DNA reports disclose us that the people of Mongoloid race gradually spread in the regions of India, Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet, far south east Asia countries, China, Central Asia and Mongoloid in the pre Christian era. It is believe that many years before Mongoloid people took to settle at the mouths of the rivers namely, Tsangpo, Huang Ho, Chindwin, Iravadi, and other rivers. In later stages, following the courses of these rivers, they spread to the South and North. They also spread to the West and to the East.*”³

A branch of Sino Tibetan language family was entered in Assam. Their main concentration was in Hwang Ho and Yang-Tsze-Kiang river valley of China. They migrated in north east India in many years ago, some writers and researchers have given their comment. On this Hem Barua said as – “*It is needless to say that Western China is a vast bee-hive of Mongoloid races and people; in very ancient times it threw off swarms of these people into Assam and Burma hills and the adjoining sub-montane areas, and, later on, into the plains and river plateaus of these two countries; some of them ascended the Tsangpo, a river of Tibet with which the Brahmaputra is identified , and migrated to the west, and in course of time, they spread along the slopes of the Himalayas, and people the low hill ranges alongside. There were others who migrated down the course of the Chindwin and that of other rivers to the south, and peopled Burma, Thailand and the countries adjacent to them. The south-west wave of this great Mongoloid migration descended the Brahmaputra and spread into the hills and river-beds of Assam.*”⁴

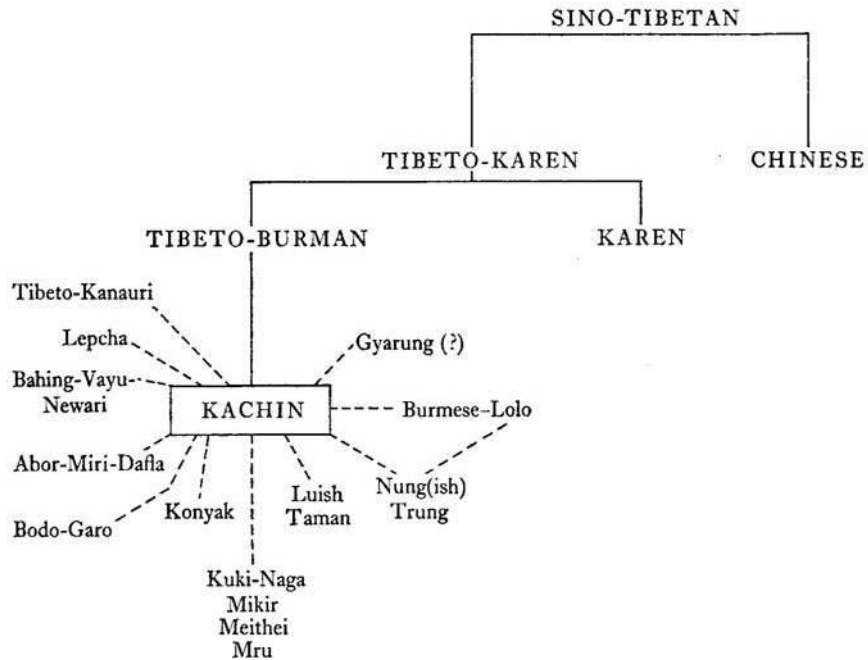
1.2. Concentration of Bodo.

The Bodo tribes are the inhabitant of Assam and their scatters are as like mention by Edward Gait *“The Kacharis may perhaps be described as the aborigines, or earliest known inhabitants, of the Brahmaputra valley. They are identical with the people called Mech in Goalpara and North Bengal. These are the names given to them by outsiders. In the Brahmaputra valley the Kacharis call themselves Bodo or Bodo fisa (sons of the Bodo). In North Cachar Hills they call themselves Dimasa, a corruption of Dima fisa or “sons of the great river”. They were known to the Ahoms as Timisa, clearly a corruption of Dimasa, so that this name must have been in use when they were still in the Dhansiri valley”*.⁵

The Bodo community is the inhabitant of Assam and scatters in eastern to western and northern to southern in Assam as Anil Boro commented in his book as *“The Boros have their settlements and habits in some scattered pockets throughout Assam concentration of Boro people in the Northern tract, in southern tract, and western tract and neighbouring state are mention with giving the districts name.”*⁶

The Bodo community was known as different names as the opinion of Manaranjan Lahary – *“In Nepal the Bodo community was known ‘Mech’, in west Bengal as ‘Mech/Bodo/Boro’, in Assam as ‘Bodo/Boro’, in east Assam as ‘Kochary/Mech’, in Nagaland as ‘Kochary’, in N.C. Hills as ‘Dimasa’ and in Tripura as ‘Tipara/Tipra.”*⁷ instead they are known as by different names but there was great Bodo community which develop from Sino-Tibetan language family.

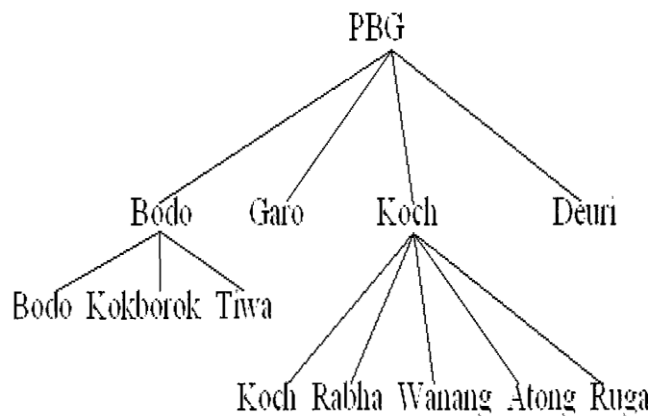
Figure 2: Classification of Sino – Tibetan Language family by ‘Sino – Tibetan a Conspectus’ by P.K. Benedict.⁸



(‘Sino – Tibetan a Conspectus’ by P.K. Benedict, p. 6.)

Figure 3: The Boro-Garo Language Family tree is given below from book name ‘An Initial Reconstruction of Proto-Boro-Garo’ by Daniel Cody Wood.⁹

Figure 3: Boro-Garo Language Family Tree



(Given from ‘An Initial Reconstruction of proto-Boro-Garo’ book written by Daniel Cody Wood, p-6)

1.3. Origin of Bodo term

G.A. Grierson mentions in his book *'Linguistics survey of India'* (vol-iii, part-ii) as - the 'Bodo' term was first applied by Hodgson in 1847. According to Bakul Chandra Basumatary – "*kirata term signifying the term 'son' is 'Chcha' which in some pockets of kiratas is pronounced as 'sa'. The Kiratas who followed the Buddhism preferred to be identified as the sons of Buddha i. e, Bodochcha > Bodosa in the same manner as the son of 'Li' was called 'Lichcha' > 'Lisa' of Lichchavi kingdom. Thus the followers of Lord Buddha in later years, were identified and called as Bodochcha > Bodosa.*"¹⁰

He was also commented as "*the term Bodo is derived from the term 'Ti-Bot' the name of the Tibet as they believe that Bodos are believed to have migrated from Tibet.*"¹¹

As the domination of Bodo in Assam some Bodo words and prefix are borrowed from Bodo term as commented Edward Gait in his book as "*The wide extent and long duration of Bodo domination as shown by the frequent occurrence of prefix di or ti, the Bodo word for water, in the river names of the Brahmaputra valley and adjoining country to the west, e.g. Dibru, Dikhu, Dihing, Dihong, Dibong, Disang, Diphang, Dimla etc.*"¹²

1.4. Dialect area

On the basis of dialects some linguists and researcher comments about the Bodo dialects as-

According to Madhu Ram Boro "*there are five dialects of Bodo language like –*

1. *Kokrajhar and Dhubri.*
2. *Goalpara and South Kamrup*
3. *North Kamrup.*
4. *Darrang.*
5. *Nowgaon and Karbi Anglong.*"¹³

According to *P. C. Bhattacharya* there are four dialects of Bodo language.

Like –

1. *North west dialect area.*
2. *South – west dialect area.*
3. *North central Assam dialect area.*
4. *Southern Assam dialect area.*”¹⁴

According to *Phukan Basumatary* there are three dialects in Bodo.

Like – 1. *The Western Boro Dialect (WBD)*

2. *The Eastern Boro Dialect (EBD)*

3. *The Southern Boro Dialect (SBD).*”¹⁵

Swarna Prabha Chainary also mentions these three dialects of Bodo in her unpublished Ph. D thesis of Gauhati University.

In Bodo a dialect call ‘*Bwrdown*’ scatters in Chirang and Kokrajhar districts especially in adjacent area of Bhutan and in Jalpaiguri and some districts of West Bengal. The *Bwrdown* dialects are mostly Christian religion. The differences with western dialect (Bodo standard) to *Bwrdown* dialect is as –

Western dialects –

nwŋ zanw ? (Do you want to food?)

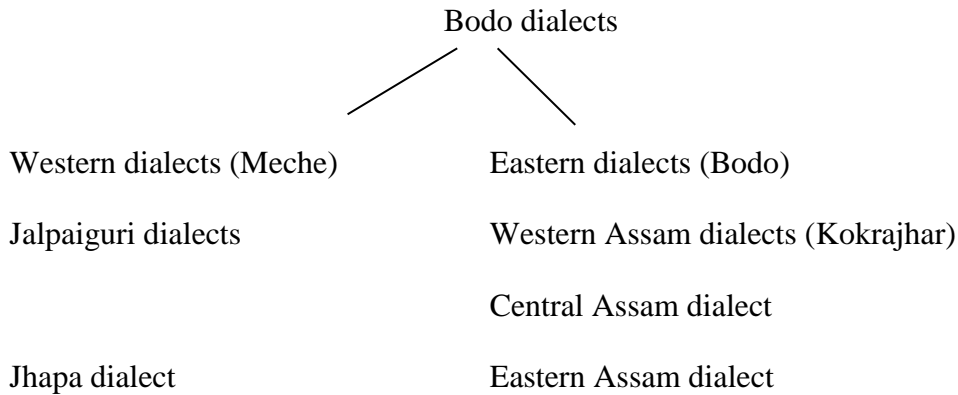
aŋ t^haŋgwn.(I will go)

Bwrdown dialect –

nwŋ zanai ? (Do you want to food?)

aŋ t^haŋnaira.(I will go)

Figure – 4: According to Kazuyuki Kiryu “*the classification of Bodo dialects is as*”¹⁶ –



(*An outline of the Meche Language – grammar, text and glossary* by K. Kiryu, p.2)

The dialects area of some writers and researchers are divided in to three or four dialect in Bodo, the maximum of four dialect area are found and the Kokrajhar dialect is the standard language form of Bodo language.

1.5. Script and education

The Bodo have no own script in earlier period. But according to P. C. Bhattacharya “*Bishnu Prasad Rabha, the famous Artist of Assam, told me that in ancient times there was a kind of Deodhai script among the Kacharis (Boro and Dimasa).*”¹⁷ In early period the Bodo community used the Roman, Bengali, Assamese, Devanagiri scripts for writing, sometimes they also used Assamese script but language is Bodo, the Roman script movement was important movement in Bodo history in 1974 to 1975, as the result of movement the Devanagiri script was accepted as Bodo script, which is still continued.

The Bodo language was introduced as medium of instruction in primary level school on 18th may 1963. Then in 1968 M. E. school and in 1972 at high school level, in the year 1975 the Bodo language was introduced in All India Radio Guwahati, Respectively the Bodo language was introduced as MIL Subject at College level in 1977(P.U) and in 1987 in B. A. level, in the year 1981 the NEHU university introduced Bodo in MIL as subject, than in the year 1984

the state government has accepted the Bodo language as Associate State Language. In the year 1985 the Gauhati University accepted as certificate course and as diploma course in the year 1994. Bodo Department at Gauhati University was started in the year 1996. Gauhati University has introduced Bodo language as Elective subject, on 10th February 2003, the Bodo language was introduced in 8th schedule of Indian constitution and formed *Bodoland Territorial Area District* (B.T.A.D) including four district of Assam as *Kokrajhar, Chirang, Baska and Udalguri*, which has given greater opportunity to Bodo community, The Bodo language is accepted in national level awards, as well as in UPSC, APSC competitive examinations, in CIIL, in NTM institutions also.

The Dibrugarh University has introduced the Bodo language as Elective language in the year 2004, in 2006 the Bodo language was introduced as Major Subjects in Degree colleges and as advance language in higher Secondary level, the Bodo language was introduced in M. A. course in the year 2006, in Assam university as Elective subjects in 2011, The Dibrugarh university also introduced M. A. in Bodo in 2016. The NET (national eligibility Test) and SLET (state level eligibility test) has introduced the Bodo language, in the year 2017 the Bodoland University has introduced the Bodo language in AECC and Communication language for all languages.

1.6. Aims and objectives.

The aims and objectives of this study is to bring highlight in different aspects of the Bodo language and of its cognate languages. The proposed study is in depth study of numerals, classifiers and quantifiers of Bodo language. It shall bring out the influence numerical classifiers and quantifiers of some other modern languages to Bodo language and its cognate languages.

1.7. Hypothesis.

On the basis of primary and secondary data collection it found out that:

1. The classifiers indicates the shape and size of things its length, breath, number and characters of objects.

2. The classifiers are mainly used in before a numerical word. That means it works like prefix to a word.
3. The classifiers and quantifiers are used before or after the noun and verb.
4. Generally classifiers are by bound morpheme in characters.
5. In Bodo classifiers are found singular and plural form.
6. Classifiers are found noun associated word and verb associated words.
7. Affixes are used before numerical and after Verb.
8. Classifiers must use numeral on the other hand Quantifier is not.
9. It is found out around 90 to 100 and more Classifiers in Bodo.
10. Numeral is found out as Numeral word and word numeral.
11. Separation between cognate languages is to be recent
12. The structure and function of classifiers among cognate languages are mostly same.
13. The classifiers of Bodo and its cognate languages are found mono-syllabic, bi-syllabic and tri-syllabic nature.
14. The uses of classifiers in Bodo and Dimasa languages are maximum similarities compared to other cognate languages.

1.8. Area of study.

The proposed research work is based on the structure of numeral, classifiers and quantifiers used in Bodo language. The classifiers and quantifiers used in different parts of Assam and in dialect areas. A comparative study also includes classifiers with cognate languages of Bodo.

1.9. Methodology.

The proposed study is descriptive analysis of numeral classifiers and quantifiers of Bodo language and a comparative study of classifiers uses of cognate languages. So the analytical and comparative study method has been applied in this study. The description and examples are given to analyse

properly. So it based mainly on analysis, approaches and comparative method. Not only these methods but also some other methods are applied according to the need of study.

1.10. Sources.

As Primary Sources.

In primary sources like other social and humanities research in this study also interview and observation method was applied to collect the data from the speaker of Bodo language. For its cognate languages of some specified region of research area are visited, questionnaires method and conversation with informants are also applied during the primary data collection. Important equipments like tape recorder, camera and some other digital medium have been used to determine properly the articulation word. For the collection of data in primary sources different libraries like Bijni College Library, District library of Chirang, Bongaigaon, Bodoaland University Library, Gauhati University library and other were visited.

As Secondary Sources.

For Secondary sources form different Books, unpublished thesis, Journals, website, reports and articles published in news paper have been collected.

1.11. Culture

The English word ‘culture’ is derived from the Latin word ‘*colere*’ .In Bodo it is called ‘*Harimu*’ . According to C.N. Shankar Rao “*Culture is a broad term that includes in itself all our walks of life, our modes of behavior, our philosophies and ethics, our morals and manners, our customs and traditions, our religious, political, economic and other types of activities. Culture includes all that man has acquired in his individual and social life.*”¹⁸ Culture is the mirror of a nation. It shows nation’s music, dance, food, religion, marriage system, cremation system, festivals, game, customs, folk belief and some social picture of that nation or for a society. That means the whole picture of a society

is reflected in culture and the development and declined of a nation is also reflected. According to Renu Boro the Bodo word ‘*Harimu*’ means that ‘*mu*’ means the measurement of long-breath things and which is measure the Bodo people with their hand , so it means ‘*mu*’ (word used for measurement).¹⁹

Some definitions from Sunita Agarwalla’s Book ‘*Sociological Foundation of Education*’

1. According to Taylor, ‘*Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge belief, art, moral, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.*’
2. According to Bogardus, ‘*culture is all the ways of going and thinking of a group.*’²⁰

Some parts of culture are discussed below with example in Bodo –

1.12. Dress

The traditional dress of Bodo community is ‘*Dok^hona*’ (a cloth of 11ft long or 4.9 inch breath), ‘*Aronai*’ (a cloth 6ft long or 10 inch breathe) and ‘*gamsa*’ (6ft long and 1ft breath). The ‘*dok^hona*’ is dress of Women and the ‘*gamsa*’ is for men and the ‘*aronai*’ is for both men and women. In early period all these traditional dresses were made in home, the Bodo women were expert in weaving, – eri worms, muga worms were reared for weaving cloths. Bodo society belief that – the girls must know to weave for marriage, the Bodo women were expert in weaving, they reflect the natural scenario in their cloths. In early period the groom must dress a ‘*dok^hona*’ named ‘*dok^hona t^haosi*’ (a red color cloths in both side flowers) and the bride must dress a ‘*gamsa*’ (a green color cloth) but the globalization has change all the shades, other communities culture and dresses has influenced Bodo traditional dress.

1.13. Ornaments

The Bodo women wore some ornaments in their ears, nose, and neck and in hand. Like - *put^h k^huri*, *polo*, *samu k^hink^hiri*, *ent^hi* , for nose – *napak^hul*, *nak^hi*, for neck – *sen*, and for hand – *asan*. These ornaments are made of gold

and silver, and some ornaments made from iron or metals were also used. Bodo people wear the rings in fingers made from gold, silvers and metals which was generally influenced from other communities, in present day the ornaments which were used in Bodo language has changed, Indian other communities culture and western culture has influenced the Bodo culture, at present they used designer ornaments made from metals, thread and more, Bodo people used gold and silver ornaments in some occasions, the used of diamond ornaments is also seen.

1.14. Food

In Bodo society the food system is broad topic, because the people of Bodo community lives in village embodied with nature, the main food of Bodo community is rice (boiled rice) with curry and mush (fish mush, potato mush), their main form of cooking food is boiling, burning, smoking with banana leaf and used of natural soda, the Bodo people eats sour, bitter and spicy food. The Bodo peoples generally likes curry – *sobai arw samu* (land till with snail curry), *onla arw dao* (rice powder curry with chicken), *narzi arw oma wnk^hri* (jute dry leaf with fork), *mwit^ha arw na* (roselle leaf with fish), *t^haigir arw na* (fish with elephant apple) and more. Their vegetables and meats are produce at Home, they rear the animals for meat and egg, they are also expert in fishing and hunting, they eat also leaf some jungle leaves – *taso* (taro), *dingk^hia* (ferns), *mande* (kangkung) and more.

In Bodo community the food items were made from drying and smoking some leaf, fish, meat ‘*zwu*’ (rice beer) as the traditional food item of Bodo community. The Bodo people are also plants fruits tree, vegetables as their food items.

1.15. Religion

The main religion of Bodo community was ‘*bat^how*’ (a traditional religion of Bodo to worship the god *Siva* with sacrificing animals and birds), “*The Boro of the northern bank of the Brahmaputra valley narrate their origin of creation in relation to the worship of Bathow. Bathow represent the five basic elements of*

creation. He is also known as Sibray (Siva). Bathow of Sibray with his wife (Sibury) created this universe and the first man, Monsinsin. As Monsinsin remained a lifelong celibate, Sibray and his wife created Darimoba, the male, and Spring Dowba, the female in order to propagate the human population (mansoy) Bathow created the Sizu plant (*Euphorbia splendens*), the first tree which stands as an emblem of the supreme God at the alter.”²¹

The belief of Bodo community has taken many changes, the missionaries religion ‘Christian’ has influenced Bodo community and as large number of Bodo people has accepted Christian as their religion. In 1905 a religious founder name Gurudev Khalicharan Brahma has spread ‘*Brahma dhwrwm*’ in Bodo community, “*Gurudev not only succeeded establishing ‘Brahma dharma’ (1905) among the Bodos but also launched a crusade against political injustice to and indiscrimination against the Bodos. Inspired by the zeal for Renaissance and urged by creatives some Bodo dramatists notably Dwardra Basumatary, Satish Chandra Basumatary, , Modaram Brahma and Mani Islary wrote dramas in Bodo aiming at reclamation of Bodo through dramatic entertaiment.*”²² When Sankardev spread the religion ‘*Bhaishanb*’ in Assamese community this religion also influenced Bodo community.

1.16. Marriage

The traditional marriage system of Bodo community is called as ‘*haba gwlaol*’ (arrange marriage), ‘*hat^hasuni haba*’ (a marriage system where bride and groom are married in front of villagers and the groom traditionally cook rice powder curry for the villagers and serve it), Marriage by love is also seen in Bodo Society, In early period the people of Bodo community followed traditional belief system in Marriage where they lives with their parents in the villages , so in marriage all the members of society used to participate, The other marriage system in Boddoo Society are –‘*gwrzia haba*’ (the bride lives in groom home), ‘*kharsonnai haba*’ (a kind of runaway bride) , ‘*donkha haba*’ (this is a martial rule and widow remarriage), ‘*bwnai haba*’ (this a kind of marriage where one side love Girl is forcefully married), ‘*dwnkharnai haba*’ (in this marriage

system where the bride and groom run away from home to get married) and there is a marriage system name '*daot^hu haba*' {(a marriage system where the widow remarried with her husband's elder brother (Whose wife is also died)}, these are the marriage system of Bodo community. There are some rules before the marriage and after the marriage at the home of girl and of boy like - '*nirik bosonai*' (a rule where the relation of girl with family and village are re arranged), '*katha khobor*' (before one day of marriage the boy's family come to take the news of girl in girl's home), '*athimongol*' (after 8th days of marriage the bride and groom goes to groom's home with their close friend), '*bibai dorson*' (after marriage the parents of bride goes to groom's home and then the parents of groom goes to bride's home with close relatives and members of the village) Like any other community marriages in Boro community has also changed to modern marriage ceremony.

1.17. Cultivation

The Bodo communities lives maximum in village area and their main source of livelihood is cultivation of crops as per the seasons, they cultivate paddy, land till, mustard oil plant, till, jute plant, dale plant and the vegetables like – potato, chilly, onion, garlic, pumpkin, white gourd, bitter gourd, ginger, turmeric, long bean, pea, cucumber, lady's finger some leafy vegetables like – coriander leaf, roselle leaf, *besor* (mustard green leaf), *lopa* (a Bodo local green leaf vegetable), spinach leaf, cabbage, cauliflower, radish, some underground roots like – taro, sweet potato, radish, carrot, fruits tree like – banana tree, mango tree, pine apple tree, papaya tree, guava tree, coconut tree, orange tree, custard apple tree, litchi tree, jack fruit tree, olive tree, areca nut tree, areca nut leaf, black berry tree, pomegranate tree, grape fruit tree and some tree are cultivate for fire wood. These all crops are cultivated for their own self and for sale, their cultivation process were natural by using cow dung as manure. The modern farming methods are also seen in Bodo society.

1.18. Festivals

Where in a society the peoples work and enjoy themselves for this they have festivals. In Bodo society the people are generally cultivators, so they celebrate the festivals related to harvesting called '*bwthwrari rongzat^hai pwrbw/abadary rongzathai pwrbw*' (seasonable festival/harvesting festival) and secondly the festivals related to religious called '*dhwrwmari rongzathai pwrbw*' (religious festival) both this festivals are related to each other. The main festival of the Bodos is '*bwisagu*' (It is a seasonal festival celebrated in mid of April) and '*magw*' (a harvest festival celebrated in mid of January). The traditional religious festival of Bodo people was '*k^herai*' (a festival for worship of God in the month of September and October), '*mwdai hunai/Garza hwnai*' (a religious festivals for worship where the bad power God outside of village is worshipped in the month of June or July). There are also some other festivals related to harvesting and religion in Bodo community like – '*k^hat^higasa*' (a festival of lighting of elephant apple fruit in month of October), '*wnkham gwrlwi zanai*' (a celebration for cooking of newly harvested Rice in the month of December, January or February), '*lama dant^henai*' (a festivals celebrated in mid of April to protect villagers from bad oven's of evil spirits), '*salani hwnai*' (a family festivals where the God is worship for peace of the family), There are many festivals in Bodo community celebrated for worship of God, harvesting celebration and seasonable festivals.

1.19. Furniture and implements

The used of furniture and implements are important part of culture of every society and the Bodo peoples were expert in handicraft, Bodo society used furniture made from bamboo, wood, jute, cane and soil. These all furniture's are used in their livelihood for fishing, hunting, cultivation, weaving and for many social works. Furniture's made from bamboo, wood, jute, cane and soils are – *pand* (hunting trap), *zek^hai* (fishing trap), *ze* (fishing net), *ruwa* (axe), *t^hir* (arrow), *bat^hul* (bow), *daba* (knife), *nao* (boat), *mwgoŋ k^hada* (basket for fish and vegetables), *darha* (mat), *kodal* (spade), *t^hupi* (hat), *mora* (sitting tool), *husib* (broom stick), *k^hada* (basket), *don* (small basket), *no* (house), *dorza* (door),

k^hwrk^hi (window), *bisina* (bed), *laothi* (stick), *diruŋ* (thread made from jute plant), *ordab* (earthen sula), *k^hadwu* (a handle made by bamboo for cooking), *t^hela* (hand cart), *sal kut^ha* (weaving post), *sandri* (a bamboo net). The Bodo people are also started to make furniture with materials like – iron, aluminum, plastic and more.

1.20. Village administration (law, customs and superstition)

There are some social customs in the Bodo village administration. According Binay Kumar Brahma to “*Boro Hariya Gwdw Gwdainiprainw Somaj Posongna Raizw Zabwdwng Hwnna Sansumwipra Bungw, Boro Somaza Danilo Nonga. Mithisoywi Somniprainw be Somaza Swlibwdwng*’.”²³(some writers and thinkers said that - The Bodo community lives in a societies. Since early period the Bodo community traditionally lives in villages among communities).

In Bodo society the village administration is the most important social customs; the head of village is called ‘*gaobura*’ and he leads the village in very aspects of community living. The occasions of family and society all are followed in traditional rites and the ‘*gaobura*’ participates especially in marriage and death (cremation and buried) of every villagers. In modern society some of these traditions are rarely seen with the formation of towns and cities those traditions has decreased.

They lives with neighboring communities, than the other communities’ influences, the Bodos life style are also changing, in Bodo village area there are some traditional customs which are followed by villagers– like law against pre marital sex, extra marital sex, illicit relationship with people from other communities, physical abuse of parents, elders, wife and women. The village headman is costumed to take necessary action with the villagers and give punishment against this law.

Some traditional superstition are also seen in Bodo community, like the superstitious belief of bad luck when black cat crosses in the front of way of walking, itching of palm gets wealth. This superstitious belief is in decline with the modernization of societies.

1.21. Literature

The development of literature is must for the development of language. The status of the Bodo literature is in developing stage and it has started from the coming of missionaries, some missionary writers have started writing and analyzing Bodo Literature. It was significantly written by *Rev. Sidney Endle* who is one of the first writers who contributed to Bodo literature, he wrote many Books in English with Roman script like Bodo grammar, History, Dictionary, Folk tales and rhymes of Bodo language. Not only *Endle*, but many missionaries also wrote for Bodo language like – *J.D.Anderson, Lars Olsen Skrefsrud, N.C.M. Dunda, A. Kristiansen, H. Halvorsrud, B.H.Hodgson, Edward Gait, Dr. John Peter Wad, Capt. Robert Boileu Pemberton, William Robinson, Major John Bulter, Edward Tuit Delton, William Hunter, G.H. Damant, L.A. Waddel, Dr. T. Bloch, P.R.T.Gurdon, Dr. George Abraham Grierson, F.C. Hers, S.N. Wolfenden, Cil. W. Shakespear* and many more.

The development of Bodo literature started in 20th century with the contributions of Organizations like - '*Habrakhat Boro sonmilani*', '*Boro sathra Sonmilani*'(1919). The first Book of literature was '*Boroni Pisa O Ayen*' (1915) by *Ganga Charan Khochary* and edited by '*habrakhath Boro Sonmolani*', In the year 1919 an one act play was written by *satish Chandra Basumatary* which was the first drama of Bodo literature, A book named '*Bathunam Bwikhaguni Gidu*' was written in the year 1920 by *Prasonno Kumar Khaklary*. In 1924 a magazine named '*Bibar*' was edited by *Satish Chandra Basumatary* (manuscript in 1920). '*Boro Sathra Sonmilani*' in its 6th year's conference published a multi language magazine of Bodo, Assamese and Bengali. In 1923 a book name '*Khonthai Methai*' was written by *Madaram Brahma* and *Rupnath Brahma*. In 1926 a book named '*Boroni Gudi Sibsa arw Aroj*' was written by *Modaram Brahma*.

Satish Chandra Basumatary edited '*Bibar*' '*zenthok^ha*' first Bodo Mazanine from the year 1924 and 1925 respectively. Many dramatists wrote drama and translated from Bengali language likes – *Satish Chandra Basumatary, Modaram Brahma, Moniram Islary, Darendranath Basumatary*. In the year 1928 *Satish Chandra Basumatary* wrote a drama name '*Rani laimut^hi*', and a

magazine named '*Bodosa Bit^horai*' in the year 1932. *Promod Chandra Brahma* edited '*Sanshri arw Mushri*' magazine in the year 1937 and '*Hat^hork^hi Hala*' in the year 1940. A magazine named '*Alongbar*' was edited by *Promod Chandra Brahma and Khogendra Brahma* in the year 1938. The first short story named '*Abari*' was written by *Isan Muchahary* and the first prose named '*Boroni Rao*' was written by *Anandoram Muchahary* which was published in '*Hat^hork^hi Hala*' magazine. In 1940 two Romantic poetry book named '*Sonani mala*' and '*Pami*' were written by *Isan Mushahary*. A magazine named '*Nayak*' was edited by *Zogen Hazarika and Mohini Mohan Brahma* in the year 1942 which was published in Bodo and Assamese language. The last magazine was edited by *Sukhoram Basumatary* which was named as '*Boro Lirthum Bilai*' (1950), it is the last publication of old age of Bodo Literature.

The Bodo literature is divided into stages like – *missionary muga* (missionary age), *bibar gibi muga* (pre bibar age), *bibar muga* (bibar age), *bibar un muga* (post bibar age), *bibar alongbar muga* (bibar alongbar age), *gwzam muga* (old age) and *gwdan muga* (modern age). The aim of Bodo writers of those periods were for nation building, for worship of God and romanticizing.

On 16th November 1952 the '*Bodo Sahitya Sabha*' was born and this period is called '*gwdan muga*' (modern age), with its formation many Bodo writers started contributing to Bodo literature. The substance of poem of modern age is more symbolic which is different from old age. Many writers have started to write short story, novel, prose, poem, drama, criticism, child literature, travelogue, biography, dictionary and different branches of literature. At present Bodo poet, dramatist, novelist and short story writers have achieve state level and national level award also.

1.22. Review of Literature

Essay the first; On the Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal tribes, in three Parts.... (1847)

This is a book written by B. H. Hodgson and published by J. Thomas, mission press, Calcutta. It is a three parts of book including vocabulary, grammar and physical and Moral Characters of kocch, Bodo and Dhimal languages. The

Part one is English vocabulary, Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal words, part two is grammar Section where discussed Article, noun, case, number, adjective, comparison, pronoun and its subdivisions. He discussed the term Numeral as numeration and said that the cardinal numeral of Bodo was extending up to 7 or 8. In Bodo with numeral they used some words as /ganda/ or /bisa/.The /ganda/ was for a group of four on the other hand /bisa/ was for a group of twenty. The writer mentions the cardinal numeral of English, Bodo and Dhimal. The Bodo cardinal numeral was given 1 to 7. Some classifiers used for human being, animals, things, money are mention and also discussed prefix and particles of Bodo. The part three was location, numbers, creed, customs, and condition and physical and moral characteristics of the Bodo and Dhimal peoples as product of income, houses, furniture, clothes, food, drinks and stimulance, manners, characters are discussed.

Outline Grammar of the Kachari (Bara) Language as spoken in District Darrang, Assam (1884)

A book written by Rev. S. Endle and published Assam Secretariat press, Shillong. The numeral 1 to 10 of Kachary, Garo and Hill Tippera are given comparatively. He used Numeral Adjective for Numeral and said that from 1 to 10 numeral of Bodo is free and above 10 compound words. In that time the Bodo used Assamese word /kuri/ for group of twenty as /khuri/ which meaning was score. As –

Assamese - /kuri/ (score)

Bodo - /khuri/ (score)

He mentioned in his book that the Bodo word “/zokhai/ is equal to Assamese /gora/.”²⁴

In that time the Kachary people are used the word /zokhai/ and extending the numeral 40 to 43. The used of classifiers and its structures are discussed as the classifier used for human being, animals, fruits, rupees and round things, used for leaves, trees, books, cloths and various flat things and its examples. One unique character of Bodo groups of languages was mention that the syllable ending of noun is same to classifier.

The Kacharis (1911)

This book is written by *Rev. Sidney Endle*, the missionary contributor of Bodo literature and language, the writer has written here about the Bodo community's characteristics, physical and moral, origin and development of Bodo language (historically), social folk customs and some cultural, traditional domestic life, law, religion, folklore, traditions and superstitions of Bodo society also Bodo language grammar. In grammar section he has written language and dialect of Darrang district, the noun, gender, number, case, adjective, comparison and numeral adjective are discussed. He said in his book –

“The numerical system in this District is very defective, only seven digits, se, ne, tham, bre (broi), ba, ra (da), sni (sini), being generally used, though the remaining three, skho, zat, zi (zu), are occasionally recognized. There is also a useful collective word za-khai = four, which when followed by two numerals is to be multiplied by the former whilst the latter is to be added to the product so obtained; thus

zakhai – tham sat tham,

four X three + three = fifteen (men)

burma zakhai-bre ma-ne

*goats four X four + two = 18 goats.”*²⁵

Sino – Tibetan A Conspectus (1972)

A Book written by *Paul K. Benedict*, Colombia University, contributing Editor –*James A. Matisoff*, Dept of Linguistics University of California Berkeley. In his book the discussion of Sino- Tibetan language family like – classification of languages with chart, history of developing, phonology (vowel and consonant), tone, morphological category and syntax were done. Here in morphology the one category numeral was discussed, the formation of numeral with examples likes,

$$3 + 3 = 6$$

$$3 + 3 + 1 = 7$$

A Descriptive Analysis of the Boro Language (1977)

A Bodo Linguistics Book written by P. C. Bhattacharya, The book discusses all grammatical category of Bodo language such as phonology and phonetics, Morphemic and Tactics, Morphology: Word grammar, syntax: Sentence grammar, A detailed analysis of Bodo English Vocabulary and he also discusses the numeral, classifiers and quantifiers, their relationship and differences, he quoted in his book that-

“Theoretically and academically, counting from one to hundred with the help of cardinal numbers (from one to ten as per fixed sequences and combinations) is possible; but in practice, counting up to twenty is done with the help of common cardinal numbers from one to five and the unit-word, ²zo¹khay. ”²⁶

“Here a word /k^haw/ was used for numeral 10, like –

12 - ²zi¹noy / ²khaw¹se ²mon¹noy / ²zo²khay¹tham.

The numeral 40th is used with a word ²san²da¹se and 80th is used with ²pho²nay¹se. ”²⁷

The writer has discussed the free form of classifiers with examples and derivable form classifiers were separately discussed.

A Grammar of spoken Kokborok (1983)

A Grammar book of Kokborok language written by *Prabhas Chandra Dhar*, published by Tripura Research and Cultural Institute Govt. of Tripura Agartala, in this book the writer has given and discussed the grammar of Kokborok, phonology, morphology and the categories of morphology numeral and has given from *sa* (one) to *rasa* (hundred), *saisa* (thousand). The classifiers are also given with examples and its uses.

Kak – Kutumma (A Kakborok – Bangla – English dictionary) (1987)

A book of Kok borok language edited by *Prabhas Chandra Das* and collected by *Sri Manoranjan Majumdar* published by Tripura Research and Cultural Institute Govt. of Tripura Agartala, A Kokbarak grammar of

phonology, morphology, syntax, tense of verbs, a dictionary and a simplified person, number, gender, case, adjectives, numerals and classifiers of Kokborok language, he has given the numerals and its process of formation in Kokborok language from *sa* (one) to *chi* (ten) and *kholpe/khol* (twenty), *rasa* (hundred) , *saisa* (thousand) are free form and some are formed with addition, multiplication and addition + addition. The writer said in his book -

“*In Kakbarak we get a long list of classifiers*”²⁸ with given four examples –

/kol/ - used for small, round thigs.

mokol kolnwi (two eyes)

/khorok/ - use for human being.

borok khoroktham (three men)

/twi/ - use for egg.

bwtwi twibwrwi (four eggs)

/fang/ - use for tree.

bwfang fangtham. (three trees)

And he also said that –

Those who are not well-conversant with the classifiers often use /kai/ in most places. For example –

puti kaisa – one book.

nog kainwi – two houses.

bwfang kaitham – three trees

Rao arw Ronsai (2000)

This is a Bodo Grammar Book written by Prof. *Madhu Ram Baro*. This is a book of language and grammar, phonology, morphology, sentence, essay, letter writing, composition and related to literature. In this Book the Bodo numeral classifiers and numeral quantifiers which are discussed as ‘*Onzima phwrmaithigra swdwb/ sannw hanai*’ (numeral definitives) and ‘*sannw hayi*’ (indefinitives) with meaning and examples. Here the classifiers are used in

countable word and quantifiers are for uncountable words and when the countable objects are used in a group it is called quantifier.

Rabha – English Dictionary Khurangnala (2000)

It is a dictionary book written by U.V.Jose and published by Don Bosco Publication. The dialects of Rabha, Concentration, linguistically development and phonemes of Rabha, Tones and Numerals are discussed in this book. The numeral's sub divisions and newly created system with example are discussed. The meaning of Rabha words are given in English with alphabetically with mentioning the words as – suffix, noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, numeral, classifier and origin word. Some classifiers of Rabha are given as -

dak^hap. (For patches of clouds)

gang-k^hoy. (For cluster of fruits and flowers)

jon. (for person and Assamese origin)

Linguistic of the Tibeto-Burman Area, Vol- 24.2 (Tone Correspondences among the Bodo Languages) (2001)

This is a Book written by U.V.Joseph and Robbins Burling, Don Bosco (Umswai, Assam, India) and University of Michigan. This book is discussed the identity, migration and settlement of Bodo and its cognate languages. The minimal pair of these languages with comparatively, glottal stop of Garo Language, Tone responding of Bodo, Rabha, Kok Borok and Tiwa. The structure and function of classifiers of cognate languages are also discussed in this book. For Glottal stop in Garo language the classifiers show different meaning.

As –

/mang/ - classifier for animals.

bi - mang (a noun 'body')

\ /

Glottal stop

/gil/ - classifier for flat things.

bi - gil (skin)

\ /

Glottal stop

***Gwnaj raok^hant^hi* (2003) (reprint)**

This is a Bodo grammar book written by *Kamal Kumar Brahma* this is a detail grammar Book of Bodo language with chapters like introduction of language, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, idioms, phrases, proverbs and dictionary of Bodo language. The numeral classifiers of Bodo language is discussed as '*phwrmaithigra aba uphera swdwb*' (enclitic definitive) It is used for living and non living things with sufficient examples.

The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo) (2003) Vol. II: The Lexicon

A Book of Garo language of *Robbins Burling*, University of Michigan Ann Arbor, Michigan, and the contents of this book is – the lexicon, survival word list, intermediate word list English Index of Mandi word. The used of Noun in Garo language, noun phrase and verbal suffixes, grammatical and function words, classifiers and measures and the classifiers of Garo language are given by dividing in different branches with examples like – general classifiers, classifiers of shape, in time unit, bunches, bundles, loads, groups, weights and measures, classifiers used for pieces and parts, for different objects and miscellaneous. The writer defined classifiers as -

*“Classifiers come in many varieties, and several types can be distinguished. The time units are unique in occurring without a noun. Weights and measures to a fixed quantity, and many are borrowed. Some of the most common classifiers suggest something about the shape of the things counted. In addition to those listed in the following sections, the name of any container can be used as a classifier that specifies the amount that can be held in that container.”*²⁹

Aspects of North East Indian Languages (2003)

This is a collection of essays and papers written by *Promod Chandra Bhattacharya*, published by *Prafulla Mahanta*, director, Anundoram Borooah Institute of Language Art & culture of Assam, there are 24 number of essays and research papers on language and linguistics of North East specially of Assam, the writer here discussed languages development from the Sino-Tibetan language family. A research paper ‘Numeral Definitive in the Boro (Bodo) Language of Assam’ was discussed the classifiers comparatively analyzed with Assamese language and the origin of classifiers like –

“The Assamese definitive mutha has similarity in sound and sense with the Boro definitive ‘muth’. This Boro definitive is probably borrowed from the Skt ‘musti’, equivalent to the Assamese form mutha, muthi, muth. (From the book Assamese, its Formation and development by Bnikanta Kakati)”³⁰

He quoted from the book ‘*Outline grammar and Dictionary of the Kachari (Dimasa) language*’ by W. C. M. Dundas ‘*the problem of numeral definitive from the Dimasa or Hills Kachari*’ is discussed in his valuable book with six definitive and comparatively analyzed with Bodo and Dimasa languages like-

1. For human being.

Hill Kachari – *sa*

Dimasa – *sao, subung*.

For animals and things.

Hill Kachari – *ma*

Dimasa – *ma*

2. For fruits.

Hill Kachari – *thai*

Dimasa – *thai*

3. For rupees or money.

Hill Kachari – no parallel to Dimasa.

Dimasa – *tho*

4. For cloth, mats, paper and various flat things.

Hill Kachari – *gang*

Dimasa – *garang*

5. For bamboos, guns, tools, implements.

Hill Kachari – *gan* (similarity in sound and sense with *gang* as spoken and used in the dialects of Goalpara and Kamrup).

Dimasa – *gong*.

An Introduction to the Boro Language (2005)

This is a book written by *Phukan Basumatary* and published by Mittal publications, a book of Bodo contents introduction of Bodo language, phonology, Morphology and Vocabulary. The writer here discussed the Morphological category of Bodo language with examples and in numeral and numeral classifiers the writer defined the parts of numeral with examples, processes of numerals formation, the classifiers of Bodo language and its uses with living and non living things.

Boro Raok^hant^hi (2006)

This is a grammar Book Written by Swarna Prabha Chainary with comprehensive details of Bodo grammar, language and linguistics. Bodo numeral and its parts, process of formation of the numeral are given here. Like – (1) cardinal numeral (2) Ordinal numeral, the process like – (1) Addition (2) Multiplication (3) Multiplication & Addition and two related topic of numeral's (1) classifiers and (2) Quantifiers were discussed with examples.

Languages of North-Eastern India A survey (vol – I) (2006)

This is a Book written by George A. Grierson and published by Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi. It is a book of languages of North East Indian languages; specially develop from Sino-Tibetan language family. The Bara or Bodo Group languages like – Lalung (Tiwa), Dimasa or Hills Kachari, and Garo. The writer discussed of these languages dialects area, Concentration, grammar, noun, pronoun, number, verb, tense, script uses and use of numeral in Bodo group of languages as –

The prefix is used as numeral.

ma
 \
Prefix

shisha ma – shi. (one dog)

 \
No Prefix

ma – shi. (one)

 \
Prefix.

The classifiers used for human being, animals and in inanimate objects. The numeral and generic prefix used and the uses of *sha* and *ma*.

An Outline of the Meche Language – Grammar, text and glossary (2008)

A Linguistics based book written by Kazuyuki Kiryu and published by The Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture, Japan. He was discussed in his book including seven chapters as – Introduction where linguistics, types and people of Meche of Nepal and Bodo of Assam and Jhapa districts Mech peoples. In 2nd chapter phonology, 3rd chapter was word classes and Morphology, 4th chapter was case marking, 5th is tense and aspects, 6th was Basic clause and last 7th was Subordinate clauses. In this book the classifiers of Meche are divided in three types (weidert 1984) as – true ,echo and unit counter. The numeral was discussed as native numeral and Nepali origin. The classifiers of objects, human,

animalas and pair are discussed with examples. The verbal classifiers of Meche language was also discussed with giving verbs.

An Initial Reconstruction of Proto – Boro - Garo (2008)

This is a book by *Daniel Cody wood*, University of Oregon Eugene or Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona Bellaterra, Catalonia, Spain, University of California, Santa Barbara Santa Barbara, C. A. The writer here wrote the language family background of Sino-Tibetan language family, typology of modern Boro – Garo languages, proto Boro- Garo noun phrase, some morphological categories, and classifiers system, in a chapter the Boro – Garo languages classifiers are discussed in separate branches in tabulation form like – human, animals, flat objects, round objects, long flexible objects, long hard objects, residual category, abstract concept/inanimate objects, similarities and dissimilarities among these languages. He has written in his Book.

“Deuri is the only modern language lacking this category in the classifier system. However, there is compelling evidence that the use of the residual classifier ‘gu’- spread to incorporate the qualification of purely inanimate objects to include non-human animals as well; the same pattern is demonstrated by Tiwa ‘ki’- while the loss of basic distinction between animate and inanimate objects may seem odd, it could be indicative of the influence that non-BG languages have had on the system. There is evidence that Austro-Asiatic classifier system have influence the classifier system in other southern Asian languages, and they are known for their lack of animal classifiers (Adams 1991).”³¹

The simplification of the Boro-Garo classifiers system, were he quoted in his book-

The tiwa ‘tal’ is a borrowing from Assam (tal-tree)

Some related and borrowing words are given in his book.

***Zwuga Boro Raok^hant^hi* (2013)**

A Bodo grammar book written by a group of editors named – *Biseswar Basumatary, Dharani Dhar wary,*. *Premanandha Muchahary, Swarna Prabha Chainary, Birhas Giri Basumatary, Gobindha Narzary, Phukhan Chandra Basumatary,* and published by *Bodo Sahitya Sabha* for Class IX and X. This grammar book has discussed the structure of language, phonology, Morphology, idioms, phrases, proverbs, punctuation system, and sentence of Bodo language. Classifiers or '*phwrmaithigra swdwb*' (enclitic definitive) of Bodo language is discussed here with meaning and examples.

Tiwa – English Dictionary with English – Tiwa Index* (2014) **Reprint*

This is a book of Tiwa language written by *U V Jose*, Don Bosco for Indigenous Cultures, Shillong, by associate editors *Horsing Kholar, Juliana Maslai, Alfred Maslai, Bibiana Maslai, Simon Mithi,* this is a dictionary book but here the dialects of Tiwa, the spelling system, tones, polysyllabic roots and tones, suffixes, loan and basic word, the English meaning of Tiwa words from were alphabetically given and used of classifiers are also discussed in maximum numbers which are also used in word and affixes.

***WORD FORMATION PROCESSES IN BODO: Affixation* (2017)**

This is a book written by *Daimalu Brahma* and published by *Purbayon Publication, satmile, Guwahati – 14.* The Book is based on Bodo Morphological categories and process of its features with special reference to affixation. The book is described with three chapters with including many sub-chapters. The first chapter is about origin and development of Bodo language, second chapter is overview history of Bodo grammar and the last chapter third chapter is the morphological features and processes. The book also discusses the formation of classifiers by prefixation with giving few examples.

1.23. Frameworks of study.

This is a Thesis on linguistics based in six chapters including Introduction and conclusion. In Introduction chapter the identity, people, concentration, migration, dialects of Bodo, language family's chart, origin of Bodo term, aims and objectives of study, areas, hypothesis, methodology, sources, Script used, education, culture, review of literature has been discusses.

In 2nd chapter numeral of Bodo has been discusses, Bodo numeral as odd and even, digits name, subdivision of numerals, numeral word, some related rules to form the Bodo numeral.

In 3rd chapter Classifier is main chapter of this thesis, where discusses the meaning of classifier, syllable form of classifier, nominal and verbal classifier, uses with living and non living things, free and bound form, singular and plural, Classifier in dialects, classifiers in tone, combination, reduplication has been discusses.

In 4th chapter quantifier of Bodo is dicusses as meaning, words for quantifier and uses of these in living and non living things, noun words as quantifier, combination of quantifier, distributive, quantifier with tone, adding suffix, reduplication, similar and dissimilarity with classifier, quantifier and number.

The 5th chapter is 'Comparative study of classifiers used among cognate languages' including Bodo six languages as –Kok Borok, Rabha, Garo, Dimasa and Tiwa. The structure, meaning and function of classifier among these languages are compare, similarity and dissimilarity among them.

The last chapter of Thesis is chapter six and summing up of above five chapters.

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