**CHAPTER-1**

**INTRODUCTION**

* 1. **BEGINNING OF THE BODO SHORT STORIES**

The beginning of Bodo's short story started with Ishan Chandra Mushahary’s ‘*Abari’* short story, which was published in the magazine called *‘Hathorkhi* *Hala’* edited by Pramod Chandra Brahma in 1930. Meanwhile, Satish Chandra Basumatary’s ‘*Dao* *Songbainai*’ short story appeared in the ‘*Bibar’* magazine beforehand, which was written by using the pen-name ‘*Rangdani Phagli’*. Bibar is the first magazine in the Bodo language. It appeared in 1924. But the characteristics of short stories were not found in Satish Chandra Basumatary’s short story. And for that reason, Ishan Mushahary’s ‘*Abari’* short story is regarded as the first short story in Bodo literature.

It is written by Manoranjan Lahary in the History of Bodo Literature-

*“Ishan Mushahary’s Abari is the first short story in Bodo literature. Abari has possessed all the requisite characteristics of a short story”. (eng.trans) 1*

Another literary critic Anil Boro also admitted thus-

*‘Abari’, the first-ever short story in the language was written by Ishan Mushahary and published in Hathorkhi Hala (1930)’.2*

After the publication of ‘Abari', no such fictional work was published in the language for at least two decades. However, in the '50s of the last century a few short stories

1. Lahary, Manoranjan: Boro Thunlaini Jarimin(1st edition), Onsumoim Library, Kokrajhar,1999, P. 2.Boro, Anil Kumar: A History of Bodo Literature( Second edition), Sailee Press Pvt. Ltd, Kolkata,2012, p.55.

were written and published in magazines like *Okhaphwr, Alari, Mushri arw Sansri, and Nayak.* Short story writers like Jiten Brahma, Satish Chandra Basumatary, Ajit Narayan Brahma, Prasenjit Brahma, and Jagadish Brahma contributed to the genre during this period.

Mohini Mohon Brahma’s ‘*Hangma*’ short story, published in ‘*Nayak*’ magazine was edited by Mohini Mohon Brahma himself and Jagendra Nath Hazorika in 1943. And also Pramod Chandra Basumatary’s *‘Kherpini*’ and Seniram Brahma’s ‘*Mulukao Mansi* *Dong’* story appeared in the ‘*Bodo* *Lirthum Bilai*’ magazine of Sukuram Basumatary and Manik Chandra Basumatary, which was published in 1950.

The Bodo Sahitya Sabha was formed on the 16th of November 1952 A.D. which brings a new age or modern era in Bodo literature. It encouraged many writers to create more stories. The modern Bodo short stories begin to appear in the journals under the patronage of Bodo Sahitya Sabha. The short stories of Bodo writers which are published in the Journal period or form 1952 A.D. to 1969 A.D. are the initiators of the modern period. The first issue of the '*The Bodo*’, the mouthpiece of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha edited by Satish Chandra Basumatary is published in 1953 A.D.which brings a new beginning in the modern Bodo Short Stories. In that issue, Siken Brahma’s ‘*Hotho Suriya Khapal’* appeared. The short stories of Lila Brahma’s ‘*Buhul Janai’*, Maikel Basumatary’s ‘*Bathuwa*’ and Manoranjan Lahary’s *‘Barhungkhani Unao*’ were published in the second issue in 1956 A.D. The short story ‘Hangma’ by Mohini Mohan Brahma and Jagendra Nath Hazarikha also published in the same issue.

Gradually in between 1954-55, Prasenjit Brahma’s *‘Bobi’* and Samar Brahma Choudhary’s ‘*Bardwi* *Sikhla:* *Bwthwr* *Gwdanni* *Thandwi*’ stories were published in the magazine ‘*Okhaphwr’* in 1954 A.D. Other short stories ‘*Phalangi* *Gotho’* and ‘*Hangsw*-*Sikhla’* by Joseph Daimary and the short story ‘*Sikhlasa* *Gwmbrimuthi’* by Rojoni Bilash Basumatary are published in the second issue of Okhaphwr.

Likewise, in the mid-fifth and sixth decades of the twentieth century, many short stories are published in different magazines. From the point of quantity, the stories are up to the expectations. So, many young writers began to write stories with new enthusiasm. Perhaps, it can be said that most of the writers wrote as per the demand of time and as to fulfill the need and necessity of community. In this way, the number of Bodo magazines increased and Bodo short stories appeared one by one, gradually in those magazines.

Bodo language was introduced in schools as a medium of instruction in 1963, and then arouse the needs and necessity of Bodo textbooks and born a group of readers as well. Many short story writers started writing short stories in the Bodo language.

The Seventh decade of the twentieth century may be regarded as the flourishing era of Bodo's short story. In that period many notable short stories had a spontaneous growth. This seems that most writers were seen writing with more sincerity in creating the plot of the story, depiction of the story, in writing style, and in choosing narrative techniques. It can be regarded that the first Bodo short storybook appeared in the seventh decade of the twentieth century.

In the field of Bodo short story in Bodo literature, the quantity of storybooks is very less. The first short storybook appeared in 1970. Chittaranjan Mushahary’s ‘*Phwimal* *Mijing*’ is the first short story book in Bodo literature. In this book, three stories are collected. The three stories in this book are namely *‘Phwimal Mijing’*, *‘Phangnwi Nalengkhor Biphang’*, and '*Gwmanai Dairy’*. The stories bear standard and are amusing with a humorous touch. Chittaranjan Mushahary was mainly a prominent novelist of Bodo literature, but he can be regarded as a successful story writer also. His second short story book entitled ‘*Thalim’* appeared in 1974. The styles of writing, selection of plot, and character formation are appreciable. After him, the appearance of Nilkamal Brahma’s ‘*Hagra* *Guduni* *Mwi*’ in 1972 marked the emergence of a new era in the history of Bodo's story in a distinct way. This book is regarded as the masterpiece of Nilkamal Brahma. It established Nil Kamal Brahma as a great and successful writer in Bodo literature. He is a supreme exponent in his plot selection, character depiction, story narration, and word selection. His characters are representative of a new vision, philosophy, and society. Some of the most remarkable short story books of Nilkamal Brahma are-‘*Shilingkhar*’ (1985), ‘*Shirinai* *Mandar Bibar*’ (1985), etc. He is regarded as the ‘*Samrat’* of Bodo's short story because he had made a notable contribution by creating great and numerous remarkable short stories in Bodo literature. Besides Nil Kamal and Chitaranjan Mushahary, mentioned may be made of other well-established story writers of this period like Manoranjan Lahary and Haribhusan Brahma.

Manaranjan Lahary is another remarkable story writer of that period. His stories are published in three anthologies of Bodo short stories. These are *Solo Bidang (1978),* *Bajwi* *(1994)*, and *Gaodang (1996).* He has a huge contribution to the Bodo literature and established himself in the literary field by writing short stories, like ‘*Bandi*’, ‘*Sangrema*’ etc. and ‘*Solo Bidang*’, the first collection of short stories by Lahary was published in 1978. Some of his best selected short stories are coined in this book. His second collection of short stories, entitled ‘*Soloni* *Solo*’ was published in 1985.

Among Bodo short story writers one of the most remarkable names is Dharanidhar Wary. He made some remarkable contributions to Bodo literature, he wrote a novel, prose, and short stories. Though he has not written many short stories, one of his greatest creations “*Gandu* *Singni* *Gangse* *Laijam*” appeared in 1981. Thus, many writers’ made a vigorous contribution to the Bodo short stories in Bodo literature. They are- Nandeswar Daimary, Khatindra Swargiary, Haribhusan Brahma, Mudharam Brahma, Indra Maloti Narzary, Mongal Singh Hazoary, Janil Kumar Brahma, and so on and there are many notable woman short story writers of the present generation and they are- Lilabati Brahma, Pramila Brahma, Anju, Basanti, and Jhwishree Boro and so on. Haribhusan Brahma was also a prominent literator and a short story writer. He may be regarded as the precursor of using the sense of humor in Bodo short story

In this research, an attempt is made to analyze Haribhusan Brahma’s socio-cultural aspects depicted in his short stories. Haribhusan Brahma is an eminent and futurist story writer. Satirical elements are found in his writings. His stories are a blending of satirical and humorous characters and they both compliment each other beautifully. Most of the stories are based on the Bodo society. So, the socio-cultural aspects of Bodo society are vividly reflected in his short stories. Besides that, he has shown the social issues, anti-social activities of Bodo society and he tried to prevent uncultured behavior by satirizing and using humorous characters.

**1.2 AREA OF THE STUDY**

This research work has been focussed on the topic- ‘*A Study of Socio-Cultural Aspects of the Short Stories of Haribhusan Brahma’*. In the present research, the study area has been considered on only the three collections of short stories, entitled - '*Shrimati Durlai’, ‘Rwnao Phagla', and 'Khipi Bendwng’*  and it has been studied extensively on the socio-cultural aspects of the stories. The socio-cultural aspects like -living style of Bodo people, way of living, culture, attire, religion, and humanism, economic condition as well as social awareness and others which are depicted in the stories and all these aspects have been studied in this research work.

**1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

This research study highlights the socio-cultural aspects of the stories of Haribhusan Brahma. In these stories, the socio-cultural aspects include customs, religion, struggle of the poor people, humanism, political, and social awareness. Moreover, the aspects of agro-based economy are also included in his writing. The aspect of society includes the way of living of the rural people and their other social behaviour. Mostly Haribhusan Brahma’s stories were mostly created with the philosophical thoughts of social and cultural values of the Bodo society. The Bodo society is formed with its distinct social and cultural behaviour, having different social behaviour, values and norms. The Bodo community has their own religion, culture, social folk-customs and beliefs. Besides, they have their own costume, food habits and traditional knowledge system. However, it is to be mentioned that in every human society , there appears to be different social issues, social conflicts, obscurity and other problems where the society exist and peoples live in. So, there is need for understanding the necessity of exploring the socio-cultural aspects, in Haribhusan Brahma’s stories for the extensive study.

**1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

There is no systematic and comprehensive study in the configuration of Haribhusan Brahma's short story writing till now and not even a scholar has studied on his short stories. Hence, the present research work on this research topic is a significant intervention in introducing some of the aspects of the short stories of Haribhusan Brahma to the Bodo literary studies' field as the first research study. This research study can be expected to expose the literary creativity of Haribhusan Brahma and besides that, it will demonstrate the far-reaching scope of socio-cultural aspects depicted in the short story. It is a humble effort to render a valuable service to enrich the Bodo literary studies.

**1.5 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

a) The principal aim of this study is to highlight Haribhusan Brahma as a short story writer and sculptor.

b) The study aims to analyze the themes of the Stories and Sculptures of Haribhusan Brahma.

c) Through the study, the endeavor is made to find the social, cultural, political, and religious and humanism aspects of the stories.

d) The study aims to draw out the writing style and language of the stories of Haribhusan Brahma.

**1.6 METHODOLOGY**

The research work is based on the analytical method. The data for the study has been collected from both primary and secondary sources. As primary sources, data has been collected from Haribhusan Brahma himself, and as secondary data sources, data are collected from different books, magazines, newspapers, journals, official records, and library also. It is to be mentioned that since the study is analytical one and the research has been considered both primary and secondary data.

**1.7 HYPOTHESIS**

Haribhusan Brahma's short stories reflected a huge range of ways of living, social life, the struggle of poor people, cultural and economic aspects, and all these aspects have been depicted minutely and extensively. It can also bring to light the culture, traditions, and customs of the Bodo society and that has influenced and inspired the society.

**1.8 REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

The topic of this research study is “*A* *Study* *on* *Socio*-*Cultural* *aspects* *of* *the* *short* *stories* *of* *Haribhusan* *Brahma*". No research work has been found in this research topic by the researchers. But two researchers have done a research study on Bodo's short story. They are- Bijitgiri Basumatary on the topic, “*Socio-Cultural Aspect on Boro Short Stories(1972-2002)”* and Ranen Muchahary on the topic, “*Critical Analysis of* *Bodo Short Stories*, in their studies some of the short stories of Haribhusan Brahma has been included. But not all the stories are included widely.

There is not any single comprehensive study book on Haribhusan Brahma’s short stories and also very less authors and writers have written critical views and artiles on his stories and which have been reviewed systematically. In Umesh Boro’s ‘*Jothai Mala’* book, one can find the analysis on Haribhusan Brahma’s three stories, eg- *Shrimat Durlai*, *Honglani Saori*, and *Narkhw*, but it was only on the plot of the story.

In Rakhao Basumatary’s ‘*Thunlai Bijirnai’,* Haribhusan Brahma’s short story book ‘*Shrimati Durlai’* analysis is done but it was also an overall analysis. Again in Anil Kumar Brahma’s “*Bodo Sungdo Soloni Bithun’*, the author’s ‘*Rhwnao Phagla’* story has been analyzed. In Dr. Swarna Prabha Swinary’s edited book *‘Bodo* *Sungdo Soloni Bhihwithi Dahar’*, Gwgwm Brahma Kachari have analysed on Haribhusan Brahma’s narrative technique of the story.

**CHAPTER-2**

**LIFE SKETCH OF HARIBHUSAN BRAHMA**

**2.1 THE BIRTH**

Dhuligaon is one of the most Bodo dominated villages of the undivided Goalpara district. The village was pleasant, surrounded by a lush green forest. The freshness of nature prevailed upon that village. People of this village fully relied on cultivation and they helped each other on every occasion. Generally, Dhuligaon village was not that big at that time, it was consisted of about fifty to seventy (50 – 70) households. Most families had their land for rice cultivation. Most families were engaged in animal husbandry, each family had rearing cows, buffaloes, goats, pigs, etc. The Bodo people led a self-sufficient village economy life where everything was a surplus and easily available.

Haribhusan Brahma was born on 1st March 1939 in that (Dhuligaon) village into a well-known family. His father's name was Achina Brahma and his mother's name was Dhayaswari Brahma. His father was one of the rich and recognized people in his village. He had three elder Sisters, and himself was the only son of their family and youngest sibling too. Among three elder sisters, Debashri was the oldest one, followed by Kiranbala and Sarathi. Their parents did not discriminate their children but they always wished for a son and it was fulfilled as he was born and they were thrilled. With much love and affection his family members including his parents and siblings used to call him ‘Babu’ and subsequently he was known as Haribhusan Brahma.

**2.2 CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION**

Haribhusan Brahma was unusually smart and brilliant right from his childhood. He always obeyed his parents and elders and used to help his elders. He was a true child of the exceptionally intelligent and talented boy; He had an excellent capacity for comprehension and an immense fascination for nature which was a blending of love, admiration, and awe. He was fond of fishing and used to go hunting with elders. His school life began in 1963 at Dhuligaon Tipkai L.P. School, in Dhuligaon. There were only a limited or few numbers of schools at that time and the Bodo people did not give much importance to education, but Haribhusan’s father always emphasized having an education. He provided formal education for both his son and daughters. He sent his eldest daughter Debashri to Jamidar School in Bhogribari, where most of the students belonged to well to do Jamidar class families because during those days there was a system of '*Jamidari*’ in Bhogoribari, and Haribhusan’s father also had lots of agricultural lands where they used to manage their livelihood with. He was a skilled ideal man. And he used to offer his crop to those villagers who were in adversity and used to lend others because there was a system of lending and borrowing in Bodo society and it was done without any wanting in return. Haribhusan’s mother was pregnant again after five years from his birth, but unfortunately, she died while giving birth to a baby. Because there was a lack of medical facilities and hospitals, many women had lost their lives during childbirth. The sudden demise of Haribhusan’s mother brought misfortunes in their family as his father broke down and could not care for his children properly. His relatives suggested to him for a second marriage to look after his children properly. He was insisted on the second marriage and so he married Thingjreb Brahma, who hailed from his native village. But his purpose of the second marriage was left unfulfilled; instead, he faced domestic trouble because of their unhappy relationship. Henceforth Haribhusan’s father frequently suffered from depression and eventually committed suicide. At that time Haribhusan was around 10 (ten) years old. A Happy family was terminated in quick succession; Children were left to lead the life devoid of parents. After that their uncle Thaneswar Brahma took the responsibility of guardianship, and at that time eldest sister Debashri had already been married off in Dhudumari. But his uncle could not retain the economic condition intake. As a result, they faced much hardship and suffered badly. His education was also discontinued and gradually he lost interest in studies because his uncle was not concerned about his studies rather he forced, Haribhusan to do domestic works, like- ploughing, and tending cattle. His second elder sister Kiranbala noticed her brother losing interest in studies. So, both the sisters insisted he go to his eldest sister's house for study at Parbatjhora, Dhudumari. His eldest sister's father-in-law had also an intention for calling him to stay along with them as he wanted him to study and teach his son as well. He took his primary education at Tipkai L.P. School up to Class Six and after that, his eldest sister admitted him at Amalgamated Academy in Sapatgram. Haribhusan had to travel a far distance to school on his feet. Likewise, along with his studies, he used to work in the field also and did ploughing and other work as well. He had to undergo lots of hardship during his study at the eldest sister's house also; despite that he passed out his HSLC examination in 1956 from Amalgamated Academy because he had a great zeal of learning and this zeal helped him to get along with his studies despite the cold penury.

**2.3 THE YOUTH TIME**

After passing out HSLC examination Haribhusan Brahma was enthusiastic to take higher education. But he faced financial hardship to get admitted into the college for higher education. But there appeared a godly person called Panchanan Medhi, who was his school headmaster and helped him by arranging a scholarship of an amount of seventy rupees as he knew about Haribhusan’s eagerness for higher studies and advised him to rush to B.N. college of Dhubri for admission. It seemed that every cloud has a silver lining in Haribhusan’s case. After getting this opportunity he took admission inB.N. College and at that time Tribal Scholarship was also available, which helped tribal students to continue their studies as it was very much helpful for the poor students, who could not afford their studies. It gets them easily avail admission and in residing in the hostel as well. There were summer vacations and puja vacation in the college calendar and those moments were very critical for him. Because he did not have any residential house to spent vacations and also did not have money to go back to his sister's house. At last, he joined N.C.C., where regular training programs were arranged by the college authority. And in that Haribhusan had been able to procure his education. He completed I.A. in 1958 and graduated in 1960 as well. After graduation, he had been called to serve at Amalgamated Academy with a hundred rupees salary as a teacher, and he gathered those two years salary for his higher studies, as he was enthusiastic for higher studies. So, he availed two years of educational leave and got admitted to Gauhati University for a postgraduate course in Economics, in 1962. Dr. J. Talor was the Vice-Chancellor of the University at that time, he was very active and classes run smoothly during his tenureship. He used to stay at Maligaon Railway Quarter along with his friend during his post-graduation day. He always used to walk up to Gauhati University for his classes to save money. Likewise, he completed his M.A. with much effort and hardship in 1964.

**2.4 FAMILY LIFE AND HIS WORKS**

Haribhusan got married to Rukmoni Brahma, whom he had likings from his college days. She was beautiful and pleasant as well. She supported Haribhusan in every step of his life. They stayed in his eldest sister's house after they got married until they purchased a well-constructed house in Sapatgram for a long period of five years. After marriage they were blessed with two sons, the name of the first son was Pranjal, and the second was Hillor, and had twin daughters also, they were Eiti and Biti. While he was working in Sapatgram as an Assistant Teacher, he was also invited to join Gossaigaon College. Gossaigaon College was founded in 1971 and Amritlal Basumatary was the founder principal of the college. Haribhusan also joined the college as a lecturer in the same year of its foundation where he received one hundred fifty rupees as his monthly salary. Thereafter, the college was provincialized in 1971. During that year Haribhusan Brahma became principal-in-charge. And when he took the responsibility of principal-in-charge, he was fascinated towards Bodo society, its language literature, and culture, and that inclined him to do more social welfare activities. And then he started writing when he was in the post of Principal in-charge. He served the college as the Principal in-charge from 1980 to 1985 and retired from his job in 1999. After retirement, he had also started wooden sculpture work. His family members also showed their enthusiasm and always kept themselves ready to extend their hands of co-operation since the very beginning. Even his eldest son Pranjal took much trouble to bring tools from Delhi for his sculpture work. His wife Rukmoni was also very supportive of him and always supported each step of his life.

**2.4.1 LITERARY WORKS**

Haribhusan Brahma is a well known and eminent short story writer in Bodo literature and a Sculptor also. His contribution to the Bodo society through his energetic writings and sculpting is remarkable and a great inspiration for the people. He has written many Bodo short stories that are published in three collections of short story books form. Though he has started writing lately, he brought a new dimension in Bodo short story, his short story’s book entitled *‘Shrimati Durlai’* published on 16th November 1980. His first attempt in writing was on Bodo's short story with a sincere endeavor to depict the social evils prevailing in Bodo society in chronic nature. His collection of short stories entitled ‘*Shrimati Durlai’* may be regarded as the writer's unique creation. Its technique and style of the narrating story are pleasing and heart touching to the readers and there is something new in fiction writing of Bodo Literature. And after that, he wrote continuously. Besides short stories, he also wrote some articles based on culture. Poetry also was not untouched by him, which appeared in many magazines of that time. But some of the original copies of his writing were not found as it happened to be written in haste.

**Following is the list of his literary works:**

**1. Shrimati Durlai:**

‘*Shrimati Durlai’* is his first collection of the story storybook and it was first published in 1980. The stories of *Shrimati Durlai* are:

*(a) Shrimati Durlai*

*(b) Gwdan Khonthaigiri*

*(c) Honglani Saori*

*(d) Gubru Sarbai*

*(e) Narkhw*

*(f) Andari Buri*

*(g) Lain Bus*

1. **Rhwnao Phagla:**

It is a collection of seven stories and published in 1985. These stories are:

*(a) Gibi Bibungthi Angni*

(b.) *Phanphewali*

*(c.) Phesa Megon*

*(d.) Mwdwmphru Barse Bibar*

*(e.) Bangbulla*

*(f.) Rwnao Phagla*

*(g.) Rwnao Phaglani Jethw Kheonai*

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**1. Khiphi Bendwng:**

Khiphi Bendwng is the third short story book by Haribhusan Brahma. There are thirteen stories in this story book and was published in 2012. These stories are:

(a*.) Siman*

*(b) Onla Khariyao Agan Thaywi*

*(c.) Sebkhangnai Mohor*

*(d) Khipi Bendwng*

*(e) Bi.Phi.El (BPL)*

*(f) Undaha*

*(g) Garai Khuru*

*(h) Khwnaphinnai Gwjam Solo*

*(i) Ang Khwnanai Gwdwni Bwrai Buri*

*(k) Jwngni Lagwni Hagrama*

*(l) Siphung Belda*

*(h) Gwswni Dakhwn*

*(i) Lama Gwjamni Agan.*

Haribhusan Brahma’s one of the most beautiful short stories was published in the short story collection book, entitled “*Sungdo* *Soloni* *Jothaimala*” which was edited by Kameswar Brahma, Guneswar Muchahary, and Mongalsing Hazowary and it was published in the year of 1999. And the story is:

*(a) Swrang fwr fwr:*

**2.4.2 SCULPTURE WORKS**

Haribhusan Brahma started his wooden sculpture work after his retirement. He was very expert in wooden sculpture work without schooling. He gave up writing short stories because of financial issues or problems for the publication. After that, he searched for another medium of expression instead of writing. Then he took up hammer and chisel to speak out something through the pieces of wood, which were available all around. His first sculpture was on Bathouism. Most of his sculpture was based on Bodo Culture. His basic idea was to speak out the traditional culture of the Bodo Community. The Bodo people have their own distinct culture to identify themselves as a distinct community from the other communities as regards their livelihood, religion, relevant musical instruments eg. Kham, Siphung, Jothas in the performance of religious festivals like '*Kherai*’. Bodo people rely on agriculture and they cultivate various crops like paddy, jute, etc. From ancient times Bodo womenfolk spin the cocoons and weave their costumes. Thus, these traditional pictures of the Bodo society have been found in Haribhusan Brahma's sculpture. He has worked on traditional bound materials like a man with plough on the shoulder, moving towards the field to work, a man ploughing in the field, women spinning eri cocoon with a baby on her lap, women folk also rears domestic livestock like Pig, hen, etc. He also worked on religious concepts i.e. "*Bathou*” by depicting the structure of “*Bathou*” altar and personification of ‘*Sijou*’ (a cactus knows as Euphorbia). His work is also on Folktale ‘*Chandw Baodia”* and “*Alari Dambra*” and also Bodo legendary heroes like “*Basiram Jwhwlao*” etc. His sculptures have represented the Bodo culture, religion, folktales, and legendary heroes and also represented the realistic and true picture of human beings.

Haribhusan Brahma has lots of contributions to creative literature and arts. In recognition of his contribution to creative literature and art, he got some awards also. These are as follows:

1. *Muktaram* *Brahma Harimu* *Arw Thunlaiari Mung Bhantha* by Bodo Sahitya Sabha in the year 1996.

*b. Rangsar Thunlaiari Bantha* by Bodo Sahitya Sabha in the year 2001.

*c. Pramod Chandra* *Brahma Thunlaiari Award* from B.T.C. govt. in the year 2007.

*d. Man* *of the* *Year* *Award* by the Engkhong N.G.O. from Bijni for Sandw Baodiya

Sculpture.

*e. Hrimbapur crown* by B.A.C authority in the year 1997.

Haribhusan Brahma was the pioneer short story writer in Bodo literature. His short stories have covered the different features of the Bodo Society. He brought a new trend and technique in Bodo Short Story, which is the turning point in the history of Bodo literature. His short stories have humor and satire. Many social evils of society are reflected in his stories and through these, he tried to reform society satirically. He expresses his thoughts and feelings through his writings and wooden sculpting. Most of his sculptures are based on the Bodo culture and its attachment to real life. And his sculpture will help in preserving or keeping the Bodo Culture alive.

Thus, Haribhusan Brahma has lots of contributions to creative literature and art. The great literator and sculptor as well as the pioneer artist on the Bodo community passed away on 3rd January 2015 at the age of 76.

**CHAPTER-3**

**MAJOR ISSUES EMPLOYED IN LITERARY WORKS**

**3.1. INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, Haribhusan Brahma’s major issues, mainly short stories and sculptures theme are analyzed deeply and thoroughly. The themes of the short stories and sculptures of Haribhusan Brahma are varied and different. The issues are about the reality of humanism, the way of living of Bodos, the economic condition of poor people, feminism, corruption, and love so on. All these issues are found in his stories and sculptures as well as themes.

The short story's main element is the theme. The theme is defined in the *Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, as-

*“Theme is subject* *of talk*, *a piece of writing* *or a person’s* *thoughts; topic”3.*

The ‘*The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms’* also defined the theme, as –

“A *Theme is always a subject, but a subject is not always a theme.4*

**3.2 Theme of the short stories:**

The themes of Haribhusan Brahma’s short stories are classified into sub-parts. Like-

3.Hornby, A.S. Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, not found in publidsher, P.1329.

4.Childs, Peter & Roger Fowler: The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms( reprint),Taylor & Francies, New York, 2006, P.239.

**3.2.1 Immoral character:**

The theme of the story ‘Shrimati Durlai’ is based on the immoral character. The story deals with the life of Shrimati Durlai who did not get the education. Shrimati Durlai is immoral for which she could not properly lead her life. Hence, she destroyed her life by herself. Her character is considered both shocking and surprising. However, if young generation girls follow her lifestyle, then the Bodo community will be destroyed. Her body language, behavior, attitude, and talking style and expression are unique. Her manner and code of conduct surely make people faint, who broke all the social norms and defame the reputation of feminist matriarchy. She can do everything which other women are aware of and might think hundred times before doing. She craves for a luxurious lifestyle, roaming independently; marketing, visiting movie is her most important work. She is such a kind of woman who thinks she does not need the help of a man to buy a ticket; moreover, the crowd clears her way to the ticket counter. In the movie theatre, she does not like to sit with a female friend; despite she prefers to sit with a person of the opposite gender even if they are strangers to each other. And it is better not to worry for her even she gets late after the movie. If late she does not fear anyone despite she would spend her night in the famous hotel in the town and will accompany any man of her choice. An evil like Shrimati Durlai knows nothing about what is just and unjust, right and wrong, does immoral and unpleasant works and through her character, the writer has shown a striking and vivid picture of Bodo society, which nowadays has become a despondent and serious matter, Shrimati Durlai is an example of stupid Bodo women who welcome or encourage the serious issues like trafficking of women to the other states and the other countries as the theme of the story. Besides that, some unavoidable issues like the socio-economic problem of Bodo society and deplorable condition of education are depicted indirectly in the story. Because till now many women lost their lives and families and women trafficking has been increasing day after day. The writer, through this story, tried to bring awareness on these matters.

**3.2.2 LOVE:**

The theme of the story ‘*Gwdan khonthaigiri’* (New Poet) is based on the love story of two college-going students. Here, the emphasis is given on young students’ lives, as it is the only age which provides an opportunity to young people or students to choose and create their destiny by building and improving their career and the right path will drastically change the present scenario for the better or bring success in life, and probably if that precious time is not used for a good cause then one will surely have to embrace the failure in life because of love. This is a story of Dhandhiram and Laishri; both are pursuing a B.A. degree at Gossaigaon College. Their love relationship has been continuing for a long time, but they both have different viewpoints of love. For Dhandhiram love is giving or loving someone, lovemaking to get married and after that leading their lives together. But Laishri has different views, according to her giving heart to someone, being in love or lovemaking, getting married, and having the family together. Dhandhiram has only an aim that is how to attract Laishri and own her. Hence, he is not interested in studies and other activities either but tried to compose poems to express his love and affection upon Laishri even when he has no good skill in writing poetry. But on the other hand, Laishri is quite different from him; she valued education and was a studious student. She passed out B.A. with distinction marks and Later got admitted to Gauhati University. After completing her master's degree she was married to an engineer. On the other side, Dandhiram accepted his failure in life because his college life was wasting his time on Laishri to impress her. He failed in B.A. and after that eventually, he became a drunkard, living in a village. His life was spoilt because of a girl. Therefore, through this short story writer tried to give or bring awareness to the students to use their time wisely, take their own risk to build their destiny, to become eligible or efficient to compete and survive in this competitive world.

The theme of the short story ‘*Bangbulla*’ is also based on love. The main character of this story is Bangbulla. Here, the writer has depicted the true love of Bangbulla. He is a simple and tactful person, he has spent his life by serving as a Dahwna (servant) at other's houses, and he does not have any negative thoughts on others or anyone. One day Khushung Mahajwn brought him to his home to keep him as a Dahwna. Bangbulla was deeply in love with a girl called Ruphati of his native village and that makes his village’s friends tease him by taking her name and they took advantage and also demand money from Bangbulla. But Bangbulla was too innocent, so he used to believe all the words of them. One day, his village’s friends played a prank on him by saying that Ruphati would elope with him that very night to marry him. To which Bangbulla believed easily and took it seriously as it was true and that way he left his owner's house with bag and baggage at the time of dawn to elope with Rupathi and as it was preplanned accordingly by his friends, they sent Ruphati’ younger brother to elope with him by disguising him as Rupathi. Later, on their way, Ruphati’s younger brother’s Dokhona (worn-out dress) began to open stocking at the ground, and then only Bangbulla could realize and came to know about Ruphati’s younger brother. After that Ruphati’s younger brother began to cry and confessed that he was insisted to do so by his friends. But on the other hand, after getting the whole truth, instead of getting angry, innocent bangbulla gave him some amount of money to hand over his sister to buy a gold chain and expressed his concern for her and told him that he could not go back to his owner's house which he already left. And he did not keep a grudge on anyone for that prank. As the story writer deeply expressed the servant has a love feeling.

**3.3.3 Education System:**

The theme of ‘*Honglani Saori’* (community service of Hongla) is based on the present education system and unhealthy condition of the rural area's Bodo medium school. Education is the backbone of society, but some Bodo medium schools are in deplorable condition and it also lacks a healthy atmosphere in the school. And here along with the teachers some of the respectful people of the society are equally responsible for the unhealthy condition of Bodo medium schools. In this story, Phaniya is a teacher of 246 No Pathwibari L.P. School and Hongla is the secretary of the same school, who is a rich man of the same village. Although Phaniya is a school teacher, he does not have a good quality of a teacher, he is found intoxicated of alcohol, even in the school, or during class hours also. He used to leave the classroom for alcohol, he is a worthless teacher. Likewise, a reputed rich man of the village, Hongla does not think or act well for the betterment of the society, and for the younger generation, instead, he supports illegal or anti-social activities. One day Hongla had organized a Saori (community service) for thatch roof repairing of the house and for that saori he had arranged for two jars of liquor. Phaniya was also invited in the saori and so he could not concentrate in teaching and he eventually leaves the class to attain Hongla’s saori, and after coming to the saori he drank as much as he could and later on he got drunk and lose his control, and hit his head himself in the balcony of the school. Later he asks the student to arrange some benches for him to rest and engage students to pour cold water on his head. And at that very moment, a school inspector Nagen arrived for the selection of good teachers for the President's award. But this school inspector also turned an evil one. He has sent the wrong report while visiting Phaniya Master’s school, whereas he knew the true reason for Phaniya master’s insincerity and unacceptable act or offense. Despite giving punishment, Nagen inspector portrayed Hongla master as a sincere and ideal teacher who came to school even in his illness and for that wrong report; he was suspended later from his job. In this story, the writer has depicted the whole corrupted education system, where officers themselves are engaged in anti-social activities and corruption. Thus, this unhealthy and polluted condition of education is also revealed in the story and the writer tried to bring awareness to create a healthy environment in the educational institutions and for the corruption-free education to bring quality education in the schools.

**3.3.4** **Struggle of Bodo women:**

The theme of the story ‘Gubru Sarbai’ (the scattered) is based on the struggle of Bodo women. In this story, the writer has portrayed the life of poor Bodo women, how they have been struggling for their family’s livelihood, and to raise children, how helplessly they have been engaging in such activities like selling of liquor for their existence. Besides, that liquor is ruining Bodo society and the root cause of all the circumstances arising between husband and wife and brings destruction in families. Therefore it is a curse for the Bodo community. To be a civilized or cultured society Bodo people need to keep a far distance from alcohol. It is suggested throughout the story by the writer.

In the *‘Gubru* *Sarbai’* story, the condition of Dhoholapara village is in such despondent, because in that village the stove would not be lit or burnt at night if the women of the village do not brew liquor and carry them to the market place to sell out. Here, Bhathiya Pandit’s son Laimon came to his village wearing N.C.C dress and it is mistaken to police and rumor spreads round in the village that police has entered in their village to ban selling alcohol, and hence they threw out those liquor which their women had been preparing by sacrificing their sleep since the night, this tragic and funny incident of this village has been depicted in the story, which is a much relatable scenario of Bodo village. Phaikhrob got angry over his wife Dhumpe while he heard the news of police approaching their village, he in such rapid speed pour the five bottles of liquor in the drain at the backyard side which was produced by his wife spending her nights. Likewise, Hablang’s house is next to Phaikhrob’s. Hablang was also in a state of hurry, he tries to move his wife's huge brewery vat, but in haste, he slipped and fell upon the brewery vat which was the context and heavy with liquor substance. As the brewery burst, Hablang’s face became dirty, with the rice malt splashed upon his face which made him looks funny but wife Jhaibreng could not laugh at her husband because she is afraid of him, he always beat him whenever she forgets or makes little delay in offering him liquor, her back has been the victim of violence since long, had suffered a lot of pain. She used to yell in pain and agony when she was newly married but afterward, she has learned to bear the pain and wipe out her tears and stay calm as nothing happens. Hence, she begs forgiveness for this incident as well, touching his feet.

This incident brought to light and transformed Hablang’s views towards his wife. Hence, after that day Hablang realized how he hounded her before and how hard labor she does and had borne all the expenses of their children, and from that very day, he stopped Jaibreng from brewing liquor to feed her family. And eventually, he changed his lifestyle also; he focussed on a growing family and working in the field and other household activities. Alcohol makes a man dumb, lazy, and evil and makes irresponsible towards his family. And throughout this short story, it is encouraged outrage to quit alcohol and also created awareness on alcohol consumption, and to build an alcohol-free society.

The theme of ‘*Phanphewali’* story is based on the social life of the Bodo people. In this story, the image of poverty-stricken Bodo people of the rural area is shown as to how the poor people have been facing lots of struggle in their lives for ages and have to face misery and besides that, the condition of Bodo society is also depicted throughout the story.

In the story, Anaram is a pauper, hardworking man. He looks after his family by selling out the vegetables to the market. He lost his father when he was still a child. Because of that, he had spent his childhood by living at another's house as a Laokar (cowboy) and Dahwna (male servant) and now he is trying to establish himself by selling out the vegetables. Anaram always had been trying to keep his mother in happiness by providing her healthy life, and he almost did. He had been trying to build a house and buy a pair of bulls by saving some money. He also needs to repair his mother’s living room because rain made his mother suffer a lot during the rainy season, and during winter also she had to wake up for coolness to warm up in the midnights by lighting a bonfire and because of these awful life journeys Anaram has decided and tried to give her a comfortable secured life. But after provoked by his mother he had to marry early in the last fagun (the month of February in the Bangala calendar) and after getting the news, the daughter of one of his former house owners from the neighboring village eloped to his house to marry him.

Therefore, this story is created by depicting the condition of pauper Bodo people's struggle, and how they have been living through the condition of great misery is taken as the theme of the story.

**3.3.5 Idle character:**

The story “*Narkhw*” is based on the idle character. The main character of this story is Narkhw. He spoils his own life because of his lazy nature. Idleness brings ruin and destruction; it is depicted through the Narkhw’s character. The story begins with his schooling age and ends at his old age; it is about how he had to struggle or face trouble only because of his wrong deeds or past mistakes, which later brings misfortune in his and his family's lives. Wealth inherited from parents will also not last if a man becomes idle, it can be felt through Narkhw’s character. Since childhood he was lazy, he does nothing, neither he was interested in studies nor in other activities. His father was rich but he never had taken rest from doing his work, rather he had worked tirelessly along with his servants equally, though he was the owner and had many servants. But Narkhw was an irresponsible son and laid his father many times in the name of studies, he has spent a huge amount of money on watching movies, wearing the latest designer clothes. He wasted his precious time doing nothing. Later, after he failed in his examination, he had to stay at home. Suddenly Narkhw’s father died with the disease. He cried hard on his father's demise but after he felt free from all the restrictions and finally he got married to a girl of his choice. Before his father’s death, his father had handed over some five thousand rupees amount to him by telling everything is there if you are capable of doing it right but he did not get anything of it. He organized a grand wedding with his father's leftover money and also he kept a piece of plot in mortgage for his wedding only. Hence, after his wedding also he remained uncertain, roams here and there with his wife, and failed to guide his Dahwna (male servant) and Ruwati (female servant) and later he exhausted him every plot of land one by one as he kept in the mortgage. Whenever he needed money he went to Khaya Babu and lost all his land to him. And at last, he had to stay beside the PWD road along with his wife and little children. Therefore, through Narkhw’s character, it is vividly shown that idleness can bring destruction in life.

**3.3.6 Mother’s Love**

The theme of the “*Andari* *Buri*” (Old Andari) story is based on Widow Mother's love. In this story widow mother's desire to see her child as an educated man is shown. Parents always want their children to become well educated and successful one, and for that, they try their best and give lots of effort or they face every difficult situation and sacrifice their happiness and bear pain for their children's better future but children don't understand the value of their parent's struggle or sacrifice for them, despite they follow bad company and choose the wrong path. This sad scenario of society is reflected in the story.

Andari was a poor orphan child who grew up in her uncle's home. Her uncle's love and affection were upon her but despite helping her aunt in every household activities she always had to shed tears because of her auntie's nature. She was married off to an orphan like her by her uncle of his village called Hadang. Hadang also grew up staying at another house as a cowboy or as a servant. After marriage they had lived happily, doing things together cultivating together. Their family had drastically changed for the better, after a year they got a son and they called his name Mahiram. But in the twist of time, Hadang suffered from illness and lost his life. Hadang had a strong desire to make his son Mahiram a well-educated man, which was his last wish and he expressed that to his wife before he embraced death. Hence, it was not only Hadang’s but wife Andari also wanted the same, and so she did not go for second marriage even people insisted to do so. Andari had only an aim and that is to educate his son. After her husband's death also she spent some of five years effortlessly. She gave her lands for Adhi (given rented land for paddy or money) and bullocks for rent also. But later all cheated on her, they take advantage of her as she was a widow. On the other hand, as her son grew up, his demand has increased day by day. Mahiram did his first schooling at the village L.P. school and after passing out from there, he got admitted to the neighboring village's High School, where he met the bad company and practiced bad habits as well. Andari tried her best to teach her son and even she tried to fulfill all his wishes and demands. After the demise of her husband, she had started to leave her one-time food for her son. She worked at other’s houses, helped household activities, and ate leftover food, and fruits at other’s houses, and if not she filled up her stomach by drinking water. She started saving money for her son whereas she prefers to live in hunger. But all her sacrifices went in vain as she tried hard, did labor but in return her son had learned to smoke, drink, played cards, became a thief which Aandari failed to learn about, or did not know about it. At last, Andhari embraced so much grief and sorrow and death eventually.

**3.3.7 Transport System of backward areas**

The theme of the story ‘*Lain Bus*’ (Line Bus), is based on the transport system of backward areas. The transport system of bygone days has been taken as a theme. The people from rural areas’ had to face lots of problems due to poor transport systems. Besides that, some of the traditional customs, food items have been also depicted throughout the story.

In the story, Labangga and Gaojru both are husband and wife of Hagupara village, One day they had met with an incident while visiting their newly married son-in-law's house. Because of the poor transport system they had been suffered to starve. Some of the Bodos' favorite traditional food items are Napham (fermented fish) and rice beer, and so they had also a desire to take the same items to his son-in-law's house to express their cordial love. So, the wife Gaojru had taken Napham, rice beer, and curd to visit their new son-in-law's house, she wrapped up the napham with arum leaves, curd in earthen pot, and liquor in the ball bladder. But to reach the son-in-law's house they had to walk one mile to catch the line bus, two miles of bus journey and again two miles distance of walk approximately. Hence, they had gone early for son-in-law's house. After walking one mile, they caught the bus but it was already crowded full of the passenger. They hardly entered the crowded bus but their curd of mud pot breaks and the packet of Napham and bladder of liquor get mixed and burst and splashed upon their body amidst huge passengers. So they got down from the bus and washed off their face and dirt with a small amount of rainwater on the ground. But the smell of napham, liquor, and curd did not go away from their body. And that smell made them starve for the whole day because when they reached to son-in-law's house, their son-in-law's mother thought that they had already taken lunch at Gaojru brother’s house. Because Gaojru's brother's house was an adjacent village to their son-in-law’s house. The same incidents happened in Gaojru’s brother's house. When they visited Gaojru’s brother, he also thought that they had lunch in their son in law’s house because the smell of liquor and napham was still in the air. They faced this type of trouble because of the lain bus.

**3.3.8 Bodo Cuisine**

The theme of the story ‘*Ondla Khariyao Aagan Thaywi’* (no footprint in onla curry) is based on the traditional Bodo cuisine ‘*Ondla*’ and how it has gained or got special importance in Bodo society and how it started or discovery of this cuisine, all these have been described in the story in folk tales.

Here, special emphasis also has been given on its relation with the prime religion of Bodos i.e Bathou, and how it was prepared at that time or in the past days, by the supporters of the Bathou religion. It has been told in the story that in Bathou religion ‘Mainao Buri (goddess Laxmi) has got the important place beside ‘Bathou Bwrai’. It has been said in the story that “Mainao is the mother of Bodos” and this mother ‘Mainao' was kind or generous who accepts or loves both young and old. She could not stay without helping the poor and needy people. And one day, Bathou Bwrai appeared to examine her and disguised himself as a poor beggar and asked for food. Then Mainao Buri could not recognize Bathou Bwrai, but she adores Bathou Bwrai the most. Though she was kind and a worshiper but she had nothing for the guest or the hospitality. And then she became curious and helpless what to serve, so she whispered in her maid servant’s ear-

“*You just grind me to powder and cook the powder sticky with kharwi and feed them. Sprinkle some of the rice powder at near Sijou tree, ok dear granddaughter.Let it be the symbol of my love and worship.”(eng.*trans)5

Bathou Bwrai was impressed by the way she adored the old beggar. From that day, Bathou Bwrai always kept Mainao Buri beside him. And also that day Ondla cuisine was discovered or born in the Bodo community. In the main or prime marriage of Bodos i.e, ‘Hathasuni’ marriage ondla cuisine has been taken an important role in this marriage system and without this ondla cuisine that marriage will not be happening or can not get married without ondla, and the process of Onla cooking, how to cook ondla in the Hathasuni marriage also has been revealed in the story like ingredients like turmeric, spices, and chicken can not be added as its a tradition.

**3.3. Wishes and Confession:**

The story “*Siman*’ (confession) is based on the wishes and confession of the author himself. In this story, the author himself accepts and confesses of his unfulfilled wish and incomplete works and its reasons. The writer is dwelling beside the Gossaigaon P.W.D. nowadays. He has built a tiny house beside the road and he keeps sitting there for the whole day at that courtyard. He keeps a few numbers of newbi-cycles outside the room, just like a bicycle shop. Someone, who passes by might think that the old man has opened a new bicycle shop. Because in the Bodo society, the business side is still untouched, still underdevelop which the writer tried to show throughout the story. And so, he felt the need of doing business like a bicycle shop. To

5. Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng, Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, p.4

start a business like his bicycle shop, one should have to keep a commitment to self and another one is self-confident or taking pride in being own self. And his commitment was that during his wedding he had promised to his wife that he won't starve his wife. He had forgotten his commitment when he had just started doing a job. But after serving for 40 years as a teacher in a school and retired without any allowances or pension he became anxious and eventually he has started this said business, and the second thing he mentioned was his proud nature of self-confidence. It was when the central committee ABSU holds a seminar regarding business in the Bodo society. So, Bodo people should start a business, and then the writer also sent an article regarding Bodo people should start a business without having a second thought on it. Because the writer wishes to see the business side to be taken up by Bodo people and this also is revealed as a theme. For that after retirement, he pushed himself to open a bicycle shop. The story writer also has confessed that he could not write anymore because he is getting old now. It has shown in the story as:

*I have confessed already that I can no longer write now.*

I said but they do not agree.(eng.trans)6

*Cannot escape like that write anything and send it.(eng.trans)7*

**3.3.10 Realism**

The theme of ‘*Sebkhangnai* *Mohor*” (printed portrait) story is based on realism. This story is based on real past incidents of Bodo society where many innocent people were brutally killed by the extremist or miscreants.

6. Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng, Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.4

7. Ibid, P.2

In the story, Dukharu is a writer but he did not have any ability or power to become a good writer. He did not write with the hope of other people reading his book or, he did not care if someone will read or not. But he did because he likes to write. Neither Dukharu had earned the habit of reading books, nor did he had little knowledge about the socio-economic condition or social system and if it comes to the political matters, he had no link with any political matter, he was naive in that matter or did not have have an interest. He always wanted to write about the Bodos, about their way of living, their history of existence since primitive ages. Hence, he thought of meeting an old man, a centenarian of Dhubsang village and so far that he had decided to meet Phanil Nazary, with the hope of meeting that old man. So, he was heading towards Dhubsang village, he set out early in the morning towards Dhubsang village. On the way, he saw a lovely girl lonely walking towards Dhubsang village too. But all of a sudden a stranger came andshe was shot dead. Dukharu holds the girl on his lap and asked, why he killed her, and then the shooter replied that she was innocent and that was her fault only.

The theme of the story ‘*Shiphung* *Belda’* (Flute Belda) is also based on realism. The story shows the acute image of the present scenario of prevailing corruption of government officials and other employees to contractor the level of people in doing work like roads, bridges, and other building construction works of commonplaces. In the story, Siphung Belda was a simple, honest hardworking man, who wanted to live happily with his wife and children. A one lack rupee has been sanctioned and so in the like roads, bridges, and other building construction works of commonplaces. In the story, Siphung Belda was a simple, honest hardworking man, who wanted to live happily with his wife and children. One lack rupees has been sanctioned and so in the road construction committee, Siphung Belda has been chosen as president of the committee and Jengao as secretary and the contractor was Gaojrao.

Jhengao and Gaojrao were experts in doing official work like in bribing and other corrupt works but Belda was a greenhorn in this field nor he had liked in this type of works, neither was he a giver nor a taker. One day Jhengao and Gaojrao also took Belda along with them in the Block Development Office to B.D.O. for the bill payment. At that time Gaojrao contractor said that his twenty years experience had never gone in vain, beside he also said that situation was not good, things like kidnapping were happening and so no need to enquire on their work, and forwarded an envelope to B.D.O officer by asking him to accept that little amount for a cup of tea with good heart, and the officer also received that envelope with a smile. At that moment an innocent man Belda did not understand anything about bribery, meanwhile, he was thinking that if he could have been good at conversation skills like Jhengao and Gaojrao there would be no complication in works and later he was surprised by their working skill when they asked him to keep some amount of money for himself by saying that he was the president of the construction committee and under their supervision, there were many laborers and workers and if any laborer suddenly comes up to him for his daily wages, you need to give him his daily wages and so as a president, it is not fair to stay empty and they gave a sum of five thousand rupees. Belda appreciated that they were really intelligent and good instructors. But no one ever had come to innocent Belda for the daily wages; he still kept that money untouched. At the last moment only he could realize slowly and steadily when Gaojrao and Jhengrao were supposed to inaugurate that incomplete road by inviting MLA and B.D.O. officer as the guest and inviting the villagers also. Siphung Belda was requested to deliver a speech on the road opening function but despite delivering speech tactful and truthful Belda returns those five thousand rupees. Throughout this story, the writer has shown the realism of the corruption of government officials, politicians to general people, how they have been engaging in every field, and corners of present days.

**3.3.11** **Medicinal** **Plants**

The ‘*Khipi* *Bendwng' (a foul-smelling plant)* story is based on the medicinal plants. From ancient days, the Bodo people use some wild plants as a curry or medicinal plant. Bodo people are fond of nature since the primitive age; they enjoy living around nature. So, they are very expert in using some plants for various diseases as medicine. In this story, it has been represented that ‘Khipi Bendwng’ a local plant, is used as a vegetable and medicine as well. Khipi Bendwng is a plant that is used by Bodo people to heal various diseases. It is described in the starting of the story, as follow:

*“There is none who does not know ‘Khipi Bendwng' (a foul-smelling creeper) and its importance. Khipi Bendwng has its distinct self-identity that we all must have to admire. While having stomach problems like loose motion, mucuslatrin, if the Khipi Bendwng is eaten making chutney and juice is drunk, gets good result"(eng.*tran)8

This story is about an old man and woman of Thilapara village. One day old man went for digging Enjor mamu (mice called mamu), a delicious barbecued in the fest, and brought Khipi bendwng plant also to eat as curry. Because, in the Bodo society there was a habit of hunting which is prevailing since ages, and also a habit of eating and using as medicine to leftover vegetables and herbs from the nearby forest. The old man had brought the Khipi Bendwng plant inside the house without letting his wife know, and the old woman dislikes such things, and with utter disgust vomited while they were having lunch, and her son Rantheng had to call for an Oja(village medicine man). Because of her nature, she became weaker for not having, food properly then old man prepared mincemeat with grind Khipi Bendwng so nicely that the old woman ate much and her health improves also. Then she asked her husband, what did he cook exactly with, that made it so tasty. Then the only old man told her about Khipi Bendwng he brought from the forest while going for digging mice and which he had cooked that mice meat with Khipi Bendwng and also told her that the smell of Khipi Bendwng do not stay or linger when it is grinded and that is what he exactly did. Later on, the old woman could realize everything that happened to her. If her husband had informed her –

8. Brahma, Haribhusan. (2012). Khipi Bendwng. Guwahati: Bodo Publication Board, P.11

beforehand that consequences would never have come up. Because Khipi Bendwng leaves define itself and which also has been described in the starting of the story as follow as:

*“If there is Khipi Bendwng near your way, a foul smell, as if of gas released by a person with the troubled stomach, will certainly enter your nose. (eng.trans)9*

**3.3.12 Corruption**

The theme of the short story ‘B.P.L' is based on corruption. It is about the BPL certificate of India, an economic benefit mark used by the government of India to indicate economic disadvantage and to identify individuals and households in need of government assistance and aid, and for which people are snatching, showing utter negligence to each other to get the benefit of BPL certificate. India has a huge population which cause poverty or starvation, and, indeed, most of the poor are not getting better food then the dogs or other pet animals of developed countries like America, and it is also a responsibility of the government to feed the needy and poor people of its country because they also have the power of voting and choosing their government. And so since the time of independence India’s first prime minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru imported some food items from foreign countries like America, Burma, and Japan which is spoiled, of low qualities, cheap stuff and unhygienic and those foods were distributed to the general people. And to handle it nicely with the help of a system, this BPL certificate has been introduced in the country, and through this certificate, the government tried to tackle the basic poverty issues as it will provide some facilities, assistance, and aid to the BPL certificate holders, but to grab this facility many rich and government employees are snatching with each other and for which below poverty line people did not get the certificate. Because those people who have been selected to distribute this certificate were engaged in corruption. Likewise,

. 9.Brahma, Haribhusan. (2012). Khipi Bendwng. Guwahati: Bodo Publication Board, P.11

Haranga Mushahary, panchayat secretary had issued a BPL certificate to a government employee in this story. Hence, many people of that village filled complain against him to a higher authority, so for the spot verification Nigaji Baruah, a food inspector from a special cell visited Haranga’s house from Guwahati. But he also appeared the same as Haranga, he had been engaged in corruption for a long, had a countless list of corruption, made upside down to many people's job. He had started his duty after meats and alcohol was being served by Haranga. Then the village headman had started complaining against the issuance of the BPL certificate against Haranga on behalf of the

whole villagers. But Haranga Mushahary rather surprised whole villagers by explaining the eligibility criteria of BPL certificate issuance, and it is represented in the story as follow:

“*To live a healthy life, a person must be fed with three to four thousand calories. Consuming calories bellow this limit is called the Bellow poverty line or people living below the poverty line."(eng.trans)10*

From that Government's eligibility criteria Haranga again grabbed that chance and started saying-

*Eg.trans- “As per the Government order, I have found out people having food with two to three thousand calories per day. Sir, they made fun of me saying, we have never eaten food by measuring like that and we do not have such a measuring tool. So it is difficult to find such a line and is very complicated.(eng.trans)11*

10. Brahma, Haribhusan. (2012). Khipi Bendwng. Guwahati: Bodo Publication Board, P.16

11. Ibib, P.18

And again Haranga Mushahary also added- A famous Politician said-

*Eng, Trans-“There is no such B.P.L in North East India. If there is then we need to break it. Break it or control it. This thing is very dangerous. The longer you keep the more offshoots it spreads.”(eng.trans)12*

Besides that Haranga Mushahary also said that Northeastern people consume wild vegetables, insects, and many things and therefore there is no possibility of people dying out of hunger. Despite this, many people died of overeating. Hence, many have been saying that they did not like jealousy of people and mocking around about the issuance of BPL certificate to a few government employees. Nigaji Baruah also supports Haranga saying, ‘bah, bah’ and gives applause to him and put off the matter in which villagers could not resist. Therefore in this story, it has been depicted the picture

of the society was shrewd, rich, and responsible people had repressed and exploited the poor people and how corruption has been still prevailing in India.

The theme of another story *‘Garai Khuru’* (The Scabies) is also based on corruption. The story shows the true incidents of present India’s scenario at its best. Here, the story is about a B.D.O. officer, who got a third category job in ACS. The writer's motive is to bring out the negative of the person as of the relevant times. He gives an assessment of corruption which is prevailed in almost every field. Money is not everything, it cannot make your children of great moral values or good human beings, and neither can it prevent a man from illness. Hence, this is what the writer's main concern or the theme of the story is.

1. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng(1st edition), Bodo Publication Board,Gossaigaon,P.18.

This story is about a B.D.O. officer, he choose the right path over by, did his duty with honesty when he was newly appointed in his job, but later he became a corrupted officer after being enticed by his wife and other colleagues, clerks as well. He owned all the luxurious stuff like car, building, expensive goods but he could not build a healthy family with money, he failed in the process of inculcating cultured or moral values in his children failed to impart higher education and principles of life. Hence, even he did not realize when and how his children had learned to party with standard branded whiskey. Eventually, after retirement, he felt in illness with several diseases like diabetes, high pressure, and others. Here the emphasis is also laid upon with precise observation that money earned with the wrong method or illegal works often leads to the destruction of self and family.

**3.3.13 Orphan life:**

The theme of the short story ‘*Undaha’* (regret) is based on orphan life. This is a despondent life story of an orphan child who later established himself with the help of his sisters.Here, the writer narrated his own life story or incidents in this story, because the writer himself was an orphan and he also has established himself with the help and support of his sisters. The main character of this story is Laodum. He lost his parents at his tender age. Laodum has three sisters, elder sister got married when he was still a kid, and now has two sisters Thingjreb and Saothal to live with him. After their parents demise their uncle along with his wife and six children came to look after Laodum’s Father’s inherited wealth. They had enough wealth and fortune to fulfill their needs and necessity. But after dwelling with his uncle they faced misery and starvation. Laodum was a studious student and he wanted to continue his studies but his uncle stopped his studies saying that he had to plough. Laodum did not have the habit of working and ploughing in the field and which had effects on his tender health. And his health became weaker and situations worsen because of starvation. The news of Laodum’s devastating condition is reached to his elder sister's Father-in-low, and he called Laodum to dwell with them and also offered him to continue studies at their nearby village's school. His second sister who was also living with their uncle also entice him to leave their uncle's company for his better future, she hastens to send Laodum out there(at elder sister’s house). At first, Laodum did not want to leave his residence but at his sister's encouragement he convinced himself to leave the home, he was not aware much about the people who shed tears behind at the time of his departure. Most probably his siblings were not around at that time and they cried somewhere at the backyard or a corner of the house perhaps. After lots of struggle eventually, Laodum became well educated and established one.

Now, Laodum has become an old person. He came to know often that his sister Thinjreb’s condition was not well; she was in a miserable state. She had spent most of her life staying as a domestic helper at other people's house, she got married to a poor man, later she gave birth to a boy (child) but she expired before her son was grown up. Those past days' life experiences were pathetic which made Laodum regret at present because he had come to know about his beloved sister who helped him most to become an established man. But he could not help her back in return when she was in a miserable state, because he was also helpless and in building his career, as he was in the tough battle of life. At present, he regrets looking back to the past scenario, because he could not even visit her for once and to give her a drop of water at her last rite.

**3.3.14 Social life of the Bodos:**

The theme of the story ‘*Jwngni* *Lagwni* *Hagrama’* (*Forest of our village*) is based on the social life of Bodos. The story shows the condition of rural Bodo village and the picture of Bodos’ traditional habit of hunting in the forest in the past ages at its best and the image of Bodos in the story is a well-knit image of the writer's village. The story writer was born in Dhuli gami (Dhuli village); he had dwelt in his native village only for a short period because he lost his parents at an early age. Though he had lived only for a short period, despite that, he is more inclined to his village, he is fond of his village and he thinks that his native village always has been the best friend of his devastating sad life.

In this story, the writer has depicted the scenario of his old native village named '*Dhuli gami’* and also about the hunting habits of the Bodo people and the incidents that did happen to the hunters during hunting.

The theme of the story ‘*Gwswni Dakhwn' (Scar of mind)* is also based on the social life of Bodo society. Here in this short story, the writer shows his native village where he had dwelt and grown-up, it's a natural beauty and evokes his sense of belongingness to his village and its people. Besides that, he has depicted the vivid picture of the typical Bodo society it was used to be. Writer himself tells about his village that his village’s name is ‘Dhuligaon’ and it is east south from Tipkai to Bhwigribari leading road, beside P.W.D road. He dwelt in his village up to he turned to twelve or thirteen years of age. Some unknown people say different names about his village. The writer has traveled by different paths, he was born in a different village, he grew up in a different village and at present, he is dwelling at Gossaigaon after he got retirement from his job. In this story, the writer has depicted the scenario of his childhood's native village, how he had gone for hunting with elders, how they enjoyed swimming and playing in the river with the friends. The typical Bodo society and its natural beauty of gone by past days are depicted in the story.

**3.3.17 Extravagant Expenses:**

The theme of the short story ‘*Gibi Bibungthi Angni’* is based on extravagant expenses and it is written in the subjective form. Here the writer has shown about an incident he met while visiting the 16th November conference of Bodo Sahitya Sabha. Because the writer got a responsibility to bring guests in that program and so he had an opportunity to be fitted with that guest and enjoyed the hospitality offered to guests. The program of BSS was filled up with an abundance of delicious food items like chicken, pork, mutton, etc and other items whatever one wanted to have or craving for, he also ate almost every item.

In this story, the writer has assessed the extravagant expenses of Bodo Sahitya Sabha which had wasted on food and drinks, as the theme of the story and indirectly he elaborated upon the Bodo literary works that it would be of use as underrated in the granary of Bodo literature if the organization could have had helped to meet some poor writer’s expenses in their creation of literary works.

**3.3.18 Social Awareness:**

The ‘*Phesa* *Megon’* *(owl eye*) short story is a well-knit story of a conversation between the writer himself and his friend Sachi Babu of Bengal (West Bengal) state, regarding the development and non-development of the Bodo community, during his studies at Gauhati University. Sachi Babu is a patriot and an ardent devotee of his community. He is always ready to serve or work for the betterment of his community whenever he sees or notices other community's people working for their community's upliftment. The theme of the story is to bring social awareness among Bodo people and also shows about the past incident of Bodo society where some of the Bodo social organizations gathered to prevent Bodo women from going to Puja, fair, or festivals of other community.

Sachi Babu and the writer were visiting the writer's house at Gossaigaon during their one-month puja vacation. In his visit, he was willing to meet and discuss with some of the social activists. Before that, he also had stayed at Kokrajhar in the previous year when he came home on Durga puja vacation. But there he came to know that Bodos were not allowed to go to puja and also has a restriction in the movie theatre. And the reason is that innocent Bodo people, their money earned from hard work will be in waste at other’s puja. Hearing this news, Sachi Babu did not mind, because there was a period where education, economy, culture, religion were in deplorable condition in the Bodo society and that could be the reason for restriction perhaps. According to Sachi Babu, Bodo's dwelling in the Bengal State could not do it that well in flourishing their language, literature, culture and they are dominated by others in the economy and every aspect of life. And in the entire Assam region, the Bodo people of Kokrajhar have been found as the most developed ones among Bodos of other regions. The contribution and effort of Bodo youths and adults as well are both appreciable as they gathered to organize meetings worked for the upliftment of language, literature, and culture, efforts are made to vanish the anti-social and uncivilized activities, organized counseling for the economic development of the community people and which Bodos of the other region must follow. And through the character of Sachi Babu, endowed with a high spirit of enthusiasm and patriotism and well-educated people like themselves won’t come forward or participate in socializing and to work for the upliftment of their language, literature, economy, religion, and social change and if adequate measures are taken then surely nothing will remain.

**3.3.19** **Reform of Polygamy system of Bodos**

The theme of the short story ‘*Rhwnao* *Phaglani* *Jethw* *Kheonai’* is to reform the polygamy system of Bodo society. In this story, Rhwnao phagla prevents Harao Mahajwn from a second marriage. The good name of Harao Mahajwn is Maniram Mahajwn. But Maniram Mahajwn’s face structure makes people called him Harao instead of Maniram because his teeth are zig-zag and his cheeks are unattractive and oval. His wife's name is Ulle. Ulle looks attractive with a round face. Her parents did not want to give their daughter to Harao, but Harao’s numerous times' proposal made them convinced and they marry off their daughter Ulle to Harao Mahajwn.

But till now, old Harao Mahajwn’s mind is not stable. Ulle felt her husband by observing his behavior, talking, and all that he is in a romantic mood. Ulle has come to know that Harao seemed much interested in maidservant and insisted to keep her for the winter season after her summer tenure was ended. Harao tries to entice to marry a girl of his daughter’s age who stayed as maid-servant at their house, gives money to her, and make noise to marry her at his family. And so his wife Ulle called some of the villagers along with Rhwnao to prevent or prohibit Harao’s evil desire of second marriage. And eventually, Rhwnao phagla breaks Harao’s dream of the second wife by marrying off the maid girl to Harao’s son.

**3.3.19 History of Bodos**

The theme of the short story ‘Rwnao Phagla’ is based on the loss of the Bodo Kingdom, and the transformation of Bodo society. The main character of the story is Rwnao, his full name is Nildhawj. He is an ardent devotee of his community and village people as well. He always used to encourage villagers to do something good for themselves, by themselves for the sake of their village's development and prosperity without expecting much from the government, to build up roads, to arrange meetings in the village to discuss and find out measures together and to step up for the self-development. So village people called him Rwnao phagla ( mad Rwnao).

Here, in this story through the character of Rwnao phagla writer has depicted the history of the Bodo kingdom how they have lost their kingdom, by cheating each other and how Bodo mother’s justice has not been given or served till now, and Rwnao phagla was once blessed by Bodo mother in his dream to always do good works to human being following right paths. In this story, Rwnao is depicted as a good well-wisher of mankind.

**3.3.20 Folk tale**

The theme of the short story “*Ang* *Khwnanai* *Gwdwni* *Bwrai* *Buri*” (*The Old Couple of* *Ancients that I heard off)* is based on the folk tale. There were a couple of old man and woman of writer's native village which he heard of from long ago. That folk tale narrates the story and also he has drawn out the picture of his native village Parbotjhora as well as depicting the social picture of the Bodos.

There was an old man and a woman, the old man's name is Ganggreng and the woman is Darjhang. They both loved each other unconditionally but they often quarreled with each other, because they did not have children or heirs. Darjang Buri (Darjang old woman) was a responsible and active woman, she did hard labor even in her old days as she used to grind rice from the midnight to which the writer has compared with the strong sound of goda used by Durjyodhana and Bhim at the battlefield in the Mahabarata. She was an expert in every household activity and domestic works as well, like uprooting of paddy seedling and spinning silk cocoon, etc. Through the folk tale the writer tried to depict the all social picture of the Bodos.

**3.3.22** **Religious aspects**

The theme of the story “*Khwnaphinnai* *Gwjam* *Solo’* (*retold old story*) is based on the depiction of the religious aspect. The prime religion of Bodos is Bathou. Bathou is the prime religion of Bodos and an important component of Bodo culture. In Bathou religion or Bathousim, the Sijou Plant (Euphorbia Splenden) is the symbol of the mighty elements or principles. The first person who had installed or planted the Sijou plant and worshipped was called *Alari* *Dambra* or *Gilari* *Dambra* and now he is also known by the name of *Mwnsing* *sing* *Bwrai.*

The story is about Alari Dambra and how he had started worshipping Bathou Bwrai or Sijou plant is revealed here. Since ages, the Bodo people lived in a village and their main way of living is cultivation. They used to choose the most skilled and taught person as a headman or Gaonbura for the healthy maintenance to lead the village. Alari Dambra was born into a village headman's family. He was a strong, energetic, and all-time champion, very expert in traditional games like ‘Gila’ and ‘Batha’ game since his very childhood. His friends called him ‘Gilari Dambra’ because he always used to be the winner at ‘Gila’game.

Alari Dambra liked to tend cattle along with his friends. He was strong, generous, and always ready to offer his helping hands to needy and helpless people. And so one day almighty examined him. One day when Alari Dambra was tending cattle. Suddenly all the cattle disappeared in the forest. He desparately searched for them (cattle) by calling them by their names viz. Thenta, Maliya, Jengkhwna, Jareng, Jwngkli, Pakri, etc. There was a gigantic bull leader in the cattle hock, and also Ahong if he was in anger. Alari kept calling Ahong through the forest. Without food and water, he felt exhausted and his voice became lighter with tiredness and fatigue, his calling for Ahong slipped to Aaham as now Aahm is used in worshipping Bathou as enchanting mantras.

Gradually with tiredness, Alari fell asleep on the ground and dreamed. In his dream he saw an old man, the old man asked him to install a Sijou plant and to offer a prayer before it. Alari did accordingly as he was told to do and planted Sijou and by plucking a stem of Sijou plant he embraced it and uttered the name of Sijou or almighty saying that almighty was his inner life or self, and eventually all of a sudden all the cattle disappeared were found back again.

The theme of the story *‘Lama Gwjamni Agan' (Footprints of the Old path)* is also based on the religious aspects of the Bodo society. This is a story trying to find out the practical knowledge of the Bathou religion. The main character of the story Ansaru is a B.A pass young man, who left home to find out the practical knowledge of the Bathou religion. Because Ansaru was very much excited to know some important things about the ‘Arya Sages' and the language used by them, which many thinkers say are used for creating poetry and literature that came to be known as the 'Vedas'. The 'Vedas' is regarded as the source and root of the Sanskrit literature by many thinkers and critics. Ansaru felt that the source of the literature is religion. It is this realization that enlightened Ansaru to find out the origin of the Assamese culture. Srimantha Sankardev also composed poems to worship Krishna-Vishnu. Shankar Guru and Madhav Dev, through their creative hand composed ‘Nam Ghosa’, Kirtan Ghosa etc.and gave birth to the Assamese literature. To preach the ‘Vaishnavism’, Shankar Guru originated the literature of ‘Bhaona’ or the dramatization. This dramatization of religious text in ‘Nam Ghar’ (mandir) to worship Krishna-Vishnu created the Assamese culture.

Ansaru is curious to know whether Bathou is Shiva or Shiva is Bathou. His deep reflection of his thoughts put him in a dilemma. He is confused, which is true? The life with five elements of Bathou is the truth or the body that carries our soul is true? Such thoughts disturbed his mind.

To give a distinct form to the sweet ringing words of ‘Douri’ used during Bathou worship in Bodo language and literature, and to give the ‘Doudini’ dance, performed at the echo of ‘Kham’ and ‘Siphung', a distinct place in the vast Bodo culture, Ansaru leaves home.

**3.3.23 SOCIAL REFORMATION:**

The theme of the story ‘Mwdwmphru Barse Bibar' is bringing change in society by sacrificing their own life. In the story, Bibari is the daughter of a miserable widow. She has concern for the poor children of her village and she always thinks for the betterment of their future, and society. Bibari’s house is beside the L.P school of Rampholbil Tengphwr village. And Dukhiram master was a teacher of the same L.P school in the same village. He is a drunkard, who is caught in drunken condition at the school and has likeness towards Bibari and he is willing to marry Bibari. But Bibari does not like his behavior, his habit of coming to school in the drunken condition. Her heart cries and disgusts his behavior because most of the students of that school are from pauper labor class families, their parents' source of livelihood or income comes from their daily wages, and they have lots of hopes and dreams for their children. And this is the reason Bibari prefers to embrace death to get rid of a wretched like Dukhiram master. And eventually, her death brought a turning point into the life of Dukhiram master and education in the village.

**3.3 Theme of the sculptures**

The Haribhusan Brahma sculptures may be classified in some parts. Such as:

**3.3.1: The theme is based on Culture:**

**DHUMSU AND JANTHA**

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Figure-1

Drinking rice beer is a common feature in Bodo society. In this figure-1, a sculpture attempt is made to show how the juice of rice beer is drawn out from the pot known as Dumsu in Bodo. It is a pot made of a piece of wood drugged out one side just like a container. Fermented rice is put into it. Rice-beer is stirred up by one stick to mix with water properly. One item known as Jantha, made of thin bamboo bark strip tightly woven to allow only the juice to enter is inserted into the rice-beer. Then one Ladle like material is known as Laothai is put into the Jantha to draw out the juice. It is also made of a bamboo stem. In this sculpture, an elderly man is seen holding the handle of Laothai to draw out the juice from the Jantha placed inside the rice-beer in the Dumsu.

**OMA PHINAI (DOMESTICATING PIG):**

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Figure-2,

The sculpture represents the culture of domesticating animals’ like-Cow, Buffalo, Duck, Hen, Pig, Goat, etc. Domestically pig is an age-old tradition in Bodo society. Poultry and piggery were very much easy to take and subsidiary profession to the main profession of cultivation. Hand pounding rice gives sufficient fodder and ingredients to feed the pigs. Moreover, the forsaken rubbish after drinking the rice-beer is also very much good food for the pigs. Therefore, no extra expenditure is necessary for this subsidiary profession. Though it is the collective responsibility of both males and females, the major role in the economy is trusted upon the womenfolk. The reason may be that the man folk do not take much responsibility for women's clothes and ornaments. To mitigate their demand the womenfolk were better interested in the beacon of hope that the income from this source would meet their needs.

**TIME OF PADDY SEEDLING:**

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Figure-3

In the figure-3 Sculpture, It is the tradition of the Bodo people that all able members of the peasant family are to attend the domestic works in the field. Even the mother of the baby is not spared when plantation of paddy seedling is done in the field. In this sculpture, a standing mother is seen feeding breast to her child in the open field where no privacy can be maintained.

**HUNTING HABITS OF THE BODO PEOPLE:**

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Figure-4

In the figure no-4 Sculpture, represents the hunting habits of the Bodos. With Bow and arrow in hand, hunting in the forest is a very interesting sport. This carving also shows a roaming hunter and arrow in hand in the forest. It is a pleasure and time pass for one who has no serious work at home to do. In Bodo society, it is not the culture but the casual sport mostly up to the age of fifteen or so at the village level.

**SOCIAL LIFE OF THE BODO PEOPLE:**

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Figure-5

The figure-5, Sculpture theme is representation of agro-based social life of the Bodo people, usually, menfolk go in advance with a pair of bullocks to plough at down. It is the tradition that workmen in the field take breakfast at half of the work. In the meantime, womenfolk at home prepare breakfast mostly out of cooked rice. One woman carried the food to the field in time. In this sculpture, one woman carrying food on the head and a jar of water on the hip is seen moving towards, the field. That was the device to revitalize, the working man in the field, and that is the tradition-bound system from ancient.



Figure-6 A B

Figure-6, Bodo People is cultivators by profession not known since when usually they prefer land by the river bank. Obviously, for the simple reason, that riverside land is fertile and productive. Figure-6 (A) sculpture, a peasant is moving towards the field for ploughing on the shoulder, one plough is seen and (B) One peasant, Plough in hand ready to drive his pair of Bullocks.

**JHEKAI AND KHOBAI**



Figure-7

Fishing is a traditional part of the Bodo people. Jhekai and Kobai are the fishing materials of the Bodo society. Jhekai is a popular fishing material made of bamboo strips and Khobai is another material to keep caught fish. It is also an item made of bamboo strips. In this figure-6 sculpture, a standing woman with Jhekai on her shoulder and Khobai on her hip is shown in a pose of ‘*Whether to fish’*. By the side one sitting girl to accompany her.

**BADARI:**



Figure 8

The man who erects temporary camp for cutting wood is called Badari in Bodo. Usually, they use to stay in such camps for a week or so as per the lots of works for completion. At intervals, they use to come home to meet domestic needs. In this sculpture, Badari is shown darting home on the boat. On the other end of the piece, the housewife is shown waiting while bathing in the river in the evening.

**3.3.2 The theme is based on Religion:**

**BATHOU**

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**Figure-9**

Bhatou is the traditional religion of the Bodos. The Bathou is also the worshipping place of the Bodos. It is erected in the north-east corner of the courtyard. The land of Bathou alter is raised around one foot high where Sijou(Euphorbia splendid) and Thulunsi(Basil) tree are planted and fenced by narrow split bamboo twisted five times around bamboo faired posts. Bathou is based on the five principles –ha (earth), dhwi (water), bar (air), or (fire), and okrang (sky). Bathou believes in the existence of these five elements in the concrete form of the human body including soul or vibration. Bathou believes the prevalence of the most powerful ingredients in the sky or space. This ingredient also prevails in our human and keeps the body alive. This aspect of knowledge in Bhatou is not easily understood by common people. This aspect is depicted in this sculpture.

**Kham, Shipung and Jhotha:**

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**Figure-10**

In Bathou culture Kham (Drum), Siphung (Flute), Jhotha (Cymbal) are the most integral instruments of amusements and enjoyments. They have got their self-explanatory meaning and significance. The deep significance attached to the making of Kham, Shipung, and Jhotha connotes the same as that of the Bathou structure. Kham is about 3ꞌ(three feet) hollow tinder both side open and muffled with skin, preferably that of a goat just to produce sound “om”(Bodo sound Aham). Therefore those very sounds “Om” stands for Aham Guru and produces the sound Aham, Aham, Aham. The holy sound Aham is bound up inside the hollow tinder of about 1 meter. Bodo word kha is bind. For that, the instrument sounds like 'Kham’. Just as the combination of soul and Body in the Bathou Altar, in the musical instrument Kham also Aham sound stands for the soul and the shell of the instrument for the body. Therefore the idea behind the making of the instrument may be presumed based on the Bathou structure. Surprisingly, the Bodo Shipung also reveals the same idea of soul and body combined in its formation. The Bodo flute bears only five holes for six fingers generally used in flute playing in common. It has also very essential in the Bathou worshiping.

*“Boroni Shipung aa*

*Gudung Ba*”

*Eng.trans- Boro flute is of five holes.*

Significantly the hole through which the air is pushed by mouth is the hole of the soul without having the air pushed can not have the life to vibrate. Thus the form and function of both the musical instruments symbolize the body and soul of a human body.

The other most essential instrument for the observance is the Jhotha. In this walk of life, the closeness of body, mind, and soul is the primary condition for the achievement of any work. The greater the intensity of closeness better is the achievement. The concentration of mind and body together indicates the determination for any hard work what may it be this instructive lesson; we may have from these musical instruments as an intuition towards the worship. In the figure-8 sculpture, two men have been depicted as one beating Kham and the other playing Shipung. Overhead Jotha (Cymbal) is shown as the connective of two temples of the players.

**3.3.3 The theme is based on Folk:**

**NARKHW BEDANG**

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**Figure-11**

In the pre-historic age of Assam, the dominating race of the Brahmaputra valley was the Bodo. Virtually the construction of the footsteps leading towards the Kamakhaya Temple was done by the Bodo’s, the leading person of which group was Narkasu (the non-Aryan name of Bodo word ‘Narkhw’). Bodo peoplefrom the very beginning the nature worshipers and they had direct but unintelligent link with gods and goddesses. Therefore, there is no obscurity of having a link with Devi Kamakhya to Narkhw a man of heroic velour. But to get married with man and Devi is out of traditions and rules. So, to get rid of Narkhw’s hand Devi put the condition of constructing foot-steps to ascend to the temple within a night which was unpractical and impossible and the proposal was only for pretension. But the dogged determination of Narkhw to get the Devi married mustered up the courage and collected a huge army of workers to contract the foot-steps. But the pretending Devi-Kamakhaya bewildered and caused one cock crow at midnight. Narkw was Dum pounded and had to stop work and thus surrendered to the foul act of the Devi. But Narkhw did not forgive the crow. He darted behind the crow and beheaded. In this carve, a strenuous Bodo participant in constructing the steps to the temple is shown.

**CHANDW BAODIYA**

**Figure-12**

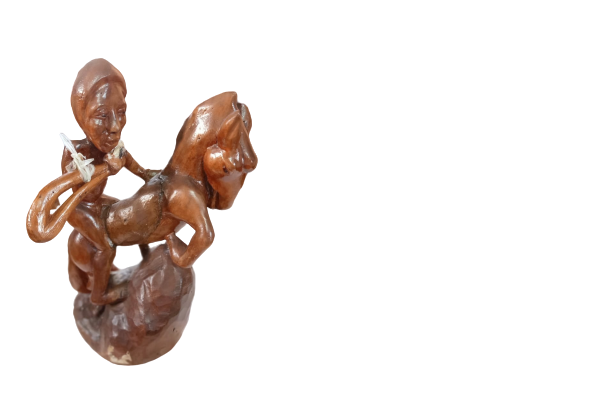
This sculpture represents an imaginary picture drawn upon a folk tale prevalent in Bodo society. The tale is woven on the event that took place one whom a group of people had gone to the jungle for cutting woods; they erected a temporary camp by the side of a rivulet to stay for few days to finish their work. Preparation of food was done on rotation one by one and the rest entered into the deep forest to cut woods. One day came on *Sandw Baodia* by name who is also the hero of the tale. In Bodo *Chandw Baodiya* means forget fullness by doing one thing and thinking others. By nature, he suddenly dipped used up utensils into the water of the rivulet. To his astonishment water of the rivulet dried up at the blink of the eye. He was at a loss for a moment and realized his fault. Then immediately he took up his musical instrument (*Serja*) traditional violin of the Bodos. He deeply prayed for forgiveness of his fault by producing a heart-rending melodious tune in his instrument, deeper the night sweater the vibration of the melody in the air of the dense forest. Even the goddesses could not restrain the rolling down of their tears. Haunting wild animals for water by the rivulet were dump founded at the unfamiliar sound. The rest of the groups busy with cutting woods were deeply engrossed in sorrow for want of food and drink. This episode ends at dawn when the goddess of the river somehow appeared. The water of the spring started pouring through the beak of the wild.

**ALARI DAMBRA**

**Figure-13**

This sculpture is based on the legendary tale. The legend goes to telling that a youthful vigor *‘Alari Dambra’* by name was the first man to bring the Sijou plant from the dense forest of the Himalayan region. Alary was very much fearless youth and champion in all games of his age group. He loved tending cows and people believe him to have divine blessings.when he happened to be in the deep forest the Divine power offered him the twig of a Cactus name Sijou (Euphorbia) ordained him to propagate the Bathow religion. In the later period of his life, he is better known to Mwnsin Sin Bwrai (mature of the matured). This sculpture is shown Alari Dambra in midst of the cows and on the reverse two dancing women Ashagi and Baishagi who happened to be the wives of Alari Dambra.

**BASHIRAM JWHWLAO**

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**Figure-14**

Bashiram Jwhwlao is known to be a Constable (Collector) Bodo hero serving in the British army. He was valiant enough to fight against the Bhutanese in trades. History reveals that Himalayan foothills to the north of the Brahmaputra River were under the Subjugation of the Bhutan Kings. On that plea, the Bhutanese people came down frequently to the plain and plundered on the inhabitants in the plain. Accidentally Bodo people were the main inhabitants of these regions.

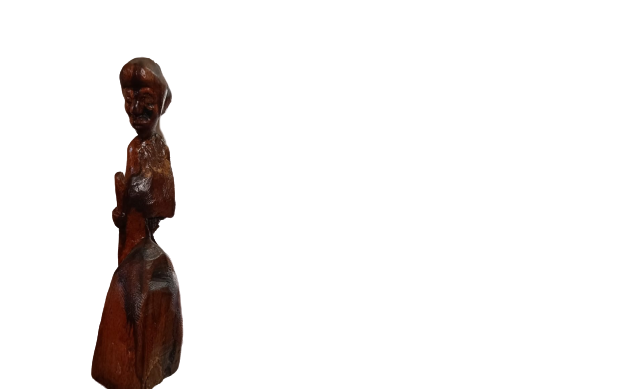
**3.3.4 The theme is based on Feminism:**

**MENTALLY RETARDED GIRL**

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Figure-15

The sculpture is on a girl who is mentally retarded but conscious about her private organs. So, she seems to be trying to barely conceal her private parts.

**DESTITUTE MOTHER:**

**Figure-16**

Figure-16 sculpture, It is very painful for the section of the fair sex for living a justified life where social rules are partial and very much oppressive. In many developing countries like India prevails such partial and unbecoming social rules, in such land, of and on women are victimized unprotected and compelled to lead a disgraceful life against their sweet will, cases are not rare in the society that girl allured and seduced for molestation is forsaken by the society. In such cases, life is a curse for the girl and she is thrown to lead an unsocial life.

**LOVE OF MOTHER:**

**Figure-17**

The love of a mother is most selfless and pure. The scene on the curving is the attempt of a panic-stricken mother to save her child from danger.

**Begging for Liberty**

**Figure-18**

In this male-dominated society, atrocity is very prominent. A degree's atrocity appears in different magnitude in different places. This sport of ugly expose in man’s society is neither bearable nor acceptable. In every walk of life, political, social, economic, they need equal rights to that of a male. The rights they enjoy are not sufficient to lead a happy life. Sculpture, the woman is shown in the pose of begging something more than what they have got. Woman's emancipation is the present cry for full liberty.

**3.3.5 The theme is based on Realism:**

**MAN IS BORN SELFISH:**

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**Figure-19**

Any living being is guided by instinct; a human being is also guided by instinct up to the attainment of certain age whence he develops reason. But even before having reason, a newly born baby is conscious about his survival. In this figure-16, sculpture a crawling

**HIDEOUT**

**Figure-20**

In Northeast India at the time of ethnic upsurge, the extremists prepared dense forest as their hideouts. In this figure-17, sculpture an extremist is seen entering into his hideout.

**THE EARTH AND MANKIND:**

**Figure-21**

The figure-21 sculpture represents, it is imagined that this beautiful earth has become unstable for a human living for certain factors. Misappropriation of scientific achievements like warfare, man-hunting, etc other one is the mental unrest of mankind for speedy economic competition and also heavy use of drugs, Increase of animosity amongst the people is shown here. Despite all these hindrances, a section of people is trying utmost to keep the earth in balance. In the made, a man and a woman are shown to hold up the earth at high.

**MASS CRYING**

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**Figure-22**

In the Bodo and Santhal clash in the year 1996, mass killing also took place in the row between two parties. When the news of incidents reached the temporary camps either of Santhal or Bodo, mass crying was the outburst and common. This sculpture is made to exhibit in the piece of wood.

**Friendship with animals:**



**Figure-23**

Sometimes friendship with an animal is sweeter than the friendship with a man. There is no craftiness and selfishness in the friendship of an animal, but there is always selfishness in the friendship of a man. In the carving, the love and friendship of a man with a dog are shown to express their intensity of love to each other.

**Loan and its impact on the weak:**

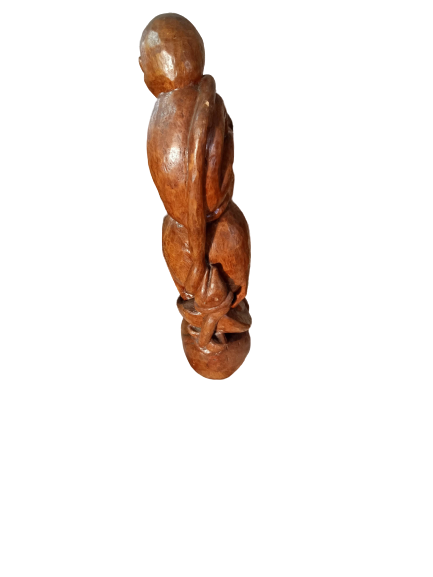
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Figure-24

Any kind of loan seems to be for the benefit of the debtor if the loan is not properly utilized for profitable investment. In society, those who are economically weak, take a loan. Mostly they are found to spend in consumption rather than profitable investment. This way irresponsible in debtor is always a victim of the adverse impact of the loan. In this sculpture, the monkey is placed on an economically better position and the turtle to rise economically to a higher position. Turtle by the nature is lacking the habit of climbing up. To pull up the turtle by way of helping the monkey has twisted his tail in the neck of the turtle. Out of temptation, the turtle accepted the loan offered by the monkey. But alas! The turtle could not detach his fourth leg from the bag of loan despite he got the help of the monkey’s tail twisted in his neck. Thus the turtle could not climb up to the level of the rich in the world. Rather he was badly throttled.

**MEN BEYOND POVERTY LINE:**



**Figure-25**

The poverty line is a peculiar imaginary line, the man under which line is called under the poverty line. The degree of poverty of the man in the curving is not ascertainable. Still, he survives looking up at the mercy of god.

**Corruption:**

**Figure-26**

Figure-26, Corruption is presumed to be the commission done by way of maintaining a false account. Generally, it is possible when there are good and faithful nexes between the higher authority and subordinate co-worker. Such a good relation between the higher and subordinate worker is shown in the sculpture to maintain a false account.

**3.4 CONCLUSION:**

The theme is the most integral part of the short story and sculpture. Haribhusan Brahma’s short stories and sculptures themes are multifarious and cover a wide range of human lives and suffering their problems and struggle of the poor people, humanism, feminism as well as Bodo society and culture. He has presented all these themes in a new and satirical way with the zeal of reformation.

**CHAPTER-4**

**SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE SHORT STORIES**

**4.1 INTRODUCTION**

Haribhusan Brahma’s short stories reflect huge ranges of socio-cultural aspects of Bodo society minutely. A writer creates literature by living in a society and so the picture of the society is reflected in the literature. Therefore, society and literature both are deeply related to each other. On the other hand, *culture is an unavoidable part of society. Hence, culture is the way of life and expressions of the things they do together while* *residing in a society13*. A writer creates poetry, prose, short story, novel, etc. in his society. And that is why the picture of the society and the culture are depicted clearly and vividly in the literature. Haribhusan Brahma’s short stories are based on agro-based Bodo society, way of living, livelihood, culture and village economy, and the struggle of the poor village people. All these aspects are depicted extensively and vividly in his works. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to highlight and analyze the socio-cultural aspects of the short stories.

**4.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS:**

The story of ‘*Shrimati* *Durlai’* is based on the life of Shrimati Durlai. The character and the behavior of Shrimati Durlai are astonishing and surprising; if the girls learn her behavior then they would spoil their own lives. The physical stature and the facial looks of Shrimati Durlai are like that of other caste’s women.

13.Narzaree, Indramalati & Narzary, Birlang: Laisini Bikhayao Indramalati( 1ST edition), Narzary Publication, Guwahati, 2003, P.49.

If she were not to wear Dhokona, it would be very difficult to recognize her as a Bodo Women. In this story, the main cultural aspect of Bodos of wearing Dokhona is revealed. This is depicted in the story, as-

“*Not so tall and short, with long tresses, walking with light paces, if not worn the Dokhona and self weaved fasra, then who would call her a Bodo woman?”(eng.trans)*14

The *‘Dokhona’* is the main traditional attire of Bodo women. Bodo women from the time immemorial, weave their own costume Dokhona and Fasra along with varieties of other clothes at home. ‘*Sebkhangnai* *Mohor’ (Printed Portrait)* and ‘*Phesa* *Megon’ (Owl eye)* stories also mention about the traditional attire Dokhona. In the Sebkhangnai Mohor story, the main character Dukharu loves writing. But he had no means to be a good writer. He does not write with the expectations of someone reading his writing but writes just because he loves writing. Dukharu wants to write about the day to day living of the Bodo society in ancient times. So, he wants to meet Phanil Narzary of Dhubsapara village. Because there is a centenarian old man in that village. One day, he sets out on a journey to Dhubsapara village to meet Phanil Narzary. Dukharu meets a girl on the way, who also wanted to go to the Dhubsapara village. Seeing her beauty and slender walk with rhythmic pace, Dukharu was overwhelmed and admired that God created women beautifully. The beautiful damsel walked in front of him and he followed her behind.

14 .Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai( new edition), N.L. Publications,Kokrajhar, 2010, p- 1

She looked more beautiful for wearing the laihakar agor’s (one type of Dokhona’s design) Dokhona. It is depicted in the story as:

*“The Laihagar Agor of her Dokhona seems to be climbing from below like a creeper and hiding at once at her waist, in the knot of the Dokhona. Twisting the edge of the Dokhona, tying it tight at her slender waist, slightly displaying her body behind and covering it again in an attractive manner, has certainly drawn the attention of the evil-minded people. The Sadwr hanging from shoulder to the waist behind seems to be like a flower blooming on her back. The tender touch on the flowers weaved on the sadwr and the butterflies seem to come to live again.”(eng.trans) 15*

In this story, the socio-cultural picture of the Bodo women, particularly the main attire Dokhona and its design ‘*Laihagar* *agor’* and its usage is reflected. From ancient times, the Bodo women use to weave their own Dokhona by themselves. Varieties of designs are woven on the Dokhona and Jwmgra (shawl). Designs such as- (1*) Kheru Agor, (2) Dhingkiya Agor, (3) Daotu agor, (4) Pharou Megon, (5) Thoblo Bibar, (6) Khangkari Agor, (7) Pharou Megon, (8) Khwdwm Bibar, (9) Bhwigri Bibar, (10) Maoji Afa, (11) Khangkrikola Agor, (12) Daorai Mwkreb, (13) Laosong Agor, (14) Gobsob Agor, (15) Agor gubwi, (16) Ghorka Ghongbrwi, (17) Hajw Agor, (18) Mwita Bibar, (19) Phool Mwbla, (20) Ganggu Ghodo, (21) Shingri Bibar, (22) Shingri Bilai, (23) Ghonggar Taisib, (24) Thaigir Bibar, (25) Ghandholla, (26) Khusli Dhentha, (27) Muphur Agan, (28) Mhokordoma Agor, (29) Bhondhuram Agor, (30) Agor Ghidir, (31) Dhaoki Agor, (32) Jhwrema Agor, (33) Ghudam Agor (34.) Dhekan Agor (35.) Shikiri Agor (36.) Ghari Sakha Agor (37.) Tharai Agor (38.) Jhinjri Agor (39.) Mwswao Hathai Agor (40.) Khaseo Agor (41.) Lao Begor (42.) Medel Agor (43.) Bhwiragi Agor*

15. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng (1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.8

*(44.) Monipuri Agor (45.) Thamphwi Agor (46.) Dhaobo Agor (47.) Swima Agor (48.) Aanarkholi Agor (49.) Khodhor Agor (50.) Shandhi Agor (51.) Okhapwr Agor (52.) Hathorkhi Agor (53.) Daorai Agor (54.) Fhoju Bibar Agor (55.) Laihagar Agor (56.) Mwider Agor (57.) Ghorai Agor (58.) Dhongfhang Bilai Agor.*16

One of the most remarkable habits of Bodo women is rearing Cocoon or Silkworm. This picture of rearing ‘*cocoon’* is depicted through the story ‘*Ang Khwnanai Gwdwni Bwrai Buri’* (The Old couple of ancients that I heard of). The spinning of thread from the cocoon with the *thaokri* is shown here. Whenever the two old couple quarrel each other, the old woman Dharjang used to go to father’s house. While doing so, along with the ornaments of gold and silver, Dharjang carried the Indi cocoon on her back. From the ancient days onwards, the Bodo women used the ‘*Thaokri*' (spinning wheel) to make the Indi thread. They collected the cocoon by rearing Silkworm at home. Thus the traditional practice of making threads from cocoon or Indi by the Bodo women is revealed here. The character of Dharjang is vividly revealed in this traditional practice of making Indi thread with ‘*Thaokri’* inthestory*.*

The same picture of making a thread with '*Thaokri’* (spinning wheel) is also shown in“*Mwdwmphru* *Barse Bibar*" (A sweet-smelling flower), through the character of Thiblai. When Mwnsing Sing Mahwjwn( Mwnsing Sing rich man) came to the Thiblai’s house to ask for her daughter Bibari’s hand for marriage to his son Dhukiram, at that time Thiblai was making a thread with *Thaokri (wooden device to spin thread from cocoon)*. Such as:

*“Is this Thiplai’s house? Ask- the Mahajan (rich man). Thiblai was making Indi (silk) thread sitting in the veranda. The daughter was cooking rice in the kitchen. (eng.trans) 17*

16. Baro, Dr. Indira: Harimu Arw Harimu (1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Kokrajhar, 2017, P.156.

17. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rwnao Phagla (1st edition), Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, p- 34.

*The* “*Gubru* *Sarbai* “(scattered) story is a social story where a poor family condition or the poverty-stricken Bodo society is depicted vividly. In the story, most of the Bodo families in Dholapara village would have remained empty stomach if their womenfolk did not sell liquor in the weekly market. The story depicts the family of Phaikrob and Hablang badly affected by poverty.

The family members of these two families would starve if the women of these families, Dhumpe and Jhaibreng were not to sell liquor to sustain their family. Such a miserable condition of poverty-stricken Bodo society is depicted in the story. Till now women of the poor Bodo families are forced by circumstances to sell Liquor to maintain their family. Such a painful condition of the Bodo society is revealed in the story, as:

*“Had not the women carry the ‘biban’ (bag of liquor)) on their backs and sell them in the Tuesday market, most of the families of Dholapara village, the fire would not be lit-on at the oven at night. Children have to sigh in hunger and sleep pitifully.” (eng. trans) 18*

At the same time, the author also reveals the evil consequences of liquor selling by the Bodo Women and creates awareness through the narratives. When the son of Bhatiya Pandit returns from college in his N.C.C uniform, Bhudang, ploughing near the Gossaigaon road fears him to be a police, coming to arrest the liquor seller and asks his son Thebgang to warn of the villagers. This rumor spread like a wildfire.

Ploughing is an important part of the Bodo society. The Bodo people from the time immemorial, rely on agriculture, domesticating cows and buffaloes, and use them for ploughing is a common feature of Bodo society.

18. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai.(2nd edition), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar,2010,p.22.

In the story, Bhudang is shown as ploughing in the field nearby Gossaigaon road. Such as:

*“In the meantime seeing an N.C.C in uniform, Bhudang, ploughing in the field nearby Gossaigaon road, said to his son, ‘Son Thebgang is that man, not the police?" Run and tell the people that the police are coming to arrest the liquor seller."19*

As soon as Phaikrob heard about the police, he showed red-eye to his wife Dhumpe and hid five gallons of liquor to a safe distance. Hablang and Jhaibreng also tried to hide the knee-high liquor pitcher in the bamboo garden. But Jhaibreng fell upon the ‘Dhabka’ (pitcher) upside down. This is stated in the story as:

“*Just before reaching the bamboo garden, Jhaibreng fell upon the Dhabka. As soon as the pitcher broke, the rice-malt (ofri) splashed upon Hablang’s face*.”(eng.trans) 20

From ancient times onwards, the Bodo people are preparing and consuming rice-beer by them and to keep this rice-beer mud pot is used, this mud pot is called '*Dhabka’*.

The story ‘*Andari Buri’ (Old Andari)* also reflects the miserable poverty-stricken poor family. The sons and daughters of the poor family had to work under rich people like slaves or maids and servants with just to survive is shown through the character of Hadang. Hadang lost his father at a very young age. Hadang had to leave his studies and serve as a cowboy to survive.

19.Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar, 20`10, p.22.

20. Ibid, P.24.

The practice of keeping maids servants and cowboys by rich people is shown in the story. The miserable life of a poor cowboy, being misused by their masters is revealed in the story, like:

*"Despite not letting the cows eat paddy, son of a slave, you dog, you've allowed the cows to eat the paddy,"-Such bitter scolding is given to the poor cowboy. Sometimes they knock them on the head. Hadang just considered such cruelty to be the destiny of a cowboy.Hadang never heard, of any judgment against their master for beating up cowboys without any mistake, till today.”21*

Thus Hadang grew as a cowboy and promoted to the servant as he grew older. Hadang then started saving miserly the little payment he got from his service as a servant. And with this little savings, Hadang returned the mortgage money for his land which his father had taken. Then he built a small thatch house. Then and there, Andari’s uncle approaches Andari to marry him, and they both got married. Slowly the family of Hadang and Andari was growing economically and financially with domesticated hens and ducks. They had a son too. They had a dream to educate their son and make him a successful person unlike themselves poor and illiterate. So, they started saving for their son’s future. However, Suddenly Hadang was attacked by markhi bemar (one type of Dysentry disease) and died leaving his wife and son behind. Andari tried to fulfill the dreams of her husband Hadang helplessly alone. After the death of her husband, Andari maintained the family by renting the Cows and giving the paddy field for plantation in sharing. With the little money she earned and tried to educate her son. But the rented Bulls were misused and suffered from sickness and could no longer be used for

21. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N. L Publication, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.39.

ploughing. So, people refused to take the bulls in rent any more. The person cultivating the land too cheated her and gave her no paddy saying that the flood destroyed the crops and that the insects destroying them or sometimes the drought destroyed the crops.

In the Bodo society, there is the practice of giving and taking bulls and buffaloes in rent for cultivation. Andari too after the death of her husband, to educate her son and run the family, rented her bulls and rented the little land she had for *Adhi*( cultivation for sharing).Bodo people, from the earlier times onwards, give their land for cultivation in sharing if they do not have to maintain. This existing practice of renting Bulls and land for cultivation among Bodos is revealed in the story, like:

“*Running slowly enables a long run, running fast makes one tired soon. Andhari had to run fast or else she might not get her heart’s dream. The previous five years went by without much difficulty. She rented her five bighas of paddy field and her two bulls and managed the family.”(eng. trans) 22*

Andari tried to educate her son Mohiram with all her might. She even saved for Mahiram’s school expenses even at all the expense of her stomach. But her son while going in the school indulged himself in learning evil practices and bad behavior. Andari completely failed to recognize her son going astray. When she discovered this evil character of her son Mahiram, she was deeply hurt. She slowly lost her interest in educating her son. She has become weaker slowly and lost her interest and enthusiasm for work. So, people do not give her work now. Now she roams about in other people's gardens and collects the fallen fruits. She eats the rotten ones and brings home the good

22. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai. (reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar, 2010, p-44.

ones for her son. She eats the rotten ones and brings home the good ones for her. This picture of the village life of Bodo is depicted. Most of the Bodo families in the village are rich in betel nut, mango trees, Jackfruit garden, etc. Andari also sometimes collected the fallen Jackfruits from other’s homestead garden and ate them to fill her hunger.

The story ‘*Narkhw*’ is based on Bodo society, so the real picture of Bodo society is depicted in this story. In Narkhw’s short story, the writer has represented the two main characters –Narkhw and Narkhw’s father. In the story, Narkhw is an idle and, lazy and cunning character and the other side Narkhw’s father is a humble and hard-working character. Narkhw’s father was a rich person in the village and owner of 50/60 bigas of land and mainly relied on agriculture. The ancient Bodo people used to have 50 to 100 bighas of cultivated land. The Bodo people’s main occupation is agriculture. Paddy crop is the main cultivation of the Bodos. Most of the Bodo people have vast cultivated land in the village area. For the cultivation of these vast lands, they took *Dahwna* (male servant) and *Ruwati* (female servant). Narkhw’s father also used to take Dahwna and Ruwati for the cultivation of this vast land. In Bodo society, the Dahwna and Ruwati are not treated merely as a servant but they are treated as their family members. Narkhw’s father is a rich man; it is depicted in the story as:

*“The father of Narkhw had about Fifty Bighas of Agriculture land, beside Seven Bighas of homestead land with gardens of various trees. (eng. trans) 23*

From ancient times onwards the Bodo people took the *Dahwna* and *Ruwati* for domestic works and treat their servants as family members. How Bodo people used to work and

23. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar, 2010, p.27.

love their servants as their family members and mingle with them that can be seen in this story. Narkhw’s father always treats their Dahwna and Ruwati as a family member. He used to buy such types of foods for the worker which provides energy for them, such foods as *Bwrma* *Aathing* (goat’s leg) and *Hani* *Sobai* (black gram). Hani Sobai is a traditional curry of the Bodos. In this story how the traditional curry ‘*Hani Sobai’* is consumed is thoroughly depicted. Such as:

*“Narkhw’s father had taken Bwrma bedot (mutton) from the market, but all are only bone and also had taken Hani Sobai.” (Eng. Trans) 24*

Narkhw’s father is a humble person. Though he was rich he was humbled by his character and such type of humble character can be traced among the people of the Bodo village society. Narkhw's father wanted his son to be well educated, so for that, he followed the advice of Narkhw’s teacher. On another side Narkhw spoiled his study hours, he cheated his father by taking lots of money in the name of his study. He spent all the money on buying different new designs outfits and watching newly released movies. Such type of character like Narkhw can be seen in society until today. He is among that person who does not know the value of time, the value of money, and always depends on their parents. When Narkhw’s father died with Saukha Bemar (one type of typhoid disease), Narkhw remained sad for only a few days but later on, he feels free. After the death of his father, he got married to a girl whom he liked. In this story pre-marriage preparation of the wedding of Bodo society is depicted minutely. A grand wedding in Bodo society is held with the contribution and works of the village people. The womenfolk of the village extended their help by *Mai* *Saunai* (paddy pounding), *Mairong* *khunai* (rice polishing), winnowing and sieving rice together before several days of the wedding.

24. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar,2010 ,P.20.

On another side, the menfolk also collect firewood’s from the jungle. It is reflected through Narkhw’s marriage. The menfolk of the village collected firewood for Narkhw’s marriage, for which he arranged a ‘*Gaan Bajna’*. It is depicted in the story as:

*“A party for the workers in the marriage and firewood collectors had to be entertained with a Gaan Bazna”. (eng.trans) 25*

In earlier days, the rich family of the Bodo society entertains their guests by bringing Gaan Bajna in the marriage. Narkhw also wanted to bring Gaan Bajna for his marriage.

Marriage is a social custom of the Bodo society. In a Bodo society for the date fixation, the members of the Groom visit the house of the Bride. At the date fixation, the family members of the Groom side along with the elderly village person approach the parents of the bride. They take some materials like a bunch of betel leaves, a pot of sugar, rice beer, and several items to the bride's side. It is seen through the medium of Narkhw, Narkhw also for not having parents sent two or three elderly village members for the date fixation. He also sent some goods like – pot of sugar, a little milk, a bunch of betel nut, etc. Like:

*“Fixation of the date of the marriage was settled by Narkhw by**deputing a band of matchmakers with a pitcher of sugar, a little milk and a bag of nuts and betel leaves to the house of the bride".(eng.trans)26*

The Bodo people have as many as six different types of marriage. These are (1) *Sangnanwi Lainai Haba( Social /marriage according to the standard practice(2) Garjia Lakhinai Haba(Obtaining girl by service) (3) Kharsonnai Haba( Girls flee away to the*

25. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar, 2010, p.32

26. Ibid, p.31

*boy’s house)(4) Bonanoi* *lainai Haba(marriage by capture) (5) Donkharlangnai* *Haba (Elopement)(6)Dongkha Habnai Haba(Widowremarriage).27*

In these six types of marriage Sangnanai lainai marriage is solemnized grandly. Narkhw also had done *Songnanai* *lainai* *haba* and he solemnized grandly. In this type of marriage, all the villager family members and two or three adjacent villages are invited. It is seen in the story as:

“*People from far and nearby villages were invited cordially by Narkhw. Those who were used to Oma bedot (pork) or Bwrma bedot (mutton) were entertained heartily by him” (eng.trans) 28*

Another Donkharlangnai Haba (eloping marriage) is also seen in the story *“Lama Gwjamni* *Agan*” (*Footprint of the old road*). In this story, the author reveals the existence of '*Donkharlangnai* *Haba’* among Bodos, as a part of social practice in a realistic manner. In the story, Ansaru left the house suddenly; the villagers spread the rumor suspecting that the educated Ansaru had eloped with Rwimali. From ancient times, there is a practice of getting married by eloping in Bodo society. It is depicted in the story as:

“*But Rwimali is at home. She did not elop with Ansaru as people thought.”29*

27. Brahma, Dr. Kameswar: A Study of Socio-Religious Beliefs, Practices, and Ceremonies of the Bodos (2nd edition), Punthi Pustak, Kolkata,2010, P. 76.

28. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai(reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar, 2010, p.31

29. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng( 1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, p.56.

Generally in Bodo marriages, rice along with different curries and meat are served. *Oma* *bedor* (pork) is the main item of Bodo’s marriage. It is mentioned in Narkhw’s marriage, Narkhw also invited all the villagers and nearby three or five villages in his marriage. He gave feasts in his marriage which consists of pork, mutton, and chicken. The villagers can consume these food items as much as they can.

This picture is also reflected in the story of 'Shrimati *Durlai’s*. Shrimati Durlai is very fond of marketing, and her marketing was incomplete if Shrimati Durlai did not go to the side of the pork market. She uses to feel as if something is left behind if she did not visit the pork market. Such as:

“*Shrimati Durlai feels something is left behind if she would not go to the side of pork market” (Eng.trans).30*

*Oma bedor (pork)* is the most favorite meat of the Bodo people; from the time immemorial, any major celebration or festival is meaningless if pork is not served. Right from the ceremonies related to birth or any other social functions, festivals, wedding or serving guests, and also the ‘*Saradu*’ (or the last rite after the death of a person), pork is served especially.

*The main house of the Bodo is called Nomano; it is built on the north side, facing to the south. This main house is partitioned into three rooms. The first is known as Khopra, the middle room is Akhong and the third is known as the Ishing31*. Besides this every

1. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.3.
2. Brahma, Dr. Kameswar: A Study of Socio-Religious Beliefs, Practices, and Ceremonies of the Bodos (2nd edition), Punthi Pustak, Kolkata, 2010, P.47.

Bodo people have *Bakhri* (Granary) and Cowshed. To build such houses, a certain side is selected already. In Ishing and Akhong's room, a non-member of the household is not allowed to enter into it. *Khopra* *house* is also regarded as the extra room where any person can enter and when the guests arrive they are allowed to stay in it. The picture of the presence of the *Khopra* house is reflected in Narkhw’s short story. Narkhw also kept marriage’s several things in *Khopra* house, as:

*“Pulses and vegetables were kept in full in the Khopra house of Narkhw”. (eng. trans) 32*

Another main house of the Bodos is *Bakri* (Granary) where seasonal cultivated paddy is stored. Narkhw’s father also kept seasonal cultivated paddy in the Bakri but during Narkhw’s time, he did not cultivate the land as a result granary became empty day by day. It is reflected in the story, such as:

*"The granary which was full to the brim at the time of his father, have become empty with no sign of House Sparrow, nearby”. (eng. trans) 33*

The Bodo women mostly use gold and silver ornaments, for the ear-Khera, *Phulkuri*, for the nose- *Naka* *phul* and the neck- *Chandra* har. *Chandra har is a heavy necklace of* *five layers hung on the chest from the neck34.*

32.Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai(reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar, 2010, P. 32.

1. Ibid, P. 35
2. Brahma, Dr. Kameswar: A Study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros (reprint), Bina Library, Guwahati, 2009, P.25.

Formerly the Bodo people used to Purchase gold ornaments after the marriage. Such a picture is reflected through Narkhw, Narkhw also wanted to give the *Chandra* *har* for his new wife after his marriage. It is seen in the story, like:

*“Most of the Bodos used to purchase gold ornaments after the marriage. Narkhw too wanted to order for a Chandra har for his new wife”. (Eng. Trans) 35*

The ‘*Honglani* *Saori’ (Community service of Hongla)* is a social story. In this story, there are three characters- Hongla, Phania master and Nagen inspector. Hongla is the secretary in the Pathwibari L.P. School, Phania is the teacher of this school and Nagen is the school inspector of the Bodo medium schools. *Honglani Shaori* story begins with the thatch roofing of Honglai’s house. In the story, Hongla is a middle-class man who has sufficient agricultural property. He is a unconscious guardian who builds thatching roof by Shaori (community service) and keeps the tradition of a group working in the village. Shaori Janai is an ancient tradition of the Bodos. The Bodo lives in the village; during the time of need, they extend help to each other. Generally, the main livelihood of Bodos is agriculture. In different seasons Bodo people cultivate the different crops. Paddy plantation, paddy plucking, paddy harvesting, and varieties of domestic works like fencing house, renovating, roof repairing, etc. are different works, if some family couldn't complete the work due to shortage of time then the village people are invited in the system of *Shaori* *Janai*. They are given a special feast for their service. It is reflected in the story *Honglani* *shaori*, Hongla is one of the rich persons of Pathwibari village.

1. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N. L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, p.33.

He also invited the village youths for roof repairing of his house and also arranged the special feast. It is reflected in the story as:

*“Today is the Shaori (community service) of repairing roof of the house of Hongla; the members of the service have already known that there are two pitchers of rice beer”. (Eng. Trans) 36*

The Bodo people used bamboo and thatch to build their houses from earlier times. In a rural area, the Bodo people are using bamboo to build their house until today. Bamboo occupies a very important place in the Bodo society. In Bodo society bamboo are associated with some rituals from childbirth to death, Bamboo is used in some ritualistic purposes e.g. in the childbirth the ancient Bodo womenfolk used bamboo for cutting the navel with bamboo slip and also the newborn child is first laid on *Shongrai* (*winnow made* *of bamboo slips*) and if somebody dies he/she is laid in the Bamboo mat and later the Bamboo mat is carried on shoulders for cremation or burial. The importance of bamboo is not lessened until today, from domestic to religious task, it is being used. Bodo people are using different bamboo-implements. Their dwelling-house is constructed basically with bamboo and thatches. It is mentioned that the youths of the community service helped Hongla for roof repairing and also used bamboo slips for Hongla’s house, like:

*“Some of them are preparing the slips of bamboo, some of them are throwing up the thatch on the roof, some of them arranged in pitching the thatch on the roof of the thatched house and ridge”(eng.trans).37*

36 .Brahma, Haribhusan :Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.16

.37.  Ibid, P.16.

The Bodo people have been rearing Cows, Buffalos, Pigs, and Goats, etc. from ancient times. In agricultural work such as ploughing, paddy carrying, harvesting, and threshing, Cows and Buffalo were used. The Bodo people regard the cow as a sacred animal and as the form of Goddess Laxmi. On the other side hens, goats, pigs, ducks were reared to sell in needy time for maintaining their family and to consume them.

This same picture is reflected through the stories of ‘*Phanphewal*i’ (the swallow) and ‘*Mwndwmphru Barse Bibar’* (a sweet-smelling flower). In the story of *Mwdwmphru Barse* *Bibar*, the widowed mother of Bibari, to maintain their livelihood she rears hen ducks cow, buffalos and as well as in ‘Phanphewali’ story also Anaram rears cows, domesticates pig, hen, etc, he also desires to buy two fair of cows for ploughing.

Till today, it is a witnessed in the remote village of Bodo people who are poor. In the Bodo society, if the guests arrive then the domesticated birds like hen, duck, pigeon, etc are killed to serve the guests and in some special occasions like family function, *Wunkam* *Gwrlwi* *Janai* (first eating of the new rice), *Shaori* *Janai* (community service) they kill domesticated birds. Despite this, they kill the goat, pig for the marriage, and some functions. In the Honglani Shaori story, Hongla’s family had also killed two domesticated hen for the *Shaori*. It is reflected in the story as:

*“Two large cocks are kept tied for the Shaori (Community Service)”. (Eng. Trans) 38*

38. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.16.

Rice is the main staple food of the Bodos. They take rice with varieties of curries. In the ancient Bodo society, mustard oil was not much used in curries. They mostly used *Kharwi* (an alkaline condiment). One of the most famous traditional curries of the Bodos is *Onla* (pasted rice curry). They cook onla with varieties of meat like *Dao* *Bedor* (chicken), *Oma* *Bedor* (pork), *Pharou* *bedor* (pigeon meat), etc. Onla curry is used on special occasions like *Wunkham* *Gwrlwi* *Janai* (first eating of the new rice), religious festival, Saori Janai, etc. It is reflected in Hongla’s Shaori, Hongla’s family also served *Onla* and *Dao* *bedor* for Shaori. Such as:

*"During the feast, one member of service commented – though we put in much labor, I can hardly find a piece of meat, so we have no other alternative but to lick up the Onla(pasted rice curry)”.(eng. Trans)39*

The story of ‘*Onla Khariao Agan taywi (no footprint in Onla curry)*, also how the Bodo women prepares different varieties of ‘Onla Curry’ is shown vividly in the story as:

“*There is no time to eat the Onla curry, it can be eaten at any time with anything like with cucumber leaves, bamboo shoots, barsikha flower, Gambari flower, papaya flower, best combination, and whatnot."(eng.trans) 40*

From ancient times onwards, the Bodos rarely used mustard oil for cooking purposes. The main ingredient of 'Onla curry’ is *Kharwi (alkaline condiment*). The Bodo women prepare *Kharwi* in the house from the ashes of dried banana leaves or plants, dried

39. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.21.

40. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng (1ST edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.3.

mustard plants, etc. This *Kharwi* only makes the Onla curry a tasty one. That is why every Bodo woman has to know the exact proportion *of ‘Kharwi’* to be used while preparing ‘*Onla curry’*. Otherwise, the Onla curry becomes tasteless. This is revealed in the story ‘*Onla* *Khariao* *Agan* *Tawi’* as:

“*The use of kharwi must be tested with the examining tongue. Otherwise, the angry husband might throw it away in the courtyard. (eng. trans) 41*

The traditional marriage of the Bodos is *Hathasuni or Hathasuni Kurnai*; this marriage is the earliest and traditional form of recognized marriage among followers of the Bathou religion, which is very simple and easy to be solemnized.

From ancient times onwards in every Bodo people’s household Bathou altar ,were planting a sijou tree (euphorbia splendens) along with a sampling of jatrasi and a tulsi in the northeast corner of their courtyard is seen. The ‘*Onla* *Khariyao* *Agan* *thawi’* is one of the stories where Bodo’s traditional religion Bathou altar’s aspect and Hathasuni Haba are depicted in it, how Bodo people solemnized Hathasuni in front of the Bathou altar and this Hata suni wedding, Onla curry is traditionally prepared, without turmeric and spices and have to be consumed by bride and bridegroom. This is a ritual of Bodo community; this picture is also seen in the story. Such as:

*“Just like the ritual of having Hatasuni wedding at the foot of Bathou during the Hathasuni Kurnai, without the turmeric and spices, with the chicken, there is the ritual of feeding the Onla curry; it is the symbol of purity.”* *42*

41. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng (1ST edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.3

42..Ibid, P.5

There is a traditional belief associated with the ‘Onla Curry’ in the Bodo society. Bodo people do not eat or serve *‘Onla Curry’* in the month of ‘*Karthik*’ (Bangla calendar in the month of mid of October to November). Because on the last day of the month of *Asin* (Ahin) and the first day of the '*Kathik’ (or Karthik*), the ‘Kati Fwrbw*’* or the *Kati-Gasa saonai (or the Katik Bihu in Assam)* is celebrated. The ‘*Kati-Gasa saonai’* is another seasonal festival of Assam. This festival is observed on the last day of the month of Ahin43. The Bodo people on the last day of the Asin light the lamp in the paddy field using the folds of the *Thaigit Bikhong*(Chalita fruit) and applying the mustard oil on the *‘Sewari’(a bamboo stick used in weaving),* fondles the paddy with it. So no insect destroys the paddy in doing so. After that on the first day of the 'Kathik month,' every Bodo people light the lamp on the fold of the ‘*Thaigit Bikhong’ (Chalita fruit)* in front of their doorways.

From that day onwards, the Bodo people do not eat and serve Onla curry until the end of the Kathik month. Because Bodos believe that in the month of Kathik, Bodo people can not make rice-powder otherwise ‘*Mainao’ (goddess Laxmi*) would be angry. But when the ‘*Aghwn’* (bangle month of the mid-November to December) month comes, with the use of new and fresh paddy and after having the *Wngkham* *Gwrlwi* (new rice eating ceremony), the Bodos again start eating and serving Onla curry. In the ceremonial eating of the *Wngkham Gwrlwi*, Onla curry is compulsorily served. There is a folk song related to Onla curry, it is also reflected in the story as:

*“Thing ...to… bundle of twelve spices*

*If one finds fish, meat then only Onla curry.”* (eng.trans*) 44*

43. Brahma, Dr. Kameswar: A Study of Socio-Religious Beliefs, Practices, and Ceremonies of the Bodos (2nd edition), Punthi Pustak, Kolkata, 2010, P.112.

44. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng (1ST edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.5

*Jou* (rice-beer) occupies an important place in the Bodo society. Bodo people use rice-beer for several purposes like- Marriage, Religious Festival, Funeral, Community Service, etc. They become very glad if they can entertain their guests with rice-beer. This rice-beer is prepared by womenfolk on special occasions like Bwisagu Festival, Religious festival, Community Service, etc. It is mentioned in Honglani Saori’s story that Hongla’s families also prepared rice-beer for Community Service and members of service also knew its presence of two pitchers of rice-beer.

*“The Rice- Beer of the community service is served continually; along with the work does not exhaust in one go.”(eng. trans) 45*

The Lain Bus (line bus) story is about an old couple who desire to visit their son-in-law’s house. The story narrates the incident associated with their sojourn to their son-in-law’s house. The picture of Bodo society is depicted here, the Bodo people of the remote area suffered due to lack of proper transport and communication system is revealed here through the characters of the old couple. Labangga and Gaojru, both husband and wife are confused with what to carry with them while visiting their son-in-laws' house for the first time. That is why Labangga warned his wife not to forget to carry the recently prepared '*Napham’* and ‘*Rice*-*beer’*. Napham and rice-beer are the traditional food of the Bodos. From ancient times onwards the Bodo people used to catch fish and eat them. They prepared the napham from the excess fish that they caught. Napham is prepared by womenfolk in the house. They prepared napham from dried small fishes. Firstly, they dry small fishes in the sunlight or on the fire and after that apply some quantity of stems of arum, then grind them together and store it in a

45.Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai( reprint), N. L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.17.

bamboo tube (owa hashung) and cover the mouth of the tube with the leaves of the banana(thalir bilai). It is called napham and it can be preserved for two to three years. On the other hand, rice-beer has a prominent place in Bodo society. Bodo people are very fond of rice-beer and Napham. So, Gaujru carries a packet of napham in arum leaf and rice-beer in the bladder. It is shown in the story as:

*“He told his wife Gaujru beforehand, even if you forget the rest of the things, do not forget the recently prepared Napham. Take out the napham from the bamboo and wrap it in arum leaf”.(eng.trans)46*

The Bodos generally, in the early times, did not wear a blouse and shirt and also slippers. This picture is depicted through Gaujru and Labangga. Labangga also did not wear a shirt when they went to their newly married daughter’s house. Like:

*“The old man said to his wife hold on me hard or else you might get left behind. The old man had no shirt on his body, he was half-naked."(eng.trans) 47*

The *‘Khipi* *Bendwng*’ (*a foul-smelling creeper)* is another social story where the writer depicts Khipi Bendwng plant. Bodo people from ancient days onwards used to eat many plants as curry. Not only this, but they used them as a medicine too. In the story, it is shown that the Bodo people used Khipi Bendwng not only as a curry vegetable but

46. Brahma, Haribhusan.: Shrimati Durlai(reprint), N.L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.49.

47. Ibid, P.50.

as a medicine plant . The writer has also shown how and when Khipi Bendwng gives the immediate result as a medicinal plant and is reflected in the story as:

“*There is no one who does not know Khipi-Bendwng. And most of the people know its importance. One needs to admire the self-identity of the Khipi-Bendwng. Diseases like Flatulent stomach, mucus feces etc.can are treated by consuming Khipi Bendwng chutney or by drinking the juice made from it.”(eng.trans) 48*

The ‘*Khipi Bendwng’* story is about the old couple of Thilapara village. The hunting habit of the Bodos is nicely reflected in this story. From the time immemorial, Bodo people are living in rural areas. There are some customs such as hunting, fishing, and collecting vegetables from the jungle. In this story, the old man had brought '*Khipi Bendwng’* plant along with catching *Enjor Mamu(mouse)* from a jungle and the same picture of the hunting and fishing habit of Bodos is also found in the story of ‘*Jwngni* *lagwni* *Hagrama’(Forest of our village)*. This story is written about the author's native village 'Dhuli gami’. The author lost his parents in his teenage. Hence he could not stay much longer there. But still, he could remember everything about Dhuli gami. So the village Dhuli gami is very own to him. This village was a mighty Bodo village and filled with jungle and nearby Dear, Lake, and river. The author, narrates, how the people of his village used to eat snails collected from the rivers and lakes and make lime from the shell of the snail and consume it with betel nut. This is revealed here. Such as:

“*In the big and broad river, men and women of Naigami village often come to collect snails. After eating the snail they would burn the snail shell and make them lime.”(eng.trans) 49*

48. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng (1st edition), Bodo Publications Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.11.

49. Ibid, P.37.

The most common habit of Bodo people is catching and collecting fish, snails from nearby lakes. In this story traditional way of collecting and eating snails, a socio-cultural practice is revealed. Hunting is another traditional practice of the Bodo people. The hunting habit is also seen in the story, like:

*"The jungle is very dense and a place of living for, deer, wild hog, spotted leopard, mongooses, pangolin, porcupines, dragon lizard, etc. pygmy hog was also found there. During the autumn, after the harvest, the jungle dries up. At that time, the cowboys while smoking burn down the jungle and the jungle becomes thin. The people of Dhuligaon used to hunt deers, hogs, etc at the moment."(eng. trans) 50*

Bodo people used to hunt and eat the animals found in the nearby jungle such asdeer, pig, etc and used knives axes, and bows and arrows as a tool for hunting.These very traditional practices of the Bodos are reflected in the story as:

“*Hum …….Hao….Tiger oh Tiger,*

*Run…Run…Gobla hunter cries out.”(eng. trans) 51*

In this story, at the very beginning, he narrated about his village Duligami in a picturesque way. The scenario of Dhuligaon is shown in the story as:

*“To the South of Dhuligaon, from west to the east flows the Dhuliriver. Flowing down it joins the Tipkai River. Just crossing a paddy field to the South of Duli River is a jungle all around. The canopy of green saal trees, akhi trees Odla trees, and so on and so ford, trees only trees. If one looks up, the hat falls from the head, such tall are the trees like Soma, Sidda and Boudh, etc."(eng.trans) 52*

50. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng (1st edition), Bodo Publications Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.11.

51. Ibid, P.38.

52. Ibid, P.37.

Dhuligaon was a mighty Bodo village. This village was filled with jungle and such were the trees as if it were planted and left behind by somebody else. Like:

“*Southwest is the Garo village, Lingthiya village and from the beginning of the Duligami was jungle. Extending in all three sides it joins at siling Jora, where streams flow the whole year. That is the jungle of our village, the 'Siling Jora’ the deep and dark one. It’s filled with thick Lai hular, thick Tharai, canes, bamboos, and the bushes and shrubs. In the long river, men and women from Sam Palang Simuri village used to come and collect river snails now and then. After eating the snail shell they would burn the snail shell and make them lime.”(eng. trans) 53*

The story, ‘*Ang Khwnanai Gwdwni Bwrai Buri’* (*An old couple of ancients that I heard* *off)* is about an Old couple of Pharbatjhora of whom he heard of in childhood. This story also has depicted Bodo village Pharbatjhora's scenario. Here, the author himself is from the Pharbatjhora, Salbari village. So he said already that people disliked hearing about Pharbatjhora village and turned their face away to show their dislike ness. Because the village Pharbatjhora is not a plain area, ups and down everywhere. In the story, also the socio-cultural aspects of the Bodo society are revealed. The picture of Bodo village of Pharbatjhora is revealed here as:

“*No water, no fire, the barren village, only ups, and downs. When one goes to collect vegetables one would stamp on to stone like hard mud and get injured in their toes and walks like a lame."54*

53. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bewndwng (1st edition), Bodo Publications Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.37.

54. Ibid, P.32.

Still, the author loves his village Pharbatjhora from the core of his heart and the Bodo folk song rings in his heart in remembrance of his village as:

*“When you go for logging in Pharbatjhora,*

*Bring a pair of Sal and makhus,*

*Oh. Dear Brother, Laroo bandaroo."(eng. trans) 55*

But the village of Pharbatjhora is famous in some respect. Because the most favorite vegetable of the Bodos are found in high upland and hills and become tastier, like-*Tharun(arum*),*Olodor(wild arum*) etc.In this story, the writer tells that once one tastes the curry made of *Tharun* and *Balabhatiya* *Na* (*little* *ill* *fish*) the person forgets whether his stomach is full or not, he just keeps eating. Because Bodo people are very fond of Tharun curry and eating dry fish. The food habit of the Bodo people, such as what vegetables they take and what other foods they eat, etc, these socio-cultural aspects are revealed as:

“*Before the summer season's 'Mwitha' and the end of autumn springs, Lafa, the people of Salbari village enjoy the taste of Samlaothi and Dousrem curry. If any young boys taste once, he has to but swallow his saliva in remembrance of this curry in offseason."* (eng.trans) 56

Bodo people special food items like Mwitha, Lafa, Samlaothi, and Dousrem, all these vegetable plant, these pictures are commonly depicted in the stories. The Bodo people

55. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bewndwng (1st edition), Bodo Publications Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.32.

56.Ibid, P.32

originally from ancient times onwards, do not use spices and mustard oil. These aspects are depicted in the other stories also which are stated above. In this way, how the Bodo people cooked and eat, such socio-cultural practice of the Bodos is revealed in the story as:

*"By this time Bodo people did not use mustard oil while cooking as the modern Bodos do and like now did not use Hazmolas (one type of spice chocolate) carried in pockets, soon after they washed their hands due to the use of spices in curry. The Bamboo shoot with rice powder 'Onla Curry'a little amount of Kharwi (an alkaline condiment) added to it, was a tasty curry. And the woman who is an expert in this cooking 'Onla' was always remembered. To cook the fish, caught in the field with jekhai and mwitha (roselle leaf,) one would find the only salt and distilled ash water near the hearth of fire in a Bodo woman's Kitchen."57*

In Porbatjhora, there were a couple of an old man and woman. The name of the old man was Gangreng, just like the name he was a lean and thin fellow. The name of the old lady was Darjhang and just like the name, she was beautiful, sittlent, tall, and fat. If one compares the husband with his wife, the lady was three times larger than her husband was. Darjhang, from her youth, was a very hard working lady. She used to get up in the midnight and start polishing rice in '*Uwal’* (wooden *husking tool),* no one could compete with her in uprooting the paddy seedlings. From earlier times onwards Bodos have the tradition of cultivating paddy by transplantation. After the harvest, they grind the paddy in an Uwal to get the rice. This socio-cultural practice is revealed through the character of Darjhang, who was an expert in paddy transplanting and grinding paddy, etc.

.57. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bewndwng (1st edition), Bodo Publications Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.33.

In the story ‘*Mwdwmphru Barse Bibar’* (*A sweet-smelling flower*), the character of Bibari changed the evils of her village by sacrificing her own life. For which Ramwnda even could not recognize his village. Because ten years ago this village was not that much developed as it is now. There was not a good street and the sight of their houses was deplorable as if being exiled from their land and have a temporary settlement here.Ramwnda was from this village.Ten years ago Ramwnda was befooled by a person and had shifted to Mimang with a dream of becoming a richer man there. The *migratory* nature of the Bodo people is depicted through the character of Ramwnda. Such as:

*"Ramwnda too was from this village. Ten years ago, befooled by sweet words of Dewani, selling everything land, cows, and other property had gone to Mimang neglecting his village with a dream to become a rich man there." (eng. trans) 58*

The “*Lama Gwjam ni Agan*" is another mentionable story where the writer has depicted the Bathou religion. Followers of Bathou religion observe *Kherai, Garja* puja, etc. every once a year. *Among the religious festivals, the 'Kherai puja' festivals and the*  *'Garja Puja' festivals are the most important traditional and religious festivals of the Bodos*.59 There is no permanent place of Kherai worship but every Bodos village has s permanent place of Garja Sali. The '*Kherai*' worship is observed by the whole villagers once in a year or if some problems come to anyone's house, the member of the family observes this Kherai worship to get rid of the problems. In the Kherai and Garja worship, the Douri and Doudini are the main central figure of the worship of Kherai aswell as Douri is the main performer of Garja. Besides these, some traditional musical

58. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rwnao Phagla ( 1st edition), Gossaigaon Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, P.26.

.  59. Brahma, Dr. Kameswar: A Study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros ( reprint), Bina Library, Guwahati, 2009,

P.111

instruments are required like- Kham, Siphung (flute), etc. These religious aspects are depicted in the story, as:

“*The ringing sweet words of Douri(priest) to worship 'Bathou' is called the main root of literature, to make the ringing flute and resounding Kham and the dancing of Doudini, a part of the mighty Bodo culture, I am going out beloved."(eng. trans) 60*

The *‘Siphung’* (flute) is one of the traditional instruments of the Bodos and it represents the Bodo culture. The story of *‘Siphung Belda*' also depicted the same cultural instrument like-Siphung (flute). Siphung Belda is the main character of the story, who was a very expert in playing flute in his youth. His played the sweet melody on flute earlier, so people kept his name as Siphung Belda. The Bodo people use this *‘Siphung’* instrument in the festivals or various occasions, like- Bwisagu, Domasi festivals, as well as Kherai puja, Bathou puja, and Garja puja, are very essential. This Cultural instrument '*Siphung’s* picture revealed in the story, like:

*“Siphung Belda, now everybody calls him only Belda. In his youth, he played a sweet melody on the flute."(eng. trans) 61*

The *Kherai sali, Garja Sali* scenarios of Bodo village is also reflected in the *‘Undaha’ (Regret)* story. Laodum has to leave unwillingly to his village or birthplace. The thought of leaving his village saddened him, how will he be able to leave his village? His

.60. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng ( 1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.59.

61. Ibid, P.45

Playground, fishing place, Garja Sali, Kherai Sali, and gwthwisali (cemetery or graveyard) are holding him back. Because open playground, grazing field, Garja Sali, or Kherai Sali and Gwthwisali are common to see in every Bodo village.Like:

“*Despite living through poverty, with the lack of food to eat and clothes to wear on, Laodum feels every member of his family, as his very own. Whatever the family condition is, but this place belongs to his parents and this is his very birthplace. To think of leaving this place is heart-wrenching for Laodum. His bird hunting place, fishing lakes, playground, place of garja Sali, Gwthwi Sali, are all Laodum's very own. (eng.trans.)62*

The ‘*Khwnafinnai Gwjam Solo’* (*Retold Old Stories*) also; the religious aspect of the Bodos is depicted. Through this story, the writer is trying to depict or find out the root of the Bathou religion. In this story, as a socio-cultural aspect, the main religion of the Bodos, '*Bathou*’ is reflected vividly. The main symbol of the ‘*Bathou’* religion is the ‘*Sijou* *biphang’* (euphorbia tree) and the first worshiper of this tree for the symbol of '*Bathou’* is not clear. According to the Bodo’s belief, ‘*Alari Dambra’* (Gilari Dambra) or *‘Mwnsing sing* *Bwrai*' is assumed to be the first person to use the Sijou tree for worship as a symbol of Bathou. It is reflected in the story as:

*"Bathou is the result of man trying to find out the nature of God or the creator. In this Bathou religion, the nature of the form of god can be found and Bathou is an unavoidable factor of the Bodo culture. The Sijou tree is the main or the central symbol of the Bathou religion. Though it is not certain to the fact of one who first worshipped God at the foot of Sijou,it is told that 'Alari Dambra', who is also called Gila Dambra, now known as 'Mwnsing sing Bwrai', might be the first to worship god near Sijou".(eng.trans)63*

62. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng(1st edition), Bodo Publications Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P. 21.

63. Ibid, P.28.

As reflected in the story, Alari Dambra was born of a ‘*Gami Bwrai’or ‘Gaobura’*s family. *The Bodo village is controlled by an elderly person called Gaobura64*. This existence of ‘*Gami* *bwrai*’ or ‘*Gaonbura’* is seen in the story as:

“*Bodo society, from the ancient days onwards, lived on cultivation. So Bodo society can be called an agrarian society. The Bodos work together in the fields. The expert one is selected as the leader of the village called 'Hadungra'. This Hadungra was the richer and more powerful than the other members of society."(eng. trans) 65*

The existence of Gami bwrai's picture is depicted in the 'B.P.L' story also.This story is not only based on the Bodo society but it also realistically shows the recurrence of corruption. The name of the story B.P.L stands for bellow the poverty line. For this Bellow Poverty Line, the government issues the BPL card and assures them some facilities. But to avail the benefits of BPL card some rich people tried to have this BPL card by unfair means. For issuing the BPL card to the government employees many young and old people as well as *‘Gaon bura’* or *‘Gami* *bwrai’* gathered at the house of Haranga Mochahari. There were many other people there along with the Gaobura; this is reflected in the story as:

*“Many people are present in Haranga Muchahary’s house and also Gami bwrai (Gaobura) is there.”(Eng. Trans) 66*

Alari Dambra was the only son of Gami bwrai's family, he was a very strong and courageous boy and he was very expert in the 'Gila game' and 'Bata game'. '*Gila’* and

64. Brahma, Dr. Kameswar: A Study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros(reprinted), Bina Library, Guwahati, 2009, P.40.

65. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng( 1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.28.

66. Ibid, P.16

‘*Bata’* games are traditional played games of the Bodos. Alari Dambra used to graze their cows and bulls along with his friends when he was a child. Thus, in the Bodo society, there is a tradition of agriculture, rearing pigs, goats, ducks, pigeons, cows and bulls, and buffaloes for their daily livelihood. These same pictures are reflected in the other stories which have been already mentioned above. For cultivation, most of the village families use to domesticate Cows and Bulls. That is why almost every Bodo rural family it is common to see *Mwswao* *Goli (Cow-shed).* For grazing the domesticated bulls, the Bodo people use to keep the Community grazing field or sometimes use the nearby jungle for grazing purposes. In this story too Alari Dambra used to graze their cows in 'Mwirwng Hagra' (jungle). This is revealed in the story as:

*"One day, Alari took his herd to nearby Mwirwng hill. As soon as the cows and bulls arrived, in the grazing place, the cows went into the jungle. After some time, Alari climbed on the tree as usual and looked around. But what happened ? Alari could not see a single cow. Alari was astonished. He called the cows by their names-Tenta, Maliya, Jenkhwna, Gaoreng, Jwril, Phakri…etc."(eng. trans) 67*

In Bodo society, there is a habit of naming the domesticated animals. Names are given to the animals by colour or size. In this story, Alari Dambra too gave names to their domesticated animals. In this way, one day the herds of Alari's cows were lost in the jungle. He searched his cows in the jungle and was weakening. There was a leader among the bulls with a long and pointed horn. Alari gave him the name as 'Hong' when Alari becomes angry; he used to call it '*Ahong’*. While searching his cows without having food, he became completely exhausted or drained out of energy and fell on a heap of stones upside down. He was soon asleep and he dreamt. In his dream Sikri-Sikla (fairy), with colourful Dokhona, welcomed him with aronai and made him sit like

67. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng( 1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012,P.29

a king on a throne. The main attire of the Bodo women is the Dokhona, which Bodo women use to make by themselves. These cultural aspects have been depicted in the other stories as well, which are stated already above. ‘*Aronai’* is used to honor the guests and elders in the Bodo society. '*Dokhona’* and ‘*Aronai’* are the identity of the Bodo people. This socio-cultural aspect of the Bodos is revealed in this story. In the story, the Sikri Sikla too welcomed Alari with Aronai. Just nearby, wearing cloth made of ‘Khunslai kundung’ (thread), an old man appeared on a huge tree. ‘Khunslai Kundung’ is used to weave clothes from the ancient days onwards by the Bodos.

Another remarkable story ‘*Garai* *Kuru’* (*scabies)* reflects the beliefs of the Bodo society. The author here compares the evils of the society to scabies or ringworm which infects even the healthy body, in an allegorical manner. This story is about an A.C.S, third category B.D.O officer, who was a sincere officer and worked for the society and took no bribes as a young officer. But he could maintain his sincerity only for a month or two, and then he fell prey to corruption. There is a saying; a fresh fruit gets spoiled if it's kept in a basket with rotten fruits. He quickly came under the influence of the corrupted lower officers under him such as the clerk, accountant, peon, etc. and got into corruption. Besides this, his wife used to fester him and insist him to buy cars, built building houses, and afford other means of luxury whenever he comes home after her head turned around looking at the luxury of others like the '*Thaokri’*(spinning wheel). Here the word ‘Thaokri’ is used by the author to connect the story to the Bodo society. ‘*Thaokri’* is a tool by the Bodo women to make thread from the cocoon. These pictures revealed in the previous stories which are described above. In this story how scabies occurs on a human body and how it affects is depicted. The Bodo people beliefs associated with this scabies or ringworm is presented in the story, as:

*“The Kuru (scabies) is different from Khujali (allergy). If one takes bath in polluted water or dirty water logging having the germs of scabies, the Khuru infects. It’s very itchy but if washed properly with washing soap, the itching disappears. But khujali do not get well easily. Khujali is infectious and so every day is afraid of it. Bodo people used to be cautious to sit on the 'Khamplai' used by the Bangal (Muslim) in fear of khujali."(eng. trans) 68*

In the ancient days Bodo people used to take bath with 'Kharwi' (an alkaline condiment), this practice is also shown through the story. They believed that 'Khuru' is infected' if somebody sits on the Khamplai used by the Bangal. That is why they donot sit on the Khamplai used by the Bangals. '*Khamplai’* is used as the wooden tool for sitting purpose. Whenever guests come to the house they are first offered to sit on a Kamplai.

In the ‘*Khipi Bendwng*’ story, the use of ‘*Khamplai*' or a wooden tool as a part of socio-cultural practices among Bodo is revealed. Kamplai is made in all small and big sizes. In the story to the old couple had used their respective Khamplai while having food. Bodo people, from the ancient days onwards, used Kamplai for the guests to sit on it while having food or in general purpose. Traditionally, when a bride is welcomed at the home of the bridegroom for the first time, the bride is made to stand on a '*Gambari Kamplai’* at the gate of the bridegroom's house and their feets are washed. In the same way, the bridegroom's feet are washed at the gate of the bride's house and welcomed when he comes to take her home in marriage. Besides this when a person dies, food and drinks are offered in the name of the dead person or on the day of 'Dosa' (some ritual related to after death). In this story uses of '*Khamplai’* isrevealedthroughby the anoldcouple*, as:*

*"Feeling hungry and tired after digging rat the whole day, thought to have a full supper. Reaching out their own 'Khamplai' (wooden tool) they sat together side by side."(eng. trans) 69*

68. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng ( 1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.24.

69. Ibid, P.12

The old couple, while having food together, gets the smell of 'Khipi-bendwng' (a foul-smelling creeper),and the old woman feels vomiting. Seeing the condition of his wife, the old man sends his son Ransrem to call in the *Gangreng* *Oja* (medicine man of the village). Gangreng Oja immediately treated the old woman with incanted folk medicine. '*Oja’* (medicine man of the village) is the main person of the village area who relief the people from disease. *There are two types of folk medicine in the Bodo society, Mainly- Mwntwr gwnang (Chanted) and Mwntwr gwywi (non-chanted) 66*. In this story, Gagreng Oja used the mwntwr gwnang (chanted) folk medicine. This socio-cultural practice of treating the sick with Mwntwr *Gwnang* (chanted) folk medicine is shown in the story as:

“*Gangreng Oja, as soon as he arrived, chanting his mantra spits on the medicine and says, I have seen you moving around here 'Sikhw Mwdai', immediately leave the patient, you will be given a red-cock or you will get 'Labra Thokon'(punishment). Murmuring his mantras, Oja beats the patients with Saldaukumwi( medicinal fern)."70*

The old man, after seeing the weakness of his wife, he prepared the curry with *enjor* *bedor* (rat meat) and grinded Khipi-bendwng. The old woman too eats the same curry and she feels better. Till today Bodo people eat Khipi-Bendwng to get rid of some of the stomach diseases.

The incanted folk medicine in Bodo society is also reflected in the story of *‘Jwngni Lagwni Hagrama' (forest of our village)*. In this story, Khakreb was lost in the jungle while hunting and reached home at midnight. But their parents thought that a Ghost is

70.. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng ( 1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.13

coming. So, they treated with an incanted folk medicine. This use of incanted medicine is depicted in the story as:

“*Holdong….moldong…inchanting*

*A Daosa (chick) has a wing*

*I am also an oja*

*Eat or excrete, I am there,*

*Go…else*

*I am not gonna spare you.*

*Tu….Tu…spit, on the patients”. (eng. trans) 71*

From earlier times, Oja (medicine man of the village area) is the main person, who cured the illness in the Boo society. This ‘*Oja*' picture is also depicted in the story '*Onla khariyao Agan Taywi’*. This story, Oja treats and cures the sick people in the village by giving them in *“Khasini*' (the incanted thread-bound around the neck of a sick person.). It is depicted in the story as:

“*If the Oja, who treated the seriously ill child with Khasini, is fed with Onla curry prepared with chicken, his mind is pleased with and whenever he is called again, he will never decline."(eng. trans) 72*

The ‘*Gwswni Dakwn’* (*Scar of mind*) story is the most nameworthy story where the writer tells about his village and childhood. The writer has portraited about his

71. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng( 1st edition), Bodo Publications Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.42.

72. Ibid, P.3

childhood where he played with his village friends, how to swim lakes and rivers. This realistic picture is shown in the story. Like-

“ *There is a deep, inseparable relationship and longing between Duli river and me like that of love, besides which swimming and diving while taking bath with friends till our eyes turned red are memorable(eng.trans)73*

In the story ‘*Gibi Bibungthi Angni’* also the socio-cultural aspects of Bodo society are reflected with the introduction of '*Kristi’* dances in a realistic way. In this story, the author while participating in a meeting of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha feels himself in a confusing state. The responsibility to bringing the guests was on him. So he too went up on the stage along with the guests and had a seat there. He was also asked to speak a few words. In between the speeches, there was '*Kristi’* dance performances. This aspect is seen in the story, as:

“*Meanwhile tao tao (clap), a mother beats her daughter for grumbling at not seeing the Kristi dance, behind the audience". (eng. trans) 74*

The ‘*Panphewali*' (the swallow) story also reflected the social picture of a poor family and its difficulties and the problems in running it. In order to run the family, how the Bodo village people use to cultivate vegetables and sell them for sustenance is revealed in the story. The Bodo people, besides paddy cultivation, plant varieties of seasonal vegetables. Cultivation is the main source of the Bodo people. It also mentioned other stories which are stated above.

73. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng ( 1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.51

74. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rhwnao Phagla ( 1st edition), Gossaigaon Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, P.9

Anaram also cultivated various vegetables like- Potatoes, Gourds, Arums, etc. for running his family smoothly. Such as:

*"Tipkai market, as it starts early, closes early too. Ansaru had brought two baskets, one is filled with gourds, Jhinka, and bananas and on the other one was filled with arum'.(eng.trans)75*

And also the story ‘*Rhwnao Phaglani Jethw Kheonai’* revealed the polygamy system. Rwnao shows Harao Mahajan's evil plans of marrying the maidservant of his daughter's age, as a second wife. Rwnao prevented the Harao's bed tricks. In this story polygamy system among the Bodos is depicted through Harao's character. Such as:

“*What are you thinking uncle? Rwnao asked his owner humbly. Are you going to have a second wife?"(eng. trans) 76*

Rwnao was forcefully asked to stay back at Harao's house at the request of Harao's wife. As a result, he had lunch later that day. For which, afraid of his wife, Rwnao asked his wife to give him *wngkham* (lunch) saying that he was very hungry. Harao’s wife Maidangshri showing her anger pretentiously gives him the wngkam with ‘*Narjee’* curry. The ‘*Narjee’* curry (curry prepared from dried jute leaves), is one of the most favorite curries of the Bodos. It's related to some ritual. When somebody dies at home,

the family members' do not eat Narjee curry for a year. It is a ritual for the Bodo society. This '*Narjee curry’* picture drawn in the story as:

“*Is* *the Narjee tasty today? Had there been napham in it, you would have bitten your fingers. (eng. trans) 77*

75. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rhwnao Phahla (1st edition), Gossaigaon Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, P.11.

76. Ibid, P.56.

77. Ibid, P.

Some ritual related to death is also reflected in the story ‘*Sebkhangnai Mohor’ (Printed Portrait),* when Dukharu went to Dhubsangpara village at that time he met a girl in the street. But the sad news is that some unidentified miscreants shot her dead on the street. Just before her death he took her on his lap and asked her about her whereabouts. Then the girl told him that she had come to take the 'Oja' from Dhubsangpara village, to treat her sick mother. The girl died on the street after telling all this to Dukharu. Dukharu plucked the leaf of the peeple tree and gave her water in it with his left hand for the last time. In the Bodo society, from the ancient days, there is a tradition of feeding the death ritualistically for the last time. Rice, Water, and anything that the dead person liked the thing most for his food while he or she was alive is fed to the dead person. These things are offered to the dead with the left hand only using the leaf of the peeple tree. This ritual relating to death is reflected in the story as:

*"Dukharu plucks a wide peeple leaf. The leaf is folded and made a tona (folded the leaf). Dakharu collects water from a nearby fountain in the field and comes near the girl. You have lost your life neglected on the street, have a sip of water from my hand oh poor daughter. He feeds her with his left hand and murmured alone saying, do not curse the society daughter, it will change for better someday."(eng. trans) 78*

The story ‘*Bangbulla*' story also reflected the social life of the Bodo people. This same picture is found in other stories which are already mentioned above. Khusung Mahajan brought Bangbulla to his house and employed as a Dahwna. Bangbulla was a very simple innocent person and for that everybody to teased and made fun of him. He was too innocent for that other villager fellow friends always looked for a chance to borrow his money. Some drank liquor from Bangbulla's money. Bangbulla loved a girl named Rupathi but she did not like to look at him at all. One day some friends deceived him that Rupathi loves him and wants to elope with him. He heard this news could not sleep

78.Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng, Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.10.

the whole night and become anxious on the bamboo bed. From ancient times Bodo people traditional used bamboo bed. It is revealed as:

*"The weather was not so warm and not so cold. It was a fast mid-night. From the desk onwards the mind is unstable, anxious, moving to and fro, unable to sit in one place. Now and then goes to his bamboo bed and lie down there."(eng. trans) 79*

In the story of ‘*Phesa Megon’*, the author, through the character of Sachi Babu, emphasises the necessity of taking care of his language, literature, Kristi and culture, etc. And one needs to safeguard his culture. This awareness is spread throughout the story.

One of the most remarkable stories ‘*Undaha’ (Regret)* reflects the life of an orphaned boy Laodum. Laodum lost his parents when he was just a little boy. He had three elder sisters. The oldest one was already married beforehand when they were just young. When his parents were alive, Laodum had everything including the land, the buffaloes herd, and the betel-nut garden. Most of the Bodos are seen having the land property, the fields, and the Cows and buffaloes. These aspects are depicted in other stories also which are stated above. Laodum's father was also a rich man with fields and land property, cow-herd, and buffaloes herd. This is shown in the story as:

“*Now to look after the land and the field and the cows and buffaloes, there is no older member in the family. So, the younger brother of Laodum's father, along with wife and six children comes and takes over the charge of looking after Laodum's property."(Eng. trans) 80*

After the death of Laodum's father, Laodum's uncle comes and stays in their house. The property of Laodum's father slowly began to lose hold at the hands of Laodum's uncle. During Laodum's father, Bakri (granary) was filled with paddy could not be finished by

79. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rhwnao Phagla, Gossaigaon Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, P.48

80. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng, Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.19.

themselves alone and Laodum's father uses to lend the paddy to his neighbors and villagers. In the Bodo society, from ancient's days onwards, there is the practice of lending and borrowing paddy and rice. These pictures are shown in other stories also which are already mentioned above. This socio-cultural practice of lending and borrowing system among the Bodos is depicted in the story through Laodum’s family, like:

“*As long as the parents were alive, all the three siblings did not know what poverty was. They use to lend paddy besides using themselves."(eng. trans) 81*

The main crop of the Bodos is paddy cultivation. And after the harvest, the paddy is stored in the *Bakri* and they do not easily taking out paddy from the Granary for the first time. Because until the month of ‘Aghon’ when the new paddy is harvested and stored and the onset of ‘Magh’ or the ‘Domasi’, then only, on last day of the Push month, which is also called the 'Sankranti', the head of the family woman, wipes the Bakri with fresh cow dung at dawn and covers it's door completely before the sunrise. After this day on, nobody takes out the paddy easily. To take out paddy from this Granary, the head of the family's woman need to observe some rituals. This ritual of opening the door of the Bakri is called '*Bakri Dangnai’* (touching of the Granary).

Orphaned Laodum had to go to school for three years under the care of his uncle, but could no longer continue anymore. He has to leave the school. His uncle insisted on ploughing and did not allow him to further his studies. Bodo people use to rear Cows and Buffaloes to cultivate. They collect themselves the requirements of cultivation such as the plough and the yoke. Ploughing is an integral part of the Bodo culture. Laodum uses to go to the field for Ploughing along with his Uncle from a very young age.

81. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng(1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.19.

This is shown in the story as:

*"Unaccustomed to ploughing, after ploughing the whole summer, Laodum became very weak. Besides this, due to starvation his health all the more deteriorated."(Eng. trans) 82*

In ‘*Siman’ (Confession)* story also depicted the Bodo phrase, the story writer reveals his failure to achieve many of his aims. The author narrates the two reasons why he had to pick up the profession of the by-cycle shop after his retirement. One of the reasons for his opening by-cycle shop was to keep alive his wife and the other is his pride and boastful character. He had written a seminar paper at the central ABSU conference, where he said that the Bodo people should take up the profession of running a business. For which he had to open a visible shop as an example. He further stated in this story that he could no longer write such an article when he grows old. He relates this through a Bodo phrase, as:

“*Without meat and fish, I am going to cook one bowl of Onla khari (curry of rice powder), if no-one eats I should not be blamed.*

*There is a saying in Bodo, Onla Khariao agan taya (no footprints remain on onla curry.) "(Eng.trans) 83*

**4.3 CONCLUSION**

It may be noted that the short stories of Haribhusan Brahma deserves, in a real sense, to be the statement of the agro-based Bodo society: also a transparent sketch of the socio-cultural life of the Bodos. The picture of domestic life has vividly discoursed through the art of storytelling where characters are gathered from the traditional society and he has become successful in the drawing of the society.

82. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng(1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.19

83. Ibid, P-2.

**CHAPTER-5**

**AESTHETIC ASPECTS OF THE SHORT STORIES**

**5.1 INTRODUCTION**

The short story is an integral part of the literature, where the writer tries to portray some of the real incidents of humanity in a fictional manner in a short story. Through his writing, the author tries to reach out to the readers giving it aesthetic values. In a short story, the aesthetic aspect is given through the writing style, language, and sentence formation maneuvered by the writing skills of the author. Every story writer has their writing skills and techniques because writing skills are very unique to the writer only.

In this respect Bodo Literary critique Birupakhyagiri Basumatary opines-

*“For this, the writer's use of language, family, education, culture, nation, etc, and many other aspects affect the style of the writer."84*

A short story is a kind of creative art or literature. Hence the success of writing a short story depends on the capability and the capacity, and the writing skill of the author. Through the type of style, use of language, and kind of philosophy, the author tries to put into his writing, which determines the success of the short story. In this chapter, an attempt is made to analyze Haribhusan Brahma’s style and language of the short stories.

84 . Chainary , Swarna Prabha: Bodo Sungdo Soloni, P.

Style is the main feature of presenting short stories. Style is the art of expression and presentation in the story. The style of the story is defined in the book '*The Routledge* *Dictionary of Literary Terms’* as:

*“A style is a manner of expression, describable in linguistic terms, justifiable and valuable in respect of non-linguistic factors.”85*

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**5.2 STYLE OF THE SHORT STORIES**

Haribhushan Brahma’s storytelling skill is not similar to others. The plot of Haribhusan Brahma's short story is based on the simple life-style of the innocent Bodos. The language used is simple and straight forward and uses the rural dialects for his narratives. In his short story, the evils of society are slightly addressed and criticized. This attracts the heart of the readers.

In this regard literary critic, Manaranjan Lahari admitted thus-

*"The stories appeared in Srimati Durlai are not new ones but the presenting the storytelling style is a new one". (Eng. trans) 86*

The style of Haribhusan Brahma’s short stories may be classified into sub-parts. Such as:

**5.2.1 STYLE OF SATIRICAL-HUMOUR**

Haribhusan Brahma is a unique short story writer. His storytelling style is very humorous, amusing, and attractive to the readers. The evils and the evil practices of the

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society are carefully reflected in a Satirical way and attempt is made thus to free the

society from its evils. His desire to change society through his fictional representation is worth mentioning. The evils of the society are revealed through the power of his pen and the use of strong language in a satirical way. Through the use of satirical humor, attractive, meaningful words come out through his writing which captivates the mind of the reader and gives solace to the minds.

In the story of ‘Shrimati *Durlai*’, the existence of a few women like Shrimati Durlai is presented, who violates most of the general social norms of the Bodo society, and goes to market, and for movies, drinks wine, engages in evil activities of darkness, having affairs with different men. The evil consequences of having such illicit relations and activities, which completely spoil the lives, particularly of a woman's life till today and how many more are going to destroy themselves are shown here. 'Shrimati Durlai’ also completely allows her mind and body to such glamorous activities and at the end elopes with ‘hindiwala’ men. But afterward, she was betrayed and became very helpless in the distant land. Such type of women’s characters and activities are adapted to present the satirical style in the story. Like:

*"It's good not to look for Shrimati Durlai after the cinema. No one in the town does not know Shrimati Durlai. There are many to help her in the time of need. If she wished, without having a penny, she could spend the night in hotels, as the doors of hotels are kept open for her. (eng.trans)87*

In the ‘*Gwdan Kontaigiri’* story too, an active and educated girl like Laishri

87. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar, 2010, P. 4.

humorously makes fun of unstable unsettled young poet Dhondiram, as:

*"Oh! I don't cry for time. I have no works as numerous as yours. In the morning you have 'puri' and tea at kaya's tea stall and in the evening stay the late night at the crossroads in groups and compose."(eng. trans) 88*

In the story of '*Honglani Saori’,* the school teacher, Phaniya master, comes drunk from Hongla's Saori and hits the Varanda(corridor) post at the school and asks the students to collect the benches for him to lay on and makes them pour water on his head one by one. But to hide this shameful act of Phaniya master, the school inspector and the school secretary Hongla tells a lie. This situation has presented in a satirical way in the story. Such as:

*"The Master knows only the school, even comes when he is sick. He informed me that he has been sick for the last few days."(eng. trans) 89*

Despite knowing everything about the incidents of Phaniya master's drinking in the school. Nagen, the Inspector of Schools, too was managed by wine and changed the report in favor of Phaniya master. This is shown in a satirical manner as:

*"Lover of his school more than his health, and a sincere and dedicated teacher, Paniya master, came to school today despite his ill health and suddenly having a terrible headache, he has to take rest and sleep in the school. From the core of my heart, I would like to say and suggest that teacher like Paniya master is eligible for the greater award than the "Rashtrapati Award."(eng. trans) 90*

In the '*Lain bus’* story also, Gaojru and Lablanga, while visiting their son-in-law's house, had to return without having food and drink.

88. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010. P.7.

89. Ibid, P.19.

90. Ibid, P.20.

Such incidents are presented humorously. After reaching in son-in-law's house, the son-in-law's mother, sensing the smell of curd, wine, and the napham thought that they have left everything in Gaujru's brother's house tried to escape from offering them food. It is presented in a humorous and satirical way in the story. Such as:

*“Oh Jamaijw instead of having food on the way, you could have come straight to our house. You’ll have to return now without having a meal. It's good too Jamaijw, they have plenty of curds, they even sell them in the market, I heard they caught plenty of fish that day, and made plenty of napham. It’s good Biyai, that you’ve had food already. You would have to eat without meat and fish here.”(eng.trans) 91*

Haribhushan Brahma's attempt to highlight and critique some of the evils of society through his humourous and satirical style is found in his stories. In the story '*Narkhw’*, Narkhw finds himself free and uncontrolled after his father's death and marries his beloved and throws a huge reception by keeping his land in mortgage and feeds three or four villages carelessly, misusing the foods and meat. This is a satirical presentation of some foolish incidents occurring in society. Like:

*“Leftovers thrown on the other side of the road seem to be a small mountain. The stray dogs need five days to eat up the leftovers of Narkhw's wedding. Had not the stray dogs eat them properly' Narkhw would have to spend money to clean the left over's thrown there. " (eng. trans) 92*

In the same way, the story '*Gibi* *Bibungthi Angni’*, has shown and expressed the excessive use of food and drink, wasting more than eating in the Bodo Sahitya Sabha’s meeting in a satirical and humourous way.

91. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.53.

92. Ibid, P.

In the delegate meeting, the author, being called out by the president, gets confused about what to say and whatnot. He indirectly, grumbling in his heart, spoke-

*"What should I say, even if I don't speak, literature is going to grow as it has consumed a lot of chicken, pork, mutton. And if it doesn't grow after eating so much, this literature is not literature, I am saying it."(eng.trans) 93*

Use of Such humorous style is again seen in the story of ‘*Bangbulla’*, when Khusung Mahajwn, brought Bangbulla to their home as a Dahwna, looking at the dark face of Bangbulla, his wife says in a satirical-humorous way-

*“From where did you bring him like the black crow? If some children see his face at night then they will fear.”(eng. trans) 94*

**5.2.1 CONVERSATIONAL STYLE:**

Among the narrative style of Haribhushan Brahma, mention may be made of his conversational Language in narratives. Without having a conversation a story seems to be lifeless and does not address any situation. Through the use of conversation style, the writer tries to highlight his thought and experiences, and discoveries in a story. Haribhushan Brahma, in his short stories, used captivating conversation and tried to make his stories more relevant to society. Through his conversational style, Hribhusan Brahma, sometimes highlighted serious, sometimes humorous, and sometimes value-based instructions and sometimes through conversation critiqued the society. In ‘*Hongla’s* *Saori’* story too, the roof repairing work was done by the village people,

93. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rwnao Phagla (1st edition), Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, P.9.

94. Ibid, P. 45

whereby the conversation of passerby Phaniya Master is seen as-

*"Have you started Mahajan (rich man)? asked the passerby Phaniya master.”(eng.trans) 95*

Again Hongla replied-

*“Yes, master, you will, have to come after sometimes when I call you there isn’t much time, we are going to start.”(eng.trans) 96*

This conversational style is found in ‘*Bangbulla*' story also when the youngsters of the village asked ‘Bangbulla’ about whom he loves, Bangbulla replies smiling-

*“You know that I love Rupathi and you still ask me.”(eng.trans) 97*

In the story ‘*Andari buri’*, the teacher is advising Hadang, this conversation is seen in the story, as:

*“Hei! Hadang study hard, despite being a servant's son, this employment of servant*

*must be done away with.”(eng.trans) 98*

95. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.16.

96. Ibid, P.16

97. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rwnao Phagla (1st edition), Printing Press, Gossaigaon , 1985, P. 45

98. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint) , N.L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.39.

In ‘*Rwnao phagla’* story also, Rhwnao’s conversation with Nirmal about the cause of the loss of the Bodo Kingdom and his dream is shown. Nirmal says-

*"We hear about our Kingdom brother Rwnaoo. And they say Dimapur is the symbol and remnant of the Bodo kingdom. I don't know the reason for the fall of the kingdom. Some say betrayal of one another was, the main reason for the fall of Bodo Kingdom,"*

*Truely, truely, brother, it was treachery, treachery might have been the reason – Rhwnao replied. (eng.trans) 99*

Such conversation style is shown in the story ‘*Sebkhangnai Mohor’* when unidentified miscreants killed a girl in the street without any reason, the old man holding the dying girl on his lap tried to talk to her. Here too the conversation (or use of dialogue) style is used.

*“What happened, daughter to your daughter? Why did such a thing happen to you? Dukharu asked holding the dying girl on his lap."*

*"Someone shot me, father," she replied. "Young girl, why did you come alone?*

*Where did you want to go?” asked Dukharu.*

*Mother is a seriously ill father and nobody wanted to come because of fear in Dubsapara village to call in the Oja. So I came, “replied the girl.”(eng.trans) 100*

99. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rwnao Phagla (1st edition), Gossaigaon Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, P. 62.

100. ------------------------: Khipi Bewndwng (1st edition) , Bodo Publications Board, Gossaigaon ,2012, P.9.

This conversation style is also found in the story of ‘*Bangbulla*’; Khushung Mahajwn uses his conversation skill to encourage Bangbulla to work. The conversational style express in the story as-

*“Bhangbulla, concentrate on your work. Girls do not love if one is not expert in work," Khushung Mahajwn said to Bangbula. (eng.trans) 101*

This type of crafty conversation is seen in *‘Rwnao Phaglani Jethw Kheonai’* story also. In the story, how Harao Mahajwn, to materialize his dream of having a second wife, goes to the Gaonbura’s house and have a conversation with him in a crafty manner to draw his support in his favour, is worth reading and an example of using conversation as a typical style. Like-

*"At first I didn't think it to be real father-in-law, that girl's mind could be that way. I cared her like my own daughter, fed her, and clothed her. And now she wants to marry me. It is rightly said- "Give a plate to the dog and it jumps on your shoulder."{Retain the Bodo}(eng.trans) 102*

When Gaobura didn’t understand him, Harao again said-

*“That my servant ‘Ode’ father-in-law, the bitch is not willing to marry anybody except me,” Harao said to the Gaobura. (Eng, Trans) 103*

101. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rwnao Phagla (1st edition), Gossaigaon Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, P.47.

102. Ibid , P.

103. Ibid, P.

Thus, through the use of Colourful conversational (colloquial) Language, Haribhusan Brahma’s art of storytelling is revealed.

**5.2.3 NARRATIVE STYLE**

The narrative style of Haribhushan Brahma is explanative. In the Shrimati *Durlai’s* story, the physical look of Shrimat Durlai looking is narrated in the story. Such as:

*“Who would call her a Bodo girl? Walking pace and swinging hands, she looks more like a Bengali girl.”(Eng. Trans) 104*

The whereabouts and the parents of Shrimati Durlai is narrated in the story as-

*"With looks and character always noticed, who the parents of Shrimati Durlai were, no one knows till today. No one has asked even the names by mistake too. Not only this, but it would also be good to know the name of her village. I am still unaware of it.”(Eng. Trans) 105*

Such narrative style is also seen in the story, ‘*Jwng Lagwni Hagrama*’. In this story, the

104. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.1

105. Ibid, P.5.

author beautifully narrated, how the Bodo people use to go for hunting. This is also really worth mentioning. Like-

*"Some with the knife in hand, some with axe and others with the bow, get ready and silently move for hunting. They don't make a noise as they do while hunting deer with a net. They are alert otherwise the* deer *and wild hog might run away. Besides the hunting team, two hunters with guns use to stalk the animal. To get together at 'Silingjhora hill' is the decided destiny of all." (Eng. Trans) 106*

In the story ‘*Gwswni Dakhwn’* also writer shows how he, in his childhood, use to go for fishing with his friends without any hesitation as-

*"Sitting near the Duli River without tiredness and hesitation and fishing the whole day long has left in me a deep scar in my heart. Carrying the earth worn in yam leave, and even fishing the whole day we sometimes got no fish. Our fishhooks were too big for the fish to hold it on and swallow it. They would only eat the earth warm."(Eng. trans) 107*

* + 1. **STYLE OF CREATING ATMOSPHERE**

Haribhushan Brahma, in his stories, clearly uses the strategy of creating an atmosphere. Through this, atmosphere creations style is rightly given. His writings could attract people's hearts. Most of his stories reflect his idea of creating a situation to the maximum demands.

In the story of ‘*Honglani* *Saori' (Community service of Hongla)*, Nagen, the school inspector comes for investigation and finds a Phaniya master getting drunk in the

106. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng ( 1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P.38.

107. Ibid, P.51.

school. The situation is nicely-created in the story. Where the Phaniya master gets water by the students is noteworthy.

*“When they arrived with the school inspector in the school, he was, being watered by students.”(Eng.Trans) 108*

In ‘*Lain Bus’*story also the situation created such as going to son-in-law’s house, Napham being spoilt, and the breaking of the curd mud pot, etc are presented in the story, as:

*“Jou and Napham both got squeezed and spoilt while getting into the bus. Those behind the old Lady tried to move away holding their nose. Some went out feeling vomiting. Thus, the old Lady got the space to move near her husband and stood there.”94(Eng.Trans) 109*

In the story ‘*Gubru sarbai*’ also, as soon as the news of police arrival spread while trying to hide a large ‘Dabkha’ (pitcher of rice beer), Jhaibreng fell upside down upon the 'Dabkha' due to the loosening of her dokhona. The ‘ofri’ (a rice-malt) got splashed upon Hablang’s face as the pitcher broke. The sight of rice-malt on the face of Jhaibreng and Hablang looked funny and humorous. Here too the atmosphere is created very carefully to make the situation of confusion and humorous. The creation of such an atmosphere even changed the evil character of Hablang too. This is shown as-

*“Called his wife Jaibreng, seeing, the calling, Jaibreng came running near him. Hablang holding Jaibreng’s hand goes near the knee tall ‘dabkha’ and helps her carry it to hiding place.’’ (eng.trans)106*

In the story of ‘*Andari Buri’* also the atmosphere created after the death of Andari’s husband Hadang is very melancholic. Such as-

109. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai( reprint), N.L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.51.

110. Ibid, P.23

*"Andari can't we make Mahiram a dignified man? The greatest mistake of human is the heart's desire. You have to look after him; say with a weakened body, Hadang opened his lips lightly and tried to smile."(eng.trans) 111*

The ‘Phanphewali’ story also, Anaram’s wife Hagrw, after realizing her mistake tried to reconcile with Anaram. This atmosphere is beautifully created in the story, as:

*"Hagrw comes and stands behind Anaram near the ditch. Hagrw closely observed Anaram catching fish in the mud. Despite being already married, she wanted to fall in love with him once again. After a long time, she looked at him so well."(eng. trans) 112*

In ‘*Rwnao Phaglani Jethw kheonai’* story too, an atmosphere is created where Harao discovers that Ode, whom he thought of having a second wife, loves his son and are going to get married. The incident of kneeling before Harao as his father-in-law is humorous. Such as-

*“............exclaiming thwd..........thwd.....thwd, moves about here and there. I don’t know what’s happening. I don’t know. Do as you wish and marry her, I am going. (eng.trans) 113*

111. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L ,Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.43.

112. --------------------------: Rwnao Phagla ( 1st edition), Gossaigaon Printing Press, 1985, P.

113. Ibid, P.

**5.2.4 AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STYLE:**

Another important style of Haribhushan Brahma's story is autobiographical. The author starts the story with the words ‘I’ and ‘We’, writing about himself and thus gives a very autobiographical experience to the readers.

In ‘*Jwngni Lagwni Hagrama*' story, the author writes about the atmosphere of his village. He exhibits himself with the words I and We in his stories as-

*“Dhuligaon village is my village. How? I am born in Duligaon village, even after losing my parents at a very young age; I have stayed there for twelve years. I am grown there. " (eng.trans) 114*

Such a style is used in, ‘*Ang Khwnanai Gwdwni Bwrai Buri’ (The two old* *couple of whom I heard*) too. The writer talks about his village, his birthplace, how he lived there, and about everything that he saw in his village as a child, in an autobiographical manner. Such as-

*“If anybody asks me where I come from, I tell them straight that I come from village Parbatjhora Salbari. But I can’t tell the village name. Because if I told the village name, some use to show their dislike ness on it, the saying do people live in such a village? (eng.trans)115*

114. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng (1st edition),Bodo Publications Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, P

115. Ibid, P.

In the story ‘*Siman*’ too, the writer narrates a small incident of his life in an autobiographical manner and creates the story. After the retirement from his job, what he did, and where he went is presented in an autobiographical manner. This is shown as-

*“Everybody knows, nowadays, I stay at the PWD Street leading to the west Bangal, and running a small cycle garage, displaying two or three new by-cycles. Living in dirt sits on a broken tool the whole day."(eng.trans) 116*

In “*Gibi Bibungthi Angni*," story also, the author narrates an incident of his life in an autobiographical manner using the terms like '*Me’* and ‘*Mine’*. Such as-

*“There was a magnificent meeting on 16th November of Bodo Sahitya Sabha, I forgot the year. It may be before Sixteenth November or after. In which year it occurred that is not a big matter for me. That is why there is no need to remember it. After going to that meeting how I felt like a big mistake is what I am going to tell you.”(Eng.Trans) 117*

Haribhushan Brahma’s ‘*Undaha*’ story is an autobiographical one. How he struggled from his childhood onwards, up to his old age, and how his elder sisters loved and cared him for the death of his parents is narrated in the story. On another side, there is the similarity, between the Laodum’s life and his own. Because in the story Laudum is an orphan and the author was also an orphan. Both Laodum and the author established themself because of the love and helping hand of their sisters.

116. Brahma, Haribhusan: Khipi Bendwng (1st edition), Bodo Publication Board, Gossaigaon, 2012, p.

117. …………………….:.. Rwnao Phagla (1st edition), Gossaigaon Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, P.

**5.2 LANGUAGE:**

Most of the stories of Haribhushan Brahma are based on the rural lives of the Bodo society. The Language used in his story is an easy, simple, and rural language of the common village people. And most of the stories are full of symbolic words. That is why the story becomes sweet and captivating.

In the story ‘*Rwnao Phagla’*, Rwnao used to get scolding from the young girls whom he stopped from quarreling with their mothers for not allowing them to go to the cinema. In the village area when somebody wants to scold or tease someone, they use the words ‘*Baoda’*, 'Baoda' means a useless person who always forgets things.

*“Why this ‘Baoda’ Rwnao Pagla is is bothered about us, they say. (eng.trans) 118*

Besides this, the words used in the village such as- *Phagla* (mad), *Pagli* (mad Lady), ‘Aao*-Sao' (funny)* and *Suni-bani (fated one)*, etc are used in his stories. By using such words used by the villagers, the author vividly presents the very picture of the village people in a rural sense.

In ‘*Srimati Durlai’*, when a woman, aunty in relation, offered rice bear to Shrimati Durlai in a market, Shrimati Durlai reply is noteworthy-

*"Shrimati Durlai, extending her hand replied- why pagli in pure daylight!”(eng.trans) 119*

118. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rwnao Phagla (1st edition), Gossaigaon Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, P.

119………………………: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.

In the story ‘*Lain Bus*,’ when the old couple while returning without having food from their son-in-law’s house, the old Lady blames her husband for the entire incident of not getting food. The old lady scolded her husband saying-

*‘Pagla Bwrai’ (old mad man), because of you only, we didn’t get food, ‘Suni-Bani’ (fated one).’120(eng.trans)*

*“Suni-bani (the fated one) Napham and the curd made us go hungry. If I was to know, I would not bring them along. ‘Pagla Bwrai’ (mad old man) you only told me to carry the silly things.”121(eng.trans)*

The ‘*Panphewali*’ story also a picture of village life is depicted. The words of love and respect used to address the younger people '*Aaosao’* word is used-

*“Aaosao (funny) kid, why have you not brought the tobacco?”122(Eng.Trans)*

Again, Haribhushan Brahma’s use of words has special characteristics, the use of symbolic words. Most of the stories of ‘*Shrimati Durlai’* are filled with symbolic words. Because of which a new trend of using symbolic words in short stories came to Bodo Literature.

120. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai(reprint), N.L Publications, Kokrajhar,2010, P.

121. Ibid, P.

122. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rwnao Phagla( 1st edition), Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, p.

In ‘*Honglani Saori’* story when Hongla offered wine to Nagen, the school inspector used the symbolic word *‘mengra-hwgra*’ instead of ‘*jou’* (wine).

*"Will it be good to take the 'menga-hwgra' (boredom- reliever), sir?"123(eng.trans)*

Nagen inspector too after having the wine in Hongla’s house, forgot about ‘Phaniya’ master and his anger on him disappeared like that of the ‘poison of snake’ instead of ‘anger’ in a symbolic manner, as-

*“Having the third glass, the poison in his head disappeared from head to toe as if at the mantras of an Oja.”124(Eng.Trans)*

In ‘*Lain Bus’* story, the Lain Bus is full of people and such type of crowd, the author express using the symbolic word ‘*shoots of grass*,’ instead of huge people as-

*"The Bus came, but the sight of the bus can't be seen and seems to be grass growing on it."125(eng.trans)*

123. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publications, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.

124. Ibid, P.

125. Ibid, P.

In this story, the symbolic word '*Khusung*’ (tortoise) is also used to describe the slow-moving bus.

*“It just took out its head from the scales like a tortoise."126(eng.trans)*

Most of the stories of Haribhushan Brahma are written in a poetic Language also. The use of such poetic language is seen in the stories- '*Gwdan Khontaigiri*,’ and ‘*Rwnao Phagla’* etc. Such as-

*“Frogs are crying ebb-ong*

*Our roof is of thatch,*

*There* *are some holes*

*Poorer people than us are*

*Have roofs with plenty of holes."127(Eng.Trans)*

(Gwdan Khonthai giri)

126. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publication , Kokrajhar, 2010, P.

127. Ibid , P.

In the story of ‘*Rwnao Phagla’* too, use the poetic Language. Such as-

*Oh! Mother of the Bodos,*

*Why did you bring up your children with wine?*

*The* *stubborn son also cannot leave the wine*

*Everything is destroyed,*

*There* *is confusion among Bodos*

*Oh! Mother* *of Bodos!(Eng.Trans) 128*

(Rwnao Phagla)

Besides this, in Haribhushan Brahma's story, the use of Hindi and Bengali Language is seen. This is revealed in the story of '*Shrimati Durlai’* when she had a conversation with the shopkeepers. The shopkeeper hands out the bangles to Shrimati Durlai saying-

*“दिदि भाल शांखा आसे, निबेन ना ?*

*Eng.trans- Sister these are good bangles, will you take them?*

तमार शांखा आमि निबे, आमाखे फाखि दिबार फारिबे बुजिसे ना ?”129

Eng.trans- Will I take your bangles, are you not cheating me?

128. Brahma, Haribhusan: Rwnao Phagla( 1st edition), Gossaigaon Printing Press, Gossaigaon, 1985, P.

129. …………………….:Shrimati Durlai (reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.

When Shrimati Durlai eloped with a hindiwala she innocently talks in broken Hindi language-

“After sometimes Durlai asked-

हामराखेबो निबे ?’

Hindiwala might have been a Panjabi.

He replied to Durlai-

क नेही, आ 130

**5.3 CONCLUSION:**

In conclusion, it may be said that Haribhusan Brahma's aesthetic aspects of the stories are beautifully depicted in style and language. The expression of style and language of the short story established him as a good story writer. The use of language and styles made his reader encounter the real taste of story reading. Highlighting the evils of the society writings through his pen, he is creating awareness and warns the society of the evils and invites for change. He is successful in using his Linguistic style, narrative skills, and exhibiting his aesthetic quality in his writing.

130. Brahma, Haribhusan: Shrimati Durlai( reprint), N.L Publication, Kokrajhar, 2010, P.

**CHAPTER- 6**

**CONCLUSION**

The first chapter of this study describes the beginning of Bodo Short Stories, the area of the study, problem statement of the study, the significance of the study, aims and Objectives of the study so on. This chapter also described the hypothesis and review of the research vividly. This research work has been done by the analytical method.

In the second chapter, the life sketch of Haribhusan Brahma is analyzed thoroughly. This chapter has been divided into sub-chapters, mainly- The birth, Childhood, and Education, The Youth time, Family life and Works. Haribhusan Brahma was a resident of Dhuliagaon village of Porbotjhora. He lost his both parents at his early age and had life as an orphan, despite of pauper condition he had managed to take higher education and later he established himself on his own foot, which is remarkable and inspirational for the future generation. Moreover, besides writing short story he also wrote many articles on cultural aspects and poetry also, but only some of his article was published. He had published three collections of short story books in succession, and through these three books brought a new trend in Bodo literature by blending 'Humour and Satirical in his writings of Bodo short story, and therefore, some of the literator compared him with the '*Rash Raj’* of Assamese renowed literator *Lakshminath* *Bezbaruah*. In this regard Rakhao Basumatary, in his criticism book ‘*Thunlai Bijirnai*’, says*- ‘Haribhusan Brahma is befitting to stand at per with the Rasharaj of Assamese literature Lakshminath Bezbaruah. That is why Haribhusan Brahma is attributed a good title called the King of Humor or the King of sweet Necter’.*131

131. Basumatary, Rakhao: Thunlai Bijirnai(4th edition), Nilima Prakashani, Baganpara, Baksa, Assam, 2014, P.138.

Besides writing with his art of Sculpture he has preserved the diminishing traditional cultural aspects, social life of Bodo society, and image of humanity and gave new and lively or healthy life through his sculptural works. For his outstanding and vigorous contribution to Bodo society in the field of Bodo literature some of the remarkable Bodo organization conferred him with some notable awards.

In the third chapter, the theme of Haribhusan Brahma’s short stories and sculpture has been analysed. The major theme of his short stories was based on Bodo society and on the acute image of present human beings reality. Some of the themes are- Social image of Bodo society, cultural aspects of Bodos, love, way of living of Bodos, struggle of poor family, humanism and corruption so on and these themes are taken to the sculpture works as well. Through these themes, he has depicted the real and evil picture of Bodo society and also tried to reform the evils from the society. Likewise, the theme of the story ‘*Shrimati Durlai’* had the same concern. Shrimati Durlai was a Bodo woman of immoral character, who went beyond the norms and social value of society, was involved in the night’s bad activities, roam independently, of which example is found in Bodo society also. For this type of immoral character writer has used satire in his stories and indirectly tries to bring back to the righteous path. In his stories, are also find the theme of advice, it is clearly visible in ‘*Narkhw*’ short story. In the ‘*Narkw’* short Story, the main character ‘*Narkhw’* brought his own doomness because of his idle nature and thus indirectly the theme of advice is depicted well in the story. An idle man like ‘Narkhw’ who does not like studies and sits idle, for them their parent’s huge wealth and money do not stay long. Therefore writer tried to give awareness through this story and the theme of advice is also appeared indirectly. In his other short stories i,e, ‘*Lain Bus*’, *‘Andari Buri* ’, *‘Gubrusarbai’,* ‘*Phanphewali’, ‘Bangbulla’* and so on, we find the characters from rural Bodo society, and these are written about the illiterate and tactful farmers, the people of Bodo rural villages and its poor people’s way of life, based on true incidents are the some of remarkable themes of these stories; he also had succeeded in portraying the present situation of corruption, realism of humunism in his stories as a theme.

In the fourth chapter, the Socio-cultural aspects depicted in the short stories have been analysed. The short story is a unique creation of literature. A writer creates a short story living inside a society and because of that human society’s socio-cultural picture took place in the short stories. Most of Haribhusan Brahma’s short stories are based on the Bodo society. Therefore, Bodo society’s socio-cultural aspects like the way of living of Bodos, food habits, dress and ornaments, skill of weaving of Bodo women, Cultivation, Religion, Celebration, Festival and Ceremonies are beautifully depicted in his short stories.

Rice is the main cultivation of Bodo people, besides this, they cultivate many vegetables in summar and winter season. The selling out of seasonal green vegetables and fruits has been shown which is still prevailing in Bodo Society. In *‘Phanphewali’* story also Anaram looked after his family by selling out vegetables in the market. On the other hand, in the ‘*Narkhw’* story, Narkhw’s father was a well to do person of his village and lead his family by cultivation, and he used to lend rice or paddy to his villagers if someone was in adversity as there is a habit of lending and borrowing in Bodo society, and it has depicted well in the story. In Bodo society people of poor families used to be servants or live their lives by staying in other’s house as *‘Laokar’* (cowboy) or ‘*Dahwna’*  ( male servant) but they (house owners) did not use servants as others, rather they had accepted servants like their own and it was shown in the ‘*Bangbulla’* story. In ‘*Bangbulla*’story, Khusung mahajwn treated Bangbulla as his own family member.

In his some of the stories, the Bodos traditional festival celebrations like ‘*Bwisagu’* and ‘*Wngkham gwrlwi janai* (new eating rice ceremony) are also depicted as well. In the story ‘*Ondla Khariyao Agan* *Thaywi’*, the traditional festival of Bodos, like- *Bwisagu’*s scenery is depicted. New rice eating festival also is depicted in the story of ‘*Phanpheowali*’, when Anaram visited to his in law’s house during ‘*Wngkham gwrlwi* *janai* (new rice eating ceremony).

Haribhusan Brahma has depicted the image of liquor and its uses in a Bodo society.The Bodo people use liquor or rice-beer in some occasion’s like- Religious Festival, Celebration, hospitality of guests, and in other social activities. In the story of ‘*Honglani Saori*’, Hongla’s family prepared two jars of Liquor for his ‘*Saori’* (communiry service) and on the otherhand, in ‘*Lain Bus’* story also, Gaojru and Lablangga, took liquor and *‘Napham’* *(fermented fish*) while visiting their newly wed son-in-law’s house to show their love and affection towards him. This kind of social image is found in his stories.

One of the most remarkable traditional cultures of Bodos is spinning of eri cocoon by ‘*Thaokri’.* It is made of wood. Bodo women have been rearing eri silk since ages and used to spin eri silk cocoon with *Thaokri* (a wooden tool used for spinning eri cocoon). In the short story of ‘*Mwdwmpru Barse Bibar’*, Bibari’s mother spinned eri silk cocoon with Thaokri by rearing eri silk. Bodo women are expert in weaving, and designing since primitive ages. Bodo women’s main attire is ‘*Dokhona*’. And this Dokhona and its design are depicted in the stories ‘*Shrimati Durlai’*, *‘Lama Gwjamni Agan etc.*

In his stories, the image of Bodos prime religion ‘*Bathou’* is also reflected. Bathou is the prime religion of Bodos and it is related or connected with the marriage of ‘Hathasuni’ this traditional and prime marriage system is depicted in ‘*Ondla khariyao Agan Thaywi’* story. Besides that in the story *‘Narkhw*’ story a social marriage called ‘*Haba Gidir’* is vividly reflected. It is also filled with some of the social picture of Bodo society and traditional rituals of marriage and pre-marriage ceremony like- date fixation of marriage or rituals of giving or following traditional laws while visiting bride’s house. The rich family in Bodo society, used to show ‘*Gaan Bajna’* *(Jatragaon*) during ‘Haba gidir’ (Social marriage by solemnized in grand way) in earliar time, which is depicted in the story ‘*Narkhw’*. Along with that, the tradition of giving or offering gold ornaments to bride after marriage of Bodo society is also shown. In ‘*Narkhw*’ story, *‘Narkhw’* gave the traditional gold necklace of ‘Chandra har’to his wife after marriage only.

The atmosphere of Bodo village is depicted vividly and beautifully. Bodo rural households or families are surrounded and filled up by the *Betel nut*, *Jack fruits*, *Mango trees* gardens, each and every household have ‘Mwsao Goli’ (cowshed), Bakri (granary). Besides that he has also depicted the social grazing field for cattle tending in the Bodo village through *‘Undaha’*, and *‘Gwswni Dakhwn’.*

Moreover, Bodo traditional cuisines are also reflected in Haribhusan Brahma’s short story. The Bodos’ own cuisines are like ‘*Narji’,* ‘*Ondla*’, ‘*Sobai*’ etc. which have been depicted in the stories of ‘*Narkhw’,* ‘*Ondla khariyao Agan Thaywi’* and ‘*Rwnao Paglani Jethw* *Kheonai’*. To prepare these curries ‘*Kharwi’* has been used by Bodo women and earlier Bodo people did not have habit of using or consuming mustard oil. They prefer home made ‘*Kharwi’* for cooking any cuisiness, and this social aspect has been revealed through ‘*Ang khwnanai Gwdwni Bwrai Buri*’, ‘*Ondla Khariyao Agan Thaywi’* and in other stories. Besides, that using of material culture aspects has also been reflected. These tools are like- *Uwal, Gahen and Khamplai* etc in his short stories.

In the fifth chapter, the aesthetic aspects of short stories have been analysed. As a aesthetic aspects the author’s style and language have been depicted beautifully.Haribhusan Brahma expressed in his stories using different style. In his writings, he used satirical-humor style, narrative style, and conversational style, style of creation of atmosphere and autobiographical style. Satirical-humor style is one of most attractive and remarkable style of Haribhusan Brahma. Through this style he brought a new trend in short story writing in Bodo literature. Through this satirical style he tried to prevent or reform the bad habits or bad Character of the community indirectly. If writer points out directly at the bad habits or situation to reform the society or community by using unpleasant style then it is possible that surely people of that society will get hurt. Therefore, his using of satricial style of writing in the short stories is a remarkable and much appreciable style of his story telling. And he had used this style in his short story like- *‘Honglani Saori’, ‘Shrimati Durlai’, ‘Andhari* *Buri’ and ‘Line Bus’ etc.*

He addressed the small incidents in detail with the help of narrative style. In his story, whether it was story’s atmosphere or its characters, he used to address them vividly and gradually which is a remarlable style of his story writing. His using of conversation or conversational style made his short stories more impressive. Through the conversational style of story, philosophy and feelings have been seen flourishing. Besides that humor, serious, comedy and advice nature of words has been reflected vividly in the short stories through the conversational style.

In his many stories he had successfully created its events. As it is seen in ‘*Rwnao Paglani Jethw Kheonai’, ‘Phanphewali’, ‘Lain* *Bus’* and ‘*Andari Buri’* and in other stories.

Haribhusan Brahma has created some of his real life incident in his story and he presented it with autobiographical style by using *‘I’, ‘My’ and ‘Our’* words throughout the story. And this style is found in the stories of *‘Jwngni Lagwni Hagrama’*, *‘Simaan’,* ‘*Gwswni Dakhwn’,* *and ‘Ang Khwnanai Gwdwni Bwrai Buri’.*

Haribhusan Brahma’s short stories’ words are lucid, simple as used by rural areas people in their daily households, and most of the stories are full of symbolic words. He has used Hindi and Bengali language (words) in his *‘Shrimati Durlai’* story. With these style and language (words) he has created or included a unique art or creation in the short story writing of Bodo literature.

From this overall analysis it can be found that Haribhusan Brahma is an eminent or strong creator of literature. His life and his deeds are inspirational and needs to be learned by the future generation. He has brought satirical humour in Bodo short stories which is a landmark in Bodo literature and brought a new trend in Bodo literature. The satirical-humour appears more beautifully and clearly in his story writing. Moreover, he has created small life incidents to some of the most impressive and attractive short stories like the famous French writer ‘*Maupassant’.*

Thus, socio-cultural aspects of Bodo society have been reflected beautifully. And it is fulfilled through the language and presenting the style.

**SCOPE FOR FURTHER STUDY:**

The topic of the study is ‘The Socio-Cultural aspects of the Short Stories of Haribhusan Brahma’. Attempted is made here to find the socio-cultural aspects of the stories of Haribhusan Brahma. There are enough scopes to make a detailed study on his literary works which are not touched in this research. Topics like- The plot and characteristics, thematic study and comparative study can also be explored through systematic study in numerous ways. In depth the impact of Haribhusan Brahma’s stories in the contemporary society and its relevance can also be explored. Again further study can be done on naratology, on feminism, on ethnicity and on nationalism. Apart from that, based on the stories, social and cultural history can also be carried out from sociological perspectives.

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**ANNEXURE-II**

**PHOTO OF AUTHOR**



**Annexure-Ⅱ**

**GLOSSARY OF BODO TERMS**

**BODO WORD** **ENGLISH MEANING**

Aai Mother

Aizu Woman, Female

Agar Special female garment

Andari Buri Old Andari

Ang Khwnanai Gwdwni The old couple of ancient that I heard off

Bwrai Buri

Bakri Granary

Bathou The main religion of Bodo

Bathou Bwrai The Supreme God of traditional Bodos

Bwrma Goat

Bisi Wife

Bedor Meat

Bwisagu A Spring festival of Bodo

Bi-Phi-EL BPL (Below poverty line)

Biban Bag of bundle

Dahwna Male servant

Dao Bedor Chicken

Daosa Mwkreb Agor One type of design of dokhona

Dewani Broker or middle man

Dhabka Mud pot of rice beer

Dokhona Traditional attire of bodo women

Domasi Harvesting festival

Doudhini Female Priest

Douri Person who helps Oja during religious ceremony

Dwnkharlangnai Haba Marriage by elopement of boys & girls (Eloping)

Enjor Mouse

Garja Puja The religious ceremony of Bodos where evils

Gods are expelled from the village

Garai kuru The scabies

Gwswni Dakhwn Mind spot

Gwdan khonthaigiri New Poet

Gahen Wooden husking tool

Gila Traditional game of bodos

Gibi Bibhungthi Agni First speech Mine

Gubru Sarbai Scattered

Goli Cowshed

Goy Areca nut

Haba Marriage

Hani Sobai Black gram

Hagra jungle

Hajw Mountain

Hinjao Gwdan Bride

Honglani Saori Hongla’s Community Service

Hwoya Gwdan Groom

Jhamaijw Addressing words of co-mothers-in-law

Jwngni Lagwni Hagrama forest of our village

Jou rice Beer

Kamplai wooden tool made for sitting purpose

Kharwi an alkaline condiment

Khipi Benwng A foul smelling plant

Khwnapinnai Gwjam solo Retold old story

Kristi Culture

Laokar cowboy

Laihagar Agor A one type of Dokhona design

Lama Gwjamni Agan Footprint of old road

Lain bus Line Bus

Mahajan Rich man

Mwdwmphru Barse Bibar A scented Flower

Mwitha Roselle leaf

Mwihur Hunting

Narji Dry Jute

Narji Wngkhri Curry for Jute leaves

Nomano The main house of the Bodos

Napham Grinding smoked fish

Oma bedor Pork

Oja A medicine man of village area.

Onla khariao Agan Tawi no footprints remain on onla curry

Oma Pig

Onla Pested rice Curry

Olodor Wild arum

Parow Pigeon

Parrow megon One type design of Dokhna

Phanphewali The Swallow

Phesa mega Owl eye

Rwnao Phagla Rwnao mad

Rwnao Phanglani Jethw Kheonai Unknotting of Rwnao Phagla

Ruwati Female servant

Samo Snail

Siman Confession

Sebkhangnai Mohor Printed portrait

Sewari A bamboo stick used in weaving of bodo women

Siphung Belda Flute Belda

Sijou Euphorbia plant

Sikri-Sikla Fairy

Sewari

Shongrai winnow made of bamboo slips

Taokri Thaokri Spinning tools of making thread of bodo women

Tharun Tharun Arum

Uwal Uwal Wooden husking tool

Undaha Undaha Regret

Wngkham ngwrlwi janai First eating of the new rice

Wngkhri Curry

