CHAPTER: IV
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF SCRIPTS IN BODO LANGUAGE

4.1 Meaning of Script

Through which language and literature can be documented or written down is called script. Script is necessary in writing the oral corpus or verbal mode of speech in conversion of feelings and thoughts into written expression. Such kind of orthographical requirements are necessary for writing languages and can be documented any kinds of literary and linguistic text. As cited in the '*Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Linguistics*' Script is "*the act of representing, or the representation, of thoughts, ideas and speech by conventional material signs.*"[1] Without a script language cannot be written down or preserved in a methodical process. Script is a part of creativity of human beings. It marks the two fold of human behavioral capacity, i.e. competence and performance of human being.

In this chapter study is made from historical perspectives of scripts in diachronic manner that how different kinds of scripts have been used in writing the Bodo language since long years back. Script used in Missionary period, Script used in inception period and Modern age of Bodo literature, Script used in introduction of Bodo as Medium of Instruction and Script used in present days in Bodo language and literature is analyzed.

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[1] Tim R: Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Linguistics (Volume-1, 2), 1st Edition, IVY Publishing House, Delhi-110095, 2003, p. 577.

4.2 Script used in Missionary period (1846- 1914)

It is to be noted that Bodo language does not have historic evidence of the script that used since time immemorial. But the renowned personalities of Assam Kalaguru Bishnu Prasad Rabha once opined that "*in ancient times there was a kind of Deodhai scripts among the Kacharis (Boros and Dimasas).*"[2] Regarding Bodo script Madhu Ram Baro had mentioned, "*it is said that the Boro kings had a kind of Deodhai scripts, akin to Brahmi, to inscribe on the stone, pillars, monuments, royal gate, stone slates and copper plates etc. The specimens of this kind of scripts may be seen till now in indistinct state on those articles spread in the form of wreckage in the jungle areas of Khaspur, Maibang and Dimapur etc.*"[3]

Though some of the personalities have such kind of opinions, in real context it is a matter of conjecture as extant among the scholars of orthographical study from historical perspectives. When and how the Deodhai script was vanished from the historic landscape nobody can rightly define; there are no records as well as sculpture where it was written down. Of course some of the scholars believed that with the fall of empire of the Bodo dynasty they lost the Deodhai script forever. As available of references it may be assume that the above discussion is the history of Bodo script that used before the Missionary period.

Missionary period was started just before the end of the 19th century. According to Madhu Ram Baro "*The Missionaries discovered the Boro writing system and gave a form of writing this language in modified and simplified Roman scripts.*"[4] After the Treaty of Yandabo agreement on 24 February 1826, this treaty marked the beginning of British rule in Assam. It was a peace treaty between East India Company and His Majesty the King of Ava that ended the First Anglo-Burmese War.

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[2] Bhattacharya, Pramod Chandra: A Descriptive Analysis of the Boro Language, GU Press, Guwahati, 1977, p. 14.
[3] Baro, Madhu Ram: The History of the Boro Literature, Priyadini Publications, P.O.: Hajo, Dist.: Kamrup, Assam, 1990, p. 2.
[4] Ibid, p. 34.

The missionaries were entered in Assam through the way of Srirampur or Srirampur mission and spread over ideology of Christianity; and then studied the regional languages of Assam. At that time they used the Roman script to write and transcript oral corpus as well as collected oral literatures and in writing the grammar based on spoken variety of Bodo language of Darrang district. Initially Roman script was used by Christian Missionary to write Bodo language, which is available now in written documents in the form of books. Roman script is also known as Latin script, i.e. a set of graphic signs designed based on the letters of the classical Latin alphabet. It is the basis for the largest number of alphabets of writing system and is also the basis of the IPA.

4.2.1 Historical evidence of using Roman Script

In Missionary period literature evidence are available where Roman script was used suitably and conveniently. As evidence it may be mentioned a title of monograph '*Essay the first on the Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal Tribes*'; it is one of the most establishing work on the aborigines of India written by B.H. Hodgson in 1846 and printed by J. Thomas, Baptist Mission press in 1847, Calcutta. This book was basically written in three parts, part I.- Vocabulary, Part II.- Grammar and in Part III.- Location, Numbers, Creed, Customs, Condition, Physical and Moral Characteristics of the people. It is mentionable that the term 'Bodo' was coined as generic term for the first time in this book.

Reverend Sidney Endle was also conveniently used Roman script for writing the Bodo language. A remarkable book is '*Outline Grammar of the Kachári (Bàrà) Language, as spoken in District Darrang, Assam;*' in 1884. It is a grammar book. The next grammar book was written by Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud '*A short grammar of the Mech or Bodo language*' in 1889. In the same year 1889 Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud had written and published the grammar book namely '*The Mech Grammar with Vocabulary*'. J. D. Anderson had also compiled and published a book on Bodo folk literature in 1895 namely '*A Collection of Kachari Folk-tales and Rhymes*'. In the same year 1895 Rev. Sidney Endle had written about the history of Bodos in his book '*A History of the Kacharis*'.

In 1904 A. Christiansen had written a Bodo grammar and dictionary namely '*Grammar and Dictionary of Kachari Language*'. "*This script was used to teach the Boro children in the year 1904 in 'Cachari Reader', published by the Government of Assam.*"[5] In primary schools of Assam i.e. from 1904 to 1936 by introducing the *'Cachari Reader'* text book, education was imparted to the Bodo Children. '*The Kacharis*' is also another famous book written by Rev. Sidney Endle which was published in 1911 after his death with an introductory note by I.C.S. (retired) J.D. Anderson. This is a monograph where an account of Kachari (Bodo) race is elaborately described including their characteristics, physical and moral; Origin, Distribution and Historic summary, Social and Domestic life, Laws and Customs, Religion, Folk-lore, traditions, superstitions, specimen of grammar etc. Thus G.A. Grierson also incorporated his work materials on Bodo philology using roman script in the '*Linguistics Survey of India*', Vol.-III, Part-II in the year 1903, which was one of the remarkable research worked on Bodo language.

4.2.2 Evidence of transcription

Using roman script in the Missionary period is presented here with some relic text examples. In the '*Linguistics Survey of India*', Vol.-III, Part-II G.A. Grierson had also used roman script. Evidence of transcription is given below with some examples:

Example-1: Using Bodo language through Roman script

	Father.	Mother.	Eldest son.	Eldest daughter.
My	*āng-ni ā-fā.*	*āng-ni ā-i.*	*āng-ni ā-dā.*	*āng-ni ā-bâ.*
your	*nang-ni nang-fā or nam-fā.*	*nang-ni nam-mā.*	*nang-ni nang-dā.*	*nang-ni nang-bâ.*
His	*bī-ni bī-fā.*	*bī-ni bī-mā.*	*bī-ni bī-dā.*	*bī-ni bī-bâ.*

(Extracted from '*Linguistics Survey of India*', Vol.-III, Part-II, Page No. 16)

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[5] Narzary, K.: Roman (English) Script and Bodo Sahitya Sobha, Bodo Sahitya Sobha, Kokrajhar, 1993, p. 2.

Example-2: Using Bodo language through Roman script

Dērā	lu,	*dērā*	lu,	āfā	Fānzālū.
Hut	*build,*	*hut*	*build,*	*my-father*	*Fanzalu.*
Dai	nāng,	fŭdŭ	nāng,	āfā	zuzī-nāng
Trouble	*begin,*	*worry*	*begin,*	*my-father*	*help-must.*

 (Extracted from '*Linguistics Survey of India*', Vol.-III, Part-II, Page No. 31)

With the sample texts of some Bodo folktales the book '*Outline Grammar of the Kachári (Bàrà) Language, as spoken in District Darrang, Assam;*' is incorporates some sentences in details. Some relic examples of using Roman script in this book are stated as follows:

Example-1: Using Bodo language through Roman script

Găhàm hoásá.   a good man.

Găhàm hingzháusá.   a good woman.

(Extracted from '*Outline Grammar of the Kachári (Bàrà) Language, as spoken in District Darrang, Assam;*' , Page No. 11)

Example-2: Using Bodo language through Roman script

How far is it from Tezpur to Orang?   Tezpurnifrai Oranghá lági bèsè găzàn?

It will be hard to get there in one day.   Sánsèáu bíkhô manhŭínŭ thán záagan.

(Extracted from '*Outline Grammar of the Kachári (Bàrà) Language, as spoken in District Darrang, Assam;*' , Page No.59)

All above these are historical evidences of using Roman script during the Missionary period. It is seen that the text extracted from the grammar book of Endle is to be marked as spoken variety of Bodo language of Darrang district. The sentence was made transcript into Roman orthographic sign with a number of diacritic marks to define the mode of articulation.

4.2.3 Analysis on Scripts and Diacritic marks used by Missionary

There are six vocalic phonemes i.e. / i, *u*, u, e, o, a / and Sixteen consonantal phonemes i.e. / p^h, b, t^h, d, k^h, g, m, n, ŋ, s, z, h, r, l, w, y / in Bodo language, where /w/ and /y/ are Semi vowels of Segmental features. Using of /*u*/ sound is one of the special

characteristics in Bodo language. It is observed that during Missionary period of Bodo literature the segmental and supra-segmental phonemes; and diacritics are used in the peculiar manner. Here analysis is done as given below:

Example of Vowels with words:

IPA	Roman Script	Words in Bodo
/i/	/i/: unmarked, short, as in English 'pin';	

in Bodo e.g. 'Ling' meaning 'call'

'Bíni' meaning 'his'

'Mai' meaning 'paddy'

/í/: long, as in English 'marine';

in Bodo e.g. 'Bí' meaning 'he'

'Mànsŭí' meaning 'man'

'Díni' meaning 'to-day'

/ī/: same as long /í/;

in Bodo e.g. 'Bīni' meaning 'his/her'

'Bīfa' meaning 'father'

'Gī' meaning 'fear'

/**u**/   /ŭ/: this is the representation of vowel /*u*/. Using of this

sound is make special characteristics in Bodo language.

in Bodo e.g. 'Bŭnŭ' meaning 'to drag, pull'

'Dŭí' meaning 'water'

'Árŭ' meaning 'and'

/**u**/   /u/: unmarked, short, as in English 'pull'

in Bodo e.g. 'Hingzháu' meaning 'woman'

'Dáu' meaning 'bird'

'Gubun' meaning 'other'

/ú/: long, as in English 'pool'

in Bodo e.g. 'Búnŭ' meaning 'to beat'

'Zaú' meaning 'rice beer'

'Mosaú' meaning 'cow'

/ū/: same as long /ú/;

in Bodo e.g. 'Būzap' meaning 'beating'

'Būng' meaning 'speak'

'Hūng' meaning 'strew'

/e/

/e/: unaccented, as in English 'bed'

in Bodo e.g. 'Gădet' meaning 'great'

'Båbe' meaning 'which'

'Zeblá' meaning 'when'

/ê/: as '*ey*', as in English 'they'

in Bodo e.g. 'Mêgan' meaning 'eye'

'Bê' meaning 'this'

'Bêáu' meaning 'here'

/è/: an intermediate sound between the two former

in Bodo e.g. 'Bèsè' meaning 'how much?'

'Horsè' meaning 'all night'

'Khaisè' meaning 'some'

/ē/: same as intermediate sound /è/

in Bodo e.g. 'Bēsē' meaning 'how many?'

'Ēmbē' meaning 'this'

'Bē' meaning 'he/she'

/o/	/o/:	unmarked, short as in English 'stop'

in Bodo e.g. 'Mosá' meaning 'tiger'

'Lábo' meaning 'bring'

'Gorai' meaning 'horse'

/ô/: long as in English 'bone'

in Bodo e.g. 'Núnggô' meaning 'yes'

'Bíkhô' meaning 'him'

'mithígô' meaning 'understand'

/ō/: same as long /ô/

in Bodo e.g. 'Sōfui' meaning 'arrive'

'Lābō' meaning 'bring'

'Dānsō' meaning 'cutting'

/a/	/a/:	unaccented, always short as in English 'America'

in Bodo e.g. 'Nang' meaning 'you'

'Mairang' meaning 'rice'

'Mai' meaning 'paddy'

/á/: long as in English 'father'

in Bodo e.g. 'Tháng' meaning 'go'

'Oá' meaning 'bamboo'

'Házu' meaning 'mountain'

/ā/: same as long /á/

in Bodo e.g. 'Khāfal' meaning 'luck'

'wā' meaning 'bamboo'

'Bauhāri' meaning 'daughter-in-law'

/à/: sharp, short sound as in English 'pan'

in Bodo e.g. 'Mànsŭí' meaning 'man'

'Thàm' meaning 'three'

'Dàn' meaning 'cut'

/å/: broad sound as in English 'call'

in Bodo e.g. 'Båbe' meaning 'which'

'Bårå' meaning 'Boro'

'Gåthå' meaning 'child'

From the above analysis on vowels and its Diacritic marks used by Missionary during missionary period, it is observed that fourteen (14) vowels i.e. /i/, /í/ or /ī/, /ŭ/, /u/, /ú/ or /ū/, /e/, /ê/, /è/ or /ē/, /o/, /ô/ or /ō/, /a/, /á/ or /ā/, /à/, /å/ were used with some diacritic marks to represent the mode of articulation of the Bodo language. But it is to be noted that during this period missionaries were not used diacritic marks of vowel equivalent to each other. Diacritic marks were used differently by different personality. As for example: In '*Outline Grammar of the Kachári (Bàrà) Language, as spoken in District Darrang, Assam;*' Sidney Endle had used long sound of vowel /i/ as /í/, long sound of vowel /u/ as /ú/, long sound of vowel /e/ as /è/, long sound of vowel /o/ as /ô/, long sound of vowel /a/ as /á/ but on the other hand it is seen that in '*Linguistics Survey of India*', Vol.-III, Part-II G.A. Grierson had used different diacritic marks for long sound of vowels like long sound of vowel /i/ as /ī/ long sound of vowel /u/ as /ū/, long sound of vowel /e/ as /ē/, long sound of vowel /o/ as /ō/, long sound of vowel /a/ as /ā/.

Example of Consonants with words:

IPA	Roman Script	Words in Bodo
/pʰ/	/ph/:	'amp hare' meaning 'afterwards'
		'áphá' meaning 'foot'
		'amphá' meaning 'then'
	/p/:	'sŭpnehá' meaning 'day after to-morrow'
		'thápnŭ' meaning 'suddenly'
		'fôpbai' meaning 'buried'

	/f/:	'fai' meaning 'come'
		'bangfáng' meaning 'tree'
		'fúngzáni' meaning 'in the morning'

/b/

	/b/:	'bêgeng' meaning 'bone'
		'zôbrá' meaning 'sick'
		'gáb' meaning 'to weep'
	/bh/:	'bhoj' meaning 'feast'

/tʰ/

	/t/:	'lítnŭ' meaning 'to write'
		'găfát' meaning 'sharp-pointed'
		'inzat' meaning 'mouse'
	/th/:	'tháng' meaning 'go'
		'anthaibá' meaning 'or'
		'tháu' meaning 'oil'
	/ṭ/:	'khàṭnŭ' meaning 'to run'
		'háthàṭnŭ' meaning 'to kill by cutting'
		'bidaṭ' meaning 'flesh'

/d/

	/d/:	'dáu' meaning 'bird'
		'dikhàr' meaning 'grief'
		'gada' meaning 'neck'

/kʰ/

	/kh/:	'khamsi' meaning 'darkness'
		'gakhrŭí' meaning 'quickly'
		'Khansè' meaning 'once'

	/k/:	'chākor' meaning 'servant'
		'hukum' meaning 'order'
		'thokon' meaning 'clubs'
/g/	/g/:	'gámi' meaning 'village'
		'mêgan' meaning 'eye'
		'mairang' meaning 'rice (husked)'
	/gh/:	'ghantā' meaning 'houre'
/m/	/m/:	'mosaú' meaning 'cow'
		'omá' meaning 'pig'
		'gahàm' meaning 'good'
/n/	/n/:	'ná' meaning 'fish'
		'sní' meaning 'seven'
		'ban' meaning 'firewood'
/ŋ/	/ng/:	'áng' meaning 'I'
		'gudúng' meaning 'hot'
		'gangthang' meaning 'nose'
/s/	/s/:	'sŭímá' meaning 'dog'
		'hásung' meaning 'bamboo tube'
		'ásán' meaning 'bangle'
/z/	/z/:	'zibaú' meaning 'snake'
		'nàrzè' meaning 'hemp'
		'zê' meaning 'net'
	/zh/:	'hingzháu' meaning 'woman'

/h/	/h/:	'hágrá' meaning 'jungle'
		'găhai' meaning 'short of height'
		'hor' meaning 'night'
/r/	/r/:	'razá' meaning 'king'
		'gorai' meaning 'horse'
		'sur' meaning 'who'
	/ṛ/:	'kháṛá' meaning 'does not run'
/l/	/l/:	'laizaú' meaning 'the leaf of a certain shrub'
		'gălau' meaning 'long'
		'làmá' meaning 'road'
/w/	/w/:	'wáthúmai' meaning 'the navel'
		'owá' meaning 'bamboo'
		'halwa' meaning 'ploughman'
/y/	/y/:	'háyen' meaning 'plain area'
		'bíyá doï' meaning 'brother's daughter'
		'gyáti' meaning 'neighbour'

From the above analysis on Consonants used to write the text of Bodo language and literature, it is observed that twenty five (25) consonants were used during missionary period by missionaries' i.e. /ph/, /p/, /f/, /b/, /bh/, /t/, /th/, /ṭ/, /d/, /kh/, /k/, /g/, /gh/, /m/, /n/, /ng/, /s/, /z/, /zh/, /h/, /r/, / ṛ/, /l/, /w/, /y/. Like the uses of vowels, consonants were also used differently by different personality during this period. As for example: In '*Outline Grammar of the Kachári (Bàrà) Language, as spoken in District Darrang, Assam;*' Sidney Endle had used cerebral sounds /ṭ/, / ṛ/ and in '*Linguistics Survey of India*', Vol.-III, Part-II G.A. Grierson had used /bh/, /gh/ in loanwords, apart from these other consonants are used commonly in both of the writings.

4.2.4 Use of Diacritic marks

It is observed that the Missionary used the following diacritic marks to make convenient the mode of articulation of the phonemes.

/ŭ/: This is the representation of vowel /ɯ/; and used for marking High back unrounded vowel.

/å/: The upper case as marked at the top of the /a/ used for marking back rounded vowel.

/ǎ/: The top rafar as marked at the top of the /a/ used for marking low central unrounded vowel as nasal sound.

4.2.5 Variation of Diacritic marks

Variation of diacritic marks may also be found in writing the text of missionary period. The following diacritic marks were used for representing pitch variation at the time of articulation. For example:

   A.

   / ´ /, / ¯ /, / ˆ / : This mark represents long sound.

     Example: 'Oá' meaning 'bamboo'

                      'Tháng' meaning 'go'

                      'Khāfal' meaning 'luck'

                      'wā' meaning 'bamboo'

                      'Bíkhô' meaning 'him'

                      'Mithígô' meaning 'understand'

                      'Mêgan' meaning 'eye'

                      'Bê' meaning 'this'

   B.

   / ` / : This mark represents short sound .

     Example: 'Thàm' meaning 'three'

                      'Dàn' meaning 'cut'

4.3 Script used in inception period of Bodo literature (1915-1952)

After Missionary period Inception period of Bodo literature was just started from the year 1915. From this year evidence of literature are available where Bengali and Assamese scripts were used conveniently. Bengali script is developed from Siddhaṃ script, which is belongs to the Brahmi family of the scripts. On the other hand Assamese script is also origin from Brahmi and it is a progeny of the Kutila variation of the Gupta script of Eastern India. It is remarkable that there are some typographical differences between the adaptation of the scripts used for Assamese language and Bengali language, for example /**r**/ is represented in Bengali as ৰ but in Assamese as ৰ and Assamese script has used a special character i.e. /**w**/ which is represented as ৱ but it is absent in Bengali script.

About the script adaptation by Bodo writers Phukan Chandra Basumatary has mentioned as follows "*In the beginning of the 20th century when the written tradition was initiated as part of its standardization process, most of the writers of both the languages used Roman or Bengali script for writing …………Most of the Boro writers used the Asamiya script.*"[6] As evidence it may be mentioned a title of bilingual (Bodo and Bengali) customary laws book '*Boroni phisa O Ayen*' edited by Gangacharan Kachary and Naropati Chandra Kachary in the year 1915. It was the first Book published in Bodo language by Habraghat Boro Sanmiloni of Southern Bank of Brahmaputra River. After that, the first Boro Satra Sanmilani (Bodo Student organization) was formed in 1919 by the students of Cotton College, Guwahati. By initiative of the members of this organization in 1920 '*Bibar*' the first Bodo magazine was shortened in manuscript form. It was edited in printed form in 1924 by Satish Chandra Basumatary. '*Bibar*' a trilingual (Bodo, Assamese and Bengali) magazine played an important role in the renaissance of Bodo language and literature. So, in the history of Bodo literature this age is regarded as the Renaissance age, Bibar age or old age. Inception period was pervading up to the year 1952, the foundation year of Bodo Sahitya Sabha and 'earmark' or 'modern age' of the Bodo literature.

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[6] Basumatary, Phukan: An Introduction to the Boro Language, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, India, 2005, p. 10.

4.3.1 Historical evidence of using Bengali and Assamese Script

In the earlier period most of the Bodos were educated or grew up by reading and writing the Bengali and Assamese scripts. Therefore, Bodo writers were used Bengali and Assamese scripts to compose various genres of literature like poem, essay, short story and drama in the inception period of Bodo literature. Social issues were reflected through writings in those days to bring awareness and reformation in the Bodo society. Historical evidence of using Bengali and Assamese Script were scattered throughout the various writings of inception period. Some of the compositions are listed below:

1923 '*Khonthai Methai*' by Rupnath Brahma and Madaram Brahma

1924 '*Hamphe*' by Moniram Islary

1925 '*Bathu nam bwikhaguni gidu*' by Prassanna Kumar Boro Khaklary

1926 '*Boroni Gudi Sibsa Arw Aroz*' by Madaram Brahma

1926 '*Zenthokha*' by Surya Brahma

1926 '*Raimali*' by Madaram Brahma

1928 '*Rani laimuthi*' by Chatis Chandra Basumatary and Darendra nath Basumatary

1928 '*Dwrswn jwhwlao*' by Chatis Chandra Basumatary

1932 '*Bithorai*' by Pramod Chandra Brahma

1932 '*Boroni nidan*' by Moniram Sangpranary

1935 '*Baidi Khonthai Bihung*' by Kali Kumar Lahry

1937 '*Rup o sintadhara*' by Pramod Chandra Brahma

1938 '*Alongbar*' by Pramod Chandra Brahma

1938 '*Sonani Mala*' by Isan Mosahary

1938 '*Phame*' by Isan Mosahary

1940 '*Hathorkhi Hala*' by Pramod Chandra Brahma

1941 '*Nayak*' by Pramod Chandra Brahma

1942 '*Khamanini nem*' by Rupnath Brahma

1951 '*Boro lirthum bilai*' by Sukram Basumatary

1951 '*Khonthai Bizab*' by Kali Kumar Lahary

Above all the compositions were composed in either Bengali or Assamese script.

4.3.2 Evidence of script used in text

The customary laws book '*Boroni phisa O Ayen*' published in 1915 was written in Bengali script. Some relic examples of using Bengali script in this book are given below:

Example-1: Using Bengali language through Bengali script

কাছাড়ী জাতির মধ্যে বহু শিক্ষিত লোক ছিলেন বলিযা

জানা যায় । বিশেষতঃরাজগনের মধ্যে প্রায় সকলেই সংস্কৃত ও

বাঙ্গালা বিদ্যায সুপণ্ডিত ছিলেন ।

(Extracted from '*Boroni phisa O Ayen*', Page No. 17)

Example-2: Using Bodo language through Bengali script

১। ফারাসিত মাখো বুংউ?   ১। খুচি জানায় খুনু ফারাসিত

বুংউ ।

২। ফারাসিত খাত নায়নি   ২। বামুনা দুগুনানি দুই

বিধি ।   খাত্ নো নাংগ অরনা

জোখায় নি ফইছা, জৌ

থায়ছে ।

(Extracted from '*Boroni phisa O Ayen*', Page No. 62)

With eight issues '*Bibar*' was emerged two years from 1924 to 1926, i.e.

1. 1st year 1st issue in April 1924
2. 1st year 2nd issue in July 1924
3. 1st year 3rd issue in October 1924
4. 1st year 4th issue in February 1925
5. 2nd year 1st issue in April 1925
6. 2nd year 2nd issue in July 1925
7. 2nd year 3rd issue in November 1925
8. 2nd year 4th issue in January 1926

It is remarkable that both Bengali and Assamese scripts were used in the '*Bibar*' magazine, which is given bellow with some examples:

Example-1: Using Bodo language through Bengali script

খায়লাপহা সাছে আলাসি ফৈদং । ফৈদংব ফৈদং ফিসাইনি জৈল গ......বা থারান বিব বেসেবা গবাও জংস আর মানষিয়াব বেসেবা গজাননি । দা খায়লাপহা দংনিয়ালায় দংমন দাওয়া জেথ খালায়াসে বি খুরিয়া মরন মৈথারি থৈরাওনি আদ্রা বনহাফা ।

(Extracted from '*Bibar*', Page No. 15)

Example-2: Using Bengali language through Bengali script

আমাদের গৌরব "বিবার" বোরোদের একমাত্র প্রথম পত্র । এই পত্রের ভিতর দিয়াই বোড়োজাতির উন্নতি সমপূর্ন নির্ভর করিতেছে । সুতরাং আমরা আশা করি, লিখিতে পড়িতে জানা বোড়োমাত্রেই এই "বিবার" এর গ্রাহক শ্রেনীভুক্ত হইয়া ইহার উত্তরোত্তর উন্নতির সাহায্য করিবেন ।

(Extracted from '*Bibar*', Page No. 132)

Example-3: Using Bodo language through Assamese script

খেশ্ বাৰিনি   দৈজলাং মেশেংনি
   "বিবাৰ" থফিনায়া
ওবং লাওৰিনি   বোৰো হাৰিনি
  অন্নায়জং বাৰাৎজং থমেননায়া ।

(Extracted from '*Bibar*', Page No. 12)

Example-4: Using Assamese language through Assamese script

চিৰিত্রমান মানুহ মৰিলেও তেওঁৰ কাৰ্য্যৰ চিন মচা নোযোৱাকৈ পৃথিবীত চিৰকাল জিলিকি থাকে । তেওঁৰ পবিত্র নাম লৈ মানুহ ধন্য হয় আৰু তেওঁৰ মহৎ কাম বিলাক ভবিষ্যৎবংশঘৰ সকলৰ সজ বাটে যোৱাৰ আইঁ বা সাৰথী হয় ।

(Extracted from '*Bibar*', Page No. 33)

In 1940 '*Hathorkhi Hala*' magazine was edited by Pramod Chandra Brahma. Assamese script was used in this magazine. This magazine is one of the remarkable milestones in the writing of Bodo language and literature. Special vowel used by Bodos i.e. High back un-rounded vowel **অী** or ◌ী or /**ɯ**/ was not used in the writings before '*Hathorkhi Hala*'. Assamese script was modified to make convenient the mode of articulation of the phonemes used in Bodo; especially /**ɯ**/ which was represented by অী or ◌ী. This phoneme is not available in Assamese

Pramod Chandra Brahma had used the modified অী or ◌ী for the first time in the writings of Bodo literature. The idea of using অী or ◌ী in place of /**ɯ**/ High back un-rounded vowel was came out from the deep discussion among Dhyojen Brahma, Riju Kumar Brahma and Pramod Chandra Brahma in 7th March 1938. Therefore Rajen Basumatary has mentioned in his *Romanjw̒ng Boroni gw̒dan Hangkhw̒*, "অসমীয়া এবা বাংলা হাংখীয়াও বাহায়ফেৰজায়ে 'ী' হাংখীখৌ প্ৰমোদ চন্দ্ৰ ব্ৰম্হয়া বাহায়জেন্নাৈন বৰ'বিজীঃ আৰী থুনলাইয়াও ৰুজুথ্ৰ' হায়ি বিহীমা হীদীঃমীন।"[7]

Artifact example of using Assamese script in '*Hathorkhi Hala*' magazine is given below:

Example-5: Using Bodo language through Assamese script

<p style="text-align:center">(১)</p>

গুয়াৰ হায়েন শ্ৰাংক্ গেবেং

চাৰিগিদিং গীগম্ হাজী থৰথাম্ ;

বিখা' দাবীন্ নাৰা গ'ৰান

বেহেৰ জিং জিং শাম্ গীথাং।

<p style="text-align:center">(Extracted from 'Hathorkhi Hala', Page No. 70)</p>

All these examples are the historical evidences of using Bengali and Assamese script during the inception period of the Bodo literature. The sentences were made transcript into Bengali and Assamese orthographic sign with a number of diacritic marks to

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7 Basumatary, Rajen: Romanjw̒ng Boroni gw̒dan Hangkhw̒, Beitha Publications, Bijni, 1997, p. 23.

define the mode of articulation of the Bodo language. It is seen that the text taken out from the socio-religious and customary laws book '*Boroni phisa O Ayen*' is to be marked as historical evidence of using Bengali script. It is also to be marked as spoken variety of Bodo language of Southern Bank of Brahmaputra under the then undivided Goalpara District of Assam. On the other hand, '*Bibar*' magazine is to be marked as historical evidence of using both Bengali as well as Assamese Script. '*Hathorkhi Hala*' magazine is to be marked as milestones as well as historical evidence of using আ or ৗ and modified Assamese Script in Bodo language and literature.

4.3.3 Analysis on Scripts, its secondary form or mātrā and Diacritic marks used in inception period

It is observed that during inception period of Bodo literature the segmental phonemes and its secondary form or mātrā and diacritics are used in following manner.

Example of Vowels with words:

IPA	Full form	Secondary form or mātrā	Words in Bodo
/**i**/	ই /**i**/ (short)	ি	ই = 'ইংখাম' meaning 'rice'
			'ইসখল' meaning 'school'
			ি = 'ফিখায়' meaning 'husband'
			'হাথরখি' meaning 'star'
	ঈ /**i**/ (long)	ী	ঈ = 'ঈশ্বর' meaning 'God'
			ী = 'ভাগী' meaning 'relative'
			'জীউ' meaning 'life'
/***u***/	Diacritic mark of উ /**u**/ is used to represent the vowel /*u*/	ু	ু = 'ফিসৌজু' meaning 'grand-daughter'
			'বুরমা' meaning 'goat'

আ is also used to represent the /ɯ/ ৗ আ= 'হাজৗ' meaning 'mountain'

short high back unrounded vowel. 'আ ঃথ্রী' meaning 'curry'

ৗ = 'গৗমীথাও' meaning 'surprising'

'লৗগৗ' meaning 'friend'

/u/ উ /u/ (short) ু উ = 'উন্নথি' meaning 'develop'

'উৈন্দ' meaning 'younger'

ু = 'বুনায়' meaning 'to beat'

'ফুং' meaning 'morning'

ঊ /u/ (long) ূ ঊ = used in loanwords

ূ = 'ভূম' meaning 'earth'

'জুথূমনায়' meaning 'gathering'

/e/ এ /e/ ে এ = 'এবে' meaning 'this'

'এম্বু' meaning 'frog'

ে = 'হেনজাও' meaning 'women'

'মেগন' meaning 'eye'

ঐ /oi/ (long) ৈ ঐ = 'ঐলাম' meaning 'auction sale'

ৈ = 'থৈ' meaning 'blood'

'মৈদ' meaning 'tears'

/o/ অ /o/ ' অ = 'অফমান' meaning 'insult'

'অখাফর' meaning 'moon'

' = ম'জাং meaning 'good'

ন' meaning 'house'

ও /o/ (short)   োা   ও = 'ওখা' meaning 'rain'

'মাওরিযা' meaning 'orphan'

োা = 'বোড়ো' meaning 'the Bodos'

'বোহা' meaning 'where'

ঔ /ou/ (long)   ৌ   ঔ = 'primary form was not used'

ৌ = 'জৌ' meaning 'wine'

'মসৌ' meaning 'cow'

/a/   আ /a/   াা   আ = 'আংনি' meaning 'my'

'আখায' meaning 'hand'

াা = 'বিমা' meaning 'his/her mother'

'দখনা' meaning 'Bodo

women's garment'

From analysis on vowels, it is observed that during inception period of Bodo literature eleven (11) vowels i.e. ই, ঈ, আা , উ, ঊ, এ, ঐ, অ, ও, ঔ and আ were used in the writings of various genre of literature with its secondary form or mātrā. It is also observed that primary form of vowel ঔ was not used but its secondary form োা was used in the writings of inception period.

Example of Consonants with words:

IPA	Full form	Diacritic form	Words in Bodo
/pʰ/	ফ /pʰ/	——	'আফা' meaning 'my father'
			'খাফাল' meaning 'forehead'
			'বিফাং' meaning 'tree'
	প /p/	——	'ৰাদাপ' meaning 'news'
			'সপনায' meaning 'to suck'
			'সৱজাপনায' meaning 'to connect together'

/b/	ব /b/	—	'বইব' meaning 'all'
			'বাৰ' meaning 'wind'
			'মাবাৰ' meaning 'quickly'
	ভ /bɦ/	—	'সভা' meaning 'society'
			'ৰাভা' meaning 'the Rabha community'
			'ভোজ ' meaning 'feast'
/tʰ/	থ /tʰ/	—	'নংথাং' meaning 'you- honorific'
			'হেংথা' meaning 'obstruction'
			'থাব' meaning 'soon'
	ঠ /ʈʰ/	—	'মূঠাসে' meaning 'one bundle'
			'আঠ' meaning 'eight'
			'হাঠেং' meaning 'leg'
	ৎ /t/	—	'গোদেৎ'meaning 'big'
			'খাৎনায়' meaning 'running'
			'লিৎনায়' meaning 'writing'
	ট /ʈ/	—	'টাকা' meaning 'money'
			'লুটিজববায়' meaning 'all are stolen'
			'বটল' meaning 'bottle'
	ত /t/	—	'পাজ্জামুতী' meaning 'calender'
			'তিনশ' meaning 'tree hundred'
			'বৈসমাতা' meaning 'the earth'

/d/	দ /d/	—	'দিনৈ'meaning 'to-day'
			'দৈ' meaning 'water'
			'মদৈ' meaning 'tears'
	ধ /dɦ/	—	'ধংখা'meaning 'one kind of Marriage system of the Bodos'
			'ধন' meaning 'wealth'
			'উধার' meaning 'purification'
	ড /ɖ/	—	'ডাও' meaning 'bird'
			'আলাডিঙা' meaning 'a lazy fellow'
			'ডাওখা' meaning 'crow'
/kʰ/	খ /kʰ/	—	'খানায়' meaning 'hair'
			'মখাং' meaning 'face'
			'খুগা' meaning 'mouth'
	ক /k/	—	'কছারী' meaning 'the Kacharis, another name of Bodos'
			'হেংকথা' meaning 'obstruction'
			'মুলুক' meaning 'world'
/g/	গ /g/	—	'গসৈ' meaning 'heart'
			'গথ' meaning 'child'
			'গেলৈ' meaning 'to play'

	ঘ /gɦ/	——	'ঘোড়ায়' meaning 'horse'
			'ঘৰজেয়া' meaning 'one kind of
			marriage system of the Bodos'
			'হাবড়াঘাট' meaning 'name of
			a place'

/m/	ম /m/	——	'মসৌ' meaning 'cow'
			'মেথায়' meaning 'song'
			'বিমা' meaning 'his/her mother'

/n/	ন /n/	——	'নং' meaning 'you'
			'জানজি' meaning 'waist'
			'গদান' meaning 'new'

/ŋ/	ও /ŋ/	়ৎ ও =	'নঙ্' meaning 'you'
			'জিঙাও' meaning 'by the side of'
			'ওবঙলাওৰী' meaning 'God'

		়ৎ =	'জং' meaning 'we'
			'ফুং' meaning 'morning'
			'মজাং' meaning 'good'

/s/	স /s/	——	'সম' meaning 'time'
			'সিখাৰ' meaning 'to awake'
			'সলং' meaning 'to learn'

	চ /s/	——	'অল্লাচ' meaning 'then'
			'আচি' meaning 'finger'
			'দান্দিচে' meaning 'a moment'

ছ় /s^h/   ——   'বছৰ' meaning 'year'

'সাছে' meaning 'one man'

'ফেছা' meaning 'owl'

শ /s/   ——   'দাউশ্রী' meaning 'martin'

'শিখ্রি' meaning 'butterfly'

'খমশি' meaning 'dark'

/z/   জ /z/   ——   'জি' meaning 'cloth'

'জৌ' meaning 'wine'

'জিংগা' meaning 'depression'

/h/   হ /h/   ——   'হম' meaning 'to catch'

'দাহাৰ' meaning 'loan'

'গহ' meaning 'strength'

/r/   ৰ /র /r/   ∼ and ´   ৰ = 'ৰংজা' meaning 'enjoy'

'জেৰৈ' meaning 'as for example'

'নখৰ' meaning 'family'

র = 'হাথরখি' meaning 'star'

'বুরমা' meaning 'goat'

'নখর' meaning 'family'

∼ = 'বাথ্রা' meaning 'sentence'

'অখ্রাং' meaning 'sky'

'গাজ্রি' meaning 'bad'

$´$ = 'সৰ্গ' meaning 'heaven'

      'বৰ্মা' meaning 'goat'

      'আৰ্জ্জি' meaning 'to earn'

ড় /ɽ/   —   'জোড়া' meaning 'pair'

      'খেড়ো' meaning 'head'

      'আড়াই' meaning 'two and half'

/l/   ল /l/   —   'লগ' meaning 'friend'

      'লেখা' meaning 'paper'

      'লামা' meaning 'road'

/w/   ৱ /w/   —   'গোৱালপাড়া' meaning 'name of

          a place'

      'মসৌৱা' meaning 'the cow is'

      'সোনোৱাল' meaning 'name of the race'

/y/   য় /y/   —   'নাথায়' meaning 'but'

      'সাউৱায়নায়' meaning 'discussion'

      'মায়' meaning 'paddy'

It is observed that the combined shape of two different consonants used as single consonant or Single glyphs i.e. **ক** + ়ৄ + **ষ** = **ক্ষ** was also used during inception period. For example: 'লক্ষী' meaning 'the goddess of wealth'

      'ডাওক্ষী' meaning 'the faeces of a bird'

From the overall analysis on consonants, it is observed that during inception period thirty (30) consonants i.e. ফ, প, ব, ভ, থ, ঠ, ✎, ট, ত, দ, ধ, ড, খ, ক, গ, ঘ, ম, ন, ঙ, স, চ, ছ, শ, জ, হ, ৰ/ৱ, ড়, ল, ৱ and য় were used with some diacritic marks to represent

the mode of articulation of the Bodo language. It is to be noted that during this period Bodo writers were not used segmental phonemes, secondary form or mātrā and diacritic marks equivalent to each other. Spelling system was not come into systematic structure so; different personality or writers were used differently in their writings.

4.3.4 Use of Mātrā

It is observed that during inception period following secondary form or mātrā of vowel is used to make convenient the mode of articulation of the phonemes.

ৢ **:** This is the representation of vowel /ɯ/; and used for marking High back unrounded vowel.

ৌ **:** This is also the representation of vowel /ɯ/; and used for marking High back unrounded vowel.

’ **:** This is a kind of orthographical symbol that used to refer to the shortening form of pronunciation of the word during inception period. For example:

দাহায়ও (in grief) is shortening as দাহা’ও

সায়ও (on the surface of a thing) is shortening as সা’ও

ববাও (where) is shortening as ব’ও

বিখায়ও (in the heart) is shortening as বিখা’ও

4.3.5 Use of diacritic mark

The following diacritic mark of consonant was used for writing the text of inception period, i.e.

ﹾ (Anuswar) : diacritic mark of consonant ও /ŋ/

ঽ and ´ : diacritic mark of consonant ৰ /r/

ৢ (Halanta) : By using Halanta, consonant ending syllable or closed syllable was marked in the writings on that time . For example:

‘সান্’ meaning ‘sun’

‘গদান্’ meaning ‘new’

‘গন্’ meaning ‘stick’

4.3.6 Variation of mātrās

Variation of mātrās may be found in writing the text of inception period of Bodo literature. The following mātrās were used for representing pitch variation at the time of articulation. For example:

A.

িঁ : This mātrā represents short sound.

      Example: 'বিবার' meaning 'flower'

                          'ফিফা' meaning 'his/her father'

ীঁ : This mātrā represents long sound.

      Example: 'দাওশ্রী' meaning 'a house bird'

                          'জীউ' meaning 'life'

B.

ু : This mātrā represents short sound.

      Example: 'মুং' meaning 'name'

                          'উন্দু' meaning 'to sleep'

ূ : This mātrā represents long sound.

      Example: 'মূয়া' meaning 'thing'

                          'ভূম' meaning 'earth'

4.4 Script used in Modern age of Bodo literature (1952-1962)

Modern age of Bodo literature is recognized just after the formed of '*Bodo Sahitya Sabha*' on the 16th November, 1952. Bodo writers had used Assamese script as well as Roman script frequently in this period. In the same year 1952, a collection of poems '*Khanthai Bihung*' by Kali Kumar Lahary and a collection of folk songs '*Balabganwi*' by Nileswar Brahma were brought out with great enthusiasm. In 1954 '*Okhaphwr*' magazine was published by the students of Cotton College, Gauhati. '*Okhaphwr*' was edited by Ranendra Narayan Basumatary. The Bodo Sahitya Sabha has also published its 1st issue of mouth-piece in 19th October, 1955 by the named '*The Bodo*'. '*The Bodo*' was edited by Satish Chandra Basumatary. Name of the Manager as well as Chairman

of this 1st edition was Gauri Kanta Brahma. This mouth-piece brings new trends in the different genre of Bodo literature and also encouraged the budding writers of those days.

4.4.1 Historical evidence of using Assamese and Roman script

During the Modern age of Bodo literature Bodo writers were used Assamese script as well as Roman script to write the Bodo text frequently and conveniently. Historical evidence of using Assamese Script and Roman script was scattered in the various genre of Bodo compositions. Some of the evidences of using Assamese script and Roman script are listed below:

1952 '*Boroni zolonga*' by Kalicharan Brahma

1952 *'Khonthai Bihung'* by Kali Kumar Lahary

1952 '*Balabganwi Boroni Khonthai*' by Nileswar Brahma

1954 '*Kachari Bhasa Sangraha*' by B.N. Bismith

1956 '*Rao Fehernaini Lamayao (Bodo)*' by Samar Brahma Choudhury

1958 '*Serza Siphung*' by Rahini Kumar Brahma

1958 '*Radab*' by Samar Brahma Choudury

1958 '*Khonthai arw Solo*' by Rahendra Narzary

1958 '*Guthal*' by Iswar Chandra Brahma and Kamakhya Brahma Narzary

1959 '*Gwdan Phwisali*' by Kamal Kumar Brahma

1959 '*Alari*' by Saran Narzary

1959 '*Boro Grammar*' by Rev. H. Holevershood

1960 '*Boro Khuga Methai*' by Mohini Mohan Brahma

1960 '*Abwi Abwoni Solo*' by Sukumar Basumatary

1962 '*zuzaini or*' (1st Bodo novel) by Chittaranjan Mushahary

1962 '*Raja Iragdao*' by Kamal Kumar Brahma

1962 '*Boro- Asamiya Abhidhan*' (1st Bodo dictionary) by Rajendra Lal Narzary

All the above compositions were composed either in Assamese or Roman script.

4.4.2 Evidence of script used in text

For the evidence of script used in text '*Boro Khuga Methai*' written by Mohini Mohan Brahma is analyzed below with relic examples. '*Boro Khuga Methai*' is published in the year 1960 and it was written by using Roman script.

Example-1: Using Bodo language through Roman script

Na bathŏn cikhao gŏmbŏr mao

Dagab dagab agŏi aṅni nao

 (Extracted from '*Boro Khuga Methai*', Page No. 6)

Example-2: Using Bodo language through Roman script

Eṅe duludu khurcakhathiao thu

Ada gorayceo

Phali ganthia kheo

(Extracted from '*Boro Khuga Methai*', Page No. 15)

For the evidence of Assamese script used in text during modern age of the Bodo Literature, '*Gwdan Phwisali*' (drama) written by Kamal Kumar Brahma in 1959 and '*Zuzaini Or*' (1st novel) by Chittaranjan Mochahary in 1962 are analyzed below with relic examples.

Example-1: Using Bodo language through Assamese script

সৌম্শ্রি : আয়ুউ লাঁগাঁআ মাল্লাবানাঁ ফৈগ্রাঁ গাৰদাঁঃলায়হায় । মা
        আঁঃশ্রী ছংদাঁঃবাল ? (দৈহ্দাঁনাঁ)

গয়তি : গৈয়া হায়, মা মান্নাঁ । দাবাঁনাঁ সঙাঁখে আং আঁঃশ্রীখৌনাঁবা
        মা মাঁনাঁ দা খন্ছায় হৈনাঁছে ।

(Extracted from '*Gwdan Phwisali*', Page No. 24)

Example-2: Using Bodo language through Assamese script

আদা অজয়, নাঁঃ⋯⋯ নাঁঃ অলকাখৌনাঁ বোজবনানৈ লাবায় ?
যাঁবাঁঃ গাঁমাঁথাও আদা নাঁঙনি অন্নায়া ! হি: হি: হি: ! দিহংনি
দৈখৌ লাবাঁনানৈ নাঁঃ আংনি হাংমা হাংছনি জাঁঃনানৈ থানায় বন-

জাৰনি অৰখিখৌ লুখোমোংনো হানায় নঙলা আদা ! বেঅ বুঠানি
অৰবাইদি ডেমু ডেমুছো ৰাছিন খামগোমালাংবায় থাগোন !

(Extracted from '*Zuzaini Or*', Page No. 1)

All these examples are the historical evidences of using Roman and Assamese script during the modern age of the Bodo literature. The sentences were made transcript into Roman and Assamese orthographic sign with a number of diacritic marks and mātrās to define the mode of articulation of the Bodo language.

4.4.3 Analysis on Scripts, its secondary form or mātrā and Diacritic marks used in the Modern age of Bodo literature

It is observed that during Modern age of Bodo literature the segmental and supra-segmental phonemes; and diacritics are used in the some peculiar manner.

Analysis on **Roman script** used in the Modern age of Bodo literature based on text is done as given below:

Example of Vowels with words:

IPA	Roman Script	Words in Bodo
/i/	/i/:	'inzur' meaning 'walls of house'
		'thalir' meaning 'banana'
		'bilai' meaning 'leaf'
/ɯ/	/ŏ/: this is the representation of vowel /ɯ/. Using this sound is a special characteristic in Bodo language.	
		'ŏṅkham' meaning 'cooked rice'
		'okhaphŏr' meaning 'moon'
		'hazŏ' meaning 'hill'
/u/	/u/:	'ukhum' meaning 'roof of a house'
		'gucthi' meaning 'lips'
		'phanlu' meaning 'chilly'

/e/	/e/:	'embu' meaning 'frog'
		'derha' meaning 'to conquer'
		'gele' meaning 'to play'
/o/	/o/:	'okha' meaning 'rain'
		'megon' meaning 'eye'
		'gotho' meaning 'child'
/a/	/a/:	'apha' meaning 'my father'
		'lama' meaning 'road'
		'oma' meaning 'pig'

It is observed that, in modern age of Bodo literature six (6) vowels i.e. **/i/, /ŏ/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /a/** were used by using Roman script. To represent as the mode of articulation of vowel **/uu/, /o/** is used with diacritic mark as **/ŏ/**.

Example of Consonants with words:

IPA	**Roman Script**	**Words in Bodo**
/pʰ/	/ph/:	'phithai' meaning 'fruit'
		'khaphal' meaning 'luck'
		'biphaṅ' meaning 'tree'
	/p/:	'gap' meaning 'to cry'
		'habap' meaning 'oh! Exclamation of
		joy or sorrow'
		'alouhap' meaning 'inwardly burn'
/b/	/b/:	'bikha' meaning 'heart'
		'bedor' meaning 'meat'
		'daobo' meaning 'heron'
/tʰ/	/th/:	'thuṅgri' meaning 'sowrd'
		'hathorkhi' meaning 'star'
		'athiṅ' meaning 'leg'

/d/	/d/:	'dao' meaning 'bird'
		'canduṅ' meaning 'the heat of the sun'
		'dokhona' meaning 'Bodo woman's cloth'

/kʰ/	/kh/:	'khŏla' meaning 'south'
		'cikhri' meaning 'butterfly'
		'laokhar' meaning 'cowboy'

/g/	/g/:	'gŏcŏ' meaning 'mind, heart'
		'gŏdan' meaning 'new'
		'gami' meaning 'village'

/m/	/m/:	'mŏcou' meaning 'cow'
		'oma' meaning 'pig'
		'dŏima' meaning 'river'

/n/	/n/:	'na' meaning 'fish'
		'zanzi' meaning 'waist'
		'acan' meaning 'bangle'

/ŋ/	/ṅ/:	'aṅ' meaning 'I'
		'gaṅcŏ' meaning 'grass'
		'cimaṅ' meaning 'dream'

/s/	/c/:	'cŏima' meaning 'dog'
		'canza' meaning 'east'
		'harca' meaning 'non-Bodo'

/z/	/z/:	'zŏhŏlao' meaning 'hero'
		'za' meaning 'to eat'
		'hinzao' meaning 'female'

/h/	/h/:	'hadab' meaning 'state'
		'dŏihu' meaning 'pitcher'
		'harciṅ' meaning 'alone'
/r/	/r/:	'rao' meaning 'language, voice'
		'bari' meaning 'orchard'
		'bibar' meaning 'flower'
/l/	/l/:	'lazi' meaning 'to feel ashamed or shy'
		'badamali' meaning 'bat'
		'khodal' meaning 'hoe, spade'
/w/	/w/:	'uwal' meaning 'mortar'
		'ziuwa' meaning 'life is'
		'na maowa' meaning 'young fish ling'
/y/	/y/:	'raynay' meaning 'reproach, scold'
		'lanzay' meaning 'tail'
		'gayhen' meaning 'pestle'

It is observed that, during the period of Modern age seventeen (17) consonants were used by using Roman script to write the text of Bodo language and literature. These are **/ph/, /p/, /b/, /th/, /d/, /kh/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /ṅ/, /c/, /z/, /h/, /r/, /l/, /w/, /y/**.

Analysis on **Assamese script** used in the Modern age of Bodo literature based on text is done as given below:

Example of Vowels with words:

IPA	Full form	Secondary form or mātrā	Words in Bodo
/i/	ই /i/ (short)	ি	ই = 'নাইগিৰ' meaning 'to search for'
			'আখাই' meaning 'hand'
			ি = 'দিনৈ' meaning 'today'
			'আংনি' meaning 'my'

ঈ /i/ (long)　　　　ী　　　ঈ = 'ঈশ্বৰ্' meaning 'God'

ী = 'গামী' meaning 'village'

'নিখাউৰী' meaning 'poor'

/ɯ/　আঁ is used to represent the /ɯ/　াঁ　　আঁ = 'আঁংখাম্' meaning 'cooked rice'

short high back unrounded vowel.

'আঁ ং খ্ৰী' meaning 'curry'

াঁ = 'গ াঁ থাও' meaning 'surprising'

'ল াঁগ াঁ' meaning 'friend'

/u/　উ /u/ (short)　　　ু　　　উ = 'উন্দু' meaning 'to sleep'

'জীউ' meaning 'life'

ু = 'গুৰৈ' meaning 'soft'

'ফুং' meaning 'morning'

ঊ /u/ (long)　　　ূ　　　ঊ = 'ঊনাও' meaning 'at the back'

ূ = 'ভূম' meaning 'earth'

'পূৰ্নিমা' meaning 'full Moon'

/e/　এ /e/　　　　ো　　　এ = 'এমফৌ' meaning 'worm, insect'

'এছে' meaning 'a little'

ো = 'মেগন্' meaning 'eyes'

'মেথায়' meaning 'song'

ঐ /oi/ (long)　　　ৈ　　　ঐ = 'ঐলাম' meaning 'auction'

ৈ = 'গুৈম' meaning 'husband of elder

sister'

'দৈহ্ন' meaning 'pitcher'

/o/	অ /o/	’	অ = 'অখৰাং' meaning 'sky'
			'অখাফোৰ' meaning 'moon'
			’ = খ'ৰো meaning 'head'
			ন' meaning 'house'
	ও /o/ (short)	োা	ও = 'ৰাও' meaning 'language'
			'ছিঙাও' meaning 'inside'
			োা = 'গোসাই' meaning 'God'
			'বোহা' meaning 'where'
	ঔ /ou/ (long)	ৌ	ঔ = 'ঔৰা' meaning 'bamboo'
			ৌ = 'জৌ' meaning 'wine, rice beer'
			'মৌশৌ' meaning 'cow'
/a/	আ /a/	া	আ = 'আং' meaning 'I'
			'আগান' meaning 'footprint, step'
			া = 'লামা' meaning 'road, path'
			'দখনা' meaning 'Bodo women's garment'

From the above analysis on vowels, it is observed that in modern age of Bodo literature eleven (11) vowels i.e. ই, ঈ, অা, উ, ঊ, এ, ঐ, অ, ও, ঔ and আ were used by using Assamese script. To represent as the mode of articulation of vowel /*ɯ*/, অা was used with its secondary form or mātrā as ৗা.

Example of Consonants with words:

IPA	Full form	Diacritic form	Words in Bodo
/pʰ/	ফ /pʰ/	——	'আফা' meaning 'my father'
			'খাফাল' meaning 'luck'
			'বিফাং' meaning 'tree'
	প /p/	——	'পুজা' meaning 'worship'
			'খেপটা' meaning 'to grip tightly'
			'ফাপ' meaning 'sin'
/b/	ব /b/	——	'বিলাই' meaning 'leaf'
			'বাৰ' meaning 'wind, air'
			'বিমা' meaning 'his/her mother'
	ভ /bɦ/	——	'ভুম' meaning 'the earth, the world'
			'ভুত' meaning 'ghost, evil spirit'
			'ভাইগ' meaning 'luck'
/tʰ/	থ /tʰ/	——	'মিথিংগা' meaning 'nature'
			'গৗমৗথাও' meaning 'surprising'
			'থাং' meaning 'to go'
	ঠ /ʈʰ/	——	'অণ্ঠায়' meaning 'rock'
			'গণ্ঠং' meaning 'nose'
			'আঠিং' meaning 'leg'
	ˎ /t/	——	'নেহাˎ' meaning 'worthless'
			'ঠালিˎ' meaning 'banana'
			'লিˎনায়' meaning 'writing'

ট /ʈ/   —   'উটটৈম' meaning 'navel'

'মটৰ' meaning 'motor vehicle'

'বটল' meaning 'bottle'

ত /t/   —   'তীৰ' meaning 'arrow'

'বিমা বাতুল' meaning 'stepmother'

'বৈসৌমাতা' meaning 'the world'

/d/   দ /d/   —   'দাওখা' meaning 'crow'

'দৈ' meaning 'water'

'গুদুং' meaning 'hot, having heat'

ধ /dɦ/   —   'সৌমৗনধৗ' meaning 'relation'

'ধৗৰৗম' meaning 'religion'

'শুধৰাই' meaning 'to correct'

ড /ɖ/   —   'ডাওলা' meaning 'cock'

'ডুব্লি' meaning 'paddy field'

'ডাক্তাৰ' meaning 'doctor'

/kʰ/   খ /kʰ/   —   'খানায়' meaning 'hair'

'অখা' meaning 'rain'

'খুদুমনায়' meaning 'kissing'

ক /k/   —   'ইসকুল' meaning 'school'

'মিজিংক' meaning 'hope'

'বাকচু' meaning 'box'

/g/	গ /g/	—	'গয়' meaning 'betel nut'
			'গথোছা' meaning 'baby'
			'গীশীম' meaning 'black'
	ঘ /gɦ/	—	'ঘোড়ায়' meaning 'horse'
			'ঘড়ী' meaning 'watch'
			'ঘিউ' meaning 'gee'
/m/	ম /m/	—	'গামি' meaning 'village'
			'মায়' meaning 'paddy'
			'গীমীন' meaning 'ripe'
/n/	ন /n/	—	'নীং' meaning 'you'
			'নাথায়' meaning 'but'
			'মীনাবিলি' meaning 'evening'
/ŋ/	ঙ /ŋ/	০ং	ঙ = 'ফুঙাও' meaning 'in the morning'
			'গেজাৰঙৈ' meaning 'poor'
			'নঙা' meaning 'not, no'
			০ং = 'ফুং' meaning 'morning'
			'গেওলাং' meaning 'open, blooming'
			'মীজাং' meaning 'good'
/s/	স /s/	—	'সিখ়লা' meaning 'young girl'
			'সিমাং' meaning 'dream'
			'সিখ্ৰী' meaning 'butterfly'

চ /s/   —   'সানচে' meaning 'one day'

'আলাচী' meaning 'guest'

'চেণ্ডেল' meaning 'footed sandal'

ছ /sʰ/   —   'ছিলা' meaning 'kite'

'দৈছা' meaning 'stream'

'ছিফুং' meaning 'flute'

শ /s/   —   'বেলাশী' meaning 'afternoon'

'মৈশা' meaning 'buffalo'

'শামো' meaning 'snail, conch'

/z/   জ /z/   —   'জিবৌ' meaning 'snake'

'জৌ' meaning 'wine'

'হেফাজাব' meaning 'help'

/h/   হ /h/   —   'হাথোফ্লা' meaning 'ashe'

'বাৰহুংখা' meaning 'storm, tempest'

'হাং' meaning 'breathing'

/r/   ৰ /r/   ~ and ´   ৰ = 'বিবাৰ' meaning 'flower'

'ছাওগাৰী' meaning 'picture'

'গাথাৰ' meaning 'pure, chaste'

~ = 'সেংগ্রা' meaning 'young man, youth'

'অখৰাং' meaning 'sky'

'গাজ্রি' meaning 'bad'

<div align="center">

´ = 'স্বাগি´ ' meaning 'heaven'

'গৈল্লৈ' meaning 'soft, simple'

'পূর্নিমা' meaning 'full moon'
</div>

	ড় /ɽ/	—	'ঘাড়ী' meaning 'watch'
			'ঘোড়ায়' meaning 'horse'
			'আড়াই' meaning 'two and half'
/l/	ল /l/	—	'লগ' meaning 'friend'
			'লাউখাৰ' meaning 'cowboy'
			'বালাবাৰী' meaning 'desert'
/w/	ৱ /w/	—	'হৌৱা' meaning 'male'
			'মুৱা' meaning 'thing, element'
			'উৱাল' meaning 'a wooden husking implement'
/y/	য /y/	—	'জাওলীয়া' meaning 'mad, insane'
			'ৰায়নায়' meaning 'curses'
			'জেখায়' meaning 'a bamboo-made net used for catching fish'

It is observed that the combined shape of two different consonants used as single consonant or Single glyphs i.e. **ক** + ়ৃ + **ষ** = **ক্ষ** was also used during modern age of Bodo literature.

For example: 'লক্ষী' meaning 'the goddess of wealth'

'ক্ষেমা' meaning 'forgiveness'

From the analysis on consonants, it is observed that during modern age of Bodo literature thirty (30) consonants i.e. ফ, প, ব, ভ, থ, ঠ, ৲, ট, ত, দ, ধ, ড, খ, ক, গ, ঘ, ম,

ন, ঙ, স, চ, ছ, শ, জ, হ, ৰ ড়, ল, ৱ and য় were used with some diacritic marks to represent the mode of articulation of the Bodo language.

4.4.4 Use of Mātrā

It is observed that during modern age of Bodo language following secondary form or mātrā of vowel is used to make convenient the mode of articulation of the phonemes.

ৌ : This is the representation of vowel /ɯ/; and used for marking High back unrounded   vowel.

4.4.5 Use of Diacritic marks

It is observed that during the period of Modern age following diacritic marks were used to make convenient the mode of articulation of the phonemes.

Diacritic marks in Roman script:

/ŏ/: This is the representation of vowel /ɯ/; and used for marking High back unrounded vowel.

/ṅ/: The upper case as marked at the top of the /n/ is used for marking voiced velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/.

Diacritic marks in Assamese script:

  ং (Anuswar) : diacritic mark of consonant ঙ /ŋ/

  ∼ and ´ : diacritic mark of consonant ৰ /r/

  ্ (Halanta) : By using Halanta, consonant ending syllable or closed syllable was marked in the writings of modern age of Bodo literature .

For example: 'অৰ্' meaning 'fire, flame'

'উন্' meaning 'back, back side'

'গাব্' meaning 'to cry'

4.4.6 Variation of mātrās

Variation of mātrās may be found in writing the text of modern period of Bodo literature. The subsequent mātrās were used for representing pitch variation at the time of articulation. For example:

A.

িৣ :   This mātrā represents short sound.

      Example: 'বিবাৰ' meaning 'flower'

                  'বিফা' meaning 'his/her father'

ীৣ :   This mātrā represents long sound.

      Example: 'গামী' meaning 'village'

           'জীউ' meaning 'life'

B.

ুৣ :   This mātrā represents short sound.

      Example: 'মুং' meaning 'name'

            'উন্দু' meaning 'to sleep'

ূৣ :   This mātrā represents long sound.

      Example: 'মুৱা' meaning 'thing'

            'ভুম' meaning 'earth'

4.5 Script used in introduction of Bodo as Medium of Instruction (1963-1974)

The evolution of Bodo language was started from the 20th century. The Bodo language was introduced as medium of instruction in the primary level of education system in 18th May, 1963. It was declared in the meeting held in the field of Higher Secondary School, Kokrajhar by Bimala Prasad Chaliha the Honorable Chief Minister of Assam. Since then, in every year 18th May is being observed by Bodo Sahitya Sabha as Bodo Medium Implementation Day. From this year Assamese script was used in the place of Roman script for teaching Bodo language in primary schools. The '*Cachari Reader*' textbook was replaced with '*Mokhojennai (Balabgase)*' textbook. Primers for beginners with alphabet and writing system namely '*Mokhojennai (Balabgase)*' in

1960 and in 1961 '*Mokhojennai (Balabganwi)*' was written by Rajendralal Narzary and published from Rupban, Shillong. '*Pharilai Gwdan*' in 1962 was also written by him. '*Thorailai (Balabgibi)*' by Aron Kumar Borgoyary was published in 1959. For *Bodo text book Production Committee* Kamal Kumar Brahma had also edited some books, these are: '*Sona Bidang (Sirigase)*' in 1965, '*Sona Bidang (Siriganwi)*' in 1965, '*Sona Bidang (Sirigado)*' in 1974.

4.5.1 Historical evidence of using Assamese Script

Assamese script was coined from the year 1963 to write the text of medium of instruction. Therefore, Bodo writers were used Assamese scripts to compose various genres of literature like poem, essay, short story and drama in this period of Bodo literature. Historical evidence of using Assamese Script was scattered in the various genre of compositions. Some of the evidences of using Assamese script in compositions are listed below:

1959 '*Thorailai (Balabgibi)*' by Aron Kumar Borgoyary

1960 '*Mokhojennai (Balabgase)*' by Rajendralal Narzary

1961 '*Mokhojennai (Balabganwi)*' by Rajendralal Narzary

1961 '*Agzu Bizab*' by Kali Kumar Lahary

1962 '*Pharilai Gwdan*' by Rajendralal Narzary

1963 '*Bonzar*' edited by Ranjit kumar Bargoyary

1965 '*Sona Bidang (Sirigase)*' edited by Kamal Kumar Brahma

1965 '*Sona Bidang (Siriganwi)*' edited by Kamal Kumar Brahma

1966 '*Bwisagi Sikhlani Solobatha*' by Kali Kumar Lahary

1968 '*Gibi Rao Khanthai*' by Kamal Kumar Brahma

1968 '*Onzima*' edited by Heramba Narzary

1969 '*Guthal*' by Kamaykhya Brahma Narzary & Iswar Chandra Brahma

1969 '*Boro Khuga Methai (Sethi)*' by Sukhumar Basumatary

1970 '*Mwdwi*' by Dharanidhar Owary

1970 '*Fwimal Mizing*' (1st Short Story book) by Chittaranzan Mwsahary

1971 '*Mablaba*' by Manaranjan Lahary

1971 '*Boroni Hathorkhipwr*' by Bidyasagar Narzary

1972 '*Boro Kachari Solo*' by Mohini Mohon Brahma and P. Goswami

1972 '*Gwnang Rao Khanthi*' by Kamal Kumar Brahma

1972 '*Hagra Guduni Mwi*' by Nil Kamal Brahma

1972 '*Bikhaya Gaow Khugaya Geoa*' by Chittaranzan Mwsahary

1973 '*Boro Thandwi*' by Hemkanta Ramchiary

1973 '*Orgeng*' by Bisnujyoti Kachari

1973 '*Khithir*' by Chittaranzan Mwsahary

1974 '*Minishri*' by Sukumar Basumatary

1974 '*Thalim*' by Chittaranzan Mwsahary

1974 '*Sona Bidang (Sirigado)*' edited by Kamal Kumar Brahma

1974 '*Dengkhw Roje*' by Kagen Lahary

Above mentioned all the compositions were composed in Assamese script.

4.5.2 Evidence of script used in text

'*Thorailai (Balabgibi)*' written by Aron Kumar Borgoyary in the year 1959 was written by using Assamese script. Some artifact examples of using Bodo language through Assamese script in this book are given below:

Example-1: Using Bodo language through Assamese script

গথ বুৰখায়নায়

ওখাফৌৰ ওখাফৌৰ মা নাগিৰদৌঃ ?

বিজি খান্ দা নাগিৰদৌঃ ;

বিজি খান্ দাখৌ মানৌ?

চিৰি জিৰাবখৌ চুথেনৌ;

চিৰি জিৰাবখৌ মানৌ?

মৌশৌ ৰাঙানৌ গানহৌনৌ ;

মৌশৌ ৰাঙাখৌ মানৌ?

হাল মাওনাৈন জানৌ

হাল মাওনাৈন মা জানৌ ?

ৰাংনি গিৰি জানৌ ;

ৰাং-গিৰি জাবৌলা মা জায়ৌ ?

বয়জৌৰ্বৌ চিৰি জায়ৌ ।

(Extracted from '*Thorailai (Balabgibi)*', Page No. 30)

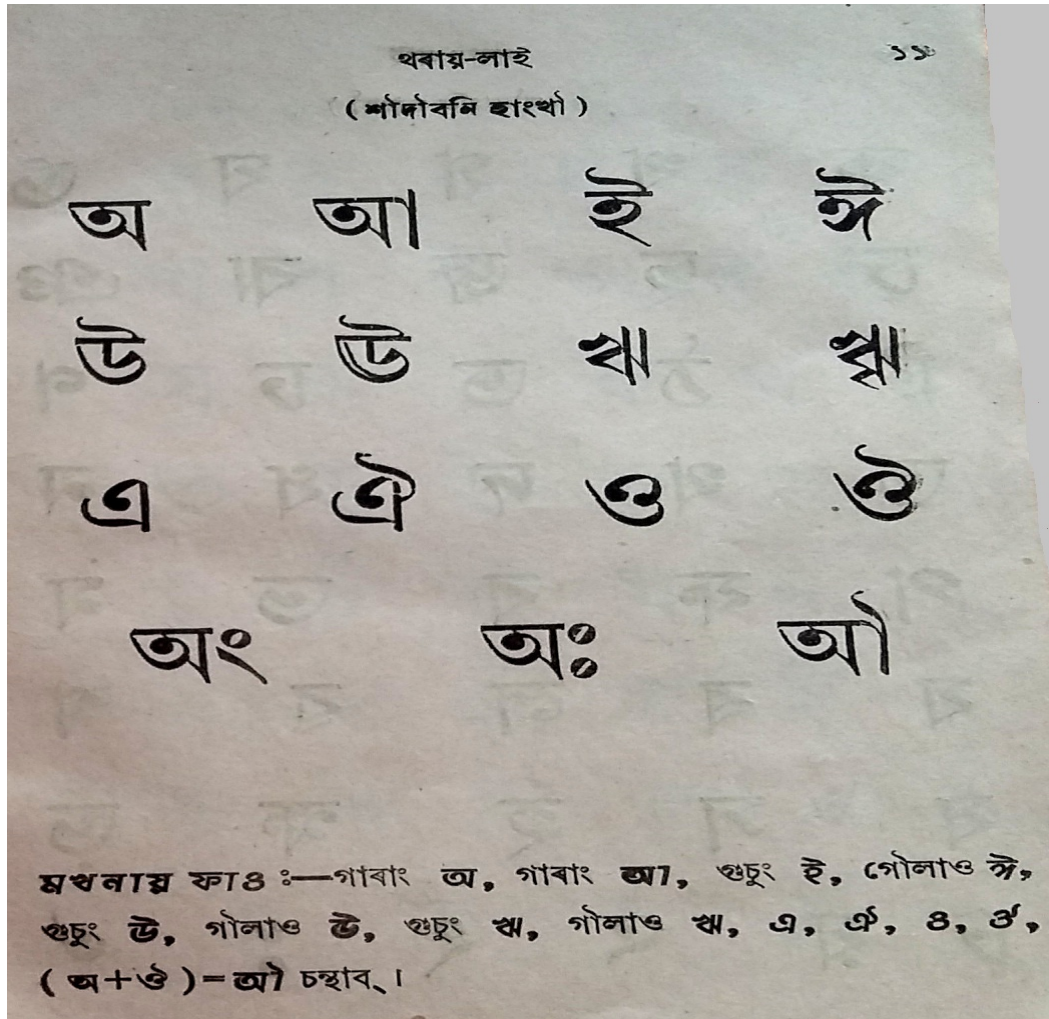**Example-2** Using Bodo language through Assamese script

থাৰ আৰ'গ'নাং বাথ'ৰা

চানফ'ৰামব' ফড়ায় শালীয়াও থাং ।

থাংনাইয়াও-ফৈনাইয়াও ৰাওজ' ব' দানাংলায়

দাখমলায় । ফ'ড'ং গিৰিখৌ চিবি । ফড়ায়নায়

সমাও গুবুন বাথ'ৰাখৌ গ'শ'দাখাং ।

(Extracted from '*Thorailai (Balabgibi)*', Page No. 32)
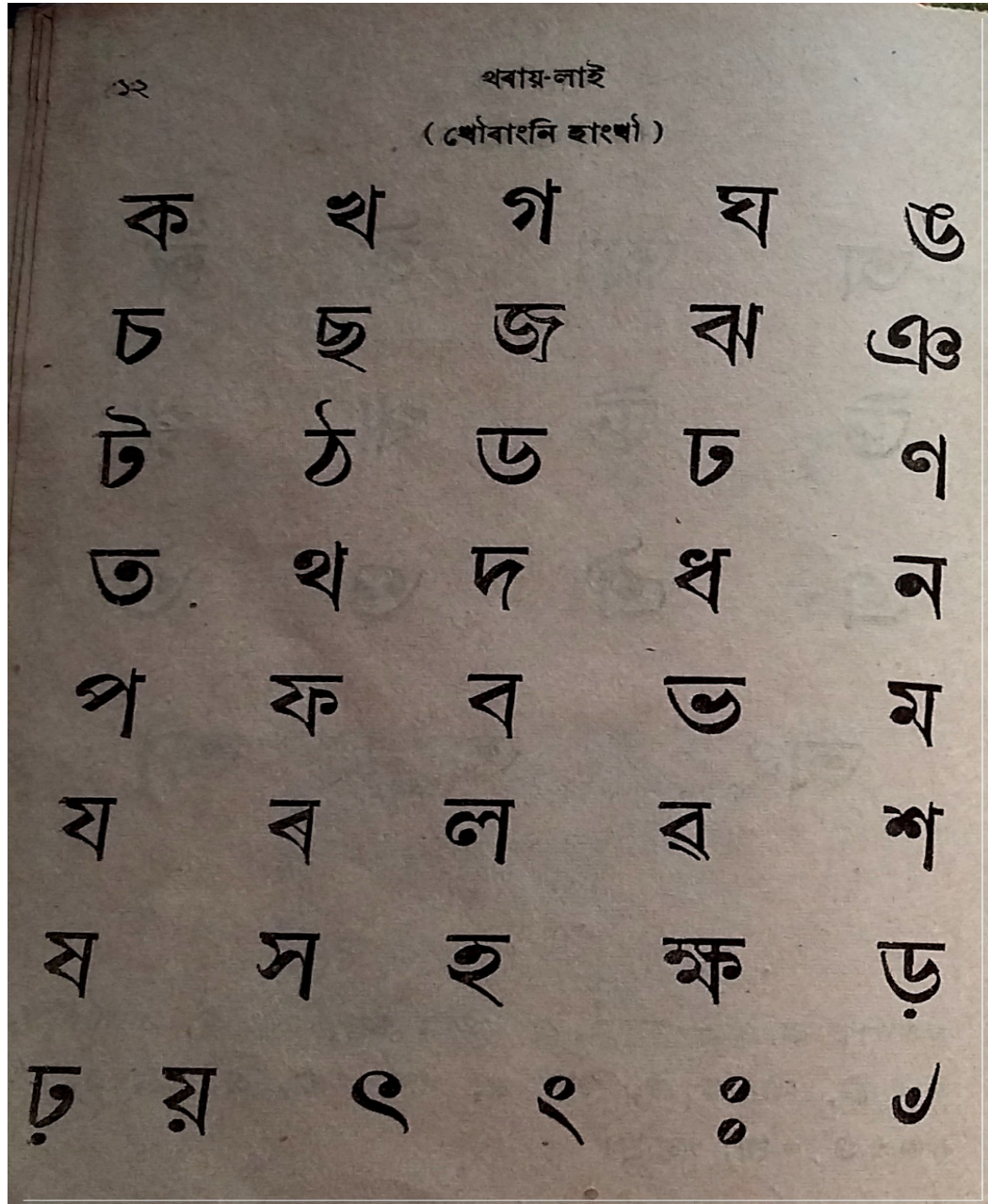
Example-3 Photo of Vowel Alphabet

(Extracted from '*Thorailai (Balabgibi)*', Page No.11)

Example- 4 Photo of Vowel Alphabet and its Secondary forms and Diacritic forms

(Extracted from '*Thorailai (Balabgibi)*', Page No.15

Example- 5 Photo of Consonant Alphabet

থৰায়-লাই

(খোৰাংনি হাংখ্ৰা)

ক	খ	গ	ঘ	ঙ
চ	ছ	জ	ঝ	ঞ
ট	ঠ	ড	ঢ	ণ
ত	থ	দ	ধ	ন
প	ফ	ব	ভ	ম
য	ৱ	ল	ৰ	শ
ষ	স	হ	ক্ষ	ড়
ঢ়	য়	ৎ	ং	ঃ

(Extracted from '*Thorailai (Balabgibi)*', Page No.12)

Above all examples are the historical evidences of using Assamese script during the time of introduction as Medium of Instruction of Bodo language. It is analyzed that the text extracted from the '*Thorailai (Balabgibi)*' Text book of Aron Kumar Borgoyary is to be marked as spoken variety of Bodo language of Kokrajhar district. The sentence was made transcript into Assamese orthographic sign with a number of diacritic marks

to define the mode of articulation. As for example, ৗ is used as a representation of Mātrā of the short high back un-rounded vowel /u/ which vowel is absent or not used in Assamese language.

4.5.3 Analysis on Scripts, its secondary form or mātrā and Diacritic marks used in the time of writing text of medium of instruction

It is observed that the segmental and supra-segmental phonemes; secondary form or mātrā and diacritics are used in unusual manner in writing the text of primary level. Here discussion may be done as given below:

Example of Vowels with words:

IPA	Full form	Secondary form or mātrā	Words in Bodo
/i/	ই /i/ (short)	ি	ই = 'ইটা' meaning 'bricks'
			'দুইচিন' meaning 'younger'
			ি = 'বিফা' meaning 'his / her father'
			'চিখিৰি' meaning 'butterfly'
	ঈ /i/ (long)	ী	ঈ = 'ঈনজুৰ' meaning 'walls of house'
			ী = 'আলাৰী' meaning 'earthen pot'
			'মাওজী' meaning 'cat'
/u/	আ is used to represent the /u/ short high back un-rounded vowel.	ৗ	আ='আঃখাম' meaning 'cooked rice'
			'আঃখাৰ' meaning 'to slope downward'
			ৗ = 'গাথৗ' meaning 'deep'
			'বাথাৰ' meaning 'season'

/u/	উ /u/ (short)	‌ু	উ = 'উথুমায়' meaning 'navel'
			'উছ্খুখু' meaning 'impatient'
			‌ু = 'মুফুৰ' meaning 'bear'
			'খুগা' meaning 'mouth'
	ঊ /u/ (long)	‌ূ	ঊ = 'ঊলাফাং' meaning 'throne'
			‌ূ = 'মূৰা' meaning 'thing'
			'খূৰা' meaning 'fog'
	ঋ /r̥i/ (short)	‌ৃ	ঋ = 'ঋষি' meaning 'sage'
			‌ৃ = 'খৃখৃ' meaning 'thick'
			'ফৃফৃ' meaning 'very fine drops of rain'
	ৠ /r̥ii/ (long)		This alphabet was used in the writings of Loan words
/e/	এ /e/ (short)	ে◌	এ = 'এসে' meaning 'a little'
			'এমফৌ' meaning 'insect'
			ে◌ = 'মেলেম' meaning 'brain'
			'মেজেম' meaning 'fat'
	ঐ /oi/ (long)	ৈ◌	ঐ = Primary form was used in loanwords
			ৈ◌ = 'ডৈমা' meaning 'river'
			'মৈদেৰ' meaning 'elephant'

/o/	অ /o/	'	অ = 'অৰ' meaning 'fire'
			'অখা' meaning 'rain'
		' =	খৰ' meaning 'head'
			গথ' meaning 'child'

	ও /o/ (short)	োা	ও = 'ওখাফোৰ' meaning 'moon'
			োা = 'বড়ো' meaning 'the Bodos'
			'থপোলা' meaning 'luggage'

	ঔ /ou/ (long)	ৌ	ঔ = 'ঔৰা' meaning 'bamboo'
			ৌ = 'আবৌ' meaning 'grandfather'
			'হৌৰা' meaning 'male'

/a/	আ /a/	াা	আ = 'আং' meaning 'I'
			'আখাই' meaning 'hand'
		াা =	'আই' meaning 'mother'
			'দখনা' meaning 'Bodo women's garment'

It is observed that during the time of writing text of medium of instruction of Bodo language and literature eleven (11) vowels i.e. ই, ঈ, আ উ, উ, ঋ, এ, অ, ও, ঔ and আ were used in the writings of various genre of literature with its secondary form or mātrā.

Example of Consonants with words:

IPA	Full form	Diacritic form	Words in Bodo
/pʰ/	ফ /pʰ/	——	'ফেমাল' meaning 'failure'
			'বিফা' meaning 'his/her father'
			'ফেশালী' meaning 'screen'

	প /p/	—	'থপোলা' meaning 'luggage'
			'ডিমাপুৰ' meaning 'name of place'
			'গোপীনাথ' meaning 'name of men'
/b/	ব /b/	—	'বিবাৰ' meaning 'flower'
			'বিব' meaning 'his/her elder sister'
			'বা' meaning 'five'
/tʰ/	থ /tʰ/	—	'থাইজৌ' meaning 'mango'
			'থাং' meaning 'to go'
			'থাৰ' meaning 'true'
/d/	দ /d/	—	'দাওখা' meaning 'crow'
			'দালায়' meaning 'branch'
			'মৈদেৰ' meaning 'elephant'
/kʰ/	খ /kʰ/	—	'খানায়' meaning 'hair'
			'চিখিৰি' meaning 'butterfly'
			'খুগা' meaning 'mouth'
	ক /k/	—	'চিকাৰী' meaning 'hunter'
			'কানা' meaning 'blind'
			'কছাৰী' meaning 'another name of the Bodo people'
/g/	গ /g/	—	'গয়' meaning 'betel nut'
			'জিগাব' meaning 'straw'
			'গেচাও' meaning 'rotten, decayed'

| | ঘ /gh/ | — | 'ঘড়ী' meaning 'watch' |

'ঘড়ী' meaning 'watch'

'গোলাঘাট' meaning 'name of a place'

'অঘোৰনাথ' meaning 'name of men'

/m/ ম /m/ —

'মিনি' meaning 'to laugh'

'মুফুৰ' meaning 'bear'

'গাহাম' meaning 'good'

/n/ ন /n/ —

'আনজাৎ' meaning 'examination'

'ৰানী' meaning 'queen'

'না' meaning 'fish'

/ŋ/ ঙ /ŋ/ ◌ং

ঙ = 'বিথাঙা' meaning 'he /she is'

'ৰাঙা' meaning 'red'

'মোজাঙে' meaning 'well'

◌ং = 'বিথাং' meaning 'he / she(honorific)'

'লাংদাং' meaning 'empty'

'মাইৰং' meaning 'unboiled rice'

/s/ স /s/ —

'সাচে' meaning 'one man'

'সম' meaning 'time'

'সিংহ' meaning 'lion'

চ /s/ —

'চিৰি' meaning 'silence'

'হাচিপ' meaning 'broom'

'চি' meaning 'cloth'

	ছ /sʰ/	—	'ছলাই' meaning 'match'
			'খৌছে' meaning 'unity'
			'ডেছা' meaning 'stream'
	শ /s/	—	'শিজৌ' meaning 'cactus'
			'শালায়' meaning 'tongue'
			'মাঁশৌ' meaning 'cow'
/z/	জ /z/	—	'জা' meaning 'to eat'
			'মাওজী' meaning 'cat'
			'জৱৈচা' meaning 'son-in-law'
/h/	হ /h/	—	'হাথায়' meaning 'teeth'
			'হাদান' meaning 'newly reclaimed land'
			'জৗহৗলাও' meaning 'hero'
/r/	ৱ /r/	~	ৱ = 'ৱাং' meaning 'money'
			'অৱায়বা' meaning 'always'
			'বিবাৱ' meaning 'flower'
			~ = 'বৈ' meaning 'four'
			'মাবৈ' meaning 'how'
			'গাজ্ৱি' meaning 'bad'
/l/	ল /l/	—	'লাউ' meaning 'long gourd'
			'গেলে' meaning 'to play'
			'অলংবাৱ' meaning 'the Venus'

/w/	ৱ /w/	—	'ঔৱা' meaning 'bamboo'
			'ৰুৱা' meaning 'axe'
			'খুৱা' meaning 'fog'
/y/	য় /y/	—	'জেখায়' meaning 'a bamboo -made net used for catching fish'
			'থায়জৌ' meaning 'mango'
			'খানায়' meaning 'hair'

From the above analysis on consonants used to write during the time of writing text of medium of instruction of Bodo language, it is observed that twenty two (22) consonants i.e. ফ, প, ব, থ, দ, ক, খ, গ, ঘ, ম, ন, ঙ, স, চ, ছ, শ, জ, হ, ৰ, ল, ৱ and য় were used with some diacritic marks to represent the mode of articulation of the Bodo language.

4.5.4 Use of Mātrā

It is observed that during the time of introduction as Medium of Instruction of Bodo language following secondary form or mātrā of vowel is used to make convenient the mode of articulation of the phonemes.

ৌ **:** This is the representation of vowel /ɯ/; and used for marking High back un-rounded vowel.

4.5.5 Use of diacritic mark

The following diacritic mark of consonant was used for writing the text of Bodo language during the time of introduction as Medium of Instruction, i.e.

ং (Anuswar) : diacritic mark of consonant ঙ /ŋ/

~ : diacritic mark of consonant ৰ /r/

◌্ (Halanta) : By using Halanta, consonant ending was marked in the writings on that time . For example:

'মহৱ্' meaning 'appearance, shape'

'লখব্' meaning 'to pour'

'গন্' meaning 'stick'

4.5.6 Variation of mātrās

Variation of mātrās may be found in writing the text of text Bodo language during the time of introduction as Medium of Instruction. The following mātrās were used for representing pitch variation at the time of articulation. For example:

A.

ি◌ : This mātrā represents short sound .

Example: 'বিবাৰ' meaning 'flower'

'বিফা' meaning 'his/her father'

◌ী : This mātrā represents long sound .

Example: 'মাওজী' meaning 'cat'

'ৱানী' meaning 'queen'

B.

◌ু : This mātrā represents short sound .

Example: 'গুফুৱ' meaning 'white'

'মৈখুন' meaning 'mushroom'

◌ূ : This mātrā represents long sound .

Example: 'মূৱা' meaning 'thing'

'ভূম' meaning 'earth'

4.6 Script used in present days (1975 to till date)

From 1975 Devanāgarī script has been recognized and it is being used to write Bodo language and literature till today. This decision was taken by Bodo Sahitya Sabha after the script movement 1974-1975, which was resulting in the loss of 18 souls of some promising Bodo youths.

Devanāgarī script is the form of script used for writing ancient Sanskrit and several of the Modern languages of India, especially Hindi as well as Bodo. There are six vowel phonemes i.e. / i, *u*, u, e, o, a / and Sixteen consonant phonemes i.e. / p^h, b, t^h, d, k^h, g, m, n, ŋ, s, z, h, r, l, w, y / of Segmental features in Bodo language. Devanāgarī script is being used to write these twenty two (22) phonemes. The representation of vowel and consonant phonemes in Devanāgarī script are इ, ओ, उ, ए, अ, आ and फ, ब, थ, द, ख, ग, म, न, ङ, स, ज, ह, र, ल, व, य.

4.6.1 Historical evidence of using Devanāgarī Script

Historical evidence of using Devanāgarī script is scattered in the various genre of compositions. Some of the compositions composed from 1975 till up to date are listed below cronologically:

1975 '*Okhrang gonse nangwo*' by Brojendra Kumar Brahma

1975 '*Devanagiri Hangkhwjwng fwrwngnai bikhanthi*' by Meghnath Mwsahary

1976 '*Gwrwnthini Unao*' by Chittaranjan Mwsahary

1977 '*Satish Chandra Basumatary*' by Dhimbeswar Narzary

1978 '*Zwomwnni Borsa*' by Bireswar Basumatary

1979 '*Raithai Bihung*' by Kamal Kumar Brahma

1980 '*Mwihur*' by Dharanidhar Wary

1981 '*Srimati Durlai*' by Haribhusan Brahma

1982 '*Angni Dengkhw*' by Jyotirmay Mahilary

1983 '*Simangni Khwina*' by Sachindra Basumatary

1984 '*Gibi Bithai*' by Bihuram Boro

1985 '*Haina Muli*' by Manaranjan Lahary

1986 '*Thwizwng Lirzanai Roman Hangkhw Swmaosarnaini Zarimin*' by Mahesh Islary

1987 '*Subungni Raha*' by Nandeswar Boro

1988 '*Zariminni Nwzwrao Boro Thunlai*' by Madhuram Boro

1989 '*Ziuni Alongbar*' by Surath Narzary

1990 '*Horwi Maruao*' by Aran Raza Basumatary

1991 '*Zwhwlao Dwimalu*' by Mangalsing Hazowary

1992 '*Bigrai arw Dwisrai*' by Tiren Boro

1993 '*Boxing*' by Nandeswar Dwimary

1994 '*Boro Thunlaini Zarimin Arw Thunlai Bizirnai*' by Riju Kumar Brahma

1995 '*Mimangni Simang*' by Kamal Kumar Brahma

1996 '*Mwndangthini Rwzabthai*' by Arabinda Uzir

1997 '*Aizwphwrni Gibisin Aizw*' by Baneswar Basumatary

1998 '*Bodofani Lirbidang*' by Subungsa Mwsahary

1999 '*Gambari Briged*' by Rani Helen Owary

2000 '*Ang Thwia*' by Prasenjit Brahma

2001 '*Angni Onzalia Mwsa Phakhri*' by Bijoy Baglary

2002 '*Sanmwkhangari Lamazwng*' by Katindra Swargiary

2003 '*Jiuni Mwgthang Bisombi Arw Aroj*' by Mangalsing Hazowary

2004 '*Serza Siphung*' by Anil Boro

2004 '*Boro Thunlaini Mohor*' by Dharanidhar Owary

2005 '*Gwzwn Songsar Nagirnanwi*' by Adaram Basumatary

2006 '*Haraoni Saikel*' by Gabinda Basumatary

2007 '*Bwrai Phagladiyani Gwdan Dara*' by Nabin Malla Boro

2008 '*Bharatni Gwthar Apha*' by Maheswar Narzary

2009 '*Thunlaini Bidwi Arw Gohena*' by Indramalati Narzary

2010 '*Boroni Subung Harimu*' by Binay Kumar Brahma

2011 '*Bathwonam Bwikhaguni Gidu Arw Makhase Khonthayao Angni Mwndangthi*'
      by Bijitgiri Basumatary

2012 '*Boro Thunlayao Khristian Missionaryni Bihwma*' by Dinanath Basumatary

2013 '*Hatha Khurnai Boroni Dhwrwmari Haba*' by Adaram Basumatary

2014 '*Ang Mabwrwi Dong Daswng*' by Anzu

2015 '*Methai Bidangni Lw (Volume: I)*' by Indira Boro

2016 '*Boro Arw Bini Gibi Bithai*' by Rajendra Kumar Basumatary

2017 '*Ang Nagirna Mwnw Sukhuni Gezeraobw Mase Zibwu*' by Rujab Muchahary

Above mention some compositions are the evidences of using Devanāgarī script and some are composed by using Assamese script. It is to be noted that in earlier period most of the Bodo writers were educated or grew up by reading and writing the Bengali and Assamese scripts. Therefore, they were used conveniently Bengali and Assamese scripts to compose various genres of Bodo literature. But after 1990 all the Bodo compositions were composed frequently by using Devanāgarī script.

4.6.2 Evidence of script used in text

For the evidence of Devanāgarī script used in text, '*Methai Bidangni Lw (Volume: I)*' written by Indira Boro is given below for relic examples. '*Methai Bidangni Lw (Volume: I)*' is published in the year 1915.

Example-1: Using Bodo language through Devanāgarī script.

नों जोंनि दिमापुरि

आगोमा बरपुरि

गोमोरलांबाय गासिबो फारि फारि

रोंलिया दिनै खौसे जानो

जोंनि हारि ।।

(Extracted from '*Methai Bidangni Lw (Volume: I)*', Page No. 1)

Ang Nagirna Mwnw Sukhuni Gezeraobw Mase Zibwu by Rujab Muchahary is published in 1917. Some text from this poetry book is also taken out for the evidence of using Devanāgarī script. Example is given below:

Example-2: Using Bodo language through Devanāgarī script

आं नागिरना मोनो

सुखुनि गेजेरावबो मासे जिबौ

आंनि सानस्निफोरा

बिनिनो थांखिजानाय आदार

बिखा फुवारना थाबायनो हालिया उदांनि ससे लामा

(Extracted from '*Ang Nagirna Mwnw Sukhuni Gezeraobw Mase Zibwu*', Page No. 22)

Above all examples are the evidences of using Devanāgarī script in present days of Bodo language and literature. It is analyzed that spoken variety of Bodo language of Kokrajhar district is the standard language.

4.6.3 Analysis on Scripts, its secondary form or mātrā and Diacritic marks used in present days

It is observed that at the present days of Bodo literature the segmental phonemes; secondary form or mātrā and diacritics are used in following manner.

Example of Vowels with words:

IPA	Devanāgarī script	Secondary form or mātrā	Words in Bodo
/i/	इ	िo	इ = 'इनाय' meaning 'injustice'
			'इंगिद' meaning 'hint, signal'
			िo = 'फिसाय' meaning 'husband'
			'हाथरखि' meaning 'star'
/ɯ/	ओ	ोo	ओ = 'ओंखाम' meaning 'cooked rice'
			'ओरैनो' meaning 'for no reason'
			ोo = 'निजोम' meaning 'silent'
			'बिलो' meaning 'lake'
/u/	उ	ुo	उ = 'उसुनदा' meaning 'half-burnt firewood'
			'उनदै' meaning 'younger'
			ुo = 'बु' meaning 'to beat'
			'फुं' meaning 'morning'
/e/	ए	ेo	ए = 'एनजर' meaning 'rat'
			'एमबु' meaning 'frog'
			ेo = 'बेदर' meaning 'meat'
			'मेगन' meaning 'eye'

| /o/ | अ | ' | अ = 'अनथाइ' meaning 'rock' |

        'अखाफोर' meaning 'moon'

        ' = सल'बाथा meaning 'fable'

        न' meaning 'house'

| /a/ | आ | ाा | आ = 'आंनि' meaning 'my' |

        'आखाइ' meaning 'hand'

        ाा = 'बिमा' meaning 'his/her mother'

        'द'ख'ना' meaning 'Bodo

            women's garment'

It is observed that at the present days of Bodo literature six (6) vowels i.e. इ, ओ, उ, ए, अ and आ used in the writings of various genre of literature with its secondary form or mātrā.

Example of Consonants with words:

IPA	Devanāgarī script	Diacritic form	Words in Bodo
/pʰ/	फ	—	'आफा' meaning 'my father'
			'खाफाल' meaning 'forehead, luck'
			'बिफां' meaning 'tree'
/b/	ब	—	'बयबो' meaning 'all'
			'बार' meaning 'wind'
			'माबार' meaning 'quickly'
/tʰ/	थ	—	'नोंथां' meaning 'you (honorific)'
			'हेंथा' meaning 'obstruction'
			'थाब' meaning 'soon'

/d/	द	—	'दिनै' meaning 'to-day'
			'दै' meaning 'water'
			'मोदै' meaning 'tears'

/kʰ/	ख	—	'खानाइ' meaning 'hair'
			'मोखां' meaning 'face'
			'खुगा' meaning 'mouth'

/g/	ग	—	'गोसो' meaning 'heart'
			'गथं' meaning 'child'
			'गेले' meaning 'to play'

/m/	म	—	'मोसौ' meaning 'cow'
			'मेथाइ' meaning 'song'
			'बिमा' meaning 'his/her mother'

/n/	न	—	'नों' meaning 'you'
			'जानजि' meaning 'waist'
			'गोदान' meaning 'new'

| /ŋ/ | ङ | ◌̇ | ङ = 'बिङि' meaning 'one-stringed musical instrument' |
| | | | 'मोखाङा' meaning 'face is' |

◌̇ = 'जों' meaning 'we'

'फुं' meaning 'morning'

'मोजां' meaning 'good'

/s/	स	—	'सम' meaning 'time'
			'सिखार' meaning 'to awake'
			'सोलों' meaning 'to learn'
/z/	ज	—	'जि' meaning 'cloth'
			'जौ' meaning 'wine'
			'जिंगा' meaning 'depression'
/h/	ह	—	'हम' meaning 'to catch'
			'दाहार' meaning 'loan'
			'गोहो' meaning 'strength'

/r/   र   ꞌ and ⁄   र = 'रंजा' meaning 'enjoy'

'जेरै' meaning 'as for example'

'नखर' meaning 'family'

ꞌ = 'गार्जा' meaning 'a community

worship of the Bodos'

'गार्ला' meaning 'cane'

'नार्जि' meaning 'the preserved

dried leaves of jute'

⁄ = 'बाथ्रा' meaning 'sentence'

'अख्रां' meaning 'sky'

'गाज्रि' meaning 'bad'

/l/	ल	—	'लोगो' meaning 'friend'
			'लेखा' meaning 'paper'
			'लामा' meaning 'road'

/w/	व	—	'आदुवा' meaning 'fool'
			'बुथुवा' meaning 'blunt'
			'मावथि' meaning 'of active character'
/y/	य	—	'नाथाय' meaning 'but'
			'सावरायनाय' meaning 'discussion'
			'माइ' meaning 'paddy'

It is observed that at the present days of Bodo literature sixteen (16) consonants i.e. फ, ब, थ, द, ख, ग, म, न, ङ, स, ज, ह, र, ल, व and य are used in the writings of various genre of literature with its secondary form or diacritic marks to represent the mode of articulation of the Bodo language.

4.6.4 Use of Mātrā

It is observed that at the present days of Bodo literature all the secondary form or mātrā of six vowels are used conveniently. For example:

िॊ : mātrā of vowel इ /i/

ॊी : mātrā of vowel ओ /u/

ॖ : mātrā of vowel उ /u/

ॆ : mātrā of vowel ए /e/

' : mātrā of vowel अ /o/

ॊा : mātrā of vowel आ /a/

4.6.5 Use of diacritic mark

The following diacritic marks of consonant are used for writing the text of the present days of Bodo literature, i.e.

ं (Anuswar) : diacritic mark of consonant ह /ŋ/

ᷟ and ⟋ : diacritic mark of consonant र /r/

4.7 Summing up

From the above study on historical perspectives of scripts in diachronic manner, it is observed that different kinds of scripts have been used in writing the Bodo language and literature since long years back. In the Missionary period of Bodo language and Literature Christian missionary was the pioneer for introducing Roman Script. They used Roman Script with some changes and modifications to make convenient the writing system of Bodo language. They also used some peculiar types of diacritic marks to represent the manner of articulation. Script used in inception period of Bodo Language and Literature was Bengali and Assamese scripts.

Script used in Modern age of Bodo literature was Assamese script as well as Roman Script and Script used in introduction of Bodo as Medium of Instruction was Assamese script only. Assamese script was used in the place of Roman script for teaching Bodo language in primary schools. In present days Devanāgarī script has been recognized and used in writing Bodo language and literature from 1975. Findings from above analysis on different kinds of scripts used in writing Bodo language and literature can be summarized with the following points

i. During missionary period fourteen (14) vowels i.e. **/i/, /í/** or **/ī/, /ŭ/, /u/, /ú/** or **/ū/, /e/, /ê/, /è/** or **/ē/, /o/, /ô/** or **/ō/, /a/, /á/** or **/ā/, /à/, /å/** and twenty five (25) consonants i.e. **/ph/, /p/, /f/, /b/, /bh/, /t/, /th/, /ṭ/, /d/, /kh/, /k/, /g/, /gh/, /m/, /n/, /ng/, /s/, /z/, /zh/, /h/, /r/, / ṛ/, /l/, /w/, /y/** were used by using Roman script.

ii. It is observed that in missionary period Diacritic marks were used differently by different personality. To represent pitch variation at the time of articulation / ´/ or / ¯/, / ` /, / ˆ/ marks were used during this period.

iii. It is observed that during inception period eleven (11) vowels i.e. ই, ঈ, আ, উ, ঊ, এ, ঐ, অ, ও, ঔ and আ were used with its secondary form or mātrā. It is also observed that primary form of vowel ঔ was not used but its secondary form ৌ was used in the writings of inception period.

iv. Special vowel used by Bodos i.e. High back un-rounded vowel **ঔ** or ৌ or */uu/* was used by Pramod Chandra Brahma with modified form as আঁ or ৌঁ for the first time in the writings of inception period. Before that in some writings ৢ mātrā of উ was used to represent the **ঔ** or ৌ.

v. During inception period thirty (30) consonants i.e. ফ, প, ব, ভ, থ, ঠ, ৭, ট, ত, দ, ধ, ড, খ, ক, গ, ঘ, ম, ন, ঙ, স, চ, ছ, শ, জ, হ, ৰ/র, ড়, ল, ৰ and য় were used

with its some diacritic marks i.e. ০ং, ঽ and ´

vi. It is observed that the combined shape of two different consonants used as single consonant or Single glyphs i.e. **ক** + ৢ + **ষ** = **ক্ষ** was also used during inception period. For example:

'লক্ষী' meaning 'the goddess of wealth'

'ডাওক্ষী' meaning 'the faeces of a bird'

vii. It is observed that there are some typographical differences between the Assamese script and Bengali script, for example */r/* is represented in Bengali script as **র** but in Assamese script represented as **ৰ**. Assamese script has used a special character i.e. */w/* which is represented as **ৱ** but it is absent in Bengali script.

viii. Variation of matras may be found for representing pitch variation at the time of articulation during inception period. For example: িঁ, ৌ, ৢ and ৢ.

িঁ = 'বিবাৰ' meaning 'flower', ৌ = 'জীউ' meaning 'life',

ৢ = 'মুং' meaning 'name', ৢ = 'ভূম' meaning 'earth'

ix. During inception period, Consonant ending syllable or closed syllable was marked by using ৢ (Halanta). For example: 'সান্' meaning 'sun', 'গদান্' meaning 'new' and a kind of orthographical symbol ' is used to refer to the shortening form of pronunciation of the word. For example: দাহায়াও (in grief) is shortening as দাহা'ও.

x. During the Modern age of Bodo literature, by using Roman script six (6) vowels i.e. **/i/, /ŏ/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /a/** and seventeen (17) consonants i.e. **/ph/, /p/, /b/, /th/, /d/, /kh/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /ṅ/, /c/, /z/, /h/, /r/, /l/, /w/, /y/** were used. To represent as the mode of articulation of vowel **/ɯ/, /o/** was used with diacritic mark as /ŏ/ and to represent the voiced velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/, /n/ was used with diacritic mark as /ṅ/. On the other hand, by using Assamese script eleven (11) vowels i.e. ই, ঈ, আ, উ, ঊ, এ, ঐ, অ, ও, ঔ , আ and thirty (30) consonants i.e. ফ, প, ব, ভ, থ, ঠ, ৎ, ট, ত, দ, ধ, ড, খ, ক, গ, ঘ, ম, ন, ঙ, স, চ, ছ, শ, জ, হ, ৰ ড়, ল, ৱ, য

were used with its some diacritic marks i.e. ০ং, ~ and ´ . ৗ was used to

represent the special vowel /ɯ/ used by Bodos.

xi. The combined shape of two different consonants used as single consonant or Single glyphs i.e. **ক** + ্ + **ষ** = **ক্ষ** was also used during modern age. For example: 'লক্ষী' meaning 'the goddess of wealth'

    'ক্ষেমা' meaning 'forgiveness'

xii. During modern age of Bodo literature variation of mātrās may be found for representing pitch variation at the time of articulation. For example: ি, ী, ু and ূ. ি = 'বিবাৰ' meaning 'flower', ী = 'জীউ' meaning 'life', ু = 'মুং' meaning 'name', ূ = 'ভূম' meaning 'earth'

xiii. Consonant ending syllable or closed syllable was marked by using ্ (Halanta) during modern age. For example: 'অৰ্' meaning 'fire, flame', 'গাব্' meaning 'to cry'.

xiv. During the time of writing text of medium of instruction of Bodo language and literature Assamese script was used with eleven (11) vowels i.e. ই, ঈ, আ , উ, ঊ, খ, এ, অ, ও, ঔ, আ with its secondary form or mātrā and twenty two (22) consonants i.e. ফ, প, ব, থ, দ, ক, খ, গ, ঘ, ম, ন, ঙ, স, চ, ছ, শ, জ, হ, ৰ, ল, ৱ , য with its some diacritic mark, i.e. ০ং , ~. To represent as the mode of articulation of vowel /ɯ/, ৗ mātrā of আ was used.

xv. Variation of matras may be found during the time of writing text of medium of instruction of Bodo language and literature for representing pitch variation at the time of articulation. For example: ি◌, ◌ী, ◌ু and ◌ূ.

ি◌ = 'বিবাৰ' meaning 'flower', ◌ী = 'মাওজী' meaning 'cat'

◌ু = 'গুফুৰ' meaning 'white', ◌ূ = 'ভূম' meaning 'earth'

xvi. Consonant ending syllable or closed syllable was marked by using ◌্ (Halanta) during that time. For example: 'লখব্' meaning 'to pour', 'গন্' meaning 'stick'.

xvii. In Bodo language there are six vowel phonemes and sixteen consonantal phonemes of Segmental features. Devanāgarī script is being used to write these 22 phonemes since 1975, i.e. Six vowel phonemes: इ, ओ, उ, ए, अ, आ and sixteen consonantal phonemes: फ, ब, थ, द, ख, ग, म, न, ङ, स, ज, ह, र, ल, व, य. It is observed that secondary form or mātrā of all the six vowels are used conveniently. For example: ि◌ : mātrā of vowel इ /i/, ◌ो : mātrā of vowel ओ /ɯ/, ◌ु : mātrā of vowel उ /u/, ◌ै : mātrā of vowel ए /e/, ' : mātrā of vowel अ /o/, ◌ा : mātrā of vowel आ /a/ and diacritic mark of consonant ह /ŋ/ : ◌ं (Anuswar), diacritic mark of consonant र /r: ◌ and ◌ are used.