

CHAPTER-IV

MORPHOLOGY OF BODO COINAGE WORD

4.1 Introduction

Borrowing word from various languages is not only done by Phonological viewpoint but also through Morphological viewpoint some linguistic elements are found to have its influence. Bodo language too has some regularly used striking Morphological units which has no relation with TB language family genetically. Bodo language has been living together with Assamese speaking people in same geographical area, exchanging close social contact since time immemorial. As a result of which some Assamese linguistic elements are adapted to Bodo in a Morphological level. Apart from Assamese, Indo-Aryan basically from Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla and English etc. languages also, a few Morphological elements have adapted to Bodo directly or indirectly through Assamese. Here, a study will be done on the Morphological elements of Indo-Aryan languages which are frequently used in Bodo.

Morphological elements of Indo-Aryan are coined into Bodo through some word formation processes such as Hybridization, Compounding, Affixation, Clipping, Blending, Semantic and Loan translation in word or phrases level, which is called Morphological conditioning will be discussed. Some words are also coined through loan translation and this way of coinage, structure of word is found to be newly created and also by combining pre- existing word. Apart from this example borrowed words from Indo-Aryan language into Bodo that have undergone semantic change to some element, will be discussed in this chapter. The main aim of this study is to inquire into the treatment of Indo-Aryan and English loans by Bodo Morphological and Grammatical system.

Wang Aigou (1997) said in his journal 'A Comparison of Word-Formation between Chinese and English' *All words, coined in whatever way, have certain structure or follow certain rule*⁶⁴. That is why the structure of coined word is found to have followed different structures or rules. Such structure is formed either through loan translation or word formation.

⁶⁴Aigou, Wang (1997): *A Comparison of Word-Formation between Chinese and English*, Journal of Civil Aviation University of China, Tianjin. P-3

4.2 Class of Words

There are lots of word of Indo-Aryan and European languages that have been adapted in Bodo directly or indirectly. These words have adapted mostly through Assamese language because Bodo have directly contact with Assamese language. On the other hand, more words from English language than the European category are seen to be borrowed in Bodo directly. From the grammatical viewpoint the adapted words are categorize under the class of word i.e. noun words, verb words, adjective and adverb words. The class of word is discussed below-

4.2.1 Noun Words

Noun is a sub-category of word. David Crystal (2008) stated the verb as *a term used in GRAMMATICAL classification of words, traditionally defined as the „name of a person, place or thing⁶⁵*. In Bodo noun is classified into two types (a) Basic noun and (b) Derived noun. The Basic noun is divided into two types (a) Uncountable Noun and (b) Countable Noun. Again Derived noun is also two types (a) Nominal Noun and (b) Verbal Noun.

However, excessive number of noun words from Indo-Aryan and English language have found being used in Bodo. The noun words are given below-

4.2.1.1 From Sanskrit Language

In Bodo language noun words are borrowed from Sanskrit through Assamese or Bangla. e.g.

Sanskrit	Bodo	English
guru:	guru	teacher / preceptor
kuha	k ^h uqa	fog
manuṣya	mansi	man
murk ^h	murk ^h u	fool
upa:d ^h i	upad ^h i	surname /title
sa:d ^h u	sadu	a spiritual believer
dha:na	duhuqn	wealth
sampatti	soṃp ^h oṭ ^h i	wealth
cha:trə	satrə	student
srigal	sial	fox

⁶⁵ Crystal, David (2008): A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. (6th ed). Blackwell Publishing. USA. p-333

swarg	suɾguɾ	heaven
prəja	p ^h uɾza	people
pa:ta:lə	p ^h at ^h al	hell
pu:rnima:	p ^h urnima	full moon
prəma:n	p ^h uɾman	proof
pəri:ksa	p ^h orik ^h a	examination

In sentences

- (a) dinuɾi p^huɾ-aw zuɾbuɾd k^huwa-muɾn
 today morning-LOC a lot of fog-Pa.CONT
 (This morning, there was a lot of fog)
- (b) Rəŋzalu-a deglaj metric p^horik^ha huɾ-guɾn
 Rəŋzalu-NOM this year matric exam appear-FUT
 (Rəŋzalu will appear for the matric exam this year)

4.2.1.2 From Hindi Language

The Bodo language speaker adapted a lot of Noun words from Hindi directly or through Assamese language into Bodo. e.g.

Hindi	Bodo	English
basmati:	basmut ^h i	a kind of rice
gari:	gari	cart
ra:za:	raza	king
ra:i:	rani	queen
gəmla:	gamla	bowl
gəməcha:	gamsa	gamcha
g ^h əra	gəraj	horse
pəisa	p ^h uɾisa	money
deh	deha	health
cəmməc	saməs	spoon
pəraɾ ^h a	p ^h or ^h a	a kind of fried bread

In sentences

- (a) basmut^hi majrəŋ-a dam guɾsa
 Basmati rice-NOM price expensive
 (Basmati rice is expensive)
- (b) alu p^horə^ha-a zanuɾ guɾ^haw
 Potato paratha-NOM to eat delicious

(Aloo paratha is delicious to eat)

4.2.1.3 From Bangla Language

Some Bangla Noun words are also borrowed into Bodo directly or indirectly. e.g.

Bangla	Bodo	English
ba:ri	bari	place of garden
bõndu	bundu	Friend
rõsugulla	rõsgõlla	a kind of sweet
ba:bu:	babu	a respectable person
bøn	bøn	Forest
ba:ga:n	bagan	Garden
ḍakat	ḍak ^h ait	a robber
sõndeḥ	sõndes	a kind of sweet
ḥaturi	ḥat ^h ura	Hammar
kuṭumbə	k ^h urma	Relatives
ka:mrāṇa	k ^h ambrenṅa	star fruit

In sentences

- (a) ap^ha-a bari-aw ḥaluṇ-duṇ
 Father-NOM backyard-LOC plough-Pr.CONT
 (Father is ploughing in the backyard garden)
- (b) aṇ k^herani babu-k^huṇ luṇṇu ḥom-guṇ
 I clerk sir-ACC meet to hold -FUT
 (I will meet with the clerk)

4.2.1.4 From Assamese Language

The Noun words are adapted from Assamese into Bodo. e.g.

Assamese	Bodo	English
gõḥali	gõli	cow house/cow barn
gḥõrial	guḥler	Crocodile
paṛə	p ^h aruṇ	Pigeon
peca:	p ^h esa	Owl
puk ^h uri	p ^h uk ^h ri	Pond
silõni	sila	Kite
põrḥaxali	p ^h õrajsali	School
kṛt ^h al	k ^h ant ^h al	Jackfruit
pṛt ^h ar	p ^h uṭ ^h ar	Field

śoḡun	sigun	vulture
sola	ḡosla	cloth
xinḡo	sinḡo	lion

In sentences

- (a) ḡoli-aw mabruḡi muḡsuḡu dḡḡ
Cowshed-LOC four cow are

(There are four cows in the cowshed)

- (b) dinuḡi phḡrajsali-aw meeting za-ḡuḡn
today school -LOC meeting to be-FUT

(There will be a meeting at school today)

4.2.1.5 From English Language

Excessive number of Noun words from English language are used in Bodo. e.g.

English	Bodo	English
bʌndəl	banduḡl	bundle
bentʃ	bens	bench
bətəl	bətʰəl	bottle
glɑ:s	gilas	glass
həʊtəl	hətəl	hotel
sku:l	iskʰul	school
læmp	lem	lamp
naɪlɑ:n	lailon	nylon
nəʊl	nəbel	novel
feɪsbʊ:k	pʰesbuk	facebook
pəli:s	pʰulis	police
pəʊstmən	pʰɔsman	postman
sɪmənt	simen	cement
treɪn	tren	train

In sentences

- (a) bətʰəl-aw duḡi ḡuḡila
Bottle-LOC water no NEGS

(There is no water in the bottle)

- (b) aḡ ḡabuḡn train-zuḡḡ Guwahati tʰaḡ-ḡuḡn
I tomorrow train-INST Guwahati go-FUT

(I will go to Guwahati by train tomorrow)

4.2.2 Verb Words

The verb is a sub-class of grammatical category and it is a very important part of Morphology. The verbs are words which indicates any action, occurrence or something happens or exists. David Crystal (2008) defined as *a term used in the GRAMMATICAL classification of words, to refer to a class traditionally defined as “doing” or “action” words*⁶⁶. Morphologically verb is classified into two broad classes i.e. (a) Structure of verb and (b) Function of verb. Again verb is also classified into three kind based on Morphological structure. These are (a) Simple Verb (b) Complex Verb and (c) Compound Verb.

A few number of verb words of Indo-Aryan languages can be found being used in Bodo spoken or discourses as well as in written form. A few number of verb words from Indo-Aryan i.e. Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla and Assamese and English languages used in Bodo have been given below-e.g.

4.2.2.1 From Sanskrit Language

Sanskrit	Bodo	English
vicha:ra	bisar	observation/investigation

In sentences-

- (a) Molen-k^huꣳ rajzuꣳ-p^huꣳr-a sik^hao k^haoꣳaj-ni bisar k^halam-duꣳ.
 Molen -ACC villager-PL-NOM thief steal -GEN investigate do-
 Pr.CONT
 (The villagers brought charges against Molen for theft)

4.2.2.2 From Hindi Language

Hindi	Bodo	English
hukm	huk ^h um	order

In sentences-

- (a) Raza-a p^huꣳrza-k^huꣳ huk^hum huꣳ-duꣳ
 King-NOM subject-ACC order give-Pr.CONT
 (The king gave orders to his subjects)

4.2.2.3 From Bangla Language

Bangla	Bodo	English
da:bi:	dabi	demand
tʃoli	suuli	be of use

⁶⁶ Crystal David (2008): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. (6th ed). Blackwell Publishing. USA. P-510

In sentences-

- (a) Bodo-p^hur-a alada rajzu dabi-duŋ
 Bodo-PL-NOM separate state demand-Pr.CONT
 (The Bodos are demanding a separate state)
- (b) raŋ gujju-i-aw suŋli-nu gubrab
 money no NEGS-LOC survive-SUDS hard
 (It's hard to survive without money)

4.2.2.4 From Assamese Language

Assamese	Bodo	English
bɒnd ^h ɒ	bɒndɒ	closed
d ^h aɪ	dahar	loan
dan	dan huŋnaj	donate
sɒl	sɒləj/salaj	to drive
ut ^h	ut ^h inaj	rise

In sentences

- (a) sɒbt^ha-ni bazar-a gabuŋ bɒndɒ t^ha-guŋ
 week-GEN market-NOM tomorrow closed remain-
 FUT
 (The weekly market will remain closed tomorrow)
- (b) Sonali-a Anzu-nip^hraj raŋ dahar la-duŋ
 Sonali-NOM Anzu-ABL money loan borrow-
 Pr.CONT
 (Sonali borrowed money from Anzu)

4.2.2.5 From English Language

English	Bodo	English
feɪl	p ^h el	fail
pa:s	p ^h as	pass
æksɪdənt	exten	accident
tʃæk	sek	check

- (a) Anaram-a zinuŋi t^hak^hu-ni anzad-auŋ p^hel za-
 baj
 Anaram-NOM twelve class-GEN exam-LOC fail to
 be-IPA

(Anaram failed the class twelve exam)

- (b) Rohit-a gari-zuŋ exten za-duŋ

Rohit-NOM vehicle-INST accident to be-Pr.CONT
(Rohit had a car accident)

4.2.3 Adjective Words

Adjective is a sub-category of word which describes about a noun or a pronoun. The term adjective *is a term used in the GRAMMATICAL classification of WORDS to refer to the main set of items which specify the attribute of NOUNS*⁶⁷.

4.2.3.1 From Sanskrit Language

The adjective words are adapted from Sanskrit to Bodo language directly or indirectly through Assamese or Bangla language. e.g.

anya:y	inai	injustice
agyan	ogijjan	manner less
gyani	giani	wise
gunda	gunda	rascal
sama:n	soman	equal
pa:pi:	p ^h ap ^h i	sinful
satya	su ^h it ^h u	true
doṣ	dos	guilty
ja:nti	sant ^h i	happy

In sentences

- (a) su^hit^hu-a oraj derhasad za-u
truth-NOM always prevails to be-NOM
(Truth always prevails)
- (b) Sombaru-a gaoni bisi-k^hu inaju^hi bu-duṇ
Sombaru-NOM his wife-ACC unjustly beat-Pr.CONT
(Sombaru unjustly beat his wife)

4.2.3.2 From Hindi Language

A few number of adjective words are adapted from Hindi to Bodo through Assamese language. e.g.

Hindi	Bodo	English
bu:rha:	bura ^h aj	old man
accha:	asa	okay

⁶⁷Crystal David (2008): A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. (6th ed). Blackwell Publishing. USA. P-11

	badnam	bədnam	infamous
	mədəd	mədəd	help
In sentences			
(a)	Buɾaj-a	zuɾbuɾd	k ^h amani
	Elderly man- NOM	tirelessly	work
	(The elderly man works tirelessly)		
(b)	Anzalu-a	aɾnaw	mədəd
	Anzalu-NOM	me	help
	(Anzalu had asked me for help)		

4.2.3.3 From Bangla Language

Some Bangla adjective words are also found being used in Bodo directly. e.g.

	Bangla	Bodo	English	
	pa:gal	p ^h agli	mad (female)	
	k ^h arab	k ^h arab	bad	
(a)	Birgran j ajdi	k ^h arab	mansi	gu j ija
	As Birgang	bad	man	no NEGS
	(There is no one as bad as Bigrang)			

4.2.3.4 From Assamese Language

Assamese	Bodo	English
gɔrɔm (P)	gɔrɔm	hot
kripɔn	k ^{hi} ri ^{p^h} in	miser
gəri:b (A)	gʊriɓ	poor
nɔrɔm	nʊruɣm	soft
ca:la:k (P)	salak ^h	clever
t ^h anda	t ^h anda	cold
taza	t ^h aza	fresh
nila	nila	blue

In sentences

(a)	buɬ ^h ɥr-a	dinɥi	zuɓɓɔd	gɔrɔm
	Weather-NOM	today	very	hot
	The weather is very hot today			
(b)	Raimali-a	zuɓɓɔd	k ^h irp ^h in	
	Raimali-NOM	very	stingy	
	(Rwimali is very stingy)			

4.2.4 Adverb Words

Adverb is a word that usually modifies a verb, an adjective or adverbs. The word adverb is a term used in the grammatical classification of words to refer to a heterogeneous group of items whose most frequent function is to specify the mode of action of the verb⁶⁸.

4.2.4.1 From Assamese Language

Assamese	Bodo	English
asolote	asolot ^h e	really
kintu	k ^h int ^h u	but
zodi	zudi	if

In sentences

- (a) asolot^he bat^hra-a nɔŋk^haj-buɣ nɔŋa
 actually matter-NOM false-EMPH no- NEGS
 (Actually, the matter is not entirely false)
- (b) Suzuma-a nɔaw t^haŋ-guɣn k^hint^hu bi-uɣ p^huip^hin-guɣn
 Suzuma-NOM home-LOC go-FUT but she-NOM return-FUT
 (Suzuma will go home, but she will return)

4.3 Morphology

Morphology is very important branch of linguistics and category of grammar which studies internal structure and pattern of words. Morphology studies the internal structure and pattern of a word.

M. Aronoff & K. Fudeman have stated as *Morphology refers to the mental system involved in word formation or to the branch of linguistics that deals with words, their internal structure, and how they are formed*⁶⁹.

According to David Crystal *Morphology is the branch of grammar which studies the structure or forms of words, primarily through the use of the morpheme construct*⁷⁰. It

⁶⁸ Crystal, David (2008): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. (6th ed). Blackwell Publishing, USA. P-14

⁶⁹ Aronoff, Mark and Fudeman Kirsten (2023): *What is Morphology?* 3rd Edition, Blackwell Publishing, Pp-1-2

⁷⁰ Crystal, David (2008): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 6th ed. Blackwell Publishing, USA, P-314

is traditionally distinguished from syntax, which deals with the rules governing the combination of words in sentences.

Nida (1948) gives the definition to Morphology as *Morphology is the study of morphemes and their arrangement in forming words*⁷¹

4.3.1 Hybridization

Hybridized words are constructed by the combination of two base words of two different origins. It is a process that mixing up the two or more elements of two languages and formed another new word. The mixing of Bodo and Indo Aryan words can be found frequently in Bodo language. The hybrid words are found being used in different literary texts, discourse, business, event or meeting, newspaper, magazine and some social media platform so on.

According to David Crystal *a word composed of elements from different languages. An example of a hybrid term (“a hybrid”) is television, which comprises elements from both Latin and Greek*⁷².

It is mentionable that in Hybridization both the words should be coined from two different language family. Such as Hindi and Sanskrit are different languages but they are both ultimately Indo-Aryan. According to Jan Nederveen Pieterse *hybridity concerns the mixture of phenomena which are held to be different, separate; hybridization then refers to a cross-category process*⁷³.

Kachru recognizes Hybrid formation as a characteristic feature of language contact situations. There are some Hybrid words used in Bodo and such words are coined due to various purposes such as lack of words in stock, intentionally or unintentionally use. When words of Indo-Aryan language (Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla and Assamese) form Hybrid with Bodo then it is used in become hybrid words by mixing with Bodo directly or indirectly. The formation of hybrid word through some Morphological elements is discussed below with an example:

⁷¹ Nida, Eugene A. (1949): *Morphology The Descriptive Analysis of Words*, 2nd Edition, University of Michigan, USA, Press, p-1.

⁷²Crystal, David (2008): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 6th ed. Blackwell Publishing, USA, P-232

⁷³ Nederveen, Pieterse, Jan (1995): *Globalization as hybridization*. In *Global Modernities*, edited by Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, and Roland Robertson, 45-68. London: Sage. Pp-55-56.

4.3.1.1 Bodo and Sanskrit

(i) $p^h\alpha s\alpha\eta$ (Bd.) ‘to found’ + t^han (Skt. sthan) ‘place’ > $p^h\alpha s\alpha\eta t^han$ ‘company’

(ii) $p^h\alpha r\alpha\eta$ (Bd.) ‘to teach’ + $guru$ (Skt. guru:) ‘master’ > $p^h\alpha r\alpha\eta guru$ ‘teacher’

The word $p^h\alpha s\alpha\eta t^han$ (company) is a hybrid word combination of Bd. $p^h\alpha s\alpha\eta$ ‘to found’ and Skt. $than$ (Skt. sthan) ‘place’. In this example it is to be seen that the Sanskrit word ‘st^han’ is used in Bodo as ‘t^han’ by replacing initial phoneme of the word during hybridization but meaning remained as same. This word is used in Bodo written form such as newspaper, books, and magazines and also uses in some offices, event or meetings’ banner. Through observation it has been understood that this word is made to undergo loan translation due to its necessity and hence the birth of this hybrid word. Another word $p^h\alpha r\alpha\eta guru$ ‘teacher’ is also a combination of Bodo word $p^h\alpha r\alpha\eta$ ‘to teach’ and Sanskrit $guru$: ‘master’. Here, this word is adapted with slide modification where long vowel /u:/ becomes as /u/ short vowel because there is no use of long vowel in Bodo language. It is worth mentioning that the word ‘-gra/-guṛa’ in Bodo and ‘giri’ in Assamese refers the same meaning as ‘guru:’ therefore it can be said that it comes in Bodo from Sanskrit through Assamese. The main reason of becoming hybrid words are to fulfil the need of language where there are no appropriate words to refer the meaning.

4.3.1.2 Bodo and Hindi

(iii) raz (Hd. ra:j) ‘to rule’ + $t^ha\alpha ni$ (Bd.) ‘place’ > $raz t^ha\alpha ni$ ‘capital’

(iv) $g\alpha raj$ (Hd. ghara:) ‘horse’ + $salaj$ (Bd.) ‘tongue’ > $g\alpha raj salaj$ ‘a kind of wild vegetable’

(v) $raza$ (Hd. ra:ja:) ‘king’ + $lama$ (Bd.) ‘way’ > $raza lama$ ‘highway’

(vi) $s\alpha jima$ (Bd.) ‘dog’ + $sik^h\alpha ri$ (Hd. shika:r) ‘hunter’ > $s\alpha jima sik^h\alpha ri$ ‘a kind of bee’

The Hindi word raz ‘rule/dominion’ (from sauraseni prakrit ra:ya) verb word is hybridized by adding Bodo word $t^ha\alpha ni$ (place) that means which is compound as raz ‘rule’ + $t^ha\alpha ni$ ‘place’ > Bd. $raz t^ha\alpha ni$ (capital). In this example the hybrid noun word $raz t^ha\alpha ni$ is derived by combining one verb word and one noun word. The word raz is

called *k^huŋt^haj* in Bodo but it does not affix with *raz* as *k^huŋthaj* during hybridization. This word is largely used in Bodo literary text as well as in discourses.

The wild vegetable name ‘gōraj salaj’ is a combination of Hindi and Bodo word. In this word ‘gōraj’ (horse) is adapted from Hindi ‘ghōra:’ and ‘salaj’ (tongue) is a Bodo origin word. They have independent meaning in their separate form but by combining of these two words it refer a type of wild vegetable in Bodo language. This word is rarely used in Bodo language because this type of vegetable is not frequently used. It is observed that the word ‘gōraj salaj’ is named by its structure because the leave of this vegetable is long and seems like a tongue of horse.

Hybrid word ‘raza lama’ is also a combination of Bodo and Hindi. In this example ‘raza’ (king) is a Hindi word and ‘lama (way/road) is Bodo. Here, Hindi word ‘raja’ > Ass. rōza > Bd. ‘raza’ is formed and combined with Bodo word ‘lama’ to form a hybrid word ‘raza lama’ in Bodo. This word is used to refer ‘highway’ in Bodo because there is no word found in Bodo to mean such word.

Apart from these ‘suɣima sik^hari’ is another hybrid word of Bodo and Hindi. These two words have separate meaning where *suɣima* means ‘dog’ in Bodo and ‘sik^hari’ means ‘hunter’ in Hindi. But it does not refer the meaning of *dog hunter* because it denotes different meaning which means ‘a kind of bee’ found in home. It is a type of idiomatic word.

4.3.1.3 Bodo and Assamese

(vii) mat^hi (Ass. mati) ‘soil’ + galdab (Bd.) ‘flat’ > mat^higaldab ‘wild vegetable’

(viii) mas (Ass. mash) ‘fish’ + laŋk^har (Bd.) to take and run away > maslaŋk^har ‘kingfisher’

(ix) haŋsuɣ (Ass. haŋ) ‘duck’ + ap^ha (Bd.) ‘palm’ > haŋsuɣ ap^ha ‘a kind of vegetable’

(x) buri (Hd. bu:ɽha:) ‘old woman’ + t^hɔk^hɔn ‘stick’ > buri t^hɔk^hɔn ‘a kind of wild vegetable’

From the mentioned example it is found that hybrid word ‘mat^higaldab’ is a combination of one Assamese noun word ‘mati’ (soil) and one Bodo adjective word ‘galdab’ (flat in form). The hybrid word ‘mat^higaldab’ refers to a kind of creeper (wild vegetable) in Bodo found in forest area. Bodo has own word for the word ‘mat^higaldab’ which is called *k^heradap^hini* even though this word is largely in use

among Bodo speaking community. This word is formed based on the nature and size of the vegetable, which is in flattened form and is stuck to the ground.

On the other hand, ‘maslan^hkar’ is another hybrid word used in Bodo language, which is the result of the combination of Bodo and Assamese language. Here, ‘mas’ (fish) is Assamese noun word and ‘lan^hkar’ (to take and run away) is a Bodo verb word. These two words are combined in such a way as Ass. *mash* (fish) + Bd. *lan^hkar* (to take and run away) > *maslan^hkar* (kingfisher). This word refers to a bird, which hunts fish from river and flies away with it. It is also used in Bodo in translated form as ‘na lan^hkar’.

In this way, another word ‘ha^hsu^h ap^ha’ is also a hybrid word formed by combining Assamese and Bodo words. In this example ‘ha^hsu^h’ (duck) is adopted from Assamese *hah* and ‘ap^ha’ (palm) is a Bodo word. It is a type of creeper basically which denotes a kind of vegetable in Bodo language.

The hybrid word ‘buri t^hak^hon’ is also a kind of wild vegetable found in forest and wasteland area. Here, buri ‘old woman’ is Assamese word which is Hindi origin and compound with Bodo word t^hak^hon ‘stick’. Both words have different meaning when it separate in their own language but after combining it refer vegetables’ name. Both words have different meaning when separated in their own language but after combination it refers to vegetable’s name. The feature of *burit^hak^hon* vegetable may be as stiff as a stick used by old people which is why this hybrid word is formed whose exact word cannot be found in Bodo.

4.3.1.4 English and Hindi

There are some hybrid word of English and Hindi which are frequently used as native in literary text and speaking in Bodo language. Such as:

- (xi) mōt^hor (Eng. motor) + gari (Hd. ga:ri) > mōt^hor gari ‘vehicles etc.’
- (xii) rail (Eng. train) + gari (Hd. ga:ri) > rail gari ‘train’
- (xiii) daktar (Eng. doctor) + khana (Hd.) hospital) > daktar k^hana ‘hospital’
- (xiv) wal (Eng.wall) + ghuri (Hd.ghari) > wall ghuri ‘wall clock’
- (xv) mel (Hd. mela) + mit^hiṅ (meeting) > mel mit^hiṅ ‘meeting etc’
- (xvi) lat^hi (Hd. la:ti:) + sars (Eng. charge) > lat^hi sars ‘lathi charge’

From the mentioned examples it is found that *mōt^hor* and *gari* have same meaning in both languages. Similarly, *rail* and *gari* are also represent the same meaning. Likewise, in Bodo, meaning of those words do not change just a few phonemes are modified and these hybrid words are used in Bodo frequently. Another word ‘daktar

Khana' is a hybrid word combining of English and Hindi words. Here, *daktar* is doctor in English and *khana* is Hindi word representing the meaning a place or house. Therefore the hybrid word 'daktar khana' refers the place where doctor live or hospital. This word has been used being translated as *deha phahamsali* or *sawsri phahamsali* in Bodo. But 'daktar khana' is also used being influenced by Hindi. This hybrid word is frequently used in Bodo.

On the other hand *wall ghuri* is a combination of English *wall* and Hindi *ghari* and formed a hybrid word. This word is frequently used in Bodo through Hindi or Assamese. Apart from these, the hybrid word 'mel mithin' is found being used in Bodo. Here, the word 'mel' is derived from Hindi word *mela*: representing the meaning 'a fair or event' on the other hand 'mithin' is English origin which means 'Assembly'. Both words have a different meaning but it denotes the gathering or any type of meeting while hybridized each other. Further, *lathi sars* is another hybrid word which is a combination of Hindi and English. This word is frequently used in any language of India and is also used in Bodo with the influence of IA language.

4.4 Compounding

Compounding is a highly productive word formation process and very important source for creating new word in any language. Compounding is the facts that is composed of two or more separate elements into one word and are free morphemes. It takes place when two or more words are joined together to form one new word. It is a common word formation process in any language. Compound word can be written as closed form (single word) e.g. keyboard, hyphenated form (using a hyphen between the word) e.g. word-class, spaced form (combination of two separate words) e.g. open learning etc.

David Crystal defines as *Compound words mean consisting of two or more free Morpheme*⁷⁴.

According to Rochelle Lieber *Compounds are words that are composed of two (or more) bases, roots, or stems*⁷⁵

Laurie Beauer also defined *compound as when two (or more) elements which could potentially be used as stems are combined to form another stem, the form is said to be*

⁷⁴ Crystal, David (2008): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6th ed. Blackwell Publishing. USA. P-96

⁷⁵ Lieber, Rochelle (2009): *Introducing Morphology*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press. New York. P-43

a compound. He mentions that *compounding is usually subdivided according to the form class of the resulted compound: that is into compound nouns, compound adjectives etc. it may also be subdivided according semantic criteria into exocentric, endocentric, appositional and copulative compound*⁷⁶ According to him endocentric compound is a hyponym of grammatical head, e.g. *a beehive is a kind of hive, a armchair is a kind of chair*. Exocentric compound is not a hyponym of grammatical head. It is a hyponym of semantic head e.g. *redskin is not a kind of skin*. The compound word *maidservant* is a hyponym of both *maid* and *servant*. This is an appositional compound. The copulative compound does not have grammatical head where this compound is not a hyponym of either element.

Compounding is a very important and a highly productive word formation process in Bodo where the words are formed by two or more root. There are vast numbers of compounding words in Bodo native language. On the other hand, some compound words are formed by Hybridization process. There are some hybrid compound word having semantic criteria such as Endocentric, Exocentric, Appositional and Copulative Compounding.

4.4.1 Endocentric Compound in Formation of Bodo Hybrid Word

The Endocentric compound is a type of compound which has a semantic ‘head’. Laurie Bauer mentioned in his book ‘English Word Formation’ as a beehive is a kind of hive; and an armchair is a kind of chair. This type of compound is termed an endocentric compound. The hybrid word can be found as Endocentric type of compound in Bodo language. It is of two types right headed Endocentric Compound and left headed Endocentric Compound. Both types of words are available in the Bodo language. Following are the examples:

4.4.1.1 Right Headed Endocentric Compound

The right headed endocentric compounds are also frequently used in Bodo language. In right headed endocentric compound the first word is modifier and second one is the semantic head of the first word. For example *raza lama* means ‘highway’ in Bodo and it is combination of two separate word where the word *raza* (king) is Hindi origin and *lama* (way) is Bodo and *raza* is the modifier of *lama*. Here *lama* denotes a semantic head of *raza lama* where they have totally different meaning in single form, but by compounding it represent another new meaning in Bodo. In right headed endocentric

⁷⁶ Beauer, Laurie (1983): *Word formation in English*. 1st Edition, Cambridge University Press, UK, P-33

compound the semantic head and the modifier could be of Bodo or Indo-Aryan root word. The examples of right headed endocentric compounds are given bellow:

- (i) muṣṣuṣu (Bd.) + gari (Hd.) > muṣṣuṣu-gari
 bull/bullock + cart > ‘bullock cart’
- (ii) raza (Hd.) + lama (Bd.) > raza-lama
 king + way > ‘highway’
- (iii) bibar (Bd.) + mala (Skt.) > bibar mala
 flower + garland > ‘garland’
- (iv) gəlab (Hd.) + bibar (Bd.) > gəlab bibar
 rose + flower > ‘rose flower’
- (v) suḍuḍb (Skt.) + bakhri (Bd.) > suḍuḍb-bakhri
 word + storeroom > ‘vocabulary’
- (vi) əkhraŋ (Bd.) + zahaz (Hd.) > əkhraŋ zahaz
 sky + ship > ‘aeroplane’

4.4.1.2 Left Headed Endocentric Compound

In left headed endocentric compound the first word is semantic head and second one is the modifier of the first word. In this type of compounding the first word and the second word might be of Bodo or Indo-Aryan (i.e. Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla and Assamese). As for example, *raŋ rupha* means ‘property’ or ‘wealth’ in Bodo and it is combination of one Bodo word *raŋ* ‘money’ and Sanskrit word *rupha* ‘silver’. Here *raŋ* is the semantic head and *ruph* is the modifier. Such types of examples are given bellow:

- (i) gərib (Hd.) + gundra (Bd.) > gərib-gundra
 poor + small pieces (particle) > ‘poor etc’.
- (ii) nem (Skt.) + khanthi (Bd.) > nem-khanthi
 rule + custom > ‘rules and regulation’
- (iii) sima (Bang.) + haŋkhuṣ (Bd.) > sima-haŋkhuṣ
 boundary + line > ‘boundary line’
- (iv) raŋ (Bd.) + rupha (Skt.) > raŋ-rupha
 money + silver > ‘property’

4.4.2 Exocentric Compound in Formation of Bodo Hybrid Word

Exocentric compounding is a type of headless compounding. It is a hyponym of unexpressed semantic head but not a hyponym of the grammatical head. According to

Laurie Bauer (1983, 30), “a redskin is not a type of skin, nor is a highbrow a type of brow. This type of compound, termed an exocentric compound”. The exocentric compound is called as ‘bahuvrihi compound’ in Sanskrit language. Such type of compound is found in Bodo native word for example: *akhai gylao* ‘powerful’ is not a kind of ‘long hand’. This kind of compound is found in Bodo hybrid word. For example:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (i) | sujima (Bd.) | + sikhari (Hd) | > sujima-sikhari dog |
| | | + hunter | > ‘a kind of bee’ |
| (ii) | buırma (Bd.) | + dari | > buırma-dari |
| | goat | + beard | > ‘a kind of medicine leaf’ |
| (iii) | buri (Ass.) | + thokhon (Bd.) | > buri-thokhon |
| | old woman | + stick | > ‘a kind of vegetable/plant’ |
| (iv) | khaphal (Ass.kopal) | + guızuıı (Bd.) | > khaphal guızuıı |
| | forehead | + bright | > ‘lucky’ |
| (v) | goraj (Hd.) | + salaj (Bd.) | > goraj salaj |
| | horse | + tongue | > ‘a type of vegetable’ |
| (vi) | maozı | + sadu (Ass. xadhu: Skt sadhu:) | > maozi sadu |
| | cat | + priest | ‘a false mendicant’ |

4.4.3 Copulative Compounding Word borrowed from Indo-Aryan

The copulative compound is a type of couple or pair word. Both the words function as semantic head and these words are closely related to each other. There is some copulative compound word which is adapted from Indo-Aryan with slight phonological change into the Bodo. For example:

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| (i) | buıraj (Skt. vridha) | + buri (Hd. budhiya) | > bisi phisaj husband |
| | | + wife | > ‘husband wife’ |
| (ii) | raza (Skt. rājan) | + rani (Hd. rānı) | > raza rani |
| | king | + queen | > ‘king queen’ |
| (iii) | akash (Skt. ākāśa) | + phathal (Skt. pātāla) | > akash phathal |
| | heaven | + soil | > ‘heaven soil’ |

Despite, it can be found that the copulative compounding word is mixture of one Bodo word and another is Aryan word. For example:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| (iv) | zuıııııı (Skt. janma) | + thuıııııı (Bd.) | > zuıııııı thuıııııı |
| | born | + death | > ‘born death’ |

Apart from the discussed above, attempt have been made to analyze on some common type or syntactical compounding processes such as Compound Noun, Compound verb and Compound Adjective. Following are the syntactical structure of Bodo compound words:

4.5 Compound Noun

4.5.1 Noun + Noun > Noun

Combination of Bodo noun and Indo-Aryan noun to form Noun phrase or word as an example, viz:

(i) boro (Bd.) + mansi (Skt. manuṣya) > boro mansi

boro + man > 'boro man'

(ii) muŋkʰlɔŋ (Bd.) + kʰampʰa (Hd. kham) > muŋkʰlɔŋ kʰampʰa

martyr + tomb > 'martyrs tomb'

(iii) gaɔduŋ (Ass. gadhon) + huɣ > gaɔduŋ huɣ

money + give > 'money given as marriage agreement to the family of bride'

(iv) duɟi (Bd.) + bana (Skt. vānyā) > duɟi bana

water + flood > 'flood'

(v) bibar (Bd.) + bari (Bang. ba:ri) > bibar bari

flower + place > 'flower garden'

(vi) bibar (Bd.) + mala (Skt. mālā) > bibar mala

flower + chain > 'garland'

(vii) muɣsuɣu (Bd.) + gari (Hd. ga:ɽi:) > muɣsuɣu gari

cow + car > 'bullock cart'

(viii) suɟduɟb (Skt. fabda) + bakhri (Bd.) > suɟduɟb bakhri

word + storage > 'vocabulary'

(ix) muɣsuɣu (Bd.) + gɔli (Ass. gɔfali) > muɣsuɣu gɔli

cow + home of cow > 'place of cow for taking rest'

(x) gɔlab (A. gɔlāb, Hd. gulāb) + bibar (Bd.) > gɔlab bibar

rose + flower > 'rose flower'

Structurally both belong to noun and the resulting word is noun. These words are frequently used in Bodo. But, that these words are formed by the mixer of Bodo and other language or compound will not be studied or noticed by no one. That is why it is

used as Bodo word. The above mentioned words are frequently used in Bodo writings or discourse.

Apart from the mentioned examples there are some IA words or phrases having same meaning which is adapted as own articulator system of Bodo. Such phrases have been using in Bodo literary text as well as discourses. In Bodo many example of such words are formed by noun compounding. Such as-

- (xi) duḥuṇ (<Skt.dhāna) + sṃp^hṓthi (<Skt.sampatti) > duḥuṇ-sṃp^hṓthi
wealth + wealth > ‘wealth’
- (xii) t^hak^ha (<Ass.tōka < Skt. tankah) + p^huṣa (<Hd.pṛisa) > t^hak^ha p^huṣa
money + money > ‘money’
- (xiii) duḥuṇ (< Ass. dhṇ < Skt. dhāna) + duḥulṓd (<Hd. daulṓt) > duḥuṇ duḥulṓd
wealth + wealth > ‘wealth’
- (xiv) mulug (<Hd.mulk) + sṃsar (< Skt. samsara) > mulug sṃsar
world + world > ‘world’
- (xv) sukh (<Skt. sukhi:) + santhi (< Skt. ja:nti) > sukh santhi.
peace + peace > peace, calmness
- (xvi) hisab (< Ass. fīsap (Bg. PA) + nikhas (Ass.) > hisab nikhas
counting + counting > ‘counting’
- (xvii) anan (Bd.) ‘God’ + gṃsaj (< Ass.gṃxai Skt. gṃswami) ‘God’ > anan gṃsaj
‘supreme god’
- (xviii) daba (Bd.) ‘knife’+ suri (Hd. churi:) ‘knife’ > daba suri ‘knife’

4.5.2 Verb + Noun > Noun

- (i) p^hṓsṓṇ (Bd.) + than (sthan Skt.) > p^hṓsṓṇ^han
to found + place > company
- (ii) raz (Hd.) + t^haṓni (Bd.) > raz^haṓni
Govern + place > capital
- (iii) raz (Hd.) + ulap^hat^h (Bd.) > raz ulap^hat^h
govern + > chair of king

4.5.3 Noun + Adjective > Noun

- (iv) mathi (Ass.) + galdab (Bd.) > mathi galdab
soil + flat > ‘a wild vegetable’
- (v) ziv (Hd.) + khri (Bd.) > zivkhri
living being + thick > ‘cell’

A few example of coined word combined with Indo-Aryan Noun and Bodo verb word to form verb can be found. Such as-

- (i) man (Skt. ma:na) + bau (Bd.) > man bau
 respect + pay > 'pay respect'
- (ii) sɔm (< Hd. samay) + baɔ (Bd.) > sɔm baɔ
 time + to forgot > 'to be'

4.6 English Noun Phrases Used in Bodo:

Nowadays, it can be found many Non-Idiomatic phrases of English being used in Bodo language. Phrases used in Bodo gets their pronunciation modified and are used in Bodo. Such as-

Noun + Noun < Noun

- (i) blood bank > blad + beŋ
 (ii) tea table > thi + thebuɭ
 (iii) hand bag > hen + beg
 (iv) chair table > siar + thebuɭ
 (v) dining table > dainiŋ + thebuɭ
 (vi) cup plate > khap phlet
 (vii) hand globe > hen glɔb

It is worth mentioning that most of the words or phrases adapted from English into Bodo are combination of noun word only. But no example of English and Bodo (mixer) words or phrases being used in Bodo has been found.

4.7 Neologisms in Bodo

'Neologisms' is the new name of coinage yet not so popular. The word Neologism is a new word coined from Greek language neo 'new' + logo 'word', which is being tried to be used as common use but still not accepted in the mainstream language till date. According to Oxford Dictionary in 1772 the term 'neologism' was used in print for the first time, borrowed from French 'neologism'. Neologism in Bodo are mostly loan translation or creation. Neologism is stated as 'a new word' in the language. It can also be defined as newly coined word or existing word that acquires. A neologism is a newly coined term, word or phrase, or a new meaning for an established word that may be in the process of entering common use. Therefore, how a word is coined through loan translation is being discussed below along with what the structure of

coined word is and how is it formed. Most of the neologisms in Bodo are formed from the already existing vocabulary and are based on common word formation devices. In order to avoid direct use of loan word some foreign terms are newly created through translation. Some neologisms in Bodo are newly formed lexical compounds from the already existing vocabularies of the language and some others are lexical items which are not newly coined but have acquired an additional new sense.

Banjar, Sh. (2011) stated that *Neologisms can be either loan words in the form of direct loans and loan translation, or newly coined terms, either morphologically new words or by giving existing words a new semantic content. For the individual, some words may be unknown without necessarily being neologism. A special term that the interpreter does not understand is not automatically a neologism. It is a part of the linguistic competence and general knowledge of the interpreter that s/he is able to determine whether a term is “new” or just unknown to him/herself. Neologisms have to become generally known to the public through their usage in a specific context*⁷⁷.

*According to Peprnik, (2006; 76) A neologism is a new word or sense of word. It can become from any type of word formation. With frequent use and the passage of time they become marked and enter everyday use (and shift from the periphery to the centre of the language system*⁷⁸.

George Yule has used the term coinage interchangeably to Neologisms as he stated *Neologisms or coinage is one of the processes of creating new words. In the media journalists often coin new expressions with the help of different word formation processes (compounding, shortening, hybridization, claque and affixation etc.). People try to outdo each other with more attractive and unique expressions to name their products, which results that these trademarks names are adopted by the common person and become “everyday words of language*⁷⁹.

From the above discussion it is clear that Neologism is the newly constructed word which are formed by various word formation processes such as Compounding, Blending and Affixation.

⁷⁷Banjar, Sh. (2011). Neologism and Translation. Retrieved December 26, 2012 from <http://www.slideshare.net/dr.shadiabanjar/neologisms-presentation>.

⁷⁸Peprnik, Jaroslave (2006): English Lexicology. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackeho. P-76

⁷⁹Yule, George. (2006): The Study of Language: An Introduction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. P-53

4.7.1 Compounding

In Bodo some words are reformed by pre-existing words through compounding and create or coin a new word in Bodo by following structure and meaning of the word. According to Curzan and Adams (2012), *the language users form new words for style and also when not able to collect the existing words*. During the process of translation from one language to another language, the lack of right words make it necessary to develop new word which could imply the right meaning. In the same way, there are many words which are coined through compound process and are seen to be used in books, articles, journals, etc.

4.7.1.1 Noun Compounding

Noun is the most important kind of parts of speech in language domain. A noun is formed by combination of different lexical categories i.e. noun + noun, noun + verb, verb + verb, verb + noun, verb + adjective etc. In Bodo, word coinages are formed by following noun compounding and create a new word having independent meaning. Following are the explanation as well as examples of noun compounding:

4.7.1.1.1 Noun + Noun > Noun

In this process two nouns are combined and created into a new word without changing the grammatical category. In Bodo coinage word, these kinds of compounding words are found e.g.

- (i) raŋ + khɔ > raŋk^hɔ
 money + place > ‘bank’
- (ii) muŋk^haŋ + bizab >’ muŋk^haŋ bizab’
 face + book > ‘ facebook’
- (iii) ziu + k^hari >’ ziu k^hari’
 ‘life + data >’ ‘ biodata’
- (iv) p^hɔra + bizab >’ p^hɔrabizab
 text’ + book > textbook
- (v) d^huŋn + bak^hri > d^huŋnbak^hri
 wealth + store room > treasure
- (vi) gab + mala > gabmala
 colour + chain > spectrum
- (vii) bar + mona > barmona
 wind + bag > alveoli

4.7.1.1.2 Noun + Verb > Noun

It is a process where a noun and a verb words are combined to form a new word. After combination of these two words the grammatical category gets change. e.g.

- (viii) buhum + su > n. buhumsu
world + to measure > 'geometry'
- (ix) bit^hɔŋ + buŋ > bit^hɔŋbuŋ
address + to say/to speak > informative

It is to be noted that a noun is formed by combining verb in the initial and noun at the final position of the word. Such as:

- (x) maɔ v. + bada n. > n. maɔbada
to do + house > 'office'
- (xi) maɔ v. + daŋsa n. > n. maɔŋsa
to do + labour > 'labour'
- (xii) reb v. + ɡɔn n. > n. rebɡɔn
to write + stick > 'pen'
- (xiii) suŋ v. + k^huli n. > n. suŋk^huli
to ask + place > 'enquiry office'
- (xiv) ruŋ v. + bant^ha n. > ruŋbant^ha
to learn + prize/award > scholarship
- (xv) san v. + zunt^hi n. > sanzunt^hi
to count + machine > computer
- (xvi) maɔ v. + k^hant^hhi n. > maɔk^hant^hi
to do + rule > mechanism

4.7.1.1.3 Verb + Verb > Noun

This compound is made of two verb words. The two verb words are free morpheme having independent meaning and gets change in the grammatical category while it compound. e.g.

- (xvii) nu v. + v. k^huŋa > n. nuk^huŋa
to see + to hear > 'video'
- (xviii) su + muŋt^hayj > sumuŋt^haj
to measure + to find > evaluation
- (xix) maɔ^huŋ + za > maɔ^huŋza
to do + to be > to be done

Apart from these, noun is also found as the combination of noun and adjective. e.g.

- (xx) no + blaŋ > nɔblaŋ
house + broad > hall/conference hall

4.7.1.1.4 Verb + Adjective > Noun

Some of the noun words are also formed by compounding of verb and adjective. In this process, one verb word and one adjective word are combined to constitute a new noun word. e.g.

- (xxi) naj v.+ adj. blaŋ > n. najblaŋ
to see + broad > ‘window’
(xxii) hab v. + blaŋ > hablaŋ
to enter + broad > door
(xxiii) reb v.+ adj. gant^{hi} > n. rebgant^{hi}
to write + knot > ‘records’
(xxiv) sank^huŋ v. + baŋ > sank^huŋbaŋ
to count + to increase > majority

In spite of these, in noun compounding the adjective word also become first and combine with Verb word. e.g.

- (xxv) sɔman adj. + su v. > sɔmansu
equal + to measure > balance

Apart from this some compound nouns are also combined by more than two free morphemes that are Noun + Verb + Adjective > Noun etc. e.g.

4.7.1.1.5 Noun + Verb + Adjective > Noun

- (xxvi) san + v. reb + adj. gant^{hi} > n. sanrebgant^{hi}
day + to write + knot > ‘diary’

4.7.2 Verb Compounding

Verb is also a type of parts of speech which is very important in any language. It helps in creating word coinage in Bodo language. The verb is also formed by combination of verb + verb > verb, verb + noun > verb etc. In Bodo’s word coinage some compound verb are also found and are newly created word by following its meaning.

4.7.2.1 Verb + Verb > Verb

In this type of compounding two simple verbs are joined together and make a new word having independent meaning. There are some examples of verb compounding in Bodo. For example:

- (i) p^hɔraj v. + v. sɔŋ > v. p^hɔrajsɔŋ

- to read + to search > to study/to research
- (ii) buŋ v. + v. seb > v. buŋseb to say
+ to become narrow > sum up
- (iii) maɔp^huŋ v. + v. za > maɔp^huŋza
to do completely + to be > to be done completely
- (iv) su v. + v. muŋ + t^haj > sumuŋt^haj
to measure + to find +suff > evaluation
- (v) maɔ + guŋhuŋ > maɔguŋhuŋ
to do + influence/effect > effectiveness

4.7.2.2 Verb + Noun > Verb

Another verb compounding is the combination of one verb and one noun. In Bodo word coinage this kind of compounding is also found. For example:

- (vi) muŋ v. + bit^haj / p^hit^haj n. > v. muŋbit^haj / muŋnit^haj
to find + fruit > findings

4.8 Blending

Blending is a process of word formation, where parts of two or more separate words are combined in order to coin a single new term. These parts of two or more other words are sometimes free morpheme, but not always morphemes. This process is also known as portmanteau word. It is similar as compounding but in blending two base words is shortened (i.e. either syllable or phonemic) and compound into one word. In this type of word formation process the grammatical categories of the blended word get change. According to David Crystal, a process found in the analysis of grammatical and lexical constructions, in which two elements which do not normally co-occur, according to the rules of the language, come together within a single linguistic unit (a blend). In grammar, the process is illustrated by such syntactic blends as It's his job is the problem, a combination of the sentences It's his job and His job is the problem. In lexis, 'blending' is a common source of new words through abbreviation (though not all become standard), e.g. Brunch, Interpol and Eurovision.

Laurie Bauer has defined that *a blend is a new lexeme formed from parts of two or more other lexemes*⁸⁰.

⁸⁰ Bauer, Laurie (1983) : *English Word Formation* 1st edition, Cambridge University Press p-233

George Yule has stated as *blending is typically accomplished by taking only the beginning of one word and joining it to the end of the other word*⁸¹.

Further S.T. Gries has *defined that Blending involves the coinage of a new lexeme by fusing parts of at least two other source words of which either one is shortened in the fusion and/or where there is some form of phonemic or graphemic overlap of the source words*⁸².

However, it is clear from the above definitions that in blending two or more words are shortened or clipped to combine.

4.8.1 Types of Blending

Many linguists have classified the blends word in different ways depending on their structure. Gries, (2004) and John Algeo (1977: 47-64) divided blends into three type

- (i) Phonemic Overlap (i.e. a syllable or part of a syllable is shared between two words)
- (ii) Clipping (i.e. the shortening of two words and then compounding them); and
- (iii) Phonemic Overlap and Clipping (i.e. shortening of two words to a shared syllable and then compounding).

Further S.T. Gries has also stated about blending as, systematically, blends are either syntagmatic or associative.

Adams uses the term splinters to refer incomplete elements (parts of morphs) which are created due to clipping, shortening or affixes. According to him a blend can be composed of two elements which are splinters, like ballute (from balloon and parachute).

Blends with overlapping: The overlap can be one phoneme or syllable or several. In phonemic overlap process a syllable or part of a syllable is shared between two words.

Blends with clipping: In this process blended words have no overlapping. There are different types of patterns which are used in creating this type of blending. Whenever words are blended then two or more splinters are cut off in the initial, middle and final position of the words to blend. Valerie Adams has stated clipping as the term clipping refers to the process by which a word of two or more syllables (usually a noun) is

⁸¹ Yule, George (2006) : *The Study of Language: An Introduction* 4th edition, Cambridge :Cambridge University Press. P-55

⁸² Gries, Stefan Th. (2004): *Shouldn't it be breakfunch? A quantitative analysis of blend structure in English*. P-1

shortened without a change in its function taking place. In English Advertisement, examination, gymnasium, laboratory, photography, professor, all have commonly- used clipped forms: ad or advert, exam, gym, lab, photo, prof. Bauer (1983) gives a more precise definition for clipping, whereby a lexeme is shortened without any meaning change or class change.

Therefore, the examples of blend words formed by clipping the syllable of words are discussed below-

4.8.1.1 First Word Blends with Second Syllable of Second Word

- (a.) *buhum* + *dulur* > buhumlur ‘geography’
- (b.) *laj* + *bizab* > layzab ‘slip’
- (c.) *bir* + *gar^hɔŋ* > birkhong ‘airplane’
- (d.) *sazay* + *bilaj* > sazailay ‘format’
- (e.) *bu* + *dulur* > bulur ‘volley ball’
- (f.) *zu* + *dulur* > zwlur ‘football’
- (g.) *reb* + *gusun* > rebsun ‘summary’
- (h.) *bizab* + *p^hisa* > bizabsa ‘handbook’
- (i.) *ze* + *suŋ^hɔn* > zekhɔn ‘network’
- (j.) *bi* + *gudun* > bidun ‘temperature’
- (k.) *t^hun* + *bilaj* = leaf > thunlay ‘literature’
- (l.) *naisɔn* + *bilaj* leaf > naisɔnlaj ‘notification’

4.8.1.2 Second Syllable of First Word is Blends with Second Word

- (m.) *guɔzan* + *buŋ* > zanbuŋ ‘mobile’
- (n.) *guɔzan* + *nut^haj* > zannuthaj ‘television’

4.8.1.3 First Syllable of First Word is Blends with Second Word

- (o.) *saogari* + *muŋ* > saɔmuŋ ‘photo’

4.8.1.4 First Syllable of First Word is Blends with First Syllable of Second Word

- (p.) *saogari* + *t^hunlay* > saɔt^hun ‘movie’

4.8.1.5 Second Syllable of First Word and Second Syllable of Second Word

- (q.) *guɔzuu* + *buɔisaŋ* > zuɔusaŋ ‘stage’
- (r.) *guɔzuu* + *t^hɔŋ* > zuɔuthɔŋ ‘column’

4.9 Affixation

Affixation is one of the word formation processes. It is productively used to coin new word in the language. Affixes do not have own meaning but when an affix is attached to a root or stem it denotes semantic meaning of a root.

According to David Crystal *the morphological process whereby grammatical or lexical information is added to a stem is known as affixation* (“prefixation”, “suffixation”, “infixation”). *From an alternative point of view, affixes may be divided into inflectional and derivational types*⁸³.

Affixation is of three types i.e. prefix, infix and suffix. Prefix refers to an affix which is added initially to a root or stem. Infix refers addition of affix in the middle to a root and suffix is the addition of affix to the end of root or stem. Prefix and suffixes are used but there is no use of infix in Bodo language. In present study the researcher has found such affixation processes in Bodo which are coined from I-A languages.

4.9.1 Indo-Aryan Negative Prefixes used in Bodo

There are some IA negative prefixes used in Bodo such as {ɔ-/a-/ɒ}, {bi-}, {be-}. These prefixes are used in Bodo through Assamese and not comparable to other TB languages. All the prefixes denote opposite or dissimilar by attaching any root or stem. It can be affixed with Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Adjective and Adverb in Bodo. For examples:

- (i) ɒ-xubidɦa (< Skt. asuvidha) > ɔ-subida ‘inconvenience/ trouble’
- (ii) a-sukh > ɔ-suk^h ‘difficult’
- (iii) a-sukhi: > ɔ-suk^{hi} ‘unhappy’
- (iv) a-samay (Ass. ɔ-xɔmɔi > ɔ-sɔmɔi ‘untimely’
- (v) a-sambhav > ɔ-sombɔb ‘impossible’
- (vi) a-ɦa:nti > ɔ-sant^{hi} ‘anxiety’
- (vii) a-lakɦmi: > ɔ-luɦ^{hi} ‘misfortune’
- (viii) a-mangal > ɔ-mɔŋgal ‘unlucky’
- (ix) a-nya:y > ɔ-nnai ‘injustice’
- (x) a-dharya: > ɔ-duɦrɔ ‘impatient’
- (xi) a-dharm > ɔ-duɦɦuɦruɦm ‘immorality’
- (xii) a-himsak > ɔ-ɦiɦsa ‘non-violence’

⁸³ Crystal, David (2008): A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. 6th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, USA, p-16

(xiii) a-jyan > ɔ-giyan ‘unawareness’

(xiv) a-mil > ɔ-mil ‘unfamiliar’

Instead of these {ɔpɔ-} is also an IA negative prefix used in Bodo as well such as ɔpɔman (Skt. a-pama:n) > ɔpɔ-man ‘disrespect’,

Another negative prefix is {bi-} which is Hindi origin and it affixed as Hd. bi-desh > bi-des ‘foreign’

It is mentionable that the word ‘bi-giyan’ is not formed by adding negative prefix {bi-} because it does not consider negative in this word. Here, ‘giyan’ refers knowledge on the other hand ‘bigiyan’ means science. It can be observed that {bi-} is only a prefix which is affixed with ‘giyan’ and form another word ‘bigiyan’ i.e. science.

Another Assamese negative prefix {be-} is also used in Bodo with affixing with Indo-Aryan words For example:

(xv) be-xɔmɔi > besɔmaj ‘improper’

(xvi) be-aini > beajen ‘injustice’

(xvii) be-dɔkhɔl > bedɔk^hɔl ‘dispossession’

(xviii) be-hisap > behisab ‘uncountable’

(xix) be-zur > bezɔra ‘unadjustifiable/ unequable’

(xxi) be-sɔɪkaɪi > be-sɔrk^hari ‘non-governmental’

4.9.2 Indo-Aryan Suffixes used in Bodo

Some of Indo-Aryan words borrowed in Bodo are being used by Indo-Aryan suffixes also. For example:

4.9.2.1 Derivational suffix

Derivational suffixes {-i}, {-aola} {-wala}, {-dar} of Indo-Aryan language being used in Bodo can be found in a few words. For example:

{-i}

(i) giyan-i > giyani ‘man of knowledge’

(ii) da:n-i > dani charity

(iii) sɔrkari-i > sɔrk^hari ‘government’

(vi) sikhari > sik^hari ‘hunter’

(vii) badmash-i > bɔdmasi ‘rascal’

(viii) desh-i > ‘disi local’

(ix) pa:pi: > p^hap^hi ‘sinful’

(x) japan-i > zap^hani ‘Japanese’

- (xi) bepar-i Hd. bepa:r > bep^hari ‘trader /marchant’
- (xii) bemar-i (P. bi:ma:r) > bemari ‘patient’

{-aɔla}, {-wala}

- (xiii) riksa-aɔla (riksawala) > riksaɔla ‘honour of rikshwa’
- (xiv) gari-aɔla (gariwala) > gariaɔla ‘honour of vehicle’
- (xv) toto-aɔla (totowala) > t^hɔt^hɔaɔla ‘honour of toto’ etc.

In Hindi {-wala} is a suffix forming adjective, interpreted as pertaining to or connected with and it is attached with base form of the donor or foreign languages. In English, it is an equivalent to ‘man’. Same as Hindi suffix {walla} is used as {aɔla} in Bodo and attached with base form of different languages such as *riksa-aɔla*, *gari-aɔla*, *thɔth-aɔla* so on. In the mentioned example it is found that Hindi suffix -walla > ‘aɔla is attached with Hindi and English base form and adapted in Bodo with slide modification.

{-dar}

- (xvi) tika-dar > tikadar ‘contractor’
- (xvii) dukan-dar > dukhandar ‘shopkeeper’
- (xviii) ghatak-dar > gɔt^hɔkdar ‘match maker’

In the above example it is seen that IA suffixes {-i}, {-aɔla}, {-wala} and {-dar} are added to noun words to form adjective. It is to be known that all the examples are originally of IA languages.

4.9.3 Bodo Suffix Hybridized with Indo-Aryan Word

Some of the Bodo suffixes are combined with Indo-Aryan root word and form a hybrid word. This type of coinage also found in Bodo language. Following are some example:

{-sali}

In Bodo language {-Sali} acts as a suffix which sits behind Indo-Aryan or Bodo words while expressing or referring to any place or name. It is to be noted that {-sali} does not carry independent meaning. It gives complete meaning by sitting after a root word. On the other hand, this suffix is not equivalent to Assamese *śal/śali*.

(i) than (Skt.stan) + -sali > thansali a place where God is worshiped’

(ii) phɔraj (Ass. pɔrfia) + -sali > phɔrajsali ‘school’

(iii) diŋkhi (Ass. dñeki) + -sali > diŋnkhisali ‘rice husking place’

(iv) mulug (Skt. mulg) + sũluŋ + -sali > mulugsũluŋsali

‘university’

{-ari}

It refers to man in Bodo and takes role as suffix when affixed with Indo-Aryan words. The word *nɔŋpɔik* ‘citizen’ is a Sanskrit origin and is adapted in Bodo through Assamese. In this word, along with *nɔŋpɔ* ‘city’, {-ik} suffix is added, hence forming *nɔŋpɔik* ‘citizen’. Similarly in Bodo {-ari} suffix is added to form *nuŋguɔrari* ‘citizen’. Example of such Bodo suffix {-ari} is given below:

(v) abad-ari > abadari ‘cultivator’

(vi) bharat-ari > bharatari ‘Indian’

(vii) sɔmaz-ari > sɔmazari ‘social’

(viii) nuŋguɔr-ari > nuŋguɔrari ‘citizen’

(ix) guŋnuŋkhuɔ-ari > guŋnuŋkhuɔari ‘scientist’

{guru: > -giri > -guɔra > -gra}

The word ‘giri’ is an Assamese word originated from Sanskrit *guru:* which means ‘doer’ or ‘master’. Bodo has similar use of the word such as {-gra}, {-guɔra}, {-giri} etc. It is to be noted that this word has been in use as {-giri}, {-guɔra}, {-gra} from Sanskrit word {-guru:} is also mentioned by evolving linguist Phukan Chandra Basumatary. In Bodo *guru*, *giri* and *guɔra* are used independently, but the moment it becomes {-gra} it sits as a suffix along with another word. Given below are the example used by Bodo word.

(x) phuɔruŋ-guru > phuɔruŋguru ‘teacher’

(xi) phuɔruŋ-giri > phuɔruŋgiri ‘teacher’

(xii) khɔnthai-giri > khɔnthai-giri ‘poet’

(xiii) lir-giri > lir-giri ‘writer’

(xiv) bunŋthi-giri > bunŋthigiri ‘speaker’

(xv) samlajgiri > samlajgiri ‘organizer’

(xvi) duɔiden-giri > duɔidengiri ‘leader’

(xvii) thubil-giri > thubilgiri ‘treasurer’

(xviii) thunlaj-giri > thunlajgiri ‘literateur’

{-thili}

Phukan Chandra Basumatary, a linguist of Bodo has mentioned it this way it is interesting to note that the suffix {-thili} is probably a loan element adapted from the Sanskrit word *sthala* or Asamiya *sthan* or *thaj* (place).

It is also a suffix affix with some Indo-Aryan and Bodo words. In Bodo word coinage, it is seen to coin word by adding suffix also. Such as-

(xix) abad-thili > abadthili

(xx) phathuꣳ-thili > phathuꣳthili

(xxi) daꣳha-thili > daꣳhathili

4.9.4 Formative Words by Bodo Suffix

It is worth mentioning that coinages are also formed by the process of suffix. In Bodo, some suffixes combined with any type of word (noun, verb, adjective, and adverb) and construct a new word. Through translation, newly constructed words are formed and coined with the help of some suffixes. These suffixes include {-min}, {-mu}, {-thaj}, {-khuli}, {-sali}, {-giri}, {-than} etc. Given below are the examples of newly created words formed by these suffixes.

{-min}

da v. + min suff. > damin ‘industry’

bu v. + min suff. > bumin ‘design’

{-mu}

gele v. + mu suff. > gelemu ‘games and sports’

za v. + mu suff. > zamu ‘lunch/breakfast or any food’

{-thaj}

haruꣳ v. + thaj suff. > haruꣳthaj ‘competence’

nuza v. + thaj suff. > nuzathaj ‘attendance’

ꣳnsuꣳ v. + thaj suff. > ꣳnsuꣳthaj ‘grants’

suꣳꣳkhꣳn v. + thaj suff. > suꣳꣳkhꣳnthaj ‘circuit’

sumuꣳ n. + thaj suff. > sumuꣳthaj ‘evaluation’

thiraꣳ n. + thaj suff. > thiraꣳthaj ‘theory/principles’

{-khuli}

maꣳ v. + khuli suff. > maꣳk^hhuli ‘office’

suŋ v. + khuli suff. > suŋk^huli ‘enquiry office’

{-sali}

anzad n. + sali suff. > anzadsali ‘laboratory’

saomun n. + sali suff. > saomunsali ‘studio’

{-giri}

mit^hingga n. + giri suff. > mit^hinggagiri ‘naturalistic’

bumin v. + giri suff. > bumingiri ‘architecture’

{-than}

maoson^han v. + than suff. > maoson^han ‘enterprise’

bison v. + t^han suff. > bison^han ‘bureau’

It is to be noted that while forming word as shown above, {-giri} and {-t^han} both used as suffix are received from Sanskrit {-guru:} ‘doer’/ ‘master’ and Sanskrit *sthala* or Asamiya *st^hhan* ‘place’. Through, both have their independent meaning, yet works as suffix while constructing the translated words in Bodo.

4.10 Coinage through Loan Translation or Calque

Loan translation or calque is a special type of borrowing that helps to create or add a new word in a language by translating components of a word or phrase from source language to target language. In this process elements of a language translate directly into the borrowing language. The term ‘Loanword’ is translated from German ‘Lehnwort’ itself. Calque or loan translation is another way of coining or forming new word in an entire language. In linguistics, a calque or loan translation is a word or phrase borrowed from another language by literal word-for-word or root-for-root translation. So, loan translation is done based on literal, semantic and adapted processes. David Crystal (2008) defines *loan translation or calque as a type of borrowing where the morphemes of the borrowed word are translated item by item*⁸⁴.

P.H. Matthews (2014) has defined that *A word or expression which has been formed by translation of a corresponding word or expression in another language*⁸⁵.

⁸⁴ Crystal, David (2008) : *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 6th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, USA, p-286

⁸⁵ Matthews, P.H. (2014): *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics*, 3rd Edition, Oxford University, Press, p-48

Therefore, loan translations are the words being translated Morpheme by Morpheme or component by component from source language to target language.

The moment, Bodo became a textbook based language; it became necessary to form some words or had coined new words. In Bodo, words are coined directly or indirectly through language translation and formation. Coinage is related to applied linguistics. Generally in Applied linguistics repetitive use of words by people leads to coinage because it is only the usage which leads to coinage. No grammatical correction is observed in this regard.

Jack C. Richards and Richard Schmidt (2010) have defined applied linguistics as *the study of language and linguistics in relation to practical problems, such as LEXICOGRAPHY, TRANSLATION, SPEECH PATHOLOGY, etc*⁸⁶.

In Bodo language, lots of translated words or calques are also found. As a 'Medium of Instruction' most of the words that have been translated into Bodo from the Indo-Aryan, European i.e. English and other sources of language and fulfil the necessity of word based on semantic point of view. Teachers of 'Bodo Sahitya Sabha' and some latest scholars are using the technical term of Bodo language for various subjects like general Mathematics, General Science, Social Science, Geography, Economics, Education, Political Science and Grammar etc. The main aim of this act of coining new words is to fulfil the lack of words and to help the students to learn properly in their mother tongue. The Bodo language is one of the recognized languages under the 8th schedule of the Indian constitution and is also the 'Medium of Instruction' upto class x, in the current scenario. After gaining the status 'Medium of Instruction' in 1963 there arises necessity to translate books from various languages such as English, Hindi, and Assamese etc. and while translating, some words are loan translated and constructed as suitable in Bodo language. As the time passes, a language becomes richer in vocabulary because of the necessity. In the same way, in Bodo language too many new words are developed and are in use quite often.

Apart from this, in order to encourage the upliftment of Bodo language, the Central Govt. through many central institutions such as CSTT, CIIL, NCERT, NBT etc. has set up a platform to publish various books and through various projects is also working to preserve and uplift the Bodo language. Also, the 'Sahitya Academy' published many glossaries and dictionaries where many new words are in use. Now a

⁸⁶ Richards, Jack C. & Schmidt Richard (2010): *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*, 4th Edition, Longman, Great Britain, p-29.

day, Govt. of India has also published glossary books on subjects like Economics, Political Science, Sociology, Computer, Mathematics, Chemistry etc. and as a result many technical terms are developed through translation. Every year addition of new word is increasing due to modernization. In Bodo large number of loan translation or adoption of word through various processes has been found. Innovation, development of modern education and emerging of language in many sphere are the main reasons of loan translation. It is worth mentioning that the translators use different strategies during translation to fit the meaning of the word such as word to word translation, translation based on function, nature, size and structure of the words.

4.10.1 Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla and Assamese)

After gaining the status ‘Medium of Instruction’, the need to translate from many Indo-Aryan (i.e. Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla and Assamese) and European (i.e. English) words into Bodo has increased to fulfil the need of academic purposes. The words of Indo-Aryan languages are directly translated into Bodo and the words of Sanskrit, Hindi, and Bangla are translated indirectly through Assamese. Translation, be it direct or indirect should be done following many rules such as- word to word, word meaning, word function, size and structure of the word. This has been discussed below-

4.10.1.1 Word to Word Translation

In this process, word to word translation is done from source language to target language. Related words of certain subjects such as Maths, Social Science, and Science etc. are translated word to word into Bodo language through Assamese. Translation done using this technique is an easy process and is also the most common technique. Given below is a discussion of word to word translation from Indo-Aryan or European languages into Bodo.

The word ‘gaon burafi’ (village headman) is translated to Bodo as ‘gami buṛaj’ through Assamese. It is worth mentioning that both the words have originated from Sanskrit origin *grāma* > Ass. *gaon* > Bd. *gami* ‘village’ and *vridha* > Ass. *burafi* > Bd. *buṛai* ‘headman’. These two words are composed to mean ‘village headman’ and become *gami buṛai* in Bodo through translation. There is a village headman in every village to take the responsibility of the people. In this regard this word is commonly used in Bodo language in villages. Similarly, Sanskrit origin *kārmansanskriti* (work of culture) is word to word translated through Assamese ‘karma xongskriti’ in Bodo

as *khamani harimu*. Here, Skt. *kārman* > Ass. *karma* > Bd. *khamani* means act or work and Skt. *sanskriti* > Ass. *xṅskriti* > Bd. *harimu* means ‘culture’. Another mentionable word *bhāṣā vijian* (linguistics) is Sanskrit origin and it is translated through Assamese *bhaxa vijian* in Bodo as *rao bigiyan* without any semantic change. In this example *bhaxa* refers language and *vijian* means science. These two words are from Sanskrit and it is used as *rao bigiyan* by translating in Bodo. It is important to mention that whenever translation is done then the translated words or clause are hybridized with Bodo word to fulfil the word meaning.

The Hindi words are also received from various languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Prakriti etc. To refer to the word questionnaire in Hindi it is used as *prashna mala* and translated into Bodo as *suṇṭhi mala* via the Assamese language. Here in this word found two elements i.e. *suṇṭhi* which is translated from Hindi word *prashna* (Skt. origin) and *mala* (Hindi *malā*) is remain the same as Hindi language.

The Bangla word *phul bāgān* (flower garden) is translated into Bodo as *bibar bagan*. Here, *phul* comes from Sauraseni Prakrit word *phulla* in Bangla through Assamese or Hindi language and *bāgān* is Bangla origin word. These two words are composed as *phul bāgān* to refer ‘flower garden’ and translated into Bodo as *bibar bagan* or *bibar bari* with slightly corrupted form without any semantic change. Another similar word Persian origin *bāgīca* (garden) is also compound with *phul* and it becomes as *phul bāgīca* in Hindi and translates to Bodo as *bibar bagan/bibar bari*. This translated word is frequently used by the Bodo speaking people in written literature like poetry, novels, and story as well as used in discourses.

Since the Bodo language became ‘Medium of Instruction’ (1963) in school some Assamese books have been translated by the Bodo writers into Bodo to fulfil the need of education. Apart from these, some Assamese literary text such as short story, novel, poetry and prose have been translated by different Bodo writers and have borrowed some words to fulfil the need of language.

The Assamese words are also translated into Bodo based on word to word translation process. As a result the Assamese word related to commercial ‘kola bazar’ (black market) is directly translated as *guṣuṃ hataj* in Bodo. Here, *kola* means black and *bazar* means market and is translated as *guṣuṃ hatai* to mean the illegal market system. The Assamese words *kola* is received from Hindi origin word *kāla* and *bazār* is Persian word. Similarly, the Assamese word *lok xṅskriti* (folk lore) is translated into Bodo as *subuṇ harimu*. In this example *lok* (folk) means *subuṇ* and *xṅskriti*

(lore) means *harimu* in Bodo language. Another Assamese word related to literature is *lɔkɔ sahitya* (folk literature) which is translated into Bodo as *subunɣthunlaj*. Here, *lɔkɔ* refers to folk *subunɣ* and *sahitya* refers to literature ‘thunlaj’ in Bodo without any semantic change. This word is frequently used in Bodo literary text. Now a days, it is to be noticed that *khuyuran bilaj* is used in Bodo language from Assamese *batɔi kakot* (newspaper) by translating word to word. The word *batɔi* means *khuyuran* news and *kakot* means bilai paper in Bodo. There is no semantic change in this example after translation. Another Assamese phrase *hator kam* is translated as *akhaini haba* in Bodo. The phrase *mukhya mɔnthri* (Skt.origin) has entered into the Assamese language via Hindi and it is translated into Bodo as *gahaj mɔnthri* to refer the word prime minister. Mostly the translated loan words of Bodo which come from Modern Indo-Aryan are of Sanskrit origin and they entered into Bodo via Hindi, Bengali, and Assamese language. Now a days, in Bodo language *mulugsuɣhɣsali* is used to refer the word University translated from Assamese word *bixuɣa* (universal/whole)-*bidya* (knowledge)-*loi* (a house) >*bixwabidyalo* (Skt. origin) Institution/University. Similarly another Sanskrit origin word *mɔpha-* (great) -*bidya* (knowledge) -*loi* (a house) *mɔpha-bidya-loi* ‘college’ is translated into Bodo as *phɔrajsalima* through Assamese *pɔɔhaxali*. Here, *phɔrajsali* refers to any educational institution, however the addition of suffix -*ma* with *phɔrajsali* specifically refers to college. The suffix -*ma* in Bodo comes from *bima* (mother), which refers or means something big such as *duɣima* (river), *luɣithuɣma* (sea) etc.

The Sanskrit word *sikhshaguru* is translated into Bodo as *phuyruɣguru* to mean the teacher by compounding of two elements where *phuyruɣ* ‘to teach’ is Bodo origin and another word *guru* ‘teacher’ is Sanskrit origin. The Hindi phrase *gulāb phūl* (rose flower) is translated as *gɔlabbibar* in Bodo. In this example, *gulāb* is borrowed from Persian *golāb* and *phūl* is borrowed from Sauraseni Prakrit *phulla* in Hindi and is translated through the Assamese *gulābphūl* in Bodo as *gɔlab bibar*. It is translated by the process of hybridization where *gulāb* is remaining the same and *phūl* is translated as *bibar* in Bodo. This word is used by the Bodo language speakers in discourses as well as used in corpus context to refer the rose flower.

4.10.1.2 Translated Words based on Meaning

Apart from these lots of Sanskrit, Hindi or Bangla words or phrases can be found translated direct or indirect translation considering the meaning into Bodo through Assamese.

Indo-Aryan	Bodo	English
jabdabali	suɖuɖbmala/suɖuɖb bak ^h ri	vocabulary
matrī bha:sa: Skt.	bima rao	mother language
prashna mala	suŋt ^h i mala	questionnaire
prad ^h an mantri	gibi mɔnt ^h ri	prime minister
muk ^h yo mantri	gahai mɔnt ^h ri	chief minister
samajik vajian	somaz bigijan	social science
subh bibah	guɖt ^h ar juli	marriage
suɖarnazug	sɔna zug	golden age
xɔnali zɔjɔnti	sɔnat ^h i p ^h uɖrbuɖ	golden jubilee
xɔnskriti xɔndia	harimu bilip ^h aŋ	cultural night
xikha guru	p ^h uɖruŋguru	teacher
xurzɔmukhi phul	san bibar	sunflower
prɔman-pɔtrɔ Skt.	p ^h uɖrman bilaj	document
bhugɔl	buhumk ^h uɖuraŋ	geography
lɔkɔ sahitya	subuŋ t ^h unlaj	oral literature
xubhɔ prɔbhat	guɖzuɖn p ^h uɖbili	good morning
xubhɔ jatri Bang jubhɔ ratri	guɖzuɖn hɔr	good night
mas.ɔka	nalaŋk ^h ar	kingfisher

Apart from the word to word translation done above, examples of translation done by relating the meaning of some words or phrases can also be found. For instance, *dujibana* i.e. ‘flood’ is from Sanskrit origin *vanyā* through Assamese *banpani*. The Assamese word *prthɔniti* is translated into Bodo as *raŋkhanthi* which means ‘economic’ in both languages. In this example *prthɔniti* is adapted from Sanskrit *arthanīti* where *artha* means ‘finance’ and *nīti* means ‘ethics’ and *nīti* it becomes as *khanti* in Bodo while it translate but the meaning remain same. The word *raŋkhanthi* ‘economic’ is used to refer a subject in school and colleges and it is translated based on semantic. Another popular Assamese word *razniti* (politics) is translated to Bodo as *razkhanthi* without any semantic change. The word *raz* (royalty) and *niti* (ethics) from Sanskrit origin become *rājya* and *nīti* in Assamese respectively. Through the loan translation process this word is directly translated into Bodo from Assamese language. This word is commonly used to refer the word ‘politics’ by the Bodo speaking people in discourses. Another word related to school or college subject i.e. *razniti bigijan* is translated to Bodo language as *razkhanthi bigijan*. This word is

Sanskrit origin and is translated through Assamese into Bodo. Here, the Assamese word *bhugol* (geography) is translated into Bodo as „*bhumkhuṛaṇ*”. The word *bhu* (earth) is Assamese origin and is used in a corrupted form as *bhum/buhum* (earth) and *khuṛaṇ* refers news in Bodo. In this example ‘Geography’ is a subject where people can study and get knowledge. Bodo words *deha phahamsali* ‘hospital’ and *dinthiphuṇsali* ‘exhibition’ are also translated keeping their base in meaning from Assamese *sikitsyalḥj* and *pradṛxṇi* respectively.

4.10.2 English

English is the most popular and most common language of the world. It is the language where new words are primarily invented as well as put to use. Apart from science and technology, names of new objects found in other area such as educational terms, mass media, internet, communication technology and in our day to day life have developed through English language. Some English language cannot be found in Bodo while some words could be found exactly as in English. Bodo, being recognized as of the 8th schedule languages by the Govt. many glossary books are being translated and published from English to Bodo, through various institutional platforms such as NCERT, NBT, CSTT, CIIL, etc. nowadays many words having relation to subjects like Political Science, Economics, Sociology, Maths, Computer, Mass Communication, Media, Internet etc. are found as an example of loan translation from English to Bodo. Examples of how word to word translation or translation based on meaning of phrases or words from loan translation from English to Bodo are discussed below-

4.10.2.1 Word to Word Translation

In translation of words from English to Bodo, word to word translation can be found in large quantity. For instance, nowadays popular word Facebook has been translated word to word into Bodo as *mukhaṇ bizab*. Here, face means *mukhaṇ* and book means *bizab* in Bodo. The word answer key is also word to word translated as *phinnai sabi* in Bodo. The word answer means *phinnai* and key means *sabi*. Another word green house is also translated in Bodo as *sumkhuṛnṇ*. Green is *sumkhuṛ* or *guṭhaṇ* in Bodo and *nṇ* means house. English phrases such as good morning, good night and birth day are translated as *guṇṇuṇ phuṇbili*, *guṇṇuṇ phu*, *zuṇṇuṇ san* etc. We can also find words translated from English to Assamese and thereafter translated to Bodo following Assamese, like the word Open University in Assamese is *mukta*

bixwabidyaloi and is translated to Bodo as *khula mulugsuyluṅsali*. Here, *khula* (open) and *mulug* (world) are originated from Sanskrit *khula:* and *mulg* and *suyluṅsali* (the place where people learn) is Bodo word. This word is loan translated via Assamese in Bodo. Apart from these, there are some Bodo words translated from English directly or indirectly by following word to word translation process. Examples of words that underwent word to word translation from English to Bodo are shown below-

English	Bodo
field study	p ^h u ^t ar suyluṅ ^h aj
open university	k ^h ula mulugsuyluṅsali
dead account	gu ^t uṅi bisan ^h o
hard disk	t ^h u ^r si gu ^r a
hard copy	gu ^r asla ^j
green house	su ^m k ^h u ^r gu ^t an ^j no
good morning	mu ^z an/gu ^z uṅ p ^h uṅbili
good night	mu ^z an/gu ^z uṅ hō ^r
light food	rezeṅga zamuṅ/zana ^j
hand shake	ak ^h aj dak ^h o
stage	zu ^q usa ^j
warm wishes	duṅbrud bōrajna ^j
birth day	zu ^q nuṅm san

4.10.2.2 Translated Words based on Function of the Words

Translation is also done based on the function of the word. This type of translation from English to Bodo can be found in use. It is to be mentioned that under this process of translation, mainly the function of the word is to be considered to form new word. For instance, field work in English is translated as *habat^hili* in Bodo. Here, the translation of field would mean *p^hu^tar* and work means *haba* or *k^hamani* in Bodo. However, as the focus is on the function of the word, the translation is *habit^hili* instead of *p^hu^tar haba*. Because through this word, the place where the work is carried or done is referred to. Similarly the function of the word ‘research’ considered and is translated into Bodo as *bizirsōṅnaja* or *sōṅzirnaja*. In English, research came from ‘re’ meaning ‘again’ and ‘search’ meaning ‘to find’ or it means a process of finding new knowledge, to find answer to a question. By considering function of this word, it is translated into Bodo as *bizir* (to analyze) and *sōṅnaja* (to search). Another word diary

is translated as *sanrebt^hum* in Bodo. Just as in diary, everyday record, some important topic personal events etc. are written and preserved. Similarly the function of this word is considered from translation. In Bodo, the suffix *-t^hum* refers to any togetherness, such as *zɔt^hum* (meeting), *guṭuthum* (organization) etc. The word *sanrebt^hum* is the translated word of English ‘diary’ where *san* ‘day’+ *reb* ‘write’ and *-thum* (suff.). This word is translated based on function of the word. Another noteworthy word is *sanzunt^hi* computer. The word *sanzunt^hi* underwent loan translation from Bodo *san* (to count) and *zunt^hi* (machine) from Hindi *yantra* (Skt.), through Assamese. Computer is a machine through which many works such as count, calculation, solution, typing, drawing, listening music, video etc. can be carried out. That is why, focusing on the function and nature of word, to express similar meaning word *sanzunt^hi* word is translated and put to use in Bodo. Similarly, many translated words from English to Bodo based on the function of the word is found, such as:

English	Bodo
dialect	raɔsa
orientation	ruṅsuḍaṅma
license	bit ^h uṇlaj
office	maɔk ^h ɔ
license	bit ^h uṇlaj
gate pass	habmuṇlaj
video	nuk ^h uṇa
scholarship	ruṅṅbant ^h a
door	hablaṅ
museum	ruḱik ^h at ^h umsali
hospital	deha p ^h ahamsali

4.10.2.3 Translated Word based on Size and Structure of the Words

There are some words or phrases in Bodo language, which are translated on the basis of their size and structure. For instance, seminar hall is translated as *saɔrajma nɔblaṅ* in Bodo. Here, seminar is translated as *saɔrajma* or many people discussing together on any topic i.e. a meeting and hall refers to a house wherein that meeting is held is translated as *nɔblaṅ* as a result of word to word translation. The phrase conference hall is also translated as *zɔt^humma nɔblaṅ* where *zɔt^humma* means meeting or

gathering and *nɔblay* is the house where people held the meeting. On the other hand, words like *buhumlur* (geography) and *zuylur* (football) are seen to be translated based on their size and structure. Here, that the word is round and the subject which contains writings about the area and information of the whole world is studied, is translated from Geography in English to Bodo as *buhumlur*. The word *buhumlur* is created by combining *buhum* (world) and *dulur* (round). That the shape of the world is round in structure is being focused and hence translated through loan translation. The word *zuylur* (football) is another good example of translation based on structure. Here, *zuy* means ‘to kick’ and *-lur* is a suffix taken from *dulur* (round). Football is round in shape which is why the word *zuy* (kick) is combined with the suffix *-lur* to make as *zuylur* (football) in Bodo.

4.11 Semantics Change

Semantics change refers to semantics progression or semantics shift which involves changes in the uses of words. It is the study of a words’ meaning where its original meaning radically differs from its current meaning. According to David Crystal (2008) *Semantics is a major branch of linguistics devoted to the study of meaning in language*⁸⁷. Bodo language accepts or received words from Indo-Aryan language in intact form but sometimes the meaning of words are also seen to have changed. When coin words of Indo-Aryan language undergoes semantic change then the word’s meaning becomes broadening or narrowing.

In Bodo such type of word cannot be found in large number. Sanskrit origin word *mɸhazɸn* (rich person) coined through Assamese is accepted in Bodo as *mahazuyɸn* by undergoing slight change in phonological shape and along with acceptance there is also semantic change. In Sanskrit *mɸhazɸn* word has a different meaning to express- man of knowledge or wisdom. But in Bodo, it expresses to any rich person. Bodo coined word *babu* <ba:bu: is from Bangla. In Bangla it means a respectful address to a gentleman of the upper and middle class or clerk, but in Bodo and Assamese, along with referring to respectful man *babu* also is to call out baby boy and though not baby any longer even to grown up son the parents call out or address them. In this field, the meaning of the word *babu* is seen to be in extension in Bodo and Assamese. Apart from this, another Sanskrit origin word *bɸn/bɸn* is in use in Bodo through Bangla. It

⁸⁷ Crystal, David (2008): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* 6th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, USA, p-428.

refers to jungle or a forest in both Bangla and Sanskrit, but in Bodo it refers to ‘fire wood’. In this this case it has to be observed that *bɔn* which means ‘forest’ or ‘jungle’ is not considered and is referred to firewood in Bodo, but firewood is co-related to forest because firewood can be procured from forest/jungle only. The word *cəuki* is received from Hindi through Assamese in Bodo. It refers the meaning of a chair or a stool in Hindi and Assamese, but in Bodo *səkhi* refers to ‘bed’. Here, there exist semantic change yet *səkhi* and chair or stools are co-related because the objects expressed in both the languages are made of wood. Sanskrit word *ɔ-svabhja* is coined in Bodo through Assamese, which means uncivilized or uncultured. But in Bodo and Assamese it is also used when angry or to scold a bad character man. While using it in Bodo and Assamese from Sanskrit, there exists semantic change.

From the above mentioned examples, there is also Hindi word *mithaj* sweet food. In Bodo, apart from sweet, this word is used to refer to any eatable food items such as *cake, biscuit, laddu jilebi chana* etc. Food items may be sweet or salty. Here, the meaning gets extended. Another Sanskrit origin word *aksasv* is also coined in Bodo through Assamese. It means demon such as *ravana* in the epic Ramayana. But in Bodo and Assamese this word refers to a person who can eat and drink in plenty. Semantic change is also seen in this case.

4.12 Lexical Reformation in Bodo

Earlier when literature was written in Bodo, then many words were newly created by observing the lexical items which are in use in various other languages and were also coined or translated from other languages. Similarly, some terms which were in use in the early age are seen to be updated or newly created at present and those updated words‘ structure and meaning are first correlated to create. Examples of how old words are newly updated are shown below:-

Old	Updated	Gloss
muŋma	bimuŋ	noun
muŋraj	muŋslaj	pronoun
t ^h ajlali	bigun	adjective
t ^h ajza	bimaɔ	verb
sanbuɣlaɔri	bimuɣk ^h ɔ	exclamation
sanraj	bisan	number
bidint ^h a	bisandi	bisandi

dazabda	baseb	suffix
bahaigijan	biruṇḍamin	technology
buhum k ^h uquraṇ	buhumlur	geography
bit ^h aṅk ^h i	sanzɔt ^h aj	planning
birgra diṇa	birk ^h ɔṇ	aeroplane
unsuqluṇ	sumuṇt ^h aj	exercise/evaluation
ɔkto	k ^h alar	date
bɔl	zuqlur	football
k ^h ant ^h al	t ^h ajp ^h luṇ	jackfruit
sila	daɔliṇ	kite

It is noteworthy that while old words are reform, new words are introduced and embraced. Older words continue to be used alongside them by numerous students, teachers, writers, intellectual and organizers.

4.13 Conclusion

In the above discussion, the impact of Morphological elements of Indo-Aryan into Bodo has been pointed out. In the Morphological level, the analysis was carried out on the coining of words from Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla and Assamese) and English in different grammatical category such as Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Adjective and Adverb in Bodo. Apart from this words are coined through various word formation processes such as Hybridization, Compounding, Blending, and Affixation which are discussed thoroughly in this chapter. Along with these, the chapter broadly discusses the Semantic changes, Loan translation from different languages, the creation of new words or neologisms through loan translation, and the reformation of old words into new in Bodo.

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