

CHAPTER-V

COINAGE THROUGH CODE MIXING AND CODE SWITCHING IN SELECT BODO LITERATURE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the Code Mixing and Code Switching in Bodo literature. This chapter concentrates on the use of borrowed words from different languages through Code Mixing and Code Switching. Bodo writers use Code Mixing and Code Switching to express their philosophy or convey their ideas effectively. Writers may use borrowed words consciously or unconsciously, repeatedly or contextually, to convey their message. Code Mixing and Code Switching happened only through the process of borrowing. In this regard R.A. Hudson (1996) has stated as *another way in which different varieties may become mixed up with each other is through the process of borrowing*⁸⁸. Code Mixing and Code Switching is a branch of Sociolinguistics which studies the relationship between language and the context of society in which it is used. This research will thoroughly examine the Code Mixing and Code Switching in Bodo written literature, exploring how and why writers incorporate words from different languages. The study will focus on select works of Poetry, Short Stories, Novels, and Dramas. It is important to note that this research will not be limited to a specific period or writer but will encompass both the old and modern periods of Bodo literature. The analysis will include selected works from both periods, without any specific boundaries or limitations.

5.2 Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is a broad field that examines the relationship between language and society. It encompasses the study of various aspects related to language and society, such as linguistic identity of social groups, societal attitudes toward language, standard and non-standard language usage, patterns and needs of language use at the national level, social varieties and levels of language, the social aspects of multilingualism, and more. Linguists have similar views on Sociolinguistics.

According to David Crystal (1985) *Sociolinguistics is a branch of linguistics which studies all aspects of the relation between language and society. Sociolinguistics studies such matter as the linguistics identify of social group, social attitude to*

⁸⁸ Hudson, R.A. (1996): *Sociolinguistics*, (2nded.). Cambridge University Press. P-58

*language, standard and non-standard of the language, the pattern and needs of national language use, social varieties and level of language, the social basis of multilingualism, an soon*⁸⁹.

Holmes (2001) states that *Sociolinguistics is the concerned with relationship between language and the context in which it is used. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social context, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning*⁹⁰.

Gumperz (1971) stated that *the language of a speech community can be analyzed both within the context of the language itself and also within the broader context of social behavior*⁹¹.

From the above definitions, it becomes clear that Sociolinguistics is mainly concerned with the study of various aspects related to language and society. It also involves the study of how language is used in different languages within different social contexts. Therefore, in this chapter, the use of coined words from different languages in Bodo literature, the context in which they are used, and why they are used will be discussed within the framework of Sociolinguistics, focusing on Code Mixing and Code Switching. It is important to note that Code Mixing and Code Switching occur in bilingual and multilingual contexts.

5.3 Bilingualism and Multilingualism

When a person can converse in two languages, he/she is considered bilingual. On the other hand, when a person can converse in more than two languages, is considered multilingual. Many people around the world are bilingual or multilingual. An individual becomes bilingual when they use more than one language for conversation in a geographical area. If an individual can speak two languages, is bilingual. If they can speak more than two languages, they are multilingual. Here is some definitions on multilingual:

David Crystal (2008) has stated multilingual as *a person who can speak two LANGUAGES- provides a pre-theoretical frame of reference for linguistic study,*

⁸⁹ Crystal, David (2008): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. (6thed.). Blackwell Publishing. USA. P-281

⁹⁰ Holmes, Janet: (2001): *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. (4thed.). Routledge. London and New York. P-1

⁹¹ Gumperz, John Joseph (1971): *Language in Social Groups*. (1sted.). Standford University Press. P-115

*especially by SOCIOLINGUSTICS, and by APPLIED LINGUISTICS involved in foreign- or second-language teaching*⁹².

According to AS Hornby (2010) in his book 'Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English' *multilingual refers speaking or using several different languages*⁹³.

India is a multilingual and multicultural country where people have been living together in society since time immemorial. This has led to a continuous exchange of language, literature, culture, and traditions. Bilingualism and multilingualism are common in India due to its diverse social conditions. The multicultural and multilingual nature of India has led to cultural openness, with people learning more than one language to communicate with each other. As a result, code mixing, whether in written or spoken form, has become a common phenomenon in Indian languages. In Bodo written literature, code mixing or code switching is also a very common phenomenon. Writers are always free in their creation of language and word usage, which creates techniques and styles in their writing. All the selected writers taken for analysis are bilingual and multilingual, conveying their feelings along with more effective, attractive, and interesting writing through code mixing and code switching. In the Bodo language, many words are adopted or adapted from different languages like Assamese, Hindi, Bangla, Sanskrit, and English. It is noteworthy that human beings have lived together since time immemorial, so it is not easy to determine the originality of words; however, the research will try to determine the origin of words to a certain extent through examples.

5.4 Code

The word "Code" refers to a system or set of rules for converting information in communication. Letters, words, sounds, images, and gestures are all used to communicate and are considered part of this code. This concept is used in the field of Sociolinguistics and is influenced by social context. A code is a sign used by speakers to express concepts, ideas, feelings, or emotions during communication, representing a style of language. People typically choose different varieties of code for daily

⁹² Crystal, David (2008): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (6thed.). Blackwell Publishing. USA. P-53

⁹³ Hornby, AS (2010): *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. (7thed). Oxford University Press. New York. P-1003

interactions in various situations. They may select a particular code or variety for discussing a specific topic, which make communication easier.

Sinaga and Hatuaeian (2020) have stated code as *Code is a term which refers to a variety. Variety is a sociolinguistics term of specific set of linguistic item or human speech pattern which we can uniquely associate with some external factor (presumably, a geographical area or social group). It is refer to language or variety of language as a code*⁹⁴.

AS Hornby (2010) stated as *'In communications', a code is a rule for converting a piece of information (eg: a letter, a word or phrase) into another form or representation not necessarily of the same sort*⁹⁵.

According to Stockwell (2007) a code is *a symbol of nationalism that is used by people to speak or communicate in a particular language, or dialect or register, or accent, or style on different occasions and for different purposes*⁹⁶.

Apart from speaking, code mixing and code switching can also be found in Media, Magazines, Poetry, Stories or Short Stories, Novels, Newspapers, Movies, Radio, Dramas, Broadcasts, and other platforms. Code mixing and code switching mainly occur when a speaker uses more than one language in communication. Many scholars and linguists have used code mixing and code switching interchangeably, but they are different in the fields of Linguistics, Communications, or Educational theory. Code Mixing means inserting a lexical item while speaking or writing, whereas Code Switching involves alternating between two different languages.

5.5 Code Mixing

When a person mixes two or more languages in communication, it is called code mixing. Code mixing occur in the form of words, phrases, clauses or sentences. Simply, code mixing is the mixing of two languages in speech.

David Crystal (2008) defines the term *code mixing as a linguistic behavior that involves the transfer of linguistic elements from one language into another*⁹⁷.

⁹⁴Sinaga, Celli Raes & Hatuaeian, and Togi, David (2020): *An Analysis of code switching used by Reza Arap on deddy Corbuzier's YouTube Channel* Journal of English Teaching as Foreign Language. Volume 6, Issue 3: December 2020, Pp-33-47. ISSN: 2459-9506.

⁹⁵ Hornby, A.S (2010): *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. (8th ed.). Oxford University Press. New York. P-273.

⁹⁶ Stockwell, Peter (2007): *Socilinguistics* 2nd ed. Routledge. London and New York. Pp- 8-9

⁹⁷ Crystal, David. : *A Dictionay of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6th ed. Blackwell Publishing. USA. P-66

According to Suwito (1996) *code mixing is the use of two or more languages by taking elements of the first language to the others consistently. The limit of code mixing located in clause-rank. So, the existence of code in every society and the other are very possible to be mixed*⁹⁸.

Another linguist Wardhaugh (1986) has stated that *code mixing occurs when conversant uses both languages at the same time to show that they change from one language to the other in the course of a single utterance*⁹⁹.

From the above definitions given by different linguists it is clear that code mixing occurs in bilingual and multilingual context.

5.5.1 Types of Code Mixing:

Code mixing is more often used by literate people than illiterate people, as it allows for faster and easier speech. Code mixing is mostly used by those engaged in various activities such as business, education, government service, companies, movies, mass media, and the internet. Additionally, code mixing always takes place in the day-to-day life of people as science and technology have advanced.

Muysken (2000:1) has classified code mixing into three types: These are

(a) Insertion

The word 'insertion' comes from the word 'insert'. The meaning of this word is put or fit into something. Muysken (2000) states that *the process of code mixing understood as something similarly with borrowing, it means that insertion of a lexical item or phrasal item inserted into the specific structure of language. In the insertion pattern, the lexical borrowing is limited to one lexical unit. In some languages, insertion mostly consists of adverbial phrases, single noun, and determiner + noun combinations. Insertion results constituent from one language into a structure of another language*¹⁰⁰.

(b) Alteration

Muysken (2000) states that *in the alternation pattern, both languages occur alternately, each with their own structure. It is defined as the switching between structures from separate languages. The boundary of the switches may be a clause, or some peripheral element such as a discourse marker or*

⁹⁸ Suwito (1996). *Sosiolinguistik*. Surakarta, Indonesia: Sebelas Maret University Press. P-96

⁹⁹ Wardhaugh, Ronald (1986): *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. (1sted.) Blackwell Publishing. P-103

¹⁰⁰ Muysken, Pieter (2000) : *Bilingual speech A typology of code mixing* (2nd ed) Cambridge University Press, UK, Pp-3-5

*tag form. Alternation takes place between utterances in a turn or between turns*¹⁰¹.

(c) Congruent Lexicalization

It is different from insertion and alteration. Muysken (2000) states that in *congruent lexicalization the grammatical structure is shared by languages A and B, and words from both languages are inserted more or less randomly. Both languages contribute to the grammatical structure of the sentence, which in many instances is shared*¹⁰².

Code Mixing occurs at the word and phrase level, involving a dominant- base language and a minor-supra or source language.

5.6 Code Mixing in Written Bodo Literature

The Bodo people have naturally become bilingual and multilingual by living in the multilingual state of Assam since time immemorial. Therefore, besides in speech, code mixing and code switching can be found in the written literature of the Bodos since ancient times. In Bodo written literature, it is observed that code mixing and code switching are used with Assamese, Hindi, Bangla and English languages, as most of the Bodo writers are bilingual or multilingual. So, they mixed or borrowed the language to reveals some of their feeling and to make their writing more attractive. Most of the Bodo writers had studied in Bangla, Assamese medium, as the Bodo language was not the 'Medium of Instruction' before 1963. Perhaps, this might also be another reason for code mixing and code switching in the writings of earlier writers. Additionally, in Assam, languages such as Assamese, Hindi, Bangla, English, etc., are prevalent, and the influence of this is reflected in Bodo written literature, where code mixing and code switching are often found. Therefore, analyzing the code mixing and code switching in Bodo written literature is essential because it is also a subject that requires discussion in sociolinguistics and linguistics.

Bodo written literature was established in the early nineteenth century. To speak of Bodo written literature is to recall the classification of Bodo literature era. In the ancient era, Bodo written literature is seen to be classified into two parts such as (a) ***Bibar Age*** and (b) ***ᱠᱟᱱᱦᱚᱴᱚᱝ Age***. The ***Bibar age*** is assumed to have lasted from 1920 to

¹⁰¹ Muysken, Pieter (2000) : *Bilingual speech A typology of code mixing* (2nd ed) Cambridge University Press, UK. p-5

¹⁰² Ibid. p-8

1940, and the Olongbar age is assumed to have lasted from 1930-1950¹⁰³. Nowadays, *Bibar* and *olongbar age* are collectively referred to as *Guzam muga* (Old age). Further, since the birth of “**Bodo Sahitya Sabha**” on 16 November 1952 until now is considered modern age. The entry into modern age brought many changes in Bodo literature because many new writers, with their new thoughts, new techniques, ideas, and new societal condition have written many Prose, Poetry, Short Story, Novel, Dramas and have tried to broaden the field of Bodo literature.

5.6.1 Early Phase (1920-1951)

During the old age of Bodo literature, some Bodo writers began incorporating words from Indo-Aryan, European, and other languages into their writing. It is important to note that during this period, the Bodo language did not have its own script or ‘Medium of Instruction’ for education. Therefore, those who seeking education had to learn through Assamese and Bangla mediums and used Assamese, Bengali scripts for their literature. It is worth mentioning that they also followed their spelling system. Poetry was the most prominent form of creation during the old era. In addition to poetry, attempts at writing songs, dramas, prose, and short stories are also seen in the old era. In the literature of the old era, poetry, songs, hymns, fables, some translated dramas, and a short story named *Abari* can be found. However, novels and short story books were not created during that time. In the old era, the drama *Abari* by Ishan Muchahary is found in the magazine *Hathorkhi Hala*. Therefore, this short story with code-mixed elements will be discussed here. It is worth mentioning that apart from *Abari*, there were a few other short stories in the old era, but they did not fully depict the characteristics typically found in short stories.

In the early phase of poetry, works like Satish Chandra Basumatary's *Bibar*, Rupnath Brahma and Modaram Brahma's *Khonthaj Methaj* ‘Poem and Song’ (1923), Prasanna Kumar Boro Khakhlyar's *Bathunam Bujikhaguni Gidu* (1920), Promod Chandra Brahma's *olongbar* (1938), and *Hathorkhi Hala* (1939) will be discussed to analyze how the authors used Code Mixed words from different languages in their poetry and songs. It is important to mention that not all poems from these poetry books will be discussed; only one or two stanzas from each book will be analyzed. However, the

¹⁰³ Lahary, Manaranjan: *Boro Thunlaini Zarimin*, Kokrajhar, Alaiyaron Publishers, 1991. P-30.

focus will be on the borrowed and coined words from different languages in all the selected poems.

Among short stories, Ishan Muchahary's *Abari* will be examined, and for Dramas, Darendra Nath Basumatary's *Sonani Maibon*, Satish Chandra Basumatary's *Dyrsun zuhulaw*, and Bhaben Phwrwngiri's *bonni Phaw* have been selected for research. It is noteworthy to mention that during that era, most Bodo Dramas were translated from Bengali Dramas.

5.6.1.1 Code Mixing in Poetry

In the old age, the meaning of Bodo poems was not tough to understand; it was easy. The ideas of patriotism, classical, mystical, social awareness and romantic character are reflected in the poetry of old literature. The scripts used in those times for writing poems were Assamese and Bangla, but the language used was Bodo. Therefore, it is possible that writers of that time coined words from other languages. Apart from this, there could be various other reasons for code mixing in poems. To discuss this further, stanzas from poems are provided below:

- (i) The first Bodo magazine, called *Bibar* (flower), was published by *Boro Chatra Sanmilani* (1919) a student organization in manuscript form in 1920. This magazine was initially published in handwritten form in 1920 and later printed as a book in 1924 under the editorship by Satish Chandra Basumatary. It was mainly published in eight issues from 1924 to 1925. The 'Bibar' magazine was trilingual, i.e., in Bodo, Assamese, and Bangla, with the script also in Assamese and Bangla and unmodified spelling. According to some critics of Bodo literature, this magazine sparked a renaissance in Bodo literature at that time. The magazine published poetry and prose on themes of religion, social, culture, morality, and advice to the Bodo community regarding education.

In the *Bibar* magazine, some poems contain words from Indo-Aryan and European languages that have been coined into Bodo language through Assamese. Such as:

“shasthoraw bunbon ziuya thuiya,
bonni de haya khali muia;
deha zoblano ziua thajo
ishwarbon gorb loko lajo!

apha ishuyarni sargɔ
raizɔaw thanɔɔ haya t^hɔja
zeraw t^hap^hɔnanɔbaj t^hanajɔ,
nɔɔnɔ bɔr sadiɔ dinɔi ajɔ”

(‘Bibar’ Sitanath phonɔbaj, p-27)

English Rendering: The scriptures say the soul never dies,
 Our bodies are merely an illusion;
 The body fades away, but the soul remains,
 Reunited with the Divine!
 Yet we cannot reach
 The heaven of the Almighty Father,
 We must stay where we are bound to stay.
 Today, I have prayed for blessings for you.

As mentioned in the lines of the poetry above, some religious texts state that even after a person's body dies, the soul does not perish. The body may be destroyed and turned to ashes, but the soul does not cease to exist. The poet refers to the belief that the soul joins heaven after death. It is also mentioned that the place where the soul meets God is unknown to anyone and cannot be reached by anyone. In the above-mentioned stanza of the poem, words like *shasthɔr* ‘a work or book dealing with religion’, *deha* ‘health’, *mujiya* ‘supernatural power’ *ishuyar* ‘God’, *sargɔ* ‘heaven’, *rajɔɔ* ‘kingdom’, and *buɔr* ‘blessings’ have been coined through code mixing. Here, *shasthɔr*, *mujiya* and *deha* are coined from Sanskrit words *śāstrā*¹⁰⁴, *māyā*¹⁰⁵ and Hindi *deh*¹⁰⁶. Further, *ishuyar* is coined from the Sanskrit word *i:svar*¹⁰⁷ ‘God’ *sargɔ* from the Sanskrit word *svarg*¹⁰⁸ heaven *rajɔɔ* is Assamese *raiz*¹⁰⁹ originally Skt. *rajya*

‘a kingdom’ and *buɔr* from Hindi *vara*¹¹⁰ ‘blessings’ showing a mix of words from different languages in the poems. The phonemes of the coined words mentioned were originally highly phonemic but were adapted through apabhramsa forms in the poems, as is clear from the example above. In the Bodo language, the word "obonglaori"

¹⁰⁴ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. P-949

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p-807

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p-512

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p-110

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p-1050

¹⁰⁹ Barua, Hem Chandra (2016): *The Assamese-English Dictionary Hemkosha*. (17th ed). Hemkosha Prakashan. Guwahati. p-1149

¹¹⁰ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. p-707

already exists for the Sanskrit-origin word "is̥r" (God), which the poet used. It is possible that the writer intentionally used this word. It is important to mention that the spelling used in the poem is slightly different, where the special Bodo character /ʉ/ is not visible but appears similar to Assamese, as Assamese does not use the /ʉ/ sound. Additionally, in the Bibar magazine (8th issue), many Bodo poems contain words from Indo-Aryan and other languages that have been coined through code mixing. Examples include ra:ja: Skt. > Ass. r̥za > raza, a:si:rva:d Skt. > asirbad, din Skt. > din, jna:na Skt. > gijan, ka:m Hd. > k^hamani, school Eng. > iskh̥ol, pu:ja: Skt. > p^huza, haza:r P. > hazar, dukkha > duk^hu Hd., sa:stra Skt. > sasth̥or etc.

(ii) In the early phase of Bodo literature, Prasanna Kumar Boro Khakhlyar published the book of poems titled "**Bathu Nam Buikhaguni Gidu**" in 1920. This poem book consists of a total of six poems. The book is edited on the theme of religious anthology and worship of God 'Bathu Buṛaj'. Generally, it resembles the Bwisagu song, but upon thorough reading, it is understood that it is a prayer to Bathu Buṛai. The script used in the poems is Bangla, and the spelling is similar to the dialect of South Goalpara. In the poem "Guru Khulumnai Gidul the Indo-Aryan word *guru*:¹¹¹ Skt. > *guru*'a teacher' and *gi*:¹¹² Skt. > *gidu* 'song' are coined. Additionally, the following stanza from the poem exemplifies this:

t^huṛibulanu bik^hṇ, k^horge sayṇk^hṇ langun
k^horgeyṇ t^hangun bi, p^hap^hu p^hurk^hṇ gari
p^hap^hup^hurk^hṇ n̄ruk^hṇ t^hanṇ nan̄a h̄ori
z̄numni zi duk^hu ar zanaṇ n̄nya
ar unṇ biha z̄num zanaṇ n̄nya

(Bathunam Buikhaguni gidu p-19)

English Rendering: Only death will take him above to heaven,
 Where he will dwell, free from the sinners.
 God won't let the sinners remain in hell
 The sorrow of birth will be no more
 And there will be no rebirth for him after that.

From the example of the poetry above, it is understood that the poet urges people to always worship *Bathwu Buṛaj*. This is because those who worship *Bathwu* are taken to heaven by *Bathwu* immediately after death, even if they have sinned. They are not

¹¹¹McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. p-271

¹¹² Ibid. p-266

reborn, nor do they experience the suffering of life. However, the poet says that those who do not worship Bathwu go directly to hell. Here, it can be seen that *k^horge* is derived from Sanskrit *svarg*¹¹³ which has been used in a highly corrupted form. Another word, *p^hap^hu* ‘sin’, is also used in the poem, derived from Assamese *pap* Sanskrit *pāp*¹¹⁴ showing a phonetic change. Following that, the words used in this stanza of the poem are *n^oruk^h* ‘hell’, *h^ori* ‘a name of Vishnu’, *z^onum* birth, which are derived from Sanskrit origins *narak*¹¹⁵, *hari*¹¹⁶, and *janm*¹¹⁷ respectively, with a phonetic change. It is noteworthy that it is hard to find an exact Bodo word for the *phaphu*, *khorge*, *narak* and *hari* borrowed words used in the stanza of the poem. Therefore, the poet perhaps selected words from other languages to express his thought, philosophy and used them in the poem.

Apart from the words mentioned above, borrowed words from different languages can be found in this book. For example *būrhā* Hd. > braai, *nām* Hd. > nam, *pr̥thvī* Skt. > prithimbi, *iswar* Skt. > isor, *būrhī* Hd. > buri, *nāk phul* > nak bali, *pūjā* Skt. > puza, *simānā* > sima, Beng., *agyan* Skt. > ogijan, *bhakta* Skt. > bhakta, *dhən* Skt. > dñon Ass. > dhon, *mān* Skt. > man, *takā* Hd. > thkha, *satya yug* Skt. > suṣṭiya zug, *bāgh rājā* Hd. > bag raza, *pūṇya* Skt. > punya, *samsār* Hd. > saṅsar, *hukm* A. > huk^hum etc.

It is mentionable that the borrowing or coining of words in the poems may be different.

(ii) Rupnath Brahma and Modaram Brahma edited a book titled "**K^hont^haj Met^haj**"

(poetry and song) in 1923. This book consists of eight poems and twenty-six songs. The main aim of "**K^hont^haj Met^haj**" is to raise awareness about education and religion among the Bodo. The poems and songs reflect the philosophy and logic of God, as well as metaphysical philosophy. The themes of "**K^hont^hai Met^haj**" are easy to understand, not hard. In the poems and songs, writers coined words from other languages. An example of this can be seen in the stanza of *Añni Khuṇina* by Rupnath Brahma, such as:

duk^huni s^omaw sinta zabola
n^oṇlaj s^ona s^hanti h^ojo:

¹¹³ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. p- 1050

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p- 623

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p-544

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p-1061

¹¹⁷ Ibid. p-356

gɔsɔkʰɔu hɔmtanɔ hajabɔla

aɲni gɔsɔkʰɔu sɔraŋhɔɔ: /

habab sɔna habab dɔrbi habab aɲni ziu.

(Khonthaj Methaj P-4)

English Rendering: In times of sorrow, when anxiety strikes
You, my dear, bring peace to me:
When my mind finds no rest
You bring light to my troubled soul:
Ah, dear, ah beloved, ah my life.

From the above stanza of the poem, it is understood that in times of sorrow when he (poet) becomes sad and heartbroken, his *khuyina* ‘unmarried girl’ (referring God) gives him comfort by enlightening his mind and bringing peace, as referred to in the poem. The word *khuyina* is borrowed from Sanskrit *kanyā*¹¹⁸. Further *dukhu* used in this stanza is derived from Hindi *duḥkḥa*¹¹⁹ ‘sorrow’ and *sɔm* ‘time’ is derived from the Sanskrit word *samay*¹²⁰ both used in Bodo with phonetic changes. Apart from this, in the poem, the words *sinta* ‘a strong feeling for anxiety’, *sɔna* ‘gold’ and *shanty* ‘peace’ are used with phonetic changes, derived from the Sanskrit words *cintā*¹²¹ thought, *Skt. svarṇa*¹²² > *Ass. xɔna*, *Skt. śānti*¹²³ respectively. It is worth mentioning that there is appropriate words for these in Bodo even though the poet coined them to beatify the sentence referring his thought or expression in the poem. Additionally, in this book itself, there are examples of using code mixing in Rupnath Brahma’s poem *lekha rongbla gunda zaya*. Such as:

lekha shɔlɔŋbɔla gijan mɔnɔ--

lekha rɔŋbɔla gunda zanaj—

buyuɲi sɔyɲi tʰakʰa zanaj—

be kɔtʰakʰɔu bɔha mɔna?

apʰapʰɔr, ajpʰɔr, bɔha mɔna?

gɔrɔŋa bɔɔbɔ bidi hɔnɔ —

¹¹⁸ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. P-165

¹¹⁹ Ibid. P-502

¹²⁰ Ibid. p-985

¹²¹ Ibid. p-314

¹²² McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. p-1050

¹²³ Ibid. p-946

gunda zanaj^hɔu sɔr hɔna?

habab nɔɲsɔr bɔha mɔna ?

(lek^ha rɔɲbla gunda zaja p-5-6)

English Rendering: Books bring knowledge when we learn from them.
But not knowing how to read leads to becoming a thug—
Killing, stabbing, stealing money—
Where did this come from?
From fathers, from mothers, where did this come from?
The learned ones all say the same—
Who teaches someone to become a thug?
Ah, where did you all learn this from?

From the stanza above, it is understood that the poet Rupnath Brahma addresses certain misunderstandings within Bodo society, such as the belief that studying turns people into thugs who then extort money through threats. He clarifies that this is never true, urging the Bodo people to dispel this notion. He emphasizes that education brings knowledge and earnestly requests all Bodo people to pursue education.

In the above poem, the word *gijan* 'knowledge' is derived from the Sanskrit word *jna:na* adapted through Assamese and used in Bodo. Additionally, the words *gunda* 'rascal' and *thakha* 'coin or money' used in phonetically changed forms in the poem are derived from the Hindi words *guṇḍa*:¹²⁴ and *taka*:¹²⁵. It is worth mentioning that poet Rupnath Brahma studied in a Bangla medium school, which likely enabled him to incorporate Indo-Aryan language words into his writing. In Bodo, there is no exact word for "gunda" but for "knowledge" and "money," there are words such as "akhɔl" and "raɲ," respectively. Despite this, the poet chose to use the words he found most to make his writing more attractive.

Apart from the above-mentioned quotation from the poem, there are many coined words from different languages by different writers that are used in the poems in the book "khonthai methai". (Poem and song) such as *sukh* Skt.> *suk^hu*, *dukh* Hd.> *dukhu*, *gyan* Skt.> *giyan*, *agyan* Skt.> *ɔgiyan*, *judā* P.> *zuda*, *iswar* Skt.> *isɔr*, *samsār* Hd.> *sɔɲsar*, *garīb* A.> *gɔrib*, *dhən* Skt.> *dɔhɔn*, *svarth* Skt.> *sɔrth*, *khvuśī* P.> *khuśī* Hd. > *khusi*, *rājyā* Skt. > *raiɲ* Ass. > *raizɔ*, *brahm* Skt.> *brahma*, *nagar* Skt.> *nɔgɔr*, *phukhuri* Ass.> *phukhri*,

¹²⁴McGregor, R.S (2019): Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. p- P- 267

¹²⁵ Ibid. P-399

samāj Skt.>sōmaz, dina Hd.>din, bhakti Skt.>bhakti, vidyā Skt.>bidha, buddhi Skt.>budhi, dharm Skt.>dhōrōm, yug Skt.>zug, mulk A. >mulug, gūrū Skt.>guru, kōpal Ass.> khaphal, rānī Hd.> rani, lajjā Hd.>lazi, kanyā Skt.>khṛina, guṇḍā Hd.>gunda, sāgar Skt.>sagor, janm Skt.>zōnōm, svarṇa Skt.>sōna etc.

(iv) In the early period, the Bodo magazine "**ᱠᱟᱨᱢᱟ**" was edited by Promod Chandra Brahma in 1938, and another magazine called "**Hathorkhi Hala**" was published in 1939. Along with him, writers like Ishan Chandra Muchahary, Ananda Ram Muchahary, Kali Kumar Lahary, and Darendra Nath Basumatary wrote prose and poetry based on themes such as nature, romance, religion, social and culture. In the old age, in the poems of Ishan Chandra Muchahary, the first creator of romantic poems in Bodo known as the John Keats of the Bodos. Many coined words from different languages can be found in the *Hathorkhi Hala* book. For example:

*suk^hu duk^hua sōman zajnijaw,
gahaj gōzōua sōman zajnijaw,
d^hōni mōnt^hija gōrib mōnt^hija,
zajk^hi zaya maya maya;
gasibō sōman zajo zajnijaw
gōt^hōjbari ajo! gōt^hōjbari*

(guṭṭṭṭibari p- 9)

English Rendering:

For the one who sees joy and sorrow as equal,
For the one who sees high and low as equal,
Who knows neither rich nor poor,
Who knows that everything is just an illusion;
All becomes equal for the one—
Oh, graveyard! graveyard!

From the above stanza of the poem, it can be understood that the poet conveys through the poem that all human beings, no matter how rich or poor, happy or sad they are, or whatever supernatural powers they believe in, become equal in the graveyard. From the given stanza, it can be seen that some Indo-Aryan words in the poem are coined by the poet. In this quotation, *sukhu* ‘happy’, *dukhu* ‘sad’, *sōman* ‘equal’, *dhūni* ‘rich’, *gūrib* ‘poor’, *maya maya* ‘supernatural power’ and *bari*

‘place’ are example of coined word. Here, originally *sukh*¹²⁶ Skt. > *sukhu*, *dukh*¹²⁷ Hd. > *dukhu*, *samān*¹²⁸ Skt. > *soman*, *dhən*¹²⁹ Skt. > *dhuqn*, *māyā*¹³⁰ Skt. *maya* and *bāri* Bang. > *bari* and these coined words are used by the poets to refer the feelings of his thought in the poem which are adapted via Assamese in Bodo.

Promod Chandra Brahma is also one of the great poets of “**Olongbar Era**”. He wrote many poems in *Hathorkhi Hala*. He has used code mixing in many words in his poems. An example of this can be seen in the following stanza. For example:

gəhəzəŋ mənə gəzəzəŋ mənə
*buddhi*zəŋbə p^hut mənədaŋə
bəzəjt^hə mənəbawnə bi rəzikəulaj?
giyan ? *bibəto bininə dəŋnəj mani* ?
k^hərom ? *mabəzəi mawnə binədi bisk^hərom*
sanbəla sanzagəu duk^hulə zəŋha ese dəŋ
bhak^htizəŋ gələj det bizəŋsə mənna mənə?
 (Bajdi Boron p-50)

English Rendering:

Not by strength, nor by heart,
 Not by wisdom can one make a start.
 How then can the Beloved be found?
 Knowledge? It's all His, all around.
 Action? But even that bears poison's stain,
 Thinking only brings more sorrow, more pain.
 Through devotion alone, perhaps we'll see—
 We find Him, or maybe He finds we.

The above stanza is extracted from Promod Chandra Brahma's poem *Baidi Boron*. In this poem, Sanskrit words *buddhi*¹³¹ ‘intelligence’ and *bhakti*¹³² ‘religious devotion’ are used in their intact form. Additionally, the words *giyan* ‘knowledge’, *khərom* ‘action’, and ‘bis’ ‘poison’ are derived from Sanskrit ‘jñāna’, *karma*¹³³ and

¹²⁶ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. p-1022

¹²⁷ Ibid p- 502

¹²⁸ Ibid p- 987

¹²⁹ Ibid p-521

¹³⁰ Ibid p-807

¹³¹ Ibid. P-741

¹³² Ibid. p-755

¹³³ Ibid.p-175

*viṣa*¹³⁴ respectively used in the poem. Apart from Sanskrit word *duḥkh*¹³⁵ ‘sorrow’ is used as *dukhu* in the poem. From the above stanza of the poem, it is understood that the poet yearns for God but couldn't find Him even after trying. He is anxious to know how to reach God. The poet also implies that everything, whether happiness, sorrow, knowledge, or ignorance, is in the hands of God. The poet, in his quest for God, becomes anxious and sad, and questions arise in his mind about whether he will attain God through devotion or not. It is worth mentioning that the poet borrowed words as needed to express his feelings and philosophy clearly in the poem.

5.6.1.2 Code Mixing in Short Story

As previously discussed, in the old era of Bodo literature, the only short story is Ishan Muchahary's “Abari”. Therefore, some examples of code mixing from this story have been selected for discussion. For instance:

- (i) *abariya sengrani zebɔ mit^hizɔbbaj ishwarnaw zebɔ dɔhaj lananɔi buɲbaj, ap^ha ishwar, zɔnɔm hobaj aɲk^hɔu nɔngɔ nat^haj mɔzajɔi nɔɲa. dinɔj aɲni ziuni zulik^hɔubɔ nɔɲɔ mɔzajɔi zitkhɔnanɔj hɔnɔ babaj.* (Abari p-18)

English Rendering: Abari has learned everything about the suitor. Taking God's name, she said, "Father, God gave me life but not prosperity. Today, you don't even want to properly select a partner for my marriage”.

The above-mentioned sentence is taken from the short story ‘Abari’. Abari is an 18-year-old damsel, but one of her legs is slightly lame. Despite this, she is not dependent on anyone. She is skilled in handloom work and household chores. When Abari reached the age for marriage, her family and brothers arranged for her to marry a lame boy with a bent back who was unable to do any work. Although her mother objected, the villagers insisted that the match should be equally yoked. Therefore, her elder brother, Uli, accepted the proposal and finalized the marriage arrangement. Later, Abari learns everything about the boy and is heartbroken. She laments to God, saying that while He created her, He didn't do it properly, and now, at the time of marriage, He has given her such an unsuitable match.

In this passage, the words ‘ishwar’, ‘zɔnɔm’ are borrowed from Sanskrit *īśvar*¹³⁶ and *janm*¹³⁷ which in Bodo mean ‘ɔbɔɲlawri’ (almighty) and ‘azajnaj’ (birth). Despite

¹³⁴ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK..p-931

¹³⁵ Ibid.p-501

¹³⁶ Ibid P-110

¹³⁷ Ibid. p-356

having exact equivalents in Bodo, the author has used these Sanskrit words through Assamese in the story. This observation shows that such words are frequently used in Bodo, which is likely why the author intentionally incorporated them.

- (ii) *bimani k^hugayaw raw p^huⁱiyak^hisuⁱ abarini bibdi sɔɲnajakaw bik^ha gawbaj sanbaj bijɔ, bibɔni haba zayuⁱ sayaw binanawni asan lak^hi naiya gajri zabaj, **pap**ni p^haw zabaj zɔbɔt **duk^hu** mɔnt^haw zɔɲni be **k^hamaniya** abarini **laziya** p^han^ziya bibadi sɔɲnaja gajri zayak^huⁱ. (Abari p-19)*

English Rendering: Abari's mother was speechless and heartbroken by her daughter's questioning. Accepting the bangle for the younger sister in place of Abari's marriage felt wrong and sinful. This duty was very sorrowful for them.

However, Abari's bold questioning did not seem improper to her.

One day, a young man, accompanied by young and elderly people from the Jiyaguri village, comes with a marriage proposal for Abari's younger sister, Maiphri. He clips the bangle on the house's veranda as a symbol of the proposal. Despite being the eldest sister in the house, Abari questions her mother about why the bangle was accepted without consulting her. However, her mother remains silent and does not reply because the marriage proposal had been accepted for her younger sister, Maiphri. Thinking that accepting the proposal for her younger sister, especially when the elder sister's marriage had not taken place, was a sinful act, the mother feels sorrowful deep down.

In this, the words 'pap'(sin), 'dukhk' (sorrow) from Sanskrit, and 'kam' (action, or act), 'lajja' (shy or shame) from Hindi have been borrowed. In this, the words *pap* 'sin', *dukhu* 'sorrow', from Sanskrit word *pāp*¹³⁸, *duḥkh*¹³⁹ and *kam* 'action or act' *lajja* 'shy or shame' from Hindi *kām*¹⁴⁰ *lajjā*¹⁴¹ have been borrowed. In Bodo, there are already words like 'daha' for 'dukhu'(sorrow) and 'haba' for 'kam'(action or act or work) but appropriate words for 'pap' and 'lajja' are not easily found. The author coined the words that best fit the overall philosophy of the story to make it more realistic. In addition to these, the story also includes coined words like 'kɔtha', 'ishwar', 'zɔnɔm', 'buɾai', 'dukhu', 'kaŋgan', 'lekha', 'sɔna', 'sukh', and 'khusi'.

¹³⁸ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK.. p-623

¹³⁹ Ibid. p-501

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. p-190

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p-891

5.6.1.3 Code Mixing in Drama

In the old era, alongside poetry, dramas were also created. Many published and unpublished drama books were written by Bodo youth dramatists during that time. This discussion will focus on how words from different languages were code-mixed and code-switched in the dramas of the old era. In the old era, dramas such as Satish Chandra Basumatary's "Duṛsuṇ zuḥuḥlaw" Darendra Nath Basumatary's "Sṇani Maibaṇ" (Khuṇṇaṇ 5 Act), and Bhaben Phuṛṇṇgiri's "ṇṇṇni Phaṇ" prominently featured dialogues with code-mixed words from different Indo-Aryan languages. This discussion will explore how these words were integrated into the dialogues of these three dramas.

- (i) *rṇmali: k^habardar, p^hap^hi^hiya. ese dawgablanuṇ muṇṇuṇ bik^hhajaw agan. lazija nuṇ, muṇider gumgrani p^hisa zananuṇibuy razk^huṇrik^huṇ asa p^harinuṇ? lazija nuṇ, baṇgalni ap^hak^hi suḥlananuṇi baṇgalni harijaw taṇnanuṇi bṇṇ hinzawk^huṇ nanzap^huṇinuṇ ?* (Sṇani Maibaṇ P-6)

English Rendering: Beware, you scoundrel! Move a little more and you'll find my feet on your chest. Don't you feel ashamed? Being the son of an elephant caretaker, yet desiring a princess? Aren't you ashamed of trying to win over a Bodo girl while living among Muslims and licking their shoes?

The above example illustrates the use of code-mixing techniques. The dialogue uses words like *pāpī*¹⁴² 'sinful', *lajjā*¹⁴³ 'shame' *rāj*¹⁴⁴ 'royalty' *āśā*¹⁴⁵ 'hope' which are mainly borrowed from Sanskrit and Hindi origins. It is important to note that, except for 'papi' and 'lajja', Bodo doesn't have exact equivalents for these meanings, but for 'raz' and 'asa,' Bodo has the words 'khuṇṇhaj' (royalty) and 'miziṇ' (hope). The author likely used code-mixing to create emphasis and draw readers' attention. In the drama, Rṇmali, a princess, is forced by the Muslim Nawab's commander, Dulabuṇ, to marry him. However, Rṇmali rebukes him harshly, saying, "*Despite being the son of a poor elephant caretaker, you have no shame in abandoning your community, converting to the Muslim community, and desiring a Bodo girl*". When the author has Rṇmali deliver this rebuke, it is clear that code-mixing is used to express his feelings

¹⁴² McGregor, R.S (2019): Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. P-623

¹⁴³ Ibid. p-881

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p-860

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.p-96

accurately and to align the dialogue with the situation, whether the Bodo words exist or not.

- (ii) *Sondibur: (chalam lananuḡi) zṇab! zuḡbur k^hamani guṇanṇ naṇnanuḡi nuṇṇ^haṇni rṇzapa^hunajk^huḡu adra k^halamnaj zabaj. Be kashork^huḡu map^h huḡ zṇab.* (Sonani Maibaṇ P-23)

English Rendering: Sondibur: (saluting) Janab! A very important matter has been left incomplete because of your entertainment. Please forgive this fault, Janab.

In the above example, the author has code-mixed the words 'janab', 'kham,' 'qasur,' and 'maf' within the sentence. It's important to note that these words are not borrowed from a single language. Primarily, they are borrowed from Arabic: *janāb*¹⁴⁶ 'your honour', *qasūr*¹⁴⁷ 'fault', *māf*¹⁴⁸ 'forgiven' and Hindi *kām*¹⁴⁹ 'work' or 'action'. This sentence is taken from the drama "Sonani Maibang." In the drama, Sondibur is a Bodo but serves as a Muslim commander under Nawab Hosen Ali. One day, Sondibur brings news of the Maibang kingdom while Hosen Ali is enjoying himself in the royal palace. Due to arriving accidentally during this time, Sondibur first apologizes to the Muslim king before proceeding with his message. Although the author narrates the drama in Bodo, he uses Arabic words like 'zonab,' 'kashor,' and 'maph' in the dialogue, despite the existence of equivalent Bodo words, to enhance the writing's glamour and make the drama more attractive. Additionally, it feels like the author code-mixed these words to match the atmosphere of the Muslim king's court.

- (iii) *Durṣuṇ: t^hu huṃbla narza guṛa nuḡuṛaw dṇl buḡuḡuḡ. p^huṛza p^hisap^hra rṇzat^huḡsuḡi.* (Durṣuṇ zuḡuḡlaw p-2)

English Rendering: Durṣuṇ: Let's go then, Narza Hujur, and let the citizens in the city celebrate with drums.

The above statement is taken from the drama 'Durṣuṇ zuḡuḡlaw'. In this statement, the words *nagar*¹⁵⁰ > *nuḡuṛ* 'city/town', *prajā*¹⁵¹ > *phurza* 'people of the state' from Sanskrit and *ḡhol*¹⁵² > *dṇl* 'drum' from Hindi are code mixed. In the drama, on the day of King Durṣuṇ zuḡuḡlaw's wedding to Queen Rṇphali, he talks to the citizens and elders of the kingdom. During this time, the queen has the maidens of the kingdom

¹⁴⁶McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59thed). Oxford University Press. UK. p-356

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.p-182

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.p-806

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. p-190

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. p-540

¹⁵¹ Ibid.p-654

¹⁵² Ibid.p-430

dance. Hearing this, the king orders the citizens to celebrate and have drums played throughout the kingdom. The citizens are given food and drink, and everyone dances everywhere to music and drums. The dramatist seems to use Indo-Aryan words to enhance the weight of the sentence. Additionally, it is possible that the Bodo language may not have had appropriate words, prompting this usage.

- (iv) *Indisri: harsinuyi ok^hraŋ najdaw p^hat^hal najgɔŋ k^halamnanuyi minihay gabhay ma muɲduyŋ haj bazuyi nisli?* (Dursuɲ zuɲuɲlaw p-21)

English Redering: Indisri: Sister-in-law Nisli, what are you gaining by looking up at the sky and down at hell, smiling a little and seeming like you want to cry?

In this example, Satish Chandra Basumatary has Code Mixed the Sanskrit word *pātāl*¹⁵³ > *p^hat^hal* which means hell. This statement is taken from the drama ‘Dursuɲ zuɲuɲlaw’. In the drama, Queen Rɔŋphali reflects on how a person's luck is never constant. Today, those who have wealth, property, money, and status may be seen crying in sorrow over trivial matters, but a day will come when they will lack nothing and will be seen living joyfully with laughter and smiles. She takes herself as an example because there was a time in her life when she was an orphan with no one, surviving by begging. However, later she became the queen of King Dursuɲ zuɲuɲlaw of Agraŋ. While deeply contemplating this, Indisri comes in and delivers the above dialogue. To express this sentiment, the author used an original Sanskrit word, as there is no exact equivalent in Bodo.

- (v) *Mehersin: k^harnanuyi boha gɔnuɲ silagaŋ, hɔm mabar ak^hajni hat^hera. Indisri zeruyibuɲ da hɔgar be buɲmap^huɲrk^huɲu.* (Dursuɲ zuɲuɲlaw p-68)

English Rendering: Mehersing: Where do you think you can escape to, Silagang?

Quickly grab your weapon. Indisri, don't let go of these goats no matter what.

In the above example, the author has code-mixed the word **hat^her** which is originally Hindi word *hat^hiyār*¹⁵⁴ meaning weapons (of war). This sentence is excerpted from the drama ‘Dursuɲ zuɲuɲlaw’ When the Naga army attacked the Agraŋ kingdom, General Mehersing played a leading role and cornered the Naga soldiers, Silagang and Zwibwr, driving them away in every possible way. Here, author used the term **hather** in the influence of Aryan language.

¹⁵³ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK.. p-621

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. p-1057

- (vi) Raza: u:, sohainuq halija ; ma ese zuṅblawnaj mōhōra nuṅni ! k^hint^ha, k^hint^ha sūinaj sūr **muṃnt^huṛ** guṛuṅ hinzaw nuṅ? (Obōṅni phaw P-41)

English Rendering: Raza: Uh; this is unbearable; what a radiant face you have! Tell me, tell me, beautiful girl, which mantra expert are you?

In the above example, the Sanskrit word mantra¹⁵⁵> muṁtʰɯr meaning sacred verse or text, is seen to be code-mixed. This example is taken from the drama "ᵛəᵛŋni pʰaw". In the drama, King Chithangpa of Shanthipuri is a righteous king who always prays to God. However, one day, while hunting, he becomes caught in a conspiracy by King Daphor of Muga. During his hunt, he is surprised to see the glowing face of a girl named Muhini in the forest and asks her identity. In this instance, it is observed that there is no appropriate Bodo word equivalent to muṁtʰɯr (referring to a glowing face), so the author likely used this word in the dialogue

- (vii) *K^huip^hud: suami, gɔt^hɔ Amarsiŋni k^huɪt^hak^huɸu k^huɸnananuɸi nuɸŋni guɸsuɸya eɸebuɸ gabk^haŋak^hisuɸi? Amarsiŋat^hɔ aŋɸilɔ nɔŋa nuɸt^haŋɸibuɸ. (Obɔŋni phaw P-61)*

English Rendering: Troublesome husband, didn't your heart feel even a little sorrow after hearing about beloved son Amarsing? Amarsing is not just mine but yours too. The use of the word 'suami' in the sentence is clear; it is a Sanskrit word meaning 'husband'. The statement is quoted from the drama "Obongni Phaw". In the drama, King Chitrangpha banishes his son Amarsing and his first wife, Queen Khuqiphud, to the forest due to Queen Muhini's manipulations. However, Queen Muhini blinds Amarsing, causing great sorrow to Queen Khuqiphud, who says the above statement because Amarsing is the only son of the king and Queen Khuqiphud. Although the Bodo word 'phisai' exists, the author chose to use 'suami' possibly due to the influence of Indo-Aryan languages, which are prevalent in such dramas.

- (viii) Chandramali: այ սւրշալդ haba zagayn mit^higayn? buʔi **zəm razaz**ալդ.
(Obəḡni p^haw P-54)

English Rendering: Chandramali: Do you know whom I will marry? The God of death.

¹⁵⁵ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK.. p-779

The example above showcases the unique technique of code-mixing. The word 'zomraza' is derived from the Hindi language's yamraj¹⁵⁶ which means 'God of death'. This statement is taken from the drama "Obongni phaw". In the drama, the headman arranges for his daughter, Chandramali, to marry Samarsing, but Chandramali dislikes Samarsing and does not want to marry him. When Senapati Beren asks if she will marry Samarsing, Chandramali responds with the above statement. She implies that marrying Samarsing would be like marrying the God of death, indicating she would rather die than marry him. The author uses code-mixing to make the drama more interesting and to capture the attention of the audience and readers.

5.6.2 New Phase (From 1952 to Present)

The modern age of Bodo literature has witnessed a plethora of literary creations. Most of the literary creations of the modern age are written using modern techniques, employing many modern technical words and symbols. With the development of the modern age, writers have blended innovative ideas, critical thinking, and complex standards short stories, novels, dramas and symbolic, mystic, romantic elements into their poems.

5.6.2.1 Code Mixing in Poetry

The creation of poems in the modern age is complex in nature. In the modern age, many different types of poems are created, such as symbolic, sonnet, patriotic and romantic poems. Therefore, words in the poems are not only from Bodo but also coined or code-mixed from different languages to fully express the thoughts and philosophy in the poems. In modern age some energetic poets have written different types of poem and the poets are Kali Kumar Lahary, Samar Brahma Choudhury, Ramdas Boro, Jatindra Brahma, Dharnidhar wary, Manaranjan Lahary, Nileswar Basumatary, Nilkamal Brahma, Harihor Brahma, Pulen Boro, Brajendra Kumar Brahma, Arabinda Uzir, Anil Boro, Anju Narzay, Kameswar Boro, Kamal Kumar Brahma, Guneshwar Muchahary, Ramnath Brahma, Subungsa Muchahary, Sunil Phukan Basumatary, Phukan Chandra Basumatary, Indira Boro, Jwisri Boro and so on. But in this study attempt has been made to analyse only on three selected poetry book of Brajendra Kumar Brahma, Arabindo Uzir and Anju Narzary namely *-okhrai gongse Nangquu*, *Mundanthini Ruzabthaj* and *Phasini duyulenaw okhaphur*.

¹⁵⁶ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59thed). Oxford University Press. UK. p-841

(i) The most prolific and influential poet of modern Bodo poet Brajendra Kumar Brahma is a litterateur, literary analyst, or critic too. He has contributed many poems with a strong philosophical underpinning. His poetry book *ᱠᱟᱨᱟ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ* (1975) is a significant creation, consisting of twenty-five poems. He has been successful in expressing his philosophy deeply and significantly in his poems, whether through Bodo words or words from other languages.

The poems which were included in the book *ᱠᱟᱨᱟ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ* are *ziuni thakhaj, guzam lama, aṇni anzalini, besen muṇḍaṇṭhi, bisur kala-blind, balmikini somaizuṇ, saṅgrema, duiṭun, ᱠᱟᱨᱟ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ, gubun ṭsur, biju tḥaju ijun bidintḥaja, simaṇnipḥaj pḥuipḥinnanuṇi, embu, dubri bilaj, diṅgraj bindu, siman, be kḥuṃsija, bḍḍidrumni aṇu hḥruṇi, hazar mugani lamazuṇ, muḍuizuṇ surzinaj, sinajnaj buhum, ziuni ekebana, muṣa zaruṇ, balmiki, bibar*. After that he published some Bodo poetry book such *aṇ pḥuipḥinguṇ*, (1994), *sanmuḥḥaṇari bibar zananuṇi* (1994), *bibari gaḍḍaṇ* (2008).

The poem —*ᱠᱟᱨᱟ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ* has been taken to discuss the use of words from different languages by the poet.

*gṇse ᱠᱟᱨᱟṇi aṇḥal zuṇha
nanguṇ zuṇw dinuṇi
udaṇ guṭṭar bar,
zajni tḥaṇḥijaw
guseb **simani**habilas guṇja|
abuṇ zabaj zeraw kḥṇḥla **dehaya**,
bis guṇsawuṇ ukḥuṇaj guṇsuṇa|
benikḥainuṇ dinuṇi
zarimin ni buṇi di bruṇi bḥrn
beni muḥuṇitḥaw gubun mḥḥr,
beni **suḍuḍṭ**ḥini guṇruṇṭḥi sannaj,
beninuṇ **ᱠᱟᱨᱟ**- bipḥaṇaw **bisni** pḥitḥaj/
beni pḥin- **saza**kḥuṇ
neusinaṇni ma raha dṇ ?
(ᱠᱟᱨᱟ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ p.11)*

English Rendering: We are missing a sky today
We need it now
The freedom of pure air,

with coined English words. Being well-educated, she includes English words that resonate with her thoughts and add depth to her poems. Her poetry collection "P^hasini dūpuleṅaw ɔk^hap^hur," published in 1995, contains fifty-six poems and is a significant contribution to Bodo literature. For this work, she was awarded the "Rangsar Bantha" in 2002 by the **Bodo Sahitya Sabha**. Additionally, she has published other poetry books like "nuṅṅni ziu aṅni bibuṅṅthi" (1982) and "aṅ mabuṅruṅi dōṅ dasuṅṅ". She was also awarded the 'Sahitya Academy Award' for 'aṅ mabuṅruṅi dōṅ dasuṅṅ' in the year 2019. In her poetry book "Phasini dūpuleṅaw ɔkhaphur," examples of stanzas blending Indo-Aryan and English languages can be found, such as:

zennaj derhanaja mak^huṅ buṅṅ ?
suṅi^huṅni zennaj^huṅ
 na melemni derhanaj^huṅ ?
aguṅma ziu t^hɔsek^huṅ
bobe isura hōruṅ
aruṅ suṅr lanp^hinuṅ ?
abuṅi abuṅumuṅni guṅt^huṅi hasarzuṅṅ
dawharu zarimin^hni sōnani hanj^huṅzuṅṅ
guṅzam buhuma zamsinlanṅ
Shakespeare^hni sajnasalija mablabaṅṅ guṅt^huṅisali zabaj.
 (guphur daothua dabuṅ gabuṅ p-36-37)

English Rendering:

What do we call winning or losing?
 The defeat of truth
 Or the victory of the mind?
 Which call brings a soul back
 And which takes it away?
 From the fertilizer of grandparents' death
 From the golden letters of brave history
 The old world keeps getting older
 Shakespeare's stage long turned into a graveyard.

In the above example, we see the technique of code mixing. Words such as *suṅi^huṅ*, *isur*, *sōna* are borrowed from Sanskrit, while the word 'buhum' is derived from the Assamese word *bhūgol*. The poet is trying to convey that in today's 21st century civilization, powerful people dominate the powerless, and the rich look down upon the poor. Today's environment has become polluted, but the truth is still alive. The

defeat of truth is not permanent because walking the path of truth will ultimately lead to victory one day. Similarly, in God's illusion, a man's life is created and then taken back, becoming part of the oldest history. By observing the above poem stanza, we can understand that the poet has borrowed words from Indo-Aryan languages to convey his philosophy and create rhythm in the poem.

(iii) Arabinda Uzir is a prominent poet of the modern era. He received the "Rangsar Award" from the Bodo Sahitya Sabha in 1996 for his poetry book "Muṇḍanṭhini Ruṇabṭhaj." This poetry book includes poems like "Sansri zuṇ Dandise," "Dukhu," "Buḥuṇithi," and "Muḥkaṇ." Most of his poems depict the reality and truth. He was also awarded the 'Sahitya Academy Award' in 2010 for his poetry book "Suḍuḇni Suḷer". In his poetry *buḥuṇithi* it has been seen some Indo-Aryan words being coined. e.g.

bijuy sazaḥuṇuy na guṇzuṇ huṇuy?
bijuy saza huṇuy zananguṇ, duk^huni sernip^hraj
k^hark^humanuṇ nagirnajni t^hak^haj
saza huṇuy zananguṇ
k^hṇsaj nanḡuṇunik^hruṇ k^hṇsaj nanḡuṇ ik^hu u k^hṇsajnajni t^hak^haj
zuṇ nunajni duk^hunip^hraj bargṇuṇ lubuṇuṇ
manuṇa muṇp^hruṇbuṇ suṇithuṇuṇ duk^hunaṇ
zuṇ k^huṇnanajni duk^hunip^hraj bargṇuṇ lubuṇuṇ
manuṇa k^huṇnanaj muṇp^hruṇbuṇ zat^hajanuṇ suṇmuṇnaṇ
zuṇ muṇḍanṭ^hinajnip^hraj bargṇuṇ lubuṇuṇ
manuṇa muṇp^hruṇbuṇ muṇḍanṭ^hianuṇ duk^hunaṇ

(Buḥuṇit^hi p-46)

English Rendering:

Does it punish or give peace?

Perhaps it punishes, for trying to escape the closeness of sorrow.

Perhaps it punishes,

For gathering more than there is a need to gather, when there is no need.

We seek liberation from the pain of choice,

because every chosen event leaves its mark.

We seek freedom from feeling,

Because every emotion carries the weight of sorrow.

The above example is taken from Arabinda Uzir's poem “buḥuḥit^{hi}” in which the poet expresses that where there is truth, there is also sorrow. The poet wishes to escape the reality of truth but finds it impossible. This attempt to escape might lead to greater punishment, the poet feels. There is one entity that leads both joy and sorrow in the world, and it is that entity that governs the earth. In the mentioned poem stanza, the words *saza*, *dukhu* and *suḥithu* are derived from the Persian word *sazā*¹⁶³, Hindi *duḥkha*¹⁶⁴ and Sanskrit word *satyā*¹⁶⁵ respectively. It feels that the poet, while writing the poem, used words from Indo-Aryan languages in addition to Bodo to make the poem melodious, rhythmic, meaningful, and beautiful, and to fully convey his philosophy. These characteristics are evident in his poem.

5.6.2.2 Code mixing in short story

In Bodo short stories, writers have been observed intentionally and unintentionally using Code Mixed words from other languages to enrich their writing. These Code Mixed words are often based on the context of the story and writers' style of writing. Additionally, they may be used for various reasons, which have been analyzed below with examples:

Use of Sanskrit

- a. *aṅk^hu suame huṇblat^h aṅ buḥ^hahūṇuṇu haḡuṇuṇu.* (p^huḡimal miziṇ p.7)

English Rendering: If you had called me 'darling', I would have removed the leech from you.

The above example is extracted from Chittaranjan Muchahary's 'Phuḡimal Mizin' short story. In this story, Code Mixing technique is seen as the author code mixes the Sanskrit word 'suami' in between the sentence. Sanskrit word 'suami' represents the meaning of master, teacher of Hindu religion or pandit, or husband/darling. In this example, it is seen referring to husband or dearest one in a joking way or manner. In the story Onla and Dumphe are the servant and maid of Tobsa mahazuṇ (richman) and they love each other. Its summer season Onla is ploughing and Dumphe is uprooting rice seedlings in the paddy field. While both of them are busy doing their respective works talking and teasing each other at that very moment a water leech bites Dumphe's leg and Dumphe run here and there and began to screams in the utter fear and disgust and she herself

¹⁶³ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. p-974

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.p-67

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. p-977

removes the leech with the help of rice seedlings she takes in her hands. Right at the moment Onla says Dumphe that if she had called her suami/darling he would have removed the leech. Author uses the word suami ‘darling’ to make the story interesting and to attract the readers.

- b. *Nuṇṇ aṇni **ashak**^huṇu nagarduṇ ɔmɔr, nɔṇk^haj-bak^haj **sɔmaz**ni mansizuṇ nuṇ manuṇ aṇni t^hak^haj gazri sanzanuṇ?* (unni bilajaw naj p-37)

English Rendering: Leave hope for me, Amar. Why do you consider yourself bad in the eyes of society for my sake?

Above cited example is extracted from Nilkamal Brahma’s ‘Unni Bilajaw naj’ (see in the next page) short story. In this extracted line ‘asha’ word is taken from Sanskrit *a:śa*.¹⁶⁶ which refers the ‘hope’ and the word ‘somaz’ is also taken from Sanskrit word *samāj*.¹⁶⁷ which means ‘society’ and somaz is also used in Bodo language as it is. Hence, author code mixes two Sanskrit words through Hindi in a single sentence. The protagonist of the story Dr. Omoresh Rian felt in love with a girl named Bindu Hazowary and prepared for marriage ceremony also. But Bindu didn’t agree to marry Omoresh saying that she carries impurities in her family clan and didn’t want to impure the blood of Omoresh’s pure family. So, Bindu asks Omoresh to leave the desire and hope to marry her so that Omoresh has not to be in trouble. Author can use a Bodo word ‘miziṇ’ instead of using Sanskrit word ‘aasha’ in his writing but he didn’t use it. On the other hand there is no appropriate word for ‘sɔmaz’ word in Bodo language so used it as it is. Author has code mixed these two Sanskrit words in between the sentence of the story to express his philosophy more considerably and to make his writing more effective while appropriate words are needed.

- c. *Hɔrik^hiṇkɔranuṇ **ishuṛ** P^huren gabdani t^hak^haj.*

English Rendering: Hɔrikhiṇkɔr is the God of Phuren Gabda. (Bibarni su p-19)

In the above mentioned example, Nilkamal Brahma used a Sanskrit word *i:śvar*.¹⁶⁸ ‘ishuṛ’ in his short story ‘Bibarni Su’. In this example writer refers the ‘God’ with the word ishwar. In the story Horikingkhor is the owner or the rich man of Phuren Gabda. Phuren Gabda works immensely or full heartedly and done many works whether it’s scorching heat or rainy days, days and nights without showing any laziness or tiredness for a good cause of his owner Hɔrikhiṇkɔr. According to author Phuren Gabda

¹⁶⁶ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. P-96

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. p-986

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. p-110

is too loyal to his owner that even if he is asked for blood also, he is ever ready to donate blood to his owner or still he is donating the blood. Likewise Phuren Gabda doesn't think about any other things except for his owner Horikingkhor's works and does all his works as he worships Horikingkhor like his God. There are so many synonyms of the word 'ishwar' or 'God' in Bodo language like as 'ɔbɔŋlawri', 'anangɔsaj', 'binangɔsaj', 'nuathari' etc. It is worth mentioning that in the cited example author code mixes a Sanskrit word in his story even it has many accurate or appropriate words which is a technique or style of author's writing. Besides, it is also possible that author has used the most utilised or used the word which is most commonly used by himself in the story.

- d. *K^hat^hi k^hala gami dɔrbani rawbuɣ bargɔak^huɣi Nark^huɣni habani nimantran k^huɣu muɣnnajaw.* (Srimoti durlaj p-31)

English Rendering: Not even a single village in the neighboring five villages was left out in receiving Narkhu's wedding invitation.

For instance quoted lines are extracted from Haribhusan Brahma's authored 'Narkhu' short story. In this illustration it is shown that author code mixes a Sanskrit word *nimantran*¹⁶⁹ 'nimantran' which refers invitation. The protagonist of the short story Narkhu is ever ready to marry with his longtime lover woman with five thousand rupees which was given to him by his late father before his death. To keep the good reputation of his death father he fancy for luxurious huge wedding reception with five thousand rupees. Narkhu invites all the people of five neighboring villages to make his wedding a grand celebration as he longs for. In the Bodo language 'lingnai' resembles the same meaning of Sanskrit word 'nimantran' word but there is no other particular word for it therefore author has used the Sanskrit word 'nimantran' as it is so that he can beautify the story as well as attract the minds of the readers.

Use of Hindi

- a. *sɔɾɔg ziŋaw nalenk^hɔr bip^haŋp^haŋnuɣi muɣnnanuɣi zram uŋk^harbai ramuɣndaya.*
(p^haŋnuɣi nalenk^hɔr bip^haŋ p-23)

English Rendering: Ramuɣnda gets off the bicycle when he sees two coconut trees by the roadside. I do the same.

¹⁶⁹ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. p-563

Above cited example is taken from Chittaranjan Muchahary's 'Phañnuṭi Nalenkhōr Biphāṇ' story and here a Hindi word *sarak*¹⁷⁰ > sōrōḡ is seen code mixing. The word 'sōrōḡ' used in Bodo frequently by many common people which means road or street. Here, in this story author himself narrates the story as a protagonist. As story begins author goes to Mukholdang village with Ramuṇda (friend) as a suitor to approach or see the bride to be for his own marriage to Semphankho's daughter Laisri but as he has never seen or known the house so he goes by asking the villagers. Villagers also tell them that there are two coconut trees beside the road of Semphankho's house. Moreover, author along with his fellow friend feel exhausted and hungry on their way so when they notice two coconut trees beside the road immediately stop their bicycle and jump off to the ground. Here, 'sōrōḡ' word is used by the author even though there is already suitable Bodo word 'lama' for it as often generally Bodo people have used this word and perhaps author is also using this word by seeing the context to make his story more social.

- b.** *Dandise bini muḡ^hanṭ^hiṇ naihoṛnanuṭi aṇ bat^hra zuriduḡṇmuṇ, **accha** p^hōḡbaj, nuṇ suṛ?* (gasa aruṇ suluṇ p-64)

English Rendering: One moment after seeing his face, I started the conversation, "Okay brother, who are you?"

Nilkamal Brahma has code mixed a Hindi word *acchā*¹⁷¹ > 'accha' in the above cited sentence taken from his 'Gasa Aruṇ Suluṇ' short story. Generally, in Hindi language 'achha' word is used to refer understand or a good meaning, or ok, fine, and often it is used to start a conversation. Like this in this short story also author and Maguram met in Shillong at Pine Wood Hotel and as Maguram keeps directing the author, author used the word 'accha' beforehand to start a conversation with Maguram to ask who is he, and from where he belongs. Author is seen code mixing this word to relate or resemble with the context along with to maintain the beauty of the sentence in the story.

- c.** **accha** Brahma! **gariya** station muṇse barnajni unaw bat^hra zuriduḡṇmuṇ bit^han Bōnzita- haba k^halamak^huṭi nuḡṭ^hanṭa? (ajna ḡōḡse muḡkhaṇ ḡōḡnuṭip- 21)

¹⁷⁰McGregor, R.S (2019): Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. p- 975

¹⁷¹ Ibid. p-16

English Rendering: Alright, Brahma! Bonzit started the conversation after the train passed a station and asked, haven't you gotten married?

Here in this statement author starts the sentence with a Hindi word *acchā*¹⁷²> 'accha' which meaning is okay or fine. This extract is taken Nilkamal Brahma's 'ajna gɔŋse mɔkhaŋ gɔŋnuɔi' short story. The author is the protagonist of this short story and he himself narrates the story. Author met Kumar Bonjit for the first time at a canteen of New Jolpaiguri station. After that author and Kumar Bonjit were the only passenger of Nero Goj train's first class compartment heading to Darjeeling. At that very moment while train crossed a station Kumar Bonjit starts the conversation with author saying 'accha Brahma' and he asks author whether is he married or not. It is worth mentioning that author is a Bodo and Kumar Bonjit is from other caste or community therefore they both have to communicate in either Hindi or in English language, but the writers narrates the story in Bodo language then it is necessary to code mixed. He starts the questions with Hindi word 'accha' and code mixes the word *gārī*¹⁷³> *gari* in the middle of the sentence. There is no appropriate word for 'gari' in Bodo language. In this example author code mixed the Hindi words to fulfill the necessity and make the story more realistic respectively. It is a story narrating style or technique of Nilkamal Brahma.

- e. *K^hugazuŋ burza raw ɔŋk^hara buŋnaisuiɔ'-zaibreŋ aŋk^huɔu lazi da p^huɔŋnaŋsuɔi. Agɔlɔni sansɔhayuɔi inaj ak^hɔlp^huɔrk^huɔu bawzuɔbduɔ. (gubru sarbaj p-25)*

English Rendering: Couldn't say much, just said, 'Zaibrenge, don't insult me. Forget the old injustice I did to you.

In the above cited example, two Hindi words *lajjā*¹⁷⁴> 'lazi' (originated from Sanskrit) and 'inaj' are code mixed. Here 'lazi' word represents shy and 'inaj' word represents injustice meaning. The word *inai* originally derived from the Sanskrit word *anyāy*¹⁷⁵ (injustice) to Hindi and in Bodo it is used as *inaj*. Above statement is extracted from Haribhusan Brahma's 'Gubru Sarbaj' short story. Jaibrenge and Hablang are the husband and wife as narrated in the story. One day police carried out a raid against illegal liquor at their village and villagers hastily try to hide their liquors. Moreover, Hablang and Jaibrenge also try to move their knees length Pot (utensil used to brew liquor)

¹⁷²McGregor, R.S (2019): Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary. (59thed). Oxford University Press. UK. p-16

¹⁷³ Ibid. p-262

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. p- 881

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. p-39

to garden and both husband and wife together somehow pick up and carry on pot but accidentally Jaibrenḡ's dokhona from her waist falls or unfurls along with which the liquor pot also fall down to the ground and burst. Hablang's face covers with white ophri's (fermented rice for rice beer) stains which makes Jaibrenḡ laugh but she couldn't because Hablang used to beat Jaibrenḡ whenever she fails to feed liquor to him. That's why Jaibrenḡ can not say anything against her husband Hablang because of fear she keeps quiet and clean her tears and ends her sorrow. But that day Hablang wonders by seeing Jaibrenḡ who is looking at him innocently and remembers all his bad deeds on her. Seeing husband wonders Jaibrenḡ in fear begs for forgiveness saying that the reason for the loss of liquor was solely her dokhona's fault. However Hablang after seeing Jaibrenḡ's behaviour feels ashamed of himself and says above mentioned sentence to Jaibrenḡ. There is no substitution word for 'lazi' and 'inaj' words in Bodo language therefore, perhaps author has used these words and through which he expressed his philosophy vividly and made the sentence more reliable in the story.

Use of Bangla

- a. *bunḡuḡmuḡn latikaja-bḡsḡntḡbadi bigurḡuḡjuḡi keranik^huḡ t^huḡiblabuḡ haba k^halamt^harnaj nḡḡahaj aḡu. nanḡuḡubla adunḡgarik^huḡunuḡ zananuḡi t^hat^harguḡnanḡ t^heuḡbuḡ.....* (hawasini bar p-77)

English Rendering: Latika had said, I won't marry a poor clerk like Basanta even if it costs me my life. I would rather remain a spinster.

Above cited illustration is extracted from renowned king of Bodo short story Nilkamal Brahma's 'Hawasini Bar' short story. In the midst of sentence author has code mixed a Bengali word keranī¹⁷⁶ > kerani which refers to anyone who holds the official records, account and one who does job at bank or court. Alaka, Latika and Menoka are three sisters in the story. Alaka's husband Bosonto is a clerk, and Latika's husband Pratul is a professor at a college. In the youngest sister Menoka's wedding both sisters and their husbands help along with their wives in the wedding ceremony. During the start of haven (a sacred fire ritual) of wedding while Pratul and Bosonto were busy in talking sitting at a place but in the midst of talking all of sudden Bosonto leaves the wedding place for home. Wife Alaka without any knowledge of the atmosphere comes along with the husband even though she was unwilling to come.

¹⁷⁶Barua, Hem Chandra (2016): The Assamese-English Dictioanry Hemkosha. (17th ed). Hemkosha Prakashan. Guwahati. P-351

After reaching home only she came to know that Pratul thinks Bosonto can't feed her well or can't fulfill her needs. After knowing the matter Alaka falls asleep in sorrow and awake at midnight and thinks about the whole incident and recalls her *asthamangla* event where Latika said the above mentioned sentence. Generally Bodos use the Bangla word 'kerani' and there is no appropriate word to refer in Bodo language, perhaps for that reason author has used this word in the short story.

- b. rɔ tʰaŋtʰɔnaŋ sansemani ʋnkhʰam rɔsa pʰʋnaŋbaj, **sakɔr** badi da ʋnkhʰam sɔŋnanuɪ zahʋbawnanɡuɪ na aŋ? zanuɪthaj sɔŋnanuɪ zahʋi ɡawba ɡaw. (line bus p-56)

English Rendering: Wait, I am going. I have been hungry all day, and now will I have to cook food like a maid? If you want to eat, go make it yourself.

In the above mentioned sentence, a Bangla word sakor¹⁷⁷ (Perso-Arabic origin) is code mixed which is taken from Haribhusan Brahma's 'line Bus' short story. 'Sakor' word refers to a servant or a person who is paid to work in somebody's house. In the story female protagonist of the story Gaojrumwnda and male protagonist Gablanga married off their daughter to Hagunpara village. After two months of the marriage they went to visit the family of their newly married daughter and son-in-law by bus carrying stuffs like curd, 'napham' (i.e. fermented dried fish) and liquor. While traveling liquor leaks by the surrounded push of the overcrowded passengers inside the bus and blends or mixed with the 'napham'. While they reached the house of son-in-law came to know that both their daughter and son-in-law went to visit their uncle's house. Mother-in-law (their daughter's mother-in-law) gets tense right after seeing the arrival of the guests because there is no rice at home. Therefore mother-in-law pretends saying that if they had not eaten at their brother's house they could have lunch at her place as she doesn't has rice to cook for guests. Gaojrumwnda and Gablanga get quietly angry just leave the house and while returning to their way they decided to have lunch at Gaojrumwnda's elder brother's house. On the other hand Gaojrumwnda's elder brother also thinks that they already had a good lunch as they smell or stink of curd, liquor and 'napham'. Gaojrumwnda and Gablanga return to home exhausted, starving and with anger. As they reached home Gablanga asks his wife or old woman to prepare rice which she gets angry because of tiredness and says that don't ask or order her to cook rice like a servant after she is exhausted and had not eaten lunch whole day.

¹⁷⁷Barua, Hem Chandra (2016): The Assamese-English Dictioanry Hemkosha. (17th ed). Hemkosha Prakashan. Guwahati. p-482

Here, author could have used the Bodo word ‘ruati’ (maid- servant) for the word servant but as the wife is in angry mood so instead of using Bodo word author code mixed the Bangla word ‘sakor’ so that the word suits well in the sentence and it made the sentence more effective and attractive to the readers.

- c. *Bisurbuy ser p^hak^haj ser p^hak^haj hinzaw muyzan muyzan nagirk^humadyumun. Sanuyihaby scooter d^oh hinzaw nagirnajaw bara **zamela** guiya.* (gaba sujlajuj p-50)

English Rendering: These two were also secretly using the idea of roaming around to find beautiful girls. Both have scooters, so there is no disturbance in finding a girl.

In this illustration jhamelā¹⁷⁸> zamela is a Bangla word which means ‘disturbance or’ trouble. This line has been taken from Chittaranjan Muchahary’s ‘gaba sujlajuj’ short story. The protagonist of the story Noresh and Poresh are very good friends. After completing their graduation degree or B.A from Cotton College, Noresh works at State Bank and Poresh works at United Commercial Bank at Kokrajhar. They both want to get married and longing to marry very beautiful woman like Sokuntala, Cleopatra, and Tilottama. So, they are quietly searching for beautiful woman for themselves to marry. Author has assumed in the story telling that as they both have owned their own scooters there will be not much trouble in searching for bride. To refer the word disturbance or trouble in the sentence author has used the Bangla word

‘Zamela’, instead of using Bodo word ‘zeṇna’. It has been observed that author has used the word ‘zamela’ knowingly or unknowingly to make the story more effective.

Use of Assamese

- a. *buṇnu t^hayubla Mrs. Baglarjni gusuni gaynaikhuu sup^huṇnu t^hak^hajnu bi^hañ Moniram Baglary ja rañ k^hamainaini **suraj** lamak^huu lanandyumun* (udrajnaja p-14)

English Rendering: If it is said so, Moniram Baglary had chosen the illegal path to earn money just to satisfy Mrs. Baglary's hunger.

In the above sentence Assamese word suraṅgā¹⁷⁹> ‘suraj’ (originated from Hindi) is code mixed which means ‘a tunnel’. This example is extracted from Nilkamal Brahma’s ‘Udrajnaja’ short story. In the story Moniram Baglary’s wife Mrs Baglary longs to spend a luxurious life. Mrs Baglary has a bob cutting hairstyle even though she has an engineer son, and an MA passed out daughter, wears expensive Banarasi

¹⁷⁸McGregor, R.S (2019): Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. P-391.

¹⁷⁹Ibid. P-1029

Kanjivaram saree and uses or wears costly cosmetics. Expect that she made her husband buys Ambassador Car. Mrs Baglary says that if he cannot fulfill her needs and desires why he has married her. If he cannot fulfill his wife's dreams or desire how would he called himself a husband or a man. Mr Baglary has chosen the path of corruption in work to fulfill his wife's wishes and desire. Here, there is no appropriate Bodo word for 'surang' word that's why author has used this word as it is in the sentence.

b. *Nuṇṭʰaṇṇi pʰisanj tʰakʰaj buṇabalanyu gawni tʰakʰaj buṇumunbla dahalaguyi pass kʰalamnanyu hysiguyu aṇ, manyna lekʰa 'pʰɔraj' najni guṣuṣa nuṇṭʰaṇṇasuy dɔṇ nuṇṭʰaṇṇi gɔtʰɔha guja.* (Narkhuṭ P-29)

English Rendering: Without advocating for your son, advocating for yourself would have made me pass by now, because you have the desire to study, not your son.

Above sentence is extracted from "Narkhuṭ" short story. In this story author Haribhusan Brahma is seen using the Assamese words paṛhāi¹⁸⁰ > 'phɔraj' (originated from Hindi) respectively. Protagonist of the story Narkhuṭ is only son of a well to do family. Narkhuṭ's father wants him to be an educated person so he often enquires about his son's studies to his teacher. At the time of enquiry teacher says above quoted lines to Narkhuṭ's father. Because Narkhuṭ is not good at studies. He is promoted to seven standard only on the mercy of the teacher. Here author has used the words 'lekha' and 'pʰɔraj' as common Bodo people use during their conversation, author has intentionally used these words to make readers understand easily.

b. *"Bepʰur hinzawkʰuyu nuba 'hɔjtɔ' buṛajzase brahmacharya pʰalinajabuy haba kʰalamnyu nagirgyn".* (Guṃmanaj Diary P-31)

English Rendering: Perhaps seeing such a girl, even someone committed to celibacy in old age would want to get married.

In the short story "Guṃmanaj Diary" the author, Chittaranjan Muchahary has code mixed an Assamese word *hɔjtɔ*¹⁸¹ in the above sentence which means 'may be'. Amrit went to see Ramala, his father's friend Ratan Narzary's daughter for marriage in the story. Ratan says that Ramala is such a beautiful woman that even searching throughout the whole Goalpara area a beautiful woman like her will not be found anywhere and even a Brahmacharya devotee who has sworn to not get married would be

¹⁸⁰McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. P-595

¹⁸¹Barua, Hem Chandra (2016): *The Assamese-English Dictioanry Hemkosha*. (17thed). Hemkosha Prakashan. Guwahati. P-1357

the one who wants to get married after seeing her beauty. This sentence is his past accident of younger days which is told to his sister- in -law Radha. In this sentence author has used the Assamese word 'hōjto' instead of using Bodo word 'zanuḡ haguḡu' (maybe). Many Bodo people use the word 'hōjto' commonly in different context. Here, we can assume that author has code mixed 'hōjto' word in the sentence to make the dialogue more social.

Use of English

- a. *'No, no' Brahma, nuḡt^hanasuḡ aḡk^huḡu gazri muḡnbaj zanaḡguḡu, nuḡt^haḡni 'personal' bat^hrak^huḡu suḡḡajni t^hak^haj. (Ajna gōḡse muḡk^haḡ (gōḡnuḡi P-23)*

English Rendering: No, no, Brahma, you must have felt bad about asking your personal questions.

This sentence is extracted from Nilkamal Brahma's "Ajna gōḡse muḡkhaḡ gōḡnuḡi" short story. Here, English words 'no' and 'personal' are seen code mixing in the sentence. Author met Kumar Banjit on Nero Goj to Darjeeling train at New Jolpaiguri station and introduced themselves. While Kumar Banjit asked author about his marital status author kept a long silence. Author asks Kumar Banjit thinking whether he might have felt bad at his silence. But Kumar Banjit also thinks that author has gotten him wrong for asking personal question and says above mentioned or quoted sentence. Even though author has not mentioned about the language they used to communicate with each other in the short story but almost English words are seen in code mixing and code switching. Author is a reporter of United News Agency and Kumar Banjit is a timber merchant from which we can assume that both are educated and they have used English language to communicate with each other. Though author has narrated the story or their conversation in Bodo language, to depict the originality of the story and to arouse interest in readers, code mixed English words 'no' and 'personal' by adjusting well to the context of the story.

- b. ***Diary'** aw maba **'urgent'** bat^hra lirnaj dōḡ nama aj? Ramalani k^hōḡ bilrnanuḡi suḡḡaj buḡraj^huḡra. (guḡmanaj diary P-35)*

English Rendering: Is there something urgent written in the diary, dear? Asked the father-in-law, tenderly touching her head.

Above mentioned sentence is taken from Chittaranjan Muchahary's short story "Guḡmanai Diary". Above sentence is a question of Amrit's father -in-law Ratan, who asks his daughter Ramala and this is an accident which is told to Radha by Amrit in

the story. Here in this sentence, researcher is found code mixing the English words 'diary' and 'urgent'. One day Amrit's wife Ramala's diary got missing as narrated in the story. Ramala suspects her husband Amrit and in the sorrow of not getting her diary sleeps without having any food and drinks. But in real husband Amrit is not aware of the diary, he knows nothing about and has not seen either. Ramala becomes thinner and weaker day by day by not having meals in the sorrow of not getting her diary back, seeing this act of Ramala husband Amrit calls her father Ratan for a visit. Father asks her daughter softly touching her head whether anything important thing was written in the diary. But Ramala didn't give any response to the question. Earlier there was no appropriate Bodo word for diary word therefore author has to use the English word in Bodo as it is. Nowadays, a new word 'rebganthi' is formed to refer the English word 'diary' in Bodo language. On the other hand 'urgent' word could be used as 'gwnangthar' (important) in Bodo language but author has not used it, from this act of the author it can be felt that author has intentionally code mixed English word 'urgent' to depict the context of the story symmetrically and enhance the story by drawing the attention of the readers.

Use of Persian

- a. *Nat^haj bip^hani bodnamni t^hak^haj Bonsrija zerawbuɣ sak^hrini muɣk^han nuni muɣnak^hui.* (Udrajnaj P-17)

English Rendering: But due to her father's reputation, Bonsri doesn't get a job opportunity anywhere.

In the above sentence of Nilkamal Brahma's "Udrajnaj" short story, author has code mixed a Persian word *bodnam*¹⁸² which refers to infamous or well-known because of something bad. In the story, a weaving superintendent Maniram Baglary puts some of the money in his pocket which was coming from the government's Tribal sub plain scheme and which was meant for poor marginalized people. For that reason he was suspended from his job. His engineer son also did not save him, but his daughter Bonsri tried to save and protect him but couldn't rescue. Bonsri was angry with her brother and so she named all her father's assets and wealth to her brother. Later on Bonsri was in need of a job and she visited different offices to get any job like mistress, clerk, typist etc. But she didn't get any because of her father's bad deeds that is corruption which was widely known by almost everyone. So, Bonsri could not get a job because of her

¹⁸²Barua, Hem Chandra (2016): The Assamese-English Dictioanry Hemkosha. (17thed). Hemkosha Prakashan. Guwahati. P-911

father's notorious or infamous deeds. Perhaps here author has not found suitable Bodo word to adjust with the context so he used the Persian word 'bodnam' as it is in the story and made the story more reliable.

5.6.2.3 Code Mixing in Novel

Bodo literature, particularly novels, emerged during the modern period. The first Bodo novel, "Zuzaini or," was published in 1962 by Chittaranjan Muchahary. Following that, many writers began to create novels in Bodo literature. Examples of code mixing with words from Indo-Aryan languages (Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla, and Assamese) and English are frequently found in Bodo novels. This discussion focuses on three specific novels: Chittaranjan Muchahary's "Zuzaini or" (1962), "Mwihur" (1980) by Dharnidhar Wary, and "Manjubala Devi" (1980). Examples has been given below:

Use of Sanskrit

- a. *mansia 'suṣiṭhuy' aw t^hajyubla anan gōsaja zēblajby naip^hinu 'abajshye' guḃbaṇ sōmaw guḃbaṇ k^huip^hudaw guḃluṇinanguḃubuy zayuy.* (Muḃihur P- 11)

English Rendering: If a person remains truthful, God always watches over him; undoubtedly, many times he also faces great difficulties.

In the above sentence, *satyā*¹⁸³ > *suṣiṭhuy* 'true or real' and *āvaśyak*¹⁸⁴ > *abaiṣhye* 'necessary' words are seen code mixing in between the sentence which are originally Sanskrit words. This statement is taken from "Muḃihur" novel. In the novel, Dodere was chased by the forest department officials while she went for fishing in Ganda biluḃ in (lake) of Manas forest along with her friends. At that very moment Golo also went to Ganda biluḃ for hunting. While Dodere was running in the afraid of forest department officials, she runs towards Golo and they both run together to rescue their lives. At that time of running they encountered with an elephant also. But they both escape this too with the help of Golo's intelligence. After they save themselves from the danger Dodere speaks to Golo that what would have happened to them (Dodere and Golo) if they had been arrested. At the time Golo opined that God always protect (us) from evil when we live with the truth and sometimes have to be in trouble also. Here author could have used 'thar' instead of 'suṣiṭhuy' which refers the truth and 'guḃnaṇ' in place of 'abaiṣhye' in the novel but he didn't use these words. Here we can

¹⁸³McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59thed). Oxford University Press. UK. P-977

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. p-95

assume that the reason for code mixing words in this sentence or novel is the attitude of the author or writing technique of the author.

b. '*rakshas*' lunaj '*mandir*' aw nat^haj'*rakshas*' harini babazi nuak^huimujn a^huj '*Arya*' hu^hngra '*bamu^hn*' p^hrasuj '*mandir*' k^huju gawni k^halamnanuji lazu^hbbaj sandu^hmu^hn '*rakshas*' ni si^hlayaw gabla sua zagra '*bamu^hn*' p^hra kamak^hja gabla nist^har zanaj mu^hnu^hk^hu^hma mit^hiru^hŋla. (Monzubala Devi P-33) English Rendering: In the temple constructed by the demon, I had not seen any priests or individuals from the demon caste. The Brahmin people, who refer to themselves as Arya, have appropriated the temple as their own. I had assumed that by stepping into the demon's courtyard, the Brahmin people would become purified by placing their feet on the Kamakhya temple, but it is uncertain whether this will actually purify them.

In the above example, Sanskrit words *rākṣas*¹⁸⁵ > '*rakshas*', *mandir*¹⁸⁶ (Hindi origin), *ārya*¹⁸⁷ > *arya* and *bāman*¹⁸⁸ > '*bamu^hn*' are seen code mixing in between the sentence. The meaning of these words are monster, temple, a cultured person and priest respectively. This example is taken from Nandeswar Daimary's novel "Manzubala Devi". One day Abhi went to Khamakhya temple along with his '*bamu^hn*' girlfriend Manju. After reaching he learned that the temple is filled with huge crowd which seems like a market place. Abhiram saw that the maximum population was filled with those garland shops, and priests rather than the visitors. Abhiram has not seen any priest belonging to the clan of '*norkhasur*' although the temple was build by '*norkhasur*' clan and those Brahmins who had a bad perspective on Rakshas before like if Brahmin enters or touch Rakshas clan's courtyard or place she or he has to purify that is why Abhiram thinks that may be nowadays or at present they belief that after entering Kamakhya temple they feel pure. In this sentence used words '*rakshas*' and '*arya*' do not have appropriate word in Bodo language. On the other hand author has not used the word '*thansali*' in lieu of '*mandir*' and '*oza*' word could be used for '*bamu^hn*' word but he didn't use it. From which we can understand or assume that author has Code Mixed these words into the sentence to express his feelings or put more weight on the sentence as well as to attract the attention of the readers through these words.

¹⁸⁵McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59thed). Oxford University Press. UK. P-859

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. p-780

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. p-93

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. p-725

Use of Hindi

- a. *Hi:hi:hi: aη 'p^hagli', nōṇa aη'p^hagli' nōṇa!* (zuzajni or P-1)

English Rendering: hi:hi:hi: I'm crazy girl, no, I'm not a crazy girl!

General analysis: In Bodo language the word 'p^hagli' is originated from Bangla *pāgal*¹⁸⁹ and used in various purposes such as when someone (female) becomes mad, used in when joking around with younger one and friends (called or mention to female only), when calls own or close friend not using by her name and when scolds someone (female) in deep anger etc. In this novel novelist or author used 'p^hagli' word to refer a mad or mentally stressed woman named Alaishri, who got mad after she fails to get Azaj after loving him. But in the above sentence Alaishri told herself that she is not a mad by laughing. Here author code mixed the Hindi word 'pagal' >

'p^hagli' into the sentence. It is important to mention that even if the author could have used the 'zaolija' word of Bodo language rather than 'p^hagli' word which meaning will not be appropriate also. Here the reason for code mixing can be found as the attitude of the author's words selection and using.

- b. *bisur uṇk^ham zak^haṇṇa 'bidaj' laju. gōlōk^hu t^haṇṇu t^hinlanu Dōdere a baraj huyk^halanu uṇk^hali t^haṇṇa gazri muṇṇuṇ huyṇlanu.* (Muṇihur P-70)

English Rendering: After finishing their meal, they bid farewell. Dodere tells Golo to visit them, saying she would feel bad if he doesn't come that day, and she leaves after saying this.

In the above statement author is seen using the code mixing technique. bidāī¹⁹⁰ > bidaj word is a Hindi word which signifies good bye. This example is taken from Dharnidhar Wary's 'Muṇihur' novel. One day Dodere went to Golo's residence along with Hambur as since long she has not received any words from Golo. After reaching they cook themselves and eat it and later she invites Golo to visit their place also on a specific day and then they return to their home. In this sentence author has Code Mixed 'bidaj' word to emphasis and attract the readers.

- c. *zuṇṇi muṇzan muṇlajnaja 'zudi' t^har huyṇba be muṇzan muṇlajnaya asok^handa zaja baja eba zija, guṇmuṇda beju guṇzuṇṇip^hraj guṇzuṇ zaguṇ nuṇṇi guṇsuṇalō t^hik t^hade* (zuzajni or P-42)

¹⁸⁹Barua, Hem Chandra (2016): *The Assamese-English Dictioanry Hemkosha*. (17thed). Hemkosha Prakashan. Guwahati. P-813

¹⁹⁰McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*. (59th ed) Oxford University. UK. P-733

English Rendering: If our love is true, it will not break, it will not fall, it will not remain incomplete, it will not disappear, it will become brighter from bright, just keep your heart right.

In the above example it is understandable that 'judi' and thik^{191} words are Hindi words which signify the meaning 'if' and 'okay' respectively. This statement is extracted from 'zuzajni or' novel. In the novel Azaj loves Alaishri. But as parents insisted Azaj has to see Alakha for marriage unknowingly. Later Azaj got scared thinking that his and Alaishri's love's dream will be broken and whether Alaishri has come to know about his visit to Alakha's house. However he motivated himself and advice Alaishri that if their love is true it will never fade away, only (need) to stay in a good state of mind. Here, author has code mixed the word 'zudi' (if) to fulfill the need of the language as it is not available in Bodo language. On the other hand, author has code mixed 'thik' (okay) word either knowingly or unknowingly.

- d. *unk^hali deubaraw sirijak^hana' najnuj lajzamawnu bu^hk^hahordunmuyn be k^hali sanse t^hu^hlu^h 'sirijak^hana' park aw zonanui gu^hba^h k^hu^ht^ha sawrajnuj som munduunmuyn zu^hnuj.* (Manzubala Devi P-18)

English Rendering: Later, we had planned to go to the zoo on Sunday, as mentioned in the letter. That day, we had a whole day to sit in the zoo park and talk a lot.

Above mentioned line's *siriyakhana*¹⁹² word is a Hindi origin word which means 'zoo'. This sentence is extracted from "Manzubala Devi" novel. In the novel Abhiram and Manjubala both study in Cotton College in the department of Chemistry. They accidentally collided with each other in the chemistry department and since then they started talking and eventually fall in love with each other. Moreover, one day they went to visit zoo and both shared many things with each other. There is no appropriate word for the word 'sirijak^hana' in Bodo language and therefore author has Code Mixed the Hindi word and make the sentence more effective.

Use of Bangla

- a. *a^hgnaw zi big^ha d^hng^ho ha d^hng ada. Mugujjabla nu^hng a^hgni hak^hu^h mawhu^hqinu^h hagu^hu* (Mujihur P-12)

English Rendering: I have ten bighas of land. Brother, if you don't mind, you can cultivate on my land.

¹⁹¹ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK.. p-412

¹⁹² Ibid. P-316

Above statement is taken from "Muqihur" novel. In this sentence author has code mixed a Bengali word 'biga' which means a traditional unit of measurement of area of a land. Golo is a hunter in the novel. Dodere asked Golo to quit hunting but Golo take care of his parents with hunting only. Even to do or grow paddy cultivation also the land of Narenguri has become barren wasteland after Bursi flood (a flood that happens from the *Bursi River*). Therefore Dodere has offered her 10 bigas of lands to Golo to do cultivation. Here, 'biga' word does not have any appropriate word in Bodo language therefore author has used this Bangla word to fulfill the necessity of a complete meaningful sentence.

- b. *'k^hurma-bahagi'* mane aṅk^huṇ bimaj liṇu ar ma '*k^hurma*' naṅguṇ k^hɔɔ guṣuṇ mane '*k^hurma*' nɔṅahuṇba? na ma buṇu? (zuzajni or P-34)

English Rendering: All my relatives call me uncle, what more do I need? Relatives mean black hair, right? What else can I say?

In the above sentence we can see the technique of code mixing. This sentence is taken from "zuzajni or" novel and here used word '*k^hurma bahagi*' is a Bangla word which refers the meaning of the word relatives. In the novel Azaj's father Mahidhar went to visit his son at Sapotgram who lives there to pursue his education, met Alakha's father Pradip at Dotma market in a tea stall and introduced themselves. At that very moment Pradip asks Mahidhar whether he knows or recognises Daola Deowani of Bhuthiapara or not. Mahidhar enquires to Pradip if he belongs to his family or a relative. Here author has code mixed a Bangla word in the words of novel's character Pradip between the sentence by adorning with the situation made the sentence more effective and successfully drawn the minds of the readers.

- c. ɔblabu aṅ nuṅk^huṇ muṇaṇ muṇu '*bɔrsa*' bu k^halamu aṅni muṇaṇ muṇnajak^huṇ zuṭ^hruṇdaj nɔṅguṇ bajdisina bat^hrap^hurk^huṇ k^hɔnle k^hɔnle p^hɔrajnanuṇibū manuṇba banaj eba meṇnai muṇak^huṇimuṇ aṅnu. (Manzubala Devi P- 17)

English Rendering: Even then, I love you, I trust that you won't let my love be hurt, perhaps by reading some things over and over again, I didn't feel bored or tiredness.

In the above mentioned example Hindi word *bharosā*¹⁹³ > *borsa* 'hope' is seen code mixing in the sentence as the way it is used in Bengali, although it is originally a Hindi word. The word '*borsa*' represents hope or reliance. In the novel this statement is

¹⁹³McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*. (59th ed) Oxford University. UK. P-761

given by Manzubala through the letter to Abhiram which is narrated by the novelist as Abhiram. Manzubala is a Brahman girl and Abhiram is a Bodo boy though Manzubala has trust on him and hope on Abhiram that he will not reject or leave her love ever. Here, author has code mixed intentionally even though there is an appropriate word for it to make the sentence more reliable in the novel.

Use of Assamese

gawk^hu muṣaṇ muṇuṇmuṇbla dōdere a 'nissōj' sanse nuzat^hi p^huṇigūmuṇ.

(Muṇihur P-36)

English Rendering: If Dodere had loved him, she would have truly appeared one day. Here above code mixed statement's word *nicay*¹⁹⁴ > 'nissoi' is an Assamese word which means 'really' or 'undoubtedly'. As stated in the novel on that day when Dodere went for fishing at the Bhandari lake of Manas forest on the same day Golo aslo went for hunting in the forest. While Dodere was running in the forest chasing by the forest department officials met Golo and he also helped her to rescue. After that moment Golo and Dodere fall for each other quietly. But they have not met in person after they meet in the forest. Golo thinks that if she had loved him truly even for a day she would have appeared to him. Author has used 'nissoi' word intentionally in the sentence even there is a Bodo word for it or deliberately.

a. *guli naṇuṇbla ṁaja za bajdi babrabuṇ- aṇni guṣuṇabuṇ be bajdinuṇ babrabnaṇ muṇduṇmuṇ.* (Manzubala Devi P- 35)

English Rendering: The way a pig shivers when hit by a bullet, my heart was also trembling the same way.

In the cited sentence the word *golikā* Skt.>*golī* Hd. > *guli* which is code mixed by the author which represents the bullet. In the "Manzubala Devi" novel Abhiram loves Manzubala after he met her at Cotton College and after their physical intimacy Manzu gets two months pregnant. When Manjubala told about her pregnancy Abhiram was shocked and terrified but he tried to cool down his mind and tell Manzu quietly that it's not an obstacle to cry. Even though Abhiram has told to take it lightly but deep down inside he was also anxious which condition is compared with a groaning shot pig. Here author has adorned the novel's context and used this example to depict the condition of Abhiram's heart and through this story has become more interesting and

¹⁹⁴Barua, Hem Chandra (2016): The Assamese-English Dictioanry Hemkosha. (17th ed). Hemkosha Prakashan. Guwahati. P-750

attractive. There is no appropriate Bodo word for the word 'guli'(bullet) therefore author has used the Assamese word.

Use of English

- a. *Manuṭ^huṭ sigaṇ ni p^hṛajshalini p^hruṇṇgirija buṇk^hahṛduṇmuṇ di 'science' lajuṇbla 'arts' nik^hruj baṇsin 'sincere' zanaṇṇu. (Manzubala Devi P-7)*

English Rendering: Because the previous school teacher had said that choosing science requires more sincerity than arts.

In the above example it got cleared that both 'science', 'arts' and 'sincere' words are mixed up in between the sentence of the novel. This statement is extracted from novel "Manzubala Devi". When Abhiram started his studies in Cotton College his every single thing like classroom, friends, professors, foods and drinks, dress are very new to him at that moment. In such a way with new encouragement Abhiram used to attain all the classes without any ignorance. Abhiram's stream was science so he didn't forget about the words his teachers told him that he needs to be more aware while studying in science stream. Author has code mixed the English words 'science', 'arts', and 'sincere' respectively to bring glamour in the sentence even though there are Bodo words for those words.

- b. *Azaj ja bip^hanip^hraj "mother serious" "telegraph" muṇṇanuṭi haṇp^hla sip^hla nṇaw p^huṭijṇ. (zuzajni ṛ P-36)*

English Rendering: Azaj receives a telegram from his father stating that his mother is serious, so he comes home anxiously.

In the above cited example 'mother serious' and 'telegraph' words are code mixed in between the sentence. This example is taken from the novel "zuzajni ṛ". In the novel Azaj lives in Sapotgram for his studies. One day his parents lied to him that his mother is seriously ill so he visited home. Here it is felt that author has used *mother serious* phrase and *telegraph* word to attract the attention of the readers and to make the story fascinating.

- c. *Sase 'under matric' zanaṇuṭibṇ dinuṭi aṇ zabaj bedṛ p^hannanuṭi zagra. (Muṭihur P-11)*

English Rendering: Even though I am under matric, today I have become a meat seller. In the above mentioned example code mixed technique is seen using. Here in the quoted sentence under matric words refers to one who's not pass matriculation examination or has studied upto class ten. In the story Golo earns by selling meats

hunting from the forest and with that means only he serves his old parents. Even though he was not willing to do such work, but has to do hunting because there was no other way for him, like if he gives his land to adhi also it's not sufficient and to do crops or cultivation in his own also he must be aware to chase the animals coming from forest which came to destroy the crops. Golo feels sad because even after acquiring a little education also he has to behave like an unknown or illiterate person, has to harm the animals of the forest after he fails to find a decent way for livelihood. Author tried to express his feelings and draw the attention of the readers by using the word under matric in the story.

Use of Arabic

- a. *san h̄or mit^hij̄uqi 'hardam' malaj̄naw zuu serep^h l̄uṇḥuṇibaj t^hanaj̄ni bima ḡodaj̄ni sajaw raga zuṇk^haṇn̄aj muṇu.* (Muṇihur P-40)

English Rendering: Seeing stepmother going to others' places to drink alcohol without worrying day and night, makes him/her angry.

Above cited example's code mixed word *hardam*¹⁹⁵ is an Arabic origin word. This statement is extracted from "Muṇihur" novel. 'Hardam' word represents the meaning of non-stop/always. In Boro language author could have used the word (zeblaj̄bu/̄raj̄bu which means always) 'sanp^hruṇmbu' (daily) though he hasn't used. Because it can be felt that author has used this word intentionally to attribute the beauty of the sentence in the story and to attract the attention of the readers.

- b. *M̄onzuk^hu za sannip^hraj nuduṇmuṇ l̄uḡu muṇduṇ muṇ aṇni guṣuṇk^huṇub̄u be k^huṭ^hajanu'naraz' k^halamduṇmuṇ.* (M̄onzubala Devi P- 4)

English Rendering: The day I saw Manzu - met her, it had made my heart angry too.

Above cited example is excerpted from the novel "Manzubala Devi". In this sentence author Nandeswar Daimary is seen code mixing a Persian word *nārāz*¹⁹⁶ > *naraz* which represents angry meaning. As the story of the novel narrated a Bamuṇ or Brahmin girl named Manzu and a Bodo boy Abhiram love each other. But as the social system or societal norms a girl or a boy who belongs to a Bamuṇ or Brahmin caste can not marry a girl or a boy of a lower caste. As Abhiram is a Bodo boy or belongs to a lower caste group of people he can not marry her. Therefore Abhiram used to be

¹⁹⁵Barua, Hem Chandra (2016): *The Assamese-English Dictioanry Hemkosha*. (17th ed). Hemkosha Prakashan. Guwahati. P-1358

¹⁹⁶McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*. (59th ed) Oxford University. UK. P-554

angry after he met Manzu on the prevailing discrimination or class differences between lower caste and Brahmin category. Here author is seen using the word 'naraz' intentionally to attract the attention of the readers.

- c. *Be p^haglia be 'kambakta' ja nuṇk^huṇu muṇaba zawlija zaḡuṇ nṇaba duḡijaw barsuṇṇanuḡi t^huṇaṇḡuṇ. (zuzajni or P-56)*

In the above extracted sentence Chittaranjan Muchahary has used a Persian word *kambakht*¹⁹⁷ > *kambakta*. This statement is excerpted from the novel "zuzajni or". Here author has code mixed 'kambakta' word which means unfortunate or luckless. As narrated in the novel Azaj and Alaisri love each other immensely and also composed a dream to marry her. But Azaj had to marry a girl named Alaka as his parents wish. Before wedding Azaj met Alaisri and asked Alaisri to forget him. After hearing all these words Alaisri was shocked like she wonders whether she is on the ground or heaven and inside her mind she was willing to say lots of things but she couldn't in real. At that moment Alaisri scolded herself calling 'kambakht' in her mind. It can be felt that author brought the kambakht word in the sentence and fully represents the feelings and emotions of Alaisri along with to attribute the beauty of the sentence.

5.6.2.4 Code Mixing in Drama

In Bodo Dramas, Code Mixed words from Indo-Aryan languages and English are commonly found. This discussion focuses on three selected modern dramas: "Anari" (1993) by Manaranjan Lahary, "Sigun Raja" by Tiren Boro, and "Mimangni Simang" (1995) by Kamal Kumar Brahma.

Use of Sanskrit

- (a) *ṇaram- B.A pariksa huḡk^haṇṇanuḡi aṇ deglajnuḡ haba k^halamnuḡsuḡi sanduḡuḡ. Ma-hama zaḡuṇ ne anari? (Anari P-12)*

English Rendering: Anaram - I thought of getting married this year after completing my BA examination. Is it a bad idea, Anari? (Anari P- 12)

In the example mentioned, it can be seen that the Sanskrit word *parīkṣā*¹⁹⁸ > *pariksha* has been code-mixed, meaning 'exam' in the Bodo language. This sentence has been extracted from Manaranjan Lahary's drama named 'Anari'. In the drama, Anari works as a maid servant at Dayaram Mahajan's (rich man's) house, and his son Anaram loves her. Anaram is a student, pursuing BA in Guwahati. One day, as mentioned in the above sentence, Anaram asked Anari about marrying him after he completed his BA

¹⁹⁷ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*. (59th ed) Oxford University. UK. p-168

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. P-610

examination. The author is an educated person; therefore, a code-mixing word from other languages in his writing is one of his techniques. Perhaps, in this sentence, he could have used the Bodo word 'anzad,' which means examination in English, even though he code-mixed the word 'pariksha' in his writing as a narrative technique in his drama or as part of his writing style.

(b) *Birgranj*: *p^huɪlawk^hu suɾgɪp^hurijaw t^hinhɔrnaj zasiguɲ. Yes p^huɪlawni t^hak^haj t^hɔrse bɔma t^hik k^halamnaj zaduɲ.* (sigun raza P-66)

English Rendering: Birgranj: P^huɪlao is going to be sent to heaven. Yes, a bomb has been prepared for Phwilao.

In the above-mentioned text, the Code Mixed word 'Suɾgɪ' has been adapted by changing phonemes from the Sanskrit word svarg¹⁹⁹>swarg in addition, the word 'p^huri' has been added as a suffix. In the drama "Sigun Raza" the main villain, politician Birgranj, refuses to allow his daughter Rɔɲzali to marry Phwilao, despite their love for each other. Instead, he is willing to marry his daughter to one of his own engineers. Therefore, when the engineer mentions Rɔɲzali and Phwilao to Birgranj, he reveals the conspiracy to kill Phwilao by placing a bomb in his vehicle, as mentioned in the previous sentence. In this dialogue, 'sending to heaven' means to kill. It is worth mentioning that the author seems to have Code Mixed this word by matching it with the character to capture the attention of the Drama's readers or to make it more engaging.

(c) *O.C – gasibuɪ sɔmawnuɪ t^hak^hazuɲ (Sanskrit) dajk^huɪ p^han^henuɪ haja zuɲk^hɲ*
(Sigun Raza p.75)

English Rendering: O. C. - Every crime cannot be concealed by money, zuɲk^hɲ. (P-75)

In the drama "Sigun Raza" zuɲk^hɲ, who is a man of the main villain, politician Birgranj, is revealed to be Arkhi Narzary. He killed Bakhunda Boro and others, and also attempted to kill Phwilao with a bomb. Even after committing such crimes, zuɲk^hɲ managed to evade punishment several times by bribing the O.C. But in the end, despite offering money, could not escape and the O. C. arrests zuɲk^hɲ. Zuɲk^hɲ asked the O. C. to save him or find a solution, but he (O.C.) told him that money couldn't always save him. In this dialogue, it is evident that despite the Bodo word 'rang' for money, a Sanskrit word ṭanka > ṭakā²⁰⁰ Hd. >thakha has been code mixed.

¹⁹⁹ McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*. (59th ed) Oxford University. UK. p-1050

It seems like the author intentionally used the word 't^hak^ha,' which is often used in Bodo, for a specific effect. Perhaps the dramatist found it more suitable for the dialogue.

(d) *Mujiraj*:- *manuy hejt^ha huja. hazar bar (Persian) huygun. Nuyni mawnaja zawlijanibla, nuyni sannaja cogen muguyit^haw lasin-sinbla an manuy hejt^ha huja?* (mimaṇni simaṇ p-64)

English Rendering: *Mujiraj*- Why didn't I oppose? I will oppose a thousand times. When your actions are insane, your thoughts unfair, disgusting, and shameful, why didn't I oppose?

In the above-mentioned dialogue from Kamal Kumar Brahma's "Mimaṇni Simaṇ" Drama, the word *hazār*²⁰¹ P. > 'hazar bar' thousand *bār*²⁰² Hd. time which means 'a thousand times' has been code-mixed in the middle of the sentence. For the word 'thousand' ('hazaar'), 'ruṣa' is used in the Bodo language, and for the word 'times' ('bar'), 'kheb' is used. According to the drama, *Mujirai* is the wife of *Anaram Mahazun*, a rich man. In the drama "Mimaṇni Simaṇ," poor *Hadang* is forced to send his daughter *Birala* to *Anaram*'s house as a maid because he was unable to repay the money he borrowed from *Anaram*. But deep down inside, *Anaram* secretly wants *Birala* to marry him. One day, *Mujirai* finds her husband asking *Birala* to marry him by bringing a necklace. Angered by this, she opposes her husband's behavior and tells him that she will continue to oppose him if he continues to do bad things. It seems like the author code-mixed the word 'hazaar baar' in the drama to add more color to the sentence.

(e) *Chilati*:- *mani huja nuylaj ? sat mulugzun lazi huzanaj, bisi-p^hisanuy zahunuy ruynui . ziu lananuyi manuy t^handun ? raga* (mimaṇni simaṇ p-35)

English Rendering: *Chilathi* - Why are you (act like) a man? One who is mocked across seven seas, why do you live, carrying your soul, when you can't even provide for your wife and children? Angry.

Due to his impoverished condition, *Hadang* faced humiliation when he went to borrow money from *Anaram Mahajwn*, a rich man, as he was unable to repay a previous loan. *Anaram*'s unjust behavior and the words spoken by his wife *Chilati* got stuck in *Hadang*'s heart like sharp arrows. In the drama "Mimangni Simang," the

²⁰⁰McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. (59th ed). Oxford University Press. UK. P-399

²⁰¹ Ibid. p-1055

²⁰² Ibid. p- 725

words *sāt*²⁰³ Hd.> 'saat' seven, *mulk*²⁰⁴ A. > *mulug* 'region', land or universe, and *lajjā*²⁰⁵ Skt.> *lazi* 'shame or mock' are code mixed in selected dialogue. But the word 'lazi' does not have a Bodo equivalent, so it is used as is. In the drama, the author code-mixed the words 'saat', 'mulug', and 'lazi' in the dialogue to capture the audience's attention and make the drama more socially relevant through code mixing.

(f) *T^hoben: p^ha muṣija sik^haraw t^haṇnaja sik^hark^huṣu muṇbajit^hṇ nuṇṇt^haṇ?* (**Anari** P-25)

English Rendering: Thoben - Did you catch any prey while you were hunting yesterday? In the drama "Anari," the above-mentioned sentence is said by a boy named Thoben to Abram. In the drama "Anari," a boy named Abram loves a girl named Binhari, who is the daughter of Mebla. One day, Abram went to propose to Binhari at her home, but she refused, stating that she would never love or marry him. In response, he attempted to harm her. At the right moment, Anaram rescues her. Abram told Thoben about his plan to propose to Binhari one day before he went to propose. Therefore, the next day, Thoben asked Abram through the above-mentioned sentence. In the drama "Anari," the word *śikār*²⁰⁶ > 'sikhar' 'hunting' is of Persian. Generally, the word 'sikhar' literally means hunting for animals. However, in this dialogue, saying 'sikhar' referred to understanding whether one had successfully convinced someone while giving a proposal to a man or woman. It seems that the author code-mixed the word 'sikhar' into rural code language to make the drama more socially relevant and interesting.

(g) *O.C: t^haruṣi aṇ bep^huṣrni matlabaw p^huṣijak^huṣmuṇ. Aṇ bep^huṣrbadi lalulalak^huṣu bara sabzaja. Sira huṣbaj zela lanuṣuṣi. Besebaṇ dṇṇ sir?* (sigun raza p-25)

English Rendering: O. C. - Honestly, I didn't come for these things. I don't like to take them. If Sir has given, I will accept them. How much is there, Sir?

The example mentioned has been extracted from Jatindra Nath Boro's drama "Sigun Raza." In the drama "Sigun Raza," when the O. C., Bathwu Narzary, went to ask some questions to the politician Birgrang Gayary, Birgrang Gayary, afraid of his earlier bad deeds being exposed or to silence him, asked for ten thousand rupees beforehand to keep quiet. Then the police O. C. simply said that he didn't come with the intention

²⁰³McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*. (59th ed.) Oxford University. UK. P-1003

²⁰⁴ Ibid. p-826

²⁰⁵ Ibid. p-881

²⁰⁶ Ibid. p- 949

of taking money, but he accepted it by saying that if it's given, then he will accept it. It seems that the author code-mixed the word matlab²⁰⁷ Hd. >matlab (originated from Arabic) 'purpose or motive' to enhance the beauty of the dialogue.

Use of Bangla

(a) *Bineswar :- (mininanuḡi) bari-bagan, chakor-bakorzuḡ ep^ha gidid ruḡhuḡ ruḡhuḡ nɔ t^hananuḡibuḡ nuḡḡt^haḡa gawk^huḡu garib huḡnnanuḡi lajuḡbla zuḡḡ mat^huḡ buḡnnanuḡi labaw laik^huḡ nuḡḡt^haḡ? (mimanḡni simaḡ p-29)*

English Rendering: Bineswar - (By laughing) Even though you have such a magnificent house like Bari-bagan (kitchen garden-farming lands), chakor-bakor (maid-servant), if you consider yourself poor, then what should I consider myself?

The example above has been Code Mixed with the Bangla words 'bari-bagan' is bārī²⁰⁸> bari, Bang. 'house' bāḡān²⁰⁹> bagan Bang. 'plantation' and chakor-bakor cākar²¹⁰>chakor 'a servant', which mean 'house-garden' or 'home-estate' and 'servant' or 'domestic help', respectively. It is worth mentioning that the word 'bakor' is just a reduplication added after the word 'chakor', which is meaningless. In the Drama, the O. C., Bineswar was a friend of Bidon during their academic years. One day, Bineswar had an inquiry in Bidon's neighboring village and also visited Bidon's house. Meeting his friend after a ten-year gap, Bidon was confused about what to offer for drinks and food, and he mentioned that they were a poor family. Bidon is the only son of Anaram, the owner of the huge home estate. Therefore, Bineswar replies to Bidon that if, despite having a huge home estate, numerous servants, and a beautiful house, Bidon considers himself poor, and then what should he (Bineswar) consider himself. There is no appropriate Bodo word for the word 'bari-bagan,' but for the word 'chakor,' the words 'ruati' or 'dahḡna' (maid and servant respectively) can be used. It seems like the dramatist used the words 'bari-bagan' because there are no appropriate words for them in the Bodo language. On the other hand, the Dramatist Code mixed even though there are suitable words, just to make the dialogue more effective and rhythmic.

(b) *Dɔjaram - zuḡbuḡd sima bart^habaj bijuḡ. Bek^huḡu tikna saza huḡjabla zat^harnaj nɔḡlija (Anari p-15)*

²⁰⁷McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*. (59th ed) Oxford University. UK. P-786

²⁰⁸Ibid. p-721

²⁰⁹Ibid. p-720

²¹⁰Ibid. p- 310

English Rendering: Doyaram- She has crossed her limit by a great extent. She must be given a severe punishment. (Anari p-15)

The example mentioned above has been extracted from Manaranjan Lahary's Drama named "Anari". In the Drama "Anari". Anari is the housemaid of Doyaram Mahajwn. Doyaram has two sons, Anaram and Binaram. Doyaram decides to marry off his son Anaram to a girl named Binhari as soon as he passes the BA exam. On the other hand, Anaram and Anari secretly love each other, a fact that Binaram, his younger brother, discovered when he overheard their intimate conversation. He then informed their father about it. Doyaram becomes very angry, reacting strongly by accusing Anari of crossing a certain limit. He believes she should be punished because he had warned her before and not to talk to his sons. In Bodo language, the word for 'sima' (limit) is "rugung" and 'thik' (satisfactory) is "thwjase". It seems like the Dramatist code-mixed the words in the dialogue based on what comes to mind or mouth when angry, considering the context and the character.

(c) *Birgranj: police ni mansini soman **k^harab** A/B mansi guija* (sigun raza p-25)

English Rendering: Birgrang- There is no man as bad as the police.

In the dialogue from Jatindra Boro's Drama "Sigun Raja" which has been code-mixed from Bangla into Bodo language, the word 'kharab' is originally derived from the Arabic language, meaning 'bad.' The police O. C. Bathwu Narzary question a politician, Birgrang Goyary, and intimidate him into giving him ten thousand rupees. After counting the money, he explains the benefits to Birgrang and says that he will visit him again if necessary. In this, Birgrang says that there is no man as bad as the police. In this dialogue, the Dramatist could have used the Bodo word 'gajri' instead of 'kharab', but chose not to because by code mixing he (Dramatist) is trying to capture the audience's attention.

(d) *Sombaru- **asol** habaja zajakhuimyn **hoj** nat^haj sanuizuy sri: sri: **gandharba** haba k^halamk^hymajuy. Be dani got^hcanuy zaduy onaramni **wurosaw** zunum zanj.* (Anari P. 65)

English Rendering: Sombaru- Even though their actual marriage didn't happen, they secretly conduct a Gandharva marriage. The child they have now is Anaram's illegitimate child.

The sentence given above is spoken by Sambaru in a meeting in the drama "Anari." In this, Assamese words 'asol' (original), 'hoj' (true), 'gondhorbo' (a mutual marriage without any rituals), and 'wuros' (illegitimate son) have been Code Mixed in the

sentence. The words Code Mixed in the sentence are originally from Arabic and Sanskrit, have been used through Assamese into Bodo language. In the Drama, the protagonist Anari, without being married, secretly love each other with Anaram and gives birth to a child. To determine the true parentage of the child, the villagers held a meeting regarding Anari. In this, a man named Sambaru from the village speaks the above given sentence. Here, the sentence fits well with the situation of the accident and the characters involved. In Bodo language, there are appropriate words for 'asol' and 'hoj', which are 'gubui' (original) and 'sujithu' (true). However, it seems like the author used these words to bring more beauty to the sentence. On the other hand, no appropriate Bodo words have been found for 'gondhorbo' and 'uqros'. Therefore, it seems that these words have been Code Mixed to convey the full meaning of the sentence and to make it more socially relevant.

(e) *Mondol* : **apunar** *lundaw* **k^hap^hal** (Sigun Raza p-15)

English Rendering: Mondol- You have a big forehead.

In the above Code Mixed dialogue, the words 'apunar' and 'khaphal' are Assamese words. In the Drama, one day, while Rongjali is reading a magazine, Mwuzadar comes to ask Birgrang Goyary. Mwuzadar asks Rongjali to see his horoscope. While reading the horoscope, Mandal also arrives and asks to read his horoscope. First, Rongjali reads Mwuzadar's horoscope and tells him that he will get fifty thousand rupees if he buys a lottery ticket worth five hundred rupees. Both Mwuzadar and Mandal are shocked to hear this, and Mandal says the sentence mentioned above. Here, 'apunar lundao khaphal' is used as an idiomatic sentence which means good fortune. Mwuzadar and Mandal are both men of the politician Birgrang, and they are both very greedy for money. Therefore, they quickly appreciate each other's good fortune when they hear about the horoscope prediction regarding getting money. It seems that these words have been naturally Code Mixed to match the character with the sentence.

Use of Persian- Arabic

(a) *P^huɪlaw*: ɔ, *anɪ na?* **bekar** *sak^hrip^huɪr muɪnbaj bajɟuɪmuɪn nama p^hɔrajsa ap^had, harimu ap^had, ɔnsaj ap^had, maba-mabijaw gidiɲnanuɪ B.A k^huɪnuɪ pass khalamnuɪ hajak^hisui t^hadu.* (Sigun raza p-32)

English Rendering: Phuɪlaɔ - O, me? Unemployed, Would I perhaps get a job seving in students union, Harimu Afad, onsai afad, and others organization. Could not pass the B.A examination.

The above example is said by Phwilao in the Drama "Sigun Raza." Phwilao is a social worker who has been working in various social organizations. Since he does not have a job, when Rongjali asked what he does, he referred to himself as unemployed. Here, the word *bekār*²¹¹ > *bekar* Persian origin and has been Code Mixed into the Bodo Drama through Hindi and Assamese languages. The Dramatist chose to use the word 'bekar' through Code Mixing even though there is an appropriate Bodo word for it. It seems like the Dramatist is trying to depict it as real by matching the context.

(b) *Bineswar:- beju zagun. da aṇ tʰaṇdini. chohorsim lamajabu mile bruiṣu dṇo suhuṣigū manu muṇahuṣigunṣu. (gṇoṣu) kʰulumbaj tʰadu. (mimaṇni simaṇ p-32)*

English Rendering: Bineswar- This will happen. I'm leaving now. The road to the town is about four miles away, so it will be night by the time I reach there. 'Khulumbai' (Greetings) goodbye.

In the above dialogue, the code-mixed word *śahr*²¹² > *chohor* is of Persian origin, which means town or city. In the drama, Bineswar Swargiary, a police O. C. is Bidon's friend from their academic years. Once, while visiting Bidon's family, Bidon's mother, Muṣirai, asks him to have lunch at their house, and at that time, Bineswar says the above-mentioned dialogue. The word 'chohor' is of Persian origin and has been used in the Bodo language through Hindi because there is no appropriate Bodo word for it. Therefore, it seems that the dramatist has code-mixed to fulfill the necessity of the word.

(c) *Sombaru- [ese guṛa zanaṇuṣi] kʰobardar, aṇni pʰisakʰu za daj pʰuṣawbaj, pʰuṣawbaj aṇni siṇaṇaw buṣitʰali buṇnu muṇṇaj nṇa. (Anari p-42)*

English Rendering: Sombaru- (Roughly or stern tone) Beware. No matter what accusations you have made and spread about my daughter, you cannot call her a prostitute in front of me. (Anari p-42)

Sombaru's daughter, Anari, is a maid in the house of Doyaram Mahajwn, working to repay a debt. Doyaram accuses Anari of talking to both of his sons, Anaram and Binaram, and of loving Anaram. He also accuses her of Anaram running away before marriage, among other things, and throws her out of his house. In front of Anari's father Sambaru, Doyaram scolds her with bitter words for the accusations. At the

²¹¹McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*. (59th ed) Oxford University. UK. P-744

²¹²Ibid. P-946

same time, Doyaram's wife Topsy also calls her a prostitute. This angers Sambaru, who warns them to be careful, stating that no matter what accusations have been made against his daughter, they cannot insult her with such language. At that moment, Sombaru used the Persian word *khābardār*²¹³ > *khōbardar* 'beware' with a stern tone. Perhaps the dramatist found this word more suitable to convey anger, and that's why it was used. This word has been incorporated into the Bodo language from Hindi.

Use of English

- (a) *Nozor :- t^het t^her buyt^hurasuṭ uruṭinuṭ zuḃnuṭsuṭi **worthless** mansiluṭi bip^huṭr* '(**mimaṇni simaṇ** k^hint^higase p-7)

English Rendering: Nozor- Thet ther, the season is going to end just like that, what a worthless person

The above sentence, extracted from Kamal Kumar Brahma's drama "Mimaṇni Simaṇ" Act One, is spoken by Nozor. Nozor and Sanu are waiting for Johon to play cards. Johon is Hadang's son, who is a good-hearted person but becomes bad after falling into bad company due to his family's poor financial condition. Both of them are dropouts. They idly drink wine, play cards, and earn money through intimidation. The dramatist seems to have used the word "worthless" in the dialogue to depict the dropouts' use of English language in their conversation and to engage the audience.

- (b) *Doyaram – (ragazuṭṭṇanuṭi) hab bidisuṭ bisuṭruṭ! Nuṭṭ^hana ma najbaj t^hak^huṭ p^halaj, **meeting** k^halamnuṭi manza huṭ.* (Anari p-30)

English Rendering: Doyaram: (Angrily) Oh, they are like that! What are you waiting for, conduct a meeting and punish them

In the drama "Anari," the village headman's daughter Binhari is engaged to marry Doyaram's son Anaram. However, a worthless boy, Abram, keeps enticing Mebla by offering wine and meat to marry his daughter Binhari. One day, he warns Mebla on the road that if he does not marry off Binhari to him, he will do something harmful. All this is reported to Doyaram Mahajwn so that Onaram and Binhari's marriage can take place soon. Upon learning of the matter, Doyaram gets angry and instructs Mebla to convene a meeting against Abram, Thoben, and others, and take action to punish them. Perhaps, the dramatist has code-mixed the word "meeting" because it is a commonly used word in the Bodo language.

²¹³McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*. (59th ed) Oxford University. UK. P-229

(c) *Burk^haq: nu^hni ziuni suis (switch) ja nu^hni ak^hajaw guija p^hu^hlaw.* (sigun raza p-47)

English Rendering: Burk^haq: Your life's switch is not in your hand, P^hu^hlaw.

In the drama "Sigun Raza," the politician Birgrang Gayary contracts his associate Jwngkhang to murder Phwilao's father. Phwilao's father, Bakhunda Boro, takes a photo of Orkhi Narzary's murder and sends it to the newspaper editor, Jwrdad. But the person who took the photo is either the murderer or a key witness," Jwrdad tells Phwilao. Upon hearing this, Phwilao resolves to uncover the conspirators behind his father's murder and ensure they face justice. However, Jwrdad warns Phwilao against pursuing the truth, as it could lead to disaster, revealing that Birgrang Gayary is behind the conspiracy and if the truth comes out, Phwilao's life will be in danger. In this context, "your life's switch" implies that Phwilao's fate is in the hands of others. The word *suis* (switch) is used by the author to attract the audience's attention.

5.7 Code Switching

Sociolinguists Gumperz initially used the term; Code switching' in the 1960's. The term code refers to *languages, dialects, styles of speech; while switch denotes to an alternation or change between varieties of languages, dialects or styles*²¹⁴. Code-switching is a common language strategy used in conversation and literature, involving the use of two or more languages in a single sentence or act of conversation. It occurs when a speaker is bilingual or multilingual. In a multicultural and multilingual society, individuals often learn more than one or two languages. Someone who learns more than one language is bilingual, while someone who learns more than two languages is multilingual. When a person is bilingual or multilingual, code switching occurs automatically. Through code switching, a person tries to express their own thoughts and experiences.

According to Poplock (1980) *code-switching" as the alteration of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent*²¹⁵.

According to Hudson (1996) *code-switching is the inevitable consequences of bilingualism, as anyone who speaks more than one language chooses between them according to circumstances*²¹⁶.

²¹⁴Gardner. Chloros, P. (2009): *Code switching*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. P-11

²¹⁵ Poplack, S. (1980): *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish and Y termino en español*. *Linguistics*. P-581

Romaine (1992) mention as *code switching is defining as the use of more than one language, variety, or style by speaker within an utterance or discourse, or between different interlocutors or situations*²¹⁷.

Holmes (1992) *code switching occurs when the speaker shifted their language from one language to another. Code switching is switched essentially between sentences*²¹⁸.

Code mixing, code switching, and borrowing can occur at all levels of language, including phonological, lexical, semantic, and syntactic, and in all modalities, whether written or spoken. Code mixing with English, Hindi, and other languages suggests modernization, westernization, knowledge, prestige, etc. Code switching occurs at the clause level and sentence level. It can also occur within a single sentence.

5.7.1 Types of Code Switching

1. Inter-sentential code-switching: It is also known as extra-sentential switching, occurs at the sentence level. For example: "Woh ek bahut achha ladka hai. He obeys his parents."

2. Intra-sentential code-switching: It occurs within a sentence. When two languages are used in a sentence, it is called code-switching. It can be based on the clause level, such as "I like him kyuki woh mehnati hai." Intra-sentential code-switching can also occur at the lexical level, such as "I like jalebi."

1. Lexical level: The lexical level involves using a word as it is in a sentence to convey meaning. For instance, in English, the word "Jalebi" is used without translation because there is no equivalent word in English.

2. Phonological level: Code-switching at the phonological level involves changing the phonemes of the donor language in a sentence. For example, "iskhul" changes the pronunciation of "school."

3. Morphological or grammar level: This level involves adding morphological or grammatical elements of one language to another. For instance, in Bodo, the English word "student" is used by adding the plural suffix "p^huɾ" to become "studentp^huɾ" (students).

4. Hybrid level: Code-mixing at the hybrid level occurs in compound words, like "rail gari."

²¹⁶Hudson, R.A. (1996): *Sociolinguistics*. (2nded.). Cambridge University Press. p.53

²¹⁷ Romaine, Suzane (1992): *Bilingualism*. Blackwell Publishers: Cambridge, p-10

²¹⁸ Holmes, Janet (1992): *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (4thed). London Longman Group UK Group. P-50

5. Prosodic style of speaking: In this style, words from another language are used as if they were native in a language. For example, the English word "form" is used as "p^hrɔm" in Bodo.

6. Fused lect: Code-mixing at the fused lect level involves blending languages, as in the word "motel."

3. Tag switching: Tag switching involves adding a question tag after two sentences, for example okay? You know, I mean etc.

To study or investigate the code switching there are three different perspectives or approaches such as Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics and Structural. In Sociolinguistics, the social motivation that drive the speakers to code from one to other languages have been investigated. Psycholinguistics theories investigate the cognitive process where two or more languages are working at the same time and structural theory focuses on the grammatical rules that interfere the combination of different languages during switching process. In this study code switching will be investigated through the sociolinguistics perspective.

5.7.2 Code Switching in Bodo Written Literature (New phase)

In Bodo literature, like other Indian literature, Code Mixing or Code Switching is used as a strategy or process in language. It is dominant-metric with minor-embedded features. Some linguists use the terms code mixing and code switching interchangeably, while others distinguish between them.

There are many reasons for Code Switching, which will be illustrated through examples. Code Switching commonly occurs in both oral and written forms in Bodo. Code switching in short story: While not all languages' code-switching is found in the selected short stories, some instances are highlighted here.

5.7.2.1 Code switching in short story

In the selected short story books, along with Code Mixing, examples of Code Switching are also found. In the short stories, Hindi, Bangla, and English sentences are Code Switched intermittently, aligning with the story's context and characters. These instances are discussed below-

Use of Hindi

- (a) *S.I Madan Muchahary ja tebil sajaw t^hanaj rulk^hyu dik^haynanuqi gɔjaramni p^hap^hlijaw buɬy hyɬnanuqi t^halt^ham bunanuqi ragazuɲ buɲbaj- b^hag sala kutta k^hahe kɔ.* (guɯzɯɲ dera, duɟimu dera p.42)

English Rendering: S.I. Madan Muchahary picked up the truncheon from the table and struck Goyaram's shoulder forcefully, saying angrily, 'Run, you bastard!'

The above excerpt is from Chittaranjan Muchahary's short story "Gujuun Dera Duimu Dera." In this story, the author has used Code Switching with Hindi words, which is evident. The story revolves around Dhoniram's wife Rupathi and Sonasri's husband Aniram, who are in love and elope secretly. Dhaniram and Sonasri file a case with S.I. Madan Muchahary, asking the police to apprehend Rupathi and Aniram quickly. However, S.I. Madan Muchahary advises Dhoniram and Sonasri not to tarnish their reputation by pursuing them legally, as Aniram and Rupathi are now inseparable. He suggests they reconcile and live peacefully, rather than becoming a source of amusement for others by bringing the matter to court. Just then, Dhoniram's brother-in-law rushes in, informing them that the elopers have been found, and they need to hurry. This angers S.I. Madan Muchahary, who hits Gayary hard on the shoulder and says, "bhag sala kutta khahe ko". The use of Hindi in this dialogue by the S.I., who is a Boro, is natural and fluently spoken as by a native Hindi speaker. It is common for police officers to converse in Hindi, and the dialogue is Code Switched at the appropriate moment. In the story, the author has used Code Switching to add authenticity to the narrative.

(b) *t^haññaj sɔmaw hɔle gawsini dari aru k^haññaj guɭawaw hɔmnanuɣi sɔmaj lananuɣi Hindiɣalap^hra buɳlaɳduɣmuɳ – bahen tumhara dukh ka samay par hamlog jarur a zayenge.* (Srimoti durlai p-5)

English Rendering: At the time of departure, the Hindi speakers said, while holding their beards and hair, 'Sister, we will surely be present during your times of sorrow'.

The above sentence is extracted from the short story "Srimati Durlai." In this sentence, Hindi is code-switched while being conveyed in Bodo. Srimati Durlai is the protagonist of the story, known for her proficiency in languages like Bangla, Assamese, Hindi, and others. Srimati Durlai has always kept a place at her house for guests from her own community, as well as from other communities, whether known or unknown. She is also well-acquainted with Punjabi truck drivers, who vow to help her in her times of need forever. The author narrates the early part of the sentence in Bodo and code-switches to Hindi, mimicking the way truck drivers and Hindi speakers converse in Hindi. This code-switching blends well with the story's context and characters, making it more engaging and appealing to readers.

Use of Bengali

(a) *hat^hajsaliaw mansi gezerzuṅ siṅk^hawlaṅblabu dɔk^handarip^hra rajdaw hɔrt^harguṅ- didi, bhal shankha ase, niben na durlaija mit^higuṅu gawk^huṅuṅu buṅduṅ.*

p^hinnajabu salaj bizuawnuṅ- tomar shankha ami nibe, amakhe phakhi dibar pharibe buzise na ? (Srimoti durlai P-2)

English Rendering: In the midst of the crowded market, shopkeepers call out, "Sister, these are good shanka (white conch shell bangles for married women), will you buy? Durlai knows they are calling out to her.

English Rendering: Her response is always on the tip of her tongue: I will buy your bangles if you can give me credit.

The conversation above is from Haribhusan Brahma's short story "Srimati Durlai." In this narrative, the author primarily uses Bodo, but at times, code-switches to Bangla. For example, "hathajsalijao mansi gezerzuṅ siṅkhaṅlaṅblabu dɔkhandaripra rajdao hɔrtharguṅ" (in the midst of the crowded market, shopkeepers call out) is narrated in Bodo, while "Didi, bhal shankha ase, niben na" (Sister, these are good shanka, will you buy) is in Bangla. Then, "durlaija mithiguṅu gaɔkhuṅuṅu buṅduṅ" (Durlai knows they are calling out to her) reverts to Bodo. This pattern continues, with the next sentence in Bodo, followed by Durlai's response Code Switched to Bangla. The protagonist, Srimati Durlai, is fluent in Bangla and Hindi, so when men from other communities see her, they immediately start conversations, and she responds quickly. This behavior surprises some Bodo men, as women like Srimati Durlai are rare in Bodo society. The author's use of Code Switching to Bangla in these interactions adds a realistic touch to the story, making it more engaging for readers.

Use of English

(a) *Attendant nurse a barandajaw bit^haṅ bɔnzitk^huṅu nunajni luḡuḡuḡu zɔbrani room nip^hraj uṅk^harbuṅanuṅi buṅp^huḡiduṅmuṅ- I am happy to inform you sir, your Mrs. Has regained her memory. She is coming round now* (ajna gɔṅse muḡk^haṅ gɔṅnuṅi p-25)

English Rendering: After seeing Bonjit on the balcony, the attendant nurse, came out from the patient room and said, 'I am happy to inform you, sir, your Mrs. has regained her memory. She is coming round now.

The mentioned example is taken from the king of short stories, Nilkamal Brahma's short story "ajna gɔṅse muḡkhaṅ gɔṅnuṅi". The protagonist of the story is the author

himself. In the story, the author is a Bodo and works as a reporter for the United News Agency in South East Asia, residing in Delhi. On the other hand, Kumar Bonjit is a first-class contractor and timber merchant. They become acquainted with each other during a journey to Darjeeling, sharing the same coach on a train. Kumar Bonjit was traveling to visit his wife, who has been suffering from heart disease for the past ten years. The day after their arrival, Kumar Bonjit takes the author along to visit his wife. Upon seeing Kumar Bonjit, the attending nurse delivers the above mentioned sentence. It is noteworthy that the author narrates the story in Bodo, but Code Switches to English during their conversation, as Kumar Bonjit is from a different community, and the interaction in the story occurs in English. This use of code-switching enhances the story's naturalness and appeal.

- (b) *gawsurni nɔnip^hraj aŋ p^huip^hinnaj sɔmaw buŋduŋmuŋ bidishaja—‘Private p^hɔrajsalijaw privet life ni maba prospect dɔŋsuɪ? **I mean your privet life!**’*
(Bidisha p-53)

English Rendering: Bidisha said to me while I was coming back to her house- 'Is there any prospect of a private life in a private school? I mean your private life!

The above example is extracted from Nilkamal Brahma's short story "Bidishal". The author himself plays the main role in the story. The author went to see a girl named Bidisha for marriage, as his parents wished. The author is a private school teacher, while Bidisha is the daughter of a rich man and studies in a college in Guwahati. When the author went to see her for marriage, Bidisha said the above-mentioned sentence. Here, codeswitching to English is found in between the Bodo speech. It's noteworthy that Bidisha is a rich man's daughter and studies in Guwahati, making her a modern or updated girl. Her character is clearly portrayed in the above sentence, suggesting she is proud of her wealth, education, or intelligence. It seems that the author code switched to depict the character of the story more accurately and to enhance its beauty.

- (c) *nat^haj bazuɪ **Misfortune never comes alone** !haba zaguɲni sanbani awgɔjaw kɔmlajabu t^huɪbaj.* (guɲmanaj dairy p.32)

English Rendering: But sister-in-law, 'misfortune never comes alone!' Five days before the wedding, Kamala also passed away.

This sentence is extracted from Chittaranjan Muchahary's short story "guɲmanaj Dairy". In the story, Amrit is a college professor and the main character. When the principal's wife asks Amrit about his past, he recounts it reluctantly. He reveals that

after his father's death, both his fiancée and later his wife, Ramela, passed away. Amrit code-switches to English in the above sentence to emphasize the series of unfortunate events that have occurred in his life, suggesting that misfortunes tend to come in succession. Amrit being a professor, the use of code-switched English sentences in the story is plausible. The author may have used code-switching to accurately depict the character and to add liveliness and realism to the story.

5.7.2.2 Code Switching in Novel

In the three modern period Dramas selected for discussion, examples are also found where Assamese and Bangla sentences are code-switched to make the story more engaging by aligning it with the context. For example-

Use of Assamese

- (a) *aṇni t'ṭṭhṇhṇaj aru maduṇi "iyate ahibi buyari" hṇnnanuṇi gabzri najaw lazi duṇmuṇblabuy guṇhuṇ muṇduṇmuṇ zanaṇguṇu.* (Manzubala Devi P.42)

English Rendering: In my words telling her to go, and my aunt calling her saying 'come here daughter-in-law', she might have felt shy but it might have also given her strength. The mentioned example is extracted from the novel "Manzubala Devi" and the novelist narrates the above sentence through the character of Abhiram in the story. Abhiram and Manzubala Devi love each other. Abhiram is Bodo, and Manzubala is an Assamese Brahmin. One day, Abhiram took Manzubala to visit his house, and when Manzubala became uneasy with shyness, Abhiram's aunt called her to come near. Abhiram's aunt spoke in Assamese because Manzubala is Assamese and doesn't know Bodo. It seems that the novelist used code switching to the Assamese language in narrating the story without translating it into Bodo to maintain the beauty of the story and to attract the attention of the readers.

- (b) *"ahok mor room ot" bibdi hṇnnanuṇi hablaṇuṇ Alakaja enzṛ gudṇaw hablaṇnaj bajdi* (zuzajni or p-38)

English Rendering: Come in my room,' Alaka said as she entered inside like a rat entering a hole.

In Chittaranjan Muchahary's novel "zuzajni or" Azay becomes confused when going to Alaka's house as per his parents' command. The main issue is that Azaj's parents sent him to see Alaka for a wedding proposal, but Alaka and her father were already aware of this. Upon his arrival, Alaka speaks to Azay in Assamese right from the start, even though she is a Bodo. Alaka is the daughter of a wealthy man and a

modern girl who has studied outside. Although the novelist narrates the story in Azaj's Bodo language, He code switches Alaka's dialogue to Assamese to maintain the authenticity and beauty of the story.

- (c) *hagrajaw habu sik^haw k^hawnu, beuhaj sap^hrasik^hu ma suṇbawnuṇ guṇaṇ dōṇ? nat^haj da bep^hurk^hu sana-hōa golo k^huṇṇ “zot dos nanda ghas” badi k^halambaj.* (Muṇihur p-63)

English Rendering: Enters the forest to steal, why bother asking the peon? Now the blame is solely on Golo without considering the circumstances.

The above sentence is from Dharnidhar Wary's novel "Muṇihur". The novelist narrates that the main character, Golo, used to hunt before, but later he gets a small job in the forest department. The hunters from neighboring villages become jealous of Golo and suspect that he informs the ranger about their activities. Although the hunters enter the forest to steal, they blame Golo for everything. The novelist portrays this by code switching the Bangla sentence "zot dos nanda ghas" indicating that the other hunters blame Golo for all wrongdoings. This codeswitching adds to the novel's beauty and effectiveness, even though the sentence could have been narrated in Bodo.

5.7.2.3 Code Switching in Drama

In the drama, Assamese, Hindi, and English languages have also been code-switched, and the dramatists were able to make the dramas more realistic. Such as-

Use of Assamese

- (a) *Mebla- [K^hōrō t^hik^hōṇṇanuṇi] nōṇguṇuṇi geba .bōrōp^hra ese lek^ha ruṇbat^haj aṇ bōrō b^hasa ruṇlija moi bōrō b^hasa nazanu asōmiya he zanu huṇnnanuṇi lasuṇi bra. Be sōrōnija habnājp^hrat^hō Bōrō b^hasak^hu garse garnanuṇi muguṇibawsuṇ bisuṇ bamunni at^hiṇ sunanuṇi ‘zuṇ asōmiya’ buṇṇanuṇi laju. najba aruṇ sri sri zuṇ oṇa dabk^ha t^humnaṇk^hu nagara.* (Anari p-37)

English Rendering: Mebla- (nodding his head): It's true, Geba. Boro people say, 'moi Boro bhasa najanu, asomiya he janu' (I don't know Bodo language, I know Assamese) when they become a bit educated. Those who convert or assimilate to Saraniya, even after quitting, they often despise the Bodo language, calling themselves Assamese after washing the feet of a Brahmin. But if you observe closely, they don't actually quit rice beer, pork, or the making of distilled wine.

The above mentioned example is a conversation between Mebla and Geba from Manaranjan Lahary's drama "Anari." In the Drama, Geba inquires about Mebla's daughter, Binhari, after seeing her at Doyaram Mahajan's house. Mebla explains that

Anaram was supposed to marry Binhari, but on the day of the wedding, Anaram leaves a letter to his father stating that he wants to work for social reformation and his community instead of marrying at the moment. Consequently, Binhari is married off to Anaram's younger brother, Binaram. Gebla, being a simple and mature person, believes that Bodo culture, including traditions like consuming pork and rice beer, as well as the language, is still prevalent and serving the community well. He questions the need for reform. He also remarks that only the educated individuals have abandoned the Bodo language and adopted Assamese or Bangla. Mebla agrees with Gebla, adding that some people, after receiving a little education, consider themselves as not knowing the Bodo language and distance themselves from the Bodo community, as illustrated in the example. The Dramatist has narrated the drama in Bodo language, but has used code switching to include Assamese language in some parts of the dialogue to highlight the story. This technique was likely used to make the drama more effective and engaging to the audience.

Use of Hindi

(b) *O.C- lalu ka alu, dimag ka chalu. Ap ka black money bisness ka partnership bhi hey na?*

Laluram – chahab ap ma bunḍuḥ?

O.C- nuḥt^hanḥmuḥnni gaḥ aw suḥr-suḥr dḥḥ- yeh bhi zanta hoon kuch din ke baad apke waha za raha hoon

Laluram- beni sigaḥ t^hanajaw apse milenge. p.76 sigun raza

English Rendering: O. C. - Lalu's potato, clever brain. Do you have a partnership in the black money business?

English Rendering: Laluram - Saheb, sir, what are you saying?

English Rendering: O. C. - Who else is in your gang? I know that too. After some days, I will reach that point as well.

English Rendering: Laluram - Before that, we'll meet you at the police station. (P-76) (Sigun Raza p-76)

In Jatindra Nath Boro's drama "Sigun Raza," there is code-switching of many English and Hindi words. As a political drama with diverse characters and content involving people from various communities, conversations in different languages, including English and Hindi, are expected. The above-mentioned sentence is spoken by O. C. Bathwu Narzary to the businessman Laluram. Laluram is portrayed as a

businessman, smuggler, and murderer associated with Birrang Goyary. The O. C. is aware of all the gang members of Laluram, so he warns him. Although the drama is narrated in Bodo, and the O. C. is also a Bodo, he speaks in Hindi and code switches between Hindi and Bodo in the same sentence. An O. C. is expected to be proficient in Hindi, English, or other regional languages as needed, so the code switching in this example reflects the character's language versatility.

Use of English

(c) *bidon* :- (*muɣkʰaŋ nunanuɪ*) *Hello Swargiyari babu ! after a long ten years.*
 (*akʰai dakʰɔ laju*). *Hab nuŋtʰaŋa zeruɪ badi police dress aw pʰuɪduŋ*
sinainuɲuɲ guɣrab zatʰarduŋmuɲ. Hɔnuɪ zuŋha babuatʰɔ ginanuɪ tʰuɪ tʰuɪr
...pʰuɪ nuŋtʰaŋ buɪ saɟajaw zɪrai pʰuɪduɪ. (mimaŋni simaŋp-29)

English Rendering: Bidon: (recognizing) Hello, Mr. Swargiary! 'After a long ten years'(They shake hands) Wow, you look so different in that police uniform, I almost didn't recognize you. Look, our younger one here is still nervous. Please, have a seat in the shade over there.

The above example is from Kamal Kumar Brahma's drama "Mimangni Simangl. In the Drama, Bidon and Bineswar were college friends. When Bineswar got promoted from Sub-Inspector to Officer-in-Charge in the police service, he was transferred to a neighboring village of Bidon's. One day, Bineswar visits Bidon's family by inquiring about the route. Bidon, upon recognizing him, starts the conversation by code-switching in English, saying, "Hello, Swargiary Babu! It's been ten long years." After that, Bidon continues the conversation in Bodo. They hadn't met since college, and this meeting occurs after ten years, with Bineswar as an OC and Bidon as an advocate. Both being educated, they start their conversation in English, which fits the characters and context of the drama. The use of English adds to the realism of the scene.

Engineer: *ɾɔŋzali? nuŋ razi ɾɔŋablabaɲ nuɲpʰaja aŋnuɪ batʰra huɣkʰabaj ɾɔŋzali*
ɾɔŋzali: it is impossible. (Sigun Raza p-34)

English Rendering Engineer: *ɾɔŋzali?* Even if you don't agree, your father has given his word to me, *ɾɔŋzali*.

English Rendering: *ɾɔŋzali:* It is impossible

In the Drama, an engineer likes politician Birrang Goyary's daughter Rongjali, and her father also approves of him as a son-in-law. However, Rongjali does not

reciprocate the engineer's feelings; instead, she loves Phwilao. Despite Rongjali's lack of interest, the engineer tells her that her father has promised him her hand in marriage. Rongjali responds that such a thing is impossible. The engineer's dialogue is in Bodo, but the dramatist has codeswitched Rongjali's response to English. Both characters are educated, so the dramatist's use of English code-switching is fitting and adds to the drama's depth. It appears that the dramatist has employed English in the dialogue to enhance the drama's impact.

5.8 Conclusion

Code mixing and code switching are essential topics in sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics discusses the relationship between humans and society. Code mixing and code switching occur in bilingual and multilingual situations. Assam is a multilingual and multicultural state in India with diverse Social, Cultural, Economic, and Religious aspects. Bodo language speakers are mostly bilingual or multilingual. The reasons of borrowing in written literature reveals through code mixing and code switching. The discussion of the chapter focuses on the use of code mixing and code switching in written Bodo literature, including Poetry, Short Stories, Novels, and Dramas through Sociolinguistics perspectives. The discussion thoroughly examines the practice of code mixing and code switching in Bodo written literature in two eras: the early phase and the new phase. This is because there are differences in code mixing and code switching between the literature of the Old era and the Modern era. Examples in the sentences of written literature from the old era to the modern era of Bodo clearly show the use of not only Indo-Aryan and European (English) languages but also Persian and Arabic languages in code mixing and code switching. Writers employ code mixing and code switching in their writing to attract and interest readers, enhance the beauty of the story by blending sentences with characters and refer to sentences accurately, as discussed thoroughly in this chapter.

References

1. Barua, Hem Chandra (2016): *The Assamese-English Dictioanry*. 17th Edition. Hemkosha Prakashan. Guwahati.
2. Crystal, David (2008): *A Dictionay of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6thed. Blackwell Publishing. USA.
3. Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009): *Code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
4. Hornby, AS (2005): *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. 7th ed. Oxford University Press. New York.
5. Holmes, Janet (1992): *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* 4th Edition. London Longman Group UK Group.
6. Hudson, R.A. (1996): *Sociolinguistics*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge University Press. UK.
7. Lahary, Manaranjan (1991). *Boro Thunlaini Zarimin*. 1st Edition. Alaiyaron Publishers Kokrajhar.
8. Matthews, P.H. (2014): *Oxford Concise Dictionary of linguistics* 3rd Edition. Oxford University press.
9. McGregor, R.S (2019): *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*. 59th Edition. Oxford University Press. UK.
10. Muysken, Pieter (2000): *Bilingual speech A typology of code mixing* 2nd Edition Cambridge University Press, UK.
11. Poplack, S. (1980): *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish and Y termino enespanol*.Linguistics.
12. Peter (2007): *Socilinguistics* 2nd Edition. Routledge. New York.
13. Romaine, Suzane. (1992). *Bilingualism*. Blackwell Publishers: Cambridge, Stockwell.
14. Suwito (1996). *Sosiolinguistik*. Surakarta, Indonesia: Sebelas Maret University Press.
15. Wardhaugh, Ronald (1986): *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 1st Edition. Blackwell Publishing. USA.