

CHAPTER-III

DEFINING AND REDIFINING CULTURE IN THE BODO AND THE MISING MOVEMENT: CULTURE AS A FORCE OF MOBILISATION

Language and Literature

Though it is generally thought that past is always past, yet it is noticed that for the best interest of the needs of present it becomes sometimes necessary to verify or to renew the past. This is relevant to a nation building or revival process as well. The importance of cultural element is always greater than any other elements in a nation building or revival process. Some cultural elements are lost or on the verge of being lost with the change of time. To find them out and rehabilitate those elements have become main factors in a nation building process. In such a situation, special emphasis is given to the task of selecting appropriate cultural symbols. While we discuss the role of cultural symbols as a force of mobilization, in this work by the term 'culture' we do not mean dance, music etc only. Instead, the term embraces an entire life-style of a particular nation.

Anthony D. Smith while analyzing the origins of nation and national identity and finds them in ethnic identity as a pre-modern form of collective cultural identity. In his view "*collective cultural identity refers not to a uniformity of elements over generations*

but to a sense of continuity on the part of successive generations of a given cultural unit of population, to shared memories of earlier events and periods in the history of that unit and to notions entertained by each generation about the collective destiny of that unit and its culture”¹. His research on the role of myths, memories, values, traditions and symbols, as powerful differentiators and reminders of the unique culture and fate of the ethnic community is fundamental to his analysis of national identity. While analyzing the ethnic origin of nations he confers great relevance to the values, myths, symbols, holy places, memories and traditions embedded in the ethnic community as a social formation which, in pre-modern times, did not normally act as the basis of alternative policy formation. The ethno-symbolist perspective propounded by Smith endorses a middle way approach to the antiquity of national culture.

Giddens and especially Tilly associate cultural account of nationalism with explanations in terms of pre-existing ethnic solidarities and differences. Gellner, by contrast, analyzed nationalism as a cultural phenomenon dependent not only on state and industrial society but also on certain transformations of culture, such as the creation of ‘high cultures’ and their changing relations with popular or folk cultures, and the imbrications of all particular cultures within a putatively context free space of cross cultural communication.

While analyzing the origin of nation and nationality Benedict Anderson was of the view that the nations were not the determinate products of given sociological conditions

such as language, race or religion and they had been imagined into existence.² However, like Benedict Anderson we do not consider the idea that a nation emerges out of nowhere. Instead, we recognize the importance of selection and unification process of historical as well as cultural elements in a nation building process.

Unlike Anderson, who advocated that the historical experience of nationalism in Western Europe, America and in Russia had supplied for all subsequent nationalisms as a standard form in Asia and Africa, Partha Chatterjee argued that cultural identity-‘the inner domain’- always works as a dominant factor behind the growth of nationalism. Analyzing the anticolonial nationalism he advocated that while the western superiority over the ‘material domain’ had to be acknowledged and its accomplishments carefully studied and replicated, on the other hand the ‘spiritual domain’ or ‘inner domain’ is sovereign even when the state was under colonial rule and the project to fashion a ‘modern national culture’, nevertheless not western, was a most significant feature of anticolonial nationalism in India.³ Writing on Bengali nationalism he said that in the mid nineteenth century the Bengali bilingual intelligentsia made it “*a cultural project to provide its mother tongue with the necessary linguistic equipment to enable it to become an adequate language for modern culture. Language therefore became a zone over which the nation first had to declare its sovereignty and then to transform in order to make it adequate for modern world.*”⁴

Language, moreover, was understood primarily in terms of continuity, since *'few things seem as historically deep-rooted as languages, for which no dated origins can ever be given'*.⁵ Language figures in at least three different ways⁶ in accounts of nationalism. First, it is a central part of the claim that nationhood is rooted in ethnicity. This led to attempts to show the historic depth and distinctiveness of languages. Second, shared language is a condition (or at least a facilitator) of claimed national community regardless of whether it is ancient or distinctive. Opposition to linguistic variation is a key way in which the nationalists in power attempt to make the nation fit the state.

Ranjit Guha's description on the beginning of nationalism in Bengal is worth to be mentioned here. In the context of Bengali nationalism Guha writes that in the mid nineteenth century Bengali language was *'started to be recognized by the educated middle class as an index of their identity' and had become an 'ideological marker by which the literate part of the population identified all native speakers as constituting a nation and distinguished them from their English speaking rulers'*. Sanjib Baruah is of the view that Guha's view on the beginning of Bengali nationalism can be extended to other regions of India also.⁷ He said that the cultural foundation of subnationalism⁸ was the standard language of a region. He said *'Assamese micro-nationalism began in the middle of the nineteenth century as an assertion of the autonomy and distinctiveness of Assamese language and culture against the British colonial view of Assam as a periphery of Bengal'*.⁹

Debrabrat Sarmah, while analyzing the Assamese society formation, discussed the selection and use of the cultural symbols by Assamese middle class for mobilization of people. Unlike Anderson Sarmah advocated that the cultural symbols are not at all imagined, instead they are categorically selected from history. And in the context of Assamese formation he observed that the Assamese middle class pointed out some cultural symbols very carefully and opened the door for formation of a modern Assamese nation.¹⁰ ‘

Assamese micro nationalist politics, I have said, originates in and is sustained by that is thought of as civil society and not political society-to use Antonio Gramsci’s distinction. It is not accidental that organizations led micro nationalist protest in Assam often perceive as being non political. The point seems to be that they see their concerns to be different from and of higher than those of politicians. In this view the concerns of the nationality are obviously of a higher order than the imperatives of electoral politics. As we see, organizations and individuals that play a key role in micro nationalist protest typically belong to cultural realm; they see themselves as reluctant entrants to the political realm. The notion of a higher order concern for the life of the nationality has the capacity of incorporating all Assamese irrespective of their lower order engagement, as it were, into micro nationalist projects-membership, even leadership position in a political party or in the civil society, does not disengage an Assamese from the concerns of the collectivity’¹¹.

Language, Literature and beginning of Self Assertion among Bodos

The theme of asserting the autonomy and distinctiveness of Bodo language and culture is as old as while Assam was in colonial rule. From the discussion in Chapter II, it becomes clear that during the first half of the 20th century, for various reasons the educated Bodo middle class started their efforts to establish a separate Bodo identity. To accomplish the objective, first they paid special attention to determine the cultural uniqueness and then to revive and organize the cultural symbols of the community. The history of the tribal people is the history of resistance against deprivation and exploitation as a whole. The movement to preserve the cultural heritage of the Bodo and the Mishing was devoid of any political agenda in the very beginning. Cultural revivalist and reform Movements were not motivated by any kinds of political demands at first. Cultural revivalist movements or organizations related to such moments raised cultural and social issues rather than political issues in the beginning. In their initial stage organizations like the Bodo Sahitya Sabha, ABSU, Mising Agom Kebang had aims related to language, literature, culture and social welfare. These organizations started their efforts to preserve and revive the language, literature and cultural elements of the community with the changing of situations. But as time passed such socio-cultural movements become the backbone of political movements. While trying to revive and preserve the cultural elements and later to establish a separate Bodo identity, they mainly gave importance to the following points-

- i. Formation of a series of symbols representing the Bodo culture which included a recognised language, a religion that helps people to live with unity, national festivals, national customs, national cuisine, national heroes etc.
- ii. Compilation of national history which would highlight the glories of the past and would unite the entire nation to envisage the possibilities of a bright future.
- iii. Solving religious differences among the people, opting for religious reform, restoring religious heritage and tradition, uniting as many people as possible on religious ground.
- iv. Establishing Bodo language, making Bodo a complete language.
- v. Developing Bodo literature.
- vi. Making Bodo the medium of instruction in educational institution in Bodo dominated areas and later introducing Bodo language-literature as academic subjects in colleges and universities etc.

It is worth mentioning that during this time the educated Bodo middle class came forward to establish a separate identity of the Bodo language. They clearly understood that to establish a separate Bodo identity they have to make sure that the language must get a reputation of its own. They considered it as the foremost condition that the language must get proper recognition before the community claims itself for self-determination.

They seriously concentrated on spreading, developing and promoting the Bodo language and during this phase the educated Bodo middle class gave importance on establishing it as an independent language. In this regard they aimed at

- Establishing a Bodo identity separate from the ethnic Assamese and therefore, they advocated for a separate script and recognition of the language.
- Developing a standard language and creating their own literature through the practice of writing Bodo short stories, novels, poems, dramas, biographies, articles, book reviews etc.
- Introducing Bodo as the medium of instruction in educational institutions in the Bodo dominated areas.
- Introducing Bodo as an academic subject in language-literature genre in colleges as well as universities.

During this time, especially the first generation educated Bodo middle class made it their objective to form a separate Bodo identity different from that of the ethnic Assamese. To achieve this objective they tried to gain recognitions to their language, culture, and religious customs and so on. They concentrated on establishing Bodo as a separate and self-sufficient language than Assamese.

The Bodo middle class in this period also started establishing language oriented associations and organizations to promote the development of the Bodo language and

literature. It is noteworthy that for this purpose Howraghat Bodo Sanmilani was founded in 1912. The *Sanmilani* published a book titled *Boroni Fisha O Ayen* in 1915. Likewise *Dolenikul Bodo Sahitya Sanmilani* was formed in 1918. The first Bodo magazine *Bibar* came out in 1924. Here, it should be remembered that it was the sacrifices and dedication of the small section of the educated middle class whose tireless efforts to preserve and develop the Bodo language and culture contributed immensely in the revival process of the Bodos later.

Nineteenth century was a period of confusion for the Bodos regarding their religion. While some of the Bodos already had adopted Christianity, some others adopted *Ek Saraniya Naam Dharma* and thus the Bodos became fragmented in the name of religion. At this time Kalicharan Brahma introduced Brahma Religion to the Bodo society with a view to uniting the various Bodo groups under one religion with one god. This reformist movement had a far reaching impact on the Bodo society. This movement gradually generated a level of consciousness among them in terms of their ethnic identity.

*The cultural theme in Bodo cultural politics is to repudiate the process of unequal assimilation into the Assamese subnational formation and to seek differentiation from and equality with the ethnic Assamese and the most visible symbol of the desire to differentiate is language.*¹² In the early part of the twenty century some people from the newly educated Bodo middle class came forward with an objective to organize the Bodo people and involved themselves in the process of intellectual development and the upward social mobility of the Bodos by developing the traditional Bodo language. As already discussed

this group of newly educated Bodo people formed a socio-religious body called the *Habraghat Bodo Sanmiloni* in 1912 in Goalpara district and published a book in 1915 entitled *Barono Fisha O Aayen*, a book on traditions and customary laws.¹³ It was the first Bodo book written in prose authored by Ganga Charan Kachari.¹⁴ Through the book the intellectuals alarmed the Bodo community about the necessity of reorganizing themselves for recovering the lost glory of the Bodos.¹⁵ This was followed by the formation of the first Bodo literary society called Dakhinkul Bodo Sahitya Sanmilani in 1918 at Dudhnoi, Goalpara district.¹⁶ The organization published *Bibar*, the first journal written in Bodo language, using Deodhai and Assamese Script. The publication of *Bibar* was a remarkable event in the history of the Bodo language and literature. Thus it is seen that the newly emerging middle class involved themselves in promoting the traditional language, history, religion and culture and thereby created a new surge of social consciousness¹⁷ having far reaching impact on the future socio-cultural and political mobilization of the Bodos.

The Bodo language did not preserve any written tradition in the past. There were some writings on the Bodos in the later part of the nineteenth century and in the first part of the twentieth century. But mainly these writings were in English and Assamese and Bengali. For example, it is seen that the first grammar written on Bodo language is '*An outline of Kachari Grammar* (1884). It was written by Sydney Endle. The grammar is based on the dialect of the Darrang district. Another book by Endle was '*The Kacharis*', which contains chapters on the socio cultural and economic aspects of the Bodos. While

discussing the languages of the related tribes like Garo, Dimasa, Rabha, Deuri, Koch and so on the book has incorporated specimens of Bodo folktales, rhymes and grammar. This book was followed by J.D Anderson's book '*A Collection of Kachari Folktales and Rhymes*' published in 1895. This book contains seventeen Bodo oral tales in English translation besides the original version in the Bodo language. In the same year J.D. Anderson published another book entitled '*Dimasa Vocabulary*'.

There were some other writers who contributed to the Bodo language and literature in this period and their books were A. Christian Sen's *Grammar and Dictionary of Kachari Language* (1904), Bastold's *Dimasa Grammar* (1906) etc. In 1889 Rev. L.C. Skrefshrood brought out his "A *Short Grammar of the Mech or Boro language*". Another work on grammar by W.C Dundas *An Outline Grammar of the Kachari(Dimasa) Language* is worth mentioning. This pioneer work was published in the year 1880. '*Outline of the Tibeto-Burman Morphology*' (1929) by S.N. Wolfenden and H. Halvorsrud's '*Boro Grammar*' are scholarly contributions to the linguistic field of Bodo language. The contribution of Rev. S. Endle towards the growth of Bodo language and literature is greater than that of any other writer or contributor of the Christian Missionary.

Some of the Bodo Grammar books written in Assamese are '*Kachari Matri Bhasa*' (1951) by Birendra Narayan Bismith, '*Boro Bhasa Siksha*' 1930 by Chanakya Brahma etc. But slowly in order to give the Bodo language a proper shape writing grammar books in the Bodo language was started. Among the writers of Bodo grammar books proper Kamal Kumar Brahma may be called one of the pioneers. His grammatical

books on Bodo language are ‘*Gible Raokhanthi*’ (1963), ‘*Pharasani Raokhanthi*’ (1970), ‘*Gonang Raokhanthi*’ (1972) etc. He was followed by scholars like Moniram Mochahari, Madhu Ram Bodo etc and it is seen that gradually many more grammatical books in the Bodo language were being written.

Table 3.a

Bodo Grammar in English Language

Sl. no	Author	Title of the Grammar	Publication Year
1	Rev. L.C. Skrefshrood	A Short Grammar of the Mech or Boro language”.	1889
2	J.D. Anderson	Dimasa Vocabulary	1895
3	A. Christian Sen	Grammar and Dictionary of Kachari language	1904
4	Bastold	Dimasa Grammar	1906
5	Rev.H. Holevershood	Boro Grammar	1959
6	Ramdass Boro	Structure of Boros	1976
7	Gahin Ch. Basumatary	Is Boro a Syntactical language	1977
8	Dr. P.C. Bhattacharya	A descriptive Analysis of the Bodo language	1977
9	Prof. M.R. Boro	Bodo Relative Terms– A Socio linguistic View thereof	1978
10	Gahin Ch. Basumatary	Distinction of Gender in Boro	1979
11	Prof. M.R. Boro	The Numerical Forms in Bodo	1979

Source: Prepared on the basis of A brief history of the Bodo language and literature.

(For presentation in the 2nd Session of Human Rights Council, U.N. on Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by Bodo Sahitya Sabha)

Table. 3.b

Bodo Grammar in Assamese Language

Sl. no	Author	Title of the Grammar	Publication Year
1	Monicharan Brahma	Heiramba Bhasa Prakash	
2	Kailash Ch. Choudhury	Boro Bhasa Sangraha	1932
3	Promod Ch. Brahma	Borojah Aru Bhasa	1937
4	Bankim Ch. Gosai	Boro Bhasa	1937
5	Promod Ch. Brahma	Tipari aru Boro Bhasa	1937
6	B.N. Bismith	Kachari Matri Bhasa	1951
7	B.N. Bismith	Kachari Bhasa Sangraha	1954
8	Sonaram Thousen	Dimasa Bhasa	1956
9	Ramdas Boro	Devanagiri Lipi Boro Sabdar Banan	1975
10	Gahin Ch. Basumatary	Boro Bhasar Tadhith-Bisheshya Sabda Barar Gathan	1977

Source: Prepared on the basis of A brief history of the Bodo language and literature.

(For presentation in the 2nd Session of Human Rights Council, U.N. on Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by Bodo Sahitya Sabha)

Table 3.c

Grammar in Bodo Language

Sl.no	Author	Title of the Grammar	Pubilication Year
1	Samar Brahma Choudhury	Rao Fehernaini Lamayao(Bodo)	1956
2	Kamal Kr. Brahma	Gibi Rao Khanthai	1968
3	Kamal Kr. Brahma	Gwnang Rao Khanthi	1972

Source: Prepared on the basis of A brief history of the Bodo language and literature. (For presentation in the 2nd Session of Human Rights Council, U.N. on Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by Bodo Sahitya Sabha)

There is no doubt that the written tradition in the Bodo language was first started by the Christian missionaries in the first part of twentieth century. Though it was started by the Christian missionaries, but the contribution of the missionaries in the development of the Bodo language and literature can never be over emphasized and the literature they produced cannot be called Bodo literature proper. Bodo literature in the real sense came into being only in the 20s in the twentieth century with the publication of *Bibar*.¹⁸ But gradually the newly emerging Bodo middle class intellectuals came forward and involved themselves in the development of the Bodo language and literature. As such, the Bodo language and literature started the journey of its development and standardization.

The Process of Language Standardization: Emergence of Bodo Sahitya Sabha and thereafter

Though Bodo literature in proper sense came into being with the publication of its first magazine *Bibar* in the second decade of twentieth century, its the most significant phase was after 1952. As it is been already discussed, 1952 was the year of the formation of Bodo Sahitya Sabha¹⁹. Bodo literature in this period concentrated on some the basic issues confronting the Bodo society. Bodo Shitya Sabha played the most pivotal role in establishing a separate identity of the Bodos by acquiring separate recognitions for the community's own linguistic, social and cultural uniqueness. Eminent intellectuals of the community like J.N. Basumatary, Prasenjit Brahma, Shailendra Brahma and many more came forward to form Bodo Sahitya Sabha in 1952 to develop the language, its literature and culture. The aims and objectives of the *Sabha* are²⁰

- Preservation and development of the Bodo language, literature and culture; establishing Bodo as a medium of instruction in educational institutions; resolving the issues that arise to hinder the development of the language, literature and culture; speeding up the process of such developments.
- To unite those who serve the language, its literature and culture under a single organisation, giving them a platform.
- To unite the different languages of the Bodo groups.

- Initiating various researches to adopt academic as well as scientific approaches to develop the language, literature and culture.
- Conferring various awards and prizes to encourage those who have been contributing to enrich the Bodo language, literature and culture.

Bodo Sahitya Sabha was founded to fulfill the above mentioned aims and objectives. Later, the *Sabha* stood up to face every challenge that the community faced. The *Sabha* also tries to find out the effective ways to solve all these problems. It is worth mentioning that the Bodo Sahitya Sabha from its initial days has been giving special importance to the task of introducing Bodo as a medium of instruction in the educational institutions. To meet this goal, the Sabha submitted a memorandum to the Chief Minister of Assam Bishnu Ram Medhi. It is a fact that the *sabha* has made a huge contribution to the development of the Bodo society and culture and in the unification process.

It is already mentioned that to establish a independent identity of the Bodo language and culture, efforts were made to differentiate the language from Assamese. Bodo Sahitya Sabha's script policy was a proof of such efforts. It is to be noted that the Bodo Sahitya Sabha demanded the use of the Roman script in the Bodo language. The script movement eventually turned out to be a much longer movement than anticipated.

As already pointed the Bodos did not preserve any written tradition in the past and so there was a confusion regarding the use of a script. But it is seen that the Roman script was used by Sydney Endel to write Bodo language, for the first time in 1884. This script

was also used to teach the Boro children in the year 1904 in '*Cachari Reader*'. This script was also used for teaching the Boro language in Goalpara district in 1931. Later on some books were found which were written in Bengali script too. *Boroni Gudi Sibsa Aro Aroj*, a collection of the Boro poems, was published in 1926 and it was written in pure Bengali script. But the actual growth and development of the Boro language and literature were carried out in Assamese script until the recent years. Most of the important literary works of the Boros are still available in Assamese script, and now many of them have been transcribed into Devanagri script.

After the formation of the Boro Sahitya Sabha on 16th November 1962 at Basugaon, the script question came to the forefront, whether the Roman or the Assamese script should be used to write in Boro language. But when the Boro medium was introduced in the lower primary schools of Kokrajhar sub-division on experimental basis in 1963, the *Cachari Reader* was replaced with *Mokhojennai*, a textbook of Assamese script, written by Rajendra Lal Narzary of Shillong. The script question has remained a subject for hot debate in every session of the Boro Sahitya Sabha since the introduction of Boro language as a medium of instruction in the primary schools. In the 8th session of the Boro Sahitya Sabha held on 4th, 5th and 6th February, 1966, at Kokrajhar town, an Expert Committee was formed to look into the script question under the strong pressure of the All Boro Students Union. As this committee could not suggest any satisfactory solution a new Expert Committee was formed under the leadership of Saisingra Mushahary at Rongapara convention in 1969. The eleventh session of the Boro Sahitya Sabha held at

Mahakalguri in West Bengal, endorsed the use of the Roman script for Boro language and literature. The Boro Script Sub-Committee, which was formed by the Bodo Sahitya Sabha, met on 9th February 1989 at Guwahati and accepted the Roman script on the following considerations.

(i) The Roman script is easy and quick to learn, whereas there are more than three hundred letters including compound letters and other variation in Assamese, Bengali or Devanagri scripts.

(ii) It is suitable for mechanical manipulation i.e. typing, printing, sending messages, etc.

(iii) The use of Roman script is commercially economic as it takes less time and labour and it costs less.

(iv) The Roman script is quite suitable for the use of science and technology.

(v) It will maintain a uniformity of spelling and pronunciation among all sections of the Bodo people living within the country and those who are living in other countries such as Nepal, South Bhutan, Bangladesh and Western Burma. And they will get an opportunity to exchange their thoughts and ideas through this script for the development of their language and literature.

(vi) Further, there is a provision in the Indian Constitution under Article-29 that every language has a right to preserve its own script. Even Article-343 has provided the use of the Roman numerals for Hindi language.

But a section of the Boro people, who were termed as congress loyalist by Bodo intellectuals like Mangalsing Haowary²¹ favoured the continuation of the Assamese script for the Boro language. They have forwarded the following arguments in favour of retaining the Assamese script.

(i) The Boros have become accustomed to the Assamese script and any change of the script at this stage may slow down the development of Boro language and literature.

(ii) The Assamese script is the script of the state language of Assam, whereas Roman script is the foreign one. So, the use of the Roman script will create a communication gap between the Assamese and the Boros.

(iii) The Boros are an integral part of the greater Assamese society and both are inter-dependent in many ways. So, Assamese script should be retained as the script of the Boro language. The use of Roman script may shut the door of relationship with the next-door neighbour.

However, the opinion of the majority of people as well as of the experts was in favour of the adoption of the Roman script as that would make the spelling of the Boro words easy and unequivocal. A deputation of the Boro Sahitya Sabha met the Chief Minister of Assam on the 30th August 1971 for the implementation of the Roman Script. But Mr. Mahendra Mahan Chaudhury, the then Chief Minister of Assam did not approve of use of the Roman script for writing Bodo textbook.

The central government intervened in the matter as the movement ran for several years and turned violent and the government suggested the use of the Devanagiri script instead of the Roman Script. A reporter noted in 1988 that the Bodo leaders had admitted that the Assamese script which they used earlier was much easier for them than the Devanagiri. But then they could not swallow their pride as this movement was basically against the Assamese Script and they had to accept Devnagri.²² The Bodos accepted the suggestion temporarily and started using the Devnagri Script. But they continued the movement that had started towards the end of the 1960s creating a long and eventful history. It was wound up in the year 2000.

Gradually, it became clear that the Bodos had harbored an inimical attitude towards Assamese. Publicity materials, documents or memorandums submitted to the government by the Bodos bear evidence to support this point. Alleging the ethnic Assamese mindset as anti tribal and dominative the ABSU stated²³

The language tangle is one of the most crucial and sensitive problems of Assam. Assam is a multi-lingual, multi-racial and multi-cultural state. Yet the Assamese people always try to impose Assamese language upon the non-Assamese people including the indigenous tribal people. As such, there arises the clash between the Assamese speaking people, on one hand and tribals and other linguistic minorities on the other. The intention is very clear. The Assamese people and Assam government want to Assamise and assimilate the non Assamese through the imposition of Assamese language and culture. The Assamese people and the

Assam government have not yet realized the mistake with Assamisation and assimilation policy. Still, they want to force others to read Assamese and accept their policy of Assamisation and assimilation.

The Present researcher has attended two annual conferences of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha held in 2014 and 2015 and personally observed this attitude. Naturally, Bodo was the prime language used in those conferences. Assamese was totally avoided and used English instead. Most of the speakers have expressed their opposition to the use of Assamese. They have expressed the same attitude at the time of interview with some of these leaders for this research purpose. Most of the interviewees heatedly criticized the role of the educated Assamese middle class which provoked them to generate such an attitude. According to Bodo intellectuals and activists²⁴ their differentiation from Assamese was just a reaction against provocative attitude of the Assamese. They opined that their legitimate demand for the Roman script which would offer their language a better proficiency was opposed by the Assamese and wanted to impose Assamese on them and this kind of offensive attitude generated a feeling of separatism in the Bodo mind from the Assamese.

Regarding the attitude of the central government on the script issue they said that *'informally it was informed to the then prime minister that the Bodos are leaning towards Christianity and their demand for the Roman script has its base on it. It was also informed that grant of Roman script to the Bodos would provide the Bodo leaders a moral legitimacy to convert their people to Christianity. As some of the people have already*

*been converted to Christianity, and it became a convincing approach for the central government.*²⁵ According to M.S. Prabhakara, *“if representative literary /cultural organizations of the Bodo people like Bodo Sahitya Sabha that the Roman script is more suited to their language, then that should have been the end of the matter’* but it became an issue of violent confrontation and the cause Prabhakara identified that for ethnic Assamese the demand for Roman script by the Bodos was thin end of the wedge, the thick end being *Udayachal*”.²⁶

From Language to Literature: Growth of Self Assertion among Bodos

It has been already discussed that formation of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha and its efforts to establish a socio cultural Bodo identity created an environment of enthusiasm among the young Bodo authors. Immediately after the formation of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha it started its vigorous movement for the introduction of Bodo language as medium of instruction in 1952 and the introduction of Bodo language as the medium of instruction in primary stage in 1963 and then upto the secondary stage. Lastly, the Chief Minister of Assam, Bimala Prasad Chaliha declared the Bodo language as medium of instruction for the primary level in a meeting held in the field of Kokrajhar High School on 18th May,1963 and since then,18th May is being observed by Bodo Sahitya Sabha as Bodo Medium Implementation Day. But the government denied implementing Bodo as medium of instruction in the Secondary stage and democratic movements were started by the Bodo Sahitya Sabha for this reason. Ultimately the Government agreed and implemented

Bodo language as medium of instruction upto Secondary level through its order No.EMI-167166/PT-2 dated 2nd April, 1968. Thus, the Bodo Sahitya Sabha started an epoch making effort for the development of Bodo language and literature and the effort is still continuing and because of its continuous endeavourer supported by ABSU Bodo language and Bodo literature have reached the present stage of development. The following facts bear evidence to the establishment of Bodo as a language of instruction in various academic institutions illustrating a successful culmination of the effort of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha.²⁷

(I) Bodo as MIL in Pre-University (PU) under Gauhati University vide Circular No.4 of 1977 and that circular was communicated to Bodo Sahitya Sabha under Memo No. G / VC / Com/17/77/14331 dated 26th May, 1977. After establishment of Assam Higher Secondary Education Council, the Bodo MIL was continued according to the above order in Assam in XI and XII standard.

(II) Bodo as MIL was introduced under North Eastern Hill University (NEHU) in Pre University vide MemoNo.CDC/C.56/80-81/246-249 dated 24th July,1981.

(III) Bodo as MIL in the Degree level under the Gauhati University as per Resolution No.5 adopted in the meeting of Faculty of Arts, Gauhati University held in 25th January/80.

(IV) Bodo as MIL in Degree Course under Dibrugarh University vide order No.DU/RG/2894 dated 22nd August, 1994.

(V) Master of Arts (MA) Course in Bodo under Gauhati University vide Order No.M/AC/Spl/1 /97/5812-13 dated 25th November, 1997.

(VI) Bodo as Elective Subject under Dibrugarh University vide Letter No.M/AR/99/66 dated 31st July, 1999.

(VII) Bodo as Elective Subject under Gauhati University vide Letter No.DU/DR-A/6-11 / 03 / 374 dated 4th August, 2004.

(VIII) Major Course in Bodo under Gauhati University vide Letter No.M/AR/2006/55 dated 18th January, 2006.

(IX) Bodo as Advance Subject in XI & XII standard under Assam Higher Secondary Education Council, Guwahati Vide Notification No.AHSEC/ACA/CS/11/96/184664-185564 dated 31st July, 2006.

(X) Besides these, since Assam University, Silchar was bifurcated from Gauhati University, Bodo was continued as Major Indian Language as per decision taken earlier by the Gauhati University.

(XI) Also, Bodo was recognized by the Government of Assam as an Associate Official Language by an act in the floor of Assam Assembly in the year of 1985.

XII. 8th Schedule : Bodo Language was recognized by the Government of India as one of the Scheduled Languages under the 8th Schedule of the Indian Constitution as per

Agreement reached among Government of India, Provincial Government of Assam and BLT which is known as Bodoland Accord by an Act. Called the constitution (Ninety-second Amendment) Act, 2003. The Act received the assent of His Highness the President of India on 7th Jnuary, 2004 and published in the Gazette of India vide Notification No.8, New Delhi, Thursday, January 8, 2004.

XIII. Sahitya Akademi : Sahitya Akademi, the highest literary Forum of India recognized Bodo Sahitya Sabha vide letter No.SA/14A/Sub-Commntt/35089 dated 17th October,2005.

XIV. UPSC : The Union Public Service Commission of India, the highest forum of the competitive Examinations of Indian Administrative and other Allied Services included Bodo Language as one of the Language subjects under it vide Notification No.13018/6/2005-AIS(1) dated 3rd December,2005.

Besides, a talk has been going on and is even in the last stage with North Bengal University and Government of West Bengal for the introduction of Bodo language teaching in North Bengal University and West Bengal Government schools.²⁸

The happenings of 50s and 60s had far reaching impact on the newly emerging Bodo authors. Under this changed social condition the emerging Bodo poets and authors started writing for liberation, ethnic identity and self assertion. The politics of domination that obstructed the development of their language and culture and their liberation from this dominating framework became the core subject of their writings.

Bodo poets in this period started writing poems on self assertion and ethnic identity of the Bodos. Poets like Prasejit Brahma, Samar Brahma Choudhury, Jagadish Brahma devoted themselves whole heartedly to awaken their people about their future through their creative writings. During the year 1954-55 were published in *Okhaphwr*, two epoch making poems ‘*Ang Thwiya*’ (I will not Die) and ‘*Sijou Geremsa*’ (The big Siju tree) by Prasenjit Brahma and Samar Brahma Choudhury respectively created a kind of revolution among the Bodo people about their future identity. The poet of ‘*Ang Thwiya*’ is the representative and indomitable spirit of the Bodo self awakening. In the poem ‘*Sijou Geremsa*’ the poet glorifies the traditional culture and heritage of the past and welcomes the new awakening among them and then exhorts the people to come forward to save the glory.²⁹

In the arena of short story the basic issue of self assertion with a motive to awaken the masses has been given much focus. Nilkamal Brahma was the first writer to write stories on ethnic uprising of the Bodos and its impact on the social and individual life of the Bodos. Stories like ‘*Atheng*’ (the leg) ‘*Buthua Thungri*’ (the Blunt Sword) by Nilkamal Brahma bear indelible mark of the Bodo movement. Writers like Tiren Boro, Khanindra Swargiwary, Nandeswar Daimary, D Basumatary, Gobinda Basumatary successfully portrayed the grievances and expectations of the Bodo people in their stories. Stories like ‘*Magdaoli*’ ‘*Haraoni Saikal*’ (Harao’s Bicycle), ‘*Ang Fwifingwn*’ (I will come back) are the living documents of the socio political crisis of Bodos.³⁰ In this period the story writers devoted themselves to addressing the core socio political issues the Bodos

have been facing for years and tried to make the Bodo people conscious about these issues.

Some of the Bodo novels also played a crucial role in creating a consciousness among the Bodo people about their self assertion. For example, Katindra Swargiary, a reputed novelist from the young generation portrayed the socio political aspirations of the Bodos in his novels. His novel *San mwkhangari Lamazwng* (Along the path to the sun) is a successful reflection of the socio political aspirations of the Bodo people. Likewise, the other novelists Maniram Mochahary, Magesh Narja Boro, Nabin Mala Boro have written novels reflecting all the socio political issues the Bodos have been facing for long time. Thus, all the major forms of literature in this period particularly after the formation of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha took the socio-political crisis among the Bodos as their core subject and tried their best to make the Bodo people conscious about the necessity of their self assertion.

ABSU also played an important role in the unification process of the Bodos. All Bodo Student's Union or ABSU was founded with socio-economic, cultural and political objectives. But the long struggle led by the Union to unite the community and to establish a separate identity for themselves are recognized by all. ABSU was formed in 1967 and from the very beginning it has been working tirelessly to unite the Bodos culturally as well as politically.

Let us admit here that the formation of ABSU had to put the language, literature and cultural movement started by Bodo Sahitya Sabha almost one and a half decade ago in a strong position. During this period, ABSU conducted various activities under the guidance of the *Sabha*. Sometimes both the organizations put joint demands on various issues. Under their strong leadership all movements progressed successfully.

The Bodo students took the pioneering role and initiative along with the Bodo Sahitya Sabha in introducing Bodo as the medium of instruction in primary level in 1963. In 1968 the Kokrajhar district Bodo Sahitya Sabha and All Bodo Students Union jointly launched a vigorous movement for recognition of Bodo as a medium of instruction in secondary stage and got the demand fulfilled...All Bodo students Union launched a vigorous movement for retention of English as a medium of instruction in colleges while All Assam Students Union launched movement for making Assamese as the sole medium of instruction in the colleges of Assam...the Bodo Sahitya Sabha launched a vigorous mass movement in 1974-75 for adoption of Roman Sript for Bodo language. The ABSU actively participated in this movement and thousands of ABSU activits had to undergo rigorous misery, arrest and torture during the period of movement...The All Bodo Students Union had been and still awakening a linguistic, literary and socio-cultural movement among the plains tribals and Bodos in particular.³¹

Language, literature and the beginning of self assertion among Misings

In Chapter II, it has been already discussed that for various reasons, the Misings raised the issue of self-determination in the second half of the 20th century. They started a political movement seeking answers to their questions regarding the issue. Hence, to establish a strong Mising identity, like the Bodos, the Misings too adopted the policy of preservation, revival and development of various cultural elements to organize the community. It happened especially during the second half of the 20th century. However, there is a fundamental difference between the process adopted by the Bodos and that of the Misings to reach their respective goals. While the Bodos advocated separation from the Assamese and wanted to form and develop a separate Bodo identity different from the Assamese, the Misings expressed their desire to remain as a part of the greater Assamese society and promoted the idea of unification and development of the Mising community within the greater Assamese society. With this objective the Misings want

- To promote the development of the community's self identity as a part of the greater Assamese society,
- To support the process of the formation of a greater Assamese society as well as its development with equal participation of all castes and tribes.

But, both the Bodos and the Misings have identified the dominating influence and big brother attitude of the Assamese caste Hindu middle class and they identified it as the main obstacle in their self-assertion as well as in the development of the all other smaller

tribes. They started strong opposition towards the Assamese caste Hindu middle class domination. Both these tribes demanded equal participation of all ethnic groups in the greater Assamese nation building process.

Cultural revivalism and cultural awareness among the Mising people gradually became the basis of the Mising movement which started in the second half of the 20th century. Though at the very first it was just a process of revival and preservice of cultural heritage, gradually the leaders started their efforts to unite the Mising people and make them aware about their social-economic and political rights and started mobilization in cultural line. They, therefore focused on

- The formation of some symbols which represent their culture and on starting a cultural awareness among the masses.
- Restoring and developing cultural elements and uniting the Mising people.
- The development of the Mising language and on taking necessary action to establish Mising as a recognised language.
- Introducing Mising as a medium of instruction in educational institutions so that the Mising children would be interested in getting education and there would be increased effectiveness of primary education for them.

Mising has had no script of its own and it did not have a steady writing tradition in the past. During the British period the Christian Missionaries especially the American Baptist Mission based at Sadiya used to write the *Adi*-Mising language and published

some books.³² They started the study of this language in the early nineteenth century and published some Biblical literature primarily. Amongst those who laid the foundation for further study of the Mising language William Robinson, Joseph Francis Needham, James Herbert Lorrain, Rev. L.W.B. Jackman, Captain W. Hore are worth mentioning. Robinson was the first man to attempt to grammarise the Mising Language. He is the author of the book '*A Short Outline of Miri (Mising) Grammar*' and it was published in the March issue of '*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*' in 1849. Then Joseph Francis Needham published a grammar titled '*Outline Grammar of the Shaiyang Miri Language as spoken by the Miris of that clan residing the neighbourhood of Sadiya*'. James Herbert Lorrain compiled a dictionary of Mising language titled '*A Dictionary of Abor Miri Language*' and was published in 1910.³³

Though the prime intention of the missionaries behind this work to communicate the good news of the Gospel to the people in local dialects but their contribution in as an initiator in the study of Mising language has been noteworthy. Behind these grammatical works mentioned above the Missionaries including the Bible Society of India published more than a dozen books on Christianity basically on the Bible. But this literature could not become popular among the Misings for various reasons.³⁴

The first writer amongst the Misings, Sonaram Panyang Kotoki, wrote a book titled *Miri Jatir Buranji* (A History of Mising People) published in 1935 in Assamese. He used the Assamese Script wherever he needed to use a Mising word or a sentence.³⁵

Another book was '*Miri Duan*' (Mising Dialect) published in 1915 and it is the first book on Mising language.³⁶ Following him '*Mising Path*' by Kamal Chandra Padun in 1958 '*Mising Agom*' by Bibhushan Pegu in 1963 etc. were published. In this period *Ain-Murkong*(collection of Mising Songs) was published in 1945 by Sadou Asom Miri Sanmilan and *Leke Ni:tom* by Churen Doley was published in 1965³⁷. Around the time of, and after, the independence, some booklets and magazines containing materials written in Mising and using the Assamese Script were brought out but none of these early attempts at writing the Mising language in the Assamese script reflected the distinctive phonemic features of the language.³⁸ And a scientific attempt in this respect only started with the formation of Guwahati Mising Kebang³⁹ in 1968.

The journey of the Mising language started by the Christian Missionaries was carried forward by a few pioneers of the community. They started to write using the Assamese script. The act generated a conflict of opinions regarding use of script for clear as well as accurate expression of the language. Top Mising personalities of the time held different views regarding the use of the script. While some of them advocated for the Roman script, others advocated for the Assamese script. To solve the problem of choosing proper script and to develop the language, a handful of Mising residing in Guwahati founded an organization, the Guwahati Mising Kebang in 1968. The organization "*Published some experimental materials in Mising using the Assamese script as well as the Roman*"⁴⁰ later, the task was carried on by the Mising Agom Kebang.

The Process of Language Standardization: Emergence of Mising Agom Kebang and Thereafter

The most significant event for the Misings during this period was the formation of the Mising Agom Kebang in 1972. We have discussed in the second chapter that one of the main reasons of the emergence of the Mising Revivalist Movement of the 70s was the majoritarian dominance of the Assam official language Act, 1960. The act helped in increasing the dominance of the caste Hindu Assamese middle class in overall economic as well as social backdrops of the state. It created doubts among the small and newly emerged Mising middle class about their future. The ever-increasing dominance of this class and the apprehensions created in another class led to the cultural revivalism and politicization of cultural symbols. We may consider it as a major factor if not the only one.

Another important development of the time was the speeding up of the cultural revivalism of the Bodos. Hence, the development of the Bodo language and culture along with the momentum achieved by the Bodo Movement encouraged the Mising to use it as a reference for them. However, according to the founder president of the Mising Agom Kebang, T.R. Taid, *every individual feels a natural and characteristic attraction towards his or her language and culture. The birth of the Mising Agom Kebang or people coming forward to protect the language as well as culture of the Mising during those days was nothing but this natural attraction towards own language and culture*⁴¹. Whatever may be

the reason, activities of the first generation Mising intellectuals to preserve and develop the language and culture of the community paved the way for the Misings to be united. Their efforts helped the community to carry forward the political movement in an organized manner later.

Mising Agom Kebang, the apex organization of the Misings, dedicated to the development and preservation of Mising Language and literature was established in 1972.⁴² The objective of the organization is clear from the following statement. '*Mising Agam Kebang shall work for all round development of Mising culture in general and of Mising language and literature in particular. It is strictly be a cultural, literary and linguistic association*'. It shall be aloof from all political and religious issues of controversial nature, it shall scrupulously avoid communalism. For this purpose the Kebang gives importance on⁴³

-Compilation and publication of various books in Mising language.

-Collection and publication of Mising folk literature.

- working for the introduction of Mising as a medium of instruction and/ or as a subject

-Publication of Mouthpiece

-Such other activities as would promote Mising language and literature.

As has already been discussed, MAK was formed being entrusted with the immediate responsibility of adopting for the Mising language an alphabet that would reflect all the phonemes in the language. There was a confusion regarding the use of Script, whether it would be Assamese or Roman Script that would reflect all the phonemes in the language. To find out a way Guwahati Mising Kebang had already published some experimental material both in Assamese script and in Roman script. Being entrusted by the association, Nahendra Padun published a book called '*Misinig Bhaskhar Lipi: Eti Parikhyamulak Asoni*' (Script of Mising language: An Experimental Work) in 1969. *The Mising Agam Luir*' was published jointly by T.R. Taid and Nahendra Padun using the Assamese script. But with the formation of MAK the responsibility automatically went to the apex organization. After a series of seminars and discussions MAK decided to use the Roman writing system for Mising with substantial modification of the Roman alphabet as it is used in English in keeping with the phonemic system of the language in 1975⁴⁴. The state government set up a committee to resolve the issue as of whether the Devanagri or the Roman script was to be adopted and the committee gave its decision in favour of Devanagri. This recommendation was taken as an act of imposition by the Mising activists and they formed *Roman Lipi Parishad* (Roman Script Council) which finally proclaimed the adoption of the Roman script.⁴⁵ As a conciliatory move the government accepted their proposal. It was not only MAK, but also the student union TMPK that took several measures for the recognition of their language with Roman script.

To make Mising a standard language and its introduction as a medium of instruction and as a subject of study was another main objective of MAK. With this objective MAK from its very inception started publication of books and periodicals in Mising as well as on the Mising language, literature, culture etc. MAK simultaneously demanded the state government to introduce the teaching of Mising language in the primary schools located in Mising villages. As per demands made by MAK the government of Assam decided in 1985 to introduce the teaching of Mising language in standards three and four in primary schools where all the pupils were Misings, and the actual process of implementation of the decision began in 1986.⁴⁶ Thus, the demand of Mising language teaching got partially fulfilled as the policy covered 230 primary schools; however the demand was much bigger. MAK had been demanding introduction of Mising language teaching in atleast 1221 more primary schools, where all the students belong to the Mising community. Nevertheless the Mising language was recognized by the government of Assam in 1985.⁴⁷

To make Mising a standard language and for making Mising language teaching a successful scheme MAK, towards which the organization was constantly working. It was making some of the core demands by submitting of memorandums to the government. The MAK was demanding the implementation of the Govt. letter of 1985 reviewed in 1986 in letter and spirit by introducing Mising language in all classes from class I onwards and creation by and appointing of 1221 nos of Mising language teachers. MAK was also demanding a clear cut tribal language policy so that the tribal languages could

develop and for this purpose it also demanded a separate directorate for the tribal languages of Assam.

To make the Mising language teaching more effective MAK was been demanding for qualified instructors to train up the Mising language teachers in the basic training centers at Azad and Dhakuakhana in Lakhimpur district. A separate evaluation committee especially for the Mising language should be constituted in each of the eight district of upper Assam for the evaluation of the performance of the learners in *Sarva Siksha Abhiyan* so that the evaluation process would be free from anomalies. For preparation of correct text books for the Mising language it demanded for the appointment of proof readers and script editors in the Assam text book Production and Publication Corporation.⁴⁸

From Language to Literature: Growth of Self Assertion among Misings

Literature always plays a key role in making a nation culturally vibrant. It gives dynamism to a nation. After the formation of MAK it dedicated itself to the literary development of the Mising society and tried to create awareness amongst the people of the community about the need for preservation and development of their mother tongue in written form and in the form of literature. Thus it initiated and encouraged writings as well as publication of books, magazines, souvenirs, journals, periodicals, newspaper etc. from time to time. Articles, poems, folktales, and occasionally short stories are included in such publication. A few collections of folk songs, folktales and poems including lyrics

have been brought out by individuals as well as different organizations of the Misings. Some of them are '*Mising Agom Mimang*' (1974) by N.Padun, '*Posang Otsur-I*' (1982) by R Preme, '*Mising Bhakhar Banan Padhati*' (1982) by T.R. Taid, '*Mising Agom Lega:pe Roman Abig*' (1980) by T.R. Taid, N Padun and B Kagyung, '*Poman Mornan*' (1983) by T.R. Taid, '*Gomlam*' by N Padun, '*Posang Ostur II*' (1989) by I Pegu and *Mimang* (newspaper-1989-90and 1996-97) edited by JJ Kuli.⁴⁹

Mising poetry is contributing a lot in creating awareness among the people about some of their core socio cultural problems. Some of the poems reflect a new revolutionary thinking among the Mising youth and some of the socio-cultural problems they are facing for long.⁵⁰ There are a number of books published containing collection of poems such as '*Leke ni:tom*', '*Mising Oi ni:tom*'(1980) ed. By N Padun, '*Ni:tom Doksiri*' (1984), ed. I. Pegu, '*Ngi:tom*' (1991) ed. N. Padun '*Ngok Me:tom*' (1991) by B Doley, '*Ngoluk Me:tom*' (1992) ed. G Patir '*Songkid*' (1989) by G Pegu '*Otsur*' (1990) ed. R Pegu etc.

The Mising Agom Kebang also used to publish a news paper called '*Mimang*' regularly at bi-monthly interval, the first publication being in the year 1989 under Dr. J.J. Kuli as the founder editor. They were also demanding the appointment of Mising news reader in All India Radio. TMPK has been also demanding the broadcast of news in Mising language and to increase the time of broadcast of Mising language programme.

It is seen that since the formation of Mising Agom Kebang some people came forward and started writing in Mising to establish a linguistic and cultural identity of the

community. Although the amount of such writing output is very meager, there is no doubt that there has been consistent effort of late by some cultural and political groups to encourage such attempt.

From its very inception TMPK has been taking several revivalist and welfare measures for the Mising society. On 13th April, 1986 TMPK arranged a meeting to decide to organize a conference to trace and record the genesis of clans among the Misings along with the cooperation of 'Adi Branch Students Union' 'All Nishi Students Union' 'East Adi Students Union' and 'Yomgo Adi Students Union'⁵¹

Ethno-cultural identity of the Bodos became political as a result of marginalization and state induced assimilation which in turn was linked to re-enforcement of cultural boundaries⁵². Cultural revivalist and reform Movements were not motivated by any kinds of political demands at first. Cultural revivalist movements or organizations raised cultural and social issues rather than political issues in the beginning. But as time passed such socio-cultural movements become the backbone of political movements. In their initial stage organizations like the Bodo Sahitya Sabha and ABSU had aims related to language, literature, culture and social welfare. These organizations started their efforts to preserve and revive the language, literature and cultural elements of the community with the changing situations. But the process of cultural revivalism could not get the expected support from the Assamese middle class and the process was opposed instead. So, this time revivalism took political turn or it may be termed as reactive nationalism and it tried to organize the community reviving the cultural symbols to fulfill the hopes and

aspirations of the Bodos. Gradually the language and cultural elements became the driving force of the political movements. It is seen that these organizations have defined a powerful Bodo nation based on the Bodo ethno-cultural symbols (basically language). The role played by the Bodo revivalists has to be acknowledged as it is because of their hard work that the Bodo language and literature attained this position. The revival of cultural symbols has united the community and generated a sense of ethnic consciousness among them through the development of Bodo as a completely independent language and creating literature in the language.

There seems to have fundamental differences between the Bodo and the Mising movements. The Misings are yet to be successful in mobilizing their people in reviving cultural tools. Therefore, the Misings are not united like the Bodos till date. Though Misings got the recognition of a standard language it has not yet become a medium of instruction. The development of Mising literature too is not up to the mark. To sum up, the Misings still have to make themselves stronger with help of the preservation and development processes of the language and literature. The Mising revivalists cannot be applauded as fully successful in uniting the community to fulfill its socio-economic and political demands. Nevertheless, it should be admitted that revivalist Movement has an important role in uplifting the scattered dialects to a single language, making the community alive with a few but varied literary works, organizing successful conferences in which many effective discussions took place and preparing a future agenda for the community.

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¹⁹ The apex body of the Bodos in the field of Language, literature and culture was (*Boro Thunlai Afad*) was formed on 16th November,1952. The founder President of Bodo Sahitya Sabha was Joy Bhadra Hagjer and the General Secretary was Sonaram Thaosen.

²⁰ Bodo Sahitya Sabha Website-www.bodosahityasabha.ac.in

²¹ Personal interview with Mangal Sing Hazowary on 19th December, 2016. Mangal Sing Hazowary is the first chief organising secretary and present advisor to Nikhil Bathow Mahasabha. He is the first Sahitya Akademy Award winner laureate in Bodo language.

²² Baruah, S., 2003. Op.cit., p.185.

²³ Why Separate State.1987. Kokrajhar, ABSU.

²⁴ Interview with Kamalakanta Muchahary on 20 July 2015, General Secretary, Bodo Sahitya Sabha and Personal interview with Promod Boro 16th July, 2015, President of All Bodo Students Union.

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³⁹ Guwahati Mising Kebang was an association of Mising People residing in Guwahati established in 1968.

⁴⁰ Personal interview with T.R. Taid on 16th July, 2015, founder president of Mising Agom Kebang.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Guwahati Mising Kebang organized a open meeting on April 17th and 18th 1972 at Disangmukh, Sibsagar District then and after deliberations a resolution was adopted in the meeting on April 18, 1972 to set up an organization, named Mising Agom Kebang with Mr. Tabu Ram Taid as its first president and Mr. Nahendra Padun as its first secretary.

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⁴⁴ Taid T.R., Op.cit., pp.235-237. Also excerpts from interview with T.R. Taid on 16th July, 2015, founder president of Mising Agom Kebang.

⁴⁵ Nath, D. “Language movement of the Misings” J.J. Kuli, Op.cit.

⁴⁶ Taid T.R., Op.cit. pp.235-237. Personal interview with T.R. Taid on 16th July, 2015, founder president of Mising Agom Kebang.

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⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Kuli, J.J., “Mising Language and Literature a Glimpse” in J.J. Kuli Op.cit. pp.256-259.

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