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महापुरुष श्रीमन्तु शङ्करदेव विश्वविद्यालय
MAHAPURUSHA SRIMANTA SANKARADEVA VISWAVIDYALAYA

MSSV JOURNAL of HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES

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From the Editor's Desk

Greetings from MSSV Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences

We are pleased to inform you that the Journal is going to publish its next issue of Volume V, Issue II of its Bi-annual Online Journal "MSSV Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences on 10th June, 2021 during the ongoing Covid 19 Pandemic situation. We would like to take the opportunity to offer our gratitude to Dr. Hitesh Deka, Hon'ble Vice-Chancellor, MSSV, Nagaon for providing us this platform to include some of the articles from various fields of humanities and social sciences. As editors, we are proud to have a peer-reviewed interdisciplinary forum for discussion of all issues related to language, literature, sociology, history, economics, education, psychology, political science, anthropology, philosophy, social work, media studies, culture based studies, ethnic studies, gender studies and other similar and related fields to encourage new and unexplored areas of research. It is now published bi annually. Submissions are accepted throughout the year. All submissions undergo blind peer-review. The peer-review process takes time but we will try to get back to you within three months. We are confident that this collection includes some of the best, most stimulating and most readable articles to suit the interests of the readers. We also hope that the contents presented here will stimulate new contributors to make future researches. The journal follows the same well-established ethical practices as all other reputed journals. It has zero tolerance for plagiarism and expects all contributors to declare that the papers are completely original and not published in part of full elsewhere.

At last but not the least, we would like to take the privilege to offer our gratefulness to all the contributors.

With regards,

Dr. Tribeni Saikia

About the University

Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva (1449-1568) was a multi-dimensional genius, who transformed and modernized Assamese society with his egalitarian ideology. He worked in diverse fields like religion, literature, music, dance, drama, architecture, social reconstruction, etc. He translated most part of the Bhagavata Mahapurana into Assamese language and was the first ever play writer in any Indian language other than Sanskrit. He wrote more than 26 (twenty six) scriptures mostly in Assamese language besides the Brajawali form and one in Sanskrit. In addition he had composed many lyrics/songs including the Borgeets. All these justify to call him SARVAGUNAKARA by his most loyal disciple Madhabadeva. His philosophy too was unique and different from other branches of Hindu philosophies. Above all he was a humanist. He welcomed every one irrespective of caste, creed, sex into his order. He was also a pioneer in adult education, mass communication, etc. He called upon the society to educate women and the downtrodden people.

Srimanta Sankaradeva Sangha was set up in 1930 in order to carry forward the reforms initiated by the saint. It is the largest NGO in North East India and it has been working relentlessly among the masses for inculcating the values preached by Srimanta Sankaradeva. It is running several schools in the state to spread value based education. The Sangha envisaged to establish a University and authorised its Srimanta Sankaradeva Education and SocioEconomic Development Trust, Nagaon to sponsor the establishment of the University. Srimanta Sankaradeva Sangha submitted the proposal for a University under the Assam Private Universities Act, 2007. Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya came into existence under the provisions of Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya Act 2013 (Assam Act No. XIX of 2013) and was formally founded on 10th of June, 2014. The

University has been recognised under Section 2(f) of UGC Act, 1956. This University, running under the aegis of Srimanta Sankaradeva Education and Socio-economic Development Trust, treads its journey following the egalitarian humanistic philosophy of Srimanta Sankaradeva and has been trying to empower the student fraternity by making them holistically educated and socially responsible citizens. In the initial stage, the members and well wishers of the Sangha contributed to raise the University. The Assam Government has granted 300 bighas of land for the permanent campus of the University in Raidongia, Nagaon. The University is supported with the grant of 15 (Fifteen) crores from the Government of Assam for construction of the permanent campus.

Since 2014, the University has completed six academic years. We have now two academic campuses, respectively in Nagaon and Guwahati. A total number of 100 faculties and officials has been offering their contributions in 13 different departments. These departments offer Postgraduate, M.Phil. and Ph.D. programmes. Some of the departments also offer undergraduate and certificate programmes. The University also fulfils its social responsibilities in different socio-cultural causes by initiating awareness and enrichment activities in the fields of education, health, women empowerment, etc. The Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya fraternity firmly believes that a new era of social regeneration will start from this University.

CONTENTS

ASSAMESE SECTION:

- | | Page |
|---|-------------|
| • লোক-কথাৰ ভিত্তিত জন্ম হোৱা কেইটিমান লোকনৃত্য : এটি ক্ষেত্ৰভিত্তিক অধ্যয়ন
(উজনি অসমৰ সাতটা লোকনৃত্যৰ বিশেষ উল্লেখৰে)
○ চন্দ্ৰ কমল চেতিয়া | 11 |
| • বাকো অঞ্চলৰ জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত সাধুকথা : এটি অধ্যয়ন
○ ময়ূৰী গোস্বামী | 19 |
| • মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্প : এক বিশ্লেষণাত্মক অধ্যয়ন
○ লোপা বৰুৱা
○ হিৰণ্য কুমাৰ বৰা | 30 |
| • অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ বিজ্ঞানসন্মত চৰ্চা : এক অধ্যয়ন
○ জোন কুমাৰ কলিতা | 40 |
| • ড° নগেন ঠাকুৰ আৰু তেখেতৰ ভাষা-চৰ্চা
○ প্ৰাপ্তি ঠাকুৰ | 50 |
| • ৰূপালীম আৰু ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী নাটকত প্ৰতিফলিত সমাজ জীৱন : স্বদেশভাৱনাৰ তুলনাত্মক আলোচনা
○ ৰেৱত মহন্ত | 55 |

ENGLISH SECTION:

- | | |
|---|-----|
| • Socio-Economic and Human Development Status of Tiwas in Nagaon District of Assam-An Empirical Analysis
○ Ajit Debnath
○ Manuj Kr. Patar | 69 |
| • Marginality and Social Justice: A Reading of H.L.V. Derozio's 'Freedom to the Slave' and 'The Orphan Girl'
○ Dipak Jyoti Baruah | 83 |
| • Coloniality of Culture and Oral History In North East India
○ Sanjib Goswami | 90 |
| • Organizational Climate and Employee Productivity
○ Mercy Hazarika | 100 |
| • The Wancho Language : A Linguistic Introduction
○ Partha Pratim Phukon | 108 |
| • Maternal Health and Covid-19: A Special Reference to | 127 |

Golaghat District of Assam

- Priyanka Gogoi
- Similarity between Sankardeva's Vaishnavite Ideology and Sufism: 134
A Comparative Study
 - Sahin Jafri
- Problems, Prospects and Opportunities of Cooperative Dairy Farming : 140
With Special Reference to the Sitajakhala Dugdha Utpadak Samabai
Samity of Assam (India)
 - Subhraneel Baruah
- Opportunities and Challenges of ICT Based Education 155
during Covid 19 Pandemic
 - Swapnalima Chowdhury
 - Dipali Dutta
- Draupadi's Resistance to Patriarchy: 166
A Feminist Study of Saoli Mitra's Fivelords, Yet None A protector
 - Prerona Bora
- Feminist Voices In Select Fictions of Anuradha Sharmapujari 172
 - Anamika Devi
- Parental Encouragement among Male and Female Higher Secondary Students of
Lanka Town of Hojai District of Assam 187
 - Tribeni Saikia
 - Munmun Das

অসমীয়া বিভাগ

**লোক-কথাৰ ভিত্তিত জন্ম হোৱা কেইটিমান লোকনৃত্য :
এটি ক্ষেত্ৰভিত্তিক অধ্যয়ন
(উজনি অসমৰ সাতটা লোকনৃত্যৰ বিশেষ উল্লেখৰে)**

চন্দ্ৰ কমল চেতিয়া

সংক্ষিপ্তসাৰ

সহজ প্ৰাণৰ সহজ অনুভূতিৰ স্বতঃস্ফূৰ্ত শৈল্পিক বৰ্হিপ্ৰকাশেই হ'ল লোকসংস্কৃতি। এই লোকসংস্কৃতিৰ এটা প্ৰধান অংগ হ'ল লোক-কথাসমূহ। বহুক্ষেত্ৰত দেখা যায় যে পুৰুষানুক্ৰমে প্ৰচলিত লোক-কথাসমূহে একো একোখন সমাজৰ ৰীতি নীতি, ধ্যান-ধাৰণা, আবেগ অনুভূতি, মূল্যবোধ আদি জনজীৱনৰ সকলো দিশতে প্ৰভাৱ পেলায়। আমাৰ গৱেষণাপত্ৰখনিৰ মূল বক্তব্য হ'ল লোক কথা সমূহ মাত্ৰ মানুহৰ মুখে মুখে লোক কথা হিচাপেই আবদ্ধ নাথাকে। এই লোক কথাসমূহৰ ভিত্তিতে সংস্কৃতিৰ অন্য কেতবোৰ দিশৰো জন্ম হ'ব পাৰে। এই লোক কথাসমূহৰ ভেটিতে কেতবোৰ লোকনৃত্যৰ জন্ম হোৱা দেখা যায়। একোখন সমাজত পৰম্পৰাগতভাৱে প্ৰচলিত লোক কথাসমূহত বৰ্ণিত কথাংশক আশ্ৰয় কৰি নৃত্যৰ যোগেদি ইয়াৰ বৰ্হিপ্ৰকাশ ঘটোৱা হয়। নৃত্যৰ লয়লাস ভঙ্গিমা, আৰু গীত-বাদ্যৰ সমন্বয়ত এই লোক কাহিনীসমূহে এক নৱৰূপ লাভ কৰে। অসমৰ উজনি খণ্ডত বসবাস কৰা বিভিন্ন জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মাজত কেতবোৰ লোকনৃত্যৰ প্ৰচলন আছে যাৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত নিহিত হৈ আছে কেতবোৰ লোক-কথা। এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনিত লোক কথাৰ ভিত্তিত গঢ় লৈ উঠা উজনি অসমৰ সাতটা লোকনৃত্য আৰু এই লোকনৃত্যসমূহৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত লুকাই থকা লোক কথাসমূহৰ বিষয়ে বিশদভাৱে আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনিত চমুকৈ উজনি অসমৰ লোকনৃত্যসমূহৰ এটি পৰিচয় দাঙি ধৰা হৈছে। বিষয়ৰ লগত সংগতি ৰাখি লোক নৃত্যত লোক-কথাৰ প্ৰভাৱৰ বিষয়েও পত্ৰখনিত আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনি মূলতঃ তিনিটা অধ্যায়ত বিভক্ত কৰা হৈছে। প্ৰথম অধ্যায়ত উজনি অসমৰ লোকনৃত্যৰ বিষয়ে চমুকৈ আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। দ্বিতীয় অধ্যায়ত লোকনৃত্যৰ ওপৰত লোক কথাৰ প্ৰভাৱৰ বিষয়ে আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। তৃতীয় অধ্যায়ত লোক-কথাৰ ভিত্তিত জন্ম হোৱা সাতটি লোক নৃত্যৰ বিষয়ে আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। এই লোকনৃত্য কেইটি হ'ল সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ হুগ্ৰা নৃত্য, হুঁচৰি, বহুৱা নৃত্য, হাইদাং নৃত্য, দেউৰীসকলৰ দেওধনী নাচ, টাই খাময়াংসকলৰ কা নাংফি আৰু চিংফৌ সকলৰ জাতীয় উৎসৱ স্বপংয়'ং মানাও পয়ত পৰিৱেশিত লোকনৃত্য। এই গৱেষণাপত্ৰখনি সম্পূৰ্ণ ক্ষেত্ৰঅধ্যয়নৰ পৰা আহৰিত তথ্যৰ ভিত্তিত প্ৰস্তুত কৰা হৈছে। অধ্যয়নৰ ক্ষেত্ৰ হিচাপে শিৱসাগৰ, ডিব্ৰুগড় আৰু তিনিচুকীয়া জিলাক সামৰি লোৱা হৈছে। এই গৱেষণামূলক আলোচনাই উত্তৰসূৰী লেখক -গৱেষক সকলক নতুন সমলৰ সন্ধান দি গৱেষণা ক্ষেত্ৰত সহায় কৰিব বুলি ভবাৰ যথেষ্ট থল আছে।

বীজ শব্দঃ লোককথা, লোকনৃত্য, জনগোষ্ঠী

প্ৰস্তাৱনা

বিষয়ৰ পৰিচয় : সহজ প্ৰাণৰ সহজ অনুভূতিৰ স্বতঃস্ফূৰ্ত শৈল্পিক বৰ্হিপ্ৰকাশেই হ'ল লোকসংস্কৃতি। লোকসংস্কৃতিৰ প্ৰধান অংগ হ'ল লোক-কথাসমূহ। বহুক্ষেত্ৰত দেখা যায় যে পুৰুষানুক্ৰমে প্ৰচলিত লোক-কথাসমূহে একো একোখন সমাজৰ ৰীতি নীতি, ধ্যান-ধাৰণা, আবেগ অনুভূতি,

মূল্যবোধ আদি জনজীৱনৰ সকলো দিশতে প্ৰভাৱ পেলায়। এই লোক-কথাসমূহৰ ভেটিতেই কেতবোৰ লোকনৃত্যৰো জন্ম হোৱা দেখা যায়। একোখন সমাজত পৰম্পৰাগতভাৱে প্ৰচলিত লোক-কথাসমূহত বৰ্ণিত কথাংশক আশ্ৰয় কৰি নৃত্যৰ যোগেদি ইয়াৰ বৰ্হিপ্ৰকাশ ঘটোৱা হয়। নৃত্যৰ লয়লাস

ভঙ্গিমা, আৰু গীত-বাদ্যৰ সমন্বয়ত এই লোক কাহিনীসমূহে এক নৱৰূপ লাভ কৰে।

অসমৰ উজনি খণ্ডত বসবাস কৰা বিভিন্ন জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মাজত কেতবোৰ লোকনৃত্যৰ প্ৰচলন থকা দেখা যায় যাৰ অন্তৰালত নিহিত হৈ থাকে কেতবোৰ লোক-কথা। এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনিত লোক কথাৰ ভিত্তিত গঢ় লৈ উঠা উজনি অসমৰ কেইটিমান লোকনৃত্য আৰু এই লোকনৃত্যসমূহৰ অন্তৰালত লুকাই থকা লোক-কথাসমূহৰ বিষয়ে বিশদভাৱে আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। গৱেষণাপত্ৰখনিত চমুকৈ উজনি অসমৰ লোকনৃত্যসমূহৰ এটি পৰিচয় দাঙি ধৰা হৈছে। বিষয়ৰ লগত সংগতি ৰাখি লোকনৃত্যত লোক-কথাৰ প্ৰভাৱৰ বিষয়েও গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনিত আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে।

অধ্যয়নৰ গুৰুত্ব : কোনো এটা বিষয় সম্যকভাৱে জানিবলৈ উক্ত বিষয়টিৰ অন্তৰালত নিহিত হৈ থকা বিভিন্ন দিশ সমূহো খৰচি মাৰি জনাৰ দৰকাৰ। উজনি অসমৰ লোকনৃত্যৰ বিষয়ে আলোচনা কৰিবলৈ যাওঁতে এই লোকনৃত্যসমূহৰ মূল ভেঁটিটোৰ বিষয়ে বিস্তৃত জ্ঞানৰ আৱশ্যক। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত লোকনৃত্যৰ সতে জড়িত লোক-কথাসমূহে গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ ভূমিকা গ্ৰহণ কৰে। কিন্তু এই বিষয়টিৰ সন্দৰ্ভত একত্ৰিত আৰু সু-সংহত ভাৱে কোনোধৰণৰ লেখা বৰ্তমানেও পাবলৈ নাই। সেয়ে এই বিষয়টিৰ সন্দৰ্ভত একত্ৰিত আৰু পূৰ্ণাংগ আলোচনাৰ একান্ত প্ৰয়োজন। এই আলোচনাই উত্তৰসূৰী লেখক-গৱেষক সকলক নতুন সমলৰ সন্ধান দি গৱেষণা ক্ষেত্ৰত সহায় কৰিব বুলি ভবাৰ যথেষ্ট থল আছে।

অধ্যয়নৰ উদ্দেশ্য : এই গৱেষণাপত্ৰখনিৰ মূল উদ্দেশ্যই হ'ল উজনি অসমৰ নিৰ্বাচিত জনগোষ্ঠীকেইটিৰ লোকনৃত্যসমূহৰ লগতে এই লোকনৃত্যসমূহৰ সৈতে জড়িত হৈ থকা লোক-কথাসমূহক আলোচনাৰ মাধ্যমেৰে সকলোৰে দৃষ্টিগোচৰ কৰোৱা।

অধ্যয়নৰ পদ্ধতি : এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনি মূলতঃ বৰ্ণনাত্মক পদ্ধতিৰে আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। তথ্য সংগ্ৰহৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত

মূলতঃ ক্ষেত্ৰ অধ্যয়ন পদ্ধতিৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে। প্ৰয়োজন সাপেক্ষে গ্ৰন্থ আলোচনী আদিৰো সহায় লোৱা হৈছে।

অধ্যয়নৰ পৰিসৰ : “লোক-কথাৰ ভিত্তিত গঢ় লৈ উঠা লোকনৃত্য”— এই বিষয়টিৰ বিস্তৃতি আৰু পৰিসৰলৈ লক্ষ্য ৰাখি উজনি অসমৰ তিনিটা জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত লোককথাৰ ভিত্তিত গঢ় লৈ উঠা সাতটা লোকনৃত্যকহে গৱেষণাপত্ৰখনিত সন্নিবিষ্ট কৰা হৈছে। এই লোকনৃত্যকেইটি হ'ল- সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ হগ্ৰা নৃত্য, বহুৱা নৃত্য, হুঁচৰি আৰু হাইদাং নৃত্য, দেউৰীসকলৰ দেওধনী নৃত্য, টাই খাময়াংসকলৰ কা নাংফি বা নাংফি নৃত্য আৰু চিংফৌসকলৰ জাতীয় উৎসৱ স্বপং য়'ং মানও পয়ত পৰিৱেশিত লোকনৃত্য। শিৱসাগৰ জিলাৰ চলাপথাৰ, ৰজাবাৰী, ডিব্ৰুগড় জিলাৰ জামিৰা ধমল গাঁও, তিনিচুকীয়া জিলাৰ ডাঙৰী বৰপথাৰ, চোমনি, আৰু মাৰ্খেৰিটাৰ কেটেতং, ডিবং, উলুপ অঞ্চলৰ পৰা সংগৃহীত ক্ষেত্ৰ অধ্যয়নমূলক তথ্যৰ ভিত্তিত এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনি যুগুত কৰা হৈছে।

উজনি অসমৰ লোকনৃত্য : এটি চমু পৰিচয় : লোকনৃত্য লোকসংস্কৃতিৰ এক অপৰিহাৰ্য অংগ। উজনি অসমৰ লোকনৃত্য বিষয়টিৰ পৰিসৰ অত্যন্ত ব্যাপক। অসমৰ উজনিখণ্ডত বসবাস কৰা বিভিন্ন জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মাজত ভালেসংখ্যক লোকনৃত্যৰ প্ৰচলন আছে। এনে সীমিত পৰিসৰৰ মাজত ইয়াৰ পূৰ্ণাংগ আলোচনা সম্ভৱ নহয়। সেয়ে গৱেষণাপত্ৰখনিৰ মূল বিষয়ৰ আনুসংগিক ভাৱে সংযোগ কৰা এই চমু অধ্যয়নটিত উজনি অসমৰ লোকনৃত্যসমূহৰ বিষয়ে পৰিচয়মূলকভাৱে এটি চমু আভাসহে মাত্ৰ দাঙি ধৰা হৈছে।

উজনি অসমৰ লোকনৃত্যসমূহক প্ৰধানকৈ উৎসৱ-পাৰ্বণমূলক লোকনৃত্য, অনুষ্ঠানমূলক লোকনৃত্য আৰু আনন্দ প্ৰকাশক লোকনৃত্য এইকেইটা মূল ভাগত বিভক্ত কৰিব পাৰি। উৎসৱ পাৰ্বণৰ সৈতে জড়িত লোকনৃত্যৰ ভিতৰত প্ৰথমে বিহু নৃত্যৰ কথা কৈ উল্লেখ কৰিব পাৰি। তদুপৰি এই ভাগটিত সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ বহুৱা নৃত্য, হগ্ৰানৃত্য, টাই ফাকেসকলৰ কা কং, কা চং, আইতন সকলৰ কা ফিফাই, কা মেংৱি, কা নাংৱেন, চিংফৌসকলৰ স্বপংয়'ং মানও পয়ত

পৰিৱেশিত লোকনৃত্য, মেচ কছাৰীসকলৰ বৈষ্ণৱী নৃত্য, মিচিংসকলৰ গুমৰাগ নৃত্য, কন্যাক সকলৰ আওলেং উৎসৱত পৰিৱেশিত 'ঐয়া চাইপ', টাংচাসকলৰ চে ইউ লোৱম, অসমত বসবাস কৰা চাহ জনগোষ্ঠীৰ জাহালী নৃত্য, থলুৱা নেপালীসকলৰ দেউচী নৃত্যক অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰিব পাৰি।

অনুষ্ঠানমূলক লোকনৃত্যৰ ভিতৰত সোণোৱাল কছাৰী, ঠেঙাল কছাৰী আৰু মৰাণ সমাজৰ বিবাহ অনুষ্ঠানত প্ৰচলিত কুলাবুঢ়ীৰ নাচ, দেউৰী আৰু মেচ কছাৰী সমাজৰ দেওধনী নৃত্য, মিচিংসকলৰ মিবু দাগ্‌নাম, টাই আহোমসকলৰ ওম্ফা আৰু লাই লুংখাম নৃত্য, চিংফৌ সকলৰ দুম মানাও, কোমৰান মানাও, কোমৰাল মানাও, চ্যুত মানাও, থংকা মানাও, জু মানাও, খাময়াং সকলৰ কা নাংফি, চাহ জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত নাদুৱা নৃত্যক অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰিব পাৰি।

আনন্দ বিনোদনমূলক লোকনৃত্যৰ ভিতৰত টাই আহোমসকলৰ বাক চাংমাই নৃত্য আৰু মিচিং সকলৰ ক' চঃমান, মীনে চঃমান আদি নৃত্যক অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰিব পাৰি। এই নৃত্যকেইটিৰ উপৰিও উজনি অসমৰ বিভিন্ন জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ মাজত আৰু কেইবাটিও লোকনৃত্যৰ প্ৰচলন আছে।

লোকনৃত্যৰ ওপৰত লোক-কথাৰ প্ৰভাৱ

লোক-কথাসমূহৰ সৃষ্টি কেতিয়া হৈছিল তাক সঠিককৈ কোৱা টান। এই লোক-কথাসমূহ একোখন সমাজত এটা প্ৰজন্মৰ পৰা আন এটা প্ৰজন্মলৈ মৌখিক ভাৱে প্ৰবাহিত হৈ থাকে। একোখন সমাজ তথা সেই সমাজৰ ভাষা-সংস্কৃতিৰ ওপৰত লোককথাসমূহৰ প্ৰভাৱ সততে লক্ষ্য কৰা যায়। একোখন সমাজ, একোটা জনগোষ্ঠী অথবা একোটা অঞ্চলত প্ৰচলিত লোকনৃত্যৰ ওপৰতো লোক কথাই যথেষ্ট প্ৰভাৱ বিস্তাৰ কৰে। উদাহৰণ স্বৰূপে আমি বৃহৎ টাই গোষ্ঠীৰ অন্তৰ্গত খামতিসকলৰ লোকনৃত্যৰ কথাকে ক'ব পাৰোঁ। তেওঁলোকৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত লোকনৃত্যসমূহৰ মাজত বৌদ্ধ ধৰ্মৰ সৈতে জড়িত লোক কথা আৰু বোধিসত্ত্ব বিষয়ক কাহিনীসমূহেই প্ৰতিফলিত হয়। সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত হাইদাং নৃত্য, বহুৱা নৃত্য আৰু হুঁচৰিৰ নৃত্যত শিৱৰ লগত জড়িত লোক-কথাসমূহে বিশেষ ভাৱে প্ৰভাৱ পেলাই আহিছে। টাই

ফাকে, টাই আইতন, টাই তুৰুং, টাই খাময়াং আৰু টাই খামতি সকলৰ পয় কিথিং উৎসৱত চীৰৰ ব'বৰ বাবে কপাহবাৰীৰ পৰা সূতা সংগ্ৰহ কৰাৰ সময়ত কংলুঙৰ (বৰ ঢোল) চাপৰৰ তালে তালে পৰিৱেশন কৰা নৃত্যটিৰ লগত দুষ্ট প্ৰেতাশ্বাসকলৰ বাধা নেওচি সূতা সংগ্ৰহ কৰি অনা কাহিনীটিৰ প্ৰভাৱ পৰিলক্ষিত হয়। টাই আইতনসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত কা ফি ফাই (যুদ্ধ নৃত্য) কা নাংৱেন (পৰীৰ নৃত্য) আৰু কা মেং ৰি (পখিলা নৃত্য) নামৰ নৃত্য তিনিটিত বৈশালী নগৰৰ ৰাজকুমাৰৰ যুদ্ধজয়ৰ কাহিনীটিৰ প্ৰভাৱ পৰিছে। ভগৱান বুদ্ধই মাতৃক পৰিনিৰ্বাণ প্ৰদান কৰিবৰ বাবে তাৰতিংসৰ পৰা পৃথিৱীলৈ নামি অহাৰ কাহিনীটোৰ সতে খাময়াংসকলৰ নাংফি নৃত্যৰ যোগসূত্ৰ দেখা পোৱা যায়। চিংফৌসকলৰ লোকনৃত্যসমূহত মাংদিয়াও নামৰ মানৱ সন্তান আৰু অৰণ্যৰ পক্ষীকুলৰ কাহিনীটিৰ পূৰ্ণ প্ৰভাৱ পৰিলক্ষিত হয়।

এনেদৰে অধ্যয়ন কৰি চালে দেখা যায় যে জনসমাজত মৌখিক ভাৱে প্ৰচলিত লোককথাসমূহে কেতবোৰ লোকনৃত্যত যথেষ্ট প্ৰভাৱ বিস্তাৰ কৰে। এই প্ৰভাৱ নৃত্যৰ ভাৱ অথবা অন্যান্য আংগিক ক্ষেত্ৰসমূহত প্ৰতিফলিত হ'ব পাৰে।

লোক-কথাৰ ভিত্তিত গঢ় লৈ উঠা কেইটিমান লোকনৃত্য : (উজনি অসমত প্ৰচলিত সাতটা লোকনৃত্যৰ বিশেষ উল্লেখৰে)

লোককথাসমূহ কেৱল মাত্ৰ মানুহৰ মুখে মুখে প্ৰচলিত ৰূপতে আৱদ্ধ নাথাকে। এই লোক কথাসমূহৰ ভেটিতে বিভিন্ন লোকনৃত্যৰ জন্ম হ'ব পাৰে। উজনি অসমৰ সোণোৱাল কছাৰী, টাই খাময়াং, দেউৰী আৰু চিংফৌসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত লোক কথাৰ আধাৰত জন্ম হোৱা সাতটা লোকনৃত্যৰ বিষয়ে এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনিত আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে।

সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত

হথা নৃত্য : সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত হথা নৃত্য হ'ল মূলতঃ চিকাৰকেন্দ্ৰিক লোকনৃত্য। এই লোকনৃত্যটি প্ৰধানকৈ তিনিচুকীয়া জিলাৰ চোমনি অঞ্চলৰ সোণোৱাল

কছাৰীসকলৰ মাজত অতীজৰে পৰা পৰম্পৰাগত ভাৱে প্ৰচলিত হৈ আহিছে।

সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত লোক-কথা মতে তেওঁলোকৰ আদিপুৰুষ হগ্ৰাবীৰে এদিন ভতিজাকৰ সৈতে চিকাৰলৈ যাত্ৰা কৰে। বাটত হগ্ৰাবীৰে পাখি মেলি শুই থকা এজনী কপৌ দেখি অমংগলৰ আশংকা কৰি ততালিকে কাঁড় মাৰি কপৌজনী বধ কৰে। বিনাদোষত মৃত্যুক সাৱতি ল'ব লগা হোৱা বাবে কপৌজনীয়ে হগ্ৰাক অভিশাপ দিয়ে। কপৌজনীৰ অভিশাপৰ ফলত হগ্ৰাবীৰে চিকাৰ নেপাই যথ যথিনীৰে ভৰা অৰণ্যত অনাই বনাই ফুৰিব লগা হয়। যথাসময়ত গিৰীয়েক ঘৰলৈ উভতি নহাত হগ্ৰাবীৰৰ পত্নীয়ে কোলাৰ কেচুৰা ধাইৰ হাতত দি হগ্ৰাক বিচাৰি অৰণ্যত সোমায়। কেঁচুৱাই মাক-দেউতাকক নেপাই কান্দোনত গছৰ পাত সৰুৱায়। তেতিয়া ধাইগৰাকীয়ে মাক দেউতাকৰ কথা কৈ ভীমকল আৰু সান্দহ খুৱাই ফুচুলায়। এই লোক-কথাটিৰ পৰাই কালক্ৰমত সোণোৱালসকলৰ সমাজত হগ্ৰা নৃত্যৰ জন্ম হয়।

সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলে বহাগ বিহুত হুঁচৰি গাই শেষ কৰাৰ পাছত বিহু উৰুওৱাৰ পৰত এই নৃত্যটি পৰিৱেশন কৰে। হগ্ৰা নৃত্য পৰিৱেশন কৰিবৰ বাবে নদীৰ পাৰৰ এডোখৰ আওঁহতীয়া স্থান নিৰ্বাচন কৰি লৈ গছৰ ঠাল ঠেঙুলিৰে এখন কৃত্ৰিম অৰণ্যৰ ৰূপ দিয়া হয়। সেই কৃত্ৰিম অৰণ্যৰ কাষে কাষে অৰ্ধগোলাকৃতিৰে ঠিয় হৈ গাঁৱৰ ৰাইজে ঢোল, তাল, টকামাৰি লৈ হগ্ৰা নৃত্য পৰিৱেশন কৰে। এই নৃত্যটিত হগ্ৰাবীৰ আৰু তেওঁৰ ভতিজাকৰ ভাও লোৱা দুটি চৰিত্ৰ থাকে। এজন পুৰুষে গাত ফুটুকা ফুটুকী ৰং সানি ফুটুকী পহুৰ ভাও লয়। এই পহুটোক চিকাৰ কৰিবৰ বাবে হগ্ৰাবীৰৰ ভাও লোৱা চৰিত্ৰটিয়ে অশেষ চেষ্টা কৰি অৱশেষত ভাগৰি পৰে। যথ-যথিনীৰ ভাও লোৱা এহাল মানুহে নৃত্যটিত জাকৈৰে মাছ ধৰাৰ অভিনয় কৰে। সমগ্ৰ নৃত্যটিত হগ্ৰাবীৰৰ লগত জড়িত লোক-কাহিনীটোকে প্ৰতীকাত্মক ভাৱে উপস্থাপন কৰা হয়।

সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ হুঁচৰি : বহাগ মাহত ঘৰে ঘৰে হুঁচৰি গোৱাৰ পৰম্পৰা উজনি অসমৰ প্ৰায় সকলো জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মাজতে দেখা পোৱা যায়। কিন্তু সোণোৱাল

কছাৰীসকলৰ সমাজত প্ৰচলিত হুঁচৰিত পৰিৱেশিত নৃত্যৰ জন্মৰ বিষয়ে এটি মনোৰম লোক-কাহিনী পোৱা যায়। আদি যুগত ব্ৰহ্মাৰ এগৰাকী কন্যা স্বৰ্গৰ পৰা মৰ্ত্যলৈ নিবাসিতা হয়। নিবাসিতা কন্যাগৰাকীয়ে হাবিত গছৰ ফল-মূল খাই ফটা কাপোৰ পিন্ধি অতি কষ্টেৰে জীৱন নিৰ্বাহ কৰে। বসন্তৰ আগমনত স্বৰ্গৰ দেৱতাসকলৰ সেই কন্যাগৰাকীলৈ মনত পৰে। হাজাৰ হওক সেই কন্যাগৰাকীও দেৱতাৰে অংশ। সেয়ে নতুন বছৰত কেনেকৈ তেওঁক ন সাজ-পাৰ, আ-অলংকাৰ দিব পাৰি তাকে চিন্তা কৰি দেৱতাসকলে বাৰজন পাৰিষদক মাতি আনি গীত মাত শিকিবলৈ মহাদেৱৰ ওচৰলৈ পঠাই দিয়ে। মহাদেৱ আৰু পাৰ্বতীয়ে তেওঁলোকক গীত নৃত্য শিকায়। এই গীত নৃত্য শিকি পাৰিষদ কেইজনে দেৱতাসকলৰ ঘৰে ঘৰে গাই কাপোৰ কানি অয়-অলংকাৰ আদি গোটাই আনি নিবাসিতা কন্যা গৰাকীক দিয়েহি। নতুন বস্ত্ৰ আ-অলংকাৰ আদি পাই কন্যাগৰাকী ৰঙতে আপোনপাহৰা হৈ নাচিব ধৰে। আনকি অতীত জীৱনৰ দুখৰ দিনবোৰৰ কথাও তেওঁৰ পাহৰি যায়। সেই উলাহ দেখি পাৰিষদ কেইজনেও এই নৃত্যত যোগ দিয়ে। নৃত্যৰ ছন্দ আৰু গীতৰ সুৰ অৰণ্য ভেদি লোকালয়ত বিয়পি পৰে। এই গীতৰ সুৰ আৰু নাচোনৰ ছন্দৰ অনুকৰণতে সোণোৱাল সকলৰ মাজত একশ্ৰেণীৰ লোকনৃত্যৰ জন্ম হয়। সেই নৃত্যই হ'ল সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ হুঁচৰি বা হুঁচৰিৰ নৃত্য।

বহাগ বিহুত ঘৰে ঘৰে এই নৃত্য পৰিৱেশন কৰি গৃহস্থৰ মংগল কামনা কৰা হয়। গোটা বাঁহৰ এডাল দীঘল টকাত নযোৰ টকামাৰিৰে কোবাই সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলে হুঁচৰি গায়। তেওঁলোকৰ হুঁচৰিত প্ৰধানকৈ চাৰিটা ঢোল, তাল আৰু টকাৰ ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা দেখা যায়। সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ টকা অসমৰ অন্যান্য জনগোষ্ঠীয়ে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা টকাতকৈ কিছু পৃথক। তেওঁলোকে এডাল গোটা দীঘলীয়া

বাঁহক টকা হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰে।^১ ঠাইভেদে সুৰিৰ বাদ্য বাঁহী আৰু পেঁপাৰো ব্যৱহাৰ দেখা যায়। সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ হুঁচৰিত পৰিৱেশিত নৃত্যৰ ভঙ্গিমা ধীৰ আৰু গান্ধীৰ্যপূৰ্ণ। ওপৰত উল্লেখিত লোক কথাটিৰ স্মৰণত সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলে হুঁচৰিৰ অন্তৰ্গত পোহাৰী গীতত আজিও গায়-

হুৰে হুৰে বাই জেলেপ কাপোৰ উৰে
হুৰে হুৰে হুঁচৰি কোনে সৰজায়
মহাদেউ পাৰ্বতী সিয়ে সৰজায়.....

বহুৱা নৃত্য : বহাগ মাহৰ শেষৰ ফালে অনুষ্ঠিত হোৱা সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ এটি পৰম্পৰাগত লোকনৃত্য হ'ল বহুৱা নৃত্য। ই সম্পূৰ্ণৰূপে পুৰুষকেন্দ্ৰিক লোকনৃত্য। এই নৃত্যত এহাল বহুৱা বহুৱানী আৰু ভূত প্ৰেতৰ ভাও লোৱা পুৰুষসকলে অংশগ্ৰহণ কৰে। বহুৱা বহুৱানীক দক্ষ আৰু তেওঁৰ পত্নী বুলি ভবা হয়। আনহাতে ভূত-প্ৰেতৰ ভাও লোৱা পুৰুষসকল শিৱৰ অনুচৰসকলৰ প্ৰতীক। ডিব্ৰুগড় জিলাৰ জামিৰা ধমল গাঁৱত এই নৃত্য অতীজৰে পৰা পৰম্পৰাগত ভাৱে প্ৰতি দুবছৰৰ মূৰে মূৰে অনুষ্ঠিত কৰা হয়।

দক্ষ যজ্ঞত সতীয়ে দেহ ত্যাগ কৰাৰ খবৰ পাই শিৱ আৰু তেওঁৰ অনুচৰ বৰ্গই দক্ষযজ্ঞ চূৰমাৰ কৰে। এই কাহিনীটো মূলতঃ পুৰাণকেন্দ্ৰিক। কিন্তু উক্ত কাহিনীটিয়েই সোণোৱালসকলৰ সমাজত লোক-কথা হিচাপে মৌখিক ভাৱে প্ৰচলিত হৈ আহিছে। এই কাহিনীৰ লগত পুৰাণত নথকা বহুধৰণৰ লৌকিকতাও যোগ হৈছে। সোণোৱালসকলৰ সমাজত প্ৰচলিত এই লোক-কাহিনীটো এনে ধৰণৰ— সতীৰ দেহ ত্যাগত মৰ্মাহত হৈ শিৱই অনুচৰসহ যজ্ঞস্থলীত উপস্থিত হৈ দক্ষযজ্ঞ ধ্বংস কৰি দক্ষক কলৰ পাত পিন্ধাই দিয়ে। তাতে ক্ষান্ত নাথাকি শিৱই দক্ষক শিৰচ্ছেদ কৰে। অৱশেষত দক্ষপত্নীৰ কাতৰ প্ৰৰ্থনা এৰাব নোৱাৰি শিৱই তেওঁক প্ৰাণ দান দিয়ে। কিন্তু দক্ষৰ ছিন্নমুণ্ড বিচাৰি নাপাই শিৱই দক্ষক ছাগলীৰ কটা মূৰ এটা জোৰা লগাই দিয়ে। প্ৰাণ পাই দক্ষই আন্দতে যজ্ঞস্থলীত নৃত্য কৰিব ধৰে। তাকে দেখি শিৱৰ অনুচৰসকলে বিভিন্ন অংগী ভংগীৰে চেও ধৰি নাচি দক্ষক ভেঙুচালি কৰে। দক্ষ ক্ৰোধাশ্বিত হৈ পৰে। এই লোক কথাটিৰ পৰাই সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ মাজত বহুৱা নৃত্যৰ উৎপত্তি হয়।

হাইদাং নৃত্যঃ সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত হাইদাং গীত আৰু নৃত্যক মূলতঃ ধৰ্মমূলক গীত আৰু নৃত্যৰ ভিতৰত ধৰা হয়। খ্ৰীং খ্ৰীং বাইথ' পূজাৰ লগত সংগতি ৰাখি বাইথ'ৰী শালৰ মজিয়াত হাইদাং গীত আৰু নৃত্য

পৰিৱেশন কৰা হয়। হাইদাং নৃত্য প্ৰধানকৈ তিনিচুকীয়া জিলাৰ ডাঙৰী অঞ্চলৰ বৰপথাৰৰ বাইথ'ৰীশালত বাইথ' পূজা আৰম্ভ হোৱাৰ দ্বিতীয় দিনটোত পৰিৱেশিত হয়। গীতঘাই আৰু পালি সকলে পৰিৱেশন কৰা গীতৰ তালে তালে নৃত্য কৰা ব্যক্তিজনে হাতত দুমুঠি ম'ৰাৰ পাখি লৈ হাইদাং নৃত্য পৰিৱেশন কৰে। গাঁৱৰ নজন ব্যক্তিয়ে হাতত একোযোৰ বাঁহৰ টকামাৰি লৈ এডালে আনডালত টুকুৰিয়াই লয়বদ্ধভাৱে শব্দ কৰে। দলটোত এজন বাঁহীবাদক থাকে। এজনে হাইদাং গীতৰ লগত খুটিতাল সংগত কৰে।

এই হাইদাং নৃত্যৰ উৎপত্তি সম্পৰ্কে প্ৰচলিত লোক কাহিনী মতে উৰ্বশীৰ দ্বাৰা শাপভ্ৰষ্ট হৈ অৰ্জুনে বৃহন্নলাৰ বশ ধাৰণ কৰে। অৰ্ধপুৰুষ অৰ্ধ নাৰীৰ ৰূপেৰে অৰ্জুনে এক বিশেষ নৃত্য পৰিৱেশন কৰে। এই নৃত্যৰ অনুকৰণতে হাইদাং নৃত্যৰ সৃষ্টি হৈছে বুলি সোণোৱালসকলে ক'ব খোজে। সোণোৱাল সকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত অন্য এটি লোক কথামতে এজন নপুংসকৰ প্ৰাৰ্থনাত তুষ্ট হৈ শিৱই নিজৰ পুৰুষত্ব তেওঁক দান কৰাত অলিয়া বলিয়া হৈ পাৰ্বতীয়ে নিজৰ পুত্ৰ কাৰ্তিকৰ ৰূপতে মুগ্ধ হয়। পাৰ্বতীয়ে কাৰ্তিকক নিৰিডভাৱে লগ পাব বিচৰাত কাৰ্তিক অমান্তি হয়। তেতিয়া পাৰ্বতীয়ে কাৰ্তিকক শাপ দিব বিচৰাত কাৰ্তিক মাকৰ কথাত সন্মত হয়। কিন্তু তেওঁ চৰ্ত বান্ধি দিলে যে পাৰ্বতীয়ে কোনো জনপ্ৰাণীহীন ঠাইতহে তেওঁক লগ পাব লাগিব। সেই ঠাইত আনকি এটা পোক পৰুৱাও থাকিব নালাগিব। কথামতে পাৰ্বতীয়ে তেনে এখন ঠাইত উপস্থিত হয়। কিন্তু কাৰ্তিক ময়ূৰ চৰাইৰ বাহনত উঠি অহাৰ বাবে ময়ূৰৰ উপস্থিতিত পাৰ্বতীৰ মনৰ আশা পূৰ নহ'ল।^২ এই লোক কথাটিয়েও হাইদাং নৃত্যৰ সৃষ্টিত যথেষ্ট অৰিহণা যোগাইছে বুলি সোণোৱালসকলে ক'ব খোজে। এই লোক-কথাটিৰ স্মৰণতে বৰ্তমানেও হাইদাং নৃত্যত ময়ূৰ চৰাইৰ পাখি ব্যৱহাৰ হৈ আহিছে।

দেউৰীসকলৰ দেওধনী নৃত্য : দেওধনী দেউৰীসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত এবিধ ধৰ্মমূলক লোকনৃত্য। এই নৃত্য বহাগ মাহত দেওশালত অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। উদাত্ত ভাৱে পৰিৱেশন কৰা এই দেওধনী নৃত্যক দেউৰীসকলে অতি পৱিত্ৰ হিচাপে গণ্য

কৰে। দেউৰীসকলৰ লোকবিশ্বাস মতে বহাগ মাহত তেওঁলোকৰ আৰাধ্য দেৱতাই গাঁৱৰ কোনো এজন বিশেষ ব্যক্তিৰ গাত ভৰ কৰেহি। দেৱতাই ভৰ কৰা সেই ব্যক্তিজনে দেওশালৰ মজিয়াত দেওধনী নৃত্য পৰিৱেশন কৰে।

দেউৰী সমাজত প্ৰচলিত এটি লোককথাৰ ভিত্তিত দেওধনী নৃত্যৰ জন্ম হয় বুলি তেওঁলোকে ক'ব খোজে। দেউৰীসকলৰ আদি বাসস্থান শদিয়াত কেন্দুকলাই নামৰ এজন পূজাৰীয়ে পূজা-সেৱা কৰিছিল। তেওঁৰ পূজাত তুষ্ট হৈ দেৱী পিচাচী ডেমাচী বা তাম্বেশ্বৰীয়ে দেখা দি কেন্দুকলাইক কি বৰ লাগে সুধিলে। তেতিয়া কেন্দুকলায়ে সৰগীয় নাচোন চৰ বিচৰাত দেৱীয়ে সেই নাচোন নাচি দেখুৱালে। কিন্তু তেওঁ কেন্দুকলাইক সাৱধান কৰি দিলে যে এই নৃত্যৰ বিষয়ে যেন পৃথিৱীৰ আন মানুহক কোৱা নহয়। কেন্দুকলায়ে দেৱীৰ আদেশ অমান্য কৰি জনসমাজত স্বৰ্গীয় নৃত্যটিৰ বিষয়ে সবিস্তাৰে বৰ্ণনা দিলেহি। তাতে ক্ষান্ত নাথাকি তেওঁ এই নৃত্যটিৰ পৰিৱেশনৰ ৰীতিও মানৱসমাজক শিকাবলৈ ল'লে। এই কথাত ক্ৰোধাধিত হৈ দেৱীয়ে চৰ মাৰি কেন্দুকলাইৰ মূৰটো চিঙি পেলায়। তাকে দেখি দেউৰীসকলে দেৱীক পূজা অৰ্চনা কৰি শাস্ত কৰে। তেতিয়া দেৱীয়ে তুষ্ট হৈ দেউৰীসকলক এই সৰগীয় নৃত্যটি পৰিৱেশন কৰিবৰ বাবে অধিকাৰ প্ৰদান কৰে। সেই দিন ধৰি দেউৰীসকলৰ মাজত দেওধনী নৃত্যৰ প্ৰচলন হ'ল।

বহাগ মাহৰ প্ৰথম বুধবাৰৰ পৰা দেউৰীসকলৰ বিহু আৰম্ভ হয়। বিহুৰ দ্বিতীয় দিনা বৃহস্পতি বাৰে দেওশালৰ মজিয়াত দেওধনী নৃত্য পৰিৱেশিত হয়। ঢোল, তাল, কাঁহ, ঘণ্টাধনিৰ সমন্বয়ত এই নৃত্য পৰিৱেশিত হয়। পদসঞ্চালনাই এই নৃত্যত বিশেষ প্ৰাধান্য পায়। ঢোলৰ চাপৰৰ লগে লগে নৃত্যৰ গতি খৰ হয়। অৱশেষত ক্লান্ত হৈ নৃত্য কৰোঁতাজন মাটিত ঢলি পৰে।

টাই খাময়াংসকলৰ নাংফি নৃত্য : টাই খাময়াং সকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত এটি লোকনৃত্য হ'ল কা নাংফি অৰ্থাৎ পৰীৰ নৃত্য। প্ৰতিবছৰৰ মাঘী পূৰ্ণিমাৰ দিনা অনুষ্ঠিত হোৱা মাইক' চুম ফাই উৎসৱৰ সৈতে সংগতি ৰাখি এই নৃত্যটি পৰিৱেশন কৰা হয়। নৃত্যটি সম্পূৰ্ণ নাৰীকেন্দ্ৰিক। টাই খাময়াংসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত কা নাংফি (পৰীৰ নৃত্য)ৰ জন্মৰ বিষয়ে এটি

লোক কাহিনী পোৱা যায়। সেই কাহিনীৰ মতে ভগৱান বুদ্ধই নিজৰ মাতৃক পৰিনিৰ্বাণ কৰাবৰ বাবে তাৱতিংস(স্বৰ্গ)ৰ পৰা পৃথিৱীলৈ মানৱী ৰূপ ধৰি নামি আহে। তেওঁ পৃথিৱীলৈ মানৱী শিশুৰ ৰূপে নামি আহোঁতে স্বৰ্গৰ পৰা মৰ্ত্যলৈ সমগ্ৰ বাটছোৱা পৰীসকলে সুগন্ধি ফুল ছটিয়াই নৃত্য গীতেৰে ভগৱান বুদ্ধক আগবঢ়াই দিছিল। সেই সময়ছোৱাত পৰীসকলে পৰিৱেশন কৰা স্বৰ্গীয় নৃত্যৰ অপৰূপ সৌন্দৰ্য্যত পৃথিৱীবাসী বিমুগ্ধ হৈছিল। এনেদৰে বুদ্ধক মাতৃগৰ্ভত প্ৰতিষ্ঠা কৰি স্বৰ্গৰ পৰীসকলৰ পুনৰ নাচি নাচি তাৱতিংসলৈ ঘূৰি যায়। পৰীসকলে পৰিৱেশন কৰা সেই নৃত্যটি খাময়াংসকলে মনে মনে আয়ত্ব কৰি লয়। কালক্ৰমত এই নৃত্যটিয়েই নাংফি নৃত্য বা কা নাংফি নামেৰে খাময়াং সমাজত প্ৰচলিত হয়।

চিংফৌ সকলৰ জাতীয় উৎসৱ স্বপং য়'ং মানাও পয়ত পৰিৱেশিত লোকনৃত্য : স্বপং য়'ং মানাও পয়ক চিংফৌসকলৰ জাতীয় উৎসৱ হিচাপে গণ্য কৰা হয়। আদিপুৰুষ স্বপংয়'ঙৰ পৱিত্ৰ স্মৃতিত প্ৰতি বছৰে পালন কৰা পৰম্পৰাগত নৃত্য উৎসৱেই হ'ল স্বপংয়'ং মানাও পয়। চিংফৌসকলে এই উৎসৱৰ বাবে এডোখৰ নিৰ্দিষ্ট স্থান নিৰ্বাচন কৰি পৱিত্ৰ স্তম্ভ 'স্বাদুং' প্ৰতিষ্ঠা কৰে। উৎসৱৰ দিনা সকলো পুৰুষ মহিলা একত্ৰিত হৈ স্বাদুঙক কেন্দ্ৰ কৰি শাৰীবন্ধভাৱে নৃত্য কৰে। স্বপংয়'ং মানাও পয়ত পৰিৱেশিত লোকনৃত্যসমূহৰ জন্ম সম্পৰ্কে চিংফৌসকলৰ মাজত এটি লোক-কথাৰ প্ৰচলন আছে। এই লোক-কথামতে জোন আৰু বেলি সৃষ্টিৰ পাছতে পৃথিৱী ফলে ফুলে জাতিস্কাৰ হৈ পৰে। অৰণ্যত সৃষ্টি হোৱা সুস্বাদু ফল ফুলসমূহ প্ৰত্যক্ষ কৰি চৰাই চিৰিকতি বোৰ আনন্দতে আত্মহাৰা হৈ পৰে। তেওঁলোকে সৃষ্টিকৰ্তা মাঠুম মাথালৈ অশেষ কৃতজ্ঞতা জনাই তেওঁৰ গুণানুকীৰ্তন কৰি অৰণ্যত এটি নৃত্য উৎসৱৰ আয়োজন কৰে। এই নৃত্য উৎসৱৰ গুৰি ধৰে পক্ষীৰাজ ধনেশে। সকলো প্ৰকাৰৰ চৰাইৰ কলৰেৰে অৰণ্যভূমি মুখৰিত হৈ উঠে। চৰাইবিলাকৰ সেই নৃত্য উৎসৱ মাংদিয়াউ নামে এজন মানৱ সন্তানে লুকাই লুকাই প্ৰত্যক্ষ কৰি সেই নৃত্য আয়ত্ব কৰি লয়। মাংদিয়াউয়ে অৰণ্যৰ পৰা ওলাই আহি চিংফৌসকলক সেই নৃত্যৰ বিষয়ে শিক্ষা দিয়ে। মাংদিয়াউয়ে শিকাই দিয়া নৃত্যৰ শৈলীসমূহেই চিংফৌ সমাজত কালক্ৰমত একো একোটি লোকনৃত্য হিচাপে

পৰিচিত হয়। সেই কাহিনীৰ স্মৰণতে আজিও চিংফৌ সকলৰ জাতীয় উৎসৱ স্বপং য়'ং মানাও পয়ত পৰিৱেশিত নৃত্যৰ গুৰি ধৰোঁতা পুৰুষসকলে মূৰত ধনেশ চৰাইৰ ঠোঁত লগোৱা শিৰাস্ত্ৰণ পৰিধান কৰে। তদুপৰি স্বপংয়ংমানাও পয় উৎসৱ স্থালীত প্ৰতিষ্ঠা কৰা স্বাদুঙৰ গাত ধনেশ পক্ষীৰ প্ৰতীক সংলগ্ন কৰাৰ প্ৰথাৰ সতেও এই লোক কথাটি জড়িত।

উপসংহাৰ : সময় গতিশীল। ঠিক তেনেদৰে সংস্কৃতিও পৰিৱৰ্তনশীল। এই পৰিৱৰ্তনশীল সংস্কৃতিত সময় আৰু পৰিৱেশে এক নতুন বহন সানি থৈ যায়। তথাপি লোকসংস্কৃতিৰ ধাৰাটো মূল সঁতিৰ পৰা সম্পূৰ্ণ ৰূপে বিচ্ছিন্ন হৈ নাযায়। আমাৰ গৱেষণাপত্ৰখনিৰ মূল বক্তব্য হ'ল লোক কথা মাত্ৰ মানুহৰ মুখে মুখে লোক কথা হিচাপেই আবদ্ধ নাথাকে। এই লোক কথাসমূহৰ ভিত্তিতে সমাজ সংস্কৃতিৰ অন্য কেতবোৰ দিশৰো জন্ম হ'ব পাৰে। এই গৱেষণাপত্ৰখনিৰ লোক কথাৰ ভিত্তিত জন্ম হোৱা কেইটিমান লোকনৃত্যৰ বিষয়েহে আলোচনা কৰা হ'ল। লোক কথাৰ ভেঁটিত জন্ম হোৱা সংস্কৃতিৰ এনে বহু দিশ আছে যাৰ বিষয়ে আজিও পৰ্যাপ্ত পৰিমাণে আৰু সুসংহতভাৱে আলোচনা হোৱা নাই।

প্ৰসঙ্গ-সূত্ৰ

১। সোণোৱাল কছাৰীসকলে ছচৰি গাওঁতে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা টকাটো নটা পাবযুক্ত এডাল গোটা জাতি বাঁহেৰে নিৰ্মাণ কৰে। এই নটা পাবে বৰদৈচিলাৰ নগৰাকী ভগ্নী

ব্ৰহ্মে চতাই, কমলা, জাইমলা, বহিমলা, বামতী, ৰতি, বাহপতী, বিচনদৈ আৰু সৰুসতীক প্ৰতিনিধিত্ব কৰে। টকাটো ডাঙি ৰাখিবৰ বাবে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা চাৰিটা খোটাউ উৰণ, বুৰণ, জন আৰু ভ্ৰমণ— এই চাৰিমুঠি জীৱক প্ৰতিনিধিত্ব কৰে। এই টকাটো বজাবৰ বাবে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা নযোৰ টকামাৰিক ওঠৰসঁতি লুইতৰ প্ৰতীক বুলি ধৰা হয়।

সোণোৱাল সৌৰভ, মোহন সোণোৱাল (সম্পাদনা),
সোণোৱালসকলৰ শ্ৰীং শ্ৰীং বাইথ' পূজা, প্ৰমোদ
সোণোৱাল, পৃষ্ঠা- ১৪

গ্ৰন্থপঞ্জী

গগৈ; পৱিত্ৰ, চিংফৌ : সমাজ-সংস্কৃতি-ভাষা
প্ৰকাশক : লিডু সাহিত্য সভাপ্ৰথম প্ৰকাশ- ২০১২

দেউৰী, শ্ৰী পদেধৰ, দেউৰী সংস্কৃতিৰ ইতিহাস
প্ৰকাশক : নৱ কলিতা, কিৰণ প্ৰকাশন

ডি. কে. মাৰ্কেট, ধেমাজি চাৰি আলি, ধেমাজি- ৭৮৭০৫৭, প্ৰথম
প্ৰকাশ - জানুৱাৰী ২০১১

সোণোৱাল, শ্ৰী মোহন (সম্পাদক), সোণোৱাল সৌৰভ
প্ৰকাশক : সোণোৱাল কছাৰী স্বায়ত্ত্বশাসিত পৰিষদ
প্ৰথম প্ৰকাশ - ফেব্ৰুৱাৰী ২০০৭ খ্ৰী.

লেখক :

সহকাৰী অধ্যাপক, অসমীয়া বিভাগ, মহাপুৰুষ শ্ৰীমন্ত শংকৰদেৱ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

বকো অঞ্চলৰ জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ সাধুকথা : এক বিশ্লেষণাত্মক অধ্যয়ন

ময়ূৰী গোস্বামী

সংক্ষিপ্তস্বৰ

পৃথিৱীৰ প্ৰায় সকলো জাতি-জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মাজতে সাধুকথাৰ প্ৰচলন আছে। জাতি-জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মিলনভূমি অসমৰো প্ৰতিখন সমাজতে সাধুকথাসমূহ প্ৰচলিত আৰু সমাদৃত। অসমৰ থলুৱা জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ মাজত আজিও বহুতো সাধুকথা মুখবাগৰি চলি আছে। সাধুকথাই লিখিত ৰূপ নোপোৱাৰ দিনৰ পৰাই মানুহৰ মনক আকৰ্ষিত কৰি আহিছে। নজনা কথা এটাও যদি সাধুৰ ৰূপ দি কোৱা হয় তেতিয়া সেই কথা অতি সহজে মনত ৰৈ যায়। সেয়ে সাধুকথাৰ মাজত বহুতো উপদেশমূলক কথাও জড়িত হৈ থাকে। তদুপৰি সাধুকথা এখন সমাজৰ অতীত-বৰ্তমানৰ সামাজিক দলিল ৰূপেও পৰিগণিত হয়।

বকো অঞ্চলটোত বসবাস কৰা জনগোষ্ঠীকেইটাৰ মাজতো এনে বহুতো সাধুকথা আছে। যিবোৰৰ কিছুমান প্ৰকাশিত হৈছে আৰু বহুসংখ্যক এতিয়াও মুখে মুখেই চলি আছে। সেয়েহে এনে সাধুকথাবোৰৰ আলোচনাৰ বাবে বকো অঞ্চলৰ ৰাভা, গাৰো আৰু বৰো জনগোষ্ঠী কেইটাক বিশেষভাৱে নিৰ্বাচন কৰি লোৱা হৈছে।

বীজ শব্দ : জনগোষ্ঠী, সাধুকথা, বকো

অৱতৰণিকা

লোকসাহিত্যৰ এক গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ ভাগ হৈছে সাধুকথা। পৃথিৱীৰ সকলো জাতি-জনগোষ্ঠীৰমাজতে সাধুকথাৰ প্ৰচলন আছে। সাধুকথা হৈছে জনজীৱনৰ প্ৰতিচ্ছবি। এটা জাতিৰ বিশ্বাস, ৰীতি-নীতি, সমাজৰ চিত্ৰ, বুদ্ধি-বৃত্তি আদিৰে সাধুকথাবোৰ সমৃদ্ধ হৈ আছে। সাধুকথাৰ ইংৰাজীপ্ৰতিশব্দ হৈছে Tales, Legends, Myths, Fables আদি। সাধুকথাৰ কাহিনীৰ আঁৰত সাধু,সং বা নীতি কথা একোটা জড়িত হৈ থকাৰ বাবেই পুৰণি লোক-কাহিনীবোৰক সাধুকথা বোলা হয়।

পৃথিৱীৰ অন্যান্য জাতি-জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ দৰে অসমৰ জাতি-জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ মাজতো ভিন্ন ধৰণৰ সাধুকথা প্ৰচলিত হৈ আছে। যিবোৰে তেওঁলোকৰ ঐতিহ্য তথা সাংস্কৃতিক, মনস্তাত্ত্বিক দিশবোৰক প্ৰতিফলিত কৰিছে। সাধুকথাবোৰ বাস্তৱ আৰু কল্পনাৰ সংমিশ্ৰণতৰচিত। সেয়ে হয়তো সাধুকথাবোৰত মানুহৰ কল্পনামিশ্ৰিত সৰল মন একোটাৰ লগতে তেওঁলোকে বসবাস কৰি থকা সমাজখনৰ প্ৰতিচ্ছবিও প্ৰতিফলিত হয়। জনগোষ্ঠীয় লোকসকলৰ সাধুকথাৰ মাজতো এনে দিশসমূহ আছে। যদি তেওঁলোকৰ সাধুকথাত থকা এনে দিশসমূহ আলোচনা কৰা হয় তেন্তে এই জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ বৰ্ণাঢ্য সংস্কৃতিৰ ভিন্ন

দিশৰ লগতে মনস্তাত্ত্বিকদিশ সম্পৰ্কে অধ্যয়নত সহায়ক হ'ব। ভিন্ন জনগোষ্ঠীয় বসতিস্থল অসমৰ এটি অন্যতম জনগোষ্ঠীয় লোকৰ বসতিপ্ৰধান অঞ্চল হৈছে বকো। বকো অঞ্চলত বসবাস কৰা প্ৰধান জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহ হ'ল— ৰাভা, গাৰো আৰু বৰো। এই সকলো জনগোষ্ঠীৰ বৰ্ণিত সংস্কৃতি মিলি হৈছে বকোৰ বাৰে-বহণীয়া সংস্কৃতি। **উদ্দেশ্যঃ** এই আলোচনাৰ উদ্দেশ্য হৈছে বকো অঞ্চলৰ জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত সাধুকথাসমূহৰ অধ্যয়ন কৰা।

গুৰুত্ব :

অসমীয়া সংস্কৃতিক সমৃদ্ধ কৰি তোলা জনগোষ্ঠীয় লোকসকলৰ লোকসাহিত্যৰ অন্যতম সমল সাধুকথা সম্পৰ্কে অধ্যয়ন গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ। সাম্প্ৰতিক সময়ত চৰ্চা নোহোৱা বা চৰ্চাৰ বাবে সময় কমি যোৱাৰ বাবে এই সাধুবোৰ প্ৰায় লুপ্ত হ'বলৈ ধৰিছে। গতিকে এনে এক মনোৰম লোকসাহিত্য যাতে হেৰাই নাযায় সেই বাবেও সাধুকথাৰ অধ্যয়ন গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ।

পদ্ধতি আৰু উৎস:

আলোচনাটি বিশেষাণ্ডকপদ্ধতিৰে কৰা হ'ব। ক্ষেত্ৰ অধ্যয়নক মূল উৎস হিচাপে লোৱা হৈছে ইয়াৰ উপৰিও

বিষয়ৰ লগত সম্পৰ্কযুক্ত বিভিন্ন গ্ৰন্থ, প্ৰবন্ধ, এককসংকলন, আলোচনী আদি গৌণ উৎস হিচাপে অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰা হৈছে।

বকো অঞ্চলৰ জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ পৰিচয় :

ভিন্ন জনগোষ্ঠীৰ বসতিস্থল অসমৰ এটি অন্যতম জনগোষ্ঠীয় লোকৰ বসতি প্ৰধান অঞ্চল হৈছে বকো। বকো অঞ্চলত বসবাসকৰা প্ৰধান জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহ হৈছে— বাভা, গাৰো আৰু বৰো। বকোৰ প্ৰায় সকলো অঞ্চলতে কম বেছি পৰিমাণে বাভা লোকসকলে বসবাস কৰে। তাৰে ভিতৰত লুকী, নালাপাৰা, আগচিপাৰা, শিংৰা, চুকুনীয়া, ডাবপাৰা, বোন্দাপাৰা, শামুকা, পানেৰী, আমবাৰী, কাহিতপাৰা, চোলামুখ আদি। ইয়াত বসবাস কৰা প্ৰায় সংখ্যক লোকেই খেতিৰ লগত জড়িত। ধৰ্মীয় ক্ষেত্ৰত প্ৰায়সংখ্যক লোকেই নিজস্ব ধৰ্ম পালন কৰি আহিছে। বকো অঞ্চলৰ প্ৰায়বোৰ ঠাইতে বৰোসকলে বসতি কৰি আছে। সেয়া হৈছে— কুকুৰমাৰা, মাছ পাৰা, উত্তৰ পুখুৰীপাৰা, ভোগদাবাৰী। এইকেইটা অঞ্চলত বৰোসকল স্থায়ী বাসিন্দা। তেওঁলোকে প্ৰাত্যহিক জীৱনতস্থানীয় কথিত অসমীয়া ভাষাকেই ব্যৱহাৰ কৰে।

বকো অঞ্চলৰ আন এক জনগোষ্ঠী হৈছে গাৰো জনগোষ্ঠী। গাৰোসকল মংগোলীয় গোষ্ঠীৰ অন্তৰ্গত। বকো অঞ্চলত গাৰোসকলে দ-গাঁও, মালাং জয়পুৰ, হাহিম, থাংখুলা, গোড়বান্ধা, লামপি, কিয়ান গাঁও, চেচাগৰং, বিশ্ৰামপাৰা, ৰাজাপাৰা আদি ঠাইত বসবাস কৰে। তেওঁলোকে স্থানীয় কথিত অসমীয়া ভাষাকেই ব্যৱহাৰ কৰে যদিও গাৰো ভাষাৰো ব্যৱহাৰ যথেষ্ট আছে। তেওঁলোকৰ প্ৰায়সংখ্যকৰে বকোৰ পাহাৰীয়া অঞ্চলত পাম আছে। ধৰ্মীয় ক্ষেত্ৰটো বেছিভাগেই খ্ৰীষ্টান ধৰ্ম গ্ৰহণ কৰিছে।

বকো অঞ্চলৰ জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত সাধুকথা

মৌখিক সাহিত্যৰ অন্যতম শাখা হৈছে সাধুকথা। সাধুকথাৰ ইংৰাজীপ্ৰতিশব্দ হৈছে Tales, Legends, Myths, Fables আদি। সাধুকথাৰ কাহিনীৰ আঁৰত সাধু, সৎ বা নীতি কথা একোটা জড়িত হৈ থকাৰ বাবেই পুৰণি লোক-কাহিনীবোৰক সাধুকথা বোলা হয়। এটা জাতিৰ বিশ্বাস, ৰীতি-নীতি, সমাজৰ চিত্ৰ, বুদ্ধি-বৃত্তি আদিৰে সাধুকথাবোৰ সমৃদ্ধ হৈ আছে। সাধুকথাবোৰত প্ৰধানতঃ দুটা দিশ জড়িত হৈ থাকে। এটা হ'ল মনোৰঞ্জন আৰু আনটো হ'ল নীতিশিক্ষা প্ৰদান। বকো অঞ্চলৰ নিৰ্বাচিত তিনিওটা জনগোষ্ঠীৰ সাধুকথাৰ মাজতে এই দুয়োটা দিশৰ প্ৰাধান্য দেখা পোৱা যায়।

ৰাভাসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত সাধুকথা :

লোকসাহিত্যৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত ৰাভাসকল বিশেষভাৱে চহকী। ইয়াৰ ভিতৰত সাধুকথাও অন্যতম। জীৱ-জন্তু, চিকাৰ, মাছমাৰা, মানৱ-দানৱ, দেও-ভূত, প্ৰেম-প্ৰীতি, ৰজা-ৰাণী আদি সম্পৰ্কীয় বিভিন্ন প্ৰকাৰৰ সাধুকথা ৰাভা সমাজত সিঁচৰিত হৈ আছে। তাৰে কিছু সংখ্যক ইতিমধ্যে ছপা আকাৰত প্ৰকাশ পাইছে আৰু আন কিছুমান এতিয়াও মুখে মুখে প্ৰচলিত হৈ আছে। যেনে—

ৰূপহী আৰু বগী আপীৰ কাহিনী—এগৰাকী বিধৱা মহিলাৰ দুজনী ছোৱালী আছিল। এজনীৰ নাম বগী আৰু আনজনীৰ নাম ৰূপহী। ৰূপহী দেখিবলৈ বেয়া আছিল আৰু বগী দেখিবলৈ ধুনীয়া আছিল। সেয়েহে দেখিবলৈ ধুনীয়া কাৰণে বগীক সকলোৱে ভাল পাইছিল আৰু ৰূপহীক কোনেও গুৰুত্ব দিয়া নাছিল। বিয়াৰ বাবে ৰূপহীক চাবলৈ অহা ল'ৰাই বগীক পছন্দ কৰে। সেয়ে ৰূপহীৰ বৰ দুখ হৈছিল। আনকি মাকেও ৰূপহীক ভাল পোৱা নাছিল। বাৰে বাৰে ৰূপহীক অপচন্দ কৰাৰ বাবে মাকে এদিন ৰূপহীক মৰি যোৱাহ ভাল বুলি ক'লে। মাকৰ কথাত ৰূপহীৰ বেছি দুখ লাগিল আৰু ৰাতিয়ে ৰূপহীয়ে মৰিম বুলি পাতালমুৱা কুঁৱাত জঁপ দিলে। ভাগ্য ভাল আছিল বাবেই ভগৱানৰ কৃপাত তাই ধুনীয়া হৈ কুঁৱাৰ পৰা ওলাই আহিল। গাঁৱৰ সকলো মানুহে ৰূপহীৰ ৰূপ দেখি বগীক পাহৰি থাকিল। সেয়ে বগী আৰু মাক দুখত থাকিবলৈ ল'লে। এদিন মাকে ৰূপহীক ধুনীয়া কেনেকৈ হ'ল সুধিলে। ৰূপহীয়ে মাকক সকলোকথা খুলি ক'লে। মাকে সেইদিনাই ৰাতি বগীক লৈ পাতালমুৱাকুঁৱালৈ গ'ল আৰু বগীক তাত জঁপিয়াবলৈ ক'লে। মাকৰ কথামতে বগীয়ে কুঁৱাত জঁপ দিলে। মাকে চাই থাকোতেই বগী পানীত পৰি ককবকাইমৰি থাকিল। সাধুটোত সমাজত সচৰাচৰ চলি থকা এক সত্য ঘটনা প্ৰকাশ পাইছে। সাধুটো কাল্পনিক যদিও ইয়াত প্ৰকাশিত কিছু ঘটনা সমাজত আজিও প্ৰাসংগিক। ৰূপ-গুণৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত আজিও সমাজত বিভেদ আছে।

আন এটা সাধুকথা হৈছে— চন্দ্ৰাৱলী আৰু কথিয়া (কতিয়া)ৰ সাধু। সাধুটো ৰাভাজনগোষ্ঠীৰ বিবাহ অনুষ্ঠানত দৰা-কইনাক কোৱা হয়। তেওঁলোকে সাধুটো বিধিৰ বিধান যে কোনেও খণ্ডাব নোৱাৰে সেই কথা বুজাবলৈ বুলি কোৱা হয়। সাধুটো এনেধৰণৰ—

চন্দ্ৰাৱলী নামেৰে এগৰাকী ৰাজকুমাৰী আছিল। ৰাজকুমাৰীৰ বিয়াৰ বয়স হৈছিল। সেয়েহে ৰাজকুমাৰীৰ বাবে দৰা কেনে হ'ব জানিবৰ বাবে সেই ৰাজ্যতে কাম কৰা

কথিয়া নামৰ এজন ল'ৰাক গণকৰ ওচৰলৈ পঠালে। গণকে গণনা কৰি ক'লে যে ৰাজকুমাৰীৰ বিয়া কথিয়াৰ লগতে হ'ব। কথিয়াই এই কথা শুনি বৰ ভয় খালে। যদিও ঘূৰি আহি সকলো কথা খুলি ক'লেহি। কথাতো শুনি ৰাজকুমাৰীৰ খং উঠিল। এনেদৰে কেইদিনমান ৰাজকুমাৰীয়ে খং আৰু দুখেৰে দিন পাৰ কৰিলে। এদিন ৰাজকুমাৰীয়ে কথিয়াক নদীত গা-ধুৱাই চাফ-চিকুন কৰি আনিম বুলি লৈ গ'ল। নদীৰ পাৰত গৈ কথিয়াক খাৰ-টেঙাৰে গা ধুৱাই খাৰ-টেঙা নিয়া ঘটটোৰে মূৰত মাৰি অচেতন কৰি নদীলৈ উটাই দিলে। ভাগ্যক্রমে কথিয়াক এজন সদাগৰে পালে আৰু নদীৰ পৰা উদ্ধাৰ কৰি ঘৰলৈ লৈ গ'ল। লাহে লাহে কথিয়া সুস্থ হ'বলৈ ধৰিলে। লগতে কথিয়া দেখিবলৈও সুন্দৰ হৈ পৰিল আৰু বেপাৰ কৰিবলৈ আৰম্ভ কৰিলে। এদিন বেপাৰলৈ যাওঁতে চন্দ্ৰাৱলী ৰাজকুমাৰীৰ ৰাজ্যতে নাও চপালে। ইফালে ৰাজকুমাৰীয়ে নৈ পাৰতে কথিয়াক দেখিলে আৰু কথিয়াক চিনি নাপায় মনে মনে ভাল পালে। ঘৰলৈ ঘূৰি গৈ ৰাজকুমাৰী ৰোহ ঘৰত সোমাল। ৰজা অৰ্থাৎ ৰাজকুমাৰীৰ দেউতাকে সুখিলত নদী পাৰত দেখা য়ৰকৰ লগত বিয়া হ'বলৈ মন বুলি প্ৰকাশ কৰিলে। ৰজায়ে ৰাজকুমাৰীৰ কথাত মাস্তি হৈ কথিয়া লগত বিয়া কৰাই দিলে। এনেদৰে কথিয়া লগত বিয়া হৈ কেইদিনমান যোৱাৰ পিছতে এদিন দুয়ো নদীত গা ধুবলৈ গ'ল। গা ধুওঁতে গিৰিয়েকৰ মূৰটো ধুৱাও বুলি লওঁতেই ঘটৰে মৰা চিনটো দেখি চিনি পালে যে সেয়া কথিয়া। ৰাজকুমাৰীয়ে বহুত লাজ পালে আৰু অনুশোচনা হৈ নদীত জাঁপিবলৈ গ'ল। সেই সময়তে বিধাতাই কুকুৰৰ ৰূপ লৈ দেখা দি বুজালে যে যি ভাগ্যত থাকে সেয়াই হয়। তাক খণ্ডাব নোৱাৰি আৰু যি পাইছে সেয়াকে নিজৰ বুলি ল'ব লাগে। সাধুটোৰ জৰিয়তে সাধাৰণতে মানুহে ভাগ্য আৰু বিধাতাক লৈ কৰা বিশাসৰ কথা প্ৰকাশ পাইছে। সমাজত কাৰোবাৰ কিবা ভাল হ'লে কোৱা হয় ভাগ্য ভাল আকৌ বেয়া হ'লে ভাগ্য বেয়া আছিল বাবে হ'ল এনেধৰণে প্ৰায়ে কোৱা হয়। এইয়া হৈছে সমাজৰ এক বিশাস। যি সাধুকথাটোত প্ৰকাশ পাইছে। ইয়াৰ উপৰিও শ্ৰেণী বৈষম্যৰ কিছু আভাসো দেখিবলৈ পোৱা গৈছে। ৰাজকুমাৰী হৈ এজন কাম কৰা ল'ৰাৰ লগত বিয়া পাতিব নেকি বুলি ভবা কথাখিনিৰ দ্বাৰা আৰু কাম কৰা মানুহ তথা দেখিবলৈ বেয়া বুলিয়ে ঘটৰে মূৰত মাৰি নদীত উটাই দিয়া কথাখিনিয়ে তাকে প্ৰতিপন্ন কৰিছে। ইয়াৰ উপৰিও বিবাহযোগ্য কন্যাৰ বিবাহৰ সময়ত

গণকৰ ওচৰত চোৱাবলৈ যোৱা আদি সামাজিক লোকবিশ্বাসসহায়ত প্ৰকাশিত হৈছে।

প্ৰায় সকলো জাতি-জনগোষ্ঠীৰে মাজতে জীৱ-জন্তু, পোক-পৰুৱা, চৰাই-চিৰিকতি আদিৰ জন্মক লৈ বিভিন্ন সাধুকথা আছে। ৰাভা জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মাজতো তেনে ধৰণৰ সাধুকথা আছে। তেনে এটা সাধুকথা হৈছে- জোকৰ জন্ম কাহিনী। সাধুটো হৈছে এনেধৰণৰ—

এটা পুৰণি দিনৰ কাহিনী। এখন গাঁৱত এজনী ডাইনী আছিল। ৰাতি হ'লে ডাইনীজনীয়ে মূৰটো সোলোকাই গাঁৱে গাঁৱে খাদ্য বিচাৰি ঘূৰি ফুৰে। ডাইনীজনীয়ে ৰাতি গৰ্ভৱতী তিৰোতাৰ পেটৰ সন্তানবোৰ খাই ফুৰে, ৰুগীয়া মানুহৰ তেজ খায় আৰু কেতিয়াবা ভাল মানুহকো শুদাই নেৰে। সেয়ে সন্ধিয়াতে গাঁৱৰ মানুহে খাই বৈ শুই থাকে। জয়াল ৰাতি ডাইনীজনীয়ে চিঞৰিলে গাঁৱৰ মানুহবোৰে দিনৰ ভাগত মদ-মগুহ আদিৰে পূজা দিয়ে। পূজা পোৱাৰ পিছত ডাইনীজনী দুদিনমানলৈ ক্ষান্ত হৈ থাকে। এসময়ত ডাইনীজনীৰ খং উঠি এফালৰ পৰা সকলোকে খাবলৈ ধৰিলে। গাঁৱৰ মানুহে সেয়ে এজন ডাইনী ধৰা ওজা আনিলে। ওজাজনে ডাইনীজনীৰ ঘৰৰ মুখৰ আগত কাঁইট পাৰি থ'লে, ডাইনীজনী ছাঁত বেজী হানি দিলে, মূৰ সুলকি যোৱা ডিঙিত জলন্ত আগুঠা ভৰাই দিলে। নানাধৰণৰ বাণ মাৰিলে। তন্ত্ৰ-মন্ত্ৰ জৰা-ফুঁকা কৰিও ডাইনীজনীক ধৰিব নোৱাৰিলে। এদিন ৰাতি ডাইনীজনীয়ে খঙতে ওজাজনৰ তেজ শুই শুই খাই পেলালে। ইয়াৰ পিছৰে পৰা ডাইনীজনীৰ উৎপাত বাঢ়িল আৰু দিনতে মানুহৰ তেজ শুহা আৰম্ভ কৰিলে। ভয়তে গাঁৱৰ সকলো লোকেই গাঁও এৰি বেলেগলৈ যাবলৈ আৰম্ভ কৰিলে। ডাইনীজনীৰ অত্যাচাৰ বাঢ়িবলৈ ধৰিলে। লাহে লাহে ডাইনীজনীৰ কথা সকলোতে চৰ্চা হ'বলৈ ধৰিলে। এই কথা গৈ ডাইনীজনীক ডাইনীবিদ্যা শিকোৱা ওজাজনৰ কাণত পৰিল। ওজাজন দূৰ গাঁৱৰ আছিল। কথাটো শুনিয়ো ওজাজন গাঁওখনলৈ আহিল। দূৰৰ বাবে পাঁচ দিনৰ মূৰত আহি গাঁওপালেহি। গাঁও পায়ৈই সি ৰাতিৰ আন্ধাৰত ডাইনীজনীৰ ঘৰৰ পিছফালে মনে মনে চাৰি কুৰা শাল খৰিৰ জুই ধৰিলে। এসময়ত জুই দপ্‌দপ্‌কৈ জ্বলিবলৈ ধৰিলে। ইয়াৰ পিছত ওজাজনে ডাইনী মৰা মন্ত্ৰ মাৰিলে। মন্ত্ৰ শুনি মূৰটো খুলি ডাইনীজনী ওলাই আহিল। লগে লগে ওজাজনে তাইৰ শৰীৰটো নি জ্বলাই থোৱা জুইত পুৰি পেলালে। পৰি থাকোঁতেই তাইৰ মূৰটোও আহি জুইত পৰিল। জুই লাগি আধা পুৰা হ'ল। সেয়ে ওজাজনে ডাইনীমৰা মন্ত্ৰ মাতি গাত পানী চতিয়াই মাৰি পেলালে।

ইয়াৰ পিছতে আধাপুৰা শৰীৰটো নি মৰিশালিত পুতি থলে। কিছুদিন পিছত পুতি থোৱা শৰীৰটোৰ পৰা হাজাৰ হাজাৰ জোকৰ জন্ম হৈ গাঁতৰ ভিতৰৰ পৰা ওলাই আহিল। মানুহে কয় সেই ডাইনীজনীৰ পৰাই জোকৰ জন্ম হ'ল। সেই কাৰণে মানুহে জোক দেখিলে ভয় কৰে, ঘৃণ কৰে।

আন এটা সাধু হৈছে বুদ্ধিমতী বুঢ়ীৰ সাধু। সাধুটোত চতুৰালি আৰু জীৱ-জন্তুকলৈ কৰাসমাজত প্ৰচলিত চাৰিত্ৰিক ধাৰণাৰ বিষয়ে প্ৰকাশ পাইছে। সাধুটো হৈছে এনেধৰণৰ—এখন গাঁৱত এজনী বুঢ়ী আছিল। তাই বৰ টেঙৰ আছিল। তাইৰ দুটা কুকুৰ আছিল আৰু হাঁহ, কুকুৰা, ছাগলী পুহিয়ে চলি খাই আছিল। বুঢ়ীয়ে হাঁহ, কুকুৰা চৰিবলৈ দিয়া ঠাইখিনিৰ এটা জুপুহাৰ আঁৰত লুকাই এটা শিয়ালে কেনেকৈ বুঢ়ীৰ হাঁহ-ছাগলীবোৰ খাব পাৰি চাই থাকে। কিন্তু বুঢ়ীয়ে টাঙোন লৈ সেইবোৰ বখি থকাৰ বাবে একো কৰিব পৰা নাছিল। লগতে কুকুৰ দুটালৈও তাৰ ভয় আছিল। চেগ বুজি এদিন সি খাবই বুলি ঠিৰাং কৰিছিল। এদিন বুঢ়ীয়ে শিয়ালটোক দেখিলে আৰু তাৰ উদ্দেশ্য বুজিব পাৰিলে। সেয়ে এদিন বুঢ়ীয়ে বুদ্ধি পাণ্ডি শিয়ালে শুনাকে চিঞৰি চিঞৰি ক'লে যে তহঁতে নাকান্দিবি মোৰ পোনহাঁত (কুকুৰকেইটা) সদায় তহঁতক শিয়ালৰ মঙহেৰে ভাত খুৱাইছো। আজি শুদাৰে খা, কাইলৈ জোপোহাৰ আঁৰত এটা শিয়াল দেখিছো তাক মাৰি খুৱাম। কথাটো শুনি শিয়ালে ভয় খালে আৰু তাৰ পৰা পলাই গুচি গ'ল।

জীৱ-জন্তু, চৰাই-চিৰিকতিক লৈ মানৱ সমাজত এক ধাৰণা আছে। কোনোবা টেঙৰ, কোনোটো দুষ্ট এনেধৰণৰ। এনেধৰণৰ চাৰিত্ৰিক বৈশিষ্ট্যমূলক সাধু ৰাভা জনগোষ্ঠীয় সমাজতো আছে। তেনেধৰণৰ এটা সাধু হ'ল কাউৰীৰ স্কুল। সাধুটো এনেধৰণৰ—

এদিন এটা কাউৰীয়ে উৰি আহি জঁপিয়াই থকা ঘৰচিৰিকা চৰাই কেইটামানক ক'লে যে তোমালোকৰ বাবে মই এখন স্কুল খুলিছো। তাত তোমালোকক কেনেকৈ খাদ্য যোগাৰ কৰিব পাৰি, নিজক ৰক্ষা কৰিব কেনেকৈ পাৰি সেয়া শিকাম। কথাটো শুনি বৰ ভাল পালে আৰু পিছদিনাৰ পৰা স্কুললৈ যাবলৈ আৰম্ভ কৰিলে। প্ৰথমৰ কেইদিনমান ঠিকে গ'ল। তাৰ অলপদিনৰ পিছতে ঘৰচিৰিকাবোৰ নাইকিয়া হ'বলৈ ধৰিলে। ঘৰচিৰিকাবোৰ চিন্তাত পৰিল। কাউৰীয়ে আগতে স্কুললৈ যোৱা ঘৰচিৰিকাটোক খাই পেলায়। এদিন ঘৰচিৰিকাবোৰ মিলি সাপটিকা চৰাইৰ ওচৰলৈ গ'ল আৰু ক'লে আমাক

বচাওক। তেতিয়া সাপটিকা চৰাইটোৱে কাউৰীজনীক গৈ সুধিলে আৰু কাউৰীজনীক চিৰা-চিৰ কৰি খাই পেলালে। তাকে দেখি ঘৰচিৰিকাবোৰো ভয়ত উৰি যাবলৈ ধৰিলে। যদিও ঘৰচিৰিকা কেইটাকো এটা এটাকৈ ধৰি সাপটিকাই খাই শেষ কৰি পেলালে।

ৰাভা সমাজৰ লোকবিশ্বাসৰ লগতজড়িতসতীদ্যুমকচীৰ এটিসাধুকথাঅতিজনপ্ৰিয় সাধুটো এনেধৰণৰ—

স্বৰ্গৰ খৰি প্ৰধান 'ক্ৰিমিচুঙ'এহালডেকাগাভৰু'দাদ্ৰাংআৰু'চিকচি'য়ে প্ৰেম কৰা দেখি এই পাপকৰ্মৰ বাবে মৰ্ত্যত মানুহৰূপে জন্ম ল'বৰ বাবে অভিশাপ দিলে। ঋষিৰ অভিশাপ মতে দুয়ো 'দদান' নামেৰে হা-হা ৰজা আৰু ৰাণী হু-হু ৰ পুত্ৰৰূপে 'দাদ্ৰাং' আৰু 'দ্যুমকচি' নামেৰে ঋষি জিজ্জিৰাম আৰু পত্নী জিনাৰীৰ কন্যা হিচাপে চিকচিয়ে মৰ্ত্যত জন্ম ল'লে। হা-হা ৰজা আছিল ৰাভাসকলৰ আদি ৰজা। হা-হা ৰ মৃত্যুৰ পিছত দদানে ৰাজপাট ল'লে। দদান এজন ভাল শাসক আছিল। তেওঁৰ ৰাজ্যত সকলো প্ৰজা সুখত আছিল। তেওঁৰ সমৃদ্ধিৰ কথা জানিব পাৰি কাশী ৰাজ্যৰ ৰজাই যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা কৰিলে। সেনাপতি তথা দদানৰ ভাগিন জোঁৱায়েক মাৰুক্ষেত্ৰীৰ সহায়ত ৰজা দদানে 'চেপনশিলা' যুদ্ধত কাশী ৰজাক বধ কৰে। কাশীৰজাৰ বধৰ পিছৰ পৰা ৰাজ্যত অশান্তি আৰম্ভ হ'ল। দদান ৰজাই মানসিক ভাৰসাম্যও হেৰুৱাবলৈও ধৰিলে। সেনাপতি আৰু অন্যান্য মন্ত্ৰীসকলোৱে মদ্যপান কৰি মত্ত হ'বলৈ ধৰিলে। উদাসীন ৰজাই চিকাৰ কৰি হাবিয়ে-বননিয়ে ঘূৰি ফুৰিবলৈ ল'লে। এনেদৰে এদিন গৈ গৈ চিচাৰি চিমান্দি অকনি নিজৰাৰ পাৰ পালোগৈ। সেই নিজৰাৰ পাৰতে দেৱকন্যা দ্যুমকচিয়ে ৰ'দত বহি চুলি শুকুৱাই আছিল। ৰূপৱতী দ্যুমকচিক দেখি ৰজাৰ কাম ভাৱ জন্মিল। ৰজাই সেয়া দ্যুমকচিৰ আগত ব্যক্তকৰিলে। দ্যুমকচিয়েও তাত সম্মতি জনালে আৰু ৰজাইতেওঁকলৈৰাজ্যলৈ ঘূৰি গ'ল। ৰাজ্যত গৈ দুয়ো বিয়া পাতিলে। বিয়াৰ পিছৰপৰা ৰজাই প্ৰথম পত্নী 'তৌবাক' অৱহেলা কৰিবলৈ ল'লে। ইফালে মাৰুক্ষেত্ৰীয়ে চক্ৰাঙ্ক কৰি দ্যুমকচিককাৰাগাৰতভৰালে আৰু চুলিত ধৰি চোঁচৰাই বেতেৰে কোবালে। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত প্ৰতিবাদ কৰা ৰজা আৰু বৃদ্ধ মন্ত্ৰীকো চক্ৰাঙ্কৰে কাৰাগাৰত সোমোৱালে। দ্যুমকচিক কৰা অত্যাচাৰৰ কথা গম পাই মাৰুক্ষেত্ৰীৰ নিজ মাতৃয়ে তাক অভিশাপ দিলে যে অচিৰেই তাৰ মৃত্যু হ'ব। ক্ষমা বিচৰাতো মাকে ক্ষমা নকৰিলে। ইফালে সুযোগ বুজি দ্যুমকচিয়ে পৰিচাৰিকাৰ ৰূপ লৈ কাৰাগাৰৰ পৰা পলাই

আৰু পহৰাদাৰসকলৰ চকুত ধূলি দি বজা আৰু মন্ত্ৰীকো কাৰাগাৰৰ পৰা মুক্তকৰি গুচিয়ায়। আনহাতে সঁচাকৈয়ে মাকৰ অভিশাপ সঁচা হ'ল আৰু 'চামত্ৰোং-বাত্ৰোং' বজাৰ লগত যুদ্ধ কৰি মৃত্যু হ'ল মাৰুক্ষেত্ৰীৰ। দদান আৰু দুমকচি দুয়োটাই মুক্ত হৈছে। জেনেসিজনক বিচাৰিবলৈ ল'লে। দুয়োদুয়োকে বিচাৰি নাপাই দদানে নোৱাৰা ফেডোৰ ডোবাত পৰি মুৰ্ছা যায় আৰু তাতে দেহত্যাগ কৰে। আনহাতে দুমকচিয়েও বংচাই পাহাৰৰ কাষত থকা বালচাৰাত দেহত্যাগ কৰে। এই নদী দুখনে পায়ান ৰূপ লৈ আজিও দুয়োৰে স্মৃতি কঢ়িয়াই আছে। আজিও ৰাভাসকলৰ মাজত দুমকচি সতী ৰূপে খ্যাত।

লাখৰ চাৰা (গৰখীয়া ল'ৰাৰ) সাধু এটা অন্যতম ৰাভা সমাজৰ সাধুকথা। এঘৰ ধনীমানুহৰ ঘৰত এটা লাখৰ চাৰা আছিল। তাক দপৰীয়া খাবলৈ একো দি নপঠায়। এদিন বিহুত মহাজনে পিঠা এটা খাবলৈ দিলে। সি সেইটোকে খাবলৈ লৈ গ'ল। কিন্তু দুৰ্ভাগ্যক্রমে সেইটোও খাবলৈ নাপালে। তাৰ ভোক বাঢ়ি গ'ল। সি দেখিলে গছৰ ওপৰত এজন বুঢ়া মানুহে পিঠা খাই আছে। সেয়া দেখি সি বুঢ়াজনক এটা পিঠা খুজিলে। বুঢ়াই নামিব নোৱাৰি ভৰিৰে পিঠা দিলে। এটা খাই আৰু এটা খাবলৈ মন গ'লত সি খুজিলে আৰু সেই বুঢ়াকপী ৰাক্ষসে তাক ধৰিলে আৰু বস্ত্ৰত ভৰাই লৈ গুচি গ'ল। গৈ জীয়েকক ক'লে সি আকৌ চিকাৰলৈ যায়। ধৰি অনামানুহটো ৰান্ধি থ'ব লাগে। বাপেক যোৱা পিছত জীয়েকে পিঠা খুন্দি আছিল। লাখৰ চাৰাটোৱে তেতিয়া বুদ্ধি পাঙিলে আৰু ৰাক্ষসৰ জীয়েকক পিঠা খুন্দাত সহায় কৰিম বুলি ক'লে। তাইয়ো সহায় কৰিব বুলি ভাবি তাক খুলি দিলে। সি ওলায়ে তাইৰ মূৰত পিঠা খুন্দা মাৰি ডালেৰে মাৰি একেবাৰে মাৰি পেলালে। তাৰ পিছত সি তাইৰে কাপোৰ পিন্ধি তাইকে কাটি-কুটি ৰাক্ষসটোলৈ বনাই থ'লে। ৰাক্ষসে আহি সেয়াকে খালে। ৰাক্ষসটোৱে খাই থকাৰ ছেগতে সি ওলাই গ'ল পিছত যেতিয়া ৰাক্ষসে ক'ত গ'ল বুলি বিচাৰ খোচাৰ কৰি জীয়েকক নাপালে সি বুজি উঠিল যে সেয়া সেই ল'ৰাটোৰ চাল আছিল। ৰাক্ষসৰ বৰ খং উঠিল। সি বিচাৰি গ'ল ল'ৰাটোক। দেখিলে যে ল'ৰাটো তেতিয়ালৈ বহুত দূৰ পাইছিলগৈ। সাধুটোত বুদ্ধি আৰু চতুৰালিৰ লগতে কাল্পনিকঘটনাও সংযোজিত হৈ আছে।

গাৰোসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত সাধুকথা :

গাৰোসকলৰ মাজতো বিভিন্ন সাধুকথা আছে। তাৰ ভিতৰত বুঢ়ীৰ সাধু, ময়ূৰ চৰাইৰ জন্ম কাহিনী, দুৰামাং

চুংদুমাং, গাংবৰ সাধু, দো কুৰুণী, দাম্পো, জলকুঁৱৰীৰ সাধু আদি। প্ৰত্যেকটো সাধুকথাৰ মাজতে আছে গাৰোসকলৰ সমাজ জীৱনৰ প্ৰতিচ্ছবি।

বুঢ়ীৰ সাধুটো এনেধৰণৰ— গাৰোসকলৰ মূল জীৱিকা হৈছে কৃষি। তেওঁলোকৰ নিজাবগান থাকে। তাত তেওঁলোকে ফলমূল, শাক পাচলি আদি বিভিন্ন বস্ত্ৰৰ খেতি কৰে। এজনী বুঢ়ীৰ এখন বাগান আছিল। তাত তাই দিনে ৰাতিয়ে থাকে আৰু সেইবোৰ ৰখে। কিন্তু পাহাৰীয়া ঠাই বাবে ভালুক আহি সেইবোৰ নষ্ট কৰে। বুঢ়ীয়ে এদিন বুদ্ধি পাঙিলে। ৰাতি ভালুক অহা গম পাই ক'বলৈ আৰম্ভ কৰিলে— হে ভগৱান কিমান আৰু খালি ভাত খাম। কিবা মগু হ'বলৈ মন গৈছে। আজি যদি বাগানলৈ কিবা আহে তাকে মাৰি খাম। মই মন্ত্ৰ কৰিছো যি সোমাই সিয়ে মৰিব। মই আৰামত খাম। কথা শুনি ভালুক পলাল। এনেদৰে বহুবাৰ আহে আকৌ বুঢ়ীৰ ভয়ত গুচি যায়। এদিন সি যি হয় হ'ব বুলি আহিল। আহোঁতেই এডাল গছত লাগি তাৰ ভৰি এখন ভাগিল। সি ভাবিলে সেয়া বুঢ়ীৰ মন্ত্ৰত হোৱা বুলি। সি ততালিকে গৈ বুঢ়ীক ক্ষমা খুজিলে। বুঢ়ীয়েও বুদ্ধি কৰি তাক বাগানৰ ৰখীয়া হ'বলৈ ক'লে আৰু ক'লে তেতিয়াহে তাক ক্ষমা কৰি দিব। সিও বুঢ়ীৰ মন্ত্ৰৰ ভয়ত ৰখীয়া হ'বলৈ ধৰিলে আৰু ইফালে বুঢ়ীৰ দিনভাললৈ আহিল। সাধুটোত কৃষি নিৰ্ভৰ গাৰোসকলৰ কথাৰ লগতে বলেৰে নোৱাৰা কাম বুদ্ধিৰে কৰাৰ উদাহৰণ দেখিবলৈ পোৱা গৈছে।

জলকুঁৱৰীৰ সাধুত এজন সাধাৰণ ল'ৰা নদীৰ পাৰত গৈ জলকুঁৱৰীক দেখি প্ৰেমত পৰা, জলকুঁৱৰীৰ সন্মতি পাই বিয়া পতাৰ কথা আছে। জলকুঁৱৰীক বিয়া পাতি অলপ দিন নদীৰ ভিতৰতে থাকি পিছত মোমায়েকৰ ঘৰলৈ জলকুঁৱৰীৰ লগত ফুৰিবলৈ যায়, কিন্তু মানুহে খোৱা খাদ্য জলকুঁৱৰীয়ে খাব নোৱাৰি ভোকত থাকিবলৈ ল'লে। তাক ঘূৰি যোৱাৰ কথা ক'লেও সি যাবলৈ নিবিচৰা হ'ল। এদিন উপায় নাপাই জলকুঁৱৰী পুনৰ নদীলৈ গুচি গ'ল। ইফালে মানুহটোৰ দুদিনমান পিছত ছচ আহি জলকুঁৱৰীক বিচাৰি গ'ল। কিন্তু নাপালে। জলকুঁৱৰীয়ে তাক চাই আছিল। তাৰ পিছত জলকুঁৱৰীয়ে আদেশ দিলে দুটা ঘৰিয়ালক তাক মাৰি জীৱটো লৈ যাবলৈ। জলকুঁৱৰী আদেশ মতে তাক মাৰি তাৰ জীৱটো নি জলকুঁৱৰীক দিলেগৈ। সেয়ে কোৱা হয় যে জলকুঁৱৰীয়ে কাৰোবাক পছন্দ কৰিলে জীৱটো লৈ যায় আৰু মানুহটোৰ শৰীৰটো এৰি থৈ যায়। ইয়াত গাৰো সমাজৰ লোক-বিশ্বাসজড়িত হৈ আছে।

ময়ূৰৰ জন্ম কাহিনীটো এনে ধৰণৰ— এজন চহকী মানুহৰ একমাত্ৰ কন্যাৰ বাবে এজনল'ৰা বিচাৰি বিয়া কৰোৱা হ'ল। ছোৱালীজনীয়ে বিয়াৰ পিছত পৈতৃক সম্পত্তিৰ লগতে এখন কালিমা লগা কাপোৰো পালে। দেউতাকে এটা মন্ত্ৰ দিলে আৰু ক'লে সেই মন্ত্ৰ নমতাকৈ কাপোৰখন নুচুবলৈ। এদিন তাই মাছ মাৰিবলৈ যাওঁতে গিৰিয়েকক কৈ গ'ল যি হৈ গ'লেও সেইখন নুচুবলৈ, কিন্তু বৰষুণ দিওঁতে সি সকলো কথা পাহৰি কাপোৰখন চুলে আৰু লগে লগে সি ৰং-বিৰঙৰ পাখিৰে চৰাই হৈ পৰিল। তাকে দেখি তাইয়ো সকলো পাহৰি গৈ তাক চুলে আৰু তাইয়ো চৰাই হৈ পৰিল। পিছত সিহঁত হালেই ময়ূৰ-ময়ূৰী হ'ল। সেই কাৰণে কোৱা হয় বৰষুণ দিলে ময়ূৰ-ময়ূৰীয়ে চিঞৰে।

দাম্পো সাধুটো অনুসৰি দাম্পো এজন ধনী মানুহ। সি জীৱ-জন্তুৰ কথা বুজি পায়। এদিন বলধটোক ঘৰৰে গাধাই ইমান কষ্ট নকৰিবলৈ ক'লে। তাৰ তথা শুনি পাছদিনা বলধটোৱে বেমাৰৰ ভাও ধৰিলে। তাকে দেখি দাম্পোৱে হাল ক্ষতি কৰিব নোৱাৰি বুলি গাধটোকে যুটিলে। সেয়ে কোৱা হয় নিজৰ জালত নিজা ফচি মৰে বুলি।

দো-কুৰুণী সাধুটো আকৌ এনেধৰণৰ— এজন ধনী লোকৰ চাৰিজনী ছোৱালী আছিল। ডাঙৰ দুজনী আছিল ৰূপহী আৰু সৰু দুজনী আছিল অলপ বেয়া। পিছে দেখিবলৈ ধুনীয়া বাবেই ডাঙৰ দুজনীক আইতাকে ভাল নাপাইছিল। সেয়ে সিহঁতক বহুত কাম কৰায়। এদিন মাক নথকাত সিহঁতক চাউল খুন্দিবলৈ দি গৈছিল কিন্তু বৰষুণ দিলত কাপোৰ আনিবলৈ গুচি যাওঁতেই হিংসুকী বুঢ়ীয়ে ধানবোৰ লুকুৱাই থৈ দি গৰু-ছাগলীয়ে খোৱা বুলি ক'লে। মাক আহি খঙত দুয়োজনীকে কুকুৰাৰ গঁৰালত ভৰাই থ'লে। পাছদিনা বুদ্ধি পাণ্ডি দুয়োজনী ওলাই আহিল আৰু কুকুৰা এটা ধৰি মাৰি বনাই খাই তাৰ পাখিবোৰ গাত লগাই উৰি গুচি গ'ল। গৈ গৈ দুজন ডেকা ল'ৰাই খেতি কৰি থকা ঠাইতে পৰিল। সিহঁতৰো মৰম লাগি চৰাই দুটা লৈ গ'ল আৰু পিছত ঘৰ পাই চৰাই দুজনীয়ে নিজা ৰূপ লয়। দুজনীকে ৰূপহী ছোৱালী দেখি সিহঁতেও মোহ যায় আৰু দুয়োৱে দুয়োজনীৰ লগত বিয়া পাতে আৰু সুখত থাকিবলৈ লয়।

এনেধৰণৰ বিভিন্ন সাধুকথা গাৰো সমাজত প্ৰচলিত হৈ আছে। ওপৰত আলোচিত সাধুকেইটাৰ বাহিৰেও বিভিন্ন সাধুকথা জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত

হৈ আছে। আলোচনাৰ সুবিধাৰ্থেহে কেৱল এইকেইটা সাধুকে নিৰ্বাচন কৰি লোৱা হৈছে।

ববোসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত সাধুকথা

অন্যান্য জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ দৰে ববোসকলৰ মাজতো বিভিন্ন ধৰণৰ সাধুকথা প্ৰচলিত হৈ আছে। যিবোৰৰ মাজত তেওঁলোকৰ সুখ-দুখ, হাঁহি-কান্দোন, ৰীতি-নীতি, বিশাসআদিৰ লগতে জীৱ-জন্তু, চৰাই-চিৰিকতি আদি বিভিন্ন সমল জড়িত হৈ আছে।

আবৰা ল'ৰাৰ কথা, টোকোৰা চৰাই আৰু গঁড়, দুই ভাইৰ সাধু, বুদ্ধিয়ক বুঢ়া, টেঙৰমন্ত্ৰীৰ সাধু উল্লেখযোগ্য।

আবৰা ল'ৰাৰ কথাটো হৈছে এনেধৰণৰ— এহাল বুঢ়া-বুঢ়ীৰ এটা আবৰা সন্তান আছিল সি পইচা ঘটিবৰ বাবে গৰু আনিবলৈ বিচাৰিলে। তাৰ কথা শুনি প্ৰথমে মাক দেউতাকে পইচাদিবলৈ মান্তি হোৱা নাছিল যদিও পিচত পুত্ৰৰ মৰমত দিয়ে পিছে সি আবৰাই গৰুৰ সলনি এটা ডাঙৰ পছ লৈ আহে। উপায় নাপায় মাকহঁতে পছটো মাৰি খায় পেলায় আৰু ওচৰ-চুবুৰীয়াকো দিয়ে। ইয়াৰ পিছতে আবৰাক কইনা লগা হ'ল। সি মাকহঁতৰ পৰা পইচা লৈ পুনৰ ওলায় গ'ল। গৈ সি নদীৰ পাৰত পানী তুলিবলৈ যোৱা ছোৱালী এজনীক দেখি লৈ আহিল। আহোতে ভাগৰ লাগি গছৰ তলত বহিল। তেনেতে এজন মানুহে গৰু লৈ আহি আছিল। মানুহজনে ছোৱালীজনী দেখি পছন্দ কৰি আবৰাক ঠগি গৰুহাল দি সি ছোৱালীজনী লৈ গ'ল। আবৰাই পুনৰ যাত্ৰা কৰিলে। তাৰ আকৌ ভাগৰ লাগিল আৰু পুনৰ সি জিৰণি ল'লে। এইবাৰ এজনে ছাগলী লৈ আহি তাক ঠগি ছাগলী দি গৰু লৈ গুচি গ'ল। সি আকৌ আগবাঢ়িলে। এইবাৰ বাটত সি এজন কলৰ বেপাৰী পালে। ছাগলী উৎপাত দেখি এইবাৰ আবৰাই কল থোকা লৈ ছাগলীজনী দি গুচি আহিল। এইবাৰ সি আঙুলি ফুটাই আহি থকা এজন মানুহ দেখিলে। তাৰ সেয়া শিকিবলৈ মন গ'ল। মানুহজনে তাক আঙুলি ফুটাবলৈ শিকাই দি কলথোকা লৈ গুচি গ'ল। এইবাৰ আৰু সি আঙুলি ফুটায় ফুটায় ঘৰ পালেগৈ। ঘৰ পোৱাত বুঢ়া-বুঢ়ীয়ে তাক পইচা কথা ক'লত সি সকলো বিৱৰি ক'লে। তাৰ কথা শুনি দুয়োৱে মূৰে কপালে হাত দি ক'লে আবৰা সদায় আবৰাই। সাধুটো সম্পূৰ্ণভাৱে মনোৰঞ্জনৰ বাবে প্ৰচলিত। প্ৰত্যেক সমাজতে এনে ধৰণৰ মুৰ্খৰ সাধু নামেৰে এক শ্ৰেণীৰ সাধুকথা প্ৰচলিত হৈ আছে।

টোকোৰা চৰাই আৰু গঁড়ৰ মাজত প্ৰতিযোগিতা হ'ল, কোন ডাঙৰ তাক লৈ। ঠিৰাংকৰিলে যে যিয়ে নিজৰ

শৌচৰে আনটোক পুতিব পাৰিব সিয়ে ডাঙৰ। তাৰ ঠিক এক সপ্তাহ পিছতে প্ৰতিযোগিতা হ'ল। প্ৰথমে গঁড়ে শৌচ কৰিলে। তেতিয়া চৰাইটোৱে গঁড়ৰ নেজত পৰি থাকিল আৰু গঁড়ক ক'লে তাৰ একোৱে নহ'ল বুলি। এইবাৰ টোকোৰাৰ পালত টোকোৰাই গৈগঁড়ৰ মূৰৰ ওপৰত পৰি শৌচ কৰিলে আৰু সেয়া গঁড়ৰ চকুত পৰি পুৰিবলৈ ধৰিলে। কিয়নো চৰাইটোৱে গোটেই সপ্তাহ কেৱল জলকীয়া খাইছিল। এনেকৈ চৰাইজনী জিকিল আৰু গঁড়েও তাইৰ বুদ্ধিৰ আগত হাৰ মানিলে। সাধুটোত বলতকৈ বুদ্ধিৰ যে শক্তি বেছি সেয়া দেখুওৱা হৈছে।

টেঙৰ মন্ত্ৰীৰ সাধুত আকৌ বজাক মন্ত্ৰীয়ে ঠগাৰ কথা আছে। বজাই বাতি শুৱাৰ সময়ত শিয়ালৰ কান্দোন শুনি কি বুলি মন্ত্ৰীক সোধাত মন্ত্ৰীয়ে প্ৰজাই খাবলৈ নাপাই দুখত কন্দা বুলি ক'লে। বজাৰ বেয়া লাগি সকলো প্ৰজালৈ বুলি প্ৰচুৰ ধন পঠিয়ালে। সেয়া মন্ত্ৰীয়ে নিজেই শেষ কৰিলে। ইয়াৰ পিছতে আকৌ শুনিলে বজাই একে কান্দোন। এইবাৰ মন্ত্ৰীয়ে যোৱাৰ পইচা পাই ৰাইজে সুখতে বজাৰ গুণ-গৰিমা গাই কান্দিছে বুলি বজাক কৈ মন্ত্ৰীয়ে টেঙালি কৰিলে। সাধুটো সমাজত সচৰাচৰ দেখি থকা এক ঘটনা। সৰলতাৰ সুযোগ লৈ আগৰে পৰা এক শ্ৰেণীৰ লোকে মানুহক ঠগি আহিছে। সাধুটোত বজাৰ সৰলতাৰ সুযোগ লৈ মন্ত্ৰীয়ে তেওঁক ঠগিছে। লগতে সমাজত এক শ্ৰেণীৰ লোক যিয়ে ৰাজকীয় কামৰ নামত সমাজৰ লোকক আভুৱা ভাৰি শোষণ চলাই থকা এক শ্ৰেণীৰ লোকৰ কথাও সাধুটোত প্ৰকাশিত হৈছে। বৰ্তমানেও চৰকাৰী পক্ষত এনে ধৰণৰ ঠগবাজি চলি থাকে।

দুই ভাইৰ সাধুত দুজন ল'ৰাৰ কথা আছে। দুয়োজনেই অনাথ আছিল। তেওঁলোকে কামবন কৰি দুপইচা গোটাই এহাল বুঢ়া-বুঢ়ীৰ ঘৰত আছিল। তেওঁলোকৰ ডাঙৰজন টেঙৰ আছিল আৰু সৰুজন আছিল আবৰা অৰ্থাৎ অকৰা। এবাৰ দুয়ো কাম বিচাৰি ওলাই গ'ল। গৈ গৈ এখন গাঁও পালেগৈ। তাত গৈ দেখিলে কেইজনমান মানুহে এজন বামুণৰ মৰাশ পুতিছে। তাকে দেখি ডাঙৰটোৱে বুদ্ধি পাঙিলে আৰু সৰুটোকো কি কৰিব বুজনি দি বামুণক পোতা ঠাইতে পুতি থৈ গ'ল। তাৰ পিছত সি বামুণৰ ঘৰলৈ গৈ বামুণৰ পুতেকক বামুণে তাৰ পৰা পইচা ধৰলৈ লৈছিল বুলি ক'লে। পুতেক অমান্তি হোৱাত বামুণজনক পোতা ঠাইখিনিলৈ লৈ গ'ল। গৈ চিঞৰি চিঞৰি ক'লে বামুণদেউ আপুনি যে মোৰ পৰা টকা ধাৰে লৈছিল সেয়া আপোনাৰ পুতেকে দিবলৈ মান্তি হোৱা

নাই। গতিকে আপুনি যি কৰে কৰক। ইফালে আগতেই পুতি থৈ যোৱা ভায়েকে গাঁতৰ পৰাই মাত লগালে— বোপাই তই ইয়াক মোৰ ধাৰ কেইটা মাৰি দে নহ'লে মোৰ আত্মাই শান্তি নাপাব। তাকে শুনি পুতেকৰ দুখ লাগি সি খোজাৰ সমানে পইচা দি পঠালে। পইচা পাই সি সৰু ভায়েকক তাতে এৰি আন এখন গাঁৱলৈ বুলি যাত্ৰা কৰিলে। ইফালে ভায়েকে বহু কষ্টৰে গাঁতৰ পৰা ওলাই সেই গাঁৱতে ককায়েকৰ অপেক্ষাত থাকিবলৈ ল'লে। ককায়েক গৈ থাকোতে অলপ দূৰত এটা ভালুক দেখিলে আৰু ভালুকটো লাহে লাহে তাৰ ফালেই আগবাঢ়িছে বুলি সি বুজি পুনৰ বুদ্ধি পাঙিলে। সি দেখিলে যে সেইফালেই এহাল পতি-পত্নী আহি আছে। সি লৰালৰিকৈ বামুণৰ পুতেকৰ পৰা অনা পইচাখিনি হিচাপ কৰিবলৈ ল'লে। তেতিয়া আহি থকা মানুহজনে ইমান পইচা ক'ত পালা বুলি সুধিলে। সি লগে লগে ভালুকৰ পৰা পোৱা বুলি ক'লে। মানুহজনৰ লোভ লাগিল আৰু মানুহজনে গৈ ভালুকটোৰ ওচৰ পালেগৈ। ভালুকেও মুখৰ আগত চিকাৰ দেখি বৈ নাথাকি তাক চিৰাচিৰ কৰি খাই পেলালে। তাকে দেখি ঘৈণীয়েকে চিঞৰি চিঞৰি কান্দিবলৈ ধৰিলে। তাকে দেখি ল'ৰাটোৱে তাইক বিয়া পাতিলে। বিয়া পাতি সি পুনৰ যাত্ৰা কৰিলে। গৈ গৈ সি এখন খুব ডাঙৰ পথাৰ পালেগৈ। সি দেখিলে তাত এটা কেঁচুৱা বোকাৰ মাজত পৰি আছে। সি ওচৰলৈ গৈ চাই দেখিলে যে কেঁচুৱাটো জীৱিত সি কেঁচুৱাটোক উঠাই লগত লৈ গ'ল। এইবাৰ সি আন এখন পথাৰপালেগৈ। পথাৰখনত বজাৰ লগুৱাই আলি দি আছিল। আলিবোৰ গৈ সি গচকিলেগৈ। তাকে দেখি বজাৰ লগুৱাৰ খং উঠি তাৰ লগত কাজিয়া আৰম্ভ কৰিলে আৰু দুয়োপক্ষৰ মাজত হতাহতি আৰম্ভ হ'ল। হতাহতিৰ মাজতে কেঁচুৱাটো হাতৰ পৰা সৰি পৰিল আৰু বোকাত সোমাই মৰি থাকিল। কেঁচুৱাটো মৰি থকা দেখি সি পোনচাতেই বজাৰ ওচৰ পালেগৈ আৰু পাই সি গোচৰ তৰিলে। বজাই বহুত বুজোৱাৰ পিছতো সি একো নুশুনিলে। কেৱল সি কান্দি থাকিল একমাত্ৰ সন্তানক মাৰি পেলালে বুলি। শেষত বজা উপায়ন্তৰ হৈ তাক কি দিলে সি শাস্ত হ'ব সুধিলে। সি তেতিয়া বজাক বহুতো ধন-সম্পত্তি আৰু জীয়েকক বিয়া কৰাবলৈ বিচাৰিলে। বজাই তাৰ কথা মতে সকলো দিলে। সি সকলোবোৰ লৈ ঘৰলৈ যাত্ৰা কৰিলে। যাত্ৰা পথত এৰি থৈ অহা ভায়েককো লগ পাই তাকো লগত লৈ ল'লে। ঘৰলৈ গৈ সি বাটত পাই বিয়া কৰোৱা মানুহজনীক ভায়েকৰ লগত বিয়া কৰাই দিলে আৰু দুয়ো সুখত থাকিবলৈ ল'লে। সাধুটো টেঙোন

শ্ৰেণীৰ। টেটোন শ্ৰেণীৰ সাধুবোৰত যেনেকৈ এজন বুদ্ধিয়ক থাকে আৰু সি বুদ্ধিৰে যেনেকৈ সকলো কাম কৰে ঠিক তেনেকৈ ইয়াতো সেয়াকে দেখিবলৈ পোৱা গৈছে। টেঙৰ বুঢ়াৰ সাধুও ঠিক তেনেধৰণৰে। চোৰে বাৰে বাৰে বুঢ়াৰ ঘৰত চোৰ কৰিম বুলি ভাবিও বুঢ়াৰ চতুৰালিৰ আগত হাৰি শেষত হাৰ মনা কাহিনী সাধুটোত বৰ্ণিত হৈছে। এনেদৰে আৰু বিভিন্ন সাধু বৰোসকলৰ মাজত বৰ্ণিত হৈ আছে।

সামৰণি

লোকসাহিত্যৰ এক অন্যতম ভাগ সাধুকথা পৃথিৱীৰ সকলো সমাজতে সমাদৃত। ঠিক তেনেদৰেই জাতি-জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মিলনভূমি অসমৰো প্ৰতিখন সমাজতে সাধুকথাসমূহ প্ৰচলিত আৰু সমাদৃত। সাধুকথাই লিখিত ৰূপ নোপোৱা দিনৰপৰা মানুহৰ মনক আকৰ্ষিত কৰি আহিছে। নজনা কথা এটাও যদি সাধুৰ ৰূপ দি কোৱা হয় তেতিয়া সেইকথা অতি সহজে মনত ৰৈ যায়। সেয়ে সাধুকথাৰ মাজত বহুতো উপদেশমূলক কথাও জড়িত হৈ থাকে। লগতে সাধুকথাই ধৰি ৰাখে এখন সমাজৰ অতীত-বৰ্তমানৰ বিভিন্ন কথা। একোখন সমাজৰ সাংস্কৃতিক, মনস্তাত্ত্বিক, নৃতাত্ত্বিক আৰু ঐতিহাসিক দিশবোৰৰ বিষয়ে জানিবৰ বাবে আটাইতকৈ সহজ আৰু মনোৰঞ্জনধৰ্মী বিষয় হৈছে সাধুকথাৰ অধ্যয়ন। বকো অঞ্চলটোত বসবাস কৰা জনগোষ্ঠীকেইটাৰ মাজতো এনে বহুতো সাধুকথা আছে। যিবোৰৰ কিছুমান প্ৰকাশিত

হৈছে আৰু বহুসংখ্যক এতিয়াও মুখে মুখেই চলি আছে। অসমীয়া সংস্কৃতিক সমৃদ্ধ কৰি তোলা জনগোষ্ঠীয় লোকসকলৰ লোকসাহিত্যৰ অন্যতম সমল সাধুকথা সম্পৰ্কে অধ্যয়ন গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ সাম্প্ৰতিক সময়ত চৰ্চা নোহোৱা বা চৰ্চাৰ বাবে সময় কমি যোৱাৰ বাবে এই সাধুবোৰ প্ৰায় লুপ্ত হ'বলৈ ধৰিছে। গতিকে এনে এক মনোৰম লোকসাহিত্য যাতে হেৰাই নাযায় সেই বাবেও সাধুকথাসমূহৰ অধ্যয়ন বৰ্তমান অতি প্ৰয়োজনীয় হৈ পৰিছে। আলোচিত বিষয়সমূহৰ উপৰিও অন্যান্য দিশৰ আলোচনা তথা হেৰাই যাব ধৰা সাধুকথাসমূহৰ সংগ্ৰহৰ অৱকাশ আছে।

গ্ৰন্থপঞ্জী

কলিতা, ৰঞ্জন (সম্পা)	ঃ	গৱেষকৰ হাতপুথি, দ্বিতীয় প্ৰকাশ, বান্ধৱ, প্ৰকাশ, ২০১৭
নেওগ, মহেশ্বৰ	ঃ	অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ ৰূপৰেখা, চন্দ্ৰ প্ৰকাশ, গুৱাহাটী ১৯৬২
ভট্টাচাৰ্য, বিবেককুমাৰ (সম্পা)	ঃ	জনজাতীয় সাধু, সাহিত্য অকাডেমী, নতুন দিল্লী, ১৯৯৭
ৰাভা, বিৰিঞ্চি	ঃ	লাফা চাইখো, পাঞ্চজন্য প্ৰকাশ, গুৱাহাটী ২০১৮

লেখক :

গৱেষক, অসমীয়া বিভাগ, মহাপুৰুষ শ্ৰীমন্ত শংকৰদেৱ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্প : এক বিশ্লেষণাত্মক অধ্যয়ন

লোপা বৰুৱা
হিৰণ্য কুমাৰ বৰা

সংক্ষিপ্তসাৰ

মিতভাষ হ'ল অসমীয়া সাহিত্যত আৰম্ভ হৈ বিশ্বমুখী যাত্ৰাৰ দিশে আগবঢ়া এক নতুন সাহিত্য শৈলী। সাম্প্ৰতিক সময়ত ভাৰতৰ বিভিন্ন প্ৰান্তীয় ভাষাৰ লগতে ইংৰাজী ভাষালৈও অনুদিত হোৱা এই মিতভাষসমূহৰ স্ৰষ্টা হ'ল নগেন শইকীয়া। ১৯৯৫ চনত প্ৰকাশিত নগেন শইকীয়াৰ 'মিতভাষ' শীৰ্ষক গ্ৰন্থখনৰ মাধ্যমেৰে আৰম্ভ হোৱা এই নব্য সাহিত্য শৈলীটোৰ আধাৰত অনিতা গগৈকে আদি কৰি অন্যান্য সাহিত্যিকে মিতভাষৰ চৰ্চা আৰম্ভ কৰিছে, যিটো অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ পক্ষে এক ইতিবাচক দিশ। 'মিতভাষ' (১৯৯৫), 'স্বপ্ন-স্মৃতি-বিষাদ' (১৯৯৭) আৰু 'মিতভাষ সমগ্ৰ' (২০১৪) শীৰ্ষক গ্ৰন্থকেইখনৰ উপৰি বিভিন্ন কাকত-আলোচনীৰ পাতত অ-সংকলিত অৱস্থাত অলেখ মিতভাষ আছে, যিসমূহে পৰম্পৰাগত ভাবে চলি অহা কবিতা, কথা-কবিতা, গল্প, অনুগল্প আদি সাহিত্যৰাজিৰ লক্ষণ গ্ৰহণ কৰিও নিজকে এক পৃথক সাহিত্যিক শৈলী হিচাপে পৰিচয় দিবলৈ সক্ষম হৈছে। কিন্তু, দুই-এগৰাকী সমালোচকৰ কেইটামান প্ৰবন্ধৰ বাহিৰে এই মিতভাষসমূহৰ সম্পৰ্কে গৱেষণামূলক অধ্যয়ন বৰ্তমানলৈকে হোৱা নাই। সাহিত্যৰ আন শাখাসমূহৰ দৰেই মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজতো প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পৰ বহুল প্ৰয়োগ দেখা যায়, যিসমূহে মিতভাষৰ মাজেৰে প্ৰকাশিত ভাৱবাহিনীক অধিক স্পষ্ট কৰি তোলাত সহায় কৰে।

আমাৰ এই আলোচনাপত্ৰৰ মাজেৰে নগেন শইকীয়াৰ মিতভাষত প্ৰয়োগ হোৱা প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহৰ বিষয়ে অধ্যয়ন কৰোঁতে প্ৰথম অধ্যায়ত সাহিত্যত ব্যৱহৃত প্ৰতীক সম্পৰ্কে আভাস দিয়া হৈছে। দ্বিতীয় অধ্যায়ত মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত প্ৰতীকৰ সম্পৰ্কে আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। একেদৰেই তৃতীয় অধ্যায়ত চিত্ৰকল্পৰ সম্পৰ্কে ধাৰণা প্ৰদান কৰা হৈছে আৰু চতুৰ্থ অধ্যায়ত মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহৰ বিষয়ে আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে।

তদুপৰি আলোচনাপত্ৰখনৰ পদ্ধতি হিচাপে বিশ্লেষণাত্মক পদ্ধতিৰ অৱলম্বন কৰা হৈছে।

বীজ শব্দ : প্ৰতীক, চিত্ৰকল্প, মিতভাষ, নগেন শইকীয়া, কবিতা

বিষয়ৰ পৰিচয় : চুটিগল্প, উপন্যাস, কবিতাকে আদি কৰি অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ বিভিন্ন শাখাসমূহৰ ভিতৰত অন্যতম শাখা হ'ল- নগেন শইকীয়াৰ মিতভাষসমূহ। সাম্প্ৰতিক সময়ত অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ লগতে সৰ্বভাৰতীয় পৰ্যায়তো আলোচনাৰ বিষয় হিচাপে পৰিগণিত হোৱা এই মিতভাষসমূহ নগেন শইকীয়াৰ একক কৃতি। কাব্যিক অনুভূতিৰে সমৃদ্ধ তথা স্পন্দিত গদ্যশৈলীত বন্ধা এই মিতভাষসমূহ প্ৰকৃতাৰ্থত কবিতা, কথা-কবিতা, গল্প নে প্ৰবন্ধ নাইবা এই সকলোশ্ৰেণীৰ পৰা পৃথক এক নতুন সাহিত্যিক শাখা; এই সম্পৰ্কে সমালোচকসকলৰ মাজত যথেষ্ট মতভেদ দেখা যায়। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত মিতভাষৰ সংজ্ঞা সম্পৰ্কে ক'বলৈ গৈ সমালোচক কৰবী ডেকা হাজৰিকাই কৈছে - “

মিতভাষবোৰ নগেন শইকীয়া দেৱৰ অনন্য সৃষ্টি। এইবোৰ গল্প নহয়, কবিতা নহয়, প্ৰবন্ধও নহয়। অসমীয়া সাহিত্যত ই একক। মই জনাত আধুনিক ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্যৰ কোনো শাখাতে এনে ৰচনা নাই, যি সুদীৰ্ঘকাল জুৰি প্ৰবাহিত হৈ এটা ধাৰাৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিছে আৰু মাথোন একেজন লেখকেই সেই ধাৰাটো অৱ্যাহত ৰাখিছে।”^১ মিতভাষ সম্পৰ্কে আলোচনা কৰি আনন্দ বৰমুদৈয়ে উল্লেখ কৰিছে - “এটা কথা ঠিক যে মিতভাষ কোনো ছন্দ সজ্জাত সজ্জিত নহয় আৰু শব্দ সজোৱাৰ ৰূপটো গদ্যৰ নিচিনা। এই গদ্য স্বাভাৱিক স্বতঃস্ফূৰ্ততাৰে সাংগীতিক লয় যুক্ত স্পন্দিত গদ্য। গদ্য দেখাত গদ্যৰ সাজ পিন্ধিও গদ্য হ'ব নোৱাৰা গদ্য।”^২ ঠিক

একেদেৰেই আন এগৰাকী সমালোচক মনোৰমা বৰগোহাঞিয়ে মিতভাষৰ সংজ্ঞা এনেদৰে নিৰূপন কৰিছে - “জীৱনক বুজাৰ প্ৰয়াসতে অথবা জীৱনক অনুভৱ কৰাৰ মুহূৰ্ততে দুখানুভূতিৰে সিন্ত শব্দলানিৰ ব্যঞ্জনাময় প্ৰকাশেই মিতভাষ। ধ্বনিময় গুঞ্জৰণে কাব্যিক অনুৰণন তুলি,ৰূপকধৰ্মী কথা-গুচ্ছৰ মাজেৰে সংবেদনশীলতাৰে গভীৰ দাৰ্শনিক চিন্তাৰ উন্মেষ ঘটোৱা মিত-ভাষৰ সাহিত্যিক মূল্য যথার্থতেই অতি উচ্চ।”^৩ আন গৱেষক পণ্ডিতসকলৰ দৰেই দীপ্তি ফুকন পাটগিৰিয়ে মিতভাষৰ সংজ্ঞা নিৰূপন কৰিবলৈ গৈ কৈছে - মিতভাষ এক প্ৰকাৰৰ কবিতাই, য’ত গদ্যৰ স্পন্দনে এক বিশেষ মাত্ৰা প্ৰদান কৰিছে।^৪ ঠিক একেদৰেই হোমেন বৰগোহাঞিৰ মতে - “মিতভাষ নতিদীৰ্ঘ কথা-কবিতা।^৫ এই সমালোচকসকলৰ উপৰি স্বয়ং মিতভাষৰ স্ৰষ্টা নগেন শইকীয়াৰ মতে - “মিতভাষ কবিতা নহয়, কথা-কবিতা নহয়, গল্পৰ স্কেচ্ছ নহয় বা দাৰ্শনিক চিন্তাৰ প্ৰকাশো নহয়, অৱশ্যেই তাৰ মাজত ইবিলাকৰ কিবা বীজ থাকিবও পাৰে।”^৬ অসমীয়া সাহিত্যত বিশেষ স্থান অধিকাৰ কৰি থকা এই সমালোচক সকলৰ মিতভাষ সম্পৰ্কীয় মতামতৰ পৰা এটা কথা স্পষ্টকৈ ক’ব পাৰি যে, নগেন শইকীয়াৰ মিতভাষসমূহ অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ এই ক্ৰমবিকাশশীল ধাৰাটোত পৰম্পৰাগত ভাবে চলি অহা কবিতা, গল্প, প্ৰবন্ধ আদি শাখাসমূহৰ পৰা পৃথক আৰু অ-গতানুগতিক এটা শাখা। কাব্যিক লয়যুক্ত আৰু স্পন্দিত গদ্যৰ সাঁচত ঢলা মিতভাষসমূহ নগেন শইকীয়াৰ একক সৃষ্টি। লেখকৰ মতে মিতভাষসমূহ কোনো তত্ত্বমূলক কথা বা দাৰ্শনিক চিন্তাৰ প্ৰকাশ নহয়, বৰঞ্চ এইসমূহ তেওঁৰ আত্ম-বিশ্লেষণৰেহে বহিঃপ্ৰকাশ মাথোন। আমাৰ এই আলোচনা পত্ৰখনৰ জৰিয়তে অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ এই নব্য শৈলী - মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজত প্ৰকাশিত প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পৰ বিষয়ে বিশ্লেষণাত্মক অধ্যয়নৰ প্ৰয়াস কৰা হ’ব।

বিষয় অধ্যয়নৰ গুৰুত্ব: অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ ক্ষেত্ৰখনত নিৰলসভাৰে সাহিত্য চৰ্চা কৰি থকা ব্যক্তিসকলৰ মাজত এগৰাকী উল্লেখযোগ্য ব্যক্তি হ’ল নগেন শইকীয়া। তেখেতৰ সাহিত্যৰাজিৰ সংখ্যা বিশাল আৰু তাৰ স্বৰূপ বহুধা বিভক্ত। অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ ন-পুৰণি গ্ৰন্থ সম্পাদনাৰ পৰা আৰম্ভ কৰি গল্প, কবিতা, আদি সৃষ্টিশীল সাহিত্য তথা সাহিত্য সমালোচনা, গৱেষণাধৰ্মী প্ৰবন্ধ আদিৰ উপৰি ‘বিষয় শব্দৰ দেৱৰ’ৰ দৰে গ্ৰন্থ ৰচনা কৰি নগেন শইকীয়াই অসমীয়া

সাহিত্যৰ ভঁড়াল সমৃদ্ধ কৰিছে। নগেন শইকীয়াৰ এই সৃষ্টিৰাজিৰ ভিতৰত বিভিন্ন সাহিত্য সম্পৰ্কে ইতিমধ্যে গৱেষণামূলক অধ্যয়ন আৰু বিশ্লেষণ হোৱা দেখা গৈছে। কিন্তু তেওঁৰ অন্যান্য সাহিত্যকৰ্মৰ দৰে তেওঁৰ মিতভাষসমূহৰ সম্পৰ্কত গৱেষণামূলক অধ্যয়ন তুলনামূলকভাৱে কম। অসমীয়া সাহিত্যত পৰম্পৰাগত ভাবে চলি অহা কবিতা, কথা-কবিতা, গল্প, অনুগল্প আদি সাহিত্যৰাজিৰ লক্ষণ গ্ৰহণ কৰিও নিজকে এক পৃথক সাহিত্যিক শৈলী হিচাপে পৰিচয় দিবলৈ সক্ষম হৈছে। কিন্তু, দুই-এগৰাকী সমালোচকৰ কেইটামান প্ৰবন্ধৰ বাহিৰে এই মিতভাষসমূহৰ সম্পৰ্কে গৱেষণামূলক অধ্যয়ন বৰ্তমানলৈকে হোৱা নাই। সাহিত্যৰ আন শাখাসমূহৰ দৰেই মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজতো প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পৰ বহুল প্ৰয়োগ দেখা যায়। কাব্যৰ লগতে সাহিত্যৰ অন্যান্য ক্ষেত্ৰত শব্দৰ মূল অৰ্থক চেৰাই এক অভিব্যঞ্জিত অৰ্থ প্ৰকাশ কৰাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত প্ৰতীকৰ ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হয়। একেদৰেই চিত্ৰকল্পৰ প্ৰয়োগৰ দ্বাৰা সাহিত্যিকসকলে পাঠকৰ সমুখত এখন কাল্পনিক ছবি ফুটাই তোলে, যাৰ মাধ্যমেৰে বৰ্ণনীয় বিষয়সমূহে অধিক স্পষ্ট ৰূপত ধৰা দিয়ে। মিতভাষসমূহত ব্যৱহাৰ হোৱা এনে প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহে মিতভাষৰ মাজেৰে প্ৰকাশিত ভাৱৰাশিক অধিক স্পষ্ট কৰি তোলাত সহায় কৰে। সেই দৃষ্টিকোণৰ পৰা মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজত প্ৰকাশিত ভাৱৰাশি পাঠকৰ অধিক বোধগম্য হোৱাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত মিতভাষত প্ৰয়োগ হোৱা প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহৰ বিষয়ে বিশ্লেষণাত্মক অধ্যয়নৰ প্ৰয়োজনীয়তা আছে।

বিষয় অধ্যয়নৰ উদ্দেশ্য: সমসাময়িক অসমীয়া সাহিত্য জগতখনত সাহিত্যৰ বিভিন্ন দিশসমূহৰ চৰ্চা কৰি থকা সাহিত্যিকসকলৰ মাজত উল্লেখযোগ্য সাহিত্যিক নগেন শইকীয়াৰ মিতভাষসমূহ অসমীয়া সাহিত্যত পৰম্পৰাগত ভাবে চলি অহা কবিতা, কথা-কবিতা, গল্প, অনুগল্প আদি সাহিত্যৰ পৰা পৃথক আৰু এক অ-গতানুগতিক সাহিত্য শৈলী। এই সাহিত্য শৈলীৰ মাধ্যমেৰে লেখক গৰাকীৰ জীৱন সম্পৰ্কীয় একান্তই ব্যক্তিগত চিন্তাধাৰা প্ৰকাশিত হৈছে যদিও এই মিতভাষৰ মাজত সাধাৰণ মানুহৰ জীৱনত পৰিলক্ষিত দুখ, বেদনা, যাত্ৰা, শূণ্যতাৰ উপলব্ধি আদি ভাবধাৰাৰো প্ৰকাশ দেখা যায়, যাৰ বাবে মিতভাষসমূহ লেখকৰ ব্যক্তিগত অনুভূতিৰ বহিঃপ্ৰকাশ হৈয়ো ইয়াৰ ভাবৰাশি গভীৰ ভাবে সাৰ্বজনীন। সাহিত্যৰ আন শাখাসমূহৰ দৰেই মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজতো প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পৰ বহুল প্ৰয়োগ দেখা যায়, যিসমূহে মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজত প্ৰকাশিত

ভাৰবাশি পাঠকৰ অধিক বোধগম্য হোৱাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ ভূমিকা পালন কৰে। সেই দৃষ্টিকোণৰ পৰা মিতভাষৰ মাজত ব্যৱহৃত প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহৰ বিশ্লেষণাত্মক অধ্যয়নেই আমাৰ এই আলোচনা পত্ৰখনৰ মূল উদ্দেশ্য।

অধ্যয়নৰ পৰিসৰ :

“মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্প : এক বিশ্লেষণাত্মক অধ্যয়ন” শীৰ্ষক আলোচনাপত্ৰখনৰ পৰিসৰে নগেন শইকীয়াৰ ‘মিতভাষ সমগ্ৰ’ (২০১৪) গ্ৰন্থখনৰ মাজত সন্নিবিষ্ট ৩০১টা মিতভাষক আলোচনাৰ পৰিসৰৰ ভিতৰত সামৰি লৈছে।

অধ্যয়নৰ পদ্ধতি আৰু তথ্য আহৰণৰ উৎস :

“মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্প : এক বিশ্লেষণাত্মক অধ্যয়ন” শীৰ্ষক আলোচনাপত্ৰখনৰ অধ্যয়নৰ পদ্ধতি হিচাপে বিশ্লেষণাত্মক পদ্ধতি অৱলম্বন কৰা হৈছে আৰু তথ্য আহৰণৰ মুখ্য উৎস হিচাপে নগেন শইকীয়াৰ ‘মিতভাষ সমগ্ৰ’ (২০১৪) গ্ৰন্থখন আৰু গৌণ উৎস হিচাপে মিতভাষ সম্পৰ্কীয় আলোচনা সম্বলিত বিভিন্ন কাকত, আলোচনী তথা নগেন শইকীয়াৰ সাহিত্য আৰু জীৱন সম্পৰ্কীয় বিভিন্ন প্ৰবন্ধৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে।

মূল বিষয়ৰ আলোচনা : অসমীয়া সাহিত্য জগতত নিজস্ব প্ৰতিভাৰে উজ্জ্বল হৈ থকা সাহিত্যিকসকলৰ ভিতৰত অন্যতম হ’ল নগেন শইকীয়া। নগেন শইকীয়াৰ অন্যান্য সাহিত্যকৰ্মৰ বিষয়ে যথেষ্ট গৱেষণামূলক অধ্যয়ন হৈছে যদিও তেখেতৰ নব্য সাহিত্য শৈলী মিতভাষসমূহৰ বিষয়ে গৱেষণামূলক অধ্যয়ন তুলনামূলকভাৱে যথেষ্ট কম। অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ এক নতুন ধাৰা হিচাপে নগেন শইকীয়াৰ এই মিতভাষসমূহৰ গৱেষণামূলক অধ্যয়নৰ যথেষ্ট প্ৰয়োজনীয়তা আছে। সাহিত্যৰ আন শাখাসমূহৰ দৰেই মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজতো প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পৰ বহুল প্ৰয়োগ দেখা যায়। কাব্যৰ লগতে সাহিত্যৰ অন্যান্য ক্ষেত্ৰত শব্দৰ মূল অৰ্থক চেৰাই এক অভিব্যঞ্জিত অৰ্থ প্ৰকাশ কৰাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত প্ৰতীকৰ ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হয়। একেদৰেই চিত্ৰকল্পৰ প্ৰয়োগৰ দ্বাৰা সাহিত্যিকসকলে পাঠকৰ সম্মুখত এখন কাল্পনিক ছবি ফুটাই তোলে, যাৰ মাধ্যমেৰে বৰ্ণনীয় বিষয়সমূহে অধিক স্পষ্ট ৰূপত ধৰা দিয়ে। মিতভাষসমূহত ব্যৱহাৰ হোৱা এনে প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহে মিতভাষৰ মাজেৰে প্ৰকাশিত ভাৰবাশিক অধিক স্পষ্ট কৰি তোলাত সহায় কৰে।

মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজত প্ৰয়োগ হোৱা এই প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহৰ বিষয়ে এনেদৰে আলোচনা কৰিব পাৰি —

প্ৰতীকৰ পৰিচয় : অসমীয়া ভাষাত প্ৰতীক শব্দটো ইংৰাজী ভাষাৰ symbol (চিহ্নল) শব্দৰ প্ৰতিৰূপ হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হয়। শব্দ একোটাই যেতিয়া তাৰ নিৰ্দিষ্ট আক্ষৰিক অৰ্থতকৈ অধিক বৃহত্তৰ ব্যঞ্জনা আনি দিয়ে, অথবা আন কিবা ভাব-অনুভূতিৰ বাহক হিচাপে ইয়াক ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হয়,

তেতিয়া তাকেই প্ৰতীক আখ্যা দিয়া হয়।^১ উদাহৰণ স্বৰূপে সাধাৰণ অৰ্থত ‘মৰুভূমি’ শব্দটোৱে আক্ষৰিক অৰ্থত বালিৰে আৱৰা এখন প্ৰাণহীন ঠাইক বুজাই যদিও নৱকান্ত বৰুৱাৰ ‘ইয়াত নদী আছিল’ শীৰ্ষক কবিতাত মৰুভূমি শব্দটি প্ৰতীকাত্মক অৰ্থত সম্পূৰ্ণ পৃথক ৰূপত ব্যৱহৃত হৈছে —

“...কিন্তু মৰুভূমি আহে

লাহে লাহে মাহে মাহে বছৰে বছৰে

আঁহতৰ খোৰোঙত এপাহি কপৌফুল সোনকালে
সৰে” (ইয়াত নদী আছিল)

উক্ত কবিতাফাকিত মৰুভূমি শব্দটোৱে তাৰ আক্ষৰিক অৰ্থক অতিক্ৰমী ‘মৃত্যুৰ বিভীষিকা’ৰ অৰ্থহে প্ৰকাশ কৰিছে। এনেদৰেই কাব্যৰ লগতে সাহিত্যৰ অন্যান্য ক্ষেত্ৰত শব্দৰ মূল অৰ্থক চেৰাই এক অভিব্যঞ্জিত অৰ্থ প্ৰকাশ কৰাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত প্ৰতীকৰ ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হয়।

প্ৰতীকবোৰ শব্দ অথবা শব্দপুঞ্জৰ প্ৰচ্ছন্ন অৰ্থযুক্ত ব্যঞ্জনাময় ৰূপ। ইয়াত নিহিত হৈ থকা অৰ্থ আৰু আপাত অৰ্থ সদায়েই অস্পষ্ট আৰু ব্যঞ্জনাময়।^২

লিখিত সাহিত্যৰ পৰম্পৰা আৰম্ভ হোৱাৰ পূৰ্বেৰে পৰাই মানুহৰ মুখে মুখে প্ৰচলিত বিষ্ণুগীত, বিয়ানাং, বনগীত, ফকৰা-যোজনা, সাধুকথা আদিৰ মাজতো প্ৰতীকৰ ব্যৱহাৰ দেখা যায়। তাৰ উদাহৰণ স্বৰূপে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ সাধু-কথাসমূহত ব্যৱহৃত প্ৰতীকসমূহৰ কথা উল্লেখ কৰিব পাৰি। প্ৰাচীন কালৰে পৰা অসমীয়া লোক-সমাজত প্ৰচলিত সাধুসমূহত চিত্ৰিত হোৱা ‘শিয়াল’, ‘বান্দৰ’, ‘সিংহ’, ‘কাউৰী’ ‘গাধ’ আদি চৰিত্ৰসমূহ আপাত অৰ্থত একোটা জন্তু হ’লেও সিহঁতৰ একোটা প্ৰতীকাত্মক অৰ্থ থাকে, যিটো অৰ্থই সাধুসমূহৰ অন্তৰ্নিহিত মূল অৰ্থটো উজাগৰ কৰাত সহায়ক হিচাপে কাম কৰে। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত ‘শিয়াল’ আৰু ‘কাউৰী’ প্ৰায়ে সমাজত বসবাস কৰা ধূৰ্ত লোকসকলৰ প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহৃত হয়। একেদৰে ‘সিংহ’ শক্তিৰ প্ৰতীক আৰু ‘গাধ’ অজলা লোকসলৰ প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহৃত হয়। তদুপৰি বিশ্বৰ বিভিন্ন দেশত প্ৰচলিত ধৰ্ম শাস্ত্ৰসমূহৰ মাজতো

প্ৰতীকৰ প্ৰাচুৰ্য এক উল্লেখযোগ্য বিষয়। সাহিত্যৰ বিভিন্ন ক্ষেত্ৰত ব্যৱহৃত এনে প্ৰতীকসমূহে প্ৰকৃতাৰ্থত সাহিত্যিক অধিক প্ৰাণবন্ত কৰি তোলাত সহায় কৰে।

মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত প্ৰতীকঃ অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ অন্যান্য সাহিত্যিকসকলৰ দৰেই নগেন শইকীয়াৰ সাহিত্যৰাজিৰ মাজতো প্ৰতীকৰ প্ৰচুৰ প্ৰয়োগ দেখা যায়। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত তেখেতৰ নব্য সাহিত্যৰ ধাৰা ‘মিতভাষ’সমূহৰ মাজত প্ৰচুৰ অৰ্থঘন প্ৰতীকৰ প্ৰয়োগ মন কৰিবলগীয়া বিষয়। মিতভাষত প্ৰতীকৰ প্ৰয়োগ সম্পৰ্কে আলোচনা কৰি সমালোচক আনন্দ বৰমুদৈয়ে তেওঁৰ ‘মিতভাষ আৰু আমাৰ আধ্যাত্মিক পৰম্পৰা’ শীৰ্ষক প্ৰবন্ধত কৈছে— “মিতভাষে কাব্য ভাবনাক আমাৰ সাংস্কৃতিক পৰম্পৰাৰ কাষ চপাই আনিছে, কিন্তু কলা-কৌশলৰ ফালৰ পৰা প্ৰতীক বাদ আৰু চিত্ৰকল্পবাদৰ কলা-কৌশল অনেক মিতভাষত চমৎকাৰ ৰূপত প্ৰয়োগ কৰা হৈছে।”^৯ মিতভাষত প্ৰতীকৰ ব্যৱহাৰ সম্পৰ্কে উল্লেখ কৰি প্ৰফুল্ল গগৈয়েহে তেওঁৰ মিতভাষ সম্পৰ্কীয় প্ৰবন্ধ ‘অসমীয়া সাহিত্যত এটি অভিনৱ কাব্যধাৰা : ‘মিত-ভাষ’ত কৈছে — “‘মিত-ভাষ’ আৰু ‘স্বপ্ন-স্মৃতি-বিষাদ — এই দুয়েখনো ‘মিত-ভাষ’তে শোক-দুখ বিষাদৰ বিপুল আতিশয্যৰ উপৰিও বহুতো কবিতাত প্ৰতীক, চিত্ৰকল্প, ৰূপকৰ প্ৰয়োগ ঘটিছে।”^{১০}

নগেন শইকীয়াৰ মিতভাষসমূহৰ বিশ্লেষণ কৰিলে ইয়াৰ মাজত বহুত অৰ্থৰহ তথা বিচিত্ৰ প্ৰতীকৰ প্ৰয়োগ পৰিলক্ষিত হয়। এইসমূহৰ ভিতৰত নৈ, মাছ, শিপা, গছ, তিলফুল, ধুতুৰা ফুল, ভগা কাঁচ, ছবিৰ নিগেটিভ, ফুল, হালধীয়া আৰু সেউজীয়া ৰঙ, হেমন্ত ঋতু আৰু আহিন মাহ ইত্যাদিক মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজত প্ৰতীকী অৰ্থত প্ৰয়োগ কৰা দেখা যায়।

মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজত সততে প্ৰয়োগ হোৱা এক প্ৰতীক হ’ল ‘নৈ’। নদীৰ প্ৰতীকী অৰ্থত ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা মিতভাষসমূহৰ ভিতৰত ‘মই বাৰে বাৰে নিজকে’, ‘নদীখন বৈ আহিছিল’, ‘এখন শুকান নদীৰ পাৰত’, ‘নদীখন শুকাই ব বুলি’, ‘ক’ত শুকাই গ’ল প্ৰবাহিত নদীখন’ আদি মিতভাষসমূহ উল্লেখযোগ্য। উল্লিখিত মিতভাষসমূহৰ ভিতৰত ‘মই বাৰে বাৰে নিজকে’ শীৰ্ষক মিতভাষটোত নদীখনক সময়ৰ প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হৈছে। চিৰ প্ৰবাহমান সময়ৰ প্ৰতীকস্বৰূপ নদীখনৰ পাৰত কণ্ঠস্বৰৰ গৰাকীয়ে নিজকে আৱিষ্কাৰ কৰিছে আৰু সময়ৰ দাপেনত নিজৰেই যন্ত্ৰণা-জৰ্জৰ মুখখনৰ প্ৰতিফলন দেখিছে —

“মই বাৰে বাৰে নিজকে আৱিষ্কাৰ কৰিছোঁ এখন বৈ থকা নদীৰ পাৰত। সোঁত বৈ আছে — সুখৰ আৰু দুখৰ ঢটু বুকুত লৈ। কঢ়িয়াই লৈ গৈছে হৃদয়ৰ টুকুৰা- মাছবোৰে খুটিয়াই আছে। মই নদীৰ পানীত দেখিছোঁ এখন যন্ত্ৰণা-জৰ্জৰ

মুখ।”^{১১} নদীক মুখ্য প্ৰতীক হিচাপে লৈ ৰচিত আন এটি মিতভাষ হ’ল— এখন শুকান নদীৰ পাৰত। উক্ত মিতভাষটোত ‘শুকান নদী’ নিৰাশা আৰু ভগ্ন স্বপ্নৰ প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহৃত হৈছে। তদুপৰি উক্ত মিতভাষটোতে উল্লেখ থকা বালিছন্দা মধুময় অতীতৰ প্ৰতীক, যাৰ জিলিকনিয়ে ক্ষুণ্ণকৰ বাবে নিৰাশাৰ মাজতো আশাৰ সঞ্চাৰ কৰে। তদুপৰি নদীৰ বুকুত এসময়ত সাঁতুৰি থকা ‘সোণালী ৰূপালী মাছবোৰ মিতভাষটোত দূৰ অতীতৰ সোণালী সময়ৰ প্ৰতীক ৰূপত ব্যৱহৃত হৈছে।

নদীৰ দৰেই মিতভাষসমূহত ব্যৱহৃত এক গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ প্ৰতীক হ’ল ‘ফুল’। এই ফুলক লেখকে কোনোতো মিতভাষত যদি ‘ধুতুৰা ফুল’ৰ ৰূপত উপস্থাপন কৰিছে তেনে আন কোনো মিতভাষত আকৌ ‘তিলফুল’ হিচাপে চিত্ৰিত কৰিছে। মিতভাষসমূহৰ অন্তৰ্নিহিত ভাব ভেদে ফুলেও আকৌ পৃথক পৃথক প্ৰতীকী অৰ্থ বহন কৰিছে। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত ধুতুৰা ফুলক প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা এটা উল্লেখযোগ্য মিতভাষ হ’ল — ‘ইয়াত গজি উঠিছিল’ শীৰ্ষক মিতভাষটো

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“ইয়াত গজি উঠিছিল এটা ফুল। তাৰ পাতল নীলা বৰণ লাহে লাহে গাঢ় হ’বলৈ ধৰিলে আৰু সি এপাহ নীলা ধুতুৰাত পৰিণত হ’ল। তাৰ মাজত গোটি খালে অভ্যন্তৰত লুকাই থকা মোৰ দুখ আৰু শোকৰ সকলো বস। তাৰ বসত মই বুৰ গ’লো আৰু বিস্মৃত হ’লোঁ — মোৰ, অতীত বৰ্তমান মোৰ সমস্ত পৃথিৱী। যেতিয়া সাৰ পালোঁ, মই বিষত নীলা আৰু যান্ত্ৰণাত কাতৰ।”^{১২}

উক্ত মিতভাষটোত ‘ধুতুৰাফুল’ প্ৰকৃতাৰ্থত বেদনাৰ প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহৃত হৈছে। ফুলপাহৰ পাতল নীলা বৰণটো ক্ৰমশঃ গাঢ় হৈ নীলা বৰণ ধৰা আৰু এপাহ ধুতুৰালৈ পৰিণত হোৱাৰ বৰ্ণনাই স্বপ্নাতুৰ মানুহৰ স্বপ্নভংগৰ ফলত হৃদয়ত সৃষ্টি হোৱা গভীৰ বেদনাৰ প্ৰতীকী অৰ্থ বহন কৰিছে।

ধুতুৰাৰ দৰেই মিতভাষৰ মাজত ‘তিলফুল’ প্ৰতীক ৰূপত ব্যৱহাৰ হৈছে। ‘তিলফুল’ক প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা এটা মিতভাষ হ’ল— ‘কোনেও কেতিয়াও গম পোৱা নাছিল’ শীৰ্ষক মিতভাষটো। উক্ত মিতভাষটোত ‘তিলফুল’ মৃত্যুৰ প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহৃত হৈছে।

উল্লিখিত মিতভাষ দুটাৰ উপৰি নগেন শইকীয়াৰ ‘এই একেপাহ ফুল’, ‘ইয়াত গজি উঠিছিল’, ‘ভাব হ’ল এপাহ গধূলি গোপাল’, ‘সন্ধ্যাৰ আন্ধাৰত গধূলি গোপাল’, ‘ইয়াতেই এপাহ বঙা ফুল’, ‘মই নাজানো কাইলৈ ফুলপাহ ফুলিবনে’ ইত্যাদি বিভিন্ন মিতভাষত ফুলক প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হৈছে। উল্লেখ্য যে, প্ৰায়সমূহ মিতভাষতে ইয়াৰ ভাব অনুযায়ী ‘ফুল’ শব্দটোৱে পৃথক অৰ্থ বহন কৰিছে।

মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজত ‘ভগা কাঁচ’ এক গভীৰ আৰু অৰ্থবহু প্ৰতীক ৰূপে ব্যৱহাৰ হোৱা পৰিলক্ষিত হয়। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত ‘মজিয়াখনত পৰি আছে’ শীৰ্ষক মিতভাষটোত ব্যৱহাৰ ভগা কাঁচে স্বপ্ন বিলাসী মানুহৰ ভগ্ন স্বপ্নৰ প্ৰতীকী অৰ্থ বহন কৰিছে আৰু এই স্বপ্ন ভংগৰ ফলত ওপজা বিষাদঘন ভাবে মিতভাষটো মৰ্মস্পৰ্শী কৰি তুলিছে—

“মজিয়াখনত পৰি আছে ভগা কাঁচৰ টুকুৰা।
জিলমিলাই থকা টুকুৰা। হাত দি চালোঁ— এয়া দেখোন মোৰ
ভিতৰৰ সপোনবোৰ — টুকুৰ টুকুৰ হৈ ভাগি সিঁচৰিত হৈ
পৰি আছে। প্ৰতিটো টুকুৰাত লাগি আছে মোৰ ধমনীৰ
তেজ।”^{১৩}

ভগা কাঁচৰ উপৰি ছবিৰ নিগেটিভো মিতভাষৰ মাজত এক অৰ্থবহু প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ হৈছে। এইক্ষেত্ৰত “মোৰ চাৰিওফালে সিঁচৰিত হৈ আছে” শীৰ্ষক মিতভাষটি উল্লেখযোগ্য —

“মোৰ চাৰিওফালে সিঁচৰিত হৈ আছে অসংখ্য ছবিৰ
নিগেটিভ। মই এটা এটাকৈ বুটলি লৈ চাই দেখিছোঁ প্ৰতিটো
ছবিত মই কেৱল মই। ... নিগেটিভবোৰ বুটলি মই সন্তপৰ্ণে
ভিতৰলৈ সোমাই যাবলৈ ধৰিলোঁ যাতে কোনেও কেতিয়াও
মোৰ ভিতৰৰ ‘মই’টোক দেখা পাব নোৱাৰে।”^{১৪}

উল্লিখিত মিতভাষটোত ছবিৰ নিগেটিভবোৰ অতীতৰ প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ হৈছে।

এনেসমূহ প্ৰতীকৰ উপৰি মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজত নীলা আৰু হালধীয়া ৰঙকো লেখকে প্ৰতীকাত্মক অৰ্থত অতি কৌশলেৰে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰিছে। মিতভাষসমূহত মাজত নীলা ৰং সততে বিষাদ অনুভূতিৰ প্ৰতীক আৰু হালধীয়া ৰং হতাশা তথা মৃত্যুৰ প্ৰতীক হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ হৈছে। তাৰ বিপৰীতে সেউজীয়া ৰঙে মিতভাষত আশা আৰু সম্ভাৱনাৰ প্ৰতীকী অৰ্থ বহন কৰিছে।

মিতভাষৰ মাজত পৰিলক্ষিত আন এটা প্ৰতীক হ’ল — ‘গছ’। মিতভাষৰ মাজত ‘গছ’ আশা আৰু সম্ভাৱনাৰ প্ৰতীকৰ ৰূপত প্ৰয়োগ হৈছে। এইক্ষেত্ৰত ‘মই যেতিয়া শুই থাকোঁ’ শীৰ্ষক মিতভাষটোত কণ্ঠস্বৰৰ গৰাকীৰ বুকুত গজি

উঠা গছজোপাৰ অস্তিত্ব বিচাৰি পুনৰ টোপনি যাবলৈ কৰা চেষ্টা আৰু গছজোপা পুনৰ গজি উঠাৰ আকাংক্ষাই সেই স্বপ্নৰ গছজোপাক ‘আশা’ আৰু সম্ভাৱনাৰ প্ৰতীক হিচাপে চিহ্নিত কৰাইছে। এই ‘গছ’ আকৌ কেতিয়াবা কোনোটো মিতভাষৰ মাজত অক্ষমতাৰ প্ৰতীক হিচাপেও চিহ্নিত হৈছে — “মই কেৱল এতিয়া এজোপা গছ হৈ জীয়াই আছোঁ।”^{১৫}

চিত্ৰকল্পৰ পৰিচয় : চিত্ৰকল্প শব্দটোৰ আক্ষৰিক অৰ্থ হ’ল ছবিৰ নিচিনা। মনৰ চকুৰে দেখা পোৱা ছবিয়েই চিত্ৰকল্প। ই হ’ল শব্দৰে অঁকা ছবি। এই ছবিত শব্দই দিয়ে তাৰ ৰেখাৰ

ধাৰণা আৰু ব্যঞ্জনাৰ আনে ৰঙৰ আভাস।^{১৬} চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহে পাঠকৰ চকুৰ সন্মুখত এখন জীৱন্ত ছবি ফুটাই তোলে যাৰ সহায়ত পাঠকে দৃশ্যবোধ, ঘ্ৰাণ, শ্ৰৱণ আৰু স্বাদৰ অনুভূতি লাভ কৰিবলৈ সক্ষম হয়। সেয়েহে চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহক দৃশ্যানুভূতি প্ৰকাশক, শ্ৰৱণানুভূতি প্ৰকাশক, ঘ্ৰাণানুভূতি আৰু স্পৰ্শনাভূতি প্ৰকাশক আদি ভাগত বিভক্ত কৰিব পাৰি। সাহিত্যৰ ক্ষেত্ৰখনত ব্যৱহাৰ এই চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহ চকুৰে দেখা নহয়, কেৱল অনুভৱহে কৰিব পাৰি।

সাহিত্যৰ ক্ষেত্ৰখনত, বিশেষতঃ কবিতাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত চিত্ৰকল্পৰ বহুল প্ৰয়োগ পৰিলক্ষিত হয়। চিত্ৰকল্পৰ প্ৰয়োগৰ দ্বাৰা সাহিত্যিকসকলে পাঠকৰ সন্মুখত এখন কাল্পনিক ছবি ফুটাই তোলে, যাৰ মাধ্যমেৰে বৰ্ণনীয় বিষয়সমূহে অধিক স্পষ্ট ৰূপত ধৰা দিয়ে। সাহিত্যত ব্যৱহাৰ এনে চিত্ৰকল্পৰ উদাহৰণ স্বৰূপে হেম বৰুৱাৰ ‘জাৰৰ দিনৰ সপোন’ শীৰ্ষক কবিতাটোত ব্যৱহাৰ হোৱা চিত্ৰকল্পৰ কথা উল্লেখ কৰিব পাৰি —

“ধানৰ দ’মত তেজপিয়াৰ ৰণচালি
তেজপিয়াৰ বংশ নাশলৈ আৰু কিমান দিন বাকী?”

উক্ত কবিতাংশত ব্যৱহাৰ ‘ধানৰ দ’মত তেজপিয়াৰ ৰণচালি’ বাক্যাংশই সহৃদয় পাঠকৰ চকুৰ সন্মুখত এখন দৃশ্যানুভূতি প্ৰকাশক চিত্ৰকল্পৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিছে আৰু তাৰ ব্যঞ্জনা অৰ্থই সামন্ত শ্ৰেণীটোৱে যুগ যুগ ধৰি সাধাৰণ কৃষক শ্ৰেণীটোৰ ওপৰত চলাই অহা শোষণৰ ছবিখন প্ৰতিফলিত কৰিছে।

ঠিক একেদৰেই অমূল্য বৰুৱাৰ ‘কুকুৰ’ কবিতাটোৰ মাজতো চিত্ৰকল্পৰ সুন্দৰ প্ৰয়োগ পৰিলক্ষিত হয় —

“সউদল কুকুৰ
প্ৰত্যেকটো ৰাষ্ট্ৰাৰ
আৰ্জনাৰ দ’মবিলাকৰ কাষে কাষে
সিহঁতৰ প্ৰত্যেকৰে মুখে মুখে
বস নাইকিয়া শুকান একোডোখৰ

জাতি-বর্ণৰ বিচাৰ নোহোৱা হাড়”

(কুকুৰ, অমূল্য বৰুৱা)

সাহিত্যত ব্যৱহৃত এনে চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহে পাঠকৰ মানসপটত কল্পচিত্ৰৰ উপস্থাপনৰ জৰিয়তে প্ৰকাশিত দিশসমূহ অধিক প্ৰাঞ্জল ৰূপত ফুটাই তোলাৰ লগতে বিষয়বস্তুক অধিক স্পষ্ট আৰু অৰ্থবহু কৰি তোলাত সহায় কৰে।

মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত চিত্ৰকল্প : প্ৰতীকৰ দৰেই নগেন শইকীয়াৰ মিতভাষসমূহত প্ৰচুৰ পৰিমাণে চিত্ৰকল্পৰ প্ৰয়োগ পৰিলক্ষিত হয়। এইক্ষেত্ৰত নগেন শইকীয়াৰ মিতভাষত চিত্ৰকল্পৰ প্ৰয়োগ সম্পৰ্কে সমালোচক কৰবী ডেকা হাজৰিকাই লিখিছে— “নিজৰ অজানিতেই মিত-ভাষাৰে চিত্ৰকল্পৰ অলংকাৰ পিন্ধা চকুত পৰে। স্বপ্ন আৰু বিষাদজনিত ৰচনাত চিত্ৰকল্পৰ সৌন্দৰ্য বেছি দীপ্তিমন্ত। নদী, সাপ, চৰাইৰ নীড়, হেমন্তৰ পথাৰ আদি শব্দৰ সহযোগত চিত্ৰকল্পবোৰে গঢ় লৈ উঠিছে।”^{১৭}

নগেন শইকীয়াৰ মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজত এনে বহু চিত্ৰকল্পৰ প্ৰয়োগ হৈছে, যিসমূহে পাঠকৰ মনোজগতত এখন কাল্পনিক চিত্ৰ ফুটাই তুলিব পাৰে। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত মিতভাষত প্ৰয়োগ হোৱা দৃশ্যানুভূতি প্ৰকাশক চিত্ৰকল্পৰ এক সুন্দৰ নিদৰ্শন হ'ল ‘বুকুৰ মাজত সোমাই থকা’ শীৰ্ষক মিতভাষটো —

“বুকুৰ মাজত সোমাই থকা পানীপিয়া চৰাইটো আজি মৰি থাকিল। পাখি দুখন মেলি সি পৰি আছে। তাৰ ঠোঁট দুটা অকনমান মেল খাই আছিল — বোধকৰোঁ জল-তৃষণত। তাৰ চকু দুটা অকনমান মেলখাই আছিল - বোধকৰোঁ স্বপ্নৰ আকাংক্ষাত। কিন্তু সি বোধকৰোঁ একো নাপালে। ... সি মৰি থাকিল।”^{১৮}

উক্ত চিত্ৰকল্পটোত আপাতত স্বপ্নভংগৰ বিষাদে ক্ৰিয়া কৰি থাকিলেও পাঠকৰ চকুৰ আগত এটা মুখ মেলি পৰি থকা চৰাইৰ মৃতদেহৰ চিত্ৰ জীৱন্ত হৈ উঠিছে।

দৃশ্যৰ অনুভূতিৰে পাঠকৰ মনচক্ষুক তৃপ্ত কৰিব পৰা আন এক চিত্ৰকল্প ‘কপাহৰ দৰে ডাৱৰৰ’ শীৰ্ষক মিতভাষটোৰ মাজত পৰিলক্ষিত হয়।

দৃশ্যানুভূতিপ্ৰকাশক চিত্ৰকল্পৰ উপৰি মিতভাষৰ মাজত স্বাণানুভূতি প্ৰকাশক চিত্ৰকল্পৰো প্ৰয়োগ দেখা যায়। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত ‘হেমন্তৰ গধূলি বিস্তীৰ্ণ পথাৰ’ শীৰ্ষক মিতভাষটো উল্লেখযোগ্য—

“হেমন্তৰ গধূলি বিস্তীৰ্ণ পথাৰখনত অকলে বহি আছোঁ। বতাহত উৰি অহা ৰূপ-বস-বৰ্ণ গন্ধহীন শুকান পাতবোৰ

আহি ভৰিৰ কাষত জমা হৈছেহি। সিহঁতৰ গোলক আৰু উটৰ ছালৰ দৰে শুকান মাটিৰ গোলক ওপঙি ফুৰিছে বতাহত।”^{২০}

উক্ত মিতভাষটোত ‘হেমন্ত’ শব্দটোৱে যিদৰে পাঠকৰ মনৰ মাজত ধান দাই শেষ হোৱাৰ পাচত উকা হৈ পৰি থকা শুকান পথাৰৰ ছবি উজ্জ্বলাই তুলিছে, একেদৰেই শুকান পাতৰ গোলক আৰু উটৰ ছালৰ দৰে শুকান মাটিৰ গোলকৰ প্ৰসঙ্গয়ো পাঠকৰ মন-মগজুত স্বাণানুভূতি জাগ্ৰত কৰি সেই কাল্পনিক চিত্ৰখনক অধিক স্পষ্ট আৰু জীৱন্ত কৰি তোলাত সহায় কৰিছে।

স্বাদানুভূতিপ্ৰকাশক চিত্ৰকল্পৰ প্ৰয়োগো মিতভাষৰ এক উল্লেখযোগ্য দিশ। স্বাদানুভূতি প্ৰকাশক চিত্ৰকল্পৰ উদাহৰণস্বৰূপে ‘কাঁইটত ওলমি আছে’ আৰু ‘পানীৰ টোত মোৰ হৃদয়’ শীৰ্ষক মিতভাষ দুটা উল্লেখযোগ্য। ‘কাঁইটত ওলমি আছে’ মিতভাষটোলৈ লক্ষ্য কৰিলে দেখা যায় যে— কাঁইটত ওলমি থকা হৃদয়ৰ পৰা ক্ষৰিত ৰক্তৰ তেজে ডোঙা বন্ধাৰ চিত্ৰৰ লগতে চিত্ৰকল্পটোৰ মাজত সংযুক্ত কৰা ‘লুণীয়া তেজ’ শব্দটোৱে অনুভূতিপ্ৰবণ পাঠকৰ মনত তেজৰ সেই লুণীয়া স্বাদৰ অনুভূতি জগাই তুলিবলৈ সক্ষম।

“কাঁইটত ওলমি আছে মোৰ হৃদয়। টোপটোপকৈ তাৰ তেজ ক্ষৰিত হৈছে আৰু তলত ডোঙা বান্ধিছে। মই তাতে গা ধুই আছোঁ। লুণীয়া তেজ। মোৰ হৃদয়ৰ পৰাই ক্ষৰিত হোৱা তেজ।”^{২১}

উক্ত মিতভাষটোৰ অনুৰূপেই ‘পানীৰ টোত মোৰ হৃদয়’ মিতভাষটোৰ মাজতো স্বাদানুভূতিপ্ৰকাশক চিত্ৰকল্পৰ প্ৰয়োগ দেখা যায়। পানীৰ টোত গজাল মাৰি ওলোমাই থোৱা হৃদয়ৰ পৰা ক্ষৰিত হোৱা কজলা পানীৰ টোপোল এটা জিভাত দি চাই কণ্ঠস্বৰৰ গৰাকীয়ে তেজৰ দৰে লুণীয়া যি স্বাদ অনুভৱ কৰিছে; সেই স্বাদানুভূতিয়ে সহৃদয় পাঠকৰ মনটো সমৰূপ অনুভূতিৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিছে।

“পানীৰ টোত গজাল মাৰি ওলোমাই থ'লোঁ মোৰ হৃদয়। প্ৰতিটো টোত যি তিতি-বুৰি জুৰুলি-জুপুৰি হৈছে। দুখ আৰু যন্ত্ৰণাত সি কাতৰ হৈছে। ক্ষৰিত হৈছে একোটোপাল কজলা পানী। জিভাত দি অনুভৱ কৰিছোঁ

তেজৰ দৰে লুণীয়া তাৰ স্বাদ।”^{২২}

আলোচ্য চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহৰ উপৰি মিতভাষৰ মাজত শ্ৰৱণানুভূতিপ্ৰকাশক চিত্ৰকল্পৰো প্ৰয়োগ দেখা যায়। শ্ৰৱণৰ অনুভূতি কঢ়িয়াই অনা চিত্ৰকল্পৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত ‘অদৃশ্য কাঁচৰ টুকুৰাৰে সাজি উলিওৱা’,

‘পৰিয়াৰ নদীত নাৰিকলৰ পাতৰ ছাঁত’,

“কপাহৰ দৰে ড

‘শব্দৰ বিষ টোপ টোপকৈ সৰি পৰে’,

‘এতিয়া হেমন্তৰ নিয়ৰ’ ইত্যাদি মিতভাষৰ প্ৰসঙ্গ উল্লেখযোগ্য। উল্লিখিত মিতভাষসমূহত উপস্থাপিত হোৱা ‘অৰণ্যৰ সুত্ৰবিৰ দৰে নাৰিকলৰ পাতত কঁপনি তুলি অহা এটা সুত্ৰবি ঘূৰি ফুৰিছিল জোনৰ ওঁঠত জিৰণি ল’বলৈ’^{২৩};

‘এতিয়া হেমন্তৰ নিয়ৰ পৰিবলৈ আৰম্ভ কৰিছে।

টোপটোপকৈ গোট খাইছেহি মোৰ ভিতৰত’^{২৪};

‘ৰঙীন কাঁচবোৰ জৰ-জৰকৈ খহি মজিয়াত সিঁচৰিত হৈ পৰিল’^{২৫};

‘প্ৰবল শিল বৰষুণে বান বানকৈ ভাঙি পেলালে মোৰ কাঁচৰ বেৰ’^{২৬}; আদি চিত্ৰকল্পই পাঠকৰ হৃদয়ত শ্ৰবণ অনুভূতি জাগ্ৰত কৰি মিতভাষৰ ব্যঞ্জনা অধিক গভীৰ আৰু হৃদয়স্পৰ্শী কৰি তোলে।

সামৰণি :

আধুনিকতাবাদী অসমীয়া সাহিত্যক, বিশেষতঃ আধুনিক অসমীয়া কবিতাক সততে দুৰ্বোধ্য বুলি কোৱা হয় আৰু ইয়াৰ কাৰণ স্বৰূপে কোৱা হয় আধুনিক সাহিত্যত ফৰাচী প্ৰতীকবাদৰ ব্যৱহাৰ। এইক্ষেত্ৰত আধুনিক কবি-সাহিত্যিকসকলৰ ব্যক্তিগত প্ৰতীকৰ প্ৰচুৰ প্ৰয়োগৰ ফলত সাহিত্যিক প্ৰকাশিত ভাব কিছু পৰিমাণে নুই কৰিব নোৱাৰি। পৰম্পৰাগত প্ৰতীকৰ প্ৰয়োগৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত আধুনিক সাহিত্যিকসকলৰ যি ধাৰণায়ে পৰম্পৰাগত প্ৰতীক সহজবোধ্য হোৱাৰ বাবে ই সাহিত্যৰ গুণাগুণ কিছু পৰিমাণে কম কৰে, এনে ধাৰণাক সম্পূৰ্ণ যুক্তিহীন হিচাপে প্ৰমাণিত কৰি নগেন শইকীয়াই মিতভাষৰ মাজত পৰম্পৰাগত প্ৰতীকৰ যি সুন্দৰ আৰু অৰ্থৰহ প্ৰয়োগ কৰিছে; ই প্ৰকৃত অৰ্থত মিতভাষসমূহৰ সাহিত্যিক মূল্য উচ্চ কৰি তোলাত সহায়ক হৈছে। ঠিক একেদৰেই সাহিত্যত ব্যৱহৃত চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহৰ মাধ্যমেৰে প্ৰকাশিত ভাবটো পাঠক আৰু শ্ৰোতাৰ অধিক হৃদয়গ্ৰাহী হয়। সেয়েহে চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহ সদায় সহজবোধ্য হোৱা আৱশ্যক। কষ্টসাধ্য চিত্ৰকল্পই সাহিত্যলৈ অযথা জটিলতা নমাই আনে ফলত পাঠকৰ বাবে সাহিত্যৰ বসাস্বাদন জটিল বিষয়লৈ পৰিণত হয়। তদুপৰি জটিল চিত্ৰকল্পৰ প্ৰয়োগ কৰিলে বুদ্ধিগ্ৰাহ্য উপায়েৰে নতুবা মননশক্তিৰ দ্বাৰা এইসমূহৰ মৰ্মাৰ্থ উপলব্ধি কৰিব লগা হোৱাৰ বাবে সাধাৰণ শ্ৰেণীৰ পাঠক এনেসমূহ সাহিত্যৰ

বসাস্বাদনৰ পৰা বঞ্চিত হয়। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত নগেন শইকীয়াৰ মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহ অতি সৰল ৰূপত উপস্থাপিত হৈছে, যি সহৃদয় পাঠকৰ হৃদয়ত অনুভূতিৰ জোৱাৰ তুলি মিতভাষৰ মৰ্মাৰ্থ উপলব্ধিত সহায়কৰ ভূমিকা গ্ৰহণ কৰিছে।

সিদ্ধান্ত :

নগেন

শইকীয়াৰ মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্প সন্দৰ্ভে কৰা বিশ্লেষণাত্মক অধ্যয়নৰ পৰা উল্লেখিত সিদ্ধান্তসমূহত উপনীত হ’ব পাৰি —

১। মিতভাষসমূহৰ মাজত গভীৰ অৰ্থৰহ প্ৰতীকৰ প্ৰয়োগ হৈছে।

২। ফৰাচী প্ৰতীকবাদৰ অনুকৰণত জটিল প্ৰতীকৰ ব্যৱহাৰৰ পৰিৱৰ্তে মিতভাষত পৰম্পৰাগত প্ৰতীকৰ সুন্দৰ প্ৰয়োগ ঘটিছে।

৩। জটিল আৰু কষ্টসাধ্য চিত্ৰকল্পৰ প্ৰয়োগৰ পৰিৱৰ্তে মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহ অতি সৰল ৰূপত উপস্থাপিত হৈছে, যি মিতভাষৰ মৰ্মাৰ্থ উপলব্ধিত সহায়কৰ ভূমিকা গ্ৰহণ কৰিছে।

৪। মিতভাষত ব্যৱহৃত চিত্ৰকল্পসমূহৰ মাধ্যমেৰে প্ৰকাশিত ভাবটো পাঠক আৰু শ্ৰোতাৰ অধিক হৃদয়গ্ৰাহী হৈছে।

প্ৰসংগসূত্ৰ :

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২. উল্লিখিত, পৃ- ১৯৪
৩. উল্লিখিত, পৃ- ২০৪
৪. উল্লিখিত, পৃ- ২০৯
৫. শইকীয়া, নগেন, মিতভাষ সমগ্ৰ, পৃ- ৩০২
৬. শইকীয়া, নগেন, মিতভাষ সমগ্ৰ, পৃ- ৩০২
৭. <https://www.khandbahle.com/all-dictionary-trenslation-of> - প্ৰতীক
৮. বৰুৱা, লোপা, আধুনিক অসমীয়া কবিতাত প্ৰতীক আৰু চিত্ৰকল্প, পৃ- ৫৯
৯. ফুকন বৰগোহাঁই, নীলাক্ষী (সম্পা.), এক অবিৰত যাত্ৰাৰ পথিক, পৃ- ১৯৯
১০. বৰা, তিলক (সম্পা.), কাব্য আৰু কাব্যতত্ত্ব, পৃ- ৩২২
১১. শইকীয়া, নগেন, মিতভাষ সমগ্ৰ, পৃ- ২৪

১২. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-৩৫
 ১৩. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-৪৬
 ১৪. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-৫২
 ১৫. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-১৫২
 ১৬. বৰুৱা, লোপা, আধুনিক অসমীয়া কবিতাত প্রতীক
 আৰু চিত্ৰকল্প, পৃ- ১১৬
 ১৭. ফুকন বৰগোহাঁই, নীলাক্ষী (সম্পা.), এক অবিৰত
 যাত্ৰাৰ পথিক, পৃ- ১৯৪
 ১৮. শইকীয়া, নগেন, মিতভাষ সমগ্র, পৃ-৮৪
 ১৯. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-২২৮
 ২০. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-৯১
 ২১. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-৬০
 ২২. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-৫১
 ২৩. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-২৮৪
 ২৪. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-১০৭
 ২৫. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-২৯৭
 ২৬. উল্লিখিত, পৃ-

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 প্ৰকাশ, ২০১৪, মুদ্ৰিত

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 অসমীয়া কবিতাৰ তিনিটা স্তৰ, লাবন্য প্ৰকাশন,
 গুৱাহাটী, ২০০৯, মুদ্ৰিত

ফুকন বৰগোহাঁই, নীলাক্ষী (সম্পা.), এক অবিৰত যাত্ৰাৰ
 পথিক নগেন শইকীয়া, পূৰ্বাঞ্চল
 প্ৰকাশ, ডিব্ৰুগড়, ২০১৪, মুদ্ৰিত

বৰা, দিলিপ, গৱেষণা পদ্ধতি বিতৰ্ক আৰু সিদ্ধান্ত, বেখা
 প্ৰকাশন, গুৱাহাটী, ২০১৭, মুদ্ৰিত

বৰুৱা, তিলক (সম্পা.), কাব্য আৰু কাব্যতত্ত্ব, কৌস্তভ
 প্ৰকাশন, ডিব্ৰুগড়, ২০১২, মুদ্ৰিত
 শইকীয়া, নগেন, মিতভাষ
 সমগ্র, পেৰিপাচ, গুৱাহাটী, ২০১৪, মুদ্ৰিত

লেখক :

প্ৰাধ্যাপক, মহাপুৰুষ শ্ৰীমন্ত শংকৰদেৱ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়
 গৱেষক, মহাপুৰুষ শ্ৰীমন্ত শংকৰদেৱ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ বিজ্ঞানসন্মত চৰ্চা : এক অধ্যয়ন

জোন কুমাৰ কলিতা

সংক্ষিপ্তসাৰ

ভাষা একোটাৰ চৰ্চা কৰাটো অত্যন্ত জৰুৰী। সময়ৰ লগে লগে ভাষা এটাৰ পৰিৱৰ্তন স্বাভাৱিক প্ৰক্ৰিয়া। বিকশিত ভাষা সদাই পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ মাজেৰে আগবাঢ়ে। এনে পৰিৱৰ্তন ধ্বনিগত, ৰূপগত, শব্দগত, বাক্যগত হ'ব পাৰে। সমানুপাতিকভাৱে ভাষাটোৱে সমাজ-সংস্কৃতিকো প্ৰতিনিধিত্ব কৰি আগবাঢ়ি যায়। ভাষা একোটা হোৱা পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ এই বিভিন্নতা জ্ঞাত হ'বলৈ ভাষাটোৰ চৰ্চাও হ'ব লাগিব। ভাষাটোৰ চৰ্চাৰ যোগেৰে তাত থকা তাৰতম্য সমূহ ভেদ কৰি ল'ব পাৰি। ভাষা এটাৰ বিভিন্ন সময়ত বিভিন্ন দিশত হোৱা চৰ্চাই উত্তৰ প্ৰজন্মৰ বাবে ভাষাটো অৱগত হোৱাৰ পথ মুকলি কৰে। অসমীয়া ভাষাটোকো বিভিন্ন সময়ত বিভিন্ন ভাষাবিদে কৰা চৰ্চাৰ যোগেৰে এই ভাষাৰ সময়ে সময়ে ঘটা তাৰতম্য সম্পৰ্কে জ্ঞাত হ'ব পাৰি।

বীজ শব্দ : অসমীয়া ভাষা, বিজ্ঞানসন্মত, ভাষাচৰ্চা।

অৱতৰণিকা :

বিষয়ৰ পৰিচয় : অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ জগতখন বহু পৰিমাণে চহকী। মিছনেৰী সকলৰ সময়ৰ পৰাই অসমত ব্যাকৰণৰ যোগেৰে ভাষাচৰ্চা হৈ আহিছে। স্তৰে স্তৰে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ বিভিন্নতা সম্পৰ্কে, ভাষাটোৰ বৈশিষ্ট্য সম্পৰ্কে গ্ৰন্থ আদিত বিভিন্ন ব্যাকৰণবিদ তথা ভাষাবিদসকলে আলোচনা কৰি আহিছে। অতি কম সময়ৰ ভিতৰতে অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চাই বিকাশ লাভ কৰিছে। এনে চৰ্চা বিভিন্ন গ্ৰন্থ, পত্ৰিকা, আলোচনী আদিৰ যোগেৰেও হৈছে বুলি ক'ব পাৰি।

উদ্দেশ্য আৰু প্ৰয়োজনীয়তা : অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা বিভিন্ন সময়ত বিভিন্ন ধৰণে হৈছে। এই চৰ্চা আলোচনী পত্ৰিকা, গ্ৰন্থ, বক্তৃতা অনুষ্ঠান, আলোচনা সত্ৰ আদিতো প্ৰাপ্ত হৈছে। এনে চৰ্চাৰ গতি-প্ৰকৃতি জানিবৰ বাবে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা কৰাৰ প্ৰয়োজনীয়তা আছে। সেয়েহে এই প্ৰয়োজনীয়তাৰ প্ৰতি দৃষ্টি ৰাখি এনে উদ্দেশ্যতেই অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা সম্পৰ্কীয় আলোচনা কৰিবলৈ প্ৰয়াস কৰা হৈছে।

অধ্যয়নৰ পৰিসৰ আৰু পদ্ধতি : এই আলোচনাৰ পৰিসৰত অসমীয়া ভাষাত ব্যাকৰণৰ যোগেৰে হোৱা ভাষাচৰ্চা, ভাষাবিষয়ক গ্ৰন্থৰ যোগেৰে হোৱা ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা, আলোচনী, গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থৰ যোগেৰে হোৱা ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ দিশ

সামৰি লোৱা হৈছে। এই আলোচনা কৰোঁতে বিশ্লেষণাত্মক পদ্ধতি গ্ৰহণ কৰা হৈছে।

তথ্য আহৰণৰ উৎস :

অসমীয়া ভাষা চৰ্চাৰ দিশটো বিচাৰ বিশ্লেষণ কৰোঁতে বিভিন্ন ভাষাবিষয়ক গ্ৰন্থ আৰু ব্যাকৰণৰ পুথিৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে। তদুপৰি বিষয়টোৰ লগত সংগতি ৰাখি বিভিন্ন গ্ৰন্থ, আলোচনী, গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে।

অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা :

অসমীয়া ভাষাত বিভিন্ন সময়ত বিভিন্ন বিষয়ৰ যোগেৰে ভাষাটোৰ চৰ্চা হোৱা পৰিলক্ষিত হৈছে। এনে চৰ্চা খ্ৰীষ্টান মিছনেৰীসকলৰ ব্যাকৰণৰ যোগেৰে আৰম্ভণি হোৱা বুলি ক'ব পাৰি। পৰৱৰ্তী সময়ত অসমীয়া ভাষাবিদ তথা ব্যাকৰণবিদৰ হাতত ভাষাটোৰ চৰ্চাই গতি লাভ কৰে। এই চৰ্চাৰ দিশক এনেধৰণে বিভাজন কৰি আলোচনা কৰাৰ প্ৰয়াস কৰা হৈছে-

ব্যাকৰণৰ যোগেৰে ভাষাচৰ্চা :

১৮৩৯ খ্ৰীঃত শ্ৰীৰামপুৰ প্ৰেছৰ পৰা ইংৰাজী ভাষাত প্ৰকাশ কৰা ইংৰাজ বিষয়া উইলিয়াম ৰবিণ্ডনৰ 'A Grammar of the Assamese Language' গ্ৰন্থৰ যোগেদি অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ প্ৰথম ব্যাকৰণৰ সূচনা হয়। ৰবিণ্ডনৰ

ব্যাকৰণখন ৰচনাৰ মূলতে প্ৰশাসনিক স্বার্থ জড়িত থাকিলেও অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ 'ব' আখৰৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্তি আছিল ব্যাকৰণখনৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত এক উল্লেখযোগ্য দিশ। অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ বৈশিষ্ট্য দেখুৱালেও ভালেমান অশুদ্ধ প্ৰয়োগো দেখা যায়। তথাপিও অসমীয়া ব্যাকৰণৰ প্ৰথম আৰ্হি হিচাপে উইলিয়াম ৰবিণ্ডনৰ ব্যাকৰণখনৰ গুৰুত্ব ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত সদায় অনুকৰণীয়।

উইলিয়াম ৰবিণ্ডনৰ পৰৱৰ্তী কালত আমেৰিকান মিছনেৰী নাথান ব্ৰাউনে ১৮৪৮ চনত 'Grammatical Notices of the Assamese Language' নামৰ ইংৰাজী ভাষাত অসমীয়া ব্যাকৰণ ৰচনা কৰে। ব্ৰাউনে অসমীয়া আৰু বাংলা ভাষাৰ পাৰ্থক্য অনুধাৱন কৰিব পাৰিছিল লগতে বাংলা ভাষা যে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ পিতৃভাষা নহয় সেয়াও তেওঁ অনুমান কৰিব পাৰিছিল। ব্ৰাউনে আধুনিক ভাষা বিজ্ঞানৰ তত্ত্ব উদ্ভাৱনৰ পূৰ্বেই শিৱসাগৰ অঞ্চলৰ ভাষাৰ ধ্বনিগত আৰু ৰূপগত দিশত গাঁথনিক বৰ্ণনা দাঙি ধৰিছিল।

১৮৫৯ চনত প্ৰকাশিত হেমচন্দ্ৰ বৰুৱাৰ 'অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ব্যাকৰণ'খন প্ৰথম অসমীয়া ভাষাত ৰচিত ব্যাকৰণ আছিল। হেমচন্দ্ৰ বৰুৱাই তেওঁৰ ব্যাকৰণখনৰ নিজস্ব আখৰ জেঁটনিৰ নীতি অনুসৰি ৰচনা কৰি অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ভেটি সুদৃঢ় কৰি থৈ গৈছিল। হেমচন্দ্ৰ বৰুৱাৰ ব্যাকৰণখনত সংস্কৃতীয়া প্ৰভাৱ পৰিলেও প্ৰথমবাৰৰ বাবে তেওঁৰ ব্যাকৰণখনতেই অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ সমাস, ধাতু, ক্ৰিয়া প্ৰকৰণ, ছন্দ, লক্ষণা আদিৰ আলোচনা হৈছে। উক্ত ব্যাকৰণখনে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ পৰিভাষা নিৰ্ণয়ৰ লগতে আধুনিক অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ওপৰতো প্ৰভাৱ বিস্তাৰ কৰিছে। পৰৱৰ্তী সময়ত যিবোৰ ভাষাবিদে ব্যাকৰণ ৰচনা কৰিছে সেইবোৰৰ আৰ্হি 'অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ব্যাকৰণ' আছিল।

ইয়াৰ পৰৱৰ্তী সময়ছোৱাত ঊনবিংশ শতিকাৰ শেষৰ ফালে দীনবন্দু তৰ্কালংকাৰ, ধৰ্মেশ্বৰ গোস্বামী, নাৰায়ণ শৰ্মা বিদ্যাভূষণ আদি লোকে ছাত্ৰ ছাত্ৰীৰ উপযোগীভাৱে ব্যাকৰণ কেইখনমান ৰচনা কৰিছিল। একেদৰে কুৰি শতিকাৰ প্ৰথমাদ্ৰ্ধত শৰৎচন্দ্ৰ গোস্বামী, হৰমোহন দাস, কালিচৰণ পাটোৱাৰী, সোনাৰাম চৌধুৰী আদিয়ে স্কুলীয়া ছাত্ৰ-ছাত্ৰীক কেন্দ্ৰ কৰি কিছুসংখ্যক ব্যাকৰণ প্ৰণয়ন কৰিছিল।

হেমচন্দ্ৰ বৰুৱাই ৰচনা কৰা ব্যাকৰণৰ পিছৰ পৰ্যায়ত ভালেমান ব্যাকৰণবিদে ব্যাকৰণ ৰচনা কৰিলেও ১৯২৫ চনত প্ৰকাশ হৈ ওলোৱা সত্যনাথ বৰাৰ 'বহল

ব্যাকৰণ' খনহে উল্লেখযোগ্য ব্যাকৰণ। এই ব্যাকৰণ সত্যনাথ বৰাই বিজ্ঞানসন্মতভাৱে বিশ্লেষণ কৰিবলৈ চেষ্টা কৰিছিল। সত্যনাথ বৰাৰ ব্যাকৰণখন হেমচন্দ্ৰ বৰুৱাৰ ব্যাকৰণৰ তুলনাত অধিক বৰ্ণনাত্মক আছিল, মূলতে পৰৱৰ্তী সময়ত উক্ত ব্যাকৰণখনো ব্যাকৰণবিদসকলক প্ৰভাৱিত কৰিছিল।

১৮৫৫ চনত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা আনন্দৰাম ঢেকিয়াল ফুকনৰ 'A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language and on Vernacular Education in Assam' ব্যাকৰণ চৰ্চাৰ অন্যতম এখন পুস্তিকা। পুস্তিকাখনিত তেওঁ অসমীয়া আৰু বাংলা ভাষাৰ তুলনামূলক আলোচনা দাঙি ধৰি অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ স্বকীয়তা প্ৰতিপন্ন কৰি থৈ গৈছিল।

স্কুলীয়া পৰ্যায়ত গতানুগতিকভাৱে কুৰি শতিকাৰ শেষলৈকে ভালেমান ব্যাকৰণ ৰচিত হোৱা দেখা যায়। আশীৰ দশকৰ পৰা কুৰি শতিকাৰ শেষলৈকে ৰচিত কিছুমান ব্যাকৰণৰ ভিতৰত উপেন্দ্ৰনাথ গোস্বামীৰ 'অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ৰূপকথা' (১৯৭৪), গোলোকচন্দ্ৰ গোস্বামীৰ 'অসমীয়া গোলোক ব্যাকৰণ' (প্ৰবোধ ভাগ-১৯৭২, সুবোধ ভাগ-১৯৭৪), 'অসমীয়া ব্যাকৰণ প্ৰৱেশ' (২০০০), ৰমেশ পাঠকৰ 'ব্যাকৰণ আৰু প্ৰাকৃতি বিজ্ঞান' (১৯৮৮) আদি ব্যাকৰণে বিশেষ ধৰণে দৃষ্টি আকৰ্ষণ কৰিছে।

আহোম যুগৰপৰা অসমৰ অভিধান ৰচনাৰ ইতিহাস আছে যদিও প্ৰকৃতপক্ষে আমেৰিকান মিছনেৰী মাইলছ ব্ৰনছনৰ 'অচমীয়া ইংৰাজী অভিধান'ৰ যোগেদিহে অসমীয়া আধুনিক যুগত অভিধানে প্ৰৱেশ লাভ কৰে। এই অভিধানখন সম্পূৰ্ণ দোষমুক্ত নহ'লেও অনা-অসমীয়া লোক এজনে অসমীয়া অভিধান ৰচনা কৰাটো প্ৰশংসনীয়। হেমচন্দ্ৰ বৰুৱাই ১৯০০ চনত প্ৰকাশ কৰা 'হেমকোষ' অসমীয়া ভাষা সাহিত্যৰ অন্যতম অৱদান। হেমচন্দ্ৰ বৰুৱাই তেওঁৰ 'হেমকোষ'ত প্ৰয়োজন হোৱা আটাইবোৰ দিশ প্ৰয়োগ কৰা দেখা যায়। 'হেমকোষ'ৰ পিছৰ পৰ্যায়ত বিভিন্ন ধৰণৰ অভিধান ৰচিত হৈছে। অসম সাহিত্য সভাই প্ৰকাশ কৰা 'চন্দ্ৰকান্ত অভিধান' (১৯৩৩), গিৰিধৰ শৰ্মাৰ 'অসমীয়া অভিধান' (১৯৫২), সত্যেন্দ্ৰনাথ শৰ্মা আৰু নৰেন্দ্ৰনাথ শৰ্মাৰ 'ব্যৱহাৰিক শব্দকোষ' (১৯৭১), মহেশ্বৰ নেওগ, ৰজনীকান্ত দেৱশৰ্মা আৰু নৰকান্ত বৰুৱাৰ দ্বাৰা প্ৰণীত 'আধুনিক অসমীয়া অভিধান' (১৯৬৭), সুমন্ত চলিহাৰ 'আধুনিক

অসমীয়া শব্দকোষ' (১৯৯১), উপেন্দ্রনাথ গোস্বামীৰ 'মণি মাণিক 'অসমীয়া শব্দকোষ' (১৯৯৮) বসন্ত কুমাৰ গোস্বামীৰ 'অসমীয়া ব্যৱহাৰিক অভিধান' (২০১৪), ৰমেশ পাঠকৰ 'সামগ্ৰিক অসমীয়া শব্দকোষ' (২০১৭) আদি ৰচিত হ'লেও 'হেমকোষ'খনৰ আজিও উৎকৃষ্টতা অব্যাহত আছে।

ভাষাবিষয়ক গ্ৰন্থৰ যোগেৰে ভাষাচৰ্চা :

আধুনিক ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ চৰ্চা তুলনামূলকভাৱে অসমত নতুন বুলিব পাৰি। ঐতিহাসিক পদ্ধতিৰে প্ৰধানভাৱে অসমত ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ আৰম্ভণি ঘটিছিল। এই পদ্ধতিৰে ভাষাচৰ্চা কৰোঁতাসকলৰ ভিতৰত জৰ্জ আৱাহাম গ্ৰীয়াৰ্ছনৰ নাম প্ৰথমতে ল'ব পাৰি। গ্ৰীয়াৰ্ছনৰ 'Linguistics survey of India' প্ৰথম খণ্ডৰ প্ৰথম অংশৰ আৰু পঞ্চম খণ্ডৰ প্ৰথম অংশত অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ আলোচনা কৰিছে। গ্ৰীয়াৰ্ছনে গ্ৰন্থখনত অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ মূল নিৰ্ণয়, অসমীয়া ধ্বনিৰ উচ্চাৰণ বৈশিষ্ট্য ইত্যাদি সম্পৰ্কে নতুনত্ব দাঙি ধৰিবলৈ সক্ষম হৈছে। পূৰ্বৰ ৰীতিৰ পৰা ফালৰি কাটি আহি নতুন দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীৰে গ্ৰীয়াৰ্ছনে উক্ত গ্ৰন্থখন ৰচনা কৰিছে। স্বকীয় ভাষা বুলি মৰ্যাদা প্ৰদান কৰাৰ লগতে অসমীয়া ভাষাটোক মাগধী অপভ্ৰংশৰপৰা উদ্ভৱ হোৱা বুলি মন্তব্য দিছে। যদিও এই গ্ৰন্থখন সম্পূৰ্ণ ৰূপে দোষমুক্ত নহয় তথাপি ভাৰতীয় ভাষিক পটভূমিত অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ স্থান দি বিশেষ উপকাৰ সাধন কৰি গৈছে।

অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত দেৱানন্দ ভৰালীৰ নাম বিশেষভাৱে উল্লেখনীয়। তেওঁৰ 'অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ মৌলিক বিচাৰ' (১৯১২) নামৰ গ্ৰন্থৰ যোগেৰে পাশ্চাত্যৰ ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ প্ৰৱেশ ঘটে। গোলোকচন্দ্ৰ গোস্বামীয়ে উক্ত গ্ৰন্থখনক অসম তথা সমগ্ৰ ভাৰতৰ ভিতৰতে ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ প্ৰথম পুথি বুলি উল্লেখ কৰিছে। যদিও গ্ৰন্থখন সম্পূৰ্ণৰূপে বিজ্ঞানসন্মত ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ পুথি নহয় তথাপিও অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ জন্মৰ প্ৰসংগত সৌমাৰ প্ৰাকৃতৰ কথা কৈছে। তেওঁৰ গ্ৰন্থখনৰ আলোচনা শৃংখলাবদ্ধ নাছিল যদিও অসমীয়া ঐতিহাসিক ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ ভেটি স্থাপন কৰাত তেওঁৰ অৱদান অনস্বীকাৰ্য।

১৯৯১২ চনত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা দেৱেন্দ্ৰনাথ বেজবৰুৱাৰ 'অসমীয়া ভাষা আৰু সাহিত্যৰ বুৰঞ্জী'ত তেওঁ অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ কিছু কথা আলোচনা কৰিছে। অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ বুৰঞ্জীৰ যুগ বিভাজনৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত পোন প্ৰথমতে দেৱেন্দ্ৰনাথ বেজবৰুৱাৰ নাম উল্লেখযোগ্য। ভাষাৰ স্বকীয়তা

প্ৰতিপন্ন কৰিবলৈ গৈ এই গ্ৰন্থখনত তেওঁ অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ মূল সংস্কৃত ভাষা বুলি কোৱাৰ লগতে অসমীয়া ভাষাক বাংলা ভাষাতকৈ প্ৰাচীন বুলি কৈছে।

১৯১৩ চনত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা বেণুধৰ ৰাজখোৱাৰ 'Notes on the Sylhetee Dialect' গ্ৰন্থখন অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত উল্লেখযোগ্য অৱদান। গ্ৰন্থখনত বেণুধৰ ৰাজখোৱাই এসময়ৰ চিলেটৰ ভাষা যে অসমীয়া আছিল সেই কথা দেখুৱাইছে। তাৰ যুক্তিত অসমীয়া আৰু চিলেটী ভাষাৰ মাজত সাদৃশ্য দেখুৱাইছে। আনহাতে বাংলা ভাষাৰ লগত চিলেটী ভাষাৰ বৈসাদৃশ্য দেখুৱাইছে।

উল্লিখিত গ্ৰন্থবিলাকৰ মাজত ভাষা বিষয়ক বিশ্লেষণ পোৱা গ'লেও উক্ত গ্ৰন্থসমূহক বিশুদ্ধ ভাষা বিজ্ঞানৰ গ্ৰন্থ বুলি ক'ব নোৱাৰি। প্ৰথমবাৰৰ বাবে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ আলোচনা পোৱা বিশুদ্ধ ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ গ্ৰন্থ হিচাপে সুনীতি কুমাৰ চট্টোপাধ্যায়ৰ 'The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language (১৯২৬)' গ্ৰন্থখনৰ নাম উল্লেখনীয়। অসমীয়া ভাষাটোক তেওঁ মাগধী প্ৰাকৃতৰ অন্তৰ্গত বুলি কৈছে। চট্টোপাধ্যায়ে বাংলা উপভাষা আৰু অসমীয়া ভাষাক এটা শাখাৰে বুলি বৰ্ণনা দি বাংলা আৰু অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ মাজত সাদৃশ্য দেখুৱাইছে।

কালিৰাম মেধিৰ 'অসমীয়া ব্যাকৰণ আৰু ভাষাতত্ত্ব' (১৯৩৬) অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ উল্লেখযোগ্য অৱদান। গ্ৰন্থখন সম্পূৰ্ণৰূপে ব্যাকৰণৰ গ্ৰন্থও নহয়; ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ গ্ৰন্থও নহয়। তদুপৰি গ্ৰন্থখন গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থ নহ'লেও উক্ত গ্ৰন্থখনৰ পাতনিত অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ উৎপত্তি, উপাদান আদিৰ আলোচনা সন্নিবিষ্ট।

অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ ঐতিহাসিক দিশত বাণীকান্ত কাকতিৰ 'Assamese : Its Formation and Development (১৯৯৪)' গ্ৰন্থখন মাইলৰ খুটিস্বৰূপ। কিয়নো পোণ প্ৰথমবাৰৰ বাবে এই গ্ৰন্থখনতেই ঐতিহাসিক ধাৰাৰে অসমীয়া ভাষাক বিজ্ঞানসন্মতভাৱে বিচাৰ বিশ্লেষণ কৰিছিল। গ্ৰীয়াৰ্ছন, চেটাৰ্জী আদি পণ্ডিতৰ দৰে বাণীকান্ত কাকতিয়েও অসমীয়া ভাষাটোক মাগধী প্ৰাকৃতৰ পৰা উদ্ভৱ হোৱা বুলি কৈছে। এই গ্ৰন্থখনত অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ধ্বনিতত্ত্ব আৰু ৰূপতত্ত্বৰ ঐতিহাসিক বিচাৰ বিশ্লেষণ পোৱা যায়। প্ৰথমবাৰৰ বাবে এই গ্ৰন্থখনতেই অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ উপভাষাৰ

ক্ষেত্ৰত অধ্যয়ন কৰা দেখা গৈছে। পৰৱৰ্তী কালত এই গ্ৰন্থৰ আলমতেই উপভাষাৰ বহুতো আলোচনা হৈছে।

ঐতিহাসিক ধাৰাৰে বিচাৰ বিশ্লেষণ কৰা কেইখনমান ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ গ্ৰন্থ হৈছে দেৱেশ্বৰ চলিহাৰ ‘Origin and Growth of the Assamese Language and its Literature’ (১৯৪৯), ডিম্বেশ্বৰ নেওগৰ ‘The Origin and Growth of the Assamiya Language’ (১৯৬৪), বিশ্বেশ্বৰ হাজৰিকাৰ ‘Assamese Language Origin and Development’ (১৯৮৫)। উক্ত গ্ৰন্থকেইখনত ভাষাবিদকেইগৰাকীৰ নিজস্ব দৃষ্টিভংগী লক্ষ্য কৰিব পাৰি।

ভাৰতবৰ্ষত বৃটিছ যুগত স্থাপন হোৱা কোলকাতাৰ এছিয়াটিক ছ’ছাইটি আৰু লিংগুইষ্টিক ছ’ছাইটি অব ইণ্ডিয়াই (লাহোৰ, কলকাতা, পুণে) আধুনিক ভাষাবিজ্ঞান চৰ্চাৰ বাটকটীয়া যদিও ১৯৫৪ চনত পুনেৰ ডেকান কলেজত মাৰ্কিন যুক্তৰাষ্ট্ৰৰ বৰফেলাৰ ফাৰ্ড্‌গেশ্যন আৰু লিংগুইষ্টিক ছ’ছাইটি অৱ ইণ্ডিয়াই যুটীয়াভাৱে স্থাপন কৰা ‘স্কুল অৱ লিংগুইষ্টিকৰ জৰিয়তে আধুনিক ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ এটি ভাৰতীয় ধাৰাৰ শুভাৰম্ভ হয়। (বৰা আৰু পাটগিৰি, পৃ. ২)। ১৯৫৪ চনত পুনেত স্কুল অৱ লিংগুইষ্টিকচৰ প্ৰথম সত্ৰত ভাগ ল’বলৈ যোৱা অসমৰ তিনিগৰাকী পণ্ডিত হৈছে- উপেন্দ্ৰনাথ গোস্বামী, গোলোকচন্দ্ৰ গোস্বামী, প্ৰমোদচন্দ্ৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্য। (বৰা আৰু পাটগিৰি, পৃষ্ঠা-২)।

এইসকল গৱেষকে ডেকান কলেজত ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ ডেৰমহীয়া প্ৰশিক্ষণ লৈ ভাষাবিজ্ঞান অধ্যয়নত যথেষ্ট সচেতন হৈ পৰিছিল। উপেন্দ্ৰনাথ গোস্বামীয়ে ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ নতুন পদ্ধতিৰ শিক্ষা লাভ কৰি অসমীয়া ভাষাত উপভাষাৰ লগতে জনজাতীয় ভাষাৰ বিশেষকৈ দেউৰী ভাষাৰ বিশ্লেষণত যথেষ্ট কাম কৰে। উপেন্দ্ৰনাথ গোস্বামীয়ে ‘A Study on Kamrupi: A Dialect of Assamese’ (১৯৭০), ‘An Introduction to Dewry Language’ (১৯৯৪), ‘ভাষাবিজ্ঞান’ (১৯৬৪), ‘অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ৰূপকথা’ (১৯৬৪), ‘অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ব্যাকৰণ’ (১৯৯৮), ‘অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ উদ্ভৱ, সমৃদ্ধি আৰু বিকাশ’ (১৯৯৯) আদি গ্ৰন্থ লিখি অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ বিজ্ঞানসন্মত চৰ্চালৈ যথেষ্ট বৰঙণি আগবঢ়াইছে। উপেন্দ্ৰনাথ গোস্বামীৰ গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থ ‘A Study on Kamrupi: A

Dialect of Assamese’ ৰ আঁত ধৰি পৰৱৰ্তী সময়ত বিভিন্নজন ব্যক্তিয়ে ভাষা একোটাৰ উপভাষা, স্থানীয় ৰূপৰ বিশ্লেষণ দাঙি ধৰিবলৈ সুযোগ লাভ কৰিছে। তদুপৰি উল্লেখযোগ্য কথা যে ঐতিহাসিক ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ দিশ চলি থকা সময়তে উপেন্দ্ৰনাথ গোস্বামীয়ে বৰ্ণনাত্মক তথা গাঁথনিক ধাৰাৰ যোগেৰে ভাষাচৰ্চা কৰিবলৈ লয়। ইতিমধ্যে উল্লেখ কৰি অহা ‘অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ৰূপকথা’, ‘অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ব্যাকৰণ’, ‘An Introduction to Assamese’, ‘A Study on Kamrupi: A Dialect of Assamese’, আদি গ্ৰন্থ বৰ্ণনাত্মক তথা গাঁথনিক ধাৰাৰে বিশ্লেষণ কৰিছে।

গোলোকচন্দ্ৰ গোস্বামীয়ে নিউয়ৰ্কৰ বৰফেলাৰ ফাউণ্ডেচনৰ ফেল’শ্বিপ লৈ বৰ্ণনাত্মক ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ প্ৰশিক্ষণ গ্ৰহণ কৰি ৰচনা গ্ৰন্থ কেইখনমান হৈছে- ‘An Introduction to Assamese Phonology’ (১৯৬৬), অসমীয়া বৰ্ণ প্ৰকাশ’ (১৯৬৯), ‘ধ্বনিবিজ্ঞানৰ ভূমিকা’ (১৯৯৮), ‘Structure of Assamese’ (১৯৯৮), ‘ধ্বনিবিজ্ঞানৰ ভূমিকা’ (১৯৯৮), গ্ৰন্থখনৰ বাহিৰেও গোস্বামীয়ে বাকী গ্ৰন্থকেইখন গাঁথনিক দিশেৰে বিশ্লেষণ কৰিছে।

প্ৰমোদচন্দ্ৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যই অসমত অনাৰ্য ভাষাৰ অধ্যয়নৰ লগতে অসমীয়া ভাষা চৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰখনতো গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ ভূমিকা গ্ৰহণ কৰিছে। তেওঁৰ ‘A Bodo Language’ নামৰ গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থখনৰ আলম লৈ পৰৱৰ্তী কালত ভালেমান লোকে বৰো ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা কৰিবলৈ আগবাঢ়ি আহিছে। সত্যেন্দ্ৰনাৰায়ণ গোস্বামীৰ অপ্ৰকাশিত গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থ ‘Historical Grammar of Assamese Language’ ঐতিহাসিক ধাৰাৰে বিচাৰ কৰা গ্ৰন্থ। পৰৱৰ্তী সময়ত তেওঁ কেইবাটাও অনাৰ্য ভাষাৰ অধ্যয়ন কৰাৰ লগতে কেইবাজনো গৱেষকৰ তত্ত্বাৱধায়ক হৈ অসমীয়া আৰু জনজাতীয় ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰখনৰ যথেষ্ট অৱদান আগবঢ়াইছে।

ভাষাবিজ্ঞানী ভীমকান্ত বৰুৱাই কেইবাখনো গ্ৰন্থ ৰচনা কৰাৰ লগতে কেইবাজনো গৱেষকৰ তত্ত্বাৱধান কৰি গৱেষণা কৰ্মৰ যোগেৰে অসমৰ ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰখন সাৰুৱা কৰি তুলিছে। একেদৰে গৱেষক নগেন ঠাকুৰৰ গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থ প্ৰকাশ হৈ নোলালেও কেইবাজনো গৱেষক তেওঁৰ অধীনত গৱেষণা কৰিছে। তেওঁৰ ‘পালি-প্ৰাকৃত-অপভ্ৰংশ ভাষা আৰু

সাহিত্য' (১১৯৮৪), 'অসমীয়া ভাষা', 'পৃথিৱীৰ বিভিন্ন ভাষা' (১১৯৮৪), 'ভাষা আৰু ভাষা চিন্তা'(২২০০৩) আদি উল্লেখযোগ্য গ্ৰন্থ। ভগৱান মৰলৰ 'Symantics of Assamese' নামৰ গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থখন ছপা হৈ ওলোৱা নাই যদিও তেওঁৰ উল্লেখযোগ্য গ্ৰন্থকেইখনমান হৈছে - 'ভাষাৰ্থ বিজ্ঞান' (১৯৮৬), 'আধুনিক ভাষাবিজ্ঞান' (১৯৯৮), 'অসমীয়া ব্যাকৰণ জ্যোতি' (১৯৭৪)।

বৰ্তমান সময়তো ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰখনত কাম কৰি থকা ৰমেশ পাঠকৰ 'Studies in Assamese Vocabulary' নামৰ গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থখন ঐতিহাসিক পদ্ধতিত বিচাৰ বিশ্লেষণ কৰিছে তদুপৰি স্নাতক আৰু স্নাতকোত্তৰ পৰ্যায়ৰ গ্ৰন্থ কেতবোৰ ৰচনা কৰি ভাষাচৰ্চাত বিশেষ কৃতিত্ব প্ৰদৰ্শন কৰিছে।

নোৱম চমস্কি প্ৰৱৰ্ত্তিত TG Grammar ৰ আলম লৈ ৰণিমা চৌধুৰীৰ 'আনাফ'ৰা ইন আছামিকঃ এ জি. বি. এক্সপ'জিচন (২০০১) অপ্ৰকাশিত গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থত আৰু মধুমিতা বৰবৰাৰ অপ্ৰকাশিত 'কমপ্লিমেন্টাইজাৰ ইন আছামিক ইমপ্লিকেশ্বনছ ফৰ ছেকেণ্ড লেণ্ডুৱেজ একুইজিছন' (২০০১) আদি গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থত অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ দুই এটা দিশৰ ওপৰত আলোকপাত হৈছে। সমাজ ভাষাবৈজ্ঞানিক ধাৰাতো দুই-এজন গৱেষক অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ আলোচনা দাঙি ধৰা দেখা গৈছে। বিশ্বজিৎ দাসৰ 'গুৱাহাটীৰ অসমীয়া ভাষা সম্প্ৰদায়ৰ ভাষাৰ সমাজ ভাষাবৈজ্ঞানিক বিশ্লেষণ' (২০০৫), ফনেন্দ্ৰ চন্দ্ৰ ঠাকুৰীয়াৰ 'দক্ষিণ কামৰূপৰ অনুসূচীত সম্প্ৰদায়ৰ সমাজ আৰু কথিত অসমীয়া, নগেন কলিতাৰ 'কামৰূপ জিলাৰ চৰ অঞ্চলৰ কথিত অসমীয়া ভাষা এটি সমাজ ভাষাবৈজ্ঞানিক অধ্যয়ন' (১১৯৯৭) আদি গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থৰ অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা কিছু পৰিমাণে হৈছে।

তুলনামূলক পদ্ধতিৰেও অসমীয়া ভাষা বিষয়ক গৱেষণা কৰা দেখা গৈছে। ধীৰেন্দ্ৰ নাথ দাসৰ 'দা ডায়েলেক্ট অব গোৱালপাৰা এণ্ড কামৰূপঃ এ কম্পাৰেটিভ ষ্টাডি (১১৯৯৯০), অনিমা চৌধুৰীৰ 'গোৱালপাৰীয়া ডায়েলেক্টঃ এ ক্ৰিটিকেল ষ্টাডি' (১১৯৯৯২), অনুপমা বৰ্মনৰ 'ছয়গাওঁ আৰু নলবাৰীৰ কথিত অসমীয়া ভাষাঃ এটি তুলনাত্মক অধ্যয়ন (১৯৯৪), বিভা ভৰালীৰ 'কামৰূপী উপভাষাঃ স্থানীয় ৰূপসমূহৰ এক তুলনামূলক অধ্যয়ন' (২০০০), দীপ্তি

ফুকন পাটগিৰিৰ 'Assamese and Oriya Language: A Comparative Study' (2012) আদি গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থৰ মাজেৰে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ তুলনামূলক দিশৰ আলোচনা হৈছে।

আলোচনী, পত্ৰিকা আদিৰ যোগেৰে ভাষাচৰ্চা :

আলোচনী, গৱেষণা পত্ৰিকা আদিয়েও অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ চৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰখন প্ৰশস্ত কৰাত সহায় কৰিছে। গুৱাহাটী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ৰ অসমীয়া বিভাগৰ দ্বাৰা প্ৰকাশ হৈ ওলোৱা 'অন্বেষণ' নামৰ গৱেষণা পত্ৰিকাতো অসমীয়া ভাষা সম্বন্ধীয় প্ৰবন্ধ কেতবোৰ প্ৰকাশ হৈ ওলাইছে। দেৱপ্ৰতীম

হাজৰিকাৰ 'ড° দীপংকৰ মৰলৰ ভাষাচিন্তা আৰু অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ উপভাষা চৰ্চা', দীপ্তি ফুকন পাটগিৰিৰ 'অসমীয়া আৰু ভোজপুৰী ভাষাঃ এটি তুলনামূলক অধ্যয়ন' উপেন ৰাভা হাকাচামৰ 'অসমীয়া কথন বিন্যাসঃ এটি অধ্যয়ন', বিভা ভৰালীৰ 'কামৰূপী উপভাষাঃ বাক্যতাত্ত্বিক বিচাৰ' আদিৰ যোগেৰে অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ কিছু দিশ উন্মোচিত হৈছে। বিভিন্ন সংখ্যাত অন্বেষণত প্ৰকাশিত হোৱা ভাষা সম্বন্ধীয় আন কিছুমান প্ৰবন্ধৰ যোগেৰেও অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ দিশটো উন্মোচিত হৈছে।

'গৰীয়সী', 'সাতসৰী', 'প্ৰান্তিক', 'প্ৰকাশ' ইত্যাদি আলোচনীৰ পাততো অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা কিছু পৰিমাণে হৈছে। প্ৰান্তিক আলোচনীৰ সপ্তত্ৰিংশা বছৰৰ নৱম সংখ্যা ২২০১৮ চনত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা ভোগেশ্বৰ গগৈৰ 'অসমীয়া শব্দ বিভ্ৰাট', সপ্তত্ৰিংশ বছৰৰ ত্ৰয়োদশ সংখ্যাত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা নৰনাৰায়ণ শৰ্মাৰ 'অসমীয়া ভাষা ৰক্ষাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত অৱস্থা চাই ব্যৱস্থা', সপ্তত্ৰিংশ বছৰৰ সপ্তদশ সংখ্যাত পৰাগ ফুকনৰ 'ৰোগাকান্ত ভাষা জননী', 'প্ৰকাশ আলোচনীত ২৮ বৰ্ষৰ একসপ্ততিম সংখ্যাত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা বাস্তৱ বড়াৰ 'অসমীয়া আৰু অসমৰ ভাষা পৰিস্থিতিৰ সংকট আৰু সম্ভাৱনা', 'সাতসৰী'ত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা ১৬ চনৰ একাদশ বছৰ, সপ্তম সংখ্যাৰ চিম্পী বৰুৱাৰ 'বৰগীত আৰু চৰ্যাপদৰ ভাষাত সাদৃশ্য', ২১৭ চনৰ দ্বাদশ বছৰ, অষ্টম সংখ্যাৰ পংকজ্যোতি বৰাৰ 'অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ উপাৰ্হিত বৰ্ণ চন্দ্ৰবিন্দুঃ পৰিচয় আৰু প্ৰয়োগ', 'গৰীয়সী'ত ১৬ চনৰ ত্ৰয়োবিংশ বছৰ, চতুৰ্থ সংখ্যাত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা নগেন শইকীয়াৰ 'অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ সংকট', ২০৮ চনৰ পঞ্চবিংশ বছৰৰ দ্বাদশ সংখ্যাত বিভাৰাণী পাঠক ভূঞাৰ 'কথা গুৰুচৰিতৰ ভাষাৰ ধ্বনিতত্ত্ব আৰু শব্দভাণ্ডাৰ' আদি প্ৰবন্ধৰ যোগেৰে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা কিছু

পৰিমাণে হোৱা বুলি ক'ব পাৰি। একেদৰে 'বাতৰ্ভাষিক', 'স্বৰ্ণলিপি' আদি বিভিন্ন আলোচনীৰ পাততো ভাষাবিষয়ক প্ৰবন্ধ কিছুমানৰ আলোচনা হৈছে। এনেবোৰ আলোচনাৰ যোগেৰে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ কিছু কিছু চৰ্চা হৈছে। অসম সাহিত্য সভাৰ দ্বাৰা প্ৰকাশ হৈ ওলোৱা 'অসম সাহিত্য সভা পত্ৰিকা'তো ভাষাবিষয়ক প্ৰবন্ধ কিছুমান ছপা হৈ ওলাইছে। ২০০৮ চনৰ পৰিতোষ চক্ৰৱৰ্তীৰ 'বিহংগম দৃষ্টিত গাৰো জনজাতি আৰু তেওঁলোকৰ ভাষা', ২০১০ চনত প্ৰকাশ হৈ ওলোৱা ড° দীপক দাসৰ 'অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ শব্দগঠনত দ্বিৰুদ্ধি', ২৪ চনত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা মৃদুলা দাসৰ 'বেজবৰুৱাৰ দৃষ্টিত অসমীয়া ভাষা', ২৬ বৰ্ষত বত্ৰেশ্বৰ মিলিৰ 'অসমীয়া আৰু মিচিংৰ ভাষিক সমন্বয়', ৮ বৰ্ষৰ বামচন্দ্ৰ চুতীয়াৰ 'অসম অৰুণাচল সম্পৰ্ক আৰু অসমীয়া ভাষা সাহিত্য' আদি প্ৰবন্ধৰ যোগেৰে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা পৰিলক্ষিত হৈছে। সেউজী শৰ্মাৰ 'অসমীয়া ভাষাত অৰ্থবিজ্ঞানৰ আলোচনা : এটি চমু পৰিচয়', ২০১৩ চনৰ অষ্টমস্থিতম বৰ্ষৰ তৃতীয় সংখ্যাত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা প্ৰশান্ত কুমাৰ চুতীয়াৰ 'অসমীয়া ভাষা আৰু সাহিত্যৰ ধাৰাবাহিক বিকাশৰ ইতিহাসৰ চৰ্চাপদৰ বিচাৰ : এটি ঐতিহাসিক অধ্যয়ন', জ্যোতিৰেখা হাজৰিকাৰ 'তিৰা ভাষাৰ ঐতিহ্য বিচাৰ'ত ভাষা বিষয়ক আলোচনা পোৱা গৈছে। ২০১৩ চনত সপ্তমস্থিতম বৰ্ষৰ তৃতীয় সংখ্যাত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা বিভা ভৰালীৰ 'বৰপেটা জিলাৰ লোক ভাষা : এটি অৱলোকন', বলীন সন্দিকৈৰ 'উজনি অসমৰ চাহ-শ্ৰমিকৰ সংযোগী ভাষা', উপেন ৰাভা হাকাচামৰ 'ডব্বৰ পূৰ্বাঞ্চলৰ ভাষাঃ সহ অৱস্থান আৰু অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ সমৃদ্ধি', বিনীতা বড়াৰ 'অসমৰ নৃ গোষ্ঠীয় উপভাষাৰ ভাষিক সমন্বয়', দীপামণি দাসৰ 'গোৱালপৰীয়া উপভাষাঃ এটি সমীক্ষা', ওমৰ আলী চৌধুৰীৰ 'প্ৰাচীন কামৰূপৰ দেশী ভাষাঃ এক অৱলোকন' প্ৰবন্ধৰ যোগেৰে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা পৰিলক্ষিত হৈছে।

আনন্দৰাম বৰুৱা ভাষা-কলা-সংস্কৃতি সংস্থাৰ পৰাও বহু সময়ত বিভিন্ন ধৰণৰ কিতাপ অভিধান, জাৰ্ণেলৰ কামো হৈছে। নাম দুটামান সংখ্যাত ভাষা সম্বন্ধীয় প্ৰবন্ধ পোৱা গৈছে। IV-V th Volume ত দিলীপ কুমাৰ কলিতাত সম্পাদনাত ওলোৱা জাৰ্ণেলত বহুতো লেখকে লেখিছে। তাৰ ভিতৰত সত্যেন্দ্ৰনাৰায়ণ গোস্বামীৰ Annudoram Borooah and his lexicography Volume - ত ওলোৱা অপৰ্ণা

কোঁৱৰৰ Arunachal Pradesh: A study, Palash Kumar Nath- Understanding Language, অন্যতম। একেদৰে এই সংস্থাৰ তত্ত্বাৱধানত সম্পাদনা হোৱা কিতাপ কেইখনমান হৈছে - ক্ষেত্ৰৰাজ নেপালৰ 'অসমীয়া আৰু নেপালী ভাষাৰ তুলনাত্মক অধ্যয়ন', ৰাজেন ৰাভাৰ 'The Rabhas', প্ৰমোদ চন্দ্ৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যৰ 'Aspect of North East Indian Language' (২০০৬), Caroline R Marak ৰ 'Studies on Garo and its Cognate Language' (১৮), সুকুমাৰ বিশ্বাসৰ 'Morpho-Phonemic Analysis of the Verbs of Assamese and Bengali' (১৯৯৭) গ্ৰন্থকেইখন ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত অনবদ্য অৱদান। অভিধানৰ কামো এই সংস্থাৰ যোগেৰে হোৱা দেখা গৈছে। অপৰ্ণা কোঁৱৰৰ সম্পাদনাত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা 'উচ্চাৰণাত্মক বহুভাষিক অসমীয়া ইংৰাজী বড়ো- মিচিং অভিধান', উপেন ৰাভা হাকাচামৰ সম্পাদনাত ওলোৱা 'খুৰাংমুক'— ৰাভা-অসমীয়া-ইংৰাজী অভিধান, টাবু ৰাম টাইদৰ সম্পাদনাত প্ৰকাশ হোৱা 'মিচিং শব্দকোষ' বিশেষভাৱে উল্লেখযোগ্য। এই সংস্থাৰ তত্ত্বাৱধানত বহুতো গৱেষণা কৰ্মৰ কামো চলি আছে। সম্পূৰ্ণ হ'বলৈ কিছুদিন বাকী। এনেধৰণৰ বহু কাম এই সংস্থাৰ দ্বাৰা সম্পন্ন হৈছে।

'পূৰ্বোত্তৰ ভাষা সমিতি'ৰ দ্বাৰা অসমীয়া, বৰো, মিচিং আদি ভাষাৰ তিনিমহীয়া পাঠ্যক্ৰম পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ যোগেৰে অসমীয়া ভাষা চৰ্চাত বৰঙনি যোগাইছে। এই সমিতিৰ যোগেৰে 'অসমীয়া মিচিং শব্দকোষ', 'অসমীয়া ডিমাচা শব্দকোষ', 'বৰো শব্দকোষ', 'জনজাতীয় ভাষা' আদি বিভিন্ন গ্ৰন্থ প্ৰকাশ কৰি অসমৰ ভাষাচৰ্চাত বিশেষ সমল আগবঢ়াইছে। 'অসম ভাষা বিজ্ঞান সমিতি'ৰ যোগেৰেও অসমীয়া ভাষাই সমৃদ্ধি লাভ কৰিছে। এই সমিতিৰ তত্ত্বাৱধানত 'প্ৰভাষিকা', 'ভাষা বাৰ্তা' ইত্যাদি আলোচনী তথা মুখপত্ৰৰ যোগেৰে ভাষা চৰ্চাত অৰিহনা যোগাইছে। একেদৰে 'কামৰূপ অনুসন্ধান সমিতি'য়ে প্ৰত্নতত্ত্ব, ভাস্কৰ্য্য, সাহিত্য, ভাষাতত্ত্ব, ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ বিভিন্ন ধৰণৰ চৰ্চা কৰিছে। এই সমিতিৰ মুখপত্ৰ 'জাৰ্ণেল অৱ দি আছাম ৰিচাৰ্চ ছচাইটী', 'ড° বিৰিঞ্চি কুমাৰ বৰুৱা স্মৃতিগ্ৰন্থ', 'বেণুধৰ শৰ্মা স্মৃতিগ্ৰন্থ' আদিতো লেখনি অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চা হৈছে। ঠিক একেদৰে বুৰঞ্জী আৰু পুৰাতত্ত্ব বিভাগৰ যোগেৰেও অসমীয়া, টাই ভাষাৰ গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থ প্ৰকাশিত হৈছে।

অসমত ভাষাচৰ্চা হৈছে যদিও নতুন পদ্ধতিৰে ভাষা চৰ্চা কম পৰিমাণে হৈছে। নতুন দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী, ধাৰণাৰে খুব সীমিত পৰিমাণে চৰ্চা হৈছে। ডিব্ৰুগড় বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ত এম ফিল ডিগ্ৰীত সাংবহনিক বিশ্লেষণ হৈছে। দেউৰী, নিচি আদি কিছু ভাষাৰ সাংবহনিক বিশ্লেষণ কৰা দেখা গৈছে। বিভিন্ন মহাবিদ্যালয়, প্রতিষ্ঠান আদিয়ে অনুষ্ঠিত কৰা আলোচনা চক্ৰ, কৰ্মশালা আদিত দুই এটা ভাষাবিষয়ক আলোচনা হৈছে। গুৱাহাটী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ত শিশু ভাষাৰ পৰা নয়নমনি ভূঞাই উপেন ৰাভা হাকাচামৰ তত্ত্বাৱধানত গৱেষণা কৰিছে।

মনোভাষাবৈজ্ঞানিক, ভাষাবিজ্ঞান, স্নায়বিক ধ্বনিবিজ্ঞান, সাংগণিক ধ্বনিবিজ্ঞান, ভাষা আহৰণ, সাংস্কৃতিক ভাষাবিজ্ঞান, ইত্যাদি নতুন নতুন বিষয়ৰ ওপৰতো ভাষাৰ বিজ্ঞানসন্মত আলোচনা কৰাৰ থল আছে। যন্ত্ৰ-পাতি আদিৰ সহায়ত ভাষাৰ আলোচনা কৰিবৰ পথো আছে। এনেধৰণৰ নতুন দিশবোৰৰ যোগেদি অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চাই নতুন নতুন দিশৰ সন্ধান দিব পাৰিব।

গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থৰ যোগেৰে ভাষাচৰ্চা :

অসমৰ বিভিন্ন বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়বিলাকৰ পৰাও বিভিন্ন গৱেষকৰ গৱেষণা কৰ্মৰ যোগেৰে ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ দিশ উন্মোচিত হৈছে। গুৱাহাটী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ৰ পৰা বিভিন্ন সময়ত বিভিন্ন গৱেষকে গৱেষণা কৰি ভাষাৰ বিভিন্ন ৰূপ উদঙাই দেখুৱাবলৈ সক্ষম হৈছে। প্ৰমোদ চন্দ্ৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যহঁ ১৯৫১ চনত গৱেষণা বৃত্তি লাভ কৰি বৰো ভাষাৰ অধ্যয়নত বত হয়। একেদৰে গীৰীশচন্দ্ৰ দাসে মিকিৰ ভাষাৰ অধ্যয়ন, নিৰ্মলপ্ৰভা বৰদলৈয়ে খাছি ভাষাৰ অধ্যয়ন আৰম্ভ কৰে। পিছলৈ এনেদৰে ভিন ভিন গৱেষকৰ গৱেষণা কাৰ্যৰ যোগেৰে নতুন নতুন দিশৰ সন্ধান পোৱা যায়। লীলাৱতী শইকীয়াৰ ‘মাধৱ কন্দলীৰ ৰামায়ণৰ ভাষাতাত্ত্বিক অধ্যয়ন’, বিভা ভৰালীৰ ‘কামৰূপী উপভাষা : স্থানীয় ৰূপসমূহৰ এক তুলনামূলক অধ্যয়ন’ খগেন সেন ডেকাৰ ‘অসমীয়া ব্যাকৰণৰ ক্ৰমবিকাশ : এটি বিশ্লেষণাত্মক অধ্যয়ন’, উমেশ দাসৰ ‘অসমীয়া ভাষা আৰু মণিপুৰী ভাষা: এটি তুলনামূলক অধ্যয়ন’, ৰত্নেশ্বৰ মিলিৰ ‘অসমীয়া আৰু মিচিঙৰ ভাষিক সমন্বয়’, জ্যোতিৰেখা হাজৰিকাৰ ‘তিৱা ভাষাৰ ঐতিহ্য বিচাৰ’, চম্পাকলি তালুকদাৰৰ ‘অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ভাষাবৈজ্ঞানিক চৰ্চা : এক ঐতিহাসিক বিচাৰ’, দীপক দাসৰ ‘অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ শব্দগঠনত দ্বিৰুক্তি’, লক্ষী হাজৰিকাৰ ‘অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ৰূপতাত্ত্বিক বিশ্লেষণ’, জুৰি শৰ্মাৰ ‘সমকালীন অসমীয়া ভাষাৰূপ : এটি সমাজভাষাতাত্ত্বিক অধ্যয়ন’, কৰবী মহন্তৰ ‘অসমীয়া বাক্যতত্ত্ব’, ডালিমা কাকতিৰ ‘অসমৰ বিপদাপন্ন

ভাষা : এটি অধ্যয়ন’, ডিপু ডেকাৰ ‘মৰিগাওঁ জিলাৰ বহুভাষিকতা’, ভাস্কৰ পাটগিৰিৰ ‘লক্ষ্মীনাথ বেজবৰুৱাৰ ভাষাশৈলী’, মমী শ্যামৰ ‘অসমৰ কন্যা নগাসকলৰ ভাষা: এটি অধ্যয়ন’, কুহিশিখা ভূঞাৰ ‘অসমীয়া আৰু নেপালী ভাষাৰ ক্ৰিয়াপদ: এক তুলনামূলক অধ্যয়ন’ আদি গৱেষণা গ্ৰন্থত অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ চৰ্চা হৈছে। তাৰ লগে লগে গুৱাহাটী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ৰ পৰা প্ৰকাশ কৰি উলিওৱা বিভিন্ন ভাষাবিষয়ক পুথিয়েও অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ অৰিহনা যোগাইছে। একেদৰে ব্যাকৰণ আৰু ভাষাচৰ্চাত ব্যক্তিগত ভাৱে ভালেকেইগৰাকী পণ্ডিতে অসমীয়া ভাষালৈ বৰঙনি যোগাইছে। প্ৰত্যেকগৰাকী ভাষাবিদৰ উল্লেখ এই সীমিত পৰিসৰত সম্ভৱ নহয়। তাৰ ভিতৰত কেইগৰাকীমান ভাষাবিদ হৈছে- লীলাৱতী শইকীয়া বৰা, সত্যেন্দ্ৰনাৰায়ণ গোস্বামী, উপেন ৰাভা হাকাচাম, অৰ্পণা কোঁৱৰ, বসন্ত কুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্য, নগেন ঠাকুৰ, ফনীন্দ্ৰ নাৰায়ন দত্তবৰুৱা, ভগৱান মৰল, খগেন সেন ডেকা আদি। তেওঁলোকৰ তত্ত্বাৱধানত ভালেকেইগৰাকী গৱেষকে গৱেষণা কৰি ভিন ভিন বিষয়ত ডক্টৰেট ডিগ্ৰী লাভ কৰিছে।

ডিব্ৰুগড় বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ৰ পৰা বিভিন্নগৰাকী গৱেষকে বিভিন্ন গৱেষণা কৰিছে। ভীমকান্ত বৰুৱাই নাগামিজ ভাষাৰ গৱেষণা কৰিছে। দীপ্তি ফুকন পাটগিৰিয়ে অসমীয়া বাংলা আৰু উড়িয়া ভাষাৰ তুলনা দাঙি ধৰি বিশেষ অৱদান আগবঢ়াইছে। একেদৰে গায়ত্ৰী দেৱী গোস্বামীৰ ‘শংকৰী যুগৰ অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ৰূপতাত্ত্বিক বিশ্লেষণ’ বলীন সন্দিকৈৰ ‘টাই-টুকু-ভাষা: এটি বৰ্ণনাত্মক অধ্যয়ন’, বিজু মৰাণৰ ‘টাইফাকে ভাষা’, পবিত্ৰ গগৈৰ ‘চিংফৌ জনগোষ্ঠী আৰু ভাষা: এটি সমীক্ষাত্মক অধ্যয়ন’ আদি বিষয়ক গৱেষণা কৰি অসমীয়া ভাষাচৰ্চাত বিশেষ অৱদান আগবঢ়াইছে।

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লেখক :

সহকারী অধ্যাপক, দক্ষিণ কামৰূপ মহাবিদ্যালয়, মির্জা

ড° নগেন ঠাকুৰ আৰু তেখেতৰ ভাষা-চৰ্চা

প্ৰাপ্তি ঠাকুৰ

সংক্ষিপ্তসাৰ

আধুনিক অসমীয়া ভাষা চৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত যি কেইজন আঙুলি মূৰত গণিব পৰা লেখক-গৱেষক-ভাষাবিদৰ নাম সঘনে উচ্চাৰিত হয়, সেইকেইজনৰ ভিতৰত ড° নগেন ঠাকুৰ অন্যতম। অসমীয়া ভাষাত ভাষা সম্পৰ্কীয় চিন্তা-চৰ্চা কৰা ব্যক্তিৰ সংখ্যা পৰ্যাপ্ত নহয় যদিও বিজ্ঞানসন্মত পদ্ধতিৰে অসমীয়া ভাষাত ভাষা-চৰ্চাৰ শুভাৰম্ভ কৰা ড° বাণীকান্ত কাকতিয়ে দেখুৱাই থৈ যোৱা বাটেৰে অগ্ৰসৰ হৈ এইজন একনিষ্ঠ সাধকে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ এই দিশটোক জীপাল আৰু সমৃদ্ধ কৰি তুলিছে। ভাৰতীয় ভাষাৰ পৰ্যাপ্ত অধ্যয়ন আৰু বিশ্লেষণৰ উপৰিও অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ স্বকীয়তা-বৈশিষ্ট্য সম্পৰ্কে বিস্তৰ অধ্যয়ন কৰাৰ লগতে অসমৰ জনজাতীয় ভাষাসমূহৰ বিশদভাৱে বিচাৰ-বিশ্লেষণ কৰিছে, অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ব্যাকৰণ প্ৰণয়ন কৰিছে, ভাষাবিষয়ক বিভিন্ন গ্ৰন্থ সম্পাদনা কৰি উলিয়াইছে। আমাৰ এই আলোচনাত সাহিত্যিক-সমালোচক-অনুবাদক হিচাপেও খ্যাতিমন্ত ড° নগেন ঠাকুৰৰ ভাষা সম্পৰ্কীয় কেইখনমান অতি মূল্যবান গ্ৰন্থৰ পৰিচয় দিয়াৰ প্ৰয়াসেৰে এই লেখা যুগুত কৰা হৈছে। গ্ৰন্থকেইখনৰ বিষয়বস্তু সম্পৰ্কে বৰ্ণনাত্মক পদ্ধতিৰে সাধাৰণ আভাস দিয়া ছাত্ৰ-ছাত্ৰীৰ লগতে অনুসন্ধিৎসু গৱেষকৰ প্ৰয়োজন পূৰণ কৰি এক নতুন দিগন্ত মূকলি কৰাৰ লগতে এই গ্ৰন্থকেইখন সাধাৰণ পাঠকৰ বাবেও সমানেই গ্ৰহণযোগ্য।

বীজশব্দ- নগেন ঠাকুৰ, আধুনিক, অসমীয়া, ভাষা, চৰ্চা।

অসমীয়া ভাষাত ভাষা সম্পৰ্কীয় চিন্তা-চৰ্চা কৰা ব্যক্তিৰ সংখ্যা পৰ্যাপ্ত নহয়। তুলনামূলকভাৱে সাহিত্যৰ ক্ষেত্ৰখনতকৈ এই ক্ষেত্ৰখনৰ লেখক তাকৰ। আধুনিক অসমীয়া ভাষা চৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত যি কেইজন আঙুলি মূৰত গণিব পৰা লেখক-গৱেষক-ভাষাবিদৰ নাম সঘনে উচ্চাৰিত হয়, সেইকেইজনৰ ভিতৰত ড° নগেন ঠাকুৰো অন্যতম। বিজ্ঞানসন্মত পদ্ধতিৰে অসমীয়া ভাষাত ভাষা-চৰ্চাৰ শুভাৰম্ভ কৰা ড° বাণীকান্ত কাকতিয়ে দেখুৱাই থৈ যোৱা বাটেৰে অগ্ৰসৰ হৈ এইজন একনিষ্ঠ সাধকে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ এই দিশটোক জীপাল আৰু সমৃদ্ধ কৰি তুলিছে। দেৰগাঁও কমল দুৱৰা মহাবিদ্যালয়ত কিছুবছৰ শিক্ষকতা কৰি গুৱাহাটী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ৰ মূৰব্বী অধ্যাপক হিচাপে অৱসৰ গ্ৰহণ কৰা ড° ঠাকুৰ কেইবাখনো মূল্যবান ভাষাসম্পৰ্কীয় গ্ৰন্থ আৰু বিভিন্ন প্ৰবন্ধৰ ৰচক। পৃথিৱীৰ বিভিন্ন ভাষাৰ লগতে ভাৰতৰ বিভিন্ন ভাষা সম্পৰ্কে তেখেতে আলোচনা কৰিছে; অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ স্বকীয়তা-বৈশিষ্ট্য সম্পৰ্কে বিস্তৰ অধ্যয়ন কৰাৰ উপৰিও অসমৰ জনজাতীয় ভাষাসমূহৰ বিশদভাৱে বিচাৰ-বিশ্লেষণ কৰিছে, অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ ব্যাকৰণ প্ৰণয়ন কৰিছে,

ভাষাবিষয়ক বিভিন্ন গ্ৰন্থ সম্পাদনা কৰি উলিয়াইছে। সাহিত্যিক-সমালোচক-অনুবাদক হিচাপেও খ্যাতিমন্ত ড° নগেন ঠাকুৰৰ ভাষা সম্পৰ্কীয় কেইখনমান অতি মূল্যবান গ্ৰন্থৰ পৰিচয় দিয়াৰ প্ৰয়াসেৰে এই লেখা যুগুত কৰা হৈছে।

‘পৃথিৱীৰ বিভিন্ন ভাষা’ শীৰ্ষক গ্ৰন্থখন ড° নগেন ঠাকুৰদেৱৰ অসমীয়া ভাষালৈ বিশেষভাৱে উল্লেখযোগ্য অৱদান। এই গ্ৰন্থখনত পৃথিৱীৰ বিভিন্ন ভাষাগোষ্ঠী আৰু সেই ভাষাগোষ্ঠীৰ অন্তৰ্গত বিভিন্ন ভাষাসমূহৰ বিষয়ে আলোচনা আগবঢ়োৱা হৈছে। ইয়াত বংশানুগত বা ঐতিহাসিক প্ৰণালীৰে পৃথিৱীৰ ভাষাসমূহৰ বৰ্গীকৰণ কৰি পাৰস্পৰিক সম্পৰ্কৰ ভিত্তিত ভাষাসমূহ গোষ্ঠীবদ্ধ বা পৰিয়ালভুক্ত কৰা হৈছে আৰু প্ৰত্যেকগোষ্ঠীৰে যি বাক্যগাঠনিক বা পদ বিন্যাসৰ বৈশিষ্ট্য সেইবোৰো দেখুওৱা হৈছে। আফ্ৰিকা-আমেৰিকাৰ আদিম জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মাজত প্ৰচলিত ভাষাসমূহ সীমাহীন বৈচিত্ৰ্যৰে ভৰা হেতুকে সেইবোৰ ভাষাক নিৰ্দিষ্ট কোনো এক গোষ্ঠীত ভাগ কৰিব পৰা নাযায়। সেইবাবে এই ভাষাসমূহক ‘আফ্ৰিকাৰ আদিম ভাষাবৰ্গ’, ‘আমেৰিকাৰ আদিম ভাষাবৰ্গ’ নামেৰে আলোচনাৰ

মাজলৈ অনা হৈছে। পৃথিৱীৰ বিভিন্ন ভাষাগোষ্ঠী আৰু সেই গোষ্ঠীৰ অন্তৰ্গত ভাষাৰ বিষয়ে বিস্তৃতৰূপত লিখা এইখনেই অসমীয়া ভাষাত ৰচিত প্ৰথমখন গ্ৰন্থ। গ্ৰন্থখনৰ আৰম্ভণিতে বিশ্বৰ ভাষাসমূহৰ শ্ৰেণীবিন্যাস বা বৰ্গীকৰণ কৰা হৈছে ৰূপতত্ত্বানুগত বা ব্যাকৰীতিগত বৰ্গীকৰণ আৰু বংশানুগত বা ঐতিহাসিক বৰ্গীকৰণ অনুযায়ী। এই বৰ্গীকৰণৰ ভিতৰত বংশানুগত বৰ্গীকৰণকে অধিক গ্ৰহণযোগ্য পদ্ধতি হিচাপে বিবেচনা কৰা হৈছে। ৰূপতত্ত্বৰ বিচাৰত বা বাক্যৰ পদ বিশ্লেষণৰ তুলনাৰে কৰা এই বৰ্গীকৰণৰ প্ৰধান ভাগ দুটা হৈছে - অযোগাৱ্যক আৰু যোগাৱ্যক। যোগাৱ্যক ভাষাসমূহৰ তিনিটা উপ-বিভাগ (১) প্ৰক্লিষ্ট (২) অক্লিষ্ট আৰু (৩) ক্লিষ্ট - এইকেইটাৰ বিষয়ে বহলাই আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। কাৰণ যোগাৱ্যক ভাষাই পৃথিৱীত সৰ্বাধিক প্ৰচলিত। ইয়াৰ পিছত বিশদভাৱে আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে বংশানুগত বা ঐতিহাসিক বৰ্গীকৰণৰ বিষয়ে। বিভিন্ন ভাষাৰ মাজত থকা পাৰস্পৰিক সম্বন্ধ আৰু প্ৰাচীন ইতিহাস যিখিনি পোৱা যায়, সেইখিনি পৰ্যালোচনা কৰি ধ্বনিগত, ৰূপগত উপাদানৰ মাজত থকা সামঞ্জস্যৰ ভিত্তিত, লগতে প্ৰচলিত শব্দৰ অন্তৰ্গত সাদৃশ্যৰ ভিত্তিত ভাষাৰ যি বৰ্গীকৰণৰ প্ৰচেষ্টা সেয়াই হৈছে বংশানুগত বৰ্গবিভাগ বা ঐতিহাসিক বৰ্গীকৰণ। গ্ৰন্থখনত মূলতঃ পৃথিৱীৰ প্ৰধান ভাষাগোষ্ঠী হিচাপে আঠোটা ভাষাগোষ্ঠীক নিৰ্দেশ কৰা হৈছে - (ক) ইণ্ডো-ইউৰোপীয় (খ) ছেমীয়-হামীয় (গ) তিব্বত-চীনেয় (ঘ) অষ্ট্ৰিক (ঙ) ড্ৰাৱিড় (চ) উৰাল-আলটাই (ছ) ককেচীয় (জ) এফ্ৰিকো। গ্ৰন্থখনত এই গোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ পৰিচয় সম্পৰ্কে সৰ্বশেষ দাঙি ধৰা হৈছে। পৃথিৱীৰ ভিতৰতেই গৌৰৱ আৰু মহত্বৰ অধিকাৰী হ'বলৈ সক্ষম হোৱা ইণ্ডো-ইউৰোপীয় ভাষা পৰিয়ালৰ বিষয়েও লেখকে পুংখানুপুংখভাৱে বৰ্ণনা কৰিছে।

‘ভাষা আৰু ভাষা চিন্তা’ ড° নগেন ঠাকুৰৰ অন্য এখন ভাষা সম্পৰ্কীয় মূল্যবান গ্ৰন্থ। ইয়াত ভাষাৰ স্বৰূপ বিচাৰৰ পৰা শৈলী আৰু শৈলীবিজ্ঞানলৈকে আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে, লগতে ব্যাকৰণ, ভাষাতত্ত্ব আৰু ভাষাবিজ্ঞানৰ পাৰ্থক্য নিৰ্ণয় কৰি দেখুওৱা হৈছে। গ্ৰন্থখনিৰ অন্যতম উল্লেখনীয় দুটা প্ৰবন্ধ হ'ল ‘ভাৰতীয় ভাষাতত্ত্ব চৰ্চাত পাশ্চাত্য পণ্ডিতৰ বিশেষকৈ গ্ৰীয়েছনৰ অৱদান’। প্ৰখ্যাত ভাষাবিজ্ঞানী ফাৰ্ডিনাণ্ড দা চ্যুৰৰ ভাষাচিন্তা সম্পৰ্কেও ইয়াত আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। ইণ্ডো-ইউৰোপীয় ধ্বনি-সংস্থান আৰু ভাৰতীয় আৰ্যভাষাত তাৰ স্বৰূপ সম্পৰ্কেও বিচাৰ-বিশ্লেষণ কৰি দেখুওৱা হৈছে। আধুনিক ভাৰতীয় আৰ্যভাষাসমূহৰ জননী সংস্কৃত ভাষাও যে দৰাচলতে এক বিবৰ্তিত ভাষাহে, আৰু

ইয়াৰ মূলতো যে ইণ্ডো-ইউৰোপীয় ভাষা সেই কথাও বিতংভাৱে তথ্য সহকাৰে প্ৰমাণ কৰা হৈছে।

পৃথিৱীৰ সৰ্ববৃহৎ ভাষাগোষ্ঠী ইণ্ডো-ইউৰোপীয় অন্তৰ্গত ইণ্ডো-ইৰাণীয় বা আৰ্য শাখাৰ লোকসকলৰ কিছু সংখ্যকে উত্তৰ-পশ্চিম গিৰিপথেদি আহি আনুমানিক খ্ৰীষ্টপূৰ্ব পঞ্চদশ শতাব্দী মানত ভাৰতবৰ্ষত প্ৰৱেশ কৰিছিল। এই সকলেই আছিল ভাৰতীয় আৰ্য আৰু এওঁলোকৰ ভাষাকেই ‘ভাৰতীয় আৰ্যভাষা’ বুলি অভিহিত কৰা হৈছে। এই ভাৰতীয় আৰ্যভাষায়েই খ্ৰীষ্টপূৰ্ব পঞ্চদশ শতাব্দী মানৰ পৰা বৰ্তমান পৰ্য্যন্ত বিভিন্ন স্থানত বিচিত্ৰ ৰূপেৰে ভাৰতৰ বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলত বিভিন্ন ভাষাৰ জন্ম দিছে। তিনিহেজাৰ পাঁচশ বছৰতকৈও ব্যাপক এই সুদীৰ্ঘ সময়ৰ ভিতৰত আৰ্যভাষাৰ ক্ৰমবিকাশৰ যি বিস্তৃত ইতিহাস সেই ইতিহাসক অতি নিখুঁতভাৱে বিজ্ঞানসন্মত ৰূপত দাঙি ধৰিছে ড° নগেন ঠাকুৰদেৱে তেখেতৰ ‘পালি-প্ৰাকৃত-অপভ্ৰংশ : ভাষা আৰু সাহিত্য’ নামৰ এই অমূল্য গ্ৰন্থখনত। এইখন গ্ৰন্থ ভাষাবিদ ড° নগেন ঠাকুৰৰ জীৱনৰ অক্ষয় কীৰ্তি। ভাষাচৰ্চাত সদাব্যস্ত এইজন পণ্ডিত-গৱেষকৰ এই গ্ৰন্থখনে মহাবিদ্যালয়, বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ৰ ছাত্ৰ-ছাত্ৰীৰ লগতে প্ৰতিজন ভাষা-অনুৰাগী পাঠকৰ কৌতূহলৰ চাহিদা পূৰাবলৈ সক্ষম হৈ আছে। ভাষা-সাহিত্যৰ ক্ষেত্ৰখনলৈ এইয়া ড° ঠাকুৰৰ স্মৰণীয় অৱদান। বৈদিক-সংস্কৃত, পালি-প্ৰাকৃত-অপভ্ৰংশ ভাষা আৰু সাহিত্য সম্পৰ্কে ইয়াত অতি সৰলকৈ সকলোৱে সহজতে বুজিব পৰাকৈ বিচাৰ-বিশ্লেষণ কৰা হৈছে। ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ আগ্ৰহী ছাত্ৰ আৰু গৱেষকসকলৰ বাবে এইখন গ্ৰন্থ হাতপুথি হৈ পৰিছে। অবাচীন অপভ্ৰংশ বা অৱহট্ট আৰু ইয়াৰ লগতে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ সম্পৰ্ক - এই বিষয়েও ইয়াত যথাযোগ্য সমল সহকাৰে আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। ওপৰৰিখি হিচাপে এই গ্ৰন্থখনত সংস্কৃত, পালি-প্ৰাকৃত আৰু অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ এটা তুলনামূলক আলোচনাও আগবঢ়োৱা হৈছে। এই ভাষাকেইটাৰ বৰ্ণমালা, ধ্বনিতত্ত্ব, সন্ধিপ্ৰকৰণ, শব্দৰূপ ধাতুৰূপৰ বিতং বিৱৰণ এই সুকোয়া খণ্ডটোত তুলি ধৰা হৈছে।

পালি-প্ৰাকৃত আৰু অপভ্ৰংশৰ ব্যাকৰণৰ লগতে ড° ঠাকুৰদেৱে এই তিনিওটা ভাষাৰে সাহিত্য সম্পৰ্কেও পৰ্য্যাপ্ত পৰিমাণে অধ্যয়ন তথা আলোচনা কৰিছে। এই সম্পৰ্কীয় কেইবাখনো অমূল্য গ্ৰন্থৰে তেখেতে অসমীয়া ভাষা-সাহিত্য চহকা কৰিছে। ‘প্ৰাকৃত সাহিত্য চয়ন’, ‘প্ৰাকৃত সাহিত্যৰ অধ্যয়ন’ আৰু ‘অশোকৰ অনুশাসনমালা’ তেখেতৰ

উল্লেখযোগ্য সৃষ্টি। ভাষাতাত্ত্বিক দৃষ্টিকোণেৰে তেখেতে মধ্য ভাৰতীয় আৰ্যভাষাক সামগ্ৰিকভাৱে 'প্ৰাকৃত' বুলি অভিহিত কৰি পালি আৰু অপভ্ৰংশ - অৱহট্ট সাহিত্যৰাজিকো প্ৰাকৃত সাহিত্যৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰিছে। 'প্ৰাকৃত সাহিত্যৰ অধ্যয়ন'ত তেখেতে পালি সাহিত্যৰ অন্তৰ্গত 'ধম্মপদ' আৰু অৱহট্টত ৰচিত 'সন্দেশৰাসক'ৰ বিষয়ে আলোচনা কৰিছে। 'অশোকৰ অনুশাসনমালা' গ্ৰন্থখনত ড^o ঠাকুৰদেৱে বিস্তৃত ৰূপত সামগ্ৰিকভাৱে অশোকৰ অনুশাসনসমূহৰ বিষয়ে পৰ্য্যাক্ৰমে আলোচনা আগবঢ়াইছে। ভাষাতত্ত্ব, শিল্পকলা, সামাজিক মূল্যবোধ, ঐতিহাসিক তথ্য এই প্ৰত্যেকটো দিশৰ পৰাই অনুশাসনসমূহ পৰম মূল্যবান সম্পদ। এই প্ৰত্নলিপিসমূহত নিহিত হৈ থকা শাস্ত্ৰ মূল্যবোধৰ বাবে এইবোৰ হেজাৰ বছৰৰ ব্যৱধানৰ পিছতো নতুন হৈয়েই আছে। বিজ্ঞান-প্ৰযুক্তিবিদ্যাৰ চূড়ান্ত সাফল্যৰ সময়তো অনুশাসনসমূহৰ আদৰ্শ আৰু মানৱীয়তাই সৰ্বদেশৰ সৰ্বমানৱক আজিও আকৰ্ষণ কৰে। খ্ৰীষ্টপূৰ্ব তৃতীয় শতিকাৰ মৌৰ্যসম্ৰাট অশোকৰ এই প্ৰত্নলিপিসমূহ একবিংশ শতিকাৰ আজিৰ সন্ত্ৰাসপূৰ্ণ ভয়াবহ যুগসন্ধিৰ ক্ষণত অতিকৈ প্ৰাসংগিক হৈ পৰিছে। সৰ্বমানৱৰ এক কল্যাণকামী চেতনাৰে সমৃদ্ধ এই অনুশাসনসমূহ সেয়েহে প্ৰত্নলিপি হৈও সাহিত্যৰ মহামূল্যবান সমল হিচাপে স্বীকৃত হৈছে। ভাৰতীয় লিপি আৰু গদ্য ৰচনাৰো এইবোৰেই পাতনতম চানেকি। এই অনুশাসনসমূহৰ মাজতে প্ৰাকৃতৰ কথ্যভাষাশ্ৰিত ভাষাদৰ্শৰ প্ৰাচীনতম নিদৰ্শন পোৱা যায়। সেইদৰে 'প্ৰাকৃত সাহিত্য চয়ন'ত অশোকৰ অনুশাসনমালাৰ চমু পৰিচয়, পালি সাহিত্যৰ অন্তৰ্গত 'ধম্মপদ'ৰ বিস্তৃত আলোচনাৰে সাহিত্যিক মূল্যায়ন কৰা হৈছে। ইয়াৰ ভাষা সম্পৰ্কেও বিশদভাৱে বিচাৰ-বিশ্লেষণ আগবঢ়োৱা হৈছে। ছাত্ৰ-ছাত্ৰীসকলৰ বাবে এই গ্ৰন্থকেইখন অতিশয় প্ৰয়োজনীয়। সংস্কৃত নাটকত থকা প্ৰাকৃতাত্মৰ বিষয়েও আলোচনা কৰি ইয়াত 'অভিজ্ঞান-শকুন্তলম'ৰ ষষ্ঠ অংশৰ প্ৰাকৃতাত্মৰ পৰ্যালোচনা কৰা হৈছে। প্ৰাকৃত নাটক 'কপূৰমঞ্জৰী'ৰ বিষয়েও এটা অধ্যয় সন্নিবিষ্ট কৰা হৈছে। আলংকাৰিকসকলৰ দ্বাৰা স্বীকৃত মান্যপ্ৰাকৃত 'মহাৰাষ্ট্ৰী প্ৰাকৃত'ত ৰচিত আৰু ৰজা 'হাল'ৰ দ্বাৰা সংকলিত 'গাথাসপ্তশতী'ৰ অধ্যয়টো এটা মনোগ্ৰাহী অভিজ্ঞতালৈ ৰূপান্তৰিত হৈছে। অপভ্ৰংশ সাহিত্য হিচাপে 'বিক্ৰমোৰ্বশীয়া'ৰ ৪ ৰ্থ অংকৰ ৮ টা গীতৰ বিচাৰ-বিশ্লেষণ কৰা হৈছে। সেইদৰে অৱহট্টৰ সাহিত্যিক নিদৰ্শন 'সন্দেশৰাসক' আৰু 'কীৰ্তিলতা'ৰ ৰসোত্তীৰ্ণ আলোচনা আগবঢ়োৱা হৈছে। লেখক আব্দুল ৰহমানে সম্পূৰ্ণ হিন্দু পৰিৱেশত ৰচনা কৰা শৃংগাৰ

ৰসাত্মক গীতিকাব্য 'সন্দেশৰাসক'ক ভাৰতীয় দূত-কাব্য পৰম্পৰাৰ শেহতীয়া সংযোজন হিচাপে আখ্যা দিব পাৰি। ভাৰতীয় সংস্কৃতিৰ বৈশিষ্ট্য প্ৰকাশ কৰাৰ লগতেই এই গ্ৰন্থখন সময়ৰ এক অপূৰ্ব স্বাক্ষৰ হিচাপেও পৰিগণিত হৈছে। 'ভাৰতীয় ভাষাৰ পৰিচয়' তেখেতৰ অন্য এখন উল্লেখযোগ্য গ্ৰন্থ। ভাৰতত প্ৰচলিত বিভিন্ন ভাষাগোষ্ঠী - অষ্ট্ৰিক, দ্ৰাভিড়, তিব্বত-চীনাৰ আৰু ইণ্ডো ইউৰোপীয়ৰ অন্তৰ্গত ভাষাসমূহৰ আলোচনাৰ লগতে পৰিশিষ্টত 'ভাৰতৰ ভাষিক পৰিস্থিতি' আৰু 'অসমৰ ভাষিক পৰিস্থিতি' নামেৰে দুটা অতি গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ তথ্যভিত্তিক সমীক্ষা সন্নিবিষ্ট কৰিছে। অসমৰ ভাষিক পৰিস্থিতি তেখেতে নিৰ্ধাৰণ কৰিছে ১৯৯১ আৰু ২০০১ চনৰ ভাষিক সমীক্ষাৰ আধাৰত। সেইদৰে ২০০১ চনৰ ভাষিক সমীক্ষাৰ আধাৰত সংবিধান স্বীকৃত প্ৰধান ভাৰতীয় ভাষাকেইটা, জনসংখ্যা আৰু সেই ভাষা প্ৰচলিত প্ৰধান অঞ্চলসমূহ উল্লেখ কৰিছে। এই গ্ৰন্থত ২০০৪ চনলৈকে সংবিধান স্বীকৃত বাইছটা ভাষাৰ বিষয়ে আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে।

'ভাৰতীয় ভাষা আৰু সাহিত্য' ড^o নগেন ঠাকুৰৰ

শেহতীয়া গ্ৰন্থ। ভাষাচৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰখনলৈ এইখন ড^o ঠাকুৰৰ অন্য এক অনবদ্য সংযোজন। বৃহৎ কলেবৰৰ এই গ্ৰন্থখনক ক'ব পাৰি আমি ওপৰত উল্লেখ কৰা 'ভাৰতীয় ভাষাৰ পৰিচয়'ৰ পৰিবৰ্দ্ধিত ৰূপ। ভাৰতৰ প্ৰাচীন তথা আধুনিক ভাষাসমূহৰ উৎপত্তি আৰু বিকাশৰ স্তৰসমূহ সামৰি তাৰ লগতে সাহিত্যৰাজিৰ বিষয়েও ইয়াত বিস্তৃত ৰূপত আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। গ্ৰন্থকাৰে ইয়াত ভাষাতত্ত্বৰ বৈশিষ্ট্যৰাজিৰ লগতে সাহিত্য সৃষ্টিৰে ব্যাখ্যা আগবঢ়াইছে।

ড^o ঠাকুৰে পৰিশিষ্টত সন্নিবিষ্ট কৰিছে অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ উৎপত্তি, মত পাৰ্থক্য আৰু সম্ভাৱনাক। এইটো লেখাই গ্ৰন্থখনৰ মূল্য বৃদ্ধি কৰাৰ লগতে লেখকৰ গৱেষণালব্ধ স্বকীয়তাক সজোৰে প্ৰতিপন্ন কৰিবলৈ সক্ষম হৈছে।

এই প্ৰবন্ধটোত শিক্ষাবিদ, পণ্ডিত-গৱেষক,

ভাষাবিদ ড^o নগেন ঠাকুৰদেৱৰ ভাষা সম্পৰ্কীয় গ্ৰন্থকেইখনমানৰ পৰিচয় দিবলৈ প্ৰয়াস কৰা হৈছে। গ্ৰন্থকেইখনৰ বিষয়বস্তু সম্পৰ্কে বৰ্ণনাত্মক পদ্ধতিৰে সাধাৰণ আভাস দিয়া ছাত্ৰ-ছাত্ৰীৰ লগতে অনুসন্ধিৎসু গৱেষকৰ প্ৰয়োজন পূৰণ কৰি এক নতুন দিগন্ত মুকলি কৰাৰ লগতে এই গ্ৰন্থকেইখন সাধাৰণ পাঠকৰ বাবেও সমানেই গ্ৰহণযোগ্য। ভাষাসম্পৰ্কীয় চিন্তা-চৰ্চাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত অনন্য অৱদান

আগবঢ়োৱা ড^o ঠাকুৰদেৱৰ এই গ্ৰন্থসমূহ অসমীয়া ভাষা-সাহিত্যৰ অমূল্য সম্পদ স্বৰূপে সৰ্বজনস্বীকৃত তথা সমাদৃত হৈ থাকিব।

প্ৰসংগপুথি :

ঠাকুৰ, নগেন : পৃথিৱীৰ বিভিন্ন ভাষা, প্ৰথম প্ৰকাশ, ১৯৮৪, জ্যোতি প্ৰকাশন।

ঠাকুৰ, নগেন : প্ৰাকৃত সাহিত্য চয়ন, দ্বিতীয় প্ৰকাশ, ১৯৯৩, জ্যোতি প্ৰকাশন।

ঠাকুৰ, নগেন : প্ৰাকৃত সাহিত্যৰ অধ্যয়ন, প্ৰথম প্ৰকাশ, ১৯৮৯, জ্যোতি প্ৰকাশন।

ঠাকুৰ, নগেন : ভাষা আৰু ভাষা-চিন্তা, প্ৰথম প্ৰকাশ, ২০০৩, জ্যোতি প্ৰকাশন।

ঠাকুৰ, নগেন : ভাৰতীয় ভাষাৰ পৰিচয়, পৰিবৰ্ধিত নতুন সংস্কৰণ, ২০১১, ষ্টুডেন্টছ ষ্টুৰছ।

ঠাকুৰ, নগেন : পালি-প্ৰাকৃত অপভ্ৰংশ : ভাষা আৰু সাহিত্য, প্ৰথম প্ৰকাশ, ১৯৯১, জ্যোতি প্ৰকাশন।

ঠাকুৰ, নগেন : ভাৰতীয় ভাষা আৰু সাহিত্য, প্ৰথম প্ৰকাশ, ২০১৬, জ্যোতি প্ৰকাশন।

লেখক :

সহযোগী অধ্যাপিকা, অসমীয়া বিভাগ, সৰুপথাৰ মহাবিদ্যালয়

ৰূপালীম আৰু ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী নাটকত প্ৰতিফলিত সমাজ জীৱন : স্বদেশভাবনাৰ তুলনাত্মক আলোচনা

ৰেবত মহন্ত

সংক্ষিপ্তসাৰ

অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্যত জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদ আগৰৱালাই যি স্থান অধিকাৰ কৰি আছে ঠিক সেইদৰে হিন্দী জগতৰ 'প্ৰসাদ' নামে খ্যাত জয়শংকৰ প্ৰসাদে এখনি সুকীয়া আসন লাভ কৰি আছে। অসমীয়া আৰু হিন্দী নাট্য সাহিত্যৰ দুগৰাকী বিশিষ্ট নাট্যকাৰ জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদ আগৰৱালা আৰু জয়শংকৰ প্ৰসাদৰ ক্ৰমে 'ৰূপালীম' আৰু 'ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী' নাটক দুখনেও নাট্য সাহিত্যত বিশেষ স্থান অধিকাৰ কৰি আছে। নাটক দুখন বিচাৰ কৰিলে দেখা যায়, নাটক দুখনৰ অন্তৰালত কাহিনীৰ আন আন দিশ প্ৰতিফলিত হলেও মূল বীজটো আছিল নাটক দুখনৰ মাজেৰে গভীৰ স্বদেশভাবনা ফুটাই তোলা। নাটক দুয়োখনৰ মাজেৰে নাৰীৰ কিছুমান বিশেষ সমস্যা, নাৰীৰ অৱস্থিতিৰ লগতে গভীৰ স্বদেশ ভাবনা ফুটি উঠা দেখা যায়। আমাৰ এই আলোচনাত ৰূপালীম আৰু ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী নাটকত প্ৰতিফলিত সমাজ জীৱন : স্বদেশভাবনাৰ তুলনাত্মক আলোচনা বিচাৰ কৰি চাবলৈ প্ৰয়াস কৰা হৈছে।

বীজ শব্দ : অসমীয়া, হিন্দী, নাটক, সমাজ জীৱন, স্বদেশভাবনা, তুলনা

অসমীয়া আৰু হিন্দী নাট্য সাহিত্যৰ দুগৰাকী বিশিষ্ট নাট্যকাৰ জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদ আগৰৱালা আৰু জয়শংকৰ প্ৰসাদৰ ক্ৰমে 'ৰূপালীম' আৰু 'ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী' নাটক দুখনে নাট্য সাহিত্যত বিশেষ স্থান অধিকাৰ কৰি আছে। নাটক দুয়োখনৰ মাজেৰে নাৰীৰ কিছুমান বিশেষ সমস্যা, নাৰীৰ অৱস্থিতিৰ লগতে গভীৰ স্বদেশ ভাবনা ফুটি উঠা দেখা যায়। স্বাধীনতাৰ পূৰ্বে ৰচনা কৰা ৰূপালীম নাটকৰ কাহিনীভাগ কাল্পনিক। কাল্পনিক ভাবেৰে সজাই তুলিলেও নাট্যকাৰৰ অন্তৰৰ অনুভূতি বিশেষভাৱে স্ব-জাতিৰ ৰক্ষা, দেশৰ মৰ্যাদা ৰক্ষা ইত্যাদি দিশত যি দক্ষতা ফুটি উঠিছে সেয়াহে আলোচনাৰ বিষয়। নিজ জাতিটোৰ বাবে, নিজৰ দেশৰ মানুহখিনিক বন্দীত্বৰ পৰা মুক্ত কৰাৰ বাবে ৰূপালীমে অনিচ্ছা সত্ত্বেও নাৰীৰ আটাইতকৈ হীৰাবুলীয়া সম্পদ, বিসৰ্জন দিবলৈ আগবাঢ়িছে। এই ত্যাগ আৰু প্ৰেমে ৰূপালীমক মহানতাৰ পৰা মহানতম কৰি তুলিছে। কেৱল প্ৰেমিক বা আত্মীয়জনৰ বাবেই নহয় সমগ্ৰ ৰুক্ষী জাতিৰ বাবেই ৰূপালীমে আত্মত্যাগ কৰিছে। ঠিক সেইদৰে ইতিভেনৰ অন্তৰত স্বাৰ্থৰ ভাব থাকিলেও তাই কৰা প্ৰতিবাদত গভীৰ স্বদেশভাবনাই প্ৰাণ পাইছে।

জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদৰ দৰে হিন্দী নাট্য সাহিত্যৰ আন এগৰাকী নাট্যকাৰ জয়শংকৰ প্ৰসাদৰ ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী নাটকখনো স্বাধীনতাৰ পূৰ্বে ৰচিত এখন নাট। ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী প্ৰত্যেক পলতে বিপদৰ সন্মুখীন হোৱা দেখা যায়। ৰামগুপ্তৰ লগত বিবাহপাশত আৱদ্ধ হৈ এগৰাকী পত্নীৰ মৰ্যাদা নোপোৱা

ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী নাটকৰ মধ্যমণি। যিজন স্বামীয়ে দেশ ৰক্ষাৰ বাবে যুঁজ দিব নোৱাৰি নিজ পত্নীক বেলেগৰ হাতলৈ ঠেলি দিছে তাৰ বিপক্ষে ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনীয়ে যুঁজিছে। আত্মহত্যা কৰি পলায়ন মনোভাব গ্ৰহণ কৰাৰ পিছতো দেশখনৰ ৰক্ষা, জাতিটোৰ স্বাৰ্থত নিজেই সাহসৰে শকৰাজৰ দুৰ্গত উপস্থিত হ'বলৈ মনত সাহস বান্ধি আগবাঢ়িছে। তাৰ লগে লগে নাটখনৰ আন আন চৰিত্ৰ মন্দাকিনী, শিখৰস্বামী আদি চৰিত্ৰৰ মাজেৰেও স্বদেশভাবনা জাগ্ৰত হৈছে। ঐতিহাসিক পটভূমিত ৰচিত নাটকখনৰ মূল বিষয়বস্তুটোৱে হ'ল স্বদেশভাবনা।

নাটক দুখন বিচাৰ কৰিলে দেখা যায়, নাটক দুখনৰ অন্তৰালত কাহিনীৰ আন আন দিশ প্ৰতিফলিত হলেও মূল বীজটো আছিল নাটক দুখনৰ মাজেৰে গভীৰ স্বদেশভাবনা ফুটাই তোলা। বিভিন্ন দিশৰ পৰা এই স্বদেশভাবনা বিচাৰ কৰিব পৰা যায় —

- ক) কাহিনী উপস্থাপনৰ মাজেৰে স্বদেশভাবনাৰ তুলনাত্মক আলোচনা
- খ) চাৰিত্ৰিক বৈশিষ্ট্যৰ মাজেৰে স্বদেশভাবনাৰ তুলনাত্মক আলোচনা
- গ) সংলাপ প্ৰয়োগৰ মাজেৰে স্বদেশভাবনাৰ তুলনাত্মক আলোচনা
- ঘ) ৰূপালীম আৰু ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী নাটকত প্ৰতিফলিত সমাজ জীৱন : স্বদেশভাবনাৰ তুলনাত্মক আলোচনা

এই আলোচনাত ‘ৰূপালীম’ আৰু ‘ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী’ নাটক দুখনত প্ৰতিফলিত সমাজ জীৱনৰ আধাৰত স্বদেশভাবনাৰ তুলনাত্মক বিচাৰ কৰিবলৈ চেষ্টা কৰা হৈছে।

স্বদেশ ভাবনা নাটকৰ এটি পুৰণি বিষয়। স্বদেশ প্ৰেমৰ প্ৰেৰণাত সমাজ সংস্কাৰকৰ ভূমিকা যিসকল আধুনিক অসমীয়া সাহিত্যিকে লৈছিল তেওঁলোকৰ ভিতৰত বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখযোগ্য গুণাভিৰাম বৰুৱা, হেমচন্দ্ৰ বৰুৱা। তেওঁলোকে দেখুৱাই যোৱা আদৰ্শক জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদ আগৰৱালাই গ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল। দেশপ্ৰেমৰ মাজত সাধাৰণতে দুটা ৰূপেই লুকাই থাকে; সেয়া বিদ্ৰোহ আৰু আশাবাদ। নাট্যকাৰৰ মনত দেশৰ প্ৰতি থকা সীমাহীন প্ৰীতিয়ে যিদৰে স্পন্দন তোলে দেশ আৰু জাতিৰ দুৰ্দৰ্শাই মনত ক্ষোভৰো সৃষ্টি কৰে। এফালে প্ৰীতি আনফালে দুৰ্দৰ্শা— এই দুয়ো ৰূপেই নাট্যকাৰক দি যায় সবল আৰু সুন্দৰ মাতৃভূমি গঢ়ি তোলাৰ এক দুৰ্বাৰ সাহস।

জোনাকী যুগত অসমৰ সাহিত্যিক তথা নাট্যকাৰসকল বেছি সন্তম আৰু সক্রিয় হৈ পৰিল। অসমীয়া ভাষা-সাহিত্যক সকলো দিশতে চহকী কৰিবলৈ তেওঁলোকে উঠি পৰি লাগিল। চন্দ্ৰকুমাৰ আগৰৱালাই ক’লে— ‘আমি নিজকে নিজে যোগ্য নকৰিলে আনে কৰি নিদিয়োহি।’^{০১} আগৰৱালাদেৱে যদিও কৈছিল— ‘ৰাজনীতি আমাৰ ৰাজ্যৰ বাহিৰ’^{০২} তথাপি এটা কথা স্বীকাৰ কৰিবই লাগিব স্বদেশ প্ৰেমেই তেওঁলোকক আন্ধাৰ দেশলৈ জোনাক সুমুৱাবলৈ প্ৰেৰণা যোগাইছিল। তাৰ প্ৰতিফলন ঘটিছিল জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদৰ নাটকসমূহত।

নিজ দেশৰ প্ৰতি থকা হিতৈশী মনোভাব দেশ ভক্তিৰ প্ৰৱণতা, স্বদেশৰ ভালৰ বাবে কৰা চেষ্টা আদিয়েই স্বদেশ ভাবনাৰ সমাৰ্থক অৰ্থ বিশেষ। স্বদেশ ভাবনা বা জাতীয় প্ৰেম এক গভীৰ অৰ্থবোধক অভিজ্ঞা। য’ত নিহিত হৈ থকা দেশৰ প্ৰতি থকা শ্ৰদ্ধা-ভক্তি আৰু আনুগত্য; য’ত নিহিত হৈ থাকে দেশবাসীৰ ঐক্য আবেগ আৰু সাৰ্বজনীন অনুভূতি। জন্মভূমিৰ প্ৰতি থকা ভাল পোৱাটো মানুহৰ সহজাত প্ৰবৃত্তি। এনে দিশেৰে জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদে তেওঁৰ ভালেকেইখন নাটকত স্বদেশানুৰাগৰ ছবি ফুটাই তুলিছিল। তেওঁৰ মনত থকা সীমাহীন শক্তি আৰু উৎসাহে এখন সোণৰ অসম গঢ়াৰ পোষকতা কৰিছিল। দেশৰ বাবেই চিন্তা কৰি খং আৰু ক্ষোভৰ জুই কেৱল পুৰুষৰ চৰিত্ৰৰ মাজেৰেই নহয়, নাৰী চৰিত্ৰৰ মাজেৰেও বিকশিত হৈছিল। জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদৰ নিজা দৰ্শনৰ মূল ভেটিটোৱেই হৈছে

স্বদেশানুৰাগ। তেওঁ চিন্তা, কৰ্মৰ এক বিশাল ঠাই অগ্ৰাধিকাৰ কৰি আছিল আত্মবিশ্লেষণ আৰু আত্মশুদ্ধিৰ মাজেদি সুস্থ সবল অসমীয়া জাতীয় চেতনাৰ বিকাশ ঘটোৱা।

প্ৰসাদৰ সাহিত্যৰাজি ভাৰতীয় মহত্ব, আৰু ধৰ্মপ্ৰাণৰে ভৰপূৰ আছিল। ত্যাগ, বলিদান, আৰু সন্মানৰ সকলোবোৰ ভাবনা একগোট কৰিলে বিশ্ব প্ৰেমেই আভাস পোৱা যায়। অতীতৰ স্মৃতিৰ জৰিয়তে নতুন চেতনা আৰু জাগৰণ সৃষ্টি কৰা প্ৰসাদৰ নাটকসমূহৰ মাজত স্বদেশভাবনা সুন্দৰ ৰূপত অংকিত হৈছে। প্ৰসাদৰ প্ৰায় সমূহ নাটতে অন্তৰ্দৃষ্টিত এটা ভাবে সদায় ক্ৰিয়া কৰি আহিছে। এই কেন্দ্ৰীয় ভাবটো হৈছে স্বদেশানুৰাগ।

স্বদেশ আৰু স্ব-জাতিৰ প্ৰতি থকা অন্তৰ্দৰ্শনেই ইয়াৰ মূল উপাদান। ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী নাটকতো স্বদেশ প্ৰীতি অৰ্থাৎ স্বজাতিৰ মংগলৰ বাবে ভিন ভিন চৰিত্ৰই গ্ৰহণ কৰা ভূমিকাৰ উদ্দেশ্য বৰ্ণিত হৈছে। স্বদেশ আৰু স্ব-জাতিৰ ন্যস্তস্বার্থৰ আঁৰত থকা কদৰ্য ৰূপ এটাও দাঙি ধৰিছে। তেওঁ প্ৰকৃত দেশ প্ৰেমৰ চৰিত্ৰত যাতে ন্যস্তস্বার্থ পৰিবৰ্জিত হয়, এই উদ্দেশ্য প্ৰত্যক্ষভাৱে দেখুৱাইছে।

**নাটক দুখনৰ মাজেৰে প্ৰতিফলিত সমসাময়িক সমাজ জীৱন
ঃ স্বদেশভাবনাৰ তুলনাত্মক
আলোচনা**

অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্যত ৰূপালীম নাটকৰ স্থান মনকৰিবলগীয়া। ওপৰৰূৱা দৃষ্টিত কাল্পনিক নাটকখনৰ মূল কাহিনীটো প্ৰেম আৰু ঈৰ্ষা যেন লাগিলেও তাৰ অন্তৰ্নিহিত বিষয়বস্তুটো গভীৰ। এই অন্তৰ্নিহিত বিষয়বস্তুটোৱেই আছিল স্বদেশপ্ৰেম। আন আন নাট্যকাৰসকলৰ দৰে জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদ আগৰৱালাই এই স্বদেশভাবনা নাটকত উত্তৰণ ঘটালে। ৰূপালীম নাটকখন যিখিনি সময়ত ৰচিত হৈছিল সেই সময়খিনি আছিল স্বাধীনতাৰ পূৰ্বৱৰ্তী সময়। ইংৰাজৰ অনায়াস অত্যাচাৰে সমগ্ৰ দেশ কলুষিত কৰি ৰাখিছিল। নাৰীক উচিত মৰ্যাদা দিয়াটো দূৰৰ কথা নাৰীক বিভিন্ন দৃষ্টিৰে চোৱা হৈছিল। পুৰুষৰ তুলনাত নাৰীক দুৰ্বল বুলি ভাবিছিল। সমাজে দিয়া কিছুমান ৰীতি-নীতিৰ মাজত আবদ্ধ কৰি ৰাখিছিল। নাৰীসকলৰ শত্ৰু সৈন্যই ভাল দেখিলে বলপূৰ্বক উঠাই লৈ যোৱা, বিভিন্ন কাৰণত নাৰীক উপহাৰৰ সামগ্ৰীৰূপেও গণ্য কৰা হৈছিল। সমাজত ঘটি থকা এনেধৰণৰ ঘটনাবোৰ দেখি সাহিত্যিকসকলে সততে সাহিত্যৰ মাজত প্ৰকাশিত কৰিছিল।

ৰূপালীম নাটত ৰূপালীমক মণিমুগ্ধৰ বলপূৰ্বক হৰণ, সতীত্ব বিসৰ্জনৰ বাবে কৰা জোৰ-জুলুমে সেই সময়ৰ সমাজখনৰে কথা সূচায়। সেইসমূহ জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদে অনুভৱ কৰিছিল সেয়ে ৰূপালীম আৰু ইতিভেনৰ জৰিয়তে ফুটাই তুলিছিল। নাট্যকাৰে সেয়ে ইতিভেনক সমাজে গঢ়ি দিয়া লৌহ গড়ালৰ পৰা মুকলি কৰি আনিছে। পুৰুষৰ দৰে উদ্বাস্ত কঠোৰে প্ৰতিফলিত কৰোৱা সংলাপসমূহৰ মাজত গভীৰ স্বদেশভাবনা ফুটাই তুলিছে—

‘কিন্তু যুগে যুগে
যেতিয়াই পুৰুষে
কৰ্তব্য পাহৰি
দুৰ্বলতাক আশ্ৰয়
কৰি কৰ্তব্যবিমুখ
হৈছে— তেতিয়াই
তিৰোতাই কৰ্তব্য
সোঁৱৰাই দিবলৈ
ওলাই আহিছে’
ৰূপালীম

পুৰুষক দৰে ইতিভেনক নাট্যকাৰে অংকন কৰি গভীৰ স্বদেশভাবনা জগাই তুলিছে। যিখিনি সময় দেশৰ বাবে, জাতিৰ বাবে এজন পুৰুষ ওলাই যাব নোৱাৰে তেনে সময়ত দেশ আৰু জাতিৰ বাবে ৰূপালীমে দেহ পৰ্যন্ত বিসৰ্জন দি শেষত মৃত্যুক আঁকোৱালি লৈছে। স্বদেশ, স্বজাতি আৰু দেশৰ সকলো জনসাধাৰণৰ বাবে কৰা ৰূপালীমৰ ত্যাগ গভীৰ স্বদেশভাবনা জগাই তোলাৰ লগতে সেই সময়ছোৱাত দেশৰ বাবে নাৰী হৈয়ো যে প্ৰাণ বিসৰ্জন দিব পাৰে তাৰেই প্ৰমাণ দাঙি ধৰিলে।

তাৰোপৰি সেই সময়ছোৱাৰ জনসাধাৰণ আছিল তেনেই সৰলমনা, কিন্তু তেওঁলোকৰ হৃদয়ত স্বদেশপ্ৰীতি সোমাই আছিল। যিখিনি কাম বা চিন্তা বজাই কৰিব পৰা নাছিল সেইখিনি এজন সাধাৰণ প্ৰজায়ে ভাবিব পাৰিছিল। নাটকখনত দেখা পোৱা ৰিমু তাৰ উজ্জ্বল উদাহৰণ। ৰিমুৱে নিজৰ দেশক প্ৰাণ ভৰি ভাল পাইছিল। সেইবাবে কৈছিল—

‘মোৰ মানুহ মোৰ দেশৰ যি
দুৰ্দৰ্শা হৈছে,
মই তাৰ ভাগ লওঁগৈ’
ৰূপালীম

গতিকে দেখা যায় সমসাময়িক সমাজখনৰ জৰিয়তে নাট্যকাৰে নাটকখনত স্বদেশভাবনা জগাই তুলিছে। যিখিনি সময়ক নাৰীক উচিত মৰ্যাদা দিয়া নাছিল সেইখিনি সময়ত আগৰবালাই নাৰীৰ জৰিয়তে স্বদেশপ্ৰেম জাগ্ৰত কৰাইছে। দৰাচলতে মূল কাহিনীৰ অন্তৰালত এক অন্তৰ্নিহিত কাহিনীৰ জৰিয়তে স্বদেশপ্ৰেম জগাই তোলাই নাট্যকাৰৰ প্ৰধান উদ্দেশ্য আছিল।

ঠিক সেইদৰে জয়শংকৰ প্ৰসাদৰ প্ৰব্ৰস্বামিনী নাটকখনে সমগ্ৰ বিশ্ব সাহিত্যতে এক সুকীয়া স্থান লাভ কৰিছে। নাটকখনৰ মূল নাৰী চৰিত্ৰ প্ৰব্ৰস্বামিনীৰ জৰিয়তে স্বদেশভাবনা জাগ্ৰত কৰিলেও সেই সময়ৰ সমসাময়িক সমাজখনক তুলি ধৰিছে। সেই সময়ৰ সমাজখনত নাৰীক উচিত মৰ্যাদা দিয়া হোৱা নাছিল। নাৰীক উপহাৰৰ সামগ্ৰীৰূপে গণ্য কৰা হৈছিল। নাৰী জীৱনৰ কিছুমান সমস্যা নাট্যকাৰে বৰ্ণনা কৰিছে। তাৰ লগে লগে স্বদেশভাবনা প্ৰকট হৈ উঠিছে, নাৰী উপহাৰৰ সামগ্ৰী নহয় বাবেই শেষত নাট্যকাৰে সেই নাৰীৰ হতুৱাই দেশ, জাতিৰ জয়গান গোৱাইছে। সেই সময়ৰ সমাজখনত নাৰীক নাৰী হিচাপে গণ্য নকৰাৰ উমান নাটকখনত পোৱা যায়—

‘ৰামগুপ্ত : তেওঁ
তেন্তে মহাদেৱীক
বিচাৰিছে নেকি?
শিখৰ : হয় দেৱ!
লগত তেওঁ নিজৰ
সামন্তসকলৰ বাবেও
মগধৰ সামন্তৰ স্ত্ৰী
সকলৰ বিচাৰিছে।
প্ৰব্ৰস্বামিনী

এনে এক সময়তে প্ৰব্ৰস্বামিনী চৰিত্ৰৰ মাজেৰে নাৰীৰ সাহসিকতা অংকিত কৰিছে। চৰিত্ৰটোৰ মাজত দেখা যায়, সেই সময়ছোৱাত নাৰীক উপহাৰৰ সামগ্ৰীৰূপে নাৰীক চালেও প্ৰব্ৰস্বামিনীয়ে তাৰ প্ৰতিবাদ কৰিছিল। দেশ বক্ষাৰ বাবে ৰামগুপ্তই লোৱা পছা তেওঁৰ বাবে উপযুক্ত নাছিল। সেই বাবেই দেশ, স্ব-জাতিৰ বাবে নিজেই সাহসৰে শকৰাজৰ দুৰ্গলৈ আগবাঢ়ি যাবলৈ প্ৰতিজ্ঞা হ’ল। দৰাচলতে প্ৰব্ৰস্বামিনী সাহসিকতাৰ প্ৰতীক। যিখিনি সময়ত নাৰীক উচিত মৰ্যাদা দিয়া নাছিল, সেইখিনি সময়ত প্ৰসাদেও নাৰীক পুৰুষৰ দৰে স্থান দি দেশৰ বাবে যুঁজিব পৰা

স্বদেশভাবনাৰে সমৃদ্ধ এগৰাকী নাৰী হিচাপে অংকন কৰিছিল।

তাৰোপৰি নাটকখনৰ আন আন গৌণ চৰিত্ৰৰ মাজেৰেও স্বদেশভাবনাৰ ছবি এখনি অংকিত হৈছে। জাতিটোৰ বাবে চিন্তা কৰিব নোৱাৰা বজাৰ বিপৰীতে তেনে সময়ত সমাজৰ সাধাৰণ মানুহ কিছুমানে চিন্তা কৰিছিল, অথচ তেওঁলোকক মানুহ হিচাপেও গুৰুত্ব প্ৰদান কৰা নাছিল। কিন্তু তেওঁলোকৰ চিন্তা ভাৱনাই অতি উচ্চ আছিল। শত্ৰুপক্ষৰ মৃত্যুত শেষত তেওঁলোকৰ অন্তৰত সৃষ্টি হোৱা আনন্দই সেই কথাৰেই ইংগিত দিয়ে—

‘মহাদেৱী ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনীৰ জয়।’ ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী

দেখা যায়, স্বাধীনতাৰ পূৰ্বে ৰচিত নাটক দুখনৰ বিষয়বস্তুৰ অন্তৰালত এটি গভীৰ অৰ্থ সোমাই আছিল। যিখিনি সময়ত নাৰীক হয় জ্ঞান কৰিছিল তেনে এক সময়ত দুয়োগৰাকী নাট্যকাৰে নাৰীক উচ্চ আসনত বহুৱাই নাৰীৰ মাজেৰে স্বদেশভাবনা জগাই তুলিছিল। দেশৰ বাবে ৰূপালীমে দেহ পৰ্যন্ত বিসৰ্জন দিবলৈ কুণ্ঠাবোধ কৰা নাছিল, যিহেতু তেওঁৰ হাতত অন্য কোনো উপায় নাছিল। কিন্তু তাৰ বিপৰীতে ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী নাটকত ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনীয়ে সেই একে সমস্যাৰ সন্মুখীন হওতে তাৰ ঘোৰ প্ৰতিবাদ কৰিছে। জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদৰ ৰূপালীম সৰলমনা, তাৰ বিপৰীতে জয়শংকৰ প্ৰসাদৰ ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী সৰলমনা হোৱাৰ লগতে কঠোৰতা। জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদৰ ৰূপালীম নাটকৰ দুই নাৰী চৰিত্ৰ ইতিভেন আৰু ৰূপালীমৰ একত্ৰ ৰূপ যেন ধ্ৰুৱস্বামিনী। দুয়োগৰাকী নাট্যকাৰে সেই সময়ছোৱাৰ সমাজখনৰ পটভূমিত নাটক দুখন ৰচনা কৰিছিল। উদ্দেশ্য এটাই আছিল স্বদেশভাবনাৰ পূৰ্ণ প্ৰতিফলন। সাধাৰণ একোটা চৰিত্ৰৰ মুখেৰে প্ৰদান কৰা সংলাপে সেই কথাকে প্ৰতিপন্ন কৰে। কাহিনীৰ লগে লগে পৰিবেশ অনুযায়ী নাট্যকাৰ দুয়োজনে চৰিত্ৰ অনুসৰি

স্বদেশভাবনা সুন্দৰ ৰূপত ফুটাই তোলা দেখা যায়।

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লেখক : সহকাৰী অধ্যাপক, অসমীয়া বিভাগ, চৰকাৰী আদৰ্শ মহাবিদ্যালয়, কাজিৰঙা

ENGLISH SECTION

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT STATUS OF TIWAS IN NAGAON DISTRICT OF ASSAM-AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

**Ajit Debnath
Manuj Kr. Patar**

Abstract

Tiwa community is one of the culturally rich tribal communities of North East India. The Tiwas have their own distinct language, cultures and traditions like other Tribals of North- East. They have two sub groups like hill Tiwas and plain Tiwas. The main objective of this paper is to analyse the socio-economic conditions and human development status of Tiwa community in Nagaon district of Assam. The paper is based on both primary as well as secondary sources of data. The paper is divided into three sections. The first section includes the introduction, objectives followed by the research methodology. The second section has dealt with literature review only. The third section has dealt with the results and discussions.

Keywords: Socio-economic, human development, Tiwa community, HDI.

Introduction

The term human development refers to the study of how people achieving on physical, intellectual and social levels. It was first coined by novel laureate Amartya Sen, in 1998. It is the process of enlarging peoples choices and improving human capabilities and liberty So, people can live a long and healthy life, access to education and decent standard of living and engage in their community and the decision that effect their lives (Bhardwaj et.al., 2012). Development is a kind of process which creates growth, progress of positive change, reduces the socio-economic deprivation, environmental

and demographic ingredients. For proper development within a country, it is basically need the expansion of output and wealth. In generally, economic development is a wider term than economic growth. Economic development evolved some parameters like literacy, population growth, malnutrition, health facility, housing problem, law and order etc. It includes both quantitative and qualitative indicators. Actually development is the welfare of human beings.

The human development perspective of development as is commonly understood differs from the conventional approaches to economic growth, human capital formation,

human resource development, human welfare and basic human needs (Nayak, 2010). According to United Nations development programme (UNDP) in 1990s “Building human capabilities is fundamental to expanding choices”, “human development is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accordance with their needs and interest (UNDP HDR, 2001). Human development expresses as expansion of human capabilities and choices. This new paradigm of development advocates an alternative model that is drawn on cultural heritage of a society and borrow from others when possible useful (Nurse, 2007).

Sen (1999) introduces the broadest possible definition of development-expansions of freedoms. His set of freedom includes a wide range of human freedoms-freedom from hunger, illiteracy, disease, freedom from insecurity; from political, cultural and religious tyranny. They also include the positive freedoms of thought, cultural expressions and the enjoyment of leisure-many of these issues are deeply associated with development and firmly rooted in day- to- day economic challenges of promoting sustainable and inclusive economic growth (Basumatary, 2005). Human Development is a process of enlarging people’s choices. In principle, these choices can be infinite and can change over time. But, at all levels of development, the three essential choices are for people to lead a healthy and long life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living. Additional choices, highly valued by

many people, range from political, economic and social freedom to opportunities for being creative and productive and enjoying self-respect and guaranteed human rights. Human development has two sides: firstly, the formation of human capabilities such as improved health, knowledge and skills. Secondly, the use of theirs acquired capabilities for productive purposes, leisure or for being active in cultural, social and political affairs (Nayak, 2010).

Anyway, (HD) measures of socio-economic progress of a nation, state and district and also it has been basically measured in the form of a composite index called as Human Development Index. It is assimilated only three kinds of dimensions such as life expectancy, real GDP per capita and educational attainment which is reflecting the human development. From among them health, education and income are the most three basic dimensions of human well being. The HDI value of dimensions longevity measured by life expectancy at birth, educational attainment measured by a amalgamation of adult literacy which is combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment ratios and lastly , standard of living which is examined by real GDP per capita based on purchasing power parity in terms of dollar.

India is a vast or large populated country inhabited by a large number of communities. But among them quite a few communities namely SC and ST have remained backward. The socio-economic formation of tribal communities is not advanced than non-tribal communities. In India, about 15% tribal population lives in

different geographical areas of the country which is constitute plains and hills areas. Majority of Tribal people exist in the state of UTs as itself Lakshadweep, Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Dadra and Nagar Haveli. They have at different phases of social economic and educational development. Low literacy levels, Economic backwardness, dependent on poor agriculture level of technology are the main characteristics of Tribal population in Assam.

Various types of communities are constituted in the state of Assam. The present study is based on the Tiwa communities. The 'Lalung' prefer to call themselves as Tiwa. According to Lalung language 'Ti' means water and 'Wa' means superior. As the Lalungs landed on the plains following the course of the river Brahmaputra, they introduced themselves as 'Tiwa' to the inquisitive of non- 'Tiwas'. It is quite probable that 'Tiwa' derives its origin to the term 'ibbatia' meaning people hailing from Tibbet. In course of time this 'Tibbatia' might have changed in to 'Tiwa'. It is believed that in ancient times three great divisions of the Bodos namely 'Tipra', 'Tiwa' and 'Dimasa' lived along the banks of a lake near Tibbet. In course of time they entered Assam through the north-east passes. The local people could not pronounce 'Tifra' and thus in their tongue 'Tifra' became 'Tippera'. 'Tiwas' introduced themselves as 'Tiwa Libing' or 'Tiwa Libung'. In course of time the prefix 'Tiwa' was eliminated and in place of 'Libing', Lalung came to be used (Sarma, et.al, 2014).

The Tiwas also known as the Lalungs are culturally rich tribal community inhabiting the state of Assam and Meghalaya of North- Eastern region. They have own language, traditional culture and custom. In the state of Assam, they are mainly found in the district of Nagaon, Morigaon and also a few numbers of Tiwa people resided in Dhemaji district. They are also acculturated ethnic group. The Lalungs have rich treasury of oral literatures containing of Myths, tales, legends songs and riddles. They have played an important role in the history of Assam in Assamese in Assamese society and culture like the other tribes of North- East India. These kinds of tribes divided in to mainly two subdivision i.e. the hills and plains. The hills Tiwa lives in the Karbi-Anglong district of Assam and in the North-Eastern corner of Ri-Bhoi districts of Meghalaya. They speak a Tibeto-Burman language of the Bodo-Garo group. The plains Tiwa lives on the flat lands of Assam, mostly in Morigaon, Nagaon and Kamrup district and they speaks Assamese as their mother tongue. Also, the Namghar cultures are evolved in to the Tiwa villages. In Nagaon and Morigaon, they are resided in Kapili, Mayong, Bhurbandha, Kathiatoli, Kampur development block and Raha development block areas of Nagaon and Morigaon District of Assam. Economically backward, low rate of literacy level primarily based on agriculture and acute land problem are the main characteristics of Tiwa communities. Hence, the present study will try to find out the human development of the Tiwa community in Nagaon district of Assam. It will be measured on various indicators relating to education, health and GDP ratio. A

comparative study will also be conducted to find out the socio- economic status of Tiwa people in Nagaon district of Assam. Therefore, the study has wide scope to eliminate the various defects of Tiwa communities.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the present study are as follows:

1. To analyse the Socio-Economic conditions of Tiwa community in Nagaon district of Assam.
2. To examine the human development status of the Tiwas in Nagaon district of Assam.

Data Base and Methodology of the Study

The study was empirical in nature based on primary data. In fact the present study used both primary as well as secondary data. To collect primary data, the study used stratified sampling technique. The different stages are given as below:

In the first stage, Nagaon district was the universe of the study. In the second stage, three blocks mainly Raha

1) Firstly, the life expectancy at birth index was calculated by using the

$$\text{Life expectancy at birth Index} = \left[\frac{LE_y - LE_{min}}{LE_{max} - LE_{min}} \right]$$

LE_y = Life expectancy for a particular country, Y

2) Secondly, the educational index was calculated by using the following formula:
Educational Index =

$$\left[\frac{2}{3} (\text{Adult Literacy Index}) + \frac{1}{3} (\text{Gross Enrolment Index}) \right]$$

development block, Barhampur development block and Kathiatoli development block were selected and five villages from the these blocks were selected. Finally, the households were selected by using random sampling technique. Attempts were made to at least twenty households from each selected villages.

In addition, the present study used basically some secondary sources such as several governments' reports, different articles and journals, Books, Newspaper, Published and unpublished works of any research and various websites.

In Human Development Index (HDI) construction, formulation of HDI metric is the final stage of the study. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) formulated HDI by incorporation there basic components of well-being i.e., health, knowledge, and command over resources .Thus, HDI can be constructed either in terms of region's deprivation or shortfall or in terms of region's attainment in each of the various selected indicators.

However, initially, HDI in Human Development Report (HDSR), (1990, pp.108 and 1991, pp.88), was constructed from deprivation perspective. In the present study, the HDI was calculated as follows:

Where,

$$\text{Adult Literacy Index} = \left(\frac{\text{Actual Value} - \text{Minimum Value}}{\text{Maximum Value} - \text{Minimum Value}} \right)$$

And

$$\text{Gross Enrolment Index} = \left(\frac{\text{Actual Value} - \text{Minimum Value}}{\text{Maximum Value} - \text{Minimum Value}} \right)$$

3) Thirdly, Income Index was constructed as follows:

$$\text{Income Index} = \left(\frac{\log \text{Actual Value} - \log \text{Minimum Value}}{\log \text{Maximum Value} - \log \text{Minimum Value}} \right)$$

After calculation of all these three dimension indices, HDI can be calculated which is the simple arithmetic average of the three indices.

$$\text{HDI} = \sqrt[3]{(\text{life Expectancy Index})(\text{Education Index})(\text{Income Index})}$$

There are many studies evolved on human development status of tribal people around world. There is an extensive literature on human development through human development index. Some of the important literature reviews of the present study are given below:

K. Basumatary (2005), in his research entitled 'Political Economy of Bodo Movement in Assam: A human Development Perspective' has presented that the socio-economic position of Bodo community and various factor affecting to the relating community in terms of human development. He has analysed that to judge various indices of human development in study area e.g. Human development Index (HDI), Education Index (EI), Consumption Index (CI) and Health Index (HI) etc. in study area. From his research work he has recommended that the proper socio-economic, education policy and government authority can help to growing human

development in study area. S. Alkire (2010), in her research paper entitled 'Human Development: Definitions, Critiques and Related Concepts' has found that the human development is included various dimensions likely health and life, education, standard of living freedom of political, creativity and productivity environment, social and relational and also cultural and arts. She has also showed that the concept of human develop relating to two sides as formation of human capabilities and another is acquired capabilities for people make. She focussed that the expanding of income and wealth are the main elements for growing development and also focussed that it must be involved of people. P. Nayak(2010), in his research paper entitled 'Growth and Human Development in North Eastern Region of India' has presented that the status and growth of human development in North Eastern region and also analysed that the region have own religious beliefs, cultures

and Languages. From his study he has found that north-eastern region has been quite satisfactory of all India average situations for human development. He has also found that the regions have some crucial problems for stagnation of economic growth i.e. poverty, gender disparities etc. He suggests that for achievement of economic growth and development, it must be essential to importance on production activities and equitable distribution. R.Bhardwaj et al.(2012), in their research paper entitled 'Human Development' has presented that human development consists six basic pillars which are equity, sustainability, productivity, empowerment cooperation and security. They analysed that the human development index which is a comparative measure of life expectancy, education and standard of living of a country. From their study they have suggested that for better living standard of a country it must be needed government developing policies and programmes. E. kanagaraj(2013), in his research paper entitled 'Human Development among Primitive Tribes in Tamil Nadu' has found that the nature , scope , reasons, organisation and effect of these problems on tribal life. He has focussed that the household human development attainment distinguish between the schedule primitive tribes of the Kota, the Kurumba, the Irula and the Non schedule primitive tribe of the Badaga. He suggested that the some welfare policy making and programming for tribal development of the primitives tribes of Tamil Nadu. R. Sarma et al.(2014), in their research paper entitled 'Somatometric study of a Mogoloid Community –“ The plain-

Tiwas” of central Assam' has examined that the adult representatives of both male and female of “Plain- Tiwa” people inhabiting in Sidhabari and Manipur villages of Morigaon district of Assam and also covered 100 male and 100 female individuals. They have found that the basic elements which are affect their culture, social systems and traditions i.e. food habit and also leading to intra community and cast marriage. J.J Heckman and S.Mosso(2014), in their research article entitled 'The Economics of human development and social Mobility' has revealed that the Economics of human development and social mobility and also represent economic models for skill examine. They have focused on skills and the Technology of skill formation which is accounting the life cycle of childhood, adulthood and also sensitive periods of childhood in the formation of skills. They also established empirical relationship between the child achievement and family income. They also used the Econometric and statistical model to define level of Income of the family .They have found that the basically recent literature is based on multiple generation models with multiple periods of adulthood and childhood and also found that the dynamics of skill formation which is impact on the process of human development. G. Anbuselvi and P.J Lesson (2015), in their research work 'Education of Tribal Children in India- A case study' have found that the education of tribal children is a critical issue Marayoor and kanthalar panchayat in Idukki district. They have also found that some socio-economic factor are affecting in tribal education in research area. They have suggested that for welfare of

tribal people, it must be needed basic and adult education training. N.C Jana and P.K Ghosh (2015), in their research Paper entitled 'Socio-Economic Condition and Quality of life in the Tribal Areas of Orissa with special Reference to Mayurbhanj District' has explained that the Socio-Economic status of traditional Culture, religious, aspect of life and literary in the Tribal area of Orissa at Mayurbhanj district . They have found that people living in Mayaurbhanj district, major hindrance to common socio-economic factor affecting Such as Poverty, lack of adequate primary health facility and lack of developmental facilities. They have Also recommended that proper education facilities, spread of education improvement of tribal art and craft is essential tool for the Socio-Economic development of tribes. Dr. Somanna and Shrinidhi VS (2018), in their research paper entitled 'Socio –Economic and Human Development profile of Schedule Tribes in Kodagu' has examined that the socio – economic and human development of the tribes in Kodagu district such as Yerava, Kudiya, jenukuruba, Kadukuruba and Soliga. They have found that the education, health, and livelihood opportunities are the major concern. They have recommended that the properly implementation of government intervention strategy, poverty alleviation programme, skill development, expansion of the tertiary and secondary sector are the main importance for human

development and economically empowering of these communities. P.Debnath (2018), in his research paper entitled 'Socio-Political Institutions of Lalung (Tiwa) Community of Assam with Special Reference to Morigaon District' has focused that the tribal people Vague Culture and their rich identity which are integrating Part of Indian Society. He has also identified the language, geographical location and Problem of the Tiwas people.

Thus, this section dealt with various studies at international level, national level and state level regarding human development and socio-economic studies of various communities. However, there are few studies regarding human development status of any particular ethnic group. Besides, there is no study on human development regarding Tiwa communities. Hence, the present study is an attempt to fill the knowledge gap in this regard.

Socio-economic Characteristics of the Surveyed Respondents:

In this section, it has made to examine the socio-economic characteristics of the surveyed respondents of the households. It is based on primary survey which is elaborately examined. The primary survey for research work has been collected in the morning and evening period. The interviews were taken in the study area basically heads of the households or spouses of them or adult members of households. It is explained in detailed in the following sections.

Table-3.1
Civil Status of the Respondents

Civil Status	Percentage
Single	4
Married	91
Widowed	5
Total	100

Source: Primary Survey, 2020.

Table3.1 shows the civil status of the respondents. Majority of the respondents found to be married (91percent), widowed (5percent) and only 4 percent were found to be single.

Table-3.2
Age of the Respondents

Age	Percentage
18-30 years	5
31-45 years	42
46-60 years	44
Above 60 years	9
Total	100

Source: Primary Survey, 2020.

Table 3.2 shows the age of the respondent. Majority of the respondent found to be age group of 46-60 years (44 percent). The respondent found to be age group of 31-45(42percent) , above 60 years(9percent) and 18-30(5percent).

Table-3.3
Occupation of the Respondents

Occupation	Percentage
Farming or Agriculture	72
Self employed as trader/businessmen/contractor	3
Govt. employee	12
Retired employee	8
Others	5
Total	100

Source: Primary Survey, 2020.

Table 3.3 shows the occupation of the respondent. In the table, Majority of the respondents were found to be farming or agricultural activities (72 percent). The respondent found to be

Govt. employee (12 percent), Retired employee (8 percent), self employed as trader/businessmen/contractor (3percent) and others (5percent).

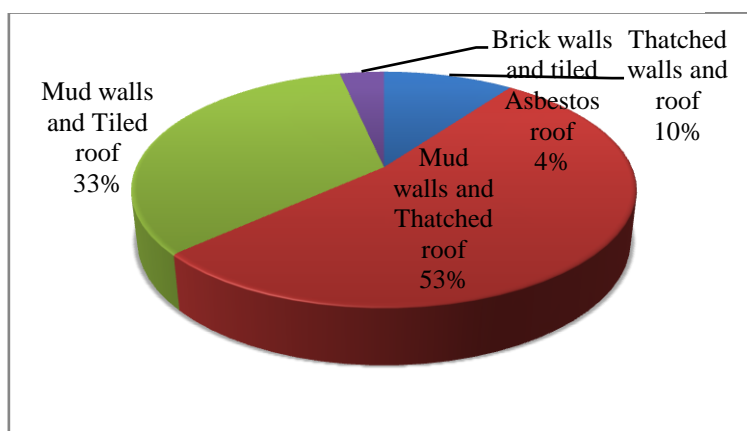
Table-3.4
Income from Various Sources of the Respondents

Sources of Income	Percentage
Income from Services	20
Income from Agriculture	73
Income from Labourer	7
Total	100

Source: Primary Survey, 2020.

Table 3.4 shows the income from various sources of the respondent. From the surveyed data it is found that Majority of the household that is 73 percent come from Income from agriculture. Incomes from Services were found only 20 percent and Income from Labour only 7 percent is found in study area.

Figure-3.1
House Particulars of the Respondents



Source: Primary Survey, 2020.

Figure 3.1 indicates the house particulars of the respondent in the study area. Most of the household found to be Mud walls and Thatched roof, approx. 53 percent followed by Mud walls and Tiled roof 33 percent. Thatched Walls and roof 10 percent and Brick walls and tiled Asbestos roof were found only 4 percent.

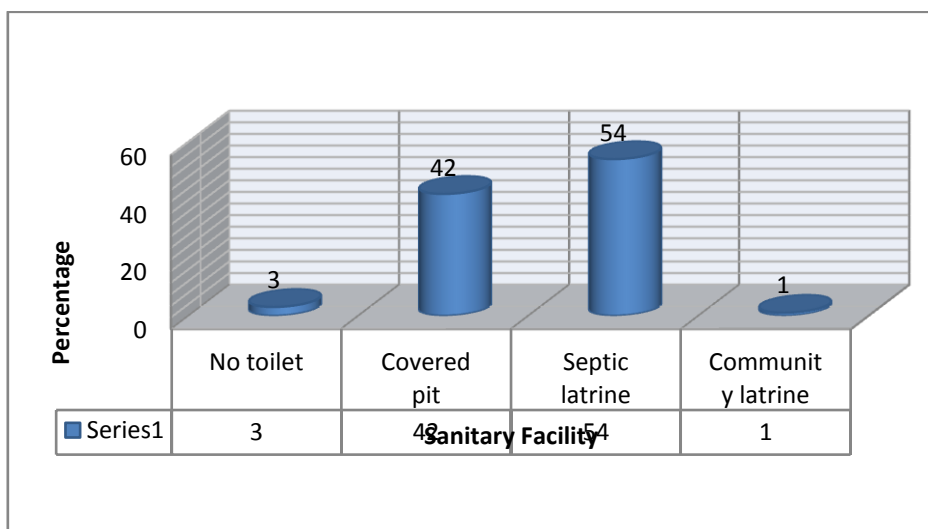
Table-3.5
Educational Particulars of the Respondents

Literacy level of the respondent	Percentage
Primary	24.7
High school	50.6
Higher Secondary	14.6
Graduate	9
Post Graduate	1.1
Total	100

Source: Primary Survey, 2020.

Table-3.5 shows the literacy level of the respondent in study area. Most of the respondents were Metric passed, approximately 50.6 percent followed by primary 24.7 percent. Higher secondary level found to be 14.6 percent; graduate 9 percent and post graduate were found only 1.1 percent.

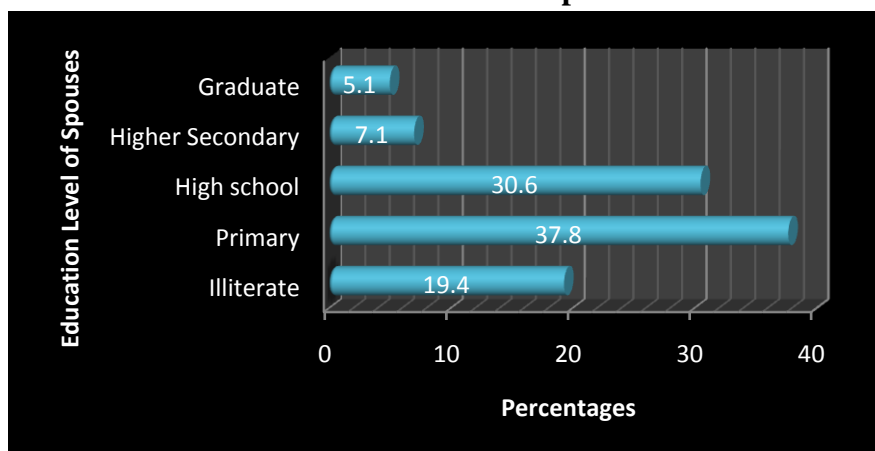
Figure-3.2
Availability of Sanitary Facility



Source: Primary Survey, 2020.

Figure 3.2 indicates that the sanitary facility of the household in study area. Majority of the respondent found to be septic latrine that is 54 followed by covered pit 42 percent; no toilet 3percent and community latrine were only 1 percent.

Figure 3.3
Educational Status of Spouses



Source: Primary Survey, 2020.

Figure 3.3 shows that the educational status of spouse of the respondent in study area. Majority of the respondent were found primary passed that is only 37.8 percent followed by high school level 30.6 percent. In case of higher secondary level, only 7.1percent are found in study area followed by graduate 5.1 percent and 19.4 percent are found illiterate.

Human Development in Assam:

Table 3.6 shows the Human development report in the districts of Assam.

Human development three indicators like health, education, standard of living focuses on the table and also focuses the human development index rank in the districts of Assam. According to human development report survey, 2013 Tiwa inhabited districts as Rank of HDI Morigaon (13), Nagaon (9), Kamrup Rural(4), Kamrup Metro(1), Lakhimpur(11), Sonitpur(17), Jorhat(2), Dhemaji(21), Sibsagar(5) and Karbi Anglong (8). It is seen that Tiwa inhabited districts are more or less HDI rank of the other district of Assam.

Table 3.6
Comparison of Human Development Indicators: Tiwa Inhabited and Other Districts of Assam

District	Rank: Health	Rank: Education	Rank: Living Standard	Rank: HDI
Morigaon	6	11	25	13
Nagaon	10	10	7	9
Kamrup(R)	1	15	11	4
Kamrup(M)	12	1	1	1
Sibsagar	17	2	3	5
Jorhat	11	3	2	2
Sonitpur	22	21	5	17
Lakhimpur	9	6	15	11

Dhemaji	21	7	24	21
Karbi Anglong	5	17	12	8
Baksa	26	23	21	26
Barpeta	2	9	16	6
Bongaigaon	16	13	8	14
Cachar	27	16	13	24
Chirang	4	12	17	7
Darrang	8	27	23	19
Dhubri	19	26	26	23
Dibrugarh	18	5	9	15
Dima Hasao	3	14	6	3
Goalpara	7	22	14	10
Golaghat	13	8	19	16
Hailakandi	24	24	27	27
Karimganj	25	19	20	25
Kokrajhar	14	18	22	20
Nalbari	20	4	4	12
Tinsukia	23	20	10	22
Udalguri	15	25	18	18

Source: HDR Survey, 2013

Status of Human Development of Tiwas: An evaluation from survey data

In Nagaon district of Assam, the researcher has collected primary data from 5 sample villages. The villages are under of various development block of Nagaon district. Majority of Tiwa people are engaged in agriculture sector in Nagaon district of Assam. Following are the sample villages of the study area may explain one by one with their characteristics.

1. Nabar Lalung Gaon

Twenty (20) sample households of the village have been surveyed for the study. The village is located in Kampur Tehsil of Nagaon district of Assam. 121.54 hectares, the total geographical area covered the village. Kampur is nearest town of Nambur Lalung Gaon which is approximately 12 km

away and 20 km away from district headquarter Nagaon. Majority of people are engaged in primary sector i.e agriculture activity. From surveyed data, literacy rate of the village is 55 percent of the total population. The women of this village engage different economic activities like rearing of cattle, pig, and eri-worm etc. The village is under Kathiatoli development block. Majority of the people of this village speak Tiwa language.

2. Mohgar

The village is under Kathiatoli development block of Nagaon district. Twenty (20) sample households of the village have been surveyed for the research purpose. In this village, most of the people are Tiwa community. The village is 16 km away from district headquarter Nagaon.

Majority of the people of this village are very poor. Most of the people speak Tiwa language. They are living minimum standard level and also economic condition is very poor. From surveyed data, literacy rate of the village is 53 percent of the total population. In economic activities, most of the people are existed in agriculture and farming.

3. Khahigarh Namgaon

The village is located under of Raha development block in Nagaon district of Assam. Twenty (20) sample households are selected from this village. Most of the people are engaged in agricultural activities. The women of this participate in many other activities such as weaving, fishing and marketing, etc. The village is 25 km away from district headquarter Nagaon. The nearest town of this village is Raha away from this village about 3 km. The people of this village are mainly depend on agriculture. Above 80 percent population are depend on agricultural activities. From surveyed data , it is seen that health, economic condition are not satisfactory and also literacy rate is very poor.

4. Lawphulabori

The village is located under of Raha development block in Nagaon district of Assam. For the study, twenty sample (20) households are selected from this village. In this village, majority of the peoples are Tiwa community. Raha is nearest town of Lawphulabori gaon which is approximately 3 or 4 km away. The village is 24 km away from district headquarter town. People of

this village are engaged in different economic acitivities. From surveyed data, most of the people are depend on agriculture activities. They used a very old method for agricultural practices and also farming is absolutely rain fed. The women of this village are take part in different economic activities like weaving, rearing of cattle, pig and eri worm etc. From surveyed data, it is basically seen that majority of the people economic, health condition is not rich and literacy rate of this village is not satisfactory.

5. Bamuni Bor Lalung Gaon

The village is located under Barhampur development block in Nagaon district of Assam. For the study, a total of twenty (20) sample households of the village have been surveyed. In this village, most of the people speak Tiwa language. Nagaon is nearest town of this village which is approximately 19 km away. From surveyed data in this village, the primary sector activities are the main source of income and employment. Above 80 percent people are depend on agricultural activities. They use traditional method for agriculture cultivation. They basically use human and bullock powers in their farming like wooden plough with iron ploughshare, iron hoe- with bamboo handle, etc. In this village, machines, chemical fertilizers and pesticides are scantily used. From surveyed data, literacy rate is very poor in this village.

The following table 3.7 shows the Human development indicators and evidences from primary survey.

Table: 3.7
Human Development Indicators: Evidences from Primary Survey

Sl. No.	Indicator of Human Development	Value
1	Life expectancy at birth	0.64
2	Educational Index	0.57
3	Income Index	0.290

Source: Calculated from primary survey, 2020.

From the above calculate data, HDI is found to be 0.47. This shows that the human development index is very low for Tiwa communities in comparison to state (0.57) and national level (0.647).

3.3 Policy Recommendations

The Primary objective of any empirical study is to take out policy implications for addressing the various issues and challenges focused during the process of investigation. The following policy recommendations are suggested for effective implementation of the strategies to the pace of human development in Nagaon district.

- The study revealed that the low levels of income of the households of the study area in the district. In this case, the first priority of the government should be make efforts to the income levels of the households. In addition to providing wage employment opportunities for the households and importance on “Self-help” group and inclusive growth in the study area.
- The study indicated that the low literacy level of the respondents of the study area in the district. In this context, for improving literacy levels of the population, it must be needed the established higher educational institution

to adopt nearby village to strive to improve the literacy levels of the population in the district.

- The important finding indicates that majority of the households depend on agricultural activities in the study area, approximately 72 percent. In order to improve agriculture productivity, Government should be taken various initiatives in agriculture such as irrigation facilities, modern technology method used in agriculture, HYV seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and insecticides etc in the district.

Conclusion: From the study, it can be clearly say that majority of Tiwa people are still lagging behind in the pace of socio-economic development. They are very economically poor and living minimum subsistence level. In this context, it is more essential that the tribal people are actively involved in decision making progress in planning and the implementations of the programmes and it also creates more confidence among them in the policies of the government. This type of approach would make the planned efforts of the government with more significant.

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Authors:

Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva
Viswavidyalaya
Research Scholar, Department of Economics, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva
Viswavidyalaya

MARGINALITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: A READING OF H.L.V. DEROZIO'S 'FREEDOM TO THE SLAVE' AND 'THE ORPHAN GIRL'

Dipak Jyoti Baruah

Abstract

This paper is a critique upon the lyricism of H.L.V. Derozio vis-à-vis his socialistic humanism. The study would be made against the socio-political and historical background of the Ideological moorings of the poet. The paper is by and large an analytical study, which is facilitated by close reading of the two poems: "Freedom to the Slave" and "Orphan Girl". It is also aided by a study upon the relevant socio political and historical background. The method of deductive reasoning is used while dealing with the subject.

Key words: socialistic humanism ideological deductive

True to his Indianness, H.L.V Derozio in his expressions shared the major concerns, fears and longings of a common suffering Indian of his time. Though he wrote in the English language, as regards to his attitudes, modes and outlooks, he had the mind of a complete 'Indian' intellectual. The social renaissance of his time and the anti-colonial consciousness that was growing on in the minds of the people- this would explain the radical dynamics of his expressions. Having a desire to create a space for the marginalized where the repressors and oppressors would get their dues for attempting to subvert the marginalized, he was against the condescending postures of the orthodox few of the society.

Bengal was at that time on the face of a cultural and intellectual Renaissance, as the

spread of western education was beginning to bring a strong enthusiasm for learning from the western science, philosophy and literature. Being the nerve centre for modern education, Kolkata (then Calcutta) was opening door of liberal humanism along with nationalism through such stalwarts among the contemporary intelligentsias like Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833). Rammohan Roy wrote against the practice of idolatry among the Hindus, defended the Hindu theological position against the Christian criticism and also launched a movement against the practice of *Sati*. His tirade against the *Sati* tradition and idolatry got expressed through several of his writings thus influencing many a hearts and consequently boosting the growth of polemical literature. Rammohan Roy and his ilk responded to the contemporary reality of their country through their literature which

played a pivotal role in bringing about a process of radicalization of thoughts among many a youth of their time. Writing about the position of Rammohon Roy in the social and cultural awakening in the first half of the nineteenth century, historian Bipan Chandra writes:

“...While a large number of Indians refused to come to terms with the West and still put their faith in traditional Indian ideas and institutions, others gradually came to hold that elements of modern Western thoughts had to be imbibed for the regeneration of their society. They were impressed in particular by modern science and the doctrines of reason and humanism. The central figure in this awakening was Rammohun Roy, who is rightly regarded as the first great leader of modern India.” (Bipan Chandra 128)

Rammohan tried to make people aware of the corrupt practices and domination of the contemporary upper class people in the name of religion and politics. Priests, for example, exploited the ignorant masses by spreading superstitions and engaging them to many irrational rites. He wanted that his countrymen awoke to the need of human dignity in the social life. He was a scholar par say with felicity over a number of languages and intellectually he was well versed with the thoughts of both East and West. He was contesting the practice of idolatry by the Hindus through illustrations from the Vedas. Citing the Vedas, he argued that the ancient Hindu texts preached the worship of one God. Rammohan tried to

promote a spirit of rational approach about everything- Indian religion and traditions not spared. He spearheaded an intellectual revolution towards reform of Hinduism while not undermining the inner strength of its philosophy. He criticized certain things about the religion which he considered to be the results of the dogmas of orthodoxy and he was declared a heretic and an outcaste by his detractors for such a stance of him. In 1828 he gave birth to a religious society known as the Brahmo Samaj. It was a liberal form of the Hinduism based on the principle of human dignity and anti-idolatry. He was also a rebel against many other medieval dogmas prevalent in his contemporary Indian society including a woman becoming *Sati* at the death of her husband and the taboo related with the remarriage of a widow. He led a movement with drawing participation from many likeminded people against such social practices. He was also a pioneer in Indian journalism. He published journals and wrote in them about the social injustices of his time.

Derozio in his thoughts and expressions displayed similar ideological moorings and he threw his leadership among a section of bright students of the Hindu College, where he was working as a Lecturer in order to shape their intellectual and creative horizons in such a way that they would come to question the old, decadent traditions, rites and customs. Derozio was teaching at the Hindu College in between 1826 and 1831. An air of radicalism in the sphere of thoughts and activities of a section of the educated youth of the time was greatly in evidence due to his influential leadership, who with their daring socio-political

outlook, expressed disdain over the colonial rule and also the social injustices prevalent in the public life of their time. Derozio from the environment of the time imbibed the spirit of social reform, rationalism and concerns for the contemporary reality-things that were generally being embodied by the debates initiated by Raja Rammohan Roy. As regards to the bright students of his college, he baptized them with a spirit of free thinking. The ideals of the French Revolution: liberty, equality and freedom became the ideals of the life of these youth who besides other things “carried forward Ramomohan’s tradition of educating the people in social, economic and political questions through newspapers, pamphlets and public associations” (Bipan Chandra135). Being positioned at the crossroads of the dawn of the towering sweep of the renaissance, their intellect was mainly a product of the spread of English education. The political thinkers, philosophers and scientists of the West had greatly influenced the thoughts and ideas of the educated section of the Bengalis of the time. They by throwing open for the people the doors of universe of knowledge and ideas, started liberalizing their minds and emancipating them from much of their traditional bondage of thoughts and beliefs. The marvels of the Renaissance was starting to revolutionize the Bengals’ society from the early part of the nineteenth century. It was shaping up a host of youths of time with an intellectual order, and also by boosting their moral fibre. Many of them wanted to share their knowledge and sensibilities with their fellow beings through creative means. They felt that literature and art could be

effective means for disseminating new ideas and for bringing about certain amount of changes to the society. Above all, the western type of education aroused a social consciousness and also inspired a spirit of revolt in the mind a sizeable section of youth against many age-old superstitions and orthodoxies of various kinds. Their social awareness became the guiding principle for all their creative works through which they tried to promote the need of liquidating the harmful superstitions and taboos. Revolting against social hypocrisies and promoting gender equality too had figured in their agenda. In fact the beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed certain newness in the entire social, cultural and economic scenario of the world, as the world was on the face of a modern era where the leaders of the societies all over the globe tried to preach a religion free from orthodoxy and dogma and lay importance upon the religion of humanity. It was an era where the tradition was challenged and old values were no longer considered tenable. All this had some impact upon the cultural-political life of then Bengal. Derozio also associated himself actively with an organization called ‘Young Bengal’. Under his leadership ‘Young Bengal’ grew by leaps and bounds. It was an organization which thrived on the principle of loving knowledge and giving up the habit of believing anything based on unreason. The members of the Society were convinced that unless people came out of their medieval orthodox outlook, no real progress of the mind and society could be possible. Founded by a band of brilliant students of the Hindu College, the Society was instrumental in

spreading the sensibility that there was need of reestablishment of the social life on the basis of reason and truth. The aim of the body was to get the society freed from the things like superstitions, idolatry and unuseful social dogmas. The Young Bengal was also bringing out a few journals from time to time (viz. *Parthenon*, *Jnananesan*, *Hindu Pioneer*, *Quill* and *Bengal Spectator*). In 1828, Derozio also formed a platform as means of intellectual exercises by the students of the Hindu College, named: 'Academic Association'. The members of this Society drew their perspectives about an ideal society from the ideas of the thinkers like Voltaire, Hume, Locke and Tom Paine. Debates on various contemporary social, political and economic issues were organized under the aegis of the Young Bengal and the Academic Association and for all such activities, many scholars tend to consider these as pioneering institutions in the formation of the foundation of the Bengal Renaissance. Thanks to the Young Bengal movement and the writings of Rammohan Roy, during that time in Bengal, issues on women's education, the practice of *Sati* and the plight of the widows in the contemporary Hindu Society too got a ground for lively discussions. These issues also received adequate reflection in the prose and poetry of the time. Inspired by Derozio, the members of the Young Bengal in particular tried to make the best use of the time and advanced the movement by an arduous effort of building public opinions through news papers, journals, pamphlets and public associations. The role played by the Young Bengal in this regard may be well understood from the fact that Pyarichand

Mitra- the writer of the first Bangla novel: 'Alaler Ghare Dulal' was also a member of the Young Bengal and he has etched his name in the history of Bengal as a harbinger of women education. He and all other members of the group made vigorous campaign for the education of women and remarriage of the Hindu widow. It may be noted that even after his death, the legacy of Derozio remained crucial for shaping up of the mind and sensibilities of yet another generation of youth in Bengal and the case of Pyarichand can be an example in this context. No wonder then that Derozio is considered to be one of the pioneers of the Bengal Renaissance.

It was through the social reform movement steered by Rammohan Roy, Gopal Krishna Gokhle etc. in the nineteenth century that the modern liberalism took its birth and shape in India. Derozio's sensitivity about the underdogs of the society was the outcome of his passionate following of such a legacy. In the poems: 'Freedom to the Slave' and 'The Orphan Girl', for example, the poet brings before us the images of two different figures who are among the common suffering masses who are always defenseless by circumstances. The objective of the poet in these poems is to stimulate our empathy and solidarity, our passionate pity for the wretched amongst us. To the poet, they are but his fellow beings, having to undergo tremendous sufferings due to the brutal and sordid circumstances in a world where justice is denied to a large chunk of denizens. However, the squalor and depravity are the things not just for these two beings alone, the tyrannical system lets loose a cache of monstrous ordeal to a whole

lot of human beings amongst us, which takes control of their fate by its ingenuous ways of making them petty foil to its ruthless passion and desires for pelf and booty. In the poem: 'Freedom to the Slave', the poet very brilliantly and sensitively extrospects upon the condition of a slave. The slave is a man who cannot come to terms with the world around him like the others who are not in the chains. In his bondage to his master, he is deprived of the natural rational-analytical self and one can easily surmise upon, why a slave cannot make his escape route from his master on his own. To highlight upon the psychological depravity, anguish and the subdued state of his being, the poet incites us to do an imagining about how one (a slave) might be feeling when he suddenly ceases to be a slave. The poem may also be taken as a symbolic representation of the deep yearning of the poet along with his fellow countrymen for freedom from the colonial subjugation. However, apart from that, Derozio was also a revolutionary, who spoke of action to his followers for bringing change in terms of the prevailing environment of injustice, oppression and tyranny. From this perspective, one can also find in his persona a kind of introspective attitude for exploring the essential crisis in the contemporary society of man. He finds that a man is chained more by his condition of a deep rooted subservience to a system in which he is reigned upon by another man who robs him of the human dignity or lends him upon a state of human depravity. The man who is sought to be subservient by his masters under ruthless terms have to undergo excruciating mental sufferings mainly from his deep sense of the loss of

human dignity. Human beings suffer in the name of caste, creed, religion and nationalities, yet even the most degraded man in subjugation may retain somewhere inside him some trace of a longing for being recognized as a human being, which one may also call as his longing for freedom. The poem is not a philosophic one, but one written strategically with a view to touch upon a feeling in our mind about spontaneous recognition of the elixir of liberties. It is the poet's way of affirming why it is appropriate for anyone to rebel against the subjugator, who brings the dignity of a human being to the level of a slave's (be that repressor one composite body of system or a single individual). The quotation from Campbell : "And as the slave departs, the man returns"-given in the beginning of the poem summarizes the poet's view of man in a civilized society. The line relates to us about the essence of human dignity. A man can retain his dignity as a human being so long as he is a free being for such a man is conspicuous by his nurturing of rational and analytical thoughts. He is unable to see, assess and comprehend the world in his own way if terms are set forcefully upon him by another person or another force. It is in this sense that the poem concludes with the lines:

*Blest be the generous hand
that breaks
The chain a tyrant gave,
And feeling for degraded man
Gives freedom to the slave.
(‘Freedom to the Slave’. 25-
28)*

-Here, the poet says that since the enchained cannot come out voluntarily from his yoke,

he is bound to look upon for rescue by certain other people. These people, he hopes, can change his condition by taking the cudgel upon their hands to break the chain put up by the tyrant.

If in the above lyric the poet's heart pines for a generous hand which could grapple with the challenge to break the chain to which the slave is reigned in, in the other poem, i.e. 'The Orphan Girl', he draws the dreary life of an innocent beautiful orphan girl with all the vulnerabilities that she is constrained to negotiate with all along her survival. Thus, the poet in these poems is found deeply moved by the suffering of the marginalized and the distressed section of the society. The uncertain fate of the orphan girl deeply moves the poet and he blames the insensitivity of the society for deprivation of the social justice deserved by her as a human being. In order to draw empathy from his readers, he compares certain of her features with the things of nature. Her hair is as black as the wing of a raven, her cheek's complexion is as pink as the colour of tulip, her voice is as soft as the night wind's melody, her brow is as beautiful as the moonbeam etc. Then the poet goes to inform the readers about the circumstances behind her 'life's dreary desert'. Her father had sacrificed his life in war being a soldier; and her mother could not survive for long after her father's death as she was under profound shock and sorrowful distress over the incident. For her, there is no humane treatment for the distressed in the society she lives in even as she has to lead a life of humiliation being physically, mentally and sexually assaulted by the people. In the bleak and dreary world of her, she has no

friends to rely upon and there is no 'shelter' where she could expect to be greeted with a warm and generous heart:

She hath no friend on this
cold, bleak earth,
To give her a shelter, a home,
and a hearth;
Through life's dreary desert
alone she must wend,...

('The Orphan Girl'. 16-18)

If at the end of the lyric: 'Freedom to the Slave', the poet desperately looks for a generous hand which could grapple with the challenge to break the chain to free the slave from the clutches of his tyrant, at the end of this poem too he appeals for someone's hand to assuage the sorrows of the orphan girl and to save her from her uncertain fate. A 'poor friendless wanderer' as she is, the girl desperately hankers after the warmth of a generous heart and will there be anyone who could honour himself by helping her out to change her condition?:

And blest be for ever his
honored name
Who shelters an orphan from
sorrow and shame!

('The Orphan Girl'. 28,29)

The objective of both the poems thus is to arouse the passionate sympathy of the readers to the damned denizens of a society who have to lead a wretched life owing to the inequality and injustice, and not basically due to the cruelty of their fate. By drawing a pen picture of their condition of human depravity he tries to jolt the readers into an awareness about the need of expressing solidarity for the vulnerable suffering multitudes in this earth upon whom

the hegemonic societies 'regale' in inflicting sorrows and shame. Besides this, Derozio's concern for the burdened life of the women in his contemporary society also gets echoed through the evocative lines of 'The Orphan Girl'. During his time, the Bengal Renaissance was at its nascent state and the social reformists were beginning a crusade against the rite of *Sati*. They were also trying to arouse the people's solidarity in favour of adoption of an Act permitting the widow remarriage. True to his self as a humanist, Derozio was also passionately advocating for the women's rights and this poem is a specimen of his solidarity with the movement for the human rights of women which was continuing during his time. In this context, we may further refer to his narrative poem: 'The Fakeer of Jungheera'. This poem is a narrative about the distressed life of Nulinee, a high-caste Hindu widow who was rescued by a robber-chief from being burnt in the funeral pyre of her late husband. The robber-chief had been in love with the woman but he had to sacrifice his life for his act of saving Nulinee from her imminent death and following the death of the robber-chief, Nulinee had to undergo further distress.

Derozio in his own way carried forward Rammohan Roy's trail blazing movement of making of a new India based upon the principle of education and social justice.

Poetry, debates and other modes of intellectual discourses were the tools for him in propagating the humanistic values for social reforms. Thus, Derozio was an outstanding champion of the doctrines of reason and humanism who took upon lyricism as a means to arouse and spread the awareness about the need of building a society on the premises of human dignity and social justice.

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Author:

Professor, Dept. of English, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya, Nagaon, Assam

COLONIALITY OF CULTURE AND ORAL HISTORY IN NORTH EAST INDIA

Sanjib Goswami

Abstract

In this article, I analyse a central knot that relates to North East India's historical writing: the interrelation between coloniality and culture. I explore the ways in which approaches to North East India's colonial past have been reworked over time, more significantly post 1857. I historicize these shifts by framing them against international intellectual developments and the cultural and political currents that reconfigured the past in this region. I argue that new lines of inquiry are needed to raise some probing questions about the colonial underpinnings and cultural manipulation that history writing did in an exceedingly colonial context in this region.

Introduction

There is deep relationship between culture, folklore and oral history. Initially, once it developed within the western world, it merely meant the study of traditions, ancient customs and festivals, dateless ballads, myths, legends, tales and fables. From these, students went on to create their own deductions of past history, life designs, cultures and customs. Most of these deductions were made, not by positioning oneself in the past, but by what one already knew. However these didn't pass the scientific parameter of rationality as large gaps in these deductions were left uncovered. In later years, as there was an outgrowth of human understanding of nature, culture and folklore were thought to be a natural expression of man in rural areas before town, commerce and organized civilization

emerged. Historically, the conception of folklore additionally meant that it hid the identity of the authors, obscuring their origins, as these got transmitted from generation to generation. In this sense, it legitimized historical songs and tales as integral components of the cultural heritage of society. Yet, the obscurities of people's narratives were embroiled in complications on their origin, and to offer credible explanation, and had to be placed within the hands of some creator: divine or human. In the absence of a human creator, narration was then assigned to the collective tradition of the community. There was therefore no area in folklore for personal tales and poems. Any expression had to pass through the sieve of a long history of communal approval before it was often thought about as folklore. Analysis on folklore looked into the

different associated problems with this communality, its relationship to the individual, rights, people transmission, themes, language and forms. Communal creation, recreation, expression and transmission became cornerstones of folklore and cultural analysis. Tangled with the attribute of communality is the conception that folklore and cultural expressions are universal. This is why folklore expression is often expressed and cast among a selected community and expresses its distinctiveness by transcending the boundaries of language and region. Researchers then realize these expressions in numerous terms and relate them to remote countries. These links facilitate to recreate historical processes of the past in distinctive ways. The study of folklore and culture as it developed and relied on the certain markers helped distinguish it as a separate branch of study. This thus helped to trace the historical roots of society and culture.

In the light of the above, folklore analysis has told the story of the Americas and Europe since the dawn of humanity. In this sense, transmission of folklore could be a very important part of the methodological study of folklore. Without human intervention in the study of these beliefs, customs and traditions over space and time, these would be relegated as cultural scraps and become a part of cultural anthropology. Like other different forms of academic analysis, folklore and cultural analysis also traces live experiences from the past and present histories of evolution of communities and the social expression of man. The

folklorist, in effect, tries to grasp the importance of those passed on data, in varied forms, that constitutes the core of oral socio-cultural history (Dundes and Bronner, 2007). It therefore transcends the barrier of language and has several aspects of historical and organic process.

Traditionally, folklore and oral history remains outside the domain of known time, and hence, at its original stage, precedes any acknowledged recorded history. They are the primitive, crude expressions of the literary, visual, and musical cultural heritage of the people of a particular region which has emerged over time. Naturally, therefore folklore in its primary state has never been claimed to represent a pure and uncontaminated primeval and perennial recitation. There is always a loss of learning, inventive improvisation, and additional general historical processes of cultural contacts and evolution that often contribute to the alteration of themes and tenor of folklore and oral history. However, it's also additionally true that those elements of folklore and oral history have been transmitted over time which has withstood the test of time. Many such communally and culturally helpful traditions to society have either been lost or discarded which have failed to maintain some form of purity over time. This, therefore, provides the scientific underpinning to folklore, cultural studies and oral history. In spite of the popularity of such historical factors, a constitution of folklore and oral history is that those stories, songs, practises and sayings which exist within a minimum standard of their ancient predecessors are

generally accepted. These naturally get transmitted from generation to generation solely through a verbal medium before the arrival of writing skills. The oral nature of folklore is one among the crucial attributes that qualifies some folklore as authentic, whereas those which have evidentiary contact with written texts become contaminated (Ben-Ami and Dan, 1983).

The concept of folklore, has therefore over the years, consolidated with the expression and interrelation of many of the above attributes. These have set the standards and limits for the study of folklore, and often oral history, as a part of cultural analysis. One of the important features of a nation that had been subjected to a legacy of coloniality is also the politics and processes of identity formation through cultural manipulation. In this sense, coloniality is the pattern of power that emerges from an invisible part of history (Lissovoyand Bailon, 2019). Modernity and coloniality are concepts that have been initially presented by scholars such as Anibal Quijano (2007) and Walter Dignolo (2007). They argued that concept of modernity and coloniality are inseparable and that decolonization has to look deeply into their inter relationships and underpinnings. Thus, critical academic and identity research, in a decolonial setting, cannot ignore the influences of coloniality in any geographical setting.

Colonial Transmission and Culture

In this article, I present a central conceptual knot that concerns North East India's historical writing: the interrelationship between culture and

colonization. Most cultural and traditional knowledge analysis within the North East has taken a narrative, archiving, and mapping pathway, instead of having an analytical and probing path. In none of the literature that I surveyed, the impact of a colonially reconstructed culture and oral history was highlighted. Thus, there has been a gap in the connections and processes of the past with the present and the transmission modes of many of these histories have remained nebulous. I use secondary sources to explore and interpret the ways in which approaches to North East India's colonial past have been transformed over time, more particularly post 1857. I attempt to historicize these shifts by framing them against international intellectual developments and the cultural and political discourse that reconfigured the past in this region. I argue that new lines of inquiry are required to ask some probing questions about the cultural manipulation that writing did in a colonial context. As such, there is a necessity to reassess how cultural colonization actually worked on the ground.

In explaining how the question of culture came to occupy centre stage in colonial historiography and its transmission, we need to recognize that this shift is not unique but rather part of a broader shift in the intellectual terrain post 1857. This was when the form of colonialism itself changed in several colonial territories in India, Africa, Australia and New Zealand. Over the past decades international scholarships on the dynamics of empire building and the

nature of colonial culture have thus shifted to the very centre of historical debate. Cultural colonialism has been root cause in manipulation, reinterpretation or neglect of folklore, oral history and cultural practices.

TalalAsad's scholarship presented how questions of colonialism inflected the governing assumptions of anthropology (Asad, 1973). But it was later that anthropologists began to take deeper interest in untangling the colonial projects in ways other than economics. A growing scholarly engagement with African and South Asian writers began in the 1970s that posed new scholarly questions and challenges to the traditional reading of colonialism (Fanon, Mandani et al). Soon, many historians were raising issues on the coherence of colonial history and the growing divide between colonial history and the national historiographies of former colonies. New scholarly literature and political debates reframed the significance of colonialism as a historical problem. Indigenous activists and critical intellectuals argued that colonialism did not merely resort to empire building but engaged in cultural elimination, violence and dispossession. This led to social, economic, and cultural marginalization of indigenous peoples. In the case of New Zealand, for example, this kind of argument can be found in the works of scholars like Dick Scott (Scott, 1975), while other scholars such as Fanon and Mamdani produced similar scholarly literature in the African context. In South Asia, we find scholars such as GayatriShivak and RanajitGuha (Guha, 1981) who did seminal works in this area

of research. Such scholarly re-evaluations, which framed the development of cultural colonialism around dispossession, exclusion and conflict is also reflected in Australian scholarship of scholars like Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders and Kathryn Cronin.

As already mentioned, in India, the Subaltern Studies Group led by RanajitGuha and others undercut the traditional narratives stressing on the conflicts between social collectives and the relationships of social identities. In this sense, indigenous and subaltern violence as well as their suppression and dispossession were seen, not as unfortunate side effects of the national freedom movement, but instead as integral part of the colonial project that redefined cultural aspects. Thus, a new thinking of writing history from bottom up, that relied on oral history and folklore took root in India. This was a marked intellectual shift from the traditional colonial sources that most historians relied upon. In the end, the new cultural history was concerned with finding meaning in cultural transmission, often expressed in the form of folklore. This attention towards culture was marked by a new engagement with scholars such as Foucault and Said. There was a preoccupation with the construction and management of cultural differences that came to be integral to indirect rule colonialism.

These international scholarships did filter into the study of colonialism and culture in North East India. My own work on indirect rule colonialism (Goswami, 2016) reflects and presents to a great extent

how the colonial project was based more on a cultural footing than on an economic one. This led to expression of a new form of structural violence. This has led to strong connection between cultural expressions, such as folklore and oral history, and the processes of colonial transmission. Thus, colonization can be better understood as a sequence of processes where exploration, invasion, occupation, appropriation, and nation building depended on the creation of cultural asymmetries. This led to political and economic inequalities (Gibbons).

Analysing the colonial past through the lens of culture is, therefore a crucial transition in our historiography. Most importantly, this approach greatly enlarges our understanding of what colonialism means. In this sense, colonialism is no longer simply an economic process of exploitation, but is rather a tool that permeates culture, including folklore and oral history. This also meant that the best way to approach the study of colonialism was through ethnographic studies that traced back live cultural and folklore existence. Sources that hitherto seemed to belong to the domain of culture, such as stories, ballads, poems, travel narratives, ethnographic texts, literature and art, thus takes a new analytical importance. This shift is also reinforced by the contemporary turn to questions of empire in literary studies and the present interest of postcolonial scholars in understanding colonialism through non-literary forms of cultural production.

Cultural colonialism in the North East

In the background of the above discussions, it is necessary to understand exploitation and identity in North East India from a new prism of cultural colonialism. The year 1826, when the Yandaboo pact was signed, is usually referred as a reference point for any discussion on Assam's colonial history. It had been through this pact between the British and the Burmese that Assam became a colonial province in 1826. By this time, the 'Assamese', had become an established community settled in this region over centuries. The Ahoms, several caste Hindu groups and other indigenous people had assimilated into each other to a great extent. Spiritual conversion had also contributed significantly to the assimilation of native autochthonous peoples. A '*borasom*' (greater Assam) as it is regionally known, existed. As the British started colonial expansion within the region, they encountered a society that didn't fit the standards of a vertically organized caste-based society of North India. Rather, colonial ethnographers found various autochthonous communities cohabiting with other Hindu communities in a socially cohesive society. This society presented a challenging and confusing social fabric that was troublesome to interpret. So, British ethnographers labelled these peoples and their culture as "absent subjects" (Saikia, 2004).

As the province became subject to a sustained program of colonial expansion and economic exploitation, the age-old trade links of Assam with regions to the east, like Asian nations of Bhutan and

China, were cut off. Instead colonial rulers started to open up the trade routes to the west. It was around this time in 1858 that Henry Maine developed his theory of indirect rule colonialism. This form of colonialism initially implemented in Assam shifted the focus to a new form of cultural colonialism that did not erase or exploit differences but started to manage them (Goswami, 2016). The content and implementation of Maine's indirect rule colonialism was therefore immensely different from earlier paradigms enforced by the British.

The East India Company had since 1757 allowed native kings (like PurnadharSingha in Assam) retain their political authority with the power to pass law, subject to British superintendence and management including the payment of a royalty (Iyer, 2008). Maine's indirect rule was additionally focused on managing the cultural differences of conquered elites, whereas the earlier direct rule colonialism was primarily premised on economic exploitation. In this sense, indirect rule erased the differences between the colonizer and the colonized, acknowledged the differences between the colonized people and tried to shape them. In trying to shape these differences, colonial ethnographers tried to differentiate everything in Assam between the Western ideas of universal civilization and non-Western ideas of native customs. This meant a shift from the homogenizing ideas of civilization to articulating and managing local variations in society. This resulted in an exceedingly new variety of protectionism and cultural reinterpretation

that tried to preserve customs and traditions, produce new political identities, and endeavoured to form their own perception of the past. This laid a path for new forms of histories, and new identities for the inhabitants of the region. The shaping of this new variety of colonialism was achieved by creating new histories, discarding oral histories, and reinterpreting folklore that had been transmitting and memorializing the past. This established a brand new genre of colonial history. As this new paradigm of cultural colonialism expanded over time, the tools of censuses and the institution of a separate legal apparatuses completed this institutional structure. In essence, as I have already mentioned, indirect rule aimed to form the subjectivities of the entire society inhabiting Assam and did not focus only on the elites as economic colonialism normally does. This necessitated a shift focused from just mobilizing and exploiting natural resources to the shaping, reinterpretation and physical change of cultures, cultural elements, cultural indicators and identities. Thus, in the end, colonialism in the North East additionally incorporated major components of cultural colonialism (Mamdani, 2013).

In the early colonial years, the two opposing systems of non-intervention in local affairs and annexation of territory continued side by side. However, post the Sepoy Movement of 1857, the thought and approach towards the tribals underwent a basic change in the colonial thought. This came to be referred to as the 'forward policy'. Based on a nativist theory, the colonial agents outlined the 'hills' tribes as

totally different from the ‘plains’ population. Slowly, in due course of time, the hill tribes were slowly conquered one by one, and as the character of indirect rule differed from place to place, it was difficult to understand whether the changes were part of administrative reforms or part of a larger cultural colonial paradigm. To keep up this continuous policy of colonisation, imperialists ab-initio focused on the administration of the hill areas. However, in later years, the administration began to affect all aspects of life for the native people. Ultimately, based on this new colonial administration, the social group areas of North East came to relish a special exclusivity in the name of protecting their cultures, though research has now established that this protectionism actually became reinterpretation and reconstruction of social and cultural life. (Goswami, 2016)

That a special thought for the social group folks of the North East was being enforced is seen within the directions of Sir Cecil Beadon, elected official of geographic area (1862-1867):

A main principle to be adopted in the administration of these people when they have been made to feel the power of the Government and submitted to its authority is not to leave them in their old state, but while adopting a simple plan of Government suitable to their present conditions and circumstances, and interfering as little as possible with existing institutions, to extend our intercourse with them, and

endeavour to introduce among them civilization and order
(Zorema, 2007).

It was Edward Gait, an official of the colonial administration, who wrote the first colonial history of Assam. He named his book *A History of Assam* and it still continues to be a regular source of study and research in the state. Gait started his book with several controversial statements by referring to the Ahoms as invaders (there is a difference between invaders and migrants) and the Mahabharata and Puranas as myths. These labels continue to stick till today. Gait further declared that history itself was unknown to the first inhabitants of province and the “the stories culled from later sources cannot, of course, be dignified with the name of history” (Gait, 1906). This official variety of history-writing therefore discarded and omitted the traditional knowledge primarily based oral history and folklore of the region, thereby manufacturing a moralist top-down history that didn't mirror the subaltern (Guha and Spivak, 1988). Fredrick

Luggard, who was the colonial administrator in Africa, later transported and enforced this post 1857 variety of indirect rule colonialism in that continent. Luggard wrote that indirect rule went on the extreme of not mere organization of administration but was a much larger project that covered the socio-cultural and political aspects that governed native peoples (Luggard, 1970). The concept of creating an ‘authentic’ native rule, an acceptable native culture and a codified

indigenous law thus relied upon the sharp differentiation between colonially-defined natives that was set out in the statutes by law. This differentiation has been the main focus of a lot of of the governing philosophy of indirect rule and continues to be implemented in the North East India till date. Several histories were written throughout this era by colonial historians and many British colonial agents began a political campaign and state sponsored project of official history writing.

Whereas officials like Edward Gait wrote on Assam, others like Hutton and Gurdon wrote on the Naga and Khasi tribes. Because the British were confused in the periodization of these communities in Indian history, they, as per their own understanding, loosely divided Indian history into totally different periods — ancient, medieval, and modern. They delineated the ancient narratives as the golden period in Indian history, and also the labelled the medieval period as the dark-age. This allowed them the power to declare that pre-British Asian nationslike India had no history, that the dark age of Asian history has been overcome only after the arrival of modern civilization with the arrival of Europeans. In this way, they propagated that they were the new shining light in the darkness, and thereby erased the differences and antipathy between the colonizer and the colonized. The colonizer in this case became the saviour and demi-god. In this manner, colonial agents represented themselves as the saviours of Assam by guiding the society towards civilization. In order to make their paradigm of cultural colonialism

acceptable, different colonial agents in the region had one factor in common: they wanted to discard ancient and oral histories, and replace them with a brand new version formed by colonial realities. All of these colonial ethnographers therefore began their narratives with a similar assertion that Assam all those who lived here had no previous history. By doing so, they discarded not only the oral memory as tools of historical analysis but also all earlier texts as sources.

Colonialism came late to the Apatanivalley in Arunachal Pradesh. British officers had initially visited the valley in 1897 and had stayed only for 2 days, followed by more or less six equally transient visits between 1920 and 1930. In examining the colonial record and oral histories in Arunachal Pradesh, British colonial agents emphasised the region's isolation, despite the fact that the Ahom kings of the Brahmaputra valley had several deep links and had also negotiated treaties with the Hill tribes till the first part of the nineteenth century (Blackburn, 2003).

A similar approach was followed in writing the history of the Khasis. In 1903, Sir Bampfylde Fuller, then Chief Commissioner of Assam, prepared a project for the preparation of a series of monographs on the various tribes and castes of the region. These studies were taken up by specialised colonial writers under the consistent theme of cultural colonialism and indirect rule developed by Maine. Major Gurdon, Superintendent of Anthropology in Assam and editor of the entire series of these monographs, took

upon himself to explain the Khasis. The initial contact between the colonizers and the inhabitants of the Khasi Hills occurred in the middle of the eighteenth century and brought them nearer in the aftermath of the Burmese invasion in 1824. David Scott, the Governor-General's Agent, entered the Hill territory of the Khasi tribes for the first time in that year. In spite of this early contact, Gurdon states that no history is discernible before the arrival the Welsh missionaries later in the century (Gurdon, 1914).

Hutton wrote on the Nagas. He cites S. E. Peal and laments the delay in the study of the Naga tribes and the ensuing loss of a lot of material about their past histories which, he states may never be recovered. In this way, he too rejected the oral and traditional narratives of the Nagas and he goes on to record, in his own manner, several of the changes within the customs of the Angami Nagas. With the Aos and Lhota Nagas, he writes, many elderly beliefs and customs were already dead and forgotten. As for the Khasis, Hutton too states that the history of the Naga tribes can't be established out of their local obscure traditions. In fact, he writes, there is no previous record to understand the precise relations that the Naga tribes had with the assorted communities of the plains before the arrival of the British (Hutton, 1921).

As already mentioned, the *History of Assam* by Edward Gait takes an analogous approach and states that the science of history, was unknown to the first mortal of the province and it is not till the Ahom invasion in 1228 that there is

something approaching a connected account of the people and the region. For the many hundreds of years previously, there were some scattered facts from Hiuen Tsang, a Chinese traveller, and "dubious and fractional details of the sacred text like the Puranas". The stories culled from the latter sources cannot, he claimed, be dignified with the name of history (Gait, 1906). In order to suit the colonial project of indirect rule, Gait went further as he even discarded a number of events cited within the written histories (buranjis) of the Ahoms as unreliable, preferring thereby to stress a colonial script. He even tries to link the buranjis with Pali language, a literary language of Magadh province in central India (Gait, 1906). This effort aimed to downplay the influence of the Ahoms in Assam and tried to demonstrate the notion of economic and cultural exchange within the western states and Assam. This memory was aimed toward delegitimizing the Ahom rulers (Saikia, 2004). It seems that as more colonial agents penetrated the interiors of Assam to expand the reach of colonial rule, the British ethnographers were continuing to write on the dearth of histories of the natives in these margins. Thus, a lot of oral history were either lost or recast during the start of the nineteenth century.

By this time therefore, colonial practises had already established a neat classification between the natives of Assam – Aryans and non-Aryans – and within these broad classifications were many other groups and subgroups of caste and faith. Within these groups and sub groups, the colonial agents found the 'Tai

Ahom' which however they could not match into any of the established classes or castes. So they defined the Tai Ahoms as an unknowable community and shortly declared them dead. For convenience, a brand new class, Assamese, was devised and everybody within the region was christened with this new name. This included several indigenous groups as well as the Tai Ahoms. The overwhelming majority of Assamese, the colonial agents declared, were some form of Hindu. Additionally, they also established that within Assam, there were other linguistic Hindus and Assamese speaking Muslims. The Assamese Muslims became Assamese by colonial estimation but the Bengali Hindus were deemed as a migratory community. On the extreme side, the later colonial administrators did not make a case for what Assamese meant or signified (Saikia, 2004). These colonial narrations, afterwards, became the normative sources of history in post-colonial Assam.

Conclusion

As I have presented, it is now well established that coloniality is an experience of domination by a stronger power and that it is "one of the purest forms of cultural destruction as it insistently degrades self-image of those who are colonized". Cultural politics involves the expression of the collective social values through group identities and commitments (Pye and Verba, 1965). As such, a nation's development consists not only of its political arrangements but also its cultural identity.

The discussions above clearly sets out that colonial manipulation of cultural

markers, as well as traditional knowledge, and oral history led to new varieties of colonial rule. Thus, as we shift our focus to the study and transmission of colonialism from a cultural viewpoint, what assumes importance is the cultural dynamics of colonialism, and the ways in which colonial domination and the tools for such domination were used. Colonial construction, cultural adulteration, manipulation and reinterpretation of cultural and oral history, sometimes even folklore, needs deeper analysis. We should bear in mind the underpinnings and background of these spatial, social, and cultural locations and institutional frameworks from which the colonial logic of cultural manipulation arose. It is well researched now, that British colonizers in India and other colonial regions of the world implemented indirect rule colonialism based on culture. Naturally, this form of colonialism was underpinned by colonial interests and European understanding of indigenous knowledge in North East India. As discussed above, the movement of British colonizers into the frontier lands of North East India shaped the values and expressions of the people which were either discarded or were changed with the contemporary European interpretations.

Interpretation, under indirect rule, thus took a brand new colonial meaning. A large part of these colonial interpretations were done by non-folklorist, non-oral historians and non-cultural experts.

In his book *The Story-Time of British Empire: Colonial and Postcolonial Folkloristics* (Naithani, 2012) Naithani

makes a critical presentation of this. He analyzes the role of traditional knowledge scholarship within the construction of colonial cultural politics and argues, that connecting cultural histories, particularly in relation to settled countries, is crucial for understanding those countries' traditional knowledge. I have also presented my own research of these colonial manipulations, influences and underpinnings of culture within the context of North East India (Goswami, 2019). This obviously implies that the connections between cultural transmission, the copy of European models of social structure and their cultural practices and dynamics of colonial dominance remain unclear in this region. I hope future research will take a deeper look into the coloniality of culture and oral history in North East India.

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Author:

Professor and Head, Centre for North East Studies, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya, Guwahati Campus, Assam

ORGANIZATIONAL CLIMATE AND EMPLOYEE PRODUCTIVITY

Mercy Hazarika
Drrpshikha Carpenter

Abstract

Organizational climate refers to a set of properties of the work environment, beheld directly or indirectly by the employees. A healthy organizational climate is an important aspect for the success of an organization. The study of the climate of an organization is important as it provides the understanding on the flow of communication, sense of involvement, belongingness, team spirit, job satisfaction etc. of employees. Employees' perception of the work climate is extremely important as it reflects the involvement of employees in the organization. Studies reveal that organizations that have a healthy organizational climate has more committed employees. Employees who are loyal and committed tend to be more productive and hardworking. The aim of this study was to examine the factors influencing the organizational climate and to find out if there is a relationship between organizational climate and employee productivity.

Keywords: Organizational climate, employee involvement, productivity.

Introduction

The concept of inclusive education in India is relatively new. As a part of international standard, India is promoting inclusive education according to the Sustainable Development Goal 4 on education. UNESCO highlights the inclusive education system that removes the barriers and allows participation and achievement of all learners respecting their needs. This initiative allows schools to provide a good education to all students irrespective of their varying abilities. Inclusive education is an ongoing process. Greater impetus is given from the time of Right to Education Act

(2009). The major intervention for inclusive education under Sarba Siksha Abhiyan Mission and Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan is to give maximum focus to children with special needs. These are reflected in identification and enrollment, awareness creation, barrier free environment, assessment and distribution of aids and appliances, corrective surgery, curriculum adaptation and distribution of Braille Book, Celebration of World Disability Day and Braille Day, training of teachers, parents and community, Conducting of Day care Centre and so on. Since our country caters to different sections of people, the lens of intersectionality can

provide a way in mainstreaming inclusive education by broadening the scope.

The World Conference on Special Needs Education in Salamanca (1994) adopted a statement on inclusive education by representatives of 92 Governments and 25 International Organisations for the first time that set the agenda of inclusiveness of special educational needs on a global basis. It postulated that learners with disabilities who can be educated in general schools should be educated in general schools and those studying in special schools should be transferred to general schools once they are ready to make the shift. UNESCO (2001) suggests adaptation of flexible strategies for assessment and accreditation that means students who learn at a slower pace should be allowed to do so to encourage maximization of their success in effective learning. Booth (1996) has stated that access to education is only the first stage in overcoming the exclusion of persons with special needs. The challenge here is the ability to bring a shift in public perspective and values.

According to UNICEF's report on the Status of Disability in India (Kundu, 2000) states that there are 30 million children in India suffering from some kind of disability. According to the NCERT- UNESCO Regional Workshop report (2000), the number of special schools has increased to around 3,000 by the year 2000 in comparison to 66 schools in the year 1947. A NSSO Report (2002) clearly indicates that presence of special schools in a parallel stream influences the enrollment of children with disabilities in regular schools. This will

reduce the gap of inequality fostering equal opportunity and inclusiveness.

The World Bank Report (2007) on India reported that educational attainment and attendance of the children with disability were very poor and far below than the national averages. Data suggests that people with disabilities have much lower educational attainment rates, with 52% illiteracy against a 35 % average for the general population. As mentioned in Chapter 2 under clause 3, subsection 2 of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009, number of children with disability shall be liable to pay any kind of fee, charges or expenses which may prevent him or her from pursuing and completing the elementary education and each child having disability shall have the right to pursue free and compulsory elementary education in accordance in compliance with (Equal Opportunities, Protection and Full Participation) Act, 1996 .

The recent seventh all India School Education Survey- NCERT (2017) reports that out of India's 200 million school aged children (6-14 years), 20 million require special education.

Assam's profile on Disability

Assam, a state geographically situated in the north east part of India has recent data on the number and type of disability identified in schools. Referring to the number of government schools under the District Information System for Education in Kamrup Metro District (2017-18), there are 848 schools where the number of Children with Special Needs is 256. The number of totally blind identified is 9, with low vision

is 82, hearing impairment is 48, speech impairment is 53, locomotor disability is 60, mentally retarded is 70, learning disability is 31, Cerebral Palsy is 12, Autism Spectrum Disorder is 7 and Multiple Disability is 26. This data shows that the highest number of students with special needs fall under locomotor disability therefore a barrier free environment is completely needed in the school setting.

However, there is an ability to improve on the inclusion of children with special needs over the years. It is reflected with the table given below:

Table 1. Coverage of Children with Special Needs (CWSN) in Assam

Year	Children with Special Needs (CWSN)	Enrolled	Methodology
2001-02	9184	8261	Home based education (HBE)
2017-18	81782	74100	Out of School Children (OSC)

Source: Axom Sarba Siksha Abhiyan Mission, Govt. of Assam.

The above table has clearly been able to show the increase in the number of identified children with special needs and enrollment. The home based education has been forefront to reach children with locomotors or sensory disability. This initiative helps in reducing drop out from the schools. The out of school children has been high in 2001-02 which is eliminated in 2017-18. However, the progress of inclusion is still a long way to go with the current intervention practices. The intersection of identities often acts as a barrier and creates complications for persons with disabilities while seeking full inclusion.

In the year 2018, the Government of India subsumed the three schemes of Sarba Siksha Abhiyan, Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan and Teacher Education for achieving school effectiveness in terms of equal opportunities for schooling and equitable learning outcomes. One of the major features of Samagra Siksha is focused on identification and assessment of children with special needs and provision of aid appliances, environment buildings and orientation programmes to create positive attitude and awareness about nature and needs of CWSN.

This paper is aiming at looking into the importance and barriers of inclusive education in schools as well as to understand

the role of teachers in executing inclusive education in schools. **Methodology**
 The study is carried out in the Rupnagar area, named after Late Rupnath Brahma area of Guwahati city, Assam. It has a mixed population of Assamese, Bodo, Karbi, Rabha, Garo, Tiwa communities. The study is conducted in two schools. One is run by the Government of Assam, and the other one is run by Shishu Shiksha Samiti, a state level affiliated committee of Vidya Bharati. Prior permission is taken from the two school Principals. The study is qualitative in nature based on the method of Focus Group Discussion and Observation. The universe of the study is the teachers associated with schools. The inclusion criteria of the teachers are their association from the beginning of these schools and the exclusion criteria are the newly recruited teachers. Eight teachers including males and females are involved in the focus group

discussion. They are asked a set of questions on the importance of inclusive education, challenges, barriers and suggestions. The time period is from 11:30 am to 12: 30 pm and from 12:30 pm to 1:30 pm for the two sessions where the class burden is lessened accordingly. The researchers moderated the two sessions. The sessions were recorded on phone with the consent of the teachers. The names of the schools are not mentioned to maintain confidentiality. Their viewpoints are narrated thematically.

Discussion

There are various themes which evolved during the course of study on inclusive education. The teachers are from nearby areas and the students come from a mixed community background with poor economic background.

Inclusive Education

Inclusive education is a system where all students learn together and the system of teaching, learning is adapted to meet the needs of students. When the teachers from the schools were asked about their ideas and views on inclusive education, the views were similar in more or less manner.

When children with special needs and other children are taught together, that is inclusive education be it slow learners, students with low IQ and others.

Implementation of Inclusive education

The majority of students who come to school with special needs are slow

learners (learning disability). But they are not physically impaired.

“Slow learners are given more time and extra classes are given to identify them. Teachers also pay home visits to help the students with their academics. This also helps in improving their studies and performance. This has been implemented since 1st April 2003, since the day of establishment. This is a step taken by teachers as an individual initiative. No such guidelines have come from anybody or any act. This is done every Saturday. Those with little difficulty are given extra classes by the in house teachers during summer vacation. Students with learning disabilities come from other schools to get admission in this school. More importance is given to English, Maths and Science and other subjects are taught once or twice in the entire tenure”-Teacher of Private School.

Identification of learning disability by the Teachers

Identification of any symptom of disability starts during the admission process in the school. The age of the children during that time is around three years. The process of interview conducted for admission purpose sometimes helps in identification of slow learners. Improvement of the slow learners is seen by the time they reach Class 5-6 with active support from the teachers.

“Four- five students were identified with problems of lack of attention, less grasping capacity and

uncontrollable emotions. Parents were consulted during home visits and special consideration for exams were given but it yielded no positive result”- Headmaster of Government School

Celebration of important days

The Board of Secondary Education has initiated celebration of International Day of Disability in its annual calendar. Disability Day and its importance are imparted to the students through speech in the morning assembly by teachers to provide a sense of unity as students come from mixed backgrounds. In the Private School, the day is not given adequate attention but other days like science day are celebrated. As other forms of disability are not found, the day is not celebrated.

Source: Government School

Barriers in Inclusive Education

The teachers in the two schools have found major impediments in implementing inclusivity. Inclusive Education is not possible in high schools because no such

training is provided to teachers for teaching children with special needs. No cases of mental disorder or hyperactive disorder have been found in the two schools but learning disability and low vision were found.

“While giving attention to slow learners, the other learners feel left out and they get bored and create noise. But the teachers try to maintain it at their level so that no one suffers. This is one big challenge. A child might be absent minded due to various reasons (suffering from love related issues, heart break, molestation) and might need more attention that will require more investment of time. These students may impact the behavior of other students due to their absentmindedness. No mentally retarded student has been admitted till date but there was once a student who had low vision. In that case, during the matriculation exam, extra effort by our teachers was given by visiting the student and reciting the notes to the student. But the result was not fruitful. The student could not pass the matric exam and after that no follow up was done”- Teacher of Government School.

Training

Training is an important component in the upgradation of skills. As the teachers handle different courses including the other co-curricular activities for a balanced teaching, training becomes essential.

“No training is provided to the teachers for inclusive education or teaching children with special needs.

But five years ago, a five day training program was organised by 'Don Bosco Mission' for all headmasters. A three hour session was taken by NGO 'Shishu Sarothi' where the awareness was given on disability rights, issues and challenges and the ways of handling the disabled"- Headmaster of Government School.

"The teachers have found the 15 day teachers training program fruitful which the school has conducted. No training is provided to teach exclusively children with special need in the private school"- Teacher of private school

Suggestions for government Initiatives

The suggestions are given by the entire teacher in the schools and common views are expressed. Apart from regular curriculum, an environment should be created in school where a student is exposed to such knowledge that will be helpful in his/her day to day life. Special training should be provided for all teachers in demonstrating the methods of taking classes in an inclusive set up. Introduction of special educators at the earliest should be implemented. The curriculum does not suffice or stand strong in giving knowledge about class or children handling. It should be done accordingly. The problem of child marriage is also common in the school going children especially if the child has a disability which gives rise to the problem of school dropout.

It has been found that a number of students in the two schools suffer from

learning disabilities. They are observed by their teachers during the time of admission and initial classes. The students showed less retention, absentmindedness and poor performance. Brief training is given to the school teachers by NGOs however no formal special training on catering to the needs of children with special needs is observed. This is required for best educational practice in the schools. Home visits are conducted to ensure retention of the students. Remedial classes are conducted by the teachers during summer break which has attendance. There is a demand for special tutors. A systemic curriculum should be integrated with the current practices to meet the goal of equality in education. For the celebration of December 3(International Day of Disability) speech is given by the Head Teachers for its significance. It is observed that the drop-out students who have learning disabilities are married off early.

Conclusion

Quality teaching is inclusive teaching in any educational set up. In Assam, broad based research is needed to assess the previously followed missions and programmes. Attention should be given for the implementation of inclusive education for children with special needs. Ramp facility should be provided for wheelchairs, comfortable sitting arrangements and wash rooms constructed keeping in mind a barrier free environment. The optimum number of students needed in a classroom should be comfortable for the teachers to mentor them. The enabling Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) should be provided to schools through proper support from the

Government. Apart from Braille textbooks; hearing aids, wheelchairs, crutches, and Mid-day meals are to be provided with a helper for the children with special needs. Training should be given to all teachers in proper manners irrespective of government and private schools as lot of students and teachers changes school. In Teacher Eligibility Test (TET) syllabus, an entire chapter on inclusive education should be included so that the newly appointed teachers will have knowledge about inclusive education. Although idea of inclusive education is felt among the teachers in the study however implementation is far from reach especially in schools itself. There are a few NGOs in Guwahati who are working exclusively with children with special needs like Shishu Sarothi, Destination to name a few. Some private schools have also introduced an inclusive environment to encourage the concept of education for all. In the long run, the newly implemented 'Samagra Siksha' for a holistic and integrated approach for the students till the age of 16 can provide some kind of hope for children with special needs. An overall academic and social development of students will ensure inclusive education where training on sensitive language to the teachers for the mixed community to inculcate inclusive participation and promote high quality education.

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Authors:

Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya, Guwahati Campus, Assam

Research Scholar, Department of Social Work, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya, Guwahati Campus, Assam

THE WANCHO LANGUAGE: A LINGUISTIC INTRODUCTION

Partha Pratim Phukon

Abstract

The Wancho is one of the major tribes of Longding district of Arunachal Pradesh. They are also living in five villages in the adjacent areas of Sivasagar District of Assam. The Wancho community possesses their own language i.e Wancho. In this language there are mainly two dialectal variations viz. Nimu (Lower Wancho) and Nianu(Upper Wancho). In the context there is a little differences in phonological and morphological and lexical variations. In the context of the wancho language the Nimu dialect is used in all social and public works. The Bible also translated to Nimu dialect of Wancho language.

Every language has its own grammatical catagories such as noun, pronoun, adjectives, verbs, number, and gender, person, case and numerical also. The Longchang dialect also follows own grammatical peculiarities in respect to morphological features. The morphology of this language is mostly agglutinative. Affixes are used with the nouns for inflection in number, gender and case. This article aims at analyzing the inflection of noun words of Wancho.

Keywords: Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Wancho language, Inflection, Noun, Gender, Number, Case, Word Formation, Numerical Process.

Introduction

An Introductory Note on the Subject

Arunachal Pradesh is a multi tribal and multi cultural state. Various Linguistic tribes are living in various places of Arunachal Pradesh. The state is with a population numbering 1, 38, 2611(census, 2011), and the people speak more than 50 languages. The people of the states are popularly considered as tribal. Every tribe has their own dialectal variations. These variations are found according to their place of

inhabitant. So, the variety of languages may not be called as dialect. They contend sociolectal and ethnolectal varieties. There are quite a good number of varieties among the people and they took their dwelling areas in the state chiefly on the river banks and in the interior areas of the dense forests of the territory. Linguistically the state shows the maximum diversity, with nearly hundred languages altogether. The indegenious inhabitants of this region are mostly tribal and since prehistoric time they are

continuing their own tribal customs and tradition.

The Wancho Community and their Linguistic Area

The work wancho means hill people. The Story of migrations of the wanchos alludes to the fact that search for cultivable land and inter tribal feuds impelled them to migrate from their abode across the Patkai and settle in Tirap a few centuries ago. It is certain that the Wanchos came before the arrival of Ahoms of Assam.

The Wancho language as well as the Wancho Community is dominant in the Longding district of Arunachal Pradesh. The Wanchos are living in 68 villages of Longding District. The Wancho is an endangered language and undeveloped also. Linguistically the Wanchos are belongs from Tibeto burman branch of Sino-Tibetan language family and mongoloid group anthropologically. Wancho language has no any Traditional script. Now they use Roman script universally.

Aims and Objectives

The main objectives of the study of The Wancho Language: A Linguistic Introduction is given bellow-

- To study about the origin and linguistic status of the Wancho language.
- To study about the word formation process of the Wancho language.
- To study about the inflectional process of the Wancho language.
- To study about numerical process of the wancho language.

Methodology

The method adopted in this study the descriptive analytical method. The data have been collected by field study from some dwelling parts of the speech community. The study attempts to find out basic inflection of the noun words of the Wancho language. The Collection of procedure of required for the structural and non-structural analysis is broadly divided into two categories i.e primary and secondary. The primary data have been collected from the native speakers of Wancho in different localities of Longding district of Arunachal Pradesh in three forms.

- Supplied Vocabulary
- Sentences
- Information Conversation

Most of data were recorded using a digital voice recorder. The dataset is prepared that contain isolated words in monosyllabic and disyllabic forms. Keeping view to the goal, some of the words are selected in controlled minimal pair.

2.1 Methods of Data Collection

i) Primary Source: Primary Data have been collected from various conversations with the people in both formal and informal situations. In formal situations, questions have been asked from the prepared questionnaire and in the informal situation, general conversation has been recorded. The informants are selected from the different dialect areas of this language. For this purpose, I have visited various places of Kanubari, Russa and Rangluwa.

ii) Secondary Sources: Data are collected from the written documents viz. books, journals, project reports, government records, internet etc.

Review of Literature

A few books presented the Wancho Community have been taken to mention as foreworks in the study. *The wanchos* written by Parul Dutta published in 1990 is a Description of socio cultural life of speakers of this language.

To study in an analytical view a work is *A Note on Wancho Language* (1977) author K.Dasgupta analyzed scientifically the phonologically and vocabulary of different dialects of the Wanchos. In Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India and Robins Burling's *The Tibeto-Burman languages* some aspects of Wancho language as discussed.

Fr. Francis T.J.sdb's *First Ever Wancho Grammar cum English-Wancho Tutor* is a very important book for the study. It has a very high academic value and linguistic value.

An article entitled *Wancho Phonology and Word list* published in *Linguistics of Tibeto-Burman Area*, Vol-21, and No.02 is a very high standard article which is scientific and linguistically prepared. It helps to the study.

The Origin of the Wancho Language

G. A. Grearson, Paul K. Benedict [Sino-Tibetan A Conceptus, 2009, p.6], Suniti Kumar Chatarji, [Kirata-Jana-Kriti, 1975, pp. 24-25] elaborately discussed the

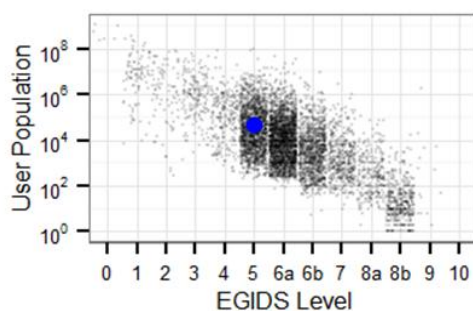
Sino- Tibetan speech family. They remark that the Wancho language is an offshoot of Sino-Tibetan origin. Later on some researchers have tried to explain the Wancho language as a sub group of Naga Group. Pramod Chandra Bhattacharja's opinions [Linguistic Situation in North-East India, 2003, pp.130-133], about the origin of the Wancho Language may be shown as Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto- Burman, Assam-Burma, Naga, Wancho. From cultural point of view, the Wancho community has a very close similarity with Naga communities i.e. head hunting. But now a day the tradition is totally closed. Of course these explanations are not sufficient for declaring the Wancho Language as an off-shoot of the Naga of the Boro-Naga Group. Researcher Robins Burling [Tibeto Burman Languages in North East India, <http://tibetoburmanlanguages.net> classifying, 21.09.2017] is trying to explain the Wancho Language is a sub group of Kanyak. But the main point is that the Kanyak and Wancho are sub branch of Naga Language. The tabular forms of the origin of the Wancho language are shown by the following picture.

Linguistic Status of the Wancho Language

According to the EDIGS [www.ethnologue.com. EGIDS Level] the Wancho language can be estimated as an endangered and developing language. In time of communication with other communities the speakers of the Wancho language feel some sort of hesitation. Specially the new generation of speakers feel hesitated to present their identity by speaking their respective language. The

linguistic awareness for the language is degrading in current generation. As per the assessment of the EDIGS scale, the Wancho language can be observed as an endangered developing language because it is used for face- to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing speakers. The EGIDS consists of 13 levels with each higher number on the scale representing a greater level of disruption to the international transmutation of the language. More than 40 languages or dialects in India are considered to be endangered and believed to be heading towards extinction as only a few thousand people speak them officials said. According to a report of the census Directorate, there are 22 scheduled languages and 100 non-scheduled languages in the country, which are spoken by a large number of people of one lakh or more. However 42 languages which are spoken by less than 10,000 people.[<https://currentaffairs.gktoday.in>, 29.06.2019]

The Wancho language is endangered but not critically endangered. It is in developing stage and it may be developed by proper language planning. The picture which is shown Wancho language as an endangered language that is given below-



- Each and every speaker from child to adult including old people uses the language.
- Wancho language is still at its colloquial form. There is neither traditional script nor Government recognized graphical script of the language. However, at present they have adopted Roman script and the Bible has also been translated to Wancho language adopting this script. Moreover, there is a limited written version of literature, inscription, songs, proverbs etc in Wancho language.
- The development of the language is restrained as there is no written literature of the Wancho language.
- There is a sporadic study of the language yet the lack of a complete scientific study creates problem in the development of the language. Due to the absence of scientific analysis there is a problem in publication of textbook, grammar etc in Wancho language.
- The colloquial form of the Wancho language is used in family life only. The new generation communicates with others in public field using Hindi, Assamese and English language. However, there is a recent awareness among the limited literate section to keep their language alive.

Inflectional Process of the Nouns of Wancho Language

Wancho is a major tribe of Arunachal Pradesh. They are living in 68 villages of

various areas of Longding district. The Language is an undeveloped and previously undescribed language. UNESCO recognized the Wancho language as an endangered language.

Inflection is a process which combines words and affixes to produce alternative grammatical forms of words. Inflection contributes a morpheme that required in order to ensure that the word has a form that is appropriate for the grammatical context. Noun words of Wancho Language show inflection for gender, number and case.

Gender

Gender distinction in the Wancho Language is determined on the natural recognition of sex. Gender is not grammatically marked in this dialect. It has only natural genders. On the basic of semantical-morphological criteria, nouns are primarily classified into two classes; viz, i) animate, ii) inanimate. Both human and Non human nouns are considered nature.

Mas.

apa 'father'

paup 'grand father'

usa 'son'

Fem.

anu 'mother'

tatai 'grand mother'

namsa 'daughter in law'

Gender distinction of Human Noun

In some other kinship terms, gender is marked by adding the attributives {-pa} 'male', nu 'female'. For example;

Com.

mi 'man'

sa 'child'

Mas.

mi-pa

sa-pa

Fem.

mi-nu

sa-nu

Nouns in wancho do not show gender concord with the verbs. Secondly all the nouns in Wancho do not show morphological inflection for gender. Genders in Wancho are two-masculine and feminine. The distinction of gender observes the sex variation of human and non-human being.

Process of gender distinction

In Wancho, mainly two processes are followed to indicate the gender of nouns.

* By using different words in case of human being

* By using attributed words in human and non human being

By using different words in case of human being-

In case of kinship terms, gender is distinguished by using different noun words referring to masculine and feminine respectively. For example

b) Gender distinction of Non-Human Nouns

By using suffixes {-pong} 'male' and {-sa} 'female' to animate objects. For example

Com.	Mas.	Fem.
mahu 'cow'	hu-pong	hu-sa
ran 'goat'	ran-pong	ran-sa
hi 'dog'	hi-pong	hi-nu

On the other hand suffix {-pong} 'male' and {-nu} 'female' are used in case of domestic animals. For examples-

Com.	Mas.	Fem.
o' 'bird'	o'pang	o'nu
o'su 'dove'	o'su pang	o'su nu
o'nak 'crow'	o'nak pang	o'nak nu

Some words are traditionally masculine. These are based on traditional image. For example-

rangham 'sun', phaukha 'hill', zawan 'God', wangham 'king'.

Some words are traditionally feminine. These are based on traditional image. For example-

Sa 'river', ti 'water', rangpham 'moon', wangsa 'queen'.

- Neuter gender

The inanimate nouns have no gender in Wancho. They are neither classified as masculine nor as feminine. These are treated as having neuter gender. Consider the following examples-

paan 'wood', kha 'firewood', bitsa 'knife', ham 'house' etc.

Number

Number is one of important morphological category in Wancho language. The Wancho language possesses two numbers- singular and plural. The plural is indicated by adding some plural suffixes, such as {-bu}, which are used after noun and pronoun.

Sing.	Pl.
{-bu} laka ‘boy’	lakabu ‘boys’
seko ‘girl’	sekobu ‘girls’
khohom ‘umbrella’	khohombu ‘umbrellas’
ham ‘house’	hambu ‘houses’

{-khanak} classifier plural suffix is added for human being. For example-

obikhanak ‘a group of people’

sikozem ‘a group of female people’

luakzem ‘a group of elephant’

o’sazem ‘a group of birds’

{-hurem}, {-horem}, are used with words to indicate only animated objects. For example-{-hurem} plural suffix is added for animated objects.

Sing.	Pl.
mahu	mahuhurem
lui	luihurem
lua	luahurem

{-horem} plural suffix is added for animated objects.

Sing.	Pl.
osa	osaharem
o’	o’harem
o’pak	o’pakharem

Besides these attributive words, sometimes the nouns are made plural by adding numerical words. The numerical words follow the noun words. For example-

Sing.	Pl.
mi huwak tuita 'one man'	mi huwak ani 'two men'
luwa tuita 'one elephant'	luwa ani 'two elephants'
ham tuita 'one house'	ham ani 'two houses'

Some words are universally singular. These words are based on traditional image. For example- jowam 'God', hawen nu 'earth', rangham 'sun', letnu 'moon', wangham 'king'.

Numerical System of the Wancho Language

Base of a number system

The base of a number system can be envisioned as main building block of the system. It is the first number, reached in counting, which is the first number, reached in counting which is used to build higher numbers by being itself counted in a regular manner. So, for instance in a perfect decimal system whose building block is number '10' we would have simple non-compound names for all numbers between ten and compounded names above.

The construction of intermediate numbers

One we have names for the main base and its power, identify unanalyzable is synchrony, the intermediate numbers are built by operations of elementary arithmetic.

Multiplication, addition and subtraction

Multiplication and addition are found in all numeral systems. They both build the number to express in reference to closet

lower step in the gradation. Thus in English 'thirty two starts from 30 and adds 2 to it 'three hundred' starts from 100 and multiples it by 3.

Half counting

Using a fraction to express a quality smaller than one unit is common, even if many languages do not have dedicated terms for fractions such as half, quarter third etc.

Number of the Wancho

The term of 'numeral' is often used to refer to number like one, two, three, four, five etc. Numeral form is a sub-class of nominal. Numeral is another interesting phenomenon of the Tibeto-Burman group of Languages of North-East India. The numerical system of these languages is mainly of the decimal type. The majority of basic cardinal numbers are formed with mono-morphemic root. The other numerals are derived by compounding the basic

cardinal numerals. These are formed in Boro, Karbi, Mising, Deori, Singpho, Tangsa etc. in a peculiar way. It is mentioned that these languages have developed a numeral system, which is newly created for academic purpose. The numerals of the Tibeto-Burman group of languages in Arunachal Pradesh are chiefly classified into two types. These are –

Cardinal Numerals

Ordinal Numerals

Words like ‘one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, and ten are called cardinal numbers.

Classification of Numerals Cardinals

Wancho has decimal numeral system. Cardinal numbers are also divided into two sub-divisions in Wancho. These are –

Basic Cardinal Numerals

Derived Cardinal Numerals

Basic Cardinal Numerals

The number system of Wancho has a basic form and one to ten, twenty, forty, sixty, eighty and hundred. Examples of basic numerals are noted below-

ata	‘one’	arok	‘six’
ani	‘two’	anat	‘seven’
arom	‘three’	aset	‘eight’
ali	‘four’	aku	‘nine’
aga	‘five’	ban	‘ten’
sa	‘twenty’	puli	‘forty’
puni	‘sixty’	puram	‘eighty’
hota	‘hundred’		

The numeral forms for hundred, thousand, lakh are borrowed from Assamese. The words hota, jatta, lakta are formed by the main Assamese words- xo, hajar, lakh etc. The new words are formed by phonological change.

hota (100) means xo (100) in Assamese

xo(100) (1)

jatta (1000) means hajar (1000) in Assamese

jat/hajar/hajat(1000) (1)

lakta (1,00000) means lakh in Assamese

lakh/lak(100000) (1)

Derived Cardinal Numerals

The derived cardinal numerals are formed by a combination of the basic numeral with or without any combination marker. The derived cardinal numerals are formed by two processes. These processes are discussed below.

By addition

By double addition

By addition

Numerals are formed by the process of addition in Wancho. The numeral from eleven (11) to nineteen (19) are formed of process by addition in which the first component is ten (10) and the second component is any one of the cardinal numbers from one to nine . In this counting system, the first number is– ‘sai’ (ten). Examples are given below.

ban + ata = banbata ‘eleven’ (10 + 1= 11)

ban + ani = banani ‘twelve’ (10 + 2= 12)

ban + arɔm=banarɔm ‘thirteen’ (10+3=13)

In the same process of addition the numerals from twenty one (21) to thirty (30) are formed.

sa + ata = sabata ‘twenty one’ (20 + 1= 21)

sa + ani = sabani ‘twenty two’ (20 + 2= 22)

sa + arɔm=sabarɔm ‘twenty three’ (20+3=23)

sa + ali= sabali ‘twenty four’ (20+4=24)

In the same process forty one (41) to fifty (50), sixty one (61) to seventy (70), eighty one (81) to ninety (90) are formed. For example-

puni + ani = puniani ‘forty two’ (40 + 2= 42)

puram + aga= puramaga ‘sixty five’ (60 + 5= 65)

puli + ali = pulibali 'eight four' (80 + 4= 84)

puli + ban= puliban 'ninety' (80 + 10= 90)

From thirty one to thirty nine (31-39), fifty one to fifty nine (51-59), seventy one to seventy nine (71-79), ninety one to ninety nine (91-99) are formed by addition of numerical. For example-

sa + ban + ata = sabanbata 'thirty one' (20 +10+1= 31)

sa + ban +ani= sabanani 'twenty two' (20 +10+ 2= 32)

puni + ban + ata = punibanata 'fifty one' (40 +10+1= 51)

Ordinals

An ordinal number is a number defining a thing's position in a series such as first, second, third, fourth etc. In Wancho ordinal numbers are formed as below-

avang lakija 'first'

ani lakkija 'second'

aram lakkija 'third'

ali lakkija 'fourth'

aga lakkija 'fifth'

Fractional

An ordinary fraction is not made use of by speakers of the Wancho language. The word 'quarter' is the first fractional number in the Wancho language. Half, one third etc. are formed by addition of numerals. For example-

puwa (quarter) +ata (1) =1/4

puwa (quarter) +ani(2) =2/4

puwa (quarter) +aram (3) =3/4

puwa (quarter) +ali (4) =4/4

Binary

In the Wancho language, '2' is used as 'zut' which means 'pair'. It is used in counting two objects as one unit. Actually this word 'zut' belongs from Assamese word 'zur' it means 'pair'. For example-

ɔ (bird) + zut (pair) + ata (1) = ɔzut ta ‘a pair of birds’

The word ‘han’ is used as pair in this language for animals. For example-

mahu (ox) + han (pair) = mahu han ‘a pair of ox’

Quantifiers

The words ‘rari’, (many/more) ‘tuta ani’ (some) ‘hindau le’ (little), etc., are used as quantifiers in this language. For example-

rari (many) khanak (people) = rari khanak ‘many people’

tuta ani (some) khanak (people) = tuta ani khanak ‘some people’

The vocabulary of the basic numerical words of the Wancho language is rich. Basic numerical words and derived numerical words are two major parts of numerals of the language. Addition is the main process of the formation of the Wancho language. Tibeto-Burman characteristics of numerical word formation are seen in this language.

Word formation of the Wancho Language

A noun is a word that denotes the name of a person, place, thing or idea. The noun may be defined as the base morpheme which takes or is capable of taking case, number, gender, classifier and other nominal affixes. Any word whose occurrence allows use of determiner or case word in the same construction is treated as a noun. The determination of noun classes in a language is based on syntactic criteria in large part.

Wancho language agglutinative is character. Also it is mono-syllabic in structure. Affixes are added around to the ‘root’ to built poly-

syllabic form. Nouns constitute the major portion of the Wancho vocabulary. A Noun can simply be a root, a stem or even a group of words by itself. Due to nominalization process, verbs as well as adjectives can be converted into nouns such as de-verbals and de-adjective respectively.

Process of Noun word formation in Wancho

Word formation is sometimes referred to all processes connected with changing the form of the word by for example affixation, which is a matter of morphology. In its wider sense word formation denotes the process of creation of new lexical units. Several types of morphemes of the Longchang dialect show different processes of word formation in the Wancho language yet it has primarily three processes of noun word formation. They are-

- Derivation
- Compounding
- Reduplication

Process of Derivation

Derivation is a process of word formation where a stem is formed with two roots, one or more than one root and one or more than one affix. According to **Hockett**,

“Derivation, then, deals with the structure of stems”¹.

After derivation, the derived word or stem does not belong to the same class of the previous root or stem. Robert Beart says,

In its broadest sense derivation refers to any process which results in the creation of a new word.(The **Handbook of Morphology**, ed. **Spencer & Zwicky**)

To illustrate this process, discussion with examples is given below.

Types of Derivation

Viewing the word class or the changes in words in the word formation of the Wancho Language, the derivations are classified in two types. They are-

- Class maintaining derivation
- Class changing derivation

Both the types of derivation are found in Nominal derivation of the Wancho dialect.

Class maintaining nominal derivation in Wancho

The class maintaining nominal derivatives in this dialect is manifested by the formation of the noun stems by adding some definitive suffix with noun stems. The newly formed noun stems belongs to the same class. The definitive suffix used to form such stems are like {-va}, {-la}, {-kəu}.

Noun	Def.suffix	Noun
tsai ‘song’	{-miʔ}	tsaimiʔ ‘singer’
ŋat ‘mentally disturbed’	{-miʔ}	ŋatmiʔ ‘mad’
ekiya ‘read’	{-miʔ}	emiʔ ‘author’
hi ‘dog’	{-pɔŋ}	hipɔŋ ‘male dog’

Sometimes in case of word formation of class maintaining nominal derivatives a single free stem is added with another free stem. After the combination of the two free stems, a new nominal is derived of the same class. Examples are given below.

Noun	Noun	Noun
ni ‘cloth’	pɔŋ ‘male’	nipɔŋ ‘shirt’
k ^h alap ‘tea’	ti ‘water’	k ^h alapti ‘tea’
tsam ‘breast’	ti ‘water’	tsɔmti ‘mothers’ milk’

Some derived nominals are formed by adding with the verb stems with the noun stems. The newly formed word does not make any class change of the original noun.

Verb		Noun	=	Noun
takkiya ‘to weave’	+	miʔ ‘person’	=	takkiyamiʔ ‘weaver’
ratkiya ‘to reap’	+	miʔ ‘person’	=	ratkiyamiʔ ‘reaper’

¹C. F Hockett, *Op.cit*, p. 240

ekiya ‘to read’ + miʔ ‘person’ = emiʔ ‘author’

Some nouns are formed by addition of the verb stem with two nouns. After the derivation the noun loses a part of the original stem and a noun stem totally. These are the verb based noun. The noun does not make any change of the class. Examples are:

Noun Noun Verb

Noun

ram_N ‘path’ + naŋ_N ‘man’ + karɔ_V ‘to go’ = ramnaŋkarɔ_N ‘wanderer’

zapɔi_N ‘moon’ + raŋpu_N ‘night’ + maŋ_V ‘to darken’ = zaraŋpumaŋ_N ‘night without moon’

zapɔi_N ‘moon’ + chɔk_N ‘light’ + lit_V ‘to light’ = zachɔk_Nlit_N ‘Day of full moon’

In the Wancho Language, the names of the seven days are formed with the combination of two or three nouns. The formation of the names of the seven days as follows-

Noun	Noun	Noun	Noun
hatdaŋ ‘week’	ata ‘one’	hatdaŋ ata	‘Monday’
hatdaŋ ‘day’	ani ‘two’	hatdaŋani	‘Tuesday’
hatdaŋ ‘day’	aram ‘three’	hatdaŋaram	‘Wednesday’
hatdaŋ ‘day’	ali ‘four’	hatdaŋali	‘Thursday’
hatdaŋ ‘day’	aga ‘five’	hatdaŋaga	‘Friday’
hatdaŋ ‘day’	azak ‘six’	hatdaŋazak	‘Saturday’
hatdaŋ ‘day’	anet ‘seven’	hatdaŋanet	‘Sunday’

In this formation of these nouns some peculiarities are noticed and the derived word remains as noun being class maintaining nominal derivatives. For the name of the Sunday only two noun stems are added. In case of this day, the return of a week is taken for and the numeral ‘one’ is added with word ‘bat’ that means ‘week’.

In the names from Monday to Saturday the middle stems are taken from the numerals of the dialect. For Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday three noun stems are found combined and the middle stems of the numerals are added leaving initial ‘{-a}’ as stated above. The names of Thursday and Friday are formed with addition only numeral directly. There are no omissions of any part.

In the class maintaining nominal nouns the derivation of the names of birds are formed on the basis of the nature or the sounds they do. This kind of derivation may be verb based or noun based. Examples are as follows:

Noun	Verb (onomatopoeic)	Noun
ɔ ‘bird’ +	k ^h u ‘to sit silently’ =	ɔk ^h u ‘owl’
ɔ ‘bird’ +	pak ‘a sound pak’ =	ɔpak ‘duck’
ɔ ‘bird’ +	kun ‘a sound ‘kun’ =	ɔkun ‘vulture’
ɔ ‘bird’ +	kunʔ ‘a sound ‘kung’ =	ɔkunʔ ‘peacock’

ɔ ‘bird’ + su ‘a sound ‘hu’ = ɔsu ‘a dove’

In the formation of the names of the trees and its related things the process of class maintaining nominal derivation occurs. A syllable {pu-} from the original word of the ‘pu-k^huŋ’ is added and {k^huŋ} is dropped to some parts of the tree. The names of various kinds of trees are formed with the addition of {-pu} from the main word of tree i.e. {puk^huŋ} before or after. The formation of these derivative noun stems are class maintaining nominal derivatives.

These compounds contain a stem as head of the construction, which does not have any fixed stress properties. That is why they are subject to a specific compound-stress rule, according to which, stress falls on the third syllable from the end of the formation. Obviously, a systematic treatment of stress and syllabification is needed separately from segmental phonological rules.

Noun		Noun		Noun
pan ‘tree’	+	sak ‘leaf’	=	pansak ‘leaves’
pan ‘tree’	+	kaŋ ‘limb’	=	pankaŋ ‘branch’
pan ‘tree’	+	p ^{hi} ‘wood’	=	panp ^{hi} ‘wood’

On the other hand the formation of some fruit trees names does not show any drop. The noun form of name of the fruit is added to the word of tree and the derived word remains as noun. For examples-

Noun		Noun		Noun
mamum ‘mango’	+	pan ‘tree’	=	mamumpan ‘mangotree’
ŋ ‘banana’	+	pan ‘tree’	=	ŋpan ‘banana tree’

The above discussed processes form a good deal of words in the Longchang dialect. The nominal derivation has led to the enrichment of the dialect and there would be always an effective scope for increasing the vocabulary of the dialect as well.

Class changing nominal derivation

Noun		Suffix		Deno.
tɔp ‘ablow’		{-tɔ}		tɔptɔ ‘to make blow’
buk ‘a hit’		{-tɔ}		buktɔ ‘to make hit’
avət ‘a slap’		{-tɔ}		avattɔ ‘to make slap’
zamɔhip ‘a kick’	{-tɔ}			zamɔhiptɔ ‘to make kick’
Adj.	Verb		Ver.N.	
kachəi ‘front’	+ ka ‘to go’	=	kachəi-ka ‘going towards’	
həinaŋ ‘back’	+ ka ‘to go’	=	həinaŋ-ka ‘returning’	
azuŋkɔ ‘wide’	+ tha ‘to do’	=	tha-zuŋ ‘widening’	
akaŋ ‘hot’	+ te ‘to boil’	=	tekaŋ ‘boiling’	

In the process of class changing nominal derivation definitives are suffixed with nouns and forms adjective words. Examples are given below:

Noun	Adj. mar.	Adj.
zat 'jungle'	{-vɔi}	zatvɔi 'jungle grown'
phanpuŋ 'flower'	{-vɔi}	phanpuŋ-vɔi 'flowery'
keŋ 'village'	{-van}	keŋvan 'rural'
kham 'water'	{-van}	khamvan 'watery'

Process of Compounding

Compounding is a derivational process in which a stem is formed with more than one root morpheme. In Wancho compounding is the most productive word formation method. Here, compound words are formed by adopting the derivational process. To define a compound word is 'a word made up wholly of smaller words is called a compound'².

Compound words in Wancho are composed of following ways-

- i) A free form+ one or more free forms
- ii) A free form+ A derivative
- iii) A derivative+ A free form

i) A free form+ one or more free forms

Free Free Comp.

mikʔ 'eye'+ren 'line' = mikʔren 'eyebrow'

sak 'hand'+k^hu 'knee' = sakk^hu 'knee'

raŋ 'sky'+vat 'fall down' = raŋvat 'rain'

pa 'pray'+ham 'house' = paham 'pray house'

Free Free Free Comp.

O+pak+ape = opakpe 'bat/flying fox'

Su+nam+sa = sunamsa 'grand daughter'

Hat+ dang+ata = hatdangata 'Monday'

Hu+pang+sa = hupangsa 'male calf'

ii) A free form+a derivative

The derivative is generally an adjective derived from some noun-root.

ak^huŋ-meŋ

'ripened in tree'

miʔ-ke-dɔk

'having one eye'

² Bloch, Bernard and Trager, George in OLA, 1972 Indian Edition sec. 4.2 Source: P.N, DuttaBoruah, 2007, *A Contrastive Analysis of the Morphological Aspects of Assamese and Oriya* p.77

iii) A derivative+ a free form

asom + ηaa = som-ηaa 'salty fish'

Process of Reduplication

A very common morphological operation is reduplication, whereby part of the base or complete base is copied and attached to the base. This may happen either preceding or following the base.

According to Sapir,

*'Reduplication is a process that involves repetition of all or some part of the radical element and which is generally employed to indicate such concepts as distribution, plurality, repetition, customary activity and increase in size, added intensity, and continuance.'*³

Reduplication in linguistics is a morphological process in which the root or stem of a word or part of it or even the whole word is repeated exactly or with a slight change. It is often used when a speaker adopts-- a tone more "expressive" or figurative than ordinary speech.

hai-haiᵛa ken-aken ηinrao-rᵛ. 'The beggar begged from
beggar def. village to village money want t.m village to village

ni aηaη nuη-nei-nuη 'we sit face to face'.

We sit face to face.

On the basis of different grounds reduplication, as a phenomenon, can be sub-divided into different sub-types. The major grounds include structural point of view and degree of sameness of the reduplicant and the root or stem reduplicated. On structural basis reduplication in Longchang can be categorized into two types.

- Full reduplication
- Partial reduplication

Full reduplication

Full reduplication shows the entire word reduplicated. Anvita Abbi (1985) defines on Full Reduplication-

*Complete reduplication refers to the phenomenon when a single word or a clause is repeated once in the same sentence without any phonological or morphological variations.*⁴

³Extracted from : Dash, Niladri Sekhar, 2015, *A Descriptive Study of Bengali Words*, Cambridge University Press, Delhi, p.228

⁴Abbi, Anvita, 1985, *Reduplicative Structures: A Phenomenon of the South Asian Linguistic Area*, University of Hawai's Press, P.

In other words full reduplication is the repetition of entire word without any deleting or interchanging of a root word (root with one or more affixes). Therefore complete reduplication is the repetition without bringing any phonological or morphological changes to the root word. For example:

azuŋ-azuŋ	‘tall’ (used in talk)
fi ai-fi ai	‘to beg’
nan-nan	‘firm’ /‘fixed’

In the examples given above the entire stems are reduplicated.

Partial Reduplication

Partial reduplication plays a vital role in word formation in Wancho. It involves a reduplication of only a part of the reduplicated root or stem. That part can often be called phonological because it is of some phonological part of the word. There may be the analysis of syllables.

Noun

Rang kham kham	‘illness’
Pang pang ham	‘home and home’
Hai hai	‘water’
Muwa muwa le	‘some’
Pau nga pau nga	‘waking’

Adjective

alap-akap	‘rich’
alap	‘wealth’

Verb

phing-phen	‘heart beating’
phij	‘beat of heart’

Adverb

keŋ-akeŋ	‘from village to village’
keŋ	‘village’

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it may be summarized as stated below:

- Inflection affects nouns, with reference to the gender and number in Wancho.

- In wancho gender and number are not grammatical as found in the language like Sanskrit and the Hindi language.
- Inflection is motivated by syntax and this process assigns a noun stem certain grammatical properties so as to produce a grammatical word that can fit in a given syntactic slot.
- In Wancho, mainly two processes are followed to indicate the gender of nouns. These are- by using different words in case of human being and by using attributed words in human and non human being.
- Some noun words are traditionally masculine and feminine.
- In Wancho plural suffix is added in both human being and non human beings.
- Plural classifier suffix are added in both human and non human beings.
- Wancho has decimal numeral system. Cardinal numbers are also divided into two subdivisions in Wancho. These are – Basic Cardinal Numerals and Derived Cardinal Numerals.
- The number system of Wancho has a basic form and one to ten, twenty, forty, sixty, eighty and hundred.
- The numeral forms for hundred, thousand, lakh are borrowed from Assamese. The words hota, jatta, lakta are formed by the main Assamese words- xo, hajar, lakh etc. The new words are formed by phonological change.
- The derived cardinal numerals are formed by two processes. These processes are - by addition and by double addition.
- In wancho ordinal numbers are formed by numerals addition with ordinal suffix.
- An ordinary fraction is not made use of by speakers of the Wancho language. The word ‘quarter’ is the first fractional number in the Wancho language. Half, one third etc. are formed by addition of numerals.
- In the Wancho language, ‘2’ is used as ‘zut’ which means ‘pair’. It is used in counting two objects as one unit. Actually this word ‘zut’ is belongs from Assamese word ‘zur’ it means ‘pair’.
- The Wancho inhabitant area is nearby of Assam. Cultural and linguistic share is easily transmitted in this type of area. So, in numerical system we see same some numerical numbers.
- On the basis of structures, the nouns in Wancho language can divided into two broad classes viz; primary and secondary. Secondary nouns in Wancho can be classified into two sub-classes viz; derived and compound.
- Derived nouns are formed by a) Adding personal pronominal prefixes, b) Adding general Inflectional suffix, c) adding categorical affixes.
- Compound noun are formed by the process of a) a free form + one or more free forms, b) a free form + a derivative and c) a derivative + a free form.

- Derivation, compounding and reduplication are main processes of noun word formation of the wancho language.
- Categorical affixation is a main peculiarity of the process of noun word formation of the Wancho language. These categorical affixes are indicates a special category of animals, birds, snakes etc.
- In this study I have seen that that the characteristics of word formation process indicate both mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic character. It is a major morphological peculiarities of tibeto-burman languages.

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Author:

Assistant Professor, Department of Assamese, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya, Nagaon, Assam

MATERNAL HEALTH AND COVID-19: A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GOLAGHAT DISTRICT OF ASSAM

Priyanka Gogoi

Abstract

COVID-19 was declared as pandemic by the World Health Organisation (WHO) on 11th March 2020 as the virus was spread globally. Almost all the countries of the world has been affecting by this pandemic socially, economically, physically, and mentally. The first positive case in India was reported in Kerala on 30th January, 2020. Unlike the developing countries like Spain, Germany, India has poor health infrastructure for which people face many problem at many times. For which, it has been a challenging task for India to fight with this pandemic while Developing countries witnessed to many positive cases and deaths too instead of having improvised health facilities. Whenever we talk about health in general, we cannot ignore maternal health in India as Maternal health has been always a matter of concern since colonisation for which many initiatives has been taken to improve. In India, Assam is the state that comes in the top of the list of maternal mortality rate with 300 per 1, 00,000 live births while the corresponding figure of nation is 168. Several studies reveal that prime reasons behind poor maternal health is lack of accessibility, availability and affordability of health facilities. Therefore, this study was an attempt to understand the problem that pregnant women faced during COVID-19 pandemic as the whole health system was mainly focusing on COVID positive patients.

Keywords: Maternal health, accessibility, availability, COVID-19 pandemic

Introduction

COVID-19 was first detected in Wuhan Municipal Health Commission, China (WHO, 2020). It was declared as pandemic by the World Health Organisation (WHO) on 11th March 2020 as the virus was spread globally. Almost all the countries of the

world has been affecting by this pandemic socially, economically, physically, and mentally. The first positive case in India was reported in Kerala on 30th January, 2020 (Belfin et al., 2020). Unlike the developing countries like Spain, Germany, India has

poor health infrastructure for which people face many problems at many times.

In developing countries, pregnant women generally face lots of difficulties in accessing health facilities. India is a country where inequality in maternal health care utilization can be seen in many places because of scarcity of researches or poor resource setting. Lack of accessibility, availability, and affordability is a common phenomena in India especially in Assam because of geographical location as well as different socio-cultural aspect (Baru, Acharya, Acharya, Kumar, & Nagaraj, 2010)(Gogoi, 2021). There are many other reasons such as poverty, lack of nutrition, cultural beliefs for which maternal death in Assam is unacceptably high. Studies show that anaemia, haemorrhage, sepsis etc are the causes of maternal deaths. Along with this, geographical inaccessibility is another cause of maternal deaths. As for example, most of the hospitals are not functional 24x7 hours for which women face difficulties to access health care services (Rane et al., 2019). This is the general condition of health care system in India which is very fragile and the spreading of life-threatening virus like COVID-19 has almost broken down existing health status though, the health facilitators tried their best to reach people with the limited available resources. Therefore, this study is just an attempt to explore the problem faced by pregnant women during pandemic.

Assam is the state that has 34 districts and inhabitants of many ethnic groups such as Bodo, Chutia, Ahom, Rajbangshi, Adivasis, Rabha, Karbi, Bengali speaking Hindu and

Muslim and so on. This study was conducted in Golaghat district of Assam which is located in Upper Assam.

Objective of the study

Assam is one of the states of India where maternal death is reported as highest among all the states. It indicates the poor health status of Assam as well as the poor health infrastructure of Assam. Therefore, this study was attempted to understand the experience of pregnant women during COVID-19 and her family.

Methodology

Qualitative Research design was used. The data has been collected in the month of October-November, 2020. The data was collected from pregnant women and ASHA. This study explores the nine case studies who were pregnant and have experienced childbirth during lockdown. The study was conducted in Golaghat District of Assam. Golaghat district was selected as it was declared as red zone along with four districts of Assam at the month April, 2020 when other districts were either in orange zone or green zone (Pratidin Times, 2020). The data has been collected in the month of September, 2020. The inclusion criteria of the study are women who were pregnant or have experienced childbirth during COVID-19 lockdown. Thematic analysis of the data has been done. The interviews were conducted in Assamese language and later, it was transcribed and translated to English.\

Findings and Result

Findings and result will be discussed thematically in below-

Antenatal Care (ANC)

WHO suggests pregnant women to go for at least four ANC which is just an opportunity for pregnant women to receive the effective maternal health intervention that helps in identifying the risk factors associated with pregnancy (WHO, 2021). The study shows that women could not able to visit regular antenatal check up during lockdown due to fear of getting infected. In this regards, one respondent named K. Gogoi said that-

“I was scared of going out for antenatal check up too. I was availing ANC in district Hospital but I come to know that it was converted to COVID-19 centre. So, my whole family gets tense, thinking about where we go for check up. Along with this, lots of people were identified as positive who came from Delhi attending that.....(trying to remember) Islamic religious program where many foreigners too attended that program. It was informed that people got infected in that programme and were carrying the virus to Assam. So, arrangement to quarantine for those suspected and COVID-19 positive people were made in Golaghat civil hospital. Therefore, we were not visiting any ANC at that moment.”

However, one respondent mentioned that she has visited the hospital for check up taking all the necessary precaution though check up was not done on time. The respondent named T. Saikia said that-

“I have completed four ANCs after lockdown though it was not on time. When we went for check up in PHC, ANM asked us to wear mask, and if someone did not have mask then they use to provide. They also sanitized our hand before entering to PHC. And we were asked to enter one by one maintaining one meter distance. Still, I was scared of being infected as I have heard one incident of Jorhat where a pregnant lady was detected positive and I have heard that she was getting insufficient treatment. I don't know if it was a rumour or true. But I was really scared and that's why I was using all the necessary precaution.”

Insufficient hospitals and Scarcity of Hospital bed

From the above data, we got an overall idea about ANC, then next question comes to our mind is how people accessed hospital for childbirth. Government of India has been promoting institutional childbirth for which several government schemes such as JSY, JSSY etc. are launched. However, childbirth at home is common in some of the places of Assam such as char area (Gogoi, 2021). During COVID-19, people of the study area were scared of thinking about the institutional childbirth as the treatment of COVID-19 has been providing in the civil hospital located in Golaghat. This is the only civil hospital in Golaghat where most of the pregnant women go for childbirth. Along with this, lack of availability of private hospital could also be seen during COVID-19. One of the respondents opined that-

“When we come to know that the one of the good private hospitals in Golaghat for

childbirth was closed due to detection of COVID-19 positive patient, we got tensed. We did not have any idea where do we go if pain comes suddenly. We do not want to go civil hospital as COVID-19 centre was there within the campus.”

In addition to this, one pregnant woman's mother shared her experience how much she was scared and how she managed. She said

“My daughter was pregnant during lockdown. I was scared, could not sleep at night thinking about the problem that pregnant women have been facing because of COVID-19. We talked to the hospital authority many times asking whether any kind of problem may rise. We also tried to do pre-booking a cabin because of the scarcity of hospital bed specially in private hospital. Finally, the delivery took place in September. But I can remember when I was at hospital sitting at the hospital balcony, a family came at night around....I AM to admit someone from the family. The gate keeper did not open the gate. Because all the patients admitted in the hospital had to go through COVID-19 test. I am glad that the delivery took place at day time otherwise we might face lots of difficulties”

This portrayed the clear picture how much pregnant women and her well wishers suffered thinking about problem that might arise during childbirth.

Unwanted pregnancy

Violation of sexual and reproductive health of women is reported during COVID-19 (Shrivastava et al., 2021). Limited access to health services and shortage of medical

supply led to unwanted pregnancy. In this context, one of the respondents aged 33years old shared her story-

“I have already two children. This was third time... I was pregnant. If it was a normal time period I could have gone through abortion. But I come to know lately about my pregnancy status. I was discussing with my family members regarding abortion as we are okay with two children. But lockdown was declared next day evening for 21days for which we could not go for abortion. Anyway the baby is healthy now”.

It was predicted that the number of unwanted pregnancy might be increased if the lockdown extended. The narrative of the respondent proves that the prediction was not myth. Though, it is difficult to say firmly that the prediction is completely true because of lack of rigorous study on this issue.

Unwillingness to access public hospital

“Last time, my delivery was taken place in district hospital. But this time I could not take the risk. My family managed money and we have gone to private hospital. Everyone suggested that it was better not to visit civil hospital though the COVID-19 patients centre and the general patients ward is different. In private hospital, it is too costly while in district hospital it is free”. - Narrative of a lactating mother, aged 28 years, C. Saikia.

Above statement is an example to show how much people were scared and their unwillingness to access public hospital specially the Kushal Konwar Civil Hospital

where COVID-19 treatment is provided. The reason behind not accessing public hospital was the fear of getting infected by the virus. However, one of the respondents said that she had gone to civil hospital for childbirth. She mentioned-

“We had to take private car to visit hospital when I felt that my water broke as there were a few public vehicles available at that time. We did not try to contact 108 also as we were scared of using 108 at that time. The car charged around Rs1000.... I do not remember the exact amount. As I come to know from ASHA that the maternity ward in civil hospital is completely separate from COVID-19 centre, then only we took the decision of getting admitted in district hospital”

Although, her narrative clearly showed that she was convinced to go only after gathering appropriate information from the ASHA. It depicts how much precaution pregnant women and her family members were taking to save themselves from the virus.

Scared to visit frontline workers

Some people were taking the help of ASHA to collect relevant information about ANC, immunisation, and other facilities. On the other hand, some people ran away from ASHA as they had the highest probability of getting infected as they had to go door to door visit. In this context, one of the respondents said that-

“At that time, we were even scared of visiting PHC for check up. ASHA also used to visit each and every household for survey. Along with it, they also went to ask people to

quarantine themselves if any symptoms show or if any people come from outsides. It was risky to meet even ASHA. Our ASHA called me several times for check up. I remember I had one ANC time during complete lockdown period. But I even did not think of going for check up. I heard that pregnant women should take extra precaution....it is very risky for pregnant women...Yes after removing lockdown I have gone for 7months check up. But I have missed one. Still, thanks to god...I am and my baby is healthy now”

Discussion and conclusion

The study was conducted to understand the problems faced by pregnant women during COVID-19 pandemic. According to WHO guideline, a woman should go through at least four antenatal check-up (WHO, 2021). However, from the above analysis, it can be understood that women were missing ANC due to COVID-19 pandemic. The study clearly indicates that people gave priority to remain inside the home rather than going out for check up because of the fear of getting exposed to virus. Other quantitative and qualitative studies also find the same result which clearly shows decreasing of number of ANC during lockdown. (East et al., 2020) (Muhaidat et al., 2020) (Shrivastava et al., 2021). Moreover, the analysis of the data shed light to increase of unwanted pregnancy during pandemic due to scarcity of resources and inaccessibility to visit medical store.

Whenever we talk about missing of ANC, the question comes directly on role of the ASHAs. It is one of the responsibilities of ASHA i.e. mobilize the community and

facilitate them in accessing health and health related services, for which pregnant and lactating women contact ASHA (GOI, n.d.). However, a complete different scenario can be seen where pregnant women were scared of meeting ASHA and ANM because of their involvement in COVID-19 duty. India is a developing country and therefore it is necessary to utilize every possible human resource for preventive as well as rehabilitative measures of COVID-19. However, the negative impact of active involvement of ASHA and ANM on maternal health could be seen. The respondents of the study said that they felt scared to contact or meet ASHA because of their active involvement in COVID-19 duty and it is genuine cause to be feared. That's why a study conducted in Kenya suggested that community midwives needs to be separated from the care facilities of COVID-19 patients to continue the maternal health services without any barrier or problem (Kimani et al., 2020).

Despite of taking extra preventive measure to stop the spreading of virus, people were scared of visiting government hospital and accessing the government facilities such as 108 or Adoroni. As a result, out of pocket expenditure can be seen. To reduce the burden of out of packet expenditure, as said earlier the government has been taken the initiative such as providing free institutional childbirth. Government's free institutional childbirth facility under Janani Suraksha Yojana is applicable in government hospital. However, this study shows that people prefer to go for private hospital rather than visiting public hospital which lets to out of packet expenditure.

The analysis of the findings shed light to the fear of getting infected led to accessing out of packet expenditure, not accessing private hospital and other government resources and difficulties to access health facilities. While talking about the people's fear to COVID-19, we cannot avoid the discussion of mental health of pregnant women. Deterioration of metal health during COVID-19 pandemic is very common due to loss of job, loneliness, fear of infection, fear of losing family members and many other reasons (WHO, 2021) (Javed et al., 2020) (Ceulemans et al., 2021) (East et al., 2020). This study also reveals the same i.e. worsening of mental peace among pregnant women and their family members. Almost all the respondents use some terms such as "fear", "scared", "worry" which represent clearly that they were going through some stress or anxiety .

From the above analysis, we can say that pregnant women suffer a lot both physically and mentally. A holistic approach and a strong medical health system are required to fight with such situation. Having physical health is not sufficient until we do not work on mental health. A strong counselling cell is required to deal with fear, anxiety, stress, depression and other mental health issue. A social worker has ample responsibility and scope to strengthen the existing medical system through policy formation, policy reformation, spreading community awareness to reduce unnecessary fear and providing individual counselling to people.

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Author:

Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva
Viswavidyalaya, Guwahati Campus, Assam

SIMILARITY BETWEEN SANKARDEVA'S VAISHNAVITE IDEOLOGY AND SUFISM: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Sahin Jafri

Abstract

This is the reason why a comparative discussion on similarity between Sufism and Sankardeva's Neo-Vaishnavite religion is emphasized here. The main objectives of the present study are to study about the Sufism and Sankardeva's neo-vaishnavite religion and to find out the similarities between Sufism and Sankardeva's neo-vaishnavite. This article is written on the basis of analytical method basically. It is seen that because of the manifold resemblance of Sufism with the Vaishnavite Ideals the unity of Assam is preserved for a long time.

Keywords: Sankardeva's Vaishnavite Ideology, Sufism

Introduction

There is an immense influence of Srimanta Sankardeva's religious ideology, traditional rules and practice of his belief form in Assamese social life. For this society, the subject of devotion is a unique essence of life. Assamese social life is highly enriched because of such traditional Discussions on Sankardeva and his beliefs practice of devotion and religion deeply. On the Other hand monotheistic Sufism has also played an equally important role in spreading ideals of Islam and the message of peace to all: irrespective of caste, creed or religion. Sufism played an important role in constructing a pragmatic classless society by spreading the doctrine of brotherhood and unity. Looking at the logical approach, similarity of ideals, convergence of goal and magnanimity of purpose, it can be easily summarized that Neo-Vaishnavite ideology

and Sufism are the two sides of the same coin. Monotheism; the idea of a classless society, and socialism were given priorities in both the doctrines. They requested all to live in harmony by practicing such philosophical thoughts leaving behind all religious intolerances. At present, it seems very essential that both Sufism and Sankardeva's ideology will help to establish peace and harmony in our society. Practice of both the doctrines looks very relevant in today's society. This is the reason why a comparative discussion on similarity between Sufism and Sankardeva's Neo-Vaishnavite religion is emphasized here.

Objectives of the study

The main objectives of the present study are as follows:

1. To study about the Sufism and Sankardeva's neo-vaishnavite religion.
2. Find out the similarities between Sufism and Sankardeva's neo-vaishnavite.

Methodology

The present research is based on secondary sources of data. I have written the research Article is written on the basis of analytical method basically. Data has been collected from reference books, published articles, journals, magazines and Newspapers etc.

Subject Matter

Saint Srimanta Sankardeva was the pioneer who created the waves of Neo Vaishnavite movement in classless Assamese society devoid of caste, creed and religion in Assam. His simple, logical, philosophical and theoretical teachings had won the hearts of the mass and as a result, the influence of vaishnavite religion spread all over Assam in no time. He along with his Disciple Madhabdeva wrote many books, songs, drama, epics, Bhaona and created dance forms which were easily comprehensible for the general public and helped to spread this religion to the masses. He discovered the concept of "Kirtanghar" or "Namghar" as a place of worship so that the people can practice his religious preaching in groups doing "shravan-kirtan" (listening-saying) en masse. On the other hand under their constructive guidance many "satra"s were established where arts, literature and cultural plays were practiced. According to both Sankardeva and Madhabdeva, the best way to devote God is-

all creatures must be treated as his own self and especially all humans should be considered as the parts of God. He taught not to discriminate people as high or low, touchable or untouchable in the name of religion. Not limiting his preaching's to merely Hindu society; Srimanta Sankardeva reached out to the Non-Hindu tribals also. Garo, Mikir, Miri, Kachari, Bhutiya, Musalman and many tribal groups were among his disciples. The proofs are evident in the history. His disciple Sandsai was from Islamic background. He was attracted by the Saint's personality and accepted as his Guru. There are proofs that even at present his offspring are practicing this "Naamdharma". Sufism is an ideology to attract people towards the religion Islam by spreading love, selflessness and integrating people without class based society. It is evident from the opinion of various literates and pundits that only those Islamic scholars are called Sufi who wear plain white cotton clothes, lead a simple lifestyle and an austere devotee of Allah throughout his life. They were also inspired by the vaishnavite ideologies and took part in spreading Islam to the masses in plain and simple way. The main doctrine of Sufism is- to visualize the true form of Allah and to reach the path of spiritual enlightenment even after leading a normal life. Rules and logic is the basis of Sufism. It is also based on holiness, emotion and honesty. The idea of a classless society, doctrine of Islam without discriminating color or race, value of equalitarian society and religious yet progressive unorthodoxy blended with love and compassion, religious tolerance are the epitome of Sufism. It teaches to replace the subjective &

materialistic thoughts by spiritualism, peace and good will among different people. Among those who came to Assam for spreading this ideology of Sufism were GiasuddinAulia, Azan Fakir, Ismail Gaji and Nizamuddinwhose names are worth mentioning. Amongst all GiasuddinAulia was called the first religious Guru who preached the message of Islam in the state of Assam. In the year 1321-22, the Sultan of Bengal GiasuddinBahadur Shah attacked and took over the province of Kamrup briefly. GiasuddinAulia also entered Assam along with him. He established a Dargah in Hajo (Kamrup) and started preaching the message of Islam. GiasuddinAulia was seen as an apostle of honesty and hence under his influence many Hindu Koch residents of Hajo took to Islam. At present his grave lies in Poa Mecca, Hajo.

At the dawn of seventeenth century, came Azan Fakir from the faraway land of Bagdad to preach Sufism in Assam. His birth name was Shah Milan or Miran. In close ties with Sankardeva'svaishnavite religion he spread the message of Islam throughout the state and laid the foundation of Hindu Muslim unity. Azan Fakir transformed himself into a true Assamese by developing an in depth understanding of Assamese traditions, rituals, folklores and cultural practices. The Jikir&Jari songs were composed by Azan Fakir taking inspiration from the local folklores. Flashes from both Madhabdeva and Sankardeva'sGhosha-pada can be seen in the Jikirs of Azan Fakir. These songs became equally popular amongst the Hindu and Muslim communities. Being inspired by the strong character of Azan Fakir, many Hindus were

towards him and they converted to Islam. Owing to the fluid and unorthodox preaching of Sufism by Azan Fakir though Hindus and Muslims varied in religious practices, they were one socially.

A comparison between New Vaishnavism and Sufism

Whether there is a resemblance between the vaishnavite and Sufi ideologies, can easily be figured out by paying close attention to the statements presented below.

“One God one shelter- there is none other” is the prime motto of Vaishnava Dharma. The main motto of Islam is also same. In Islam “La ilaha Ilailahu Mohammadur rasullah” means there is none to worship other than Allah. Mohammad is His Messenger sent by Him.

Secondly according to Sufism the prime duty of human is meditation and altar, prayers and reminiscence of His name. More elaborately it instructs all human to pray to the almighty Allah and more you pronounce His name more you earn virtues. The saint Sankardeva's “Naam Dharma” also preached the same. According to Vaishvite ideology also “Listening and Singing Hari Naam (Name of the Lord of the universe)” leads to Moksha (Ultimate Freedom/ Salvation).

Thirdly, according to Sufism underlying all religious and ethical philosophies is sheer love and compassion for all beings. Exhibiting the same amount of love for all kinds of beings is what comprises of dharma. It is believed that there resides a messenger of God inside each

being. Vaishnavite philosophy also supports this ideology and hence professes that one should respect all fellow beings as equal to their own self.

A striking evidence of this can be found in Hem Saraswati's Prahlaḍ Charitra. Sankardeva mentioned in his scripture "Kirtana Ghosha" that-

"Kukur, Srigaal, Gadarvaroattma Ram

Janiasabakoporikoribapranaam"

(God is the soul of all animals, knowing that worship all being)

In Sufism it is believed that in the path of worship, the disciple is benefited by the advice of his Guru. Similarly in Vaishnavism also the place of Guru is considered above all in all forms of worship. In Sufism "bhakti" (devotion to Lord) is assigned a higher priority along with the form of Allah, theory of creation and specialty of Koran and importance of Rasul. Similarly in Vaishnavism also it gives more importance to "Bhakti" without the need of salvation. Moreover in Sufism, one main criteria is -All beings in this universe is the forms of the supreme God, all activities of human are controlled by that supreme-soul (Paramattma). Sufism believes that behind the supervision of the entire universe there is Allah, who controls all activities of the world. Sufism relies the ubiquitous presence of one omnipotent super power whose heart is overflowing with love and compassion for all. This ideology also resembles with the Vaishnavism of Shankardeva. According to Vaishnavism Lord Vishnu or Lord Krishna is the absolute truth or Absolute Brahma.

According to Sankardeva it's not worth to worship other gods or goddesses except Lord Krishna. He says -

"Anya devi deva nokoribaxeba

Prasadonakhaiba tar

Murtikonasaibagrihenapasiba

Bhoktihoibovybhisaar"

(Bhagavata, Second part)

(Never worship other gods & goddesses, do not accept the offerings of that don't look at the idols, never bring it to home, or else devotion will be sacrilege or profane. So, it is evident that Vaishnavite ideology has striking similarity with Sufism. Perhaps this is the reason why Sufism did have the opportunity to spread in Assam without any controversy. Irrespective of religious divide between Hindu and Muslim, it was able to tie up the entire Assamese community with a rope of unity.

In fifteenth century, in mediaval Indian context, Sant Kabira's Doha also catalysed unification of Hindus and Muslims. Because of the resemblance of monotheistic belief of Sant Kabira with Vaishnavite ideology, Sufism did spread all over India. It is found in "Charita Puthi" that during pilgrimage of Mahapurusha Sankardeva in this period, he reached Kabira's house and discussed about this with his family. So there is some substance to assume that Shankardeva's Vaishnavism had some influences from Kabira's doctrine. It is said that the Dihanaams of Shankardeva were composed after inspiring by Kabira's Doha.

Many advocated that in the same fashion the “DehaVisaraGeet”’s of Assam were also originated from Jikirs. Some similarity is also found between the literature and ideology of Geet and Pada of Vaishnavite period with the Jikirs composed by Azan Fakir. For example-

Jikir:

Ghoshha:

Rahamargirihat,
tumiallah sahib hoi,
Jodi kora dariarpaar.

Pada:

Chintoheramor mon Allarnamot
BhajoheraMor mon Gururepawat
Paani more piyahotagni more jaarot
KhodaRasullukaiaseMominorAarot.
(Ajan Peer)

Bargeet:

Ghoshha: Gopale Ki gotikoile, Gobinde Ki motidile Naathbipholeboyos sab gelore

Pada:E bhova gahan bana aati mohe paxesanna Taate hamo harino berai.

Fandilu mayarpaxe kaal byadho dhaya axe
KaamaKrodhakuttakhedikhai.

In this Jikir, “KhodaRasul is hiding behind Momin” is similarly depicted in a Lokageet where “You are hiding inside the

Manikut but we can’t see, Shankar Guru is ours, Madhava Guru is ours.”

MahapurushaSankardeva dreamt of a society where all people irrespective of their different castes, creeds and religions could live in a peaceful atmosphere and justice, equality and brotherhood were free for all in a broad society. Enamored by his magnanimity, his preaching of a classless society and religious tolerance for all, a Muslim preacher Sandsai wholeheartedly accepted to be his disciple. When Sufi preachers came to Assam for spreading the ideals of Islam, they soon realized that without understanding the ethos and basic values of Vaishnavism direct conversion of people into Islam was not possible. Perhaps this is the reason those Sufi saints and preachers took to the morals of Vaishnavism and tried to spread their religious ideals. While doing so they never tried to hurt the religious sentiments of anyone rather they had moulded people of all hues with the values of Islam and Vaishnavism blending with brotherhood. This Jikir is worth mentioning here as a striking example-

Mor Monot bhed bhab nai o Allah

Mor monot bhin par nai o Allah

Hindu ki Musalman, eke Allar farman ’

Mor monot eketi bhav

Hindu ke jhala bohai o Allah

Musal maanok puti bohai o Allah

Hai o eke khini jaminor tol

(Azan Peer)

Conclusion

So it is seen that, because of the manifold resemblance of Sufism with the Vaishnavite Ideals the unity of Assam is preserved for a long time. Although that stability between Hindus and Muslims has been hit sometimes by the cruel clutch of time, but there is no distinct possibility of religious polarization to be permanent. All credit goes to Mahapurusha Sankardeva and those Sufi Saints who heralded the path of unity amongst all religions and made this unified society of Assam, a great place to live.

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Author:

Assistant Professor, Dept. of Assamese, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva
Viswavidyalaya, Nagaon, Assam

PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF COOPERATIVE DAIRY FARMING: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SITAJAKHALA DUGDHA UTPADAK SAMABAI SAMITY OF ASSAM (INDIA)

Subhraneel Baruah

Abstract

Dairy farming is an important agricultural enterprise in Assam, India. The Sitajakhala Dugdha Utpadak Samabai Samity Limited (SJDUSL) is one of the leading dairy enterprises in the state. The objective of this study is to go into the operational issues including the management aspect, challenges, constraints, scopes and performances of this Cooperative Society. Qualitative interviews have been taken amongst the farmers, employees and customers' vis-à-vis the issues under study. SWOT analysis was also taken following all this. The objective was to know the realistic problems of the farmers in order to find possible solutions to the underlying issues. Both primary and secondary data have been used for the study.

Keywords: Agricultural, Enterprise, Operational, Issues, SWOT

Introduction

India is the largest milk producing country in the world. During 2014-15 she produced 146.31 million tonnes of milk. The Milk productivity of India is low as compared to western countries, and still the country tops the list of the milk producing countries of the world. Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Andhra Pradesh, are the major milk producing states in India. The country produces around 17% of the world. About 80% of the milk production within the country is within the organized sector while the remaining 20% is shared equally by the cooperatives and personal dairies. India consists of over 1.50 lakh village level dairy cooperative societies

which cover 265 districts within the country and collects about 26 million liters of milk per day. Dairy farming is an important agricultural enterprise in Assam, India. The Sitajakhala Dugdha Utpadak Samabai Samity Limited (SJDUSL) is one of the leading dairy enterprises in the state. The Sitajakhala Dugdha Utpadak Samabai Samity Limited (SJDUSL) was set up way back in 1958 by a small group of enterprising youth of Amlighat- (then) a sleepy village in the erstwhile Nagaon District (presently: Morigaon District) with an aim to wipe out middlemen in milk business. The cooperative, as it first set out in its business, had only 17 members. Today, it has over 1,000 registered members. With

the increasing popularity among the masses, the products of the cooperative society have found markets in places like Kamrup, Morigaon and Nagaon districts of Assam. The objective of this study is to go into the operational issues including the management aspect, challenges, constraints, scopes and performances of this Cooperative Society.

Methodology

Qualitative interviews have been taken amongst the farmers, employees and customers vis-à-vis the issues under study. For this, questionnaires were prepared to elicit feelings, perceptions and attitudes of the major stakeholders. Analysis of data has been undertaken. SWOT analysis was also taken following all this. The objective was to know the realistic problems of the farmers in order to find possible solutions to the underlying issues. Both primary and secondary data have been used for the study. The Primary data includes interview, questionnaires. Secondary data consist of books, articles, journal and e-source. The researcher for this study has also approached the subject from a dual perspective: from the perspective of the dairy farmers and that of the marketplace.

Profile of the Organization:

Started in 1958 with just 17 members, Sitajakhala Dugdha Utpadak Samabai Samity Ltd in Jagiroad (Dist. Morigaon, Assam) now has over 1,000 members, with its products finding markets in several districts of Assam. At the time of its establishment, its operation was limited to the Production of milk in the villages surrounding a village, named: Amlighat. But the producers were deprived of a legitimate price because of an unorganized marketing

system. So, some socially conscious people thought about collecting the milk for selling it through organized marketing. This thought was the seed of inspiration behind the formation of this cooperative society, as it is found today Today, the Society produces around 18,000 to 20,000 liters of raw milk per day. Moreover, it has 13 milk collection booths across the state. The society has a family of around 1100 farmers from different communities and classes of the society, including women. It consists of approximately 6000 cattle (High breed H.F cross, Jersey cross and Sahiwal). The cooperative society is spread over 10 village Panchayat areas, within the districts of Morigaon and Kamrup Assam. Moreover, trainees from around the whole north eastern region attend the training and workshops on Dairy Farming provided by the organization. The profits generated from the operations are being distributed among the milk producers.

The Annual turnovers of the Society up to 2018-19 are as follows:

Table 1 Annual turnovers of the Society

Year	Amount (Rs.)
2014-15	19,23,14,116
2015-16	21,67,68,361
2016-17	26,47,90,546
2017-18	33,06,28,223
2018-19	40,13,51,070

Source: Field Study

The society is experiencing a moderate periodic growth in its annual turnover for the last five years. Starting from

Rs. 19,23,14,116 in 2014-15 to Rs. 40,13,51,070 in 2018-19. So, in five years the annual turnover is found to have doubled.

The society produces a variety of products served over 13 booths across the state. Some of their most popular dairy products are: Standard Milk, Pasteurized milk, Cottage cheese (Paneer), Sweets, Plain Curd, Sweetened curd and Cream.

The sector-wise activities of the farm are: Fodder/feed cultivation, Preservation of fodder/feed in the form of blocks, silage etc., Farm mechanization, Floriculture, Package of practice, Post-harvest processing, Marketing and Horticulture.

The Society is also the Recipient of the Biennial “Cooperative excellence award-2006” instituted by the National Cooperation Development Corporation.

Collection of Data, Analysis and Interpretation

In recent times, a few competitors have emerged in the area of the operation of this farm, and therefore, the society is not compromising on the quality of the products. The society is also diversifying its business in different other sectors to get an edge over its competitors. An attempt, therefore, has been taken to study the different aspects which the society gives top priorities in order to stay ahead of its counterparts.

Table: 1: Responses of the consumers (50 respondents)

List of questions for the consumers	YES	NO	PARTIALLY YES
Are you satisfied with the quality of the products of SITAJAKHALA?	29	2	19
Is it able to deliver the items by the farm on time at your doorstep?	38	3	9
Do you think it is able to compete with the other familiar brands in the market around you?	21	2	27
Are you satisfied with the behaviour of those engaged by the farm in distribution of the product at its centres?	36	0	14
Do you see the Farm contributing for community development in and around it?	45	0	5

Table: 2: Responses of the breeders (45 respondents)

List of questions for the breeders	Responses		
	Less than 10	Between 10-30	Above 30
How many milking cows do you have?	8	23	14
How much milk do you get in a Day?	Less than 30 Ltrs	Between 30- 50Ltrs	Above 50 Ltrs
	4	27	14
Whether the Society management addresses your problems in farming when required?	Yes	No	Sometimes
	36	0	9
Do you have insurance of your cattle?	Yes	No	On a few
	27	3	15
Does the Farm make any contributions for the socio-economic development of the community of the breeders?	Yes	No	Partially Yes
	33	0	12

Table: 3: Responses of the sellers (8 respondents)

List of questions to the sellers	Responses		
	Less than 150	150-200	Above 200
How many customers do you have approximately per day?	2	4	2
Do you check the quality of the milk and milk products every day?	Yes	No	Sometimes
	7	0	1
Do you have daily sales target?	Yes	No	Sometimes
	6	0	3
Do you get incentives for maximizing your sales?	Yes	No	Sometimes
	5	1	2

Table: 4: Responses of the general employees (35 respondents)

List of questions to the general employees	Yes	No	Partially yes/Sometimes
Are you satisfied in serving the Society?	21	0	14
Given your qualification, experiences and proficiencies at work, are you satisfied with the salary/wages given by your organization?	17	1	17
Do you get any incentives or appraisals from the management for your job performances?	21	5	9
Are you happy with the supervisions?	18	0	17
Are there any official criteria for promotions in the farm?	23	2	10
Do you volunteer to work overtime, considering it is a cooperative society?	16	5	14
Are you satisfied with the infrastructural facilities given to you by the management for smooth functioning of your duty?	4	16	15
Are there any provisions for retirement benefits in the farm?	19	0	16

Table: 5: Responses of the local public (30 respondents)

List of questions to the local public	Responses		
	Regularly	Never	Sometimes
How often the Sitaajkhala cooperative society comes forward to make contributions for the upliftment of the local community in socio-economic terms?	13	0	17
What kinds of contributions do you expect it to make in this regard?	Monetary	Kinds	Other
	12	11	8
Do you see the growth of a culture of self-employment among the youths as a result of its existence in your locality?	Yes	No	Partially Yes
	21	0	9
Are there any growths of employment opportunities in sight among the local people as a result of the growth of this Farm?	Yes	No	Partially Yes
	16	0	14

Sources: Field Study

i. **Questions to Consumers (50 respondents):**

1. Are you satisfied with the quality of the products of SITAJAKHALA?

Table 2

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	58%	29
No	4%	2
Partially Yes	38%	19

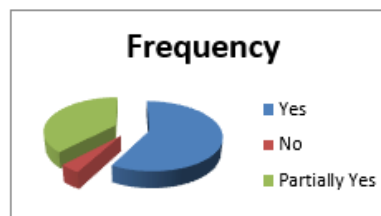


Figure 1: Quality of the products (Customer satisfaction)

Source: Field Study

2. Is it able to deliver the items by the farm on time at your doorstep?

Table 3

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	76%	38
No	6%	3
Partially Yes	18%	9

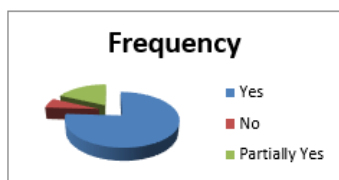


Figure 2: Efficiency in Home delivery of milk and milk products.

Source: Field Study

3. Do you think it is able to compete with the other familiar brands in the market around you?

Table 4

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	42%	21
No	4%	2
Partially Yes	54%	27

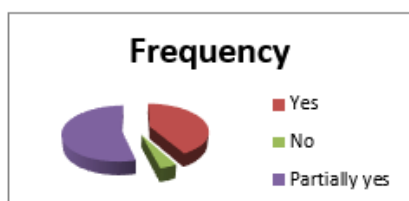


Figure 3: Competitiveness with other firms

Source: Field Study

4. Are you satisfied with the behaviour of those engaged by the farm in distribution of the product at its centres?

Table 5

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	72%	36
No	0%	0
Partially Yes	28%	14

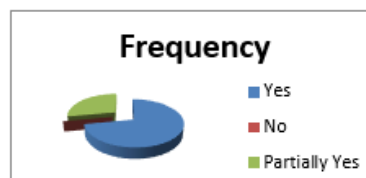


Figure 4: Behavior towards customers

Source: Field Study

5. Do you see the Farm contributing for community development in and around it?

Table 6

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	90%	45
No	0%	0
Partially Yes	10%	5

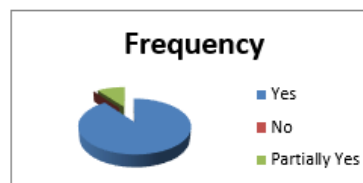


Figure 5: Contribution for community development in and around the farm

Source: Field Study

• **Observations:**

Most of the customers are satisfied with the society. They are found to be satisfied with the quality of the products. The efficient home delivery of the products makes the society more preferable among the customers. The customers believe that the society is contributing for the community development in and around it. Moreover, it

has set up goodwill in the region, which keeps them ahead of their competitors.

• Interpretation

The society is able to attract more and more customers hence; it is getting an edge over other competitors in terms of customer satisfaction.

Questions to Breeders (45 respondents)

1. How many milking cows do you have?

Table 7

	Frequency	Tally
Less than 10	17.78%	8
10-30	51.11%	23
Above 30	31.11%	14

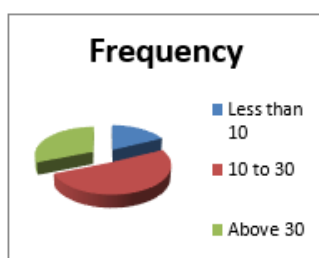


Figure 6: Number of milking cows

Source: Field Study

2. How much milk do you contribute daily on an average?

Table 8

	Frequency	Tally
Less than 30 Liters	8.89%	4
30 Liters-50Liters	60%	27
Above 50 Liters	31.11%	14

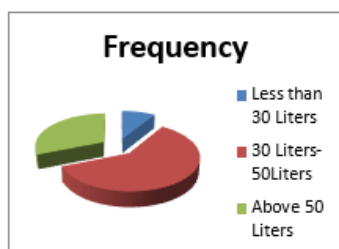


Figure 7: Contribution of milk

Source: Field Study

3. Whether the Society management addresses your problems in farming when required?

Table 9

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	80%	36
No	0%	0
Sometimes	20%	9

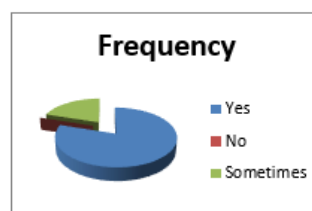


Figure 8: Addressing the problems in farming by society management.

Source: Field Study

4. Do you have insurance of your cattle?

Table 10

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	60%	27
No	6.67%	3
On a few	33.33%	15

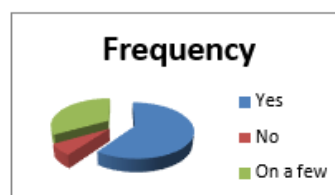


Figure 9: Insurance of cattle.

Source: Field Study

5. Does the Farm make any contributions for the socio-economic development of the community of the breeders?

Table 11

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	73.33%	33
No	0%	0
Partially Yes	26.67%	12

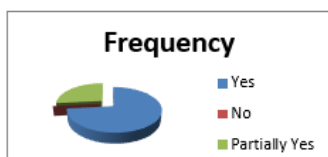


Figure 10: Contributions towards socio-economic development of breeder:

Source: Field Study

• **Observations**

The breeders associated with the society have a good number of milking cows, as a result they are being able to contribute some good volume of milk per day. Moreover, most of the breeders have insurance on each and every cattle which could save them from unforeseen circumstances. The breeders are also happy in the way the society is addressing their problems. Moreover, the society is contributing towards the socio-economic development of the breeders. But, the breeders are not getting proper incentives for contributing their share of milk.

• **Interpretation**

The society is making the breeders satisfied by addressing their problems. But there are no provisions for incentives, which may demotivate the breeders at times.

iii. **Questions to Sellers (8 respondents):**

1. How many customers do you have approximately per day?

Table 12

	Frequency	Tally
Less than 150	25%	2
150-200	50%	4
Above 200	25%	2

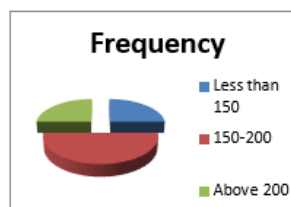


Figure 11: Number of customers per day.

Source: Field Study

2. Do you check the quality of the milk and milk products every day?

Table 13

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	75%	6
No	0%	0
Sometimes	25%	2

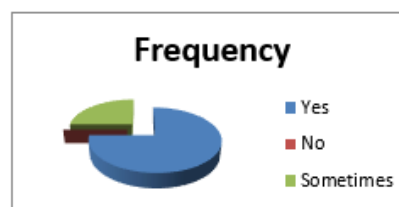


Figure 12: Ensuring the quality of the products.

Source: Field Study

3. Do you have daily sales target?

Table 14

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	62.5%	5
No	0%	0
Sometimes	37.5%	3

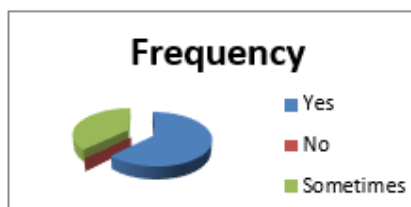


Figure 13: Sales targets

Source: Field Study

4. Do you get incentives for maximizing your sales?

Table 15

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	37.5%	3
No	12.5%	1
Sometimes	50%	4

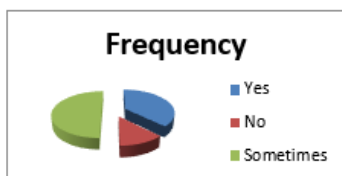


Figure 14: Incentives for maximizing sales

Source: Field Study

• Observations

The sellers deal with a good number of customers every day. They also check the quality of the products before selling it to the customers. They are provided with some sales target on daily basis which they have to accomplish. The sellers also get incentives for maximizing their sales.

• Interpretation

The sellers are very much concerned about the need of maintaining the quality of the products while selling it to the customers. Also, the sellers are motivated enough to maximize their sales even after achieving the targets because of a good of incentives.

iv. **Questions to general employees (35 respondents)**

1. Are you satisfied in serving the Society?

Table 16

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	60%	21
No	0%	0
Partially yes	40%	14

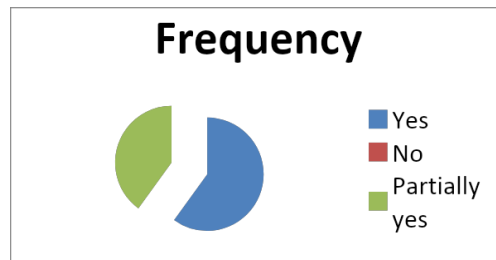


Figure 15: Employee satisfaction

Source: Field Study

2. Given your qualification, experiences and proficiencies at work, are you satisfied with the salary/wages given by your organization?

Table 17

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	48.57%	17
No	2.85%	1
Partially yes	48.57%	17

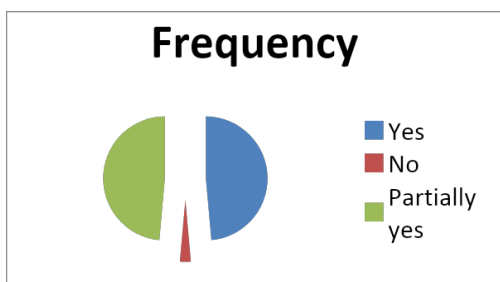


Figure 16: Are employees satisfied with their remunerations.

Source: Field Study

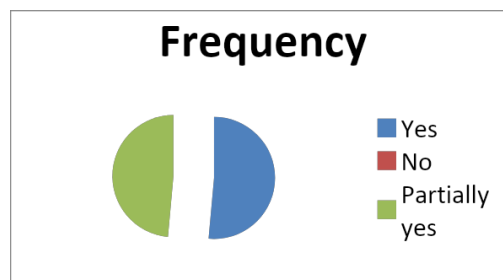


Figure 18: Employees happy with the supervision.

Source: Field Study

3. Do you get any incentives or appraisals from the society for your good job performances?

Table 18

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	14.28%	5
No	60%	21
Sometimes	25.71%	9

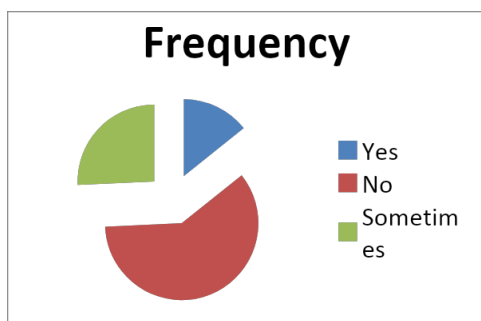


Figure 17: Percentage of employees getting incentives for good performances

Source: Field Study

4. Are you happy with the supervision?

Table 19

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	51.43%	18
No	0%	0
Partially yes	48.57%	17

5. Are there any official criteria for promotions in the farm?

Table 20

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	28.57%	10
No	5.71%	2
Partially yes	65.71%	23

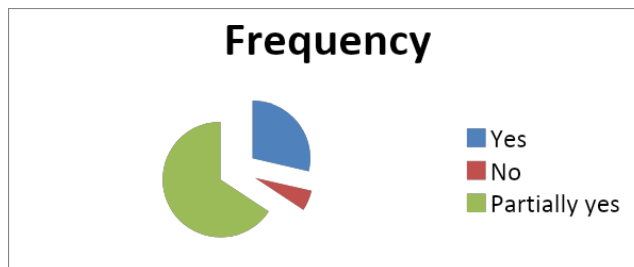


Figure 19: Criteria for promotion.

Source: Field Study

6. Do you volunteer to work overtime, considering it is a cooperative society?

Table 21

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	20%	7
No	31.42%	11
Sometimes	48.57%	17

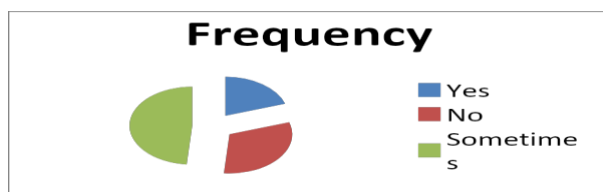


Figure 20: Percentage of employees working overtime.

Source: Field Study

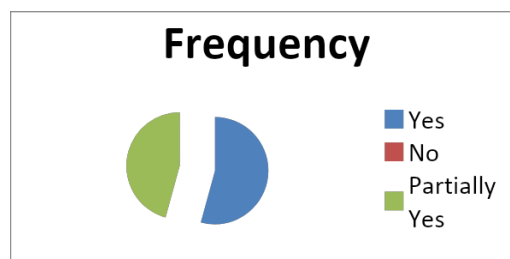


Figure 22: Provisions for retirement benefits.

Source: Field Study

7. Are you satisfied with the infrastructural facilities given to you by the management for smooth functioning of your duty?

Table 22

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	11.42%	4
No	45.71%	16
Partially Yes	42.85%	15

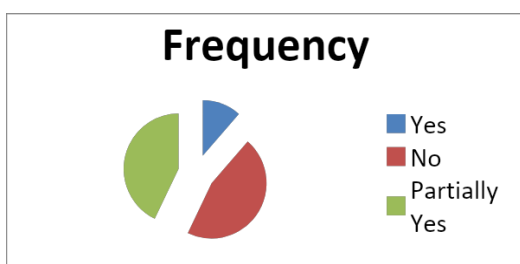


Figure 21: Are the employees satisfied with the infrastructural facilities?

Source: Field Study

8. Are there any provisions for retirement benefits in the farm?

Table 23

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	54.28%	19
No	0%	0
Partially Yes	45.71%	16

• **Observations**

Most of the employees seem to be satisfied with the nature of their job and the remuneration they are getting for performing the job. Although they are not getting regular incentives and appraisals, due to which they are not willing to work overtime. But, hardworking and dedicated employees are being awarded with promotion. Moreover, few employees are unsatisfied due to the lack of proper infrastructural facilities. Also, the employees are getting a good provision for retirement.

• **Interpretation**

The employees are getting very irregular incentives; as a result, most of the employees are not willing to work overtime. Moreover, the infrastructural facilities are not up to the mark. But the employees provided a good provision for retirement benefits.

v. **Questions to Local public (30 respondents):**

- How often does the Sitajakhala dairy cooperative society come forward to make contributions for the upliftment of the local community in socio-economic terms?

Table 24

	Frequency	Tally
Regular	43.33%	13
Never	0%	0
Sometimes	56.67%	17

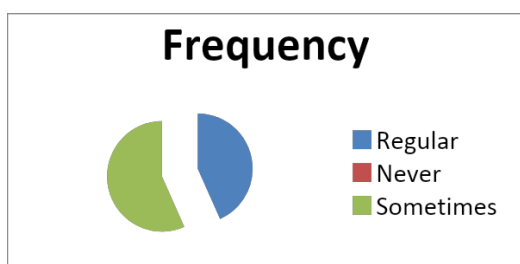


Figure 23: Contributions for the upliftment of the local community.

Source: Field Study

- What kinds of contributions do you expect it to make in this regard?

Table 25

	Frequency	Tally
Monetary	40%	12
Kinds	36.67%	11
Other	26.67%	8

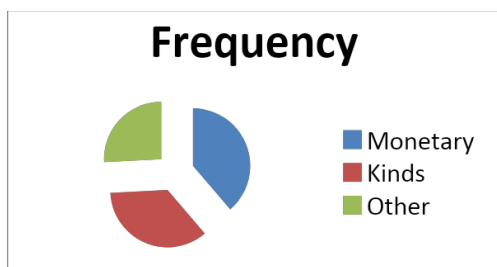


Figure 24: Preferred types of contribution.

Source: Field Study

- Do you see the growth of a culture of self-employment among the youths as a result of its existence in your locality?

Table 26

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	70%	21
No	0%	0
Partially Yes	30%	9

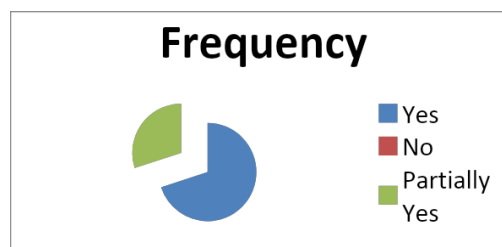


Figure 25: Growth of a culture of self-employment among the youths.

Source: Field Study

- Are there any growths of employment opportunities in sight among the local people as a result of the growth of this Farm?

Table 27

	Frequency	Tally
Yes	53.33%	16
No	0%	0
Partially Yes	46.67%	14

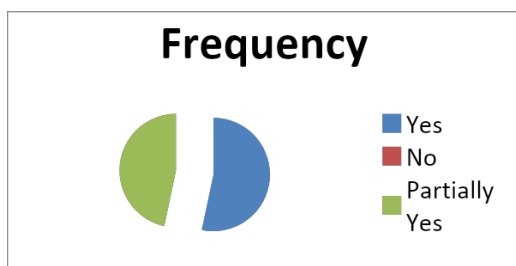


Figure 4.26: Growth in employment opportunities around the region

Source: Field Study

- **Observations**

The society is very much concerned about the upliftment of the locality as it often contributes to its general public through various means. Moreover, the local public believes that this society has contributed to the growth of a culture of self-employment among the youths of the locality. Moreover, the society is giving employment opportunities to many unemployed people in the locality.

- **Interpretation**

The society has been able to create goodwill among the local public. It has become a means of employment for many unemployed youths. Moreover, the society has created a culture of self-employment among the youths of the locality.

Following this thorough investigation on the problems, prospects and opportunities of the Sitajakhala Dugdha Utpadak Samabai Samiti, the researcher now can present the following as the findings, suggestions and conclusion:

Findings

- It is found from the employees' responses that the Dairy farm has been able to provide a steady source of livelihood to more than thousand families in the area of its operation. Thus, it has been able to provide the concerned families with the basic requirement of sustenance such as food, cloth and shelter. The area in which the farm does operate has a long history of milk farming and many milk producers associated with this enterprise have already progressed in life with improved living conditions and improved educational level, showing a pathway to others to follow their example.
- It has been able to create an ambience of entrepreneurship by boosting up the ideal of self-employment among the inhabitants in and around the area of its operation. Production of milk by the milk community also helps some other people like those who sell milk and milk products in the market.
- Improved health conditions of the cattle and a steady and easy flow of fodders are two important challenges to be reckoned with in regards to its present scenario. Foreign varieties of cows like Jersey, Red Sindhi, Australian, Sahiwal, Frie Sian etc. are generally being reared by the farmers and often sickness of them affects the production level. Want of a full fledged hospital along with a doctor at Amlighat in particular has

posed as a real hindrance in the expansion of the enterprise.

- The younger generation among the milk breeding families are seen being partially interested in taking up dairy farming as means of self-employment in life. The main reason behind it is want of proper infrastructural facilities for dairy farming.
- The study has shown that the majority of the consumers of the Farm are satisfied with the quality of the products, the timeliness in their delivery, behavior of the sellers and the overall image of the Brand. The company is getting an edge over other competitors in terms of customer satisfaction.
- The Society management generally attends to the problems of the common breeders. It is also seen that most of the holders of the farm have had their cattle insured with the appropriate agency. Incentives are given to the sellers on performance in maximizing sales though suitable incentives are not given to the employees on performances in their works.
- While sellers are motivated enough to maximize their sales even after achieving the targets because of a good of incentives,
- The employees are getting very irregular incentives, as a result, most of the employees are not willing to work overtime. The society is making the breeders satisfied by addressing their problems. But there

are no provisions for incentives, which may de-motivate the breeders at times.

Suggestions

- i. Increased collaboration with institutions like The Assam Agricultural University towards development of the skills and technological knowledge among the employees and breeders.
- ii. Providing suitable infrastructural facilities like waterproof shades etc. to the breeders considering the tropical climate condition.
- iii. Implementation of special dairy development programmes as per necessities of the region with support from the government agencies.
- iv. To expand dairy activities, marketing and collaborations, the Society needs to have its own website.
- v. Initiation of diversified allied enterprises like poultry, pisciculture, floriculture, horticulture and compost manure etc. for expanding the business activities.
- vi. Provision of a full-fledged hospital especially for the framings of the breeder-members of the Society.
- vii. Opening of a training institute with support from government or non-government agencies.
- viii. Better awareness among the breeders about maintenance of hygiene in all respects including dairy farming
- ix. Readiness for flood and other probable calamities.
- x. Controlled use of antibiotics and other medicines for milching cattle

- xi. Strategies for steady and easy flow of fodders.
- xii. Initiative to attract the younger generation among the milk breeding families towards taking up dairy farming as means of self-employment.
- xiii. Provision of suitable incentives for the employees on performances in their works.
- xiv. Provision of suitable incentives for the performing breeders.

Conclusion

The study has shown that the Sitajakhala Dugdha Utpadak Samabai Samiti has been able to make substantial contributions to the growth and development of a culture of entrepreneurship in and around its area of operation. Since its inception in the year 1958, it has been negotiating with a whole lot of problems and challenges. But on the way, it has also learnt a lot from these problems. The farm has provided some steady source of livelihood to about a thousand families and it has been a learning experience for the scholar to be able to see how livelihood is important for economic development. The enterprise has not only provided livelihood for families, it has also contributed to the economic development of the region in which it operates. Besides, it has contributed to the alleviation of the nutritional deficiencies in the health of those who depend upon its products. In its Mission and Vision statement, 2020, the Society has set the target of associating total 10,000 farmer families directly with dairy farming and 20,000 farmer families indirectly with agriculture and allied activities like piggyery, goatery, duckery, fodder cultivation, silage

production, vermicompost production etc. It has set a vision of targeting all its beneficiaries to come out of poverty and in the process there will be simultaneous increase in agricultural productivity besides increase in forests. The vision of the Society as per its statement is to redefine progress by its effort to bring change through cooperation and knowledge intensive agriculture. The Society has advantages in terms of the industriousness of the people directly involved with its productivity, formation of goodwill among the people of the region by providing good quality products, distribution of profits on the principle of equity among the breeder-members, efficient delivery of products at the doorsteps of the customers etc. It also has the scope for low cost human resources and employment generation. Bringing diversification to its product profile could be another area the Society may think of exploring in future. During the study it is found that the farmers have specific needs of investments in their individual enterprise, but their need is generally not fulfilled as parts of their dues, against supply of milk, from the firm remain pending or put off for prolonged periods. Besides, there is a need for proper schemes for dairy farming, like any other enterprise. But no well-thought-out planning and schemes are undertaken for dairy farming. For example, less importance is given on the quality of fodders, which adversely affects the cattle's growth. Besides, it has been found that the role of women in the various activities of the farm too is not being well appreciated by the authority, though the women folk are found to be putting up the best of their efforts to

keep the enterprise rolling. For example, they have a large share in the maintenance of the cleanliness in and around the sheds, which they do by taking time off from their household chores.

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Author:

Content Editor (Freelance), Collegedunia.com & Alumnus, CMR University, Bangalore

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES OF ICT BASED EDUCATION DURING COVID 19 PANDEMIC

Swapnalima Chowdhury

Dipali Dutta

Abstract

Governments' decision almost all around the globe for total suspension of regular classes in educational institutions for an uncertain period to contain the spread of COVID-19 pandemic has made the educational institutions prepare for a paradigm shift from the traditional chalk and talk physical classrooms to ICT based virtual classrooms. ICT based mode of education has emerged as the only alternative solution for ensuring continuity in learning without losing an academic session during this crisis. ICT based education is featured with multidimensional opportunities such as 24x7 easy accessibility, flexibility, world class learning materials, innovative teaching technology etc. for both the teachers and the learners to combat the pandemic created educational loss. But multiple challenges have been faced in accessing ICT based educational opportunities especially in developing countries like India such as digital divide, technologically challenged faculties and learners, poverty, cost of required gadgets to avail online learning through ICT etc. It is true that the sudden shift to ICT based online mode of education is accompanied by a number of hazards in the current scenario, yet a gradual but permanent shifting of education from traditional classroom to virtual one does not seem to be far away. This article is an attempt to discuss those opportunities and challenges of ICT based education that have been realized while using them as the only solution to ensure continuity in learning especially in Indian context during COVID-19 pandemic.

Keywords: ICT based education, virtual classroom, COVID-19 pandemic, opportunities, challenges.

Introduction

COVID-19 pandemic, a global health issue has affected almost every sphere of life and livelihood. The UN's Framework for the Immediate Socio-Economic Response to the COVID 19 Crisis warns that "The COVID-

19 pandemic is far more than a health crisis: it is affecting societies and economies at their core. While the impact of the pandemic will vary from country to country, it will most likely increase poverty and inequalities at a global scale, making achievement of SDGs even more urgent."

After health and economy the sector affected entirely by the COVID-19 pandemic is the education sector. Educational institution closure has always been resorted to by governments all over the world as the most potential measure to contain the spread of pandemics especially influenza pandemics. Previous outbreaks of infectious diseases have proved the impact of school closure in lowering the spreading of the diseases with different levels of effectiveness. It is therefore hoped that closure of educational institutions during pandemics might break the chains of transmission, reduce the rate of infection, slow down the speed of the epidemic to provide more time for production of vaccine, limit both the stress on health-care systems and peak absenteeism in the general population, and thus increasing community-wide resilience.

However, there is no certainty regarding that the same advantages can be expected in the case of COVID-19 pandemic. Modeling studies on earlier influenza pandemic reported that closing the schools may prove considerably effective only when the attack rates of the virus are higher in children than in adults. Studies on COVID -19 indicate that it affects mainly adults and elderly individuals. Recent modeling studies of COVID-19 from the United Kingdom using data from the Wuhan province, China, predict that school closures alone would prevent only 2% to 4% of deaths, much less than other social distancing interventions.

Although exact effect of school or other educational institutions closure on preventing the pandemics is an undecided and debated issue, most of the governments of the

pandemic affected countries have temporarily declared total shut down educational institutions as the only workable measure to control and restrain the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic. India was not an exception. The government of India declared shutting down of all educational institutions affecting learners at almost all the levels of education from preparatory school going children to postgraduate and research students. These nationwide closures have affected over 91% of the worlds' student population. The estimates of UNESCO indicate that more than 290 million students around 22 countries will be affected by the pandemic, 32 crores in India.

Our nation's education sector was in crucial and confused state-board examinations, recruitment examinations were postponed, results were delayed, school admissions were delayed, entrance tests of various universities and competitive examinations were delayed, and semester examinations were either cancelled by some universities or in a confused state about holding. CBSC and CISCI have postponed examinations of class X and XII. Institutions like IITs and IIMs have all closed their campuses and moved classes online. Even tests like JEE, UGC-NET, NEET, MAT have been postponed and the future of many students hanged in balance. It seemed that the next academic session 2020-2021 might witness a delay as board examinations and end semester examinations were being postponed. MHRD were in continuous discussion with UGC and educational authorities on issues concerning examination and evaluation procedures. Government, educators, students and parents in India and

round the globe were panic and confused. It was quite certain that suspension of educational institutions for an uncertain period will not only break the continuity of learning of crores of learners in the country, but also will produce far-reaching socio-economic effects.

During this time of crisis, digital or ICT based education has appeared to be a workable solution to fill the void for face to face conventional classroom teaching-learning practices until classes resume. Distance or online modes of learning have emerged as feasible solution for learners as they offer easy access of learning. In response to the significant demand for ICT based teaching and learning many online learning platforms like BYJU'S, Unacademy, Zoom, Google Meet, Hangouts, Google classroom, Whatsapp, Skype and many more are offering free access to their services. However, inspite of its manifold advantages for educational purposes, it has been felt that ICT integrated educational practices have failed to reach huge percentage of learners in India and other developing countries during the pandemic because of a number of hazards in accessing them. To understand the future feasibility of ICT based virtual education in our country, there is a need to analyze the privilege of ICT based education to consider it as a demand to cope up with the educational crisis due to COVID-19 pandemic especially in Indian scenario and the major challenges in accessing its far reaching benefits in an appropriate way.

Discussion

The demands of ICT based education during a Pandemic:

With the hasty switch over from face to face curriculum transaction of traditional classroom to online teaching learning practices through ICT based tools and techniques, many people including teachers, authorities, students and parents are wondering about its impact on learning outcome. 21st century has been witnessing tremendous growth in the use of technology in education to meet the need of equity and access in education. With easy access to right type of technology, learning on online mode can be more effective for learners compared to the conventional classroom setting as one can learn at own pace, can go back and re-read, can learn from anywhere on the spot. In case of small children, studies have shown that they extensively use their senses to learn, making learning fun and effective through use of technology is crucial for developing creativity, imagination and even thinking. With integrating ICT in education, online video-based classes, e-books, simulations, other online study materials are making learning more accessible, engaging, and contextualized. Students are receiving world-class education through online modes which cannot be expected in traditional chalk and board method of teaching. Students have found online learning through ICT more interesting, personalized and enjoyable. The massive open online course (MOOC) is a gateway for the huge student population of India for availing cloud-based quality learning opportunities. Although some people are of the opinion that the unplanned and drastic shifting to virtual learning without proper groundwork, training and with poor network connectivity have resulted in a unsatisfactory user experience, a fact has been

realized during this academic crisis that a new mode of ICT integrated education with remarkable opportunities is certainly here to supplement the conventional teaching-learning process sitting for long hours in a physical classroom. According to Wang Tao, Vice President of Tencent Cloud, integration of information technology in education will be more accelerated and online education will become an integral part of school education.

Information and communication Technology (ICT) based education has thus, to a considerable extent replaced the classroom based teaching and learning during the devastating COVID-19 pandemic. It has become the only resort to ensure continuity in learning throughout all levels of education, from preschool to highest level of education-the research level because of the following opportunities it provides:

The Opportunities

1. **Only safe alternative:** Delivering teaching and availing learning continuously staying at home through ICT is on demand during the pandemic as the only safe alternative for classroom teaching and learning for teachers, students and parents to keep away from the fear of being infected by the virus that is easily transmissible if required to attend educational institutions.
2. **Ensures continuity in learning:** ICT based online teaching –learning and evaluation practices ensure continuity in learning during the worldwide shutting down of educational institutions. ICT based education system has kept the learning process intact at this time of crisis.
3. **Saves time and energy:** It saves time and energy for both teachers and students as they do not have to go anywhere wasting time in travelling.
4. **Increases competency in teaching integrating ICTs:** Compulsory use of ICT for teaching during the lockdown has made teachers more competent in use of ICT in teaching, delivering study materials, preparing and presenting contents and evaluation of students' performance on online mode.
5. **Prepares future ICT skilled workforce:** Integrating ICT in education provides a platform for developing the essential 21st century media and ICT skills in young as well as mature learners, thus producing them as skilled and technologically well equipped future workforce of a nation.
6. **Familiarizes online study resources and platforms:** Extensive use of ICT during the pandemic has opened the doors to easy access of knowledge by familiarizing students, teachers and researchers with huge numbers of online study resources and platforms.
7. **Promotes professional growth:** ICT has enabled students and academicians to make maximum utilization of this lockdown period by enrolling into numerous online courses provided by Swayam, Coursera, edX and many more. Sitting

at home maintaining social distancing, they have been accessing contents and free books through various online platforms. Through proper application of ICT, many academicians and researchers have been availing a grand opportunity to create their own OERs (Open Educational Resources) which has made them professionally skilled. The academicians are not just teachers but have become creators of knowledge.

8. **24x7 access:** ICT provides 24x7 access to study materials.
9. **Greater awareness about online educational sources created:** Large number of webinars are organized by colleges, universities and other organizations like NDLI to create awareness about using online resources, thereby making students capable of taking the advantage of online learning opportunities not only during the pandemic but also in future.
10. **Promotes change in attitude:** Teachers who were not in favour of ICT integrated teaching learning practices have started using online mode as no other scope is left for them. It is a good sign for future development of ICT based education system which has been regarded essential for ensuring equality in access of educational opportunities not only in developing but also in developed nations.
11. **Promotes self learning:** On online mode teaching, teachers get not as much opportunity to go to the details

of the contents as in case of face to face classroom. It promotes a habit of self learning in students.

12. **Less tiring:** For teachers it is less physically and psychologically tiring as they need less energy in teaching online compared to lecturing face to face in large classrooms.
13. **Reusability of contents:** Once teacher creates a good online content he can reuse it as many times as he wishes.
14. **Minimizes examination terror:** Appearing in examinations sitting at homes has minimized the terror of the threatening environment students often experience in examination halls. It results in improved performance.
15. **Less stressful:** Since viva voce, presentation, seminars etc. of research works and projects are being taken on online mode by video conferencing, it has made these tasks less stressful for scholars and students then if they had to present physically in front of a panel of experts.

With an analysis of all these advantages of ICT based education during the worldwide shut down of educational institutions for ensuring continuity in learning, it is needless to mention that during this crisis, ICT played an essentially supportive role and is responsibly transforming the talk and chalk classroom to a technologized cloud based teaching-learning platform. It indicates the future possibility of radical shifting of traditional classroom teaching

and learning practices to ICT based techniques and tools of instruction and learning. The cloud based systems are popular among the 21st century teachers as well as learners as they are providing seamless access to information, data that can be easily and quickly shared and foster the means for tracking multi-user collaboration. A major role in popularizing the cloud based ICT enhanced teaching-learning practices is played by the fact that it is easily accessible through the gadget – smart phones, which is, not an exaggeration, if said, the part and parcel of 21st century learners and academicians young as well as mature. Teaching and learning can no longer be considered as confined within the four walls of a physical classroom, it is now a transportable activity that can be carried with one no matter wherever one goes. The mobile phones, laptops and the cloud based education are here to confirm and demand that *education cannot wait, education must not stop*. COVID-19 pandemic actually provides a fertile ground for ICT enabled education to fit its feet tightly not just for the time of current crisis but for years to come in the field of educational practices and processes.

In spite of all these benefits that have made ICT based education to emerge as the only and urgent solution to overcome the crisis in education because of the total suspension of regular classes in educational institution for an indefinite period to contain the spread of Covid-19 pandemic, there are some threats that delimit the use and effectiveness of ICT based education faced by a considerable population especially in

developing countries like India. While the benefits of virtual learning are manifold, the immense digital, gender, and class divide in India mean that these benefits will only accrue to those who have access to technology, those who can adapt to it, and most importantly, those who can afford it. Challenges faced by both the teachers and the students in providing and accessing education through ICT based tools and technology are:

The challenges

1. **The digital divide:** ICT based education demands easy access of internet facility. While following the instruction of government and authority to provide education through the digital media, the Indian educational institutions during the pandemic has exposed the prevailing deeply rooted imbalance in the use and access of digital opportunities between rural population and those living in urban areas, between male population and female population, between the economically sound and the poor people. The report of the Key Indicators of Household Social Consumption on Education, which was prepared on the basis of data collected from National Sample Survey (2017-18) indicates internet access of only 23.8% of households in India. This percentage was only 14.9% in rural India as opposed to that of 42% of households in urban India. Only 13% of people (aged above five) in rural areas are able to use the internet. The overlapping socio-economic and gender disparities are also quite stark in such areas, just 8.5%

of females in rural areas know how to use the internet. Additionally, a mere 4.4% of rural households have a computer—compared to 23.4% of urban households. There is regional difference also across different states. Delhi, Kerala, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab and Uttarakhand show more than 40% access to internet by the households. In case of states like Odisha, Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal, less than 20% of households have access to the internet. These figures reveal that a huge percentage of students will not be able to avail education based on ICT leading to a alarming educational inequality in the country.

2. **Poor power supply:** For accessing digital education, uninterrupted supply of electricity is essential both for powering electronic devices and for linking to the internet. While Pradhan Mantri Sahaj Bijli Har Ghar Yojna named ‘Saubhagya’ launched in 2017 aiming to supply electricity to every households, demands 99.9% homes availing electricity connection, but if the quality of electricity and the hours of its availability per day is considered, the picture is very much disgusting. Ministry of Rural Development conducted a survey of villages entitled Mission Antyodaya in 2017-'18. Its report indicates 16% of households in the nation receiving electricity for one to eight hours per day and 33% for 9-12 hours. Only 47% households receive power supply for more than 12 hours daily.
3. **Gadget limitations:** For hassle-free access of ICT based teaching and learning, a computer is more preferred. But majority of students nationwide cannot afford a desktop or laptop. A smart phone serves the purpose for such learners, but may not be suitable to carry out long assignments or research activities. 24% Indians own a smart phone, only 11% of households possess any one type of computer.
4. **Internet connectivity:** Divide in internet access is not the only internet related issue that is challenging ICT based teaching-learning in India during COVID-19 pandemic. Poor quality of internet connectivity is equally creating a major drawback in this context. Neither the state nor the private companies have provided good connectivity to their subscribers. A report on internet usage in India based on a study by Quacquarelli Symonds revealed that of those respondents using home broadband, more than 3% faced cable cuts, 53% of them faced poor connectivity while 32% respondents faced signal related disturbances. The report also showed that 40.2% faced poor connectivity and 56.6% faced signal issues in case of usage of mobile phone data. However, difficulty in accessing ICT based education is not always due to poor or lack of internet connectivity. For instance, students of Jammu and Kashmir are unable to access online classes smoothly because of a government order restricting internet connectivity to 2G instead of 4G.

5. **Infrastructural divide:** Government of India mandated all educational institutions for total suspension of physical classes and to shift to the virtual classes to ensure social distancing to contain the spread of Covid-19 Pandemic. This shifting had not been easier for the public institutions due to infrastructural limitations as compared to the private educational institutions.
6. **Lack of digital study materials in vernacular languages:** The field of ICT is an English language dominated one. Unavailability of digital study materials in vernacular languages had been a major challenging factor that restrained vernacular medium learners in availing the advantages of digital educational opportunities and remained the victim of the academic crisis led by the Pandemic.
7. **Examination and evaluation:** While both the teachers and the students are somehow coping with teaching and learning during this crisis caused by the pandemic, the most serious and debatable issue is concerning the examination and evaluation process to be followed. There have been continuous debates and discussions whether they could be conducted online or not, whether open-book or MCQs or students will be promoted on the basis of previous grade performance. Moreover, the institutes taking online examinations are setting tough questions to lessen the chance of cheating by the students. The result is the average and below average students are facing lots of problems.
8. **Teachers' incompetency:** Teachers' lack of competency in using and handling properly the tools, techniques and methods of instruction and teaching based on technology is now proved to be a major challenge for them. Designing a lesson plan for online teaching, preparing audio or audio-visual teaching and study materials, and presenting them through properly operating the digital gadgets and online platforms have become a never faced threat for a huge percentage of teachers.
9. **Unsuitable home environment:** For flawless learning from home students need an undisturbed environment. While 37% of families in India are living in one room houses, it is obvious that many students are not provided with a suitable home environment to attend online classes.
10. **Absence of someone at home to supervise:** Although schools are giving class work, notes assignments regularly and students who have parents and elders to supervise are easily completing their assignments. But those who have no one to help them and supervise their studies are lagging behind.
11. **Cost of internet connection:** Cost of internet packs provided by various tele-service provider companies is another challenge for many families particularly those whose source of income has been barred as a result of lockdown-related job loss. Students from such families are stressed as they cannot afford the cost.
12. **Working parents:** This is an intense issue faced by the preparatory and lowers primary grade students. If both the parents are working the kids are unable to handle

these devices if there are no elders present at home. It cannot be expected in case of all children that the grandparents or care takers are able to help the children with the proper use of the devices.

13. **Physical threat:** It is an experienced fact that staring on the screens for hours while attending the class may harm the eyes.
14. **Expense of online courses:** For students opting for paid online courses it can be expensive and only a very few students can afford.
15. **Cyber threats:** Some cyber issues concerning use of certain online platforms have also been created during COVID-19, causing chaos and threats among academicians and students. There is still some security issues related to most popular platform during COVID-19, the zoom cloud app. People take this type of cyber related issues very seriously and are afraid of using these ICT based teaching learning platforms. 'It is important to note that, while providing online learning to learners, providing them safe access to the internet is imperative as they may come across risks, such as online sexual abuse, cyber-bullying and potentially harmful content and children's privacy may also be at greater risk.' (UNICEF, 2020)

Conclusion

Switching over to ICT based virtual classroom from the traditional face to face classroom was a must to control the spread of COVID-19. But the transition was so sudden that it left little scope for government and educational institution to initiate properly

planned strategies to meet the challenges. Consequently, it has been felt that the effect of the manifold opportunities that ICT integrated education can create, has failed to reach the expected level of satisfaction of the users. Being technologically least equipped to avail the privilege of virtual education, most of the teachers and students as well at almost all levels of education, have to make extensive efforts. Ministry of Human Resource Development, AICTE, NCERT etc. have been constantly trying to support the faculties and students through online platforms such as SWAYAM, UG/PG MOOCs, e-PG Pathshala, CEC-UGC, YouTube channel, Vidwan , DIKSHA, National Digital Library (NDL) etc. To bridge the digital divide the government must initiate plans to improve internet infrastructure and connectivity, subsidize mobile data, make online platforms more affordable, subsidize smart phones and expand the access and affordability of decent bandwidth in remote areas to promote learning among all sections of the population. In this time of crisis as well as for the years to come, government and other institutions and organizations in our country must aim at developing a well designed and refined system of ICT based educational practices to meet the 21st century global standards in education that is capable of producing skilled, employable, productive future workforce for the nation. It is true that technology cannot take the place of a traditional teacher in a traditional classroom set up. UGC vice chair person, Dr. Bhushan Patwardhan said, "We should not make our education system automatic as technology cannot replace teachers. Due to COVID-19

people are adapting to new ways to learn but this should not make our education system automated and we should not rely on the trend.” But due to the uncertainty prevailed regarding opening of educational institutions many universities and institutions have decided to go completely online in the next semester. Thus it is needless to say that in spite of the challenges inherent in ICT based educational practices; we cannot disregard its far-reaching impact during COVID-19 pandemic. All stakeholders of education are made to realize that the reliance on ICT integrated modes of teaching and learning that COVID 19 Pandemic has initiated and emphasized, might be here to stay permanently and it will become an integral part of formal education.

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Author:

Professor, Department of Education, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya, Nagaon, Assam

Research Scholar, M.Phil, Department of Education, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya, Nagaon, Assam

DRAUPADI'S RESISTANCE TO PATRIARCHY: A FEMINIST STUDY OF SAOLI MITRA'S FIVELORDS, YET NONE A PROTECTOR

Prerona Bora

Abstract

Indian culture has been turned unique by the uniqueness of the Indian myths. From the time immemorial myths have controlled and shaped each and every sphere of our life, whether it is social, cultural or religious; and no one can deny their influence in constructing our psyche and determining our actions. The sanctity of the mythological tales cannot be questioned because sacredness always brings with it, authenticity and universal approval. And this irrefutability of myth has turned it, into the most powerful tool to propagate and to justify the dominant ideologies. Myths as the product of the patriarchal society play an important role in forming gender conventions and in granting gender hierarchies. Presenting the women characters as the 'other' of the society mythological writings in most of the time glorified men's life by highlighting men's perspective. Therefore, a considerable number of retellings of the *Mahabharata*, attempted to demystify the patriarchal myth by presenting the events of the epic from the perspectives of the women characters. Saoli Mitra in her *Five Lords, Yet None a Protector* recreated Draupadi by exploring her resistance to patriarchy and by presenting her strong determination to restore justice. Here Mitra had delved deep into her psyche to focus on those aspects of her personality which were overlooked in the source text. Adopting a feminist perspective this research article attempts to discuss, Draupadi's stance against patriarchy, and her approaches to bring reform in women's condition in a male dominated society.

Keywords: Myths, retelling, patriarchy, feminism, gender, subjugation, identity

Introduction

Myths have defined women characters either as 'ideal' or as 'vamp' and here the concept of 'ideal' itself is irreconcilable. Because the intensity of the idealness depends on their compliancy and

submissiveness and the outcome of this servility is unending hardships and sufferings. In this context, Sita and Surpanakha the two most contrasting women characters of the epic *Ramayana* can be mentioned to put light on the concepts of

‘ideal’ and ‘vamp’ respectively. Accepting the subjugation Sita became ideal and by revolting Surpanakha had turned into a vamp. Therefore, it can be said that it is not illogical to question the sanctity of myth, because myths are the product of the patriarchal society and cannot be devoid of the power politics. Beauvoir in her *SecondSex* quoted a little-known feminist of the seventeenth century, who said, “Everything that men have written about women should be viewed with suspicion, because they are both judge and party” (Beauvoir 10). In order to oppose the representation of women by men, Helen Cixous said, “Woman must write herself; must write about women and bring women to writing, women must put herself into the text – as into the world and into history by her own movement” (Cixous 254). Glorifying the perspectives of women, a number of Indian women writers have greatly contributed in the growth of women’s writing, with an attempt to demystify the patriarchal myth and to beat gender stereotypes. In the genre of mythological retellings contemporary women writers like Pratibha Ray, Saoli Mitra, Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, Kavita Kane, Madhavi S Mahadevan are worthy to be mentioned.

Saoli Mitra is a remarkable Bengali theatre and film actress known for her role of Bangabala in *JuktiTakkoAarGappo* of Ritwik Ghatak. Besides *FiveLords, YetNone a Protector&TimelessTales*, she also wrote another notable work called, *Gononatya, Nobonatya, Sotnatya OSombhuMitra* and acted in a number of plays like *Daakghar, Naathavati Anaathavat,*

KathaaAmritasamaan etc. Saoli Mitra has directed many notable contemporary plays and she is also known, for her intellectual blending of the contemporary issues with the fictional world of her plays. Mitra won Sangeet Natak Akademi Award in 2003 for acting in Bengali theatre and Padma Shri in 2009 in Arts. Banga Bibhushan Samman was also offered to her in 2012 for her lifetime achievement in theatre. Mitra’s play *FiveLords, YetNone a Protector* had not only recreated Draupadi, but here very tactfully, she had connected the events of the past with that of the present. In this way she not only tried to explore the unchangeable plight of women in all the ages, but she had also tried to find out a possible solution which could restore their lost identities.

Analysis

Saoli Mitra’s *Five Lords, Yet None a Protector* presented the events of the *Mahabharata* from Draupadi’s perspective. Mitra’s Draupadi is not submissive or docile but she is rebellious and resistant. By restoring Draupadi’s voice, Mitra here revived her individuality and revealed her invincible attitude. Draupadi throughout her life had gained nothing despite misfortunes, insults and sufferings. But all these adversities were not able to devour her indomitable spirit and to reverse her love for justice. Mitra presented Draupadi as a woman for whom the battle of Kurukshetra was not only necessary to avenge her own indignity and humiliation, but also to re-establish dharma or justice. When Krishna, was about to leave for Hastinapur as a messenger of peace from Pandava’s side to stop the war, Draupadi confronted him, she

asked him with hope; “If I forgot the humiliation inflicted on me, dear friend, will it usher a Dharmarajya, the rule of virtue, into this world? Can you promise that in the future no woman will ever be persecuted and demeaned like I was? Will my forgiveness usher in that heavenly state? Tell me, Krishna...” (Mitra 1960). As a woman and as a Queen Draupadi knew her responsibilities towards the society. She knew very well that if she would not be able to get justice as a daughter of a powerful king like Draupad, wife of the invincible Pandavas and daughter-in-law of the great Kurus, then what would happen with other women who belonged to the lower classes. The patriarchal society often defines women as overtly sensible than rational, and Mitra’s Draupadi challenged that type of illogical categorization of women. Because, for Pandavas, Draupadi had emerged as the guiding light, she became the source of inspiration and the ultimate cause behind their invincibility who had always influenced them to move on the path of *dharma*. In order to criticize the baseless categorization of women, Margaret Fuller had rightly said, “There cannot be a completely ‘masculine’ male, just as there is no truly ‘feminine’ female; each contains a bit of the other, argued Fuller” (Nayar 86). Woolf also put light on the same issue by portraying the androgynous state in her novel *Orlando* (1928), “...where man and woman as mind switch places in the same body” (Nayar 87).

The patriarchal society defines *dharma* as a state that can be attained only by men and it is impossible for women to move on the path of *dharma* without the

guidance and support from men, but Mitra’s Draupadi had changed this perception because the sufferings of Draupadi herself had reflected men’s injustices upon women. But her unshakeable faith for justice had never allowed her to surrender before the *adharma* or injustice. From her father to her husbands, Draupadi was used as a tool to fulfill their own purposes. For King Draupad, she was important for the political alliance with the Pandavas, then for her husbands she was a way to bind them together. When Draupadi arrived at her newlywed husband’s home then Kunti her mother-in-law without knowing the truth asked all her sons to share whatever they had brought to home, then none from the brothers had opposed what their mother said. And Yudhishtir who himself was known as the *Dharmaraj* was the first to accept and to propagate this *adharma*, “Yudhishtir looks around. He looks at himself, he looks at his brothers and their eyes are on Draupadi, Dear Sirs, all their faces aglow with desire. Yudhishtir realizes that if this girl were to be married to any one of the brothers, the bond among them would be destroyed. They would not remain united. So Yudhishtir says, ‘As you wish, Mother’ ” (Mitra 23). Kunti though she showed resentment on what she had said but inwardly she accepted her own words for the same reason which instigated Yudhishtir, and that is to secure the unity of her sons. Pandavas had never asked for her consent, they had only done what they wanted to do. But despite this injustice Draupadi accepted what was destined for her bravely and tried her best to do whatever she could for their betterment. In order to criticize the expectations of a patriarchal society from a

wife, Mitra said, “Draupadi becomes a virtuous wife, with five husbands” (Mitra 24).

Mitra’s Draupadi stood strong amidst all the injustices of the male dominated society and she had never feared to retaliate in her turn. In this context Simon De Beauvoir can be mentioned, who had rightly claimed, “the necessity for women to take responsibility and choose for themselves” (Nayar 88). So that women can restore their place in the society and they can refute their categorization as the ‘other’. And in order to assert her own individuality and to move towards her own emancipation, Draupadi had also chosen a way for herself, and that is the way of justice. When Yudhishtir staked her in the game of dice, then Draupadi very logically justified why Yudhishtir could not use her, she asked the Pratikami, “Pratikami, go back to the sabha and find out whether Dharmaraj had staked me before he lost himself or after. And if this is so I’m not bound to go to the sabha. Now go” (Mitra 34). But Draupadi was dragged by Duhshashan to the court because *dharma* had lost morality. Here Saoli Mitra questioned the concept of *dharma* which had allowed a woman to become the wife of five husbands and to be staked as if one’s property. Patriarchal society constructed *dharma* to justify their own immorality but that *dharma* is not beneficial for women because women in all the ages have appeared as its victim. According to Beauvoir, religion, that teaches lessons about morality is itself forged by men.

Mitra’s Draupadi was not silent and not passive, she knew what was the duty of a Kshatriya Queen, she knew how to remind

the king about his *dharmawhen* he deliberately tried to forget his own responsibilities; and she knew very well that the primary duty of a king is to restore peace and justice by punishing the culprits. Draupadi dared to question Yudhishtir, when all his four brothers were silent on their insult caused by him, she asked, “Raja, you have taken to wearing rags. You eat only wild fruits and roots. Doesn’t the hardship of your brothers cause you pain? They have to endure this only because of you!” (Mitra 47). Excluding Bhim, she questioned other four Pandavas about their pride on their own masculinity, power and wit. Because, on that day when Duhshashan dragged her to the sabha, it was only Bhim who was enraged but all the four brothers remained silent without uttering a single word to protect her dignity. She again questioned them furiously, “Wasn’t my dishonour your dishonour, too? Bhimsen, and only he, was enraged, but what about the rest of you? What sort of men are you?” (Mitra, 1947) Draupadi pointed out to the great mistake of Yudhishtir, for which all of them were suffering, she said, “You know what *Shastras* say? The *shastras* say that gambling is a vice. Yet you played the game of dice” (Mitra 48). According to the norms of the patriarchal society a wife cannot question her husband, and she is bound to follow his command blindly. A woman from her childhood is expected to follow certain rules and she must follow certain manners, all these greatly contribute in the development of her mind and her personality. Therefore, Judith Butler gave importance on the concept called ‘performativity of gender’ to focus on the

issue of gender construction in a male dominated society. Butler argued that gender is constructed by impersonating gender conventions as no one inhabits them, but Mitra's Draupadi had never allowed the gender conventions to define her identity and to fix her predicament.

Draupadi had influenced her husbands to fight for justice but for her justice didn't imply to avenge her own humiliation, she wanted justice for the women in general, to secure them from such insult from which she had been suffering. When she was in exile with her husbands then on one occasion Jaydratha the brother-in-law of Duryodhan made a futile attempt to abduct her. Draupadi was rescued by the Pandavas and Bhim and Arjun punished Jayadratha for his deed. Though Arjun asked Bhim to leave him but Bhim was adamant, he did not want to let him go, then it was Draupadi who freed Jayadratha from his clutches and in this way saved his life. It was Draupadi's love for Dushala, Duryadhan's sister saved Jayadratha's life. As a woman Draupadi could not ruin the life of another woman only to avenge her own humiliation. Though Draupadi was married to the all five Pandava brothers but secretly throughout her life, she longed only for the love of Arjun, and this very longing helped her to forgive Jayadratha as she didn't want his wife to suffer from the same. When Draupadi was living in the Kingdom of Virat as Sairindhri then she helped Bhim to kill Kichak, the brother-in-law of King Virat, a cruel and lascivious man who had tried to seduce her. It is true Draupadi was insulted, humiliated repeatedly, but she had never spared her offenders accepting her sufferings as mere

plight. The patriarchal society defines women's exploitation and domination as predestined for them, because they were 'women'. Therefore, Beauvoir said, "She is determined and differentiated in relation to man, while he is not in relation to her; she is the inessential in front of essential. He is the subject; he is the absolute. She is the other" (Beauvoir 6). But Mitra's Draupadi had never accepted that she deserved all that sufferings and she believed in creating her own fate.

Before Krishna left for Hastinapur as the messenger of peace from the Pandavas side she said to him, "Hah! *Dharma!* Where's *Dharma*, Krishna? Where is justice? Let there be a war for justice in this world to reinstate morality" (Mitra 59). Mitra here put light on Draupadi's journey from sufferings to rebellion and then to recognition. Draupadi in her longing for the love of Arjun she had not been able to see Bhim's selfless love for her, who had helped her in each and every situation and rescued her from her miseries. But at the last moment of her life, taking her last breath, Draupadi made the ultimate decision, and she requested Bhim, saying, "Be mine in my next birth, Bhim, I want only you to be mine, I will be able to sleep in peace with my head resting in your lap" (Mitra 70). In this way, Draupadi at the end of her life made herself free from the imposed marriage which she had never desired but she could not oppose. And then by choosing Bhim she had done that what she always wanted to do.

Conclusion

Mitra's *Five Lords, Yet None a Protector* had reconstructed Draupadi by

exploring her voice and by unveiling her strong determination to resist the patriarchal domination. Draupadi was often considered as the ultimate reason behind the Kurukshetra war, and it happened because the patriarchal hegemony had not allowed to see the truth. Therefore, here Mitra had made an attempt to expose the real cause behind the war and she presented it as the restoration of *dharma* or justice, where Draupadi with her unshakeable faith in *dharma* had emerged as the ultimate force to bring this great transformation.

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Author:

Research Scholar, Department of English, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya

FEMINIST VOICES IN SELECT FICTIONS OF ANURADHA SHARMAPUJARI

Anamika Devi

Abstract

During pre and post independent era feminism brought a change and transformation in India. In villages the feminist thinkers tried a lot to bring new reformation in problematic gender relation. From an apparent view on northeastern region, the status of women cannot be guessed. Apparently women are seen enjoying higher status compared to their counterparts. But the customs and traditions never provide equal status but discriminating women and are caught in the web of traditions. The North East women writers express only their gender experiences through their writings. The outside world keeps the women issues, concerns and problems of northeast region under the cloud of mystery. This article seeks to examine the select fictions of North East woman writer Anuradha Sharma Pujari and state that there are visible feminist voices and consciousness in these fictions which allow the silenced voices of women to be heard. The suppressed women characters in these fictions gradually show growing boldness to claim a dignified existence and space in the midst of gender discrimination, inequality and domination in a patriarchal social system.

Keywords: North East, women writers, feminism, feminist voices, consciousness, fiction.

Introduction

Woman is a social construct in the culture of patriarchy and through the voice of woman masculine desires, expectations and meanings are generally fulfilled in such a social set up. The process of social conditioning plays a major role in changing a girl into a woman. A woman's anatomy is not the only factor. The society compels a woman and her psyche to dream, to desire and pursue those feminine roles which are approved, accepted and encouraged traditionally. Women became conscious and aware of their desires,

existence, sexuality, and destiny in Twentieth Century. All over the world women struggled for independence and self identity and thereby started a revolution which was termed as "Feminism". Gender equality, rights and justice are the major demands of feminism. The feminists accept that in a patriarchal social system a woman is forced to fit in a predetermined gender role.

Regarding gender French feminist Simone De Beauvoir said: "one is not born a woman, one becomes one". (The Second Sex, 18) This view suggests that gender is

not biological or the state of being male or female but only masculinity and femininity, a predetermined construction of society. Helene Cixous in *The Feminist Reader* defines feminine as passive and masculine as active and thereby expresses her views about issues of sexual difference and female experience in writing. The cry and struggle for emancipation of women started way back in 1772, in Mary Wollstone Craft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. To explain the reason of the subordination of women, Wollstone Craft in her book admits that the women exist in a state of ignorance because they lack education. The essential reform necessary for equality of men and women is equal and quality education for women.

Kate Millett popularized the phrase "sexual politics" and defined patriarchy as the domination and oppression of women by men. This social construction is responsible for gender discrimination. Originally there is no discrimination between men and women but society expects women to be inferior and to support the eternal feminine idea which is culturally learned or acquired.

In the context of North East women writers the feminist Toril Moi's *Sexual/Textual Politics* (1985) gave a new direction to the feminist movement. By referring to the language employed in the literary text she says that there is inherent relationship between literature and feminism. Those literary texts are storehouse of gender roles played in patriarchal society where women are expected to act, speak and write

themselves based upon their assigned sex. That ideology gives rise to gender and sexual discrimination.

After the 1980s, issues of gender equality emerged as a dominant and a critical thematic concern in Assam. This period witnessed the lines of Anuradha Sharma Pujari, Nirupama Borgohain, Nilima Dutta who took up the question of women oppression and empowerment under the patriarchal set up.

Anuradha Sharma Pujari occupies a significant place in Assamese literature as an author and a journalist. She was born in 1964 in Jorhat. She studied sociology at Dibrugarh University and journalism at the Birla Institute of Liberal Arts and Management Science, Kolkata. She lives in Panjabari, Guwahati. She wrote both fiction and essay. She edited the Assamese monthly magazine "Satsari" and weekly magazine "Sadin". Her first novel *Hriday Ek Bigyapan*, published in 1998 became popular among the youth of Assam. Her fictions describe the tension between the society and the individuals including explorations of femininity and the gaps in the relationship between people that exist in society. Her novels are *Mereng*, *Son Harinar Chekur*, *Neel Prajapati*, *Hriday Ek Bigyapan*, *Kanchan*, *In Search of a God*, *Autograph* and *Sahebpurar Borosun* etc. She was awarded Kumar Kishore Memorial Literary Award from Asom Sahitya Sabha in 2003.

Her two novels *Mereng* (2010) and *Sahebpurar Borosun* (2003) are selected for this analysis. Its purpose is to explore

and examine the images of women as portrayed in these novels. These two novels voice against the injustices and inequalities that crept into the Assamese society. Issues like domination of women, economic injustice, caste system, patriarchy are at the forefront of her literary preoccupation. For example, in *Mereng* Sharma Pujari exposes atrocities of the males against the females, particularly the young widows. They were made responsible for the death of their husband and were punished by the patriarchal society. Sharma Pujari's works revolved around the social realities of her times and through them she wants to bring reformation to the conservative patriarchal orders of Assamese society. For example, in her another novel *Sahebpurar Borosun* the protagonist Borsha fights for establishing her own identity and dignity. She sacrifices her luxurious life with Prantik, her fiancée, and engaged herself for the development of poor people in Bihar. Therefore, it is amply clear that patriarchal societies and gender discrimination have existed for long in the West and the East. In the post – colonial era, the issues of inequality and gender discrimination were debated by humanists, social reformers and feminists. Through their writings authors are expressing the female experiences and age old system of oppression and continue their battle against it. So, the Assamese fiction writer Anuradha Sharma Pujari focuses on women's issues, gender relations and the constraints of patriarchal societies on women. Thus, her writings are not overtly feminist but it reflects a self awareness of

being a woman in a patriarchal society. To offer insights into the self awareness of being female and become a voice for the varied female experiences, the novels *Mereng* and *Sahebpurar Borosun* are taken for analysis. Anuradha Sharma Pujari in her novel *Mereng*, published in 2010, projects her female experience through the character Indira Miri (Mereng) who did not get any space to create an identity for herself after her marriage with Mahi Chandra Miri. In the novel *Sahebpurar Borosun* by Anuradha Sharma Pujari, the protagonist Borsha as a woman has to confront many systematic prejudices and oppression. Borsha's experiences make her confident enough by giving her a voice to speak out against patriarchy.

The novel *Mereng*

A good number of Assamese women came out for education during pre – independence era. Being woman that sail for education was not so smooth for them. The custom and tradition of India takes the women's question as a problem. The patriarchal society divides the inner and outer space into the house and the world. The male represented the world, where practical considerations reign supreme. On the other hand the women represented the house which is unaffected by the outer world and by its material activities. So, the woman cannot escape from the clutches of the prevailing social norms. For example, in the novel *Mereng* as soon as the protagonist Indira Miri got a teaching job her father wanted her to get married with Mahichandra Miri, as a concerned father would do during those days. Thus Indira in

the novel *Merenghas* to negotiate her way through the relation of the modern with the traditional. There is the hint of new patriarchy when the figure of modern woman Indira Miri starts her married life with Mahichandra Miri. Mahichandra Miri constantly reminded her regarding her unutilized education by staying at home. But throughout the novel at no point do we see Mahichandra providing for her a space where she could create an identity for herself. In her married life she accompanied Mahichandra wherever he was posted and was confined deeper into the domestic sphere. Indira Miri became mother of three children. She feels that after the death of her husband she learnt to grow. Indira Miri proceeded to NEFA as Education Officer on the insistence of Mr. Walker, the then director of NEFA, which was a 'violent' place. So, through her biographical novel *Mereng* Sharma Pujari portrays the picture of Indira Miri's journey to self – assertion. Her confidence and courage establishes the fact that every goal can be achieved by women if due status and opportunity are given to them.

The novel *Mereng* portrays the events covering the span of years from 1910 to 2010. In 1947, the Government of India placed on Indira Miri the challenging task of spreading education among the indigenous people of NEFA (North East Frontier Agency) which was totally isolated from the so called civilized society. Those were the times when caste was an important factor that governed our society. The daughters of the Brahmins, the so called upper castes, got married

before attaining puberty. The groom happened to die soon and the young widow had to live a life of abject cruelty and deprivation. She was considered 'unlucky one'. But, the same was not true for the man. A man could marry again as soon as he wished. The young widow if contemplated such a matter considered sinful and unpardonable. She had been punished by blackening her teeth, eating vegetarian food for life and wear nothing but white. The upper castes looked down upon the other castes and tried to dominate them and considered them 'inferior' in all ways. Those widows' pacifist approach can be viewed as a "conditioning" that Kate Millett mentions in her "sexual politics" where she says that in patriarchal politics the socialization of the sexes allows the conditioning of passivity, ignorance, docility and ineffectuality into women. (26)

In one of his speech in the novel *Mereng*, Benu, one relative of Mereng states:

"The Brahmin society believes that the widow should get punishment for her husband's demise. Again a Brahmin widow is never allowed to wear jewellery, to have nutritious food". (Sharma Pujari, 9)

But, Mereng's father Sonadhar Senapati vowed that the division of caste system should not in any way jeopardize the education of his children. But at the same time Mereng's father wanted her to get married as a concerned father of patriarchy. He states:

"It is the duty and responsibility of a father to give his daughter's hand in

marriage to suitable man". (Sharma Pujari, 15)

Mereng had to leave her teaching job. Her father's logic was that if Indira continues her vocation, she would never think of marriage. Sonadhar Senapati, her father considers marriage for her an uppermost responsibility. The novel gives a realistic depiction of a traditional patriarchal society. The character Indira Miri represents all the women who struggle a lot to find their place or fight for liberation.

Sharma Pujari's novel is not overtly feminist but it certainly contains overtones that acknowledge the gender inequalities and discrimination that women face in colonial society. The novelist Sharma Pujari's own experiences of growing up in a traditional patriarchal society gave her the inspiration to create Indira Miri as a representative figure of the challenges that women face.

The novel *Sahebpur Borosun*

Anuradha Sharma Pujari's third novel *Sahebpur Borosun* was published in 2003. This is the story of a young woman from Assam, Borsha, who along with her fiancée Prantik were in a train. They were going to get married after sixteen days. Borsha is portrayed as a free and modern woman, who establishes herself with full dignity in a society where male and female are equally educated and sufficient. The story took place in a railway station in Bihar and the last part of the novel narrates an incident that took

place in a village near the railway station. There was scarcity of water in the train. Borsha wanted to help the thirsty traveller Shekhor Hussain by offering her water bottle. Prantik did not expect such an act from Borsha. The character of Borsha is presented here as conscious woman of her own self.

The protest against male domination and deprivation of right starts by this incident in the novel. Borsha represents the educated women section who have their own dignified position in the society. Prantik shows his self centered and possessive nature what Borsha could not tolerate. So, she decided to leave Prantik to save her own dignity. Borsha left the train and started to work with Shekhor Hussain in an NGO. Thus, Borsha's decision to break the relation with Prantik is the result of the difference that exist in his mentality and ideology. That is the feminist ideology that fights to provide an equal status and right to women to live their own lives independently according to their own ideology and dignity. Borsha introduces a bold and courageous mind to the reader by taking the decision to leave rich and established engineer Prantik and went to the poor village Tilua to help the poor people. Borsha had to protest Prantik for hurting her freedom.

At the time of leaving the train Prantik states:

"This is my last warning. You have to change yourself. You cannot do

whatever you want to do. I did not know that you are" (Sharma Pujari, 35)

Borsha being a conscious woman protested Prantik and states:

"What did not you know about me? As a characterless woman?" (Sharma Pujari, 35)

Prantik shows his superiority and domination and states:

"I don't say you characterless but you cannot get limitless freedom from me." (Sharma Pujari, 35)

The novel *Sahebpurar Borosun* reflects the original feminist thinking of availing rights, freedom, dignity and identity of a woman. Sharma Pujari as a writer allows the narrative of this novel *Sahebpurar Borosun* to bring to light through her storytelling the many psychological barriers that women face for being female. Sharma Pujari is also critical of the institution of marriage. Marriage in this novel is presented as an oppressive contract of obligations because Borsha, the protagonist, is pressured to fulfill the expectations of Prantik and failing to do so becomes less desirable in the eyes of her fiancée Prantik and in the eyes of her family. Moreover, Sharma Pujari here wants to expose the oppressive nature of marriage by the character Binudini's mother who had to die in the hands of her husband for not having a boy child. Anuradha Sharma Pujari in the novel *Sahebpurar Borosun* exposes male prejudices against the creativity and talent of women. Throughout the novel she

shows how art promotes feminism and freedom for women. The protagonist of the novel Borsha's attitude towards the institution of marriage is only a system where women are objects created to amuse men. In this novel another woman character Rakhi, one of Borsha's friend had to leave her family and joined in the same NGO where Borsha was an active member. Rakhi's mother wanted to give her daughter's hand to Basudev, a friend of Rakhi's father. Rakhi states:

"For me the marriage proposal of Basudev means inviting a prostitute to the bed. Basudev's decision to marry a nineteen years old girl exposes his sexual desire only." (Sharma Pujari, 109)

In the novel Rakhi tried a lot to save herself and became mad in anger. Narrating Basudev's nature Rakhi again states:

"Still he was attracted to me and wanted to satisfy his sexual desire after marriage." (Sharma Pujari, 109)

Through the above excerpt Sharma Pujari narrates the oppressive nature of marriage. This goes in line with Simone de Beauvoir's formulation in "the second sex" (1949) where she narrates on how historically marriage is made a necessity for the sexes but there is no mutual understanding. "A woman has no equal dignity in marriage while the man remains socially autonomous and even acknowledged for his role as a producer". (502) Sharma Pujari's women characters are not passive. They oppose male and

rebels male prejudiced support for his own sex even at the cost of disintegration of their life. Borsha struggles in the novel to find her lost identity in a male dominated society.

A journey of transformation in the lives of protagonists Mereng and Borsha

Anuradha Sharma Pujari is acutely aware of the concerns that come with being a woman and she deals with feminine burdens and problems with a very sensitive approach in her novels. Thus in the writings of Sharma Pujari there is a journey of transformation in the life of women character from an ordinary suffering woman to a dignified new woman. The woman in her novels passes through three phases. The first phase is feminine where woman questions patriarchal society about her position and thereby protest the injustice by her self – discovery. In the novel *Mereng* Indira Miri the protagonist protested against the patriarchal society where a man can have three wives but a widow is never allowed to marry again.

Indira Miri states:

“I have heard that our stepmother will come soon. I have fear about it”.

Her own relative and caretaker Benu states:

“You should not say like that Ai. Men cannot live without wife. A man can keep many wives”.

Indira Miri states:

“Why then a widow cannot get married again?”

The second phase that the woman passes through is the feminist where woman fights for her rights and to make space in a gendered equal society. In the novel *Sahebpurar Borosun* the protagonist Borsha resists the men centric norms where women were victimized. She has a strong desire to live an independent and empowered life. Borsha rejected the marriage with Prantik and states:

“Sorry Prantik, you have a bad impression about me. I cannot be your wife with that. I will not have any dignity in my life”. (Sharma Pujari, 36)

Then comes the last phase female where women win the battle and discovers her true identity as a new woman who is confident and courageous enough. The women characters in these two novels come out of their patriarchal domination and show that they have liberty of thought and can take independent decision.

There is indications of the emergence of “feminist voices and consciousness” in the novels of Anuradha Sharma Pujari which is worthy of attention and significant for further studies. Sharma Pujari offers a glimpse through her novels into the lives of women in the region. By writing her experiences Sharma Pujari becomes a crucial voice in the silenced space that she inhabit in a man’s world. She has created literary characters that typify the new women in North East societies. They not only challenge the

status quo but also create their own destined identities in male dominated cultures.

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Author:

Assistant Professor, Department of English, L.G.B. Girls' College, Tezpur

PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT AMONG MALE AND FEMALE HIGHER SECONDARY STUDENTS OF LANKA TOWN OF HOJAI DISTRICT OF ASSAM

Tribeni Saikia

Munmun Das

Abstract

Flexibility in children's learning patterns, giving importance to children's needs and interests, taking active part in helping out children for coping with home as well as school environment-all these comes under the area of parents' role for motivating children. Smith, et al. (1994). The main objectives of the study were, (1) To study about the factors affecting Parental Encouragement, (2) To study the level of difference in the Parental Encouragement among the boys and girls of the Higher Secondary Students. Researcher used Descriptive Survey Research. Population included 1480 student, out of which a sample of 296 i.e., 131 boys and 165 girls were selected. Researcher used Parental Encouragement Scale by Dr. Kusum Agarwal for collecting the data where 'Simple Random sampling' technique was used. Paired sample 't' test was used (SPSS) by the researcher for analyzing the data. The study reveals that there are many factors that affect Parental Encouragement and the study also found no significant difference in their levels of Parental Encouragement.

Keywords: Parental Encouragement, Higher Secondary Students.

Introduction

Parental Encouragement as defined by Rossi (1965) was "When father and Mother approve or appreciate any activity related to education or revoke any hurdle felt by the student in the process, or guide him the right and wrong, this entire spectrum activity comes within the preview of Parental Encouragement."

In the words of Kaushal, (2014) "Parental Encouragement is a treatment

originating from parents with a view to increase the possibilities of future occurrences of good behavior by parental care, apprehension and guidance. Parental Encouragement also helps in developing psychological as well as academic behavior of children."

In the words of Nivedita, Deepika (2017) "Parental Encouragement is the most vital factor in contributing the life of present generation. This is because the norms of

society are learned by the child, first in the family and then at school. In encouragement, the parents help the child, guide him and so that he may not feel disheartened at a particular point of difficulty”

“Period of adolescents is one of the most crucial and critical as well. It is during this time that teen struggle with their own identity. They are progressing into a period of maturation and development that is scary and uncertain. They need guidance and strong support features that come from their parents”, Gardner (2000).

Statement of the Problem

The present study is entitled as ‘**Parental Encouragement among boys and girls of the Higher Secondary Students of Lanka Town of Hojai District of Assam.**’

III. Objectives of the study

1. To study about the Factors affecting Parental Encouragement.
2. To study the level of difference in the Parental Encouragement among boys and girls of the Higher Secondary Students of Lanka Town of Hojai District of Assam.

IV. Hypothesis of the Study With respect to objective II

There is no significant difference in the level of Parental Encouragement among boys and girls of the Higher Secondary Students of Lanka Town of Hojai District of Assam.

Operational Definitions of the Terms

1. Parental Encouragement-

In the study Parental Encouragement refers to the marks acquired by the students who were selected as a sample by using

Parental Encouragement Scale developed by Dr. Kusum Agarwal (2019).

2. Higher Secondary Students- Higher Secondary students refers to the students of academic session 2020-21 and 2019-20 of first and second year, respectively, of Lanka Town of Hojai district of Assam.

Delimitations of the Study

- One degree college, two higher secondary schools and six Junior colleges of Lanka Town of Hojai district of Assam.
- Higher Secondary First and Second year Students of academic session 2020-21 and 2019-20 (Arts streams) respectively of Lanka Town of Hojai district of Assam.

Review of related Literature

Bala, (2010) found insignificant difference in case of Parental Encouragement between adolescents of rural and urban areas, where the study also revealed the difference among male and female adolescents for risk taking behaviour.

Sunita Arya, (2016) they found significant difference between male and female students with respect to Parental Encouragement but found no differences in case of courses like professional and non-professional.

Bashir and Bashir, (2016) revealed insignificant difference between male and female students in their Parental Encouragement. They also found positive and significant relationship between Parental Encouragement and educational aspirations.

Afroza Akhter, (2018) showed that urban and rural students did significantly differ in case of Parental Encouragement. The study also showed that male students of secondary classes have high Parental Encouragement compared to female.

Methodology

Nature of Research

For necessary investigation researcher used Descriptive Survey Research.

Population of the Study

The students of entire academic session 2020-21 and 2019-20 of Higher Secondary first and second year of Lanka Town were selected as population, where under Lanka Town of Hojai District of Assam different types of schools, college and junior colleges were included. The population included 1480 students consisting 669 boys students and girls students were 811.

Table No.1

Total number of Higher Secondary Students of Lanka Town of Hojai District of Assam for the session 2020-21 and 2019-20

	Educational Institution	First year		Second year		Total
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
H.S. Schools	Netaji Vidya Niketan Higher Secondary School	51	79	36	74	240
	Rastravasa Higher Secondary School	13	20	3	4	40
Junior Colleges	Gopinath Junior College	20	10	22	18	70
	Lanka Junior College	85	110	93	102	390
	Lanka Snatak College	20	25	19	26	90
	Kanaklata Junior College	13	17	21	19	70
	Navajyoti Junior College	50	65	50	55	220
	B.R.M Academy	9	14	8	19	50
College	Lanka Mahavidyalaya	92	82	64	72	310
Total		353	422	316	389	1480

Source: 1. Based on data obtained from field survey, 2020.

Sample of the Study

296 Higher Secondary Students of Lanka Town of Hojai District of Assam were selected as a sample where 131 boys and 165 were girls.

Table No. 2
Total number of boys and girls of the Higher Secondary Students of Lanka
Town of Hojai District of Assam for the session 2020-21 and 2019-20

	Educational Institution	First year		Second year		Total
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
HS Schools	Netaji Vidya Niketan Higher Secondary School	13	12	10	13	48
	Rastravasa Higher Secondary School	2	2	2	2	8
Junior Colleges	Gopinath Junior College	3	5	2	4	14
	Lanka Junior College	10	20	18	30	78
	Lanka Snatak College	6	3	3	6	18
	Kanaklata Junior College	3	5	2	4	14
	Navajyoti Junior College	15	15	7	7	44
	B.R.M Academy	3	3	1	3	10
College	Lanka Mahavidyalaya	16	15	15	16	62
Total		71	80	60	85	296

Source: 1. Based on data obtained from field survey, 2020.

Tool and Technique Used

For collecting the necessary information, the researcher used Parental Encouragement Scale by Dr. Kusum Agarwal, where the scale consists of 80 items.

Sources of Data

Primary sources: Which consisted of the first hand data that were collected by visiting the institution selected by the researcher.

Sample Technique

Researcher used 'Simple Random sampling' technique in the present study.

Procedure for Data Collection

For collecting necessary data, researcher had personally visited all the

institutions one by one, after that by taking permission from the authorities and head of the institutions, researcher met the respondents and provided guidelines for giving their valuable responses as according to the instructions of the questionnaire.

Statistical Technique

Researcher used Paired sample 't' test for the present study.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Objective wise Analysis

Objective 1

To study about the Factors affecting Parental Encouragement.

The many factors that affect Parental Encouragement are as given below:

Socio-economic status: It is seen that parents with low socio-economic status create a home atmosphere where they have authority over the children, and in case of parents having higher socio-economic status they are very much concerned about their children. They take initiative in every activity connected to school or homework, and they use less physical punishment which also creates a good atmosphere so that the children feel free to share anything.

Parental education: Educated parents are more concerned about the necessity of their children, which are connected to their life goals or life decisions. They help in developing positive attitude towards life, education, personality development and also helps in study related queries.

Upbringing: In most of the cases every parent follow the style of parenting which were used by their own parents, and in daily life, they try to apply various techniques so that they can get desirable results from the children in various activities.

Emotions: Children show positive results when they achieve

high acceptance and understanding from parents, and this also helps in the development of social competence among children. It also encourages children in maintaining their day to day activities. Boyum & Parke (1995). "Acceptance of children's emotions is related to children's ability to manage their emotions in a positive way." Parke, (2004).

Objective 2

To study the level of difference in the Parental Encouragement among the boys and girls of the Higher Secondary Students of Lanka Town of Hojai District of Assam.

Hypotheses

There is no significant difference in the level of Parental Encouragement among the boys and girls of the Higher Secondary Students of Lanka Town of Hojai District of Assam.

In order to analyse the fourth objective, the mean and the standard deviation scores for both males and females were calculated. Paired sample 't' test was used to find out the significant difference of mean scores among male and female Higher Secondary Students of Lanka Town of Hojai District of Assam which is shown in the following table:

Table No. 3
Level of Difference in the Parental Encouragement among the boys and girls of the Higher Secondary Students of Lanka Town of Hojai District of Assam

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Paired Differences					t	Remarks
				Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference			
							Lower	Upper		
Boys	131	369.37	31.20	-21.39	31.12	2.72	-26.77	-16.01	-7.87	Not Significant and, null hypotheses accepted
Girls	165	390.76	16.88							

*Source: 1. Based on data obtained from field survey, 2020.
 2. (SPSS),2016*

From the table mean and standard deviation scores are 369.37, 390.76 and 31.20, 16.88. In the present study researcher accepted the null hypothesis as the 't' value was -7.87 which is smaller than the critical value at 1.96. Found no significance difference among boys and girls students.

Findings, Discussions and Conclusions

Findings

In the present study, the researcher found various factors like the parent's emotional condition, upbringing style of parents, educational qualities received by the parents and the social as well as economic conditions which are very crucial for the children's all round development. Researcher also found no significant difference for Parental Encouragement of both boys and girls students. They perceived same level of Parental Encouragement.

Discussion

It was seen that for the all-round development of a child, the parental role is very much necessary. For this various factors like parental care, raising them in a much disciplined way, quality education for children and socio economic conditions, all has a great impact. For Parental Encouragement among boys and girls students researcher tested no difference. Studies like Afroza, Akhter (2018), Bashir and Bashir (2016) tasted the same results. In other findings like Suita Arya, (2016). Bala, (2010) revealed difference between male and female students for Parental Encouragement.

Conclusion

Encouragement works as a motivational factor for children, as it can increase good qualities among them. In the present study, researcher mentioned about various factors that affect Parental

Encouragement and plays significant role in the upbringing children. Researcher also found no significant difference in the Level of Parental Encouragement of both boys and girls students.

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Authors:

Associate Professor, Department of Education, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva
Viswavidyalaya

Research Scholar, Department of Education, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya

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