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Word Formation in Bhotia Language of Sikkim

Kakali Mukherjee

Former Assistant Registrar General, ORGI, Language Division, Kolkata, India.

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Article history:</p> <p>Received</p> <p>Received (revised form) NA</p> <p>Accepted</p> <p>Paper_Id: ibjcal2019SD05</p> <p>Keywords:</p> <p>Binary</p> <p>Variable</p> <p>Invariable</p> <p>Ordinary</p> <p>Honorific</p> <p>Inflection</p> <p>Derivation</p> <p>Affixation</p> <p>Compounding</p> <p>Reduplication</p>	<p>Bhotia, one Tibeto-Burman Language of India, is spoken in Sikkim state as the second populous language. Amidst the Nepali, the first populous language of Sikkim, Bhotia is marked by its unique word formation in following binary ways</p> <p>Variable and Invariable words</p> <p>Ordinary and Honorific Words</p> <p>Inflectional and Derivational words</p> <p>The present paper is a humble attempt to highlight the words and their formation processes in Bhotia with the help of the data collected from Gangtok, Sikkim in connection with post-Independence Linguistic Survey of India- Sikkim Scheme of the Government of India..The presentation reveals the following:</p> <p>Words may be of single phonemic representation or combination of phonemes;</p> <p>Words are inflected following the morphological principles;</p> <p>Inflection of words comprises the words of different word-class of Bhotia;</p> <p>Inflectional words are found using the techniques of word formation such as Affixation, Compounding, Reduplication etc.;</p> <p>Derivational words are derived by combining words of different classes of words.</p> <p>With the above uniqueness the Bhotia is maintained with stability in Sikkim.</p>

1.0 Introduction

India showcases a number of diverse languages and culture with complementary spectrum characterizing the unique fabric of the country. Indian Census being the authentic source for gripping this diversity records 121 languages and 270 Mother Tongues (identified with 10000 or more speakers at all India level) by the result of last conducted Census of 2011. The 121 languages comprise 22 Scheduled languages and 99 Non-Scheduled ones. The present write up aims to concentrate on specific grammatical feature, namely, Word Formation, of one of these 121 languages with the purpose of highlighting the beauty and uniqueness of the language. The language name is Bhotia and the features to be discussed are as it is spoken in the Sikkim state of India.

1.1 On Bhotia of Sikkim: Bhotia is one of the 99 non-Scheduled languages of India spoken in Sikkim State along with the States like Arunachal Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, etc. Being classed under Tibeto-Burman language family of India, the speakers strength of the Bhotia language in Sikkim is 41,889 as per

2011 Census, out of which 20985 speakers are male and female speakers are 20904. Bhotia is the second populous language of Sikkim. The first one is Nepali which belongs to Indo-Aryan Family.. Since the focused grammatical feature of Bhotia language is based on the data collected from Gangtok, Sikkim State in 1995 (in course of the Survey in Sikkim State under Post-Griersonian *Linguistic Survey of India* Project of the Ministry of Home affairs of the Government of India), the population data has been furnished for Sikkim State only.

As a language Bhotia is spoken by Bhutia ethnic community of Sikkim who migrated from Tsang district of Tibet around 16th Century. Thus, Bhutia people are the offshoots of Tibetan people who in Sikkim are called as Denzongpa—the Tibetan name indicating the man of Sikkim. And Sikkim is the Gorkha name of the State. (Grierson: 1909). Sikkim being the second smallest state of India is located in north eastern part of it which is bordered by Tibet to the north and north east, by Bhutan in the east, by West Bengal state of India to its south and by Nepal to its west. The history of Sikkim dates back to 17th century by the establishment of Namgyal dynasty migrated from Tibet. During British India Sikkim attained the status of Princely state in 1890. Much after the Independence of India from British regime in 1947, Sikkim became annexed to Indian Republican Union in 1975 as the 22nd state of India. Presently, Sikkim is the homeland of Nepali, Bhotia, Lepcha, Limbu, Sherpa, Tamang, Rai, Gurung, Magar, Newari and Sunwar languages and people.

1.2 Linguistic Survey of India of Sir G. A. Grierson and Bhotia language (LSI): Though the British territory equivalent to present day Sikkim did not fall within the scope of Survey under LSI, but the important languages and dialects spoken in that specific British territory have been briefed by Grierson in 1909. All the languages and dialects were placed under the Tibetan group where Bhotia and its sub dialects (by adding the locality where they were spoken) including Tibetan were classified under Tibetan. Thus, according to Grierson, “Tibeto-Burman family comprises a long series of dialects spoken from Tibet”. The languages of Tibet have been universally recognized as Tibetan. “The Tibetans themselves call their country *Bod-Yul* and their language *Bod-skad*, pronounced *Bho-ka* in Central Tibetan. ‘A Tibetan’ is *Bod-pa*, and this word has been changed to *Bhautia*, *Bhotia*, etc., by the Hindus. The name *Bhotia* is now applied by them to the Tibetans living on the border between India and Tibet, while the people of Tibet proper are called *Huniyas*.....It has also been proposed to call the language Bhotia and to distinguish the sub-dialects.....Bhotia of Tibet or Tibetan proper; Bhotia of Bhutan or Drug-ka; Bhotia of Sikkim or Danjong-ka; Bhotia of Ladakh or Ladakhi, and so forth”. Further, “Tibetan is accordingly mainly a language foreign to India.....” (LSI, Vol.3, Part-1, pp. 1-15). Thus, Bhotia spoken in Sikkim, alternatively Danjong-ka, has been treated as the member of Bhotia group of languages under Tibeto-Burman family in Grierson’s LSI.

Again, while attesting the language name as *Da-njong-ka* or *Bhotia of Sikkim*, Grierson highlights that “The northern half of the state of Sikkim is inhabited by a tribe of Tibetan race which is said to have immigrated from Tsang. They speak a dialect which is closely related to the dialects of Central Tibet....”. Sikkim is the Gurkha name of the State and the indigenous denomination of Sikkim is *Da-njong*, i.e., rice district. The Rev. Graham Sandberg, who has written a manual of the characteristic Tibetan dialect of the State, has therefore proposed to call it *Da-njong-ka*, the language of Danjong (LSI-Vol.3, Part-1, pp.119 - 122). Reverend Sandburg has also published the book *Manual of Sikkim Bhotia or Danjong ka* from Calcutta Oxford Mission Press in 1888.

As per the above discussion, this may be highlighted that the Bhotia language in Sikkim is alternatively known as Danjongka as well as Sikkim Bhotia. Sometime the language is referred as Sikkimese, too. While Bhotia is meant as the language of Bhutias (the Gorkha name of Tibetan language and people) the Sikkim- Bhotia refers to the Bhotia language exclusively spoken in Sikkim and Sikkimese is the English style of geopolitical naming of this speech. Whatever may be

the nomenclature, the Indian Census and related study identifies the Bhotia language as one of the non-Scheduled languages of India being distributed in the Indian states including Sikkim. In Indian Census the nomenclature Bhotia has been adopted in publication based on rationalization of the name as derived from census data.

1.3 Linguistic Survey of India Project of the Government of India and Bhotia: Keeping the diverse denominations of a single language as Tibetan, Bhotia, Bhotia of Sikkim, Danjongka, Sikkim –Bhotia, Sikkimese in view, the survey of Bhotia and its comparison with Tibetan was undertaken in post-Independence Linguistic Survey of India project (as supplement to Grierson's LSI) of the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India in 1995. The Survey result was published as "*Bhotia and its comparison with Tibetan*" in *Linguistic Survey of India- LSI SIKKIM (Part I)*, pp 39-160, from the Government of India in 2013. Based on the publication and data collected from Gangtok, Sikkim, the present attempt to discuss the word formation in Bhotia language has been taken to highlight the exposure of Bhotia speaking people to the known linguistic techniques of word formation towards maintaining and sustaining their language amidst the dominant Nepali language of Sikkim.

2.0 General Note on Word Formation

Word formation process is one major morphological issue in studying language of any community. It deals with the nature, class, forms and formation of words following the rules that govern one language. Word formation refers to the whole process of morphological variations in the constitution of words including inflection and derivation (Crystal:1985). Accordingly, the following sections will furnish the details of Bhotia starting from introducing words in Bhotia.

2.1 Word – the smallest unit of sentence

Generally, word is considered as single sound or combination of sounds which forms the meaningful element of a speech conveying the specific idea in a sentence. Thus, word is the smallest unit of a sentence. In other words, Word is a grammatical unit which is uttered and intuitively recognized by the speakers of a language. And each word is directly correlated with the meaning indicating the target content in a sentence. (Robins : 1968: 21-22). For example, Bengali word /*kukur*/ is the combination of sounds /*k*-, /*u*-, /*k*-, /*u*-, /*r* / where three phonemes are combined initially, medially and finally. And they are

/k/ velar plosive consonant, found initially and medially.

/u/ high back vowel, found medially.

/r/ alveolar flap, found finally.

The uttered word /*kukur*/ indicates the content equivalent to English gloss 'dog' which in Bengali is a singular animate noun and is able to take further inflections like plurality, case etc.

2.2 Categories of words

Words are primarily categorized as Variable word and Invariable word.

2.2.1 Variable words

Variable words are those in which 'ordered and regular series of grammatically different word forms are found' (Robins : 1968). The stems or bases remain constant and the variations like plurality, gender variation, case varieties, tense variations etc. are affixed to the base word to form the inflected words. Variable words are inflected by affixation. For example, Bengali

/*kukurgulo*/ 'dogs' where /*kukur*/ 'a singular dog' has got its plural counterpart by suffixing /*-gulo*/ '-s,-es' being the bound morpheme indicating plural marker for animate entities.

2.2.2 Invariable words

The Invariable words are those functional words which are having single dimensional form and are uninflected. For example, Bengali words like /bhetore/ 'inside'; /moddhe/ 'among'; /baire/ 'outside'. Respective English words are like 'inside', 'middle', 'outside' etc. These invariable words can be the base of other derived words through some phonological as well as morphological process as found in Bengali words like

/bohiragato/ 'outsiders' derived from /baire/

Cf. English 'outsider' < 'outside'; 'insider' < 'inside'

/maddhom/ 'medium'/'through' derived from /moddhe/ etc.

Following the above line of discussion the words in Bhotia language are cited below.

2.2.3 Variable words in Bhotia and their corresponding inflected forms

2.2.3.1 Singular ⇒ Plural

/khyi/ 'dog' ⇒ /khyiCu/ 'dogs'

/goMdo/ 'egg' ⇒ /goMdoCu/ 'eggs'

/bu/ 'boy' ⇒ /buCu/ 'boys'

/bum/ 'girl' ⇒ /bumCu/ 'girls'

2.2.3.2 Nominative Case ⇒ Genitive Case

/khim/ 'house' ⇒ /khim ki/ 'of a house'

/phya/ 'bird' ⇒ /phya i/ 'of a bird'

/Ma/ 'I' ⇒ /Ma i/ 'my'

2.2.3.3 Present Tense ⇒ Past Tense

/S'Ambo ye/ 'go-present' ⇒ /S'Ambo yiM/ 'go-past'

/sa to/ 'eat-present tense' ⇒ /sa bo yiM/ 'eat-past tense'

/Si to/ 'die-present tense' ⇒ /Si soM/ 'die-past tense'

In the above set of examples the base words get varied counterparts by suitable affixation.

2.2.4 Invariable Words in Bhotia

/bana/ 'between' /gyaple/ 'after'

/nale/ 'out' /naMlo / 'inside'

/teMkhalo/ 'above' /Cukha/ 'below'

/sum/ 'three' /cu/ 'ten'

The above words remain uninflected. But new word can be derived from them as

/sum cu/ 'thirty' < /sum/ 'three' + /cu/ 'ten'

/S'i p cu/ 'forty' < /S'i/ 'four' + /cu/ 'ten' [the insertion of /-p-/ is there between

/S'i/ and /cu/.

Thus, variable words can form enormous inflectional words which provide further forms and meanings of the existing words. The information may relate to number, to gender, to case, to tense forms of present-past etc. The variable and Invariable words may form relevant derivational words too which are created as entirely new word out of the existing words. Since words are the basic components of communication in a sentence, the analysis of the process of forming words distinguishes the words according to grammatical class and word formation process thereby in a language including the language known as Bhotia.

2.3 Word class in Bhotia

Bhotia words are realized both as free morphemic form or single stem as well as combination of free and bound morph or combination of stems. In all languages words are classified into word

classes based on their syntactic behavior and morphological forms. Accordingly, the word classes of Bhotia are distinguished such as Noun, Verb, Adjective and Adverb. Words from the same word class are likely to occur into the same slot in a sentence. The details under each class are cited below.

2.3.1 Noun class

Almost all the Bhotia words under the noun class are realized in both ordinary and honorific forms following the royal tradition of Tibetan. That is to say, the Bhotia language is exposed to honorific system of nouns and verbs. Honorific words sometimes are found as altogether different lexeme from ordinary ones indicating the same content. Sometimes the honorific word is found with affixation to the ordinary form of word also. The limited number of honorific words collected from field some of which are cited below as example,

Ordinary	Honorific
/miM/ 'name'	/chen / 'name'
/pu/ 'son'	/se/ 'son'
/pum/ 'daughter'	/se:m/ 'daughter'
/khim/ 'house'	/zimkha/ 'house'
/go/ 'head'	/u / 'head'
/so/ 'tooth'	/chem / 'tooth'
/apho/ 'father'	/jap / 'father'
/khu/ 'he'	/khoM/ 'he (hon.)'

2.3.2 Verb class

The verb bases of different category are furnished below as examples which frame the basis for finite and non-finite verb forms in Bhotia.

/Jo -S'e/ 'to make' ; /Ci-S'e/ 'to play' ; /yok-S'e/ 'to work' (Physical Activity Verb)
 /S'ada-S'e/ 'to hunt' ; /tok-S'e/ 'to cut' ; /kok-S'e/ 'to dig' (Instrument Verb)
 /Ce-S'e/ 'to kill' ; /Jin-S'e/ 'to fight' ; /tham kyap-S'e/ 'to quarrel' (Fighting Verb)
 /S'AM-S'e/ 'to go' ; /phin-S'e/ 'to give' ; /chi kyap-S'e/ 'to swim' (Motion Verb)
 /om-S'e/ 'to milk' ; /goe-S'e/ 'to comb' ; /M'yeM-S'e/ 'to lend' (Occupational verb)
 /Cu-S'e/ 'to cook' ; /sa-S'e/ 'to eat' ; /thuM-S'e/ 'to drink' (Culinari Verb)
 And so on.

2.3.3 Adjective Class

The noun modifying word forms are exemplified below as Adjectival word class of Bhotia. Some adjectives are found with *-ko* ending, some with *-mo*, *-ta* and so on.

/khako/ 'bitter' ;	/nakko/ 'black' ;	/jaMko/ 'green'
/M'yenpo/ 'blue' ;	/karpo/ 'white' ;	/serpo/ 'yellow'
/kyurmo/ 'sour' ;	/Mamo/ 'sweet' ;	/mamo/ 'brown'
/Cata/ 'hot' ;	/yechita/ 'bright' ;	/yaMta/ 'light' etc.

2.3.4 Adverb Class

The Verb modifying words are classed as Adverbial words of Bhotia as shown in following few examples.

/mala/ 'quick' ; /galusbua/ 'slowly' ; /M'yaMtop/ 'bravely' (Adverb of manner)
 /thaMi/ 'near' ; /nale/ 'out' ; /bana/ 'middle' (Adverb of place)
 /atAM/ 'always' ; /dhariM/ 'today' ; /thoraM/ 'tomorrow' (Adverb of time)
 And so on .

2.4 Word Forms of Bhotia

The Bhotia words as discussed above are thus identified with internal and external structure. The Internal structure gives us the Inflectional words whereas Derived words are realized externally. In other words, Inflection involves the formation of grammatical forms of a word like number, gender, tense etc. And Derivation is concerned with the creation of a new word from existing word in Bhotia.

2.4.1 Inflectional words

/khim / is a single stem as well as one word under noun class indicating 'house'. The inflectional forms as available are like

/khimCu / is combination of free morpheme */khim /* 'house' and bound morpheme or plural identifier */-Cu /*. Thus, */khimCu /* means 'houses'

Again, */khimdi /* is also a word where */-di/* is suffixed to */khim /* to identify the definiteness of the house meaning 'this house'

/khimdiCu / is a word which is the combination of */khim-/*, */-di-/*, */-Cu /* meaning 'these houses'.

/khimki/ is a word meaning 'of (the) house' which is the combination of */khim-/* and */-ki/* 'of', the genitive form of */khim/* 'house. etc.

Further, at verbal level the inflectional words appear as

/lheppo/ is a word combining */llep-/* ' (to) reach' and */-po/* the past tense indicating suffix. Thus the word means 'reached'.

/SeS'e yiM/ is a word combining */SeS'e/* 'to die' and */-yiM/* 'the future indicating suffix' gives the meaning 'will die'.

2.4.2 Derivational words

The derivational words are formed in different ways. Sometimes combining two words under noun class, sometimes combining noun and adjectival word, sometimes combining base word under verb class and nominaliser like */-khen/*, */-sa/* and so on. Few derived words are cited here as examples.

/migchu/ 'tear' combining */mik-/* 'eye' and */-chu/* 'water' by morphophonemic change of */-k-/* of */mik/* 'eye'

/mikudi/ 'old man' combining noun form */mi-/* 'man' and adjectival form */-kudi/* 'old'.

/M'ya S'i khen/ 'fisherman' combining noun */M'ya-/* 'fish' and */-Si-/* ' (to) catch' and nominaliser */-khen/* 'doer'.

The above derivational words can be inflected according to the requirement in the sentence.

3.0 Word Formation process

Keeping the word class with their inflectional and derivational system in view the word formation process in Bhotia language are detailed below.

I. Both the Inflected and Derivational words in Bhotia are formed with affixation process.

II. Bhotia words are formed by Reduplication and Compounding process also.

3.1 Bhotia words formed by Affixation

Affixes are bound morphemes usually added to one morpheme to differentiate the semantic identity. Though Affixes are generally of three types, but Bhotia makes use mainly of two – prefix and suffix. Infix has been identified scantily so far the extent of data available with the present researcher. Affixation as morphological process of word formation is available in Bhotia in the form of Prefixation and Suffixation. The Infixational words also are also presented as per availability.

3.1.1 Prefixation

Quantitatively, prefixation is lesser to suffixation in Bhotia. Prefixation is realized in the following ways like

/me/

/melam / the ordinary form of the content 'wish'/'prayer', where /me-/ as one bound morpheme is prefixed to /-lam/ 'pray' for the ordinary category of the noun.

When /-me / is suffixed to the stem /thu- / the form becomes /thume/ meaning the honorific form of 'wish' / 'prayer'.

Similar is the case with /dU/ stem. When prefixed to /-po / gives the meaning of ordinary category of 'prayer' and gives the honorific noun when it is suffixed.

Thus, /dUpo / 'prayer' (ordinary)

But

/thudU/ 'prayer' (honorific)

Further, the feminine words of human category are formed by prefixing /mo-/ to the noun. For example.

/mi / 'man'

but

/momi / 'woman'

/phore / 'widower'

but

/morem/ 'widow'

Interesting to note that for non-human nouns /-mo/ is found as suffix and not prefix. Thus,

/ta/ 'horse'

but

/tayemo / 'mare' (with insertion of -ye-)

/khyi/ 'dog'

but

/khyimo/ 'bitch'

Of course, the feminine formation of honorific word /gyal/ 'king' has been found with suffixation of the feminine form /-mo/. And the form is /gyalmo/ 'queen'.

Prefixation of some other forms are like

/a- / in gender listed words /a-pho/ 'father' : /a-mo/ 'mother'

/a-cu/ 'elder brother' : /a-ji/ 'elder sister'

/ma-/ as negative particle in verb forms like

/ma lap/ 'don't speak' : /ma khyap/ 'don't speak'

/ma thop/ 'did not see' : /ma lep/ 'did not say'

/min/ as negative particle in finite verbal forms like

/min gyus'e yiM/ 'shall not go'

/mi/ negative particle in the word /mi ce/ 'not only that'.

Thus, words formed by prefixation have different sheds of prefix in Bhotia as found in use.

3.1.2 Suffixation

Suffixation is more common process of word formation in Bhotia in comparison to Prefixation. For example:

Suffixation of /-Cu/ 'the pluralizing suffix' to noun morpheme.

/mi / 'man' ~ /miCu / 'men'

/dep / 'book' ~ /depCu / 'books'

/khim / 'house' ~ /khimCu/ 'houses'

/khoM/ 'he' (honorific) ~ /khoMCu/ 'they'

Suffixation of /-M'yi/ 'two' to the nouns and pronouns for classifying or modifying the nouns or pronouns, like

/khim M'yi/ 'two dogs'
 /mi M'yi/ 'two men'
 /khoM M'yi/ 'they two'
 /dep M'yi/ 'two books'

Suffixation of /-po/, /-bo/, /S'e/, /-wa/ to the verb stem frames the word for gerundial verbal form. Like

/lap-/	'(to) say'	/lap po/	'saying'
/hAM-/	'(to) come'	/hAM bo/	'coming'
/phya-/	'(to) offer'	/phyaS'e/	'offering'
/kA-/	'(to) dig'	/kA S'e/	'digging'
/phaM-/	'(to) shoot'	/phaM wa/	'shooting' etc.

3.1.3 Infixation

/di/ is realized in Bhotia as demonstrative pronoun as well as definitive article.

/phyi/ 'bird'
 /phyi di/ 'the bird'

When /-Cu/ -pluraliser is suffixed to the noun, the form is /phyi Cu/ 'the birds'. But when /-di/ is found in use to classify the noun, then the form becomes /phyi di Cu/ 'the birds'. Here, /di/ is realized as infix.

Similarly, /pho di lo/ 'to the male' which is formed by combining /pho-/ 'male' + /-di-/ 'the' + /-lo/ 'accusative/ dative case marker' /-di-/ performs the function as infix.

Again, the construction like /phami Cu di lo/ 'to the parents'. Here also /di/ has been infixed before the case suffix and not before the pluraliser. Thus the formation of /phamidiCulo/ is /phami-/ + /Cu/ 'parents' and /-di-/ as infix and /-lo/ 'case marker'.

Thus, with affixation process in the above manner we deduce the inflected words in Bhotia under different grammatical categories. But derived words also are plenty in Bhotia formed by affixation process. Details are cited.

3.1.4 Derivational words formed by Affixation

Derivational words in Bhotia are of various patterns.

Words derived from verbs with the nominalising suffix /-sa/, /-khen/ 'doer' or 'who does'.

/dU-/	'(to) dwell' + /-sa/	>	/dUsa/	'dweller'
/M'ul/	'money' + /-khen/	>	/M'uler khen/	'money lender' (one who lends money)
/khyap-/	'(to) sing' + /-khen/	>	/khyap khen/	'singer' (one who sings)
/CAM-/	'(to) run' + /-khen/	>	/CAM khen/	'runner' (one who runs)

In the above examples by adding /-sa/ or /-khen/ new words have been derived in Bhotia.

Derivational Words in Bhotia in which the morphemes of different word classes are combined to derive a new word following prefixation-infixation-suffixation in a single derived word. For example, the words like

/mikmathoppho/ 'blind'
 /gopumepho/ 'bald (head) male'
 /khathikoyepimi/ 'stammerer'
 /M'yenmakkyapabum/ 'spinster'

The process of derivation in these words is the combination of *Noun (s) + Negative Particle + Noun +....*. Thus,

The examples under (i) is the combination of the noun /*mik-*/ 'eye' + negative particle /*-ma-*/ 'not' + verb stem /*-thop-*/ 'to see' + noun /*-pho-*/ 'male'. The literal meaning is 'the male not sees' = 'blind'; Here, /*mik-*/ 'eye' is prefixed to negative particle /*-ma-*/ 'not' which is further prefixed to verb stem /*-thop-*/ 'to see' followed by suffixation of noun /*-pho-*/ 'male'. Thus, /*mik-*/ performs as prefix, /*-ma-*/ and /*-thop-*/ as infixes and /*-pho-*/ functions as suffix in the derived word /*mikmathoppo-*/.

The example under (ii) is the combination of noun /*gopu-*/ 'head hair' [is the compound word comprising /*go-*/ 'head' and /*-pu-*/ 'hair'] + negative particle /*-me-*/ 'no' + noun /*-pho-*/ 'male'. The literal meaning is 'head hair not having male' > 'bald male' = 'male bald person'; Here, /*go-*/ 'head' acts as prefix, /*-pu-*/ 'hair' and /*-me-*/ 'no' are found as infixes and /*-pho-*/ 'man' functions as suffix.

The example under (iii) is the combination of noun /*kha-*/ 'mouth' / 'tongue' + preposition /*-thi-*/ 'with' + adverb /*-koye-*/ 'difficult' + verb stem /*-pi-*/ 'to move' + noun /*-mi-*/ 'man'. The literal meaning is 'man moving tongue with difficult' = 'stammerer'; Here also

/*kha-*/ 'mouth' is prefix

/*-thi-*/ 'with' and /*-koye-*/ and /*-pi-*/ 'to move' are infixes

/*-mi-*/ 'man' is suffix.

The example under (iv) is the combination of noun /*M'yen-*/ 'marriage' + negative particle /*-ma-*/ 'not' + verb stem /*-kyap-*/ 'to do' + noun /*-bum-*/ 'girl'. The literal meaning is 'marriage not doing girl' = 'spinster'.

/*M'yen-*/ 'marriage' is prefix

/*-ma-*/ 'not' and /*-kyap-*/ 'to do' are infixes

/*-bum-*/ 'girl' is suffix.

Plenty of derived words are there in Bhotia formed following the above processes.

Leaving aside Affixation, Bhotia words are found to be formed following the process of Compounding.

3.2 Compounding

Compounding is a process of word formation where a third independent linguistic unit or word is derived by compounding two stems or words of similar or dissimilar word class. Several categories of compounding are possible. A few of them are exemplified below.

3.2.1 Noun +Noun

/Jim/ 'bed'	+	/sa/ 'room'	=	/Jimsa/ 'bedroom'
/mik/ 'eye'	+	/chu/ 'water'	=	/migchu/ 'tear'
/mik/ 'eye'	+	/pa/ 'lid'	=	/migpa/ 'eye lid'
/ba/ 'cow'	+	/khim/ 'house'	=	/bakhim/ 'cowshed'
/kha/ 'mouth'	+	/chu/ 'water'	=	/khachu/ 'saliva'
/chu/ 'water'	+	/wo/ 'place'	=	/chuwo/ 'pond'
/mithuk/ 'flower'	+	/theMwa/ 'chain'	=	/mithuktheMwa/ 'garland'

3.2.2 Noun + Adjective

/mi/ 'man'	+	/kudi/ 'old'	=	/mikudi/ 'old man'
/mi/ 'man'	+	/thuMthuM/ 'short'	=	/miThuMthuM/ 'dwarf (man)'
/boCo/ 'baby'	+	/chuMchuM/ 'small'	=	/boCochuMchuM/ 'children'

3.2.3 Adjective + Noun

/Cibi/ 'pair' + /boCo/ 'baby' = /CibiboCo/ 'twin'

Apart from Affixation and Compounding the Bhotia words are formed also by the process of Reduplication.

3.3 Reduplication

Words are found formed as well as expressed in reduplicated manner. Reduplication is a process of word formation where the phonological unit of stems gets repeated either completely or partially. The example of words under this category is as follows.

3.3.1 Complete Reduplication

3.3.1.1 Adjectival forms

/chuMchuM/ 'small' ; /sapsap/ 'thin'
 /thuMthuM/ 'short' ; /lEplEp/ 'lean'

3.3.1.2 Adverbial forms

/riprip/ 'dimly' ; /tintin/ 'certainly'
 /thakthak/ 'clearly'; /re re / 'one by one'

And so on.

3.3.2 Partial Reduplication

/thamthom/ 'difficult'; /myakmyok/ 'tasteless'
 /rakrok/ 'rough'; /laplop/ 'luke warm'
 /khapkhop/ 'curvy'; /sabzap/ 'carefully' etc.

4.0 Conclusion

In view of the above discussion, this may be summarized that Bhotia language is exposed to word formation techniques of Affixation, Compounding, Reduplication for the creation of both inflected and derivative words along with maintaining the diglossic varieties of the language by having two different sets of words -- Ordinary and Honorific vis-à-vis Normal and Royal tradition of usage. Amidst the highest Nepali population, the Bhotia language is maintained by its speakers in the state of Sikkim viably with the linguistic properties of the Himalayan group of languages of Tibeto-Burman Family. More Surveys on Bhotia language may be of great help to unveil its more detailed linguistic features vis-a-vis the word formation techniques to save the language as one strong representative of the Tibeto-Burman language family of India.

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6.0 Appendix

List of Linguistic Symbols Used

/ i / for high front unrounded vowel	/y / for palatal approximant
/ e / for mid high front unrounded vowel	/ p / for voiceless bilabial stop
/ E / for mid low front unrounded vowel	/ ph / for aspirated voiceless bilabial stop
/ a / for low front unrounded vowel	/ b / for voiced bilabial stop
/ U / for high central rounded vowel	/ bh/ for aspirated voiced bilabial stop
/ u / for high back rounded vowel	/ t / for voiceless alveolar stop
/ o / for mid high back rounded vowel	/ th / for aspirated voiceless alveolar stop
/ A / for mid central unrounded vowel	/ d / for voiced alveolar stop
/ O/ for mid low back vowel	/ dh / for aspirated voiced alveolar s
/E/ for low front vowel	/ c / for voiceless palatal stop
/M / for velar nasal	/ ch / for aspirated voiceless palatal stop
/N/ for retroflex nasal	/ j / for aspirated voiced palatal stop
/M' / for palatal nasal	/ s / for voiceless alveolar fricative / z / for voiced alveolar fricative
/ C / for voiceless alveolar affricate	/S'/ for voiceless palatal fricative
/ J / for voiced alveolar affricate	/ S / for retroflex fricative
/ k / for voiceless velar stop	/ r / for alveolar trill
/ kh / for aspirated voiceless velar stop	/m / for bilabial nasal
/ g / for voiced velar stop	/ M / for velar nasal
/ gh / for aspirated voiced velar stop	/M' / for palatal nasal
/ h / for voiceless glottal fricative	/n / for alveolar nasal
/ l / for alveolar lateral	
/ w / for bilabial approximant	