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A Sketch of Raji Grammar

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A Sketch of Raji Grammar

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 The Raji people

The Raji are a small tribe of roughly 496 souls spread over nine villages in Pithoragarh district of the Kumaon Himalayan region of Uttar Pradesh state. They are also found in the bordering areas of Nepal. Raji villages are located mainly in forest areas and their biggest concentration is in the Sukhi Dang area of Champawat Tehsil. The total area on which the Raji villages are scattered is around 200 kilometers and is located at altitudes ranging from 3000 to 5000 feet. The Raji are one of the oldest ethnic groups in this region. They claim to be the descendants of the 'Rajya Kirata' community which is recorded in the *Warah Samhita*, one of the oldest scriptures of the Hindus. The Kiratas are said to be of the Indo-Mongoloid tribes and according to this thesis the Rajis are one of the Indo-Mongoloid tribes. Looking at the physical features of this tribe we do not find them to belong to this race. Rajis are short, dark brown or darkish people with small flat noses, small round faces and black curly hair. In their appearance they are more like Munda people than Mongoloid. According to their own legends they claim themselves to be the descendants of an Askot prince who voluntarily opted for jungle life because of his fascination for hunting and wandering. Askot is a small village on the way from Pithoragarh to Dharchula. In the past the Raji were nomadic, but now, due to the efforts of the state government, they have been rehabilitated and allotted cultivable land in several villages.

The Rajis are expert in wood craft, especially in carving wooden vessels out of logs. In earlier times they would go in the small hours of the night and put the vessels they had made outside the houses of well to do villagers and hide themselves in nearby bushes. When the house owner opened the door in the morning he would find a wooden vessel in front of the door. He would then take the vessel inside the house, and then put some grains (rice, maize etc.) outside the door and close it again. The Raji would come out of the bushes, collect the grains and disappear. On the basis of this kind of barter trade, the anthropologist D.N. Majumdar has given them the name 'the invisible traders'. This type of habit indicates that the Rajis are very shy people. The situation has since changed and there are a few Ashram type schools in and around Raji villages. The younger generations have started taking interest in literacy programmes and school education and as a result most of the

boys and girls are attending these schools. They have even started taking up government and private jobs.

Other names for this tribe are Bana Raut, Bana Raji, Bana Manus, Raut, and Bhulla. This last name is the one by which the community calls itself. Grierson, in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (1909, Vol-III; Part-I, page 530), followed the earlier name, Jangali, given to these people. However, most of the names given to this tribe by outsiders reflect association of the Raji with the forest. The name Raji has been coined for these people by the state government agencies, and has now been accepted by these people.

1.2 The language

Grierson classified the Jangali (Raji) language in the Tibeto-Burman subfamily akin to the Nepal Himalayan subgroup (p. 530) on the basis of data received by him which was mixed with a large number of Indo-Aryan words. D.D. Sharma (1989) classified this language with the Munda group, most probably on extra-linguistic criterion, i.e. on the basis of the physical features of the Raji people.

The data for the present study were collected from a 26 year old of Khirduari village in the Sukhi Dang area of Champawat Tehsil who had been educated up to the high school level (ten years of schooling). The data were verified by some elderly people of the same area. The data show large scale lexical and grammatical borrowing from Indo-Aryan languages (especially Kumaoni, an Eastern Pahari language). We find that a number of kinship terms, verb-roots, numerals, and natural objects which are considered to be core vocabulary items have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Terms like /da/ 'brother', /di/ 'elder sister', /bhəinyə/ 'younger sister', /byawli/ 'bride' and many others are of Indo-Aryan origin. In the vocabulary list these are indicated with the abbreviation "(IA)". Raji has retained its original numerals from two to six, whereas the numeral one (/Dah/) seems to be of doubtful origin. We do find a large number of Tibeto-Burman vocabulary items, but some of the items are difficult to trace to Tibeto-Burman sources. Kinship terms like /ba/ 'father' /nhi-ya/ 'father's sister,' /gani/ 'father's sister's husband' are of Tibeto-Burman origin, whereas terms like /i-ja/ 'mother', /me-te/ 'wife' seem to be of Dravidian origin. We have not addressed the question of the genetic affiliation of Raji other than to assume it is a Tibeto-Burman language.

Raji presents an interesting picture of loan blending at the word level as well as at the phrase level, e.g.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------|
| (1) | bin-
without (IA) | ti-
water (TB) | kori
depression (IA) | 'valley' |
| (2) | nhi-
two (TB) | mila
combined (IA) | | 'couple' |

(3)	kui	bhukko	'(The) dog is barking.'
	dog (TB)	bark (IA)	

The examples given above and many other such constructions show that the Raji language presents a very rich field for the study of the processes of language shift leading to language loss. If studied in depth by staying with these people for a longer period, one could understand how and in what spheres of language the shift takes place in a minor language in successive phases due to it being surrounded by speakers of a dominant language group.

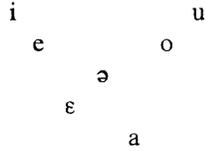
2.0 Phonology

Raji has 33 consonants, three approximants and seven vowels in its inventory. All the vowels have nasal counterparts. All the vowels, if added together, will become 14 in number, but in this study nasalization has been considered as a supra-segmental feature, so we will assume there are only seven distinct vowel phonemes. Nasalization of the vowels can be sporadic, possibly due to the influence of Hindi or Kumaoni.

2.0.1 Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops:						
Voiceless	p	t	T		k	
Vcless Asp.	ph	th	Th		kh	
Voiced	b	d	D		g	
Voiced Asp.	bh	dh	Dh		gh	
Affricates:						
Voiceless				c		
Vcless Asp.				ch		
Voiced				j		
Voiced Asp.				jh		
Fricatives:						
		s			x	h
Nasals:						
plain	m	n	N		ŋ	
pre-aspirated	mh	nh				
Laterals:						
plain		l				
preaspirated		lh				
Trills						
plain			r			
preaspirated			rh			
Approximants:						
plain	w			y		
preaspirated				yh		

2.0.2 Vowels



2.0.3 Suprasegmental

Nasalization [ã]

2.1 Occurrence of phonemes

2.1.1 Consonants

1. Aspirated consonants do not occur finally.
2. Raji words generally end in a vowel. Though /b/, /T/, /D/, /c/, /k/, /g/, /x/ occur in final position, their frequency in this position is very low.
3. The phonemes /rh/ and /yh/ occur only in initial position.
4. The phonemes /N/, /ŋ/ and /w/ do not occur initially. Though /N/ has been established as a separate phoneme, it is found only in loan words from Kumaoni. In most cases it occurs as a homorganic nasal before the retroflex consonants.
5. The phonemes /mh/, /nh/, /rh/, /yh/ do not occur in medial position.
6. /mh/, /nh/, /rh/, /lh/, /yh/ are established as monophonemes on the basis of aural perception; no instrumental test was conducted to establish their monophonemic status. They are found to be equal to the aspirated stops and they contrast with their unaspirated counterparts. In words like /kɛl-ho/ 'near', /tol-həiryə/ 'brown' etc., the /lh/ has been treated as a consonant cluster.
7. /D/ has an allophone, i.e. flap [ɾ], which occurs in inter-vocalic and final positions, as in the case of Hindi.
8. /y/ and /w/ also occur as glides in between two vowels as follows: /y/ in between the front close vowels /i, e/ and an open vowel; /w/ in between the back close vowels /u, o/ and an open vowel.
9. /s/ has another allophone, i.e. palatal [ç], which occurs before the close front vowel /i/ and the semivowel /y/.
10. All the nasal consonants become homorganic before their oral counterparts though they occur independently, as shown in the examples given for their occurrence. Only /m/ can occur in all environments.
11. A voiceless stop becomes voiced inter-vocalically at a morpheme boundary. If the voiceless stop is aspirated, it loses the aspiration at this position.

Examples:

	<u>Initial</u>		<u>Medial</u>		<u>Final</u>	
/p/	pati	'arm'	hapar	'brave'	--	--
	piThu	'flour'	hapurə	'thin'	--	--
/ph/	phuləŋ	'flower'	saphə	'clean'	--	--
	phəri	'manure'	sirphə	'only'	--	--
/b/	binti	'without water'	bəbbər	'flat'	təb	'then'
	bāN	'arrow'	jibari	'coward'	əb	'now'
/bh/	bha	'ankle'	kəbhai	'when'	--	--
	bhuDə	'bush'	--	--	--	--
/t/	ti	'water, rain'	pətəra	'braid'	--	--
	tallə	'lake'	ceta	'after'	--	--
/th/	thapi	'to carry (on head)'	--	--	--	--
	thyu	'sweet'	--	--	--	--
/d/	darə	'fang'	giddə	'neck'	--	--
	daru	'rice'	sidu	'straight'	--	--
/dh/	dherə	'door'	dudhəŋ	'milk'	--	--
	dhuli	'ash'	jodha	'shoe'	--	--
/T/	Toka	'bear'	kəTə	'bull'	əkhrəT	'walnut'
	Tokənya	'black'	khoTɛ	'tight'	--	--
/Th/	Thepɛ	'dark'	piThu	'flour'	--	--
	ThəTTa	'up'	kəThəŋ	'firewood'	--	--
/D/	Daha	'hot'	həDəŋ	'bone'	dəD	'beard'
	Dola	'bad'	gɛDi	'field'	bhəD	'sheep'
/Dh/	Dhiŋ	'one and a half'	buDha	'old man'	--	--
	Dhəuwe	'to fall down'	--	--	--	--
/c/	ceta	'after'	hacə	'to tear'	--	--
	cyuTTi	'hasty'	kəcar	'mud'	--	--
/ch/	chati	'chest'	nəche	'person (male)'	--	--
	chiŋkya	'sneeze'	--	--	--	--
/j/	jū	'cold season'	nəjik	'near'	--	--
	jeThu	'wife's elder brother'	bhujo	'gourd'	--	--
/jh/	jhī-yē	'to get wet'	jijhəro	'priest'	--	--
	jhaD-	'to sweep'	--	--	--	--
/k/	kəNa	'blind'	mhike	'eye'	jak	'meal'
	kəi	'to bite'	xuka	'to cough'	nəɾək	'hell'
/kh/	kha	'bitter'	ukha	'vomit'	--	--
	khuri	'stream'	əkhrəT	'walnut'	--	--
/g/	gaDa	'temple'	ghoga	'maize'	dimag	'brain'
	ginta	'before'	agax	'sky'	--	--
/gh/	ghaxri	'grass'	ugha	'cave'	--	--
	ghə-	'to send'	ughaw	'nostrils'	--	--
/m/	mənlə	'to buy'	təmaku	'tobacco'	dəm	'price'
	māssi	'porcupine'	pham	'memory'	--	--

/mh/	mhē	'fire'	--	--	--	--
	mhīke	'eye'	--	--	--	--
/n/	nao	'house'	sine	'ripe'	bhəgwan	'god'
	neli	'to cover (self)'	nəoni	'butter'	dhən	'money'
/nh/	nhīlyā	'to swallow'	--	--	--	--
	nhīyā	'couple'	--	--	--	--
/N/	raNīuwa	'widower'	baN	'arrow'	--	--
/ŋ/	--	--	bāŋā	'face'	dhyuŋ	'day'
	--	--	--	--	mhəŋ	'crooked'
/s/	sigan	'to blow nose'	bhəisi	'buffallo'	bās	'bamboo'
	sura	'begining'	hətasi	'saw'	dhənəs	'bow'
/x/	xui	'blood'	baxo	'calf (of cow)'	comax	'rainy season'
	xənə	'foot-hill'	dexə	'earth'	rix	'anger'
/h/	hui	'whom'	behe	'guava'	loh	'iron'
	hoŋ	'to catch'	māhā	'salt'	--	--
/l/	lau	'to come'	paləg	'spinach'	ətətəl	'just now'
	lesəni	'garlic'	sile	'to scrub'	kəpəl	'forehead'
/lh/	lhaike	'to sing'	ha-lhu	'to bathe'	-- --	--
/r/	raNiə	'widow'	guru	'elbow'	kəmbər	'waist'
	rəttə	'early morning'	byar	'yesterday'	mər	'peacock'
/rh/	rhu	'to climb down'	--	--	--	--
	rhəpə	'to swim'	--	--	--	--
/w/	--	--	buwari	'son's wife'	naw/nao	'house'
	--	--	xəwtē	'co-wife'	bhaw	'foot'
/y/	yakə	'to lift'	gayərə	'night'	--	--
	--	--	pəyə	'son'	--	--
/yh/	yhəkə	'to grate'	--	--	--	--
	yhāku	'to knead'	--	--	--	--

2.1.2 Vowels

1. All vowels occur in all the positions except /e/ and /ɛ/, which do not occur in initial position.

2. All oral vowels have nasal counterparts irrespective of their proximity to nasal consonants.

3. The frequency of occurrence of /o/ in initial position is very low. We have found only one example of its occurrence in initial position, in a loan word.

4. /i/, /u/, and /o/ have two allophones each, [i]-[ĩ]; [u]-[ũ] and [o]-[õ], which are qualitatively and quantitatively different from each other, depending on the environment in which they occur, according to the phonotactic rules of the language.

5. /w/ is in free variation with /o/ in intervocalic and final positions, but perceptually they can be distinguished. Examples:

	<u>Initial</u>		<u>Medial</u>		<u>Final</u>	
/i/	itə	'to grind'	rix	'anger'	gəlli	'cheeks'
	ise	'to sleep'	nilu	'blue'	ti	'water'
	ija	'mother'	kili	'iron-nail'	di	'elder sister'
/e/	--	--	dexə	'earth'	gayəre	'night'
	--	--	dherə	'door'	biye	'seed'
	--	--	kheti	'crops'	turke	'six'
/ɛ/	--	--	gedi	'field'	mhē	'fire'
	--	--	bəreh	'year'	kəne	'husk'
	--	--	neko	'to say'	ge	'possessive marker'
/ə/	əhəi	'yes'	nəŋ	'you (sg)'	giddə	'neck'
	əb	'now'	səŋ	'sickle'	baDə	'wall'
	əi	'what'	phəri	'manure'	jinnə	'moonlight'
/a/	agax	'heaven'	palo	'dew'	jəura	'rope'
	ahə-ghəi	'to believe'	kəhe	'barley'	na	'I (1sg pronoun)'
/u/	urəu-wə	'to fly'	rhuŋ	'bright light'	xu	'who'
	upasyo	'fast'	bhuDə	'bush'	əəgu	'high'
	ugaro	'mastication'	ruwa	'cotten'	jippu	'yak'
/o/	okhədi	'medicine'	konu	'soft'	jəTho	'stick'
	soŋ	'light in weight'			dexo	'sky'
	noŋ	'new'	guDo	'axe'		

2.1.3 Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are discussed intramorphemically but intersyllabically. There are no intrasyllabic clusters except where /y/ is the second element. Clusters taking place at inter-morpheme boundaries are not taken into consideration. Two or more morphemes may form a word in which the meaning of one of the morphemes may not be available, but they are still considered to be separate morphemes.

Clusters are divided into four types: (1) geminates, (2) homorganic nasal plus oral consonant cluster, (3) dissimilar consonant clusters, and (4) consonant plus semi-vowel clusters. Separate lists of all these types are given below:

2.1.3.1 Geminates

/pp/	xəpəppə	'python'	jippa	'yak'
/bb/	bəbbər	'flat surface'	Dubbya	'to drown' (intr)
/tt/	bhəttə	'cooked rice'	ləttə	'cloth'
/dd/	giddə	'vulture'	addu	'ginger'
/TT/	poTTu	'intestines'	phaTTua	'splitted'
/TTh/	əTTə	'eight'	DəTTəla	'alone'
/DD/	gəDDə	'river'	maDDo	'to rub (imperative)'
/cc/	nicco	'low'	cucca	'breasts'
/jj/	bhəjja	'brother's son'	bhəjjē	'brother's daughter'

/kk/	likkyɛ	'egg of louse'	muTikkə	'fist'
/kkh/	cakkho	'taste (imperative)'	bhukkho	'hungry'
/gg/	rəggu	'high, hight'	ləggya	'bread'
/mm/	jəmma	'all'	məmma	'maternal uncle'
/nn/	junnə	'moon'	mənnyo	'agree'
/ss/	kəNessi	'scorpion'	māssi	'porcupine'
/ll/	gəlli	'cheeks'	khəllə	'skin'

2.1.3.2 Homorganic nasal clusters

/mb/	jambi	'jaw'	kəmbər	'waist'
/nt/	ginta	'before'		
/nd/	əndher	'large'		
/NT/	ghəNTə	'bell'		
/ND/	phəNDə	'ribs'		
/nc/	məncə	'person'		
/nch/	mənch	'iris of eye'		
/nj/	bhənjə	'sister's son'		
/nk/	chiŋkya	'sneeze'		
/ŋ/	jəŋga	'thigh'		

2.1.3.3 Dissimilar consonant clusters

/pk/	cipkao	'stick the bill'	/md/	səmdi	'son's wife's father'
/Tl/	bəTla	'rolled up'	/Db/	həDbi	'quickly'
/jm/	rajma	'long beans'	/ks/	dəksiNə	'south'
/kr/	mukrya	'hammer'	/khr/	əkhrəT	'walnut'
/st/	xəsto	'cheap'	/hT/	cehTa	'after'
/hr/	mohri	'window'	/hl/	mohləŋ	'pestle'
/ŋr/	xəŋru	'narrow'	/ŋl/	phəŋlo	'waterpot'
/rph/	sirphə	'only'	/rt/	dharti	'earth'
/rk/	cirkənti	'ant'	/rg/	murga	'cock'
/rm/	xərmāu	'to feel shy'	/lb/	phulbər	'aluminium'
/lk/	cilkunti	'mole'	/ls/	silsya	'bed bug'

2.1.3.4 Consonant plus semi-vowel clusters

/by/	byawli	'bride'	/ty/	tyohar	'festival'
/dhy/	dhyuŋ	'day'	/thy/	thyu	'sweet'
/Ty/	philiTya	'guts'	/Dy/	ciuDya	'lips'
/cy/	cyuTTi	'lastly'	/jy/	gəjyə	'animal'
/ky/	phəkyor	'echo'	/khy/	khyopo	'to shrink'
/sy/	sya	'flesh'	/ny/	bhəinya	'younger sister'
/ry/	gəryuə	'vulture'	/ly/	mulya	'liver'

2.1.4 Vowel sequences

Vowel sequences are also treated as actual sequences within a morpheme. Inter-morpheme vowel sequences are not treated as sequences, just as with the consonant clusters. It is because of this reason that the sequences are found to be less in number in the list given below. The vowel sequences are mostly found in medial and final position.

/əi/	əi	'this'	/āu/	āuTha	'chin'
/āo/	āoDya	'goose berry'	/əi/	bhāisi	'buffalo'
/əu/	jəura	'rope'	/əu/	dhəu	'big'
/əo/	nəoni	'butter'	/ai/	dainu	'right side'
/āi/	māiju	'mother's brother's wife'	/ai/	khurai	'molar teeth'
/āi/	kāij	'mother's younger sister'	/au/	pau	'one fourth'
/ao/	nao	'hut'	/ie/	piero	'yellow'
/eu/	deurə	'husband's younger brother'	/ia/	hādiari	'regularly'
/εo/	teo	'hotplate'	/uī/	cuīca	'small'
/iu/	ciudya	'lips'	/ua/	rua	'cotton'
/iu/	thiu	'sweet'	/ua/	duar	'door leaf'
/oa/	boa	'bird'	/oi/	jigoi	'breakable'
/iə/	ghiəŋ	'refined butter'	/oi/	khoina	'to untie'
/ui/	xui	'needle'	/ūa/	hūa	'to have'

Three vowel clusters:

/iua/	xəkkiua	'end'	/īua/	rəNīua	'widower'
/əia/	gurəia	'kidney'	/əua/	kəTəua	'bowl'
/uia/	huia	'whirl wind'	/uai/	huai	'that lady'
/ūai/	jūai	'daughter's husband'	/ioə/	sioəŋ	'horn'

2.2 Syllable structure

The syllable in Raji can be V, VV, VC, CV, CVV, CVVV, CCV, CVC, or CVVC. That is, it can consist of a single vowel, as in the case of /i-/ in /i-ja/ 'indicative prefix plus mother', two vowels, as in /əi/ 'this', /ai/ 'he', a vowel and a consonant, as in /əb/ 'now', a consonant and a vowel, as in /na/ '1st. singular pronoun', /xu/ 'who', a consonant plus diphthong, as in /rua/ 'cotton', a consonant plus triphthong, as in /jūai/ 'daughter's husband', a consonant plus /-y-/ plus vowel, as in /thyu/ 'sweet', a consonant-vowel-consonant sequence, as in /rix/ 'anger', or a consonant-diphthong-consonant sequence, as in /duar/ 'door leaf'.

3.0 Grammar

3.1 The noun and noun phrase

The noun in Raji, like in many other languages, can take a case marker or a postposition, plural or dual marker, gender marker, or an emphatic marker. Raji, though a Tibeto-Burman language, has very much been influenced by Indo-Aryan, especially the Hindi language, and follows most Hindi grammatical rules. Most of its vocabulary is borrowed from Hindi or Kumaoni, the dominant languages of the area, e.g.:

gloss	Raji	Hindi
'bone'	haDəŋ	haD
'refined butter'	ghiəŋ	ghi
'sneeze'	chiŋkya	chīk
'tooth'	darə	daRh
'waist'	kəmbər	kəmər
'star'	tara	tara
'day'	dhyuŋ	dIwəs
'flower'	phuləŋ	phul

The structure of the noun phrase consists of the following hierarchy:

Demonstrative + modifier(s) + noun + plural + case				
əi-la	həpurə	laŋge	Tokenya	geda-la-khanəi
this-pl	thin	tall	black	boy-pl-BEN
'for these thin, tall, black boys'				

In the above construction plural markers and several adjectives are given to show a possible noun phrase construction, but it is also possible to just have the head noun and the case marker, e.g.:

geda-di	miThai	gata
boy-ABL	sweets	take
'Take the sweets from the boys.'		

3.1.1 Gender

Gender in Raji is at the lexical level only and is not reflected in the verb, which means that there is no gender concord at the sentence level. Gender in this language is the natural one found in animates. It is difficult to form rules to derive a feminine form from a masculine and vice-versa, except that the /-o/ and /-a/ final masculine forms in most cases become feminine by replacing /-o/, /-a/ with /-i/, a Hindi feminine marker, mainly in loan words, as in the first set of examples below. This is not true of the second set:

byawlo	'groom'	byawli	'bride'
sala	'wife's younger brother'	sali	'wife's younger sister'
ghoDa	'horse'	ghoDi	'mare'
da	'elder brother'	di	'elder sister'
murga	'cock'	murgi	'hen'
gadhā	'donkey'	gadhī	'she donkey'
maTa	'male/female monkey'	*maTi is not acceptable	
bheD	'male/female sheep'	--	
bəkka	'male/female goat'	bəkki (female, very rare)	
syari	'male/female fox'	--	

Hence, we can not form any absolute rule even for the /-o/ and /-a/ final masculine forms. In addition to the above feminine formation pattern we have separate words for masculine and feminine referents. Some of the words are given below for illustration:

ba	'father'	ija	'mother'
pəya	'son'	garō	'daughter'
giro	'husband'	mete	'wife'
bhuli	'younger brother'	bhəinya	'younger sister'
buari	'younger brother's wife'	jūāi	'younger sister's husband'
geda	'boy'	garō	'girl'
geda jia hī	'(The) boy goes.'	garō jia hī	'(The) girl goes.'
ba jaku ja rē	'Father eats (the) food.'	ija jaku ja rē	'Mother eats (the) food.'

3.1.2 Number

Raji nouns which represent animate referents can reflect three numbers, i.e. singular, dual and plural, though the marking of number is optional. The dual number is found when specifying only two persons but in normal cases the dual and plural are not strictly differentiated. The dual suffix is /-nhi-mi/, which means 'two people'. One of the informants gave different forms for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons, especially for pronouns (these are given in the list of pronouns), but they were not confirmed in the speech of most of the other informants. The plural suffixes are [-jəm̩ma ~ -jəmm̩əl] and /-la/. In most cases the dual and plural numbers are both reflected by plural marking (/i/) on the verb.

garō jia hī	'(The) girl goes.'
garō nhimi jia-i hī	'Two girls go.'
garō jəmm̩əl jia-i hī	'(All) girls go.'

3.1.3 Pronouns

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

There are three persons reflected in the system of pronouns, i.e. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. The 1st person plural has two sub-categories, i.e. inclusive and exclusive of the addressee, though there is no such distinction in the dual. Neither the verb nor the verbal marker decline in terms of the inclusive vs. exclusive, but they decline with respect to the singular and plural. A table of the personal pronouns is given below:

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st Excl.	na	naji/nhimi	nani
Incl.			nani -jəmməl
2nd	nəŋ	nəŋ-ni/-nhimi	nəni-jəmməl
3rd	ai	ai-nhimi	əhəi/ai-jəmməl

3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are divided into two types, proximate and non-proximate, the latter being used for the 3rd person pronoun, i.e. /ai/. The non-proximate are further subdivided into two types, i.e. visible and non-visible. The visible demonstrative takes a prefix /xu-/ to indicate that it is in front of the speaker and is visible to him. The suffix /-la/ is the plural marker and the suffix /-ya/ is the locative marker. Demonstrative pronouns also function as demonstrative adjectives when they appear before a noun. Some examples are given below for illustration:

Proximate

əi	'this, it'	əi geda	'this boy'
əila	'these'	əila geda	'these boys'
əiya	'here'		

Non-proximate

ai	'that'	ai geda	'that boy'
aila	'those'	aila mā garō	'those girls'
aiya	'there'		
xuai	'that' (in front of, visible)		
xuaila	'those' (in front of, visible)		

3.1.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

The base form or the root for interrogative pronouns is /x-/ or /xu-/, as in Darma, Chaudangsi and many other TB languages. Raji attests [həŋ ~ hā] 'what', and /gu-/ 'which', different from Darma and Chaudangsi.

xu	'who'	xuəi	'by whom'	xukə	'whose'
həŋ ~ hā	'what'	guna	'which'	kixūa	'why'
guhā	'where'				

xu hī	'Who is (there)?'
xu bə u	'Whom (shall I) give it to?'
əi hā hī	'What is this?'
nəŋ xukə pəyao ci hī	'Whose child are you?'
nəŋ nao guna hī	'Which is your house?'
nəŋ həŋ kam jei re	'What work do you do?'

/həŋ/ is reduplicated if the question involves plurals, e.g.:

nəni-kɛ	godɪ	naya	həŋ həŋ	kheti	hī	re
you(pl)-GEN	field	inside	INTERROGATIVE	crops	grow	PRESENT

'What crops do you grow in your field?'

3.1.3.4 Emphatic possessive pronouns

The emphatic possessive pronouns /pənkə/ (sg) and /pənkəl/ (pl) are borrowed from Hindi (Hindi, *apna*, Kumaoni, *apanka*). They follow the subject and precede the object, e.g.

na pənkə jaku ja re	'I eat (eating) my food.'
nani pənkəl jaku jai re	'We eat (eating) our food.'
nəŋ pənkə jaku ja re	'You eat (eating) your food.'
nəni pənkəl jaku jai re	'You (pl.) eat (eating) your food.'
geda pənkəl jaku jai re	'Boys eat their food.'

3.1.4 Case suffixes

Raji has six cases which take different markers. Nominative and accusative generally have zero marking, though the Nominative can take the agentive marker /-yẽ/ to clarify the agent of the action. The instrumental suffix is used to mark a causing agent in the causative construction (see §3.2.4, below).

Nominative: zero

geda	jia	hī
boy	go	PRESENT

'(The) boy goes.'

na	ti	tituŋ	hī
I	water	drink	PRESENT

'I drink water.'

reecho	pithoragarh-ya	ka	hūa	re
personal.name	place.name-LOC	move	be	PRESENT

'Rekha has gone to Pithoragarh.'

Agentive: /-yẽ/

na-yẽ	ija-khənəi	dudhəŋ	bi-te	hūa	re
I-AGT	mother-BEN	milk	move-COMPL	be	PRESENT

'I have brought milk for my mother.'

Accusative/Dative: zero

mīThai	geda	be
sweet	boy	give

'Give (the) sweet to (the) boy.'

ghaxə	goru	haiTɛ
grass	cow	feed

'Feed (the) grass to (the) cow.'

əi	paTa	garō	be
this	cloth	girl	give

'Give this saree to (the) girl.'

Allative: /bɛ/

ai	nao-bɛ	hā	jiə
he	house-ALL	NEG	go

'He did not go home.'

Instrumental: [-əi ~ -kəi ~ gəi]

The instrumental marker has the form [-əi] when the noun which takes it has a final consonant, and [-kəi ~ gəi] when the noun ends with a vowel.

goD-əi	kaThəŋ	katiu	rɛ
axe-INST	wood	cut	PRESENT

'(He) cuts (the) wood with (the) axe.'

garō	sabun-əi	lətta	cipe	rɛ
girl	soap-INST	cloth	wash	PRESENT

'(The) girl washes (the) cloth with soap.'

nəŋ	kələm-əi	likkyo
you	pen-INST	write+imperative

'You write with (a) pen.'

geda	ti-kəi	khuDDo	hā	rɛ
boy	water-INST	play	continue	PRESENT

'The boy is playing with water.'

Benefactive: /-khanəi/

na-yē	pənikə	metə-khənəi	paTa	bi-te	hūa	rɛ
I-AGT	self	wife-BEN	cloth	move-COMPL	be	PRESENT

'I have brought (a) saree for my wife.'

ram	geda-khənəi	mīThai	bi-te	hūa	rɛ
personal.name	boy-BEN	sweet	move-COMPL	be	PRESENT

'Ram has brought sweets for (the) boys.'

Ablative: /-di/

na	dilli-di	bi	hūa	rɛ
I	Delhi-ABL	move	be	PRESENT

'I have come from Delhi.'

siŋ-di	siŋkə	whao	jhəɾəu	rɛ
tree-ABL	leaf	separate	fall	PRESENT

'A leaf falls from the tree.'

sita	goDi-di	bi	hūa	rɛ
personal.name	fields-ABL	move	be	PRESENT

'Sita has come from (the) fields.'

Genitive: /-kə/

əi	syamu-kə	nao	hī
this	personal.name-GEN	house	COP

'This is Syamu's house.'

bheDa-kə	unnaō	kaTTō	bəi
sheep-GEN	wool	cut	HORTATIVE

'Let us cut the wool of the sheep.'

nao-kə	pakhao	xudari	bəi
house-GEN	roof	repair	HORTATIVE

'Let us repair (the) roof of (the) house.'

It has been found that 1st person singular pronouns do not take the genitive marker, but this is not true of other pronouns:

əi	na	garō	hī
this	I	girl	COP

'This is my daughter.'

xuai	na	nao	hī
that	I	house	COP

'That is my house.'

xuai	mā	nəŋ-kə	metə	hī
that	lady	you-GEN	wife	COP

'That lady is your wife.'

əi	nəche	ai-kə	ba	hī
this	man	he-GEN	father	COP

'This man is his father.'

Locative: [-ya ~ -yā]

mej-ya	kitab	tha	hai	e	rɛ
table-LOC	book	lie	PRESENT	ecliptic	PRESENT

'(The) book is lying on (the) table.'

khərah-yā	mhəi	luŋ	hā	rɛ
courtyard-LOC	fire	burn	continue	PRESENT

'(The) fire is burning in (the) courtyard.'

goru	nao-ya	lɛ	hūa
cow	house-LOC	emphatic	be

'(The) cow is in (the) house.'

3.1.5 Adjectives

Adjectives, which modify the noun, specifying their quality, quantity, time and place etc., occur before the noun in a construction. Some examples are given below:

<u>Adjective</u>	+	<u>Noun</u>	>	<u>Modified NP</u>	
nhikko	'good'	geda	'boy'	nhikkogeda	'good boy'
Theŋto	'dry'	siŋ	'wood'	Theŋtosin	'dry wood'
khəni	'empty'	phəŋlo	'pot'	khəni-phəŋlo	'empty pot'
moTiyami	'fat'	mi	'person'	moTiyami	'fat person'
jhikkəl	'many'	behe	'guava'	jhikkəlbehe	'many guavas'
gintako	'first'	garoŋ	'girl'	gintakogaroŋ	'first girl'
rukka	'last'	bərəh	'year'	rukkabərəh	'last year'
jibi	'next'	bərəh	'year'	jibibərəh	'next year'
ləŋka	'far away'	bhiTTa	'mountain'	ləŋkabhiTTa	'faraway mountain'
nəjika-lho	'near specific'	yoŋ	'path'	nəjika-lho yoŋ	'path nearby'

3.1.6 Numerals

Like many of its other words, Raji has borrowed most of the numerals from Hindi. In spite of these borrowings, we find an interesting admixture or convergence of Raji and Hindi numerals, especially in ordinals, fractionals and multiplicatives, which will be discussed in the following sections.

3.1.6.1 Cardinals

Raji has lost most of its cardinal numerals except for those from two to six, which are of Tibeto-Burman origin. The present researcher is not sure about the origin of the Raji numeral for 'one', since most of the cardinals are borrowed from Hindi and are internalized according to the phonotactic rules of Raji. We will simply list some of these numerals:

Dah	'one'	nhi	'two'
xuŋ	'three'	pari	'four'

pnā	'five'	turke	'six'
xətte	'seven' (Hindi)	əTThə	'eight' (Hindi)
nouε	'nine' (Hindi)	dəx	'ten' (Hindi)
gyara	'eleven' (Hindi)	bara	'twelve' (Hindi)
unis	'nineteen' (Hindi)	bis	'twenty' (Hindi)
nəbbe	'ninety' (Hindi)	ninanəbbe	'ninety nine' (Hindi)
xε	'hundred' (Hindi)		
Dah-həjar	'one thousand' (Hindi <i>həjar</i>)		

3.1.6.2 Ordinals

Ordinals take the suffix [-u ~ -o], except for 'third', which already ends in /-u/. This suffix has been borrowed from Hindi *-wa* and is added both to the native as well as to the borrowed numerals.

Raji	English	Hindi	
suruko	'1st'	suruka	'the begining one'
duxəro	'2nd'	dusra	
xu	'3rd'	tisra	
pariu	'4th'	cautha	
pnau	'5th'	pacwa	
turku	'6th'	chəTha	
xəttau	'7th'	satwā	
aTThau	'8th'	aThwā	
nəuo	'9th'	nəwā	
dəxa	'10th'	dəSwā	

3.1.6.3 Additives

Additives are formed by adding /-phera/ to the cardinals. This also is a Hindi loan word, but not an additive suffix in Hindi.

Dah-phera	'once'
nhi-phera	'twice'
xuŋ-phera	'thrice'

3.1.6.4 Multiplicatives

Multiplicatives are formed by adding /-bhag/ 'share', an erroneous loan from Hindi. Hindi *-bhag* means 'part'.

Dah-bhag	'one time' (literally 'one part')
nhi-bhag	'two times' (literally 'two parts')
xuŋ-bhag	'three times' (literally 'three parts')

3.1.6.5 Fractionals

Fractionals are also similarly formed by taking some parts of the fractionals from Hindi. The Hindi words used in the fractionals are as follows.

pa ~ pau	'one fourth'
ṣəwa	'one and one fourth' (Raji changes the Hindi ṣ to x)
ṣaRhe	'half' (generally added to numerals above three)
nəi	'not'

Some of the fractionals used in Raji are given below:

pryū-bhag	'fourth part'
adda	'half' (Hindi <i>adha</i>)
xu-bhag	'three fourths'
xawayə	'one and one fourth' (Hindi <i>ṣəwa</i>)
Dhiy	'one and a half' (Hindi <i>DeDh</i>)
paunəinhi	'one fourth not two', i.e.- 'one and three fourths'
ha wai nhi	'two and one fourth'
dhai	'two and a half' (Hindi)
pau nəi xu	'two and three fourths'

3.2 The verb and verb phrase

Verb forms in Raji are mostly borrowed from Indo-Aryan, especially from Hindi or Kumaoni. A small number of verbs in this language are of Tibeto-Burman origin, such as /luŋ/ 'to burn', /ja/ 'to eat', /ha/ 'to speak or open mouth', /sin/ 'to ripen', /hoŋ/ 'to hold, catch', /lau/ 'come', /mənɫə/ 'buy', /mhutə/ 'blow', /hai/ 'bind', etc. The verb form mostly remains unchanged when it enters into a construction.

The verb complex consists of a verb, which might be followed by another verb (which may be an auxiliary verb or marker of mood), a person marker (only 2nd person is marked, and only in intransitives) or a number marker (only plural is marked and the same marker, /-i/, is used for all persons), aspect marker, and tense marker. The number marking may follow the aspect marker rather than the main verb. In negative sentences the negative particle precedes the verb.

(NEG) + Verb + (Verb) + (aspect) + tense
 (person) (person)
 (number) (number)

Examples:

na ruggə hī	'I go (leave).'
na hā ruggə hī	'I do not go.'
na ruggə hā re	'I am going (leaving).'
nani ruggə hā-i re	'We are going.'
na hā ruggə hā re	'I am not going.'
na ruggə xuccu hā re	'I want to go.'
nəŋ ruggə ci hī	'You go.'

The following markers occur in the verb phrase in different types of constructions:

-i	plural
-o	imperative
ci	2nd person marker (in intransitive present and past perfect)
cukk-	past perfect (Hindi loan)
hā	progressive, negative (homophonous)
hī	copula; intransitive present
hε	simple past (for plural subject)
həkko	ability
ri	future
rε	transitive present
si	plural marker in past and future perfect and progressive aspects
sya ~ syā	2nd person marker (in progressive aspect)
tah ~ dha	prohibitive
tε	completive
torya	present perfect (singular subject)
toryε	present perfect (plural subject)
zero	simple past (for singular subject); imperative

3.2.1 Tense

Raji has 3 tenses, present, past, and future.

3.2.1.1 Present tense: /hī/, [rε ~ lε]

There are two markers of present tense, i.e. /hī/, and [rε ~ lε]. The marker /hī/ is actually the equative copula, and occurs when there is no direct object involved in the construction. The marker [rε ~ lε] occurs when there is a direct object in the construction.¹¹⁾ In intransitive clauses with a second person singular actor, the form /ci/ appears before /hī/. With plural subjects in transitive clauses, the verb root generally takes the suffix /-i/ in all persons and all tense/aspect combinations, especially when the vowel of the verb is an open vowel. In the following example, of /ise/ 'sleep', the plural marking does not appear.

/hī/	
na ise hī	'I sleep.'
nani nhimi ise hī	'We two sleep.'
nani ise hī	'We (plural exclusive) sleep.'
nani jəmməl ise hī	'We (inclusive plural) sleep.'
nəŋ ise ci hī	'You (singular) sleep.'
nəni jəmməl ise ci hī	'You (plural) sleep.'
ai ise hī	'He sleeps.'
əhəi ise hī	'They sleep.'
na ja hī	'I eat.'
nəŋ ja ci hī	'You eat.'
ai ja hī	'He eats.'

/rɛ/	
na jaku ja rɛ	'I eat food.'
nani jaku ja-i rɛ	'We eat food.'
nəŋ jaku ja rɛ	'You eat food.'
nəni jaku ja-i rɛ	'You (plural) eat food.'
ai jaku ja rɛ	'He eats food.'
əhəi jaku ja-i rɛ	'They eat food.'

3.2.1.2 Past tense: zero, /hɛ/

The past tense is unmarked with singular subjects, whereas /hɛ/ occurs mostly with plural subjects.

na jaku ja	'I ate food.'
nani jaku ja-i hɛ	'We ate food.'
nəŋ jaku ja	'You (sg.) ate food.'
nəni jaku ja-i hɛ	'You (pl.) ate food.'
ai jaku ja hɛ	'He ate food.'
əhəi jaku ja-i hɛ	'They ate food.'

3.2.1.3. Future tense: /ri/

The future tense is denoted by /ri/, which comes at the end of the clause. There does not seem to be any derivational relationship between the present tense marker [rɛ] and the future marker /ri/.

na jaku ja ri	'I will eat food.'
nani jaku ja-i ri	'We will eat food.'
nəŋ jaku ja ri	'You (sg.) will eat food.'
nəni jaku ja-i ri	'You (pl.) will eat food.'
ai jaku ja ri	'He will eat food.'
əhəi jaku ja-i ri	'They will eat food.'

3.2.2 Aspect

Three main aspects found in the language are discussed below with examples.

3.2.2.1 Perfect: /təry-/ , /cukk-/

The perfect aspect appears in all three tenses. The main perfect marker for all the tenses is [tərya] for singular subjects and [təryɛ] (possibly < tərya-i) for plurals. This is followed by the normal intransitive present tense marker. /cukk-/ (a Hindi perfect marker) can also be used, replacing /təry-/ in the present and past tenses. In the speech of some informants both /cukk-/ and /təry-/ are found to be used in the same sentence in the past tense, which means that both the indigenous and the loan perfect markers can be used simultaneously. The plural marker for

present perfect sentences involving /cukk-/ , /hɛ/, appears to be a loan from Hindi, e.g. Hindi auxiliary *he* (sg.) *hē* (pl.) for the verb 'to be'.

Present perfect:

na ja tɔrya hī	OR	
na ja cukko		'I have eaten.'
nani ja tɔrye hī	OR	
nani ja cukko hɛ		'We have eaten.'

Past perfect:

na ja cukkua		
na ja tɔrya hī		
na ja cukku-tɔrya		'I had eaten.'
nani ja cukkua si		
nani ja tɔrye si		
nani ja cukku-tɔrye si		'We had eaten.'
nəŋ ja cukku ci hī		
nəŋ ja tɔrya ci hī		
nəŋ ja cukku-tɔrya ci hī		'You (sg.) had eaten.'

Future perfect: In the future tense /tɔry-/ is always followed by /hī/ (copula) for singular subjects and /sihī/ (plural + copula) for plural subjects. /ri/, the future tense marker, occurs at the end of the sentence.

na ja tɔrya hī ri	'I will have eaten.'
nani ja tɔrye si hī ri	'We will have eaten.'
nəŋ ja tɔrya syā hī ri	'You will have eaten.'
nəni ja tɔrye si hī ri	'You (pl.) will have eaten.'
ai ja tɔrya hī ri	'He will have eaten.'
əhəi ja tɔrye si hī ri	'They will have eaten.'

3.2.2.2 Progressive: /hā/, /sā/

The progressive marker for 1st and 3rd persons is /hā/, which is homophonous with the negative marker /hā/, and for the 2nd person it is /syā/. The progressive marker always follows the main verb and precedes the plural marker and the tense markers, /rɛ/ for present, zero (singular actor) or /si/ (plural actor) for past, and /hī/ (singular actor) or /si/ (plural actor) plus /ri/ in the future tense.

Present:

na ruggə hā rɛ	'I am going (leaving).'
nani ruggə hā-i rɛ	'We are going.'
nəŋ ruggə syā rɛ	'You (sg.) are going.'
nəni ruggə syā-i rɛ	'You (pl.) are going.'
ai ruggə hā rɛ	'He is going.'
əhəi ruggə hā-i rɛ	'They are going.'

Past:

na ruggə hā	'I was going.'
nani ruggə hā-i si	'We were going.'
nəŋ ruggə syā	'You (sg.) were going.'
nəni ruggə syā-i si	'You(pl.) were going.'
ai ruggə hā	'He was going.'
əhəi ruggə hā-i si	'They were going.'

Future:

na ruggə hā hī ri	'I will be going.'
nani ruggə hā si hī ri	'We will be going.'
nəŋ ruggə syā hī ri	'You (sg.) will be going.'
nəni ruggə syā si hī ri	'You (pl.) will be going.'
ai ruggə hā hī ri	'He will be going.'
əhəi ruggə hā si hī ri	'They will be going.'

3.2.2.3 Habitual: /babbər/

The habitual is expressed by a lexeme, /babbər/, which is a loan adapted from Hindi *bārabār* or *bārobār* 'habitually', preceded by the subject and followed by the object. The progressive marker /hā/ is always used in the predicate to show the continuity of the action.

mohən	babbər	na	nao-ya	lau	hā	rē
personal.name	habitually	1st	house-LOC	come	PROGRESSIVE	PRESENT
'Mohan habitually comes (is continuously coming) to my house.'						

geda	babbər	khuDDo	hā	rē
boy	habitually	play	PROGRESSIVE	PRESENT
'(The) boy habitually plays (is continuously playing).'				

garō	babbər	nacco	hā
girl	habitually	dance	PROGRESSIVE
'(The) girl habitually/used to dance/continues dancing.'			

3.2.3 Mood

Marking for the declarative, subjunctive and imperative, hortative, interrogative and other moods in Raji are described below:

3.2.3.1 Declarative: zero marking

na jia hī	'I go.'
mhē luŋ hā rē	'(The) fire is burning/hot.'
dihu purub yā tun le	'(The) sun rises in the East.'
bhīTTa pəilodi le hoŋdəl hī	'(The) mountains stand forever.'
gaDDa pəilodi le bəgghyā rē	'(The) river flows forever.'

3.2.3.2 Subjunctive (Conditional): /əgər/ ... -tə/

This mood is expressed by the conditional lexeme /əgər/, a loan from Hindi, which optionally comes at the beginning of the sentence, and the suffix /-tə/, which comes at the end of the dependent clause. The suffix /-tə/ also appears to be a form adapted from Hindi, in this case of /to/, a subjunctive clause terminal.

əgər	tənkha	dha	ri	tə ...
if	salary	get	FUT	COND
'If (I) get the salary, ...'				

nhikko	hī	ri	tə	geda	khuDDo	ri
good	COP	FUT	COND	boy	play	FUT
'If the boy recovers he will play.'						

3.2.3.3 Imperative: zero, /-o/

The imperative suffix also appears to have been borrowed from Hindi. The suffix /-o/ occurs when the verb stem ends in a consonant, and zero occurs when it ends in a vowel.

phuŋlo-ya ti bhər-o	'Fill the vessel with water.'
ti hē la	'Bring water (emphatic /hē/, /la/ 'come').'
nəŋ nao-ya ghē	'You go to the house.'
hōinā dhā dābbo	'Do not see dreams.'

3.2.3.4 Hortative: /bəi/

bheDa-kə	unnaō	kaTTo	bəi
sheep-GEN	wool	cut	HORTATIVE
'Let us cut the wool of the sheep.'			
nao-kə	pakhao	xudari	bəi
house-GEN	roof	repair	HORTATIVE
'Let us repair (the) roof of (the) house.'			

3.2.3.5 Interrogative: /həŋ/

The system of interrogation in the language is almost the same as in Hindi. The interrogative marker, which has the same form as the pronoun for 'what', occurs at the beginning of the sentence, e.g.:

həŋ	nəŋ	kam	jhei	re
INTERROGATIVE	you(sg)	work	do	PRESENT
'Do you work?'				

həŋ	nəŋ	bəba	paixa	jia	bau	rɛ
INTERROGATIVE	you(sg)	father	money	go	give	PRESENT
'Do you give money to your father?'						

həŋ	nəŋ	hədiari	ci	lhu	rɛ
INTERROGATIVE	you(sg)	daily	go	bathe	PRESENT
'Do you take a bath daily?'					

3.2.3.6 Other mood markers:

/həkko/	'ability marker'
na kam ghəi həkko rɛ	'I can work.' Literally: 'I can do work.'
ai pəDao həkko rɛ	'He can read.'
syam nao-bɛ ga həkko rɛ	'Syam can go to (the) house.'

/xuccu/	'want, desire'
na ruggə xuccu hā	'I want to go.'
garō nacco xuccu hā	'(The) girl wants to dance.'
ai isekɛ xuccu hā	'He wants to sleep.'

/cai-/	'should, must'
nəni jaku ja caiyo rɛ	'You (pl.) should/must eat food.'
ai əbɛ rugga caiyo rɛ	'Now he must go.'
na lhu caiyo rɛ	'I must take a bath.'

3.2.4 Causatives

Causatives are formed by suffixing the instrumental case marker to the NP representing the causer and prefixing [ha ~ hai] to the main verb, e.g.:

raja lhu rɛ	'The king takes a bath.'
daxai raja ha-lhu rɛ	'(The) slave bathes the king.'
geda bhəttə ja rɛ	'The boy eats rice.'
ijau-gəi geda bhəttə hai-tu rɛ	'Mother feeds rice to the boy.'
nokər kam khəi rɛ	'(The) servant works.'
mali-kəi nokarao kam ha-gəi-yu rɛ	'Master gets (the) work done by the servant' ¹²⁾

3.2.5 Negatives: /hā/ [tah ~ dhā]

Negatives in Raji can be divided into two subcategories, i.e. (1) negative and (2) prohibitive. The general negative marker is /hā/, whereas the prohibitive marker is [tah ~ dhā]. Both the negative and prohibitive markers precede the verb in a construction.

Negative: /hã/

na sya hã ja rɛ	'I do not eat meat.'
garõ sya hã ja-i rɛ	'Girls do not eat meat.'
golū nao-bɛ hã jia	'Golu did not go home.'
shiela hã nacco hī ri	'Shiela will not have danced.'

Prohibitive: [tah ~ dhã]

nəŋ tah khuDD-o	'You don't play.'
coru tah hoŋ ni	'Don't catch the thief.'
dudhəŋ dhã tituŋ-o	'Don't drink milk.'
kui dhã sya no	'Don't kill the dog.'

3.3 Adverbials

Adverbials generally precede the construction they modify, and sometimes take /na/ as a relational marker (also used in [gu-na] 'which'):

ai	babbər	bi	rələ	'Usually he comes.'
he	habitually	move	PRESCONT	

na	babbər	ja	rɛ	'I usually eat.'
I	habitually	eat	PRESENT	

jagita khəitəl ghe	'continue doing, continuously doing, do'
əttəl khəi	'Do (it) at once.'
həDbɛ khəi	'Do (it) quickly.'
cyuTTi-na hətə	'I killed hastily (quickly).'
gaDDə pəilodi lɛ bəgghyã rɛ	'(The) river flows forever.'
ai kxūā lau	'Why did he come?'
nəŋ guhã pi rələ	'Where are you going (moving)?'
gəu ga	'Where do (I) go?'

3.4 Conjunctions

A conjunction combines two or more words or clauses together to give the complete meaning of a construction. The following conjunctions of Raji are discussed below: /ləi/ 'and', /pər/ 'but', /haŋəiki/ 'because', /təp/ ~ /təb/ 'that is why, then'.

3.4.1 /ləi/ 'and'

/ləi/ follows each of the nouns which occur in the construction:

sita	ləi	gita	ləi	lhaiki	hã-i	rɛ
Sita	and	Gita	and	sing	PROGRESSIVE-pl.	PRESENT
'Sita and Gita are singing (a) song.'						

na ləi na bhəua ləi bəjar-ya ga hā-i rɛ
 I and I brother and market-LOC go PROGRESSIVE-pl PRESENT
 'My brother and I are going to market.'

3.4.2 /pər/ 'but'

na nao-bɛ ta gane pər kam āji hūa le
 I house-ALL though go but work unfinished be PRESENT
 'I (would) have gone home but the work has remained unfinished.'

dhansɪŋ ta nhikko lə hūa pər bhəua bimar hūa
 Dhan sɪŋh though good emphatic be but brother sick be
 'Dhan sɪŋh is alright but his brother is sick.'

3.4.3 /haŋəiki/ 'because'

na byar hā biye haŋəiki byar na bimar hī
 I yesterday NEG move because yesterday I sick COP
 'I did not come yesterday because I was sick.'

coru thuakke haŋəiki bahər Thəppə hī
 thief run.away because outside dark COP
 '(The) thief ran away because it was dark outside.'

3.4.4 [təp ~ təb] 'that is why'

manəŋ phandao hɛ təp ti hā hī yɛ
 forest destroy PAST that.is.why water not COP become
 'The forest got cut that is why it did not rain.'

na khuDDo hā təp nəni-ya hā bi həkko
 I play PROGRESSIVE that.is.why you(pl.)-LOC NEG move able
 'I was playing that is why I could not come to you.'

3.5 The relative clause

A relative clause is formed by adding [jo ~ joi] to the beginning of the dependent clause. The relative clause is a free-standing nominalized clause, giving a correlative structure similar to English *This is that boy, the one who came yesterday*, and may precede or follow the main clause in a complex sentence. Raji has borrowed the relative pronoun from Hindi, which is *jo* 'the one' or 'who'. The relative clauses are marked off in brackets in the following examples.

whəi əi lə ləDa hī [jo byar bi hūa]
 same he emphatic boy COP RELPRO yesterday move be
 'He is the same boy who came yesterday.'

əi whəi bəghol hī [jo bəkka ja]
 this same tiger COP RELPRO goat eat
 'This is the same tiger which ate the goat.'

[joi bəkka hə-te ha] ai lōDa rugga
 RELPRO goat kill-COMPL past that boy leave
 'The boy who killed the goat has left.'

3.6 Conditionals

One type of conditional sentence which takes the /tə/ marker in the dependent clause was discussed earlier under the subjunctive mood (2.2.3.2). The other type of conditional is formed with /jəb/, again a Hindi loan, which does not take any marker in the coordinate clause, e.g.

jəb nəŋ jibi ri na nao-ya lə hī ri
 when you come FUT I house-LOC emphatic COP FUT
 'When you come I will be at home.'

jəb ti hī ri goDi pari ri
 when rain COP FUT field sow FUT
 'When it rains we will sow the fields.'

Raji-English Glossary

- əb (IA)—now
 əhat—difficult
 əhəi—yes; 3pl. pronoun
 əi—this
 əi-jəmməl—whole
 əi-xai—this year
 əi-ya—there
 əiya—here
 əila—these
 əitana-cai—use (v.)
 əkhrot (IA)—walnut
 əmmā—father's mother; mother's
 mother
 əNDa (IA)—egg
 əndher—much
 əndher-ləŋka—far
 ərəgu—high
 əTTə (IA)—eight
 əttəl—at once
 əttəl-jhani—till now
 āguli (IA)—thumb
 āgulya (IA)—finger
 āoDya—gooseberry
 āsu (IA)—tears (of eyes)
 āuTha—chin
 a-həi-la—they (male)
 abəŋ—mango
 aDaĩŋ (IA)—two and a half
 adda (IA)—half
 addu (IA)—ginger
 agahə (IA)—above
 agaxə—heaven
 ahə-ghəi (IA-TB)—believe (v.)
 ai—he
 ai-la-kə—their
 ai-mā-la—they (female)
 aikə (TB-IA)—his, her
 ailə, ailə—same
 aji—again
 akero (IA)—costly
 alu (IA)—potato
 ap-khəitə—like that
 ba—father
 ba—male
 bā-bā-ghəi—bellow (v.)
 bāhō—chirp (v.)
 bāN (IA)—arrow
 bāŋgā (IA)—crooked
 bās (IA)—bamboo
 babbər—usually, habitually
 babbər-hāinə—flat
 baDə—wall
 bagho (IA)—lion
 bahəry (IA)—outside
 bakero—thick (liquid)
 bari bhag—quadruple
 bari—afraid of (to be)
 bati—son's son, daughter's son
 baTla—rolled
 baTulo—round
 baTy—prepare (v.)
 baxa—oil
 baxo (IA)—calf (of cow)
 bə ko—offer (v.)
 bə ryu—roll up
 bēcū—defense
 be—give
 bəco-bi(IA)—avoid (v.)
 behe—guava
 bigəuta—first milk
 bin-ti-khori—valley
 binti ghəi—pray (v.)
 birari (IA)—cat
 birān-sya—lizard (wild)
 bisəŋ—poison
 biye (IA)—seed

- biəna — large
 boji — elder brother's wife
 boli (IA) — language
 bos — bird
 buari — son's wife
 buari — younger brother's wife
 buba — wife's father, father's father,
 mother's father
 buDha (IA) — old
 bura — fish
 bura-hoŋ — catch (fish)
 byawli (IA) — bride
 byarko — evening
 byarə — yesterday
 byawlo (IA) — groom
 bæcən-phərakyor — echo
 bədel (IA) — change (v.), alter
 bəina — big
 bəina-hattə — loud
 bəkka — goat
 bəlyya — sand
 bəna (IA) — build (v.)
 bərəxə — year
 bæsti-hī — conceive (vi.)
 bətkaō ko — report (v.)
 bətkaō phərkao-ko — reply (v.)
 bətkaō-ghəi — talk (v.)
 bətək (IA) — duck
 bəxε — fat, grease
 bəyar (IA) — wind
 bəyar-hai bə — fan (v.)
 bha — ankle
 bha — foot
 bhāDela (IA) — utensils
 bhak — part
 bhala — leg
 bhāTa — Brinjal
 bhaw, nihaw — paw
 bheD (IA) — sheep
 bhitori (IA) — inside
 bhīTTa — mountain
 bhīTTy — meet (v.)
 bhucalo (IA) — earthquake
 bhuDə — bush
 bhujō — gourd
 bhukk (IA) — bark (v.)
 bhukəy — fly
 bhuli — wife's younger sister's husband
 bhull (IA) — forget (v.)
 bhuniya — pig/bore
 bhūT (IA) — burst (vt.)
 bhōisi (IA) — buffalo
 bhəgwan (IA) — God
 bhəgwan kəheja — take (oath, v.)
 bhəiñyā — husband's younger brother's
 wife; wife's brother's wife
 bhəjja (IA) — brother's son (younger or
 older)
 bhəjjē (IA) — brother's daughter
 (younger or older)
 bhəñjə (IA) — sister's son
 bhər (IA) — fill (liquid, v.)
 bhərəkyo-bi — return (v.)
 bhərətə — full
 bhəttə (IA) — rice (cooked)
 cabi (IA) — key
 caha (IA) — tea
 cai (IA) — need (v.)
 caiyo rε — want (v.)
 cakoi (IA) — chew (v.)
 cakur — stretch-self (v.)
 cala (IA) — drive (vehicle, etc.)
 cəhTa — after
 cəhTa — behind
 cəhTako — last
 ceta — after
 ci pε — wash (v.)
 ci-hāmē-ja — understand (v.)
 ci-laggu — sharp
 ci-mā — father's younger brother's wife
 cilkunti — mole
 ciləbəkya — flexible
 cipka (IA) — put up notice (v.)
 cipka (IA) — stitch (v.)

- cir (IA) — saw (v.)
 cirkenti — ant
 ciuDya — lips
 coD — throw (v.)
 comāx — rainy season
 cucca (IA) — breast
 cucca-gədaw — nipple
 culvani — hearth
 cuə-mhã — leak (v.)
 cyuTTi — lastly
 cəkāl — noon
 cəkk — cry (v.)
 cəkkh — taste (v.)
 cərə — graze (vi.)
 chahə (IA) — buttermilk
 chati (IA) — chest
 chi — urine
 chū — pound (v.)
 chəlla — bank of river
 dəbb — see (v.)
 dəbbu-hã — compare (v.)
 dəhəu — know (v.)
 dəi (IA) — curd
 dəi — today
 dəm (IA) — price
 dəu — dig
 dəxə (IA) — ten
 da (IA) — brother (older); husband's
 younger sister's husband; wife's
 elder sister's husband
 daD — beard
 dalo — fodder
 dəro — fang
 dəro — tooth
 daru — rice
 debuli — eye brow
 dəl — scythe
 deurə (IA) — husband's brother
 dexu — cloud
 dexə — earth
 di — husband's elder brother's wife
 dida-kidmala — insect
 dimag (IA) — brain
 dixua (IA) — appear (v.)
 donə — bulge (v.)
 duar — door-leaf
 dudhəŋ — milk
 dukəiya — father's elder brother;
 mother's elder sister's husband
 duxro (IA) — second
 duxuro — next
 duxuru (IA) — another/other
 dhera — door
 dherə-daro — incisors
 dhi-pəu — defeat (v.)
 dhitta — down
 dhitta — downwards
 dhittə — below
 dhokka-phəka — bless
 dhuli (IA) — ash
 dhuri-bāsi (IA) — beam
 dhyuŋ (IA) — day
 dhəda-xo — gums
 dhən (IA) — money
 dhənəs (IA) — bow
 dhər-bər — hesitate
 dhərmə (IA) — religion
 dhəssyo — unrolled
 dhəurva — gray
 dhəurya (IA) — white
 Da həjar (IA) — thousand
 Da/Dah — one
 Dadalya — pillar
 Dah phera — once
 Daha — hot
 Daha — pungent
 Dola — dirty
 Dola — foam
 Dubb (IA) — drown (v.)
 Duby (IA) — set (the sun, v.)
 Dumba — mushroom
 DəTTħəla — alone
 Dhīŋ — one and a half
 Dhəu — fall down (vi.)

- Dhəkk (IA)—cover (something)
 Dhəkk—collapse (person)
 Dhəkki (IA)—close (door, v.)
 gəd-bəddo—brown
 gədha (IA)—donkey
 gəDə—break (vi.)
 gəĩ-hā—look after (v.)
 gəiru (IA)—deep
 gəjjə/oəjji—animal
 gəll (IA)—melt (vi.)
 gəlli (IA)—cheeks
 gəruryə—kite
 gəu—where
 gāThi (IA)—knot
 ga-ni—father's sister's husband; elder
 sister's husband; husband's elder
 sister's husband
 gaDa—head
 gaDa—paddy
 gaDa—temple
 gal—melt (vt.)
 gara ghəi—node (v.)
 garō—daughter, girl
 gata—take (v.)
 geda—boy
 geda—child
 gedi—field
 giddə—neck
 gidha (IA)—vulture
 ginta—before
 gintako—first
 giro—husband
 goDi—ground
 goi—burst (vi.)
 guDo—axe
 gugəcca—frog
 guhe—see
 gui—crack
 guna—ear
 gurkau—fall down (vt.)
 guru—elbow
 gurəiya—kidney
 gurəŋ—molasses
 ghāT (IA)—bell
 ghall—send (v.)
 ghaxri—grass
 ghiəŋ—refined butter
 ghō-gor—drag
 ghoDi (IA)—horse (female)
 ghoDya (IA)—horse (male)
 ghoga—maize
 ghucc—push
 ghuDhi—dough
 ghulli—nest
 ghuməŋ—wheat
 ghəi-xak—able (to be)
 ghəməliha—hot season
 hə-bēcū—protect (v.)
 həba-ho—blow (flute, v.)
 həddba—divorce
 hədiaro—regularly
 həhuri—amuse (v.)
 həjje—low voice
 həjjə-həlaike-hā—hum (a tune, v.)
 həkya—finish (v.)
 həmaniyā—in front of
 həŋgəl-je (IA)—accompany (v.)
 həŋly—fasten (v.)
 hənn—cover (vt.)
 həŋə-le—morning
 həpar—strong (cloth)
 həpar-hĩ-tə—bravely
 həpta (IA)—week
 həpurə—thin (liquid)
 həriyo (IA)—green
 hərje—easy
 hət-yε—curse (v.)
 hətasi—saw
 hā-hā—no
 hā-hā-kəi—refuse (v.)
 hābəco—defend (v.)
 hāci-laggu—blunt
 hāga habə—forbid

- hākk—drive (cattle, v.)
 hāmōnn—deny (v.)
 hānū (IA)—beat (v.)
 ha-bēco—save (v.)
 ha-kə—palm
 ha-kəuya-pi—carry (hanging, v.)
 ha-ŋā—branch
 ha-sikko—teach (v.)
 hace—tear (v.)
 hacəṛə—graze (cattle, v.)
 haDbe—quickly
 haDbi—quick
 haDDo-rugga-hā—leave (v.)
 haDəŋ (IA)—bone
 hahū—rabbit
 hake—clutch
 hake—hand
 halhu—bathe (vi.)
 hamu—hair
 haninto—tight
 haniŋto—fresh
 hanu—pierce
 hanu—strike (v.)
 hao-hao lagua—yawn (v.)
 hapar—young
 har khai—obstruct (v.)
 haro—move (v.)
 hasik-ko (IA)—complain (v.)
 hatə—kill (v.)
 hawa—stir (v.)
 hero—log
 hila (IA)—shake (vt.)
 himar—ice
 himar-pəuwe—glacier
 ho syo—suck (v.)
 hoi ko—tether (cattle, v.)
 hoi—bind (v.)
 hoi—tie (v.)
 hoŋ—hold
 hoŋ—catch (v.)
 hū—burn (to, common)
 huā—have (v.)
 huai (mā)—she
 huccyo-ṛe—desire (v.)
 huiya—storm
 hyāku—knead (v.)
 hyākuli—throat
 hyək—grate (v.)
 ica-Dhuŋe—pebbles
 ija—mother
 iju buba—husband's father
 iju—husband's mother; husband's
 elder sister; wife's mother
 in-khəitə—like this
 itə—grate (to grind)
 jədao—root
 jəgarəi—weak (breakable)
 jəgiuta-khəitəl—continuously
 jəmməl (IA)—all
 jəmmən—feast
 jəŋga (IA)—thigh
 jəura—rope
 jəTho—stick
 ja—eat (v.)
 jaDəyo—deer
 jaiyu (IA)—cream
 jali (IA)—net
 jambi—jaw
 jeThan (IA)—husband's elder brother
 jeThu sali (IA)—wife's elder sister
 jeThu (IA)—wife's elder brother
 jia—go (v.)
 jibero—tongue
 jibi—next year
 jigutə—rough
 jijharo—priest
 jitibwa—win
 joDa (IA)—pair
 jok (IA)—leech
 jū—cold season
 jūai (IA)—daughter's husband; sister's
 son; younger sister's husband
 ju-ghai—cold (to feel)
 junnə—moon

- juppa—yak
 jhaD (IA)—sweep (v.)
 jhaīcāla—only
 jhī-yē—wet (to get)
 jhikkə—group
 jhikkəl—many
 jhuTi-hā-sya—lie (v.)
 jhəgəru-hī (IA)—attack (v.)
 jhər—awake (v.)
 jhər—drop (v.)
 kəbhəi-kəbhəi—often
 kəcar—dirt
 kəcar—mud
 kəi—bite (v.)
 kəiku—grate (teeth, v.)
 kəllə—tomorrow
 kəmbər—loin
 kəmbər—waist
 kəmjor, kəcua—weak (human)
 kəmo—shake (self, v.)
 kəNessi—scorpion
 kəpal (IA)—forehead
 kəpca—joints
 kətε-nā-vē—allow
 kəTəua (IA)—bowl
 kāī-ja—mother's younger sister
 kāxa (IA)—bell metal
 kaco—wet (clothes)
 kaco, həriyo—wet (wood)
 kaDə—break (vt.)
 kahe—barley
 kakhəlyā (IA)—armpit
 kakka—father's younger brother;
 mother's younger sister's husband
 kako—crow
 kaltə—sell (v.)
 kam khəi—work (v.)
 kammōhā—tremble (v.)
 kaNa (IA)—blind
 karəu wε—dry (vi.)
 karəu—dry (field/cloth)
 kaT-kano—thorn
 kaThəŋ—firewood
 kaTo (IA)—bull
 kaTT (IA)—cut (v.)
 kēci (IA)—scissors
 kera (IA)—banana
 kerə—weep (v.)
 kili—nail
 kilə—post (pillar)
 kināo—till what time
 kināo—when
 kiTi-ū-ā—pinch (v.)
 koNū (IA)—corner
 kotor—comb (v.)
 (orε)-ku—fill (grain, v.)
 kui—dog
 kule—cap
 kun—hear (v.)
 kur-xaini—chili
 kurai-daro—molar tooth
 kuru gucci—heel
 kuths-muThu—straw
 kha—bitter
 khality—ring
 khelle ko—swing (v.)
 khetti (IA)—crop
 khisə-nahū—unhappy
 khoi—open (knot, v.)
 khoTε—strong (human)
 khoTTa—hard
 khuDD—play (v.)
 khuri—stream
 khusə (IA)—happy
 khuTu-kəni—ladder
 (kaŋa) khə—close (eyes, v.)
 khəbε-ru—mouth
 khəccər (IA)—mule
 khəDya—mortar
 khəhaDyo—not smooth
 khəi—do (v.)
 khəi—open (door, v.)
 khəi-pi-yakə—carry (on back, v.)

- khəlka—rinse (v.)
 khəni—empty
 khəny—pour out
 ləga—wear-ornaments (v.)
 ləggya—bread
 ləig—arrive (v.)
 ləm-juŋ-yē—mosquito
 lətta (IA)—blanket
 lətta (IA)—cloth
 la—come (v.)
 lado—belly
 laDə hā—kiss (v.)
 lagog-bə—help (v.)
 laŋge—long/tall
 laŋgə-ləi—broad
 lekkh (IA)—write (v.)
 lesəni (IA)—garlic
 letta (IA)—creeper
 lhu-hā—bathe (vi.)
 likkya—louse egg
 lipp—plaster (v.)
 lisse—lac
 loh (IA)—iron
 loT—lay down (v.)
 loTai-huā—relax (v.)
 lotti—thread
 luŋ—burn (vi.)
 luŋ-harē—flame
 lupp—hide (v.)
 luppi-luppi—stealthily
 māina (IA)—month
 məñcə—person
 mənə (IA)—heart/mind
 mənə—buy (v.)
 məssi (IA)—coal
 mā—female
 mā-kəi-nə-ko—rebuke (v.)
 māhā—salt
 māhāk-ko pe-ci—accuse/backbite (v.)
 māi-ju—mother's mother's mother
 māssi—porcupine
 māxā—mouse
 machəli (IA)—calves
 maDD—rub (v.)
 maDDo-bəi—oil (v.)
 mago—cobra
 mal-mittər-hī—relatives
 mammā—mother's brother (elder or
 younger)
 man—obey (v.)
 manəŋ—forest
 mar-te—divide (v.)
 mara—hunt (v.)
 mara—search (v.)
 maTa—monkey
 maTTo-hā—jump (v.)
 mete—wife (address)
 mohləŋ—pastle
 mohri (IA)—window
 moŋ-we—honey
 mor (IA)—peacock
 moTiya (IA)—fat
 mukreya—hammer
 mulya—liver
 murga—cock
 muTika—fist
 mhē—fire
 mhike—eye
 mhike-hanu—eye lashes
 mhūtə—light-fire (v.), burn (vt.)
 mhəŋ—face
 nəjik (IA)—near
 nəjikəlhō—near
 nəŋ—you (sg.)
 nəŋ-ge—your (sg.)
 nənce-pətə-ri—hate (v.)
 nəndə (IA)—husband's younger sister
 nəni—you (pl.)
 nəni-la-ke—your (pl.)
 nəoni (IA)—butter
 nərək (IA)—hell
 na—I (1sg. pronoun)
 na-ā—my, mine

na-naokəhī — wife (ref)
 na-nikε — our
 nacc (IA) — dance (v.)
 naji — we two
 nako — food
 nali — heavy
 nam — name
 namyo tha — name (to give)
 nani ja lə — we (excl.)
 nani — we (incl.)
 nao — hut, house
 nap — measure (v.)
 narəŋgi — orange
 natini — son's daughter; daughter's
 daughter
 nekə — say (v.)
 nel — cover (self)
 neli — wear-clothes (v.)
 nicco (IA) — low
 nicory — wring (v.)
 ni-hapta (TB-IA) — fortnight
 nihəŋ — nail
 nilo (IA) — blue
 nok — invite (v.)
 nokə — call (v.)
 noŋ — new
 nouwə (IA) — nine
 nyoto banə — invite to feed (v.)
 nhī bhag (TB-IA) — double
 nhī — two
 nhī-yā — father's sister (younger or
 older)
 nhīmilə — couple
 nhīphera — twice
 nhikko — good
 nhikko many — love (v.)
 nhikkə-kun — listen (v.)
 nhily — swallow (v.)
 ohəDyā-hā — plank
 okhadi — medicine
 pəchāh — west
 pəD (IA) — read (v.)

pəglyu-wata — madly
 pəkha (IA) — feather
 pəriwaru (IA) — family
 pətera — braid
 pəTT — jump across (v.)
 pəu — attack (v.; by animal)
 pa ko — weave (v.)
 pāo — village
 pagə — headgear
 pak-rə — dry (vt.)
 pakha — roof
 palo — dew, frost
 palo ko — roast (v.)
 panikə khəi — occupy (v.)
 par — rear (v.)
 pari — four
 pari phera (TB-IA) — four times
 pariū (TB-IA) — fourth
 paryū bhag — one fourth
 pasin (IA) — boil/to cook
 pəTi — arm
 pato pəkə — winnow (v.)
 pau nāi nhī — one and 3 quarters
 pau nāi pari — three and 3 quarters
 pau nāi xū — two and 3 quarters
 paxoro — husk (v.)
 pero (IA) — yellow
 pi — carry (v.)
 piThu — flour
 pitə — bring (v.)
 pitələ (IA) — brass
 pŋā — five
 pŋāō — fifth
 po — dry (pond, etc.)
 pəTTu — intestines
 puchera — tail
 puhε — knee
 puhε-kε-mhīkəw — patella
 puja khəi — worship (v.)
 pujo-ko — sacrifice (v.)
 puran (IA) — old
 purəbə (IA) — east

- pute — navel
 puTTa — hips
 puTTi (IA) — back of body
 puTTi-haDəŋ (IA) — backbone
 pyaji — onion
 phām — memory
 phaik — beg (v.)
 phaNDə — ribs
 phapsu — lungs
 phelo — plate
 philiTiya — guts
 pho — climb
 phūgelu — jar, pot
 phulbər (IA) — aluminum
 phullu (IA) — bloom (v.)
 phuləŋ — flower
 phuTTa — buttocks
 phəDyaha (IA) — cot
 phəl (IA) — fruit
 phəŋlo — water-pot
 rəggu — height
 rəŋ (IA) — colour
 rəŋyā ko — paint (v.)
 rəŋyə (IA) — dye (v.)
 ra kə — quarrel (v.)
 ra pə — swim (v.)
 rajmā (IA) — bean
 rake-ji — collide (v.)
 raNiū (IA) — widow
 raNiūā (address) (IA) — widower
 rattai — morning
 rewja (IA) — custom
 rix (IA) — anger
 rokka-bərəxə — last year
 rop — plant (v.)
 rupiya (IA) — rupee
 ruwa (IA) — cotton
 rhu — climb down
 rhuŋ — bright (light)
 səkə-hī — stop (v.)
 səmdi — son's wife's father, daughter's
 hasband's father
 sala (IA) — wife's younger brother
 sali (IA) — wife's younger sister
 saphə (IA) — clean
 sek (IA) — brood (v.)
 selo — moss/swamp
 serə — extinguish (v.)
 sewə (IA) — apple
 si-gən — blow-nose (v.)
 sida hua rə — feel (v.)
 sidu — straight
 sile — scrub (v.)
 silkə — light (lamp)
 silo — loose
 silsya — bed-bug
 siŋ khəllaw (TB-IA) — bark of tree
 siŋ — tree/wood
 sina — nose
 sine — cook (v.)
 sinə — ripen (v.)
 sioəŋ — horn
 sirphə (IA) — only
 sirə — louse
 sive — death
 sive (TB) — die
 soŋ — light
 sura (IA) — beginning
 suru ko (IA) — first
 suru-ghəi (used as IA) — begin (v.)
 suyε — corpse
 sya — flesh
 sya — meat
 syaDi — fox
 syari — jackal
 təb (IA) — then
 təiyar (IA) — ready
 təlwari (IA) — sword
 təmaku (IA) — tobacco
 take — fight (v.)
 tallə — lake
 tambo (IA) — copper
 tany — increase (stretch)
 (mhəŋə)-tar — close (mouth, v.)

- taro lao ko—thresh (v.)
 taru—uvula
 tɛo—hot plate
 ti—rain
 ti—water
 to-lo—towards
 to-nɛko—pull out (v.)
 tonə—bring out (v.)
 tu—lift (v.)
 tu—pluck (v.)
 tuha-poT̄ha—chicken
 tuŋ—drink (v.)
 tyohar (IA)—festival
 tha-pi—carry (in hand, v.)
 tha—bring down (v.)
 tha—keep (v.)
 than—temple
 thepɛ—dark
 thi-u—sweet
 thokkulə—few/a few
 thukkəw (IA)—phlegm
 thuri—calf (of buffalo)
 thəpy—increase (v.)
 thətta—upwards
 Tāgy (IA)—hang (v.)
 Toka—bear (animal)
 Tolhəriya—red
 Theŋto—dry (wood)
 The—shallow
 ThəNDi-ua—cold (to get)
 ThəTTa—up
 Thəura—floor
 Thəura—place
 uDar—cave (natural)
 udhru—collapse (house; v.)
 uDə (IA)—fly (v.)
 ugha—cave (man made)
 ugha—hole
 ugha—nostrils
 ukhal—vomit
 ukhal-lyo—vomit (v.)
 upasy (IA)—fast (to observe)
- uttər (IA)—north
 whaiDola—bad
 xā-jibari—brave
 xāwaĩnhĩ—two and a quarter
 xakɛ lao—milch (v.)
 xattāō (IA)—seventh
 xax-ghə—breathe (v.)
 xaxɛ—breath
 xɛ (IA)—hundred
 xɛnə—hill, mountain
 xode—ask (v.)
 xoŋru—narrow
 xu—who
 xū bhag (TB IA)—three quarters
 xū bhag—triple
 xūŋ phera—thrice
 xūwāyə—one and a quarter
 xu-khəi—how
 xua—leaf
 xua—parrot
 xuāki-hā-hā—nearly
 xuai—that
 xuaila/-jəm̄ma—these
 xui—blood
 xui—needle
 xukə—cough (v.)
 xuŋ—three
 xunəŋ—gold
 xuru—lemon
 xutəDya—rotten
 xəjao-ko—castrate (v.)
 xəkkiua—end
 xəmicca khəi (IA)—consult (v.)
 xəŋ kya—suspect (v.)
 xərməu (IA)—ashamed of
 xəɾəppə—python
 xəsto (IA)—cheap
 xəttə (IA)—seven
 xəwa-di-lagg—enjoy (v.)
 xəwtɛ (IA)—co wife
 yoŋ—path

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- able (v.)—ghəi-xak
 above—agahə (IA)
 accompany (v.)—həŋgəl-je (IA)
 accuse/backbite (v.)—māhāk-ko pe-ci
 afraid of (v.)—bari
 after—cehTa
 after—ceta
 again—ajji
 all—jəmməl (IA)
 allow—kətə-nā-vē
 alone—DəTT həla
 aluminum—phulbər (IA)
 amuse (v.)—həhuri
 anger—rix (IA)
 animal—gəjjə/oəjji
 ankle—bha
 another/other—duxuru (JA)
 ant—cirkenti
 appear (v.)—dixua (IA)
 apple—sewə (IA)
 arm—paTi
 armpit—kakhəlyə (IA)
 arrive (v.)—ləig
 arrow—bāŋ (IA)
 ash—dhuli (IA)
 ashamed of (v.)—xərmau (IA)
 ask (v.)—xode
 at once—əttəl
 attack (v.)—jhəgəru-hī (IA)
 attack (v.; by animal)—pəu
 avoid (v.)—bəco-bi (IA)
 awake (v.)—jhər
 ax—guDo
 brother's daughter (younger or older)
 —bhəjjē (IA)
 brother's son (younger or older)
 —bhəjja (IA)
 back of body—puTTi (IA)
- backbone—puTTi-haDəŋ (IA)
 bad—whaiDola
 bamboo—bās (IA)
 banana—kera (IA)
 bank of river—chəlla
 bark (v.)—bhukk (IA)
 bark of tree—siŋ khəllaw (TB-IA)
 barley—kahe
 bathe (vi.)—halhu
 bathe (vi.)—lhu-hā
 beam—dhuri-bāsi (IA)
 bean—rajmā (Dordic)
 bear (animal)—Toka
 beard—daD
 beat (v.)—hānū (IA)
 bed-bug—silnya
 before—ginta
 beg (v.)—phaik
 begin (v.)—suru-ghəi (used as IA)
 beginning—sura (IA)
 behind—cehTa
 believe (v.)—ahə-ghəi (IA-TB)
 bell—ghāT (IA)
 bell metal—kāxa (IA)
 bellow (v.)—bā-bā-ghəi
 belly—lado
 below—dhittə
 big—bəina
 bind (v.)—hoi
 bird—bos
 bite (v.)—kəi
 bitter—kha
 blanket—lətta (IA)
 bless—dhokka-phəka
 blind—kaŋa (IA)
 blood—xui
 bloom (v.)—phullu (IA)
 blow (flute, v.)—həba-ho

- blow-nose (v.)—si-gən
 blue—nilo (IA)
 blunt—hāci-laggu
 boil/to cook—pasin (IA)
 bone—haDəŋ (IA)
 bow—dhənəs (IA)
 bowl—kəTəua (IA)
 boy—geda
 braid—pətera
 brain—dimag (Perso-Arabic)
 branch—ha-ŋā
 brass—pitələ (IA)
 brave—xā-jibari
 bravely—həpar-hī-tə
 bread—ləggya
 break (vi.)—gəDə
 break (vt.)—kaDə
 breast—cucca (IA)
 breath—xaxə
 breathe (v.)—xax-ghə
 bride—bvawli (IA)
 bright (light)—rhuŋ
 bring (v.)—pitə
 bring down (v.)—tha
 bring out (v.)—tonə
 brinjal—bhaTā
 brood—laŋgə-ləi
 brood (v.)—sek (IA)
 brother (older)—da (IA)
 brown—gəd-bəddo
 buffalo—bhāisi (IA)
 build (v.)—bəna (IA)
 bulge (v.)—donə
 bull—kāTə (IA)
 burn (vi.)—luŋ
 burn (v., common)—hū
 burn (vt.)—mhūte
 burst (vi.)—goi
 burst (vt.)—bhut (IA)
 bush—bhudə
 butter—nəoni (IA)
 buttermilk—chahə (IA)
 buttocks—phuTTha
 buy (v.)—mənle
 calf (of buffalo)—thuri
 calf (of cow)—baxo (IA)
 call (v.)—nokə
 calves—machəli (IA)
 cap—kulə
 carry (hanging, v.)—ha-kəuya-pi
 carry (in hand, v.)—tha-pi
 carry (on back, v.)—khəi-pi-yakə
 carry (v.)—pi
 castrate (v.)—xəjao-ko
 cat—birari (IA)
 catch (fish)—bura-hoŋ
 catch (v.)—hoŋ
 cave (man made)—ugha
 cave (natural)—uDar
 change (v.), alter—bədel (IA)
 cheap—xəsto (IA)
 cheeks—gəlli (IA)
 chest—chatī (IA)
 chew (v.)—cakoi (IA)
 chicken—tuha-poTTha
 child—geda
 chili—kur-xaini
 chin—āuTTha
 chirp (v.)—bāhō
 clean—saphə (IA/Perso-Arabic)
 climb down—rhu
 climb—pho
 close (door, v.)—Dhəkki (IA)
 close (eyes, v.)—(kaŋa) khə
 close (mouth, v.)—(mhəŋə)-tar
 cloth—lətta (IA)
 cloud—dexu
 clutch—hake
 co-wife—xəwtē (IA)
 coal—məssi (IA)
 cobra—mago
 cock—murga
 cold (to feel)—ju-ghəi

- cold (to get) — ThəŋDi-ua
 cold season — jū
 collapse (person) — Dhəkk
 collapse (house, v.) — udhru
 collide (v.) — rake-ji
 colour — rəŋ (IA)
 comb (v.) — kotor
 come (v.) — la
 compare (v.) — dəbbu-hā
 complain (v.) — hasik-ko (IA)
 conceive (vi.) — bəsti-hī
 consult (v.) — xəmicca khəi (IA)
 continuously — jəgiuta-khəitəl
 cook (v.) — sine
 copper — tambo (IA)
 corner — koŋū (IA)
 corpse — suyə
 costly — akero (IA)
 cot — phəDyaha (IA)
 cotton — ruwa (IA)
 cough (v.) — xukə
 couple — nhīmilə
 cover (self) — nel
 cover (something) — Dhəkk (IA)
 cover (vt.) — hənn
 crack — gui
 cream — jaiyu (IA)
 creeper — letta (IA)
 crooked — bāŋgā (IA)
 crop — khetti (IA)
 crow — kako
 cry (v.) — cəkk
 curd — dəi (IA)
 curse (v.) — hət-yə
 custom — rewja (IA)
 cut (v.) — kaTT (IA)
 daughter's husband; sister's son; younger
 sister's husband — jūai (IA)
 dance (v.) — nacc (IA)
 dark — thepə
 daughter — garō
 day — dhyuŋ (IA)
 death — sive
 deep — gəiru (IA)
 deer — jaDəyo
 defeat (v.) — dhi-pəu
 defend (v.) — hābəco
 defense — bēcū
 deny (v.) — hāmənn
 desire (v.) — huccyo-rə
 dew — palo
 die — sive (TB)
 difficult — əhat
 dig — dəu
 dirt — kəcar
 dirty — Dola
 divide (v.) — mar-te
 divorce — həddba
 do (v.) — khəi
 dog — kui
 donkey — gədha (IA)
 door — dhera
 door-leaf — duar
 double — nhī bhag (TB-IA)
 dough — ghudhi
 down — dhitta
 downwards — dhitta
 drag — ghō-gor
 drink (v.) — tuŋ
 drive (cattle) — hākk
 drive (vehicle) — cala
 drop (v.) — jhər
 drown (v.) — Dubb
 dry (field/cloth) — karəw
 dry (vi.) — karəu wə
 dry (pond, etc.) — pō
 dry (vt.) — pak-rə
 dry (wood) — Theŋto
 duck — bətək
 dye (v.) — rəŋyə
 ear — guna
 earth — dexə
 earthquake — bhucalo
 east — purəbə

- easy — hærje
 eat (v.) — ja
 echo — bæcæn-phærakyor
 egg — æŋDa (IA)
 eight — æTT hæ (IA)
 elbow — guru
 elder brother's wife — boji
 empty — khæni
 end — xækkiua
 enjoy (v.) — xæwa-di-lagg
 evening — byarko
 extinguish (v.) — seræ
 eye brow — debuli
 eye lashes — mhike-hanu
 eye — mhike
 father's sister (younger or older)
 — nhī-yā
 father's mother; mother's mother
 — æmmā
 father's sister's husband; elder sister's
 husband — ga-ni
 father's elder brother — dukæiya
 face — mhæŋ
 fall down (vi.) — Dhāu
 fall down (vt.) — gurkanu
 family — pæriwaru
 fan (v.) — bæyar-hai bæ
 fang — daro
 far — ændher-læŋka
 fast (to observe) — upasy
 fasten (v.) — hæŋly
 fat — moŋiya
 fat, grease — bæxe
 father — bæ
 feast — jæmmæn
 feather — pækha
 feel (v.) — sida hua ræ
 female — mā
 festival — tyohar
 few/a few — thokkulæ
 field — gædi
 fifth — pŋāũ
 fight (v.) — take
 fill (grain, v.) — (ore)-ku
 fill (liquid, v.) — bhæ
 finger — āgulya
 finish (v.) — hækyɑ
 fire — mhē
 firewood — kæt hæŋ
 first — gintako
 first — suru ko (IA)
 first milk — bigæuta
 fish — bura
 fist — muŋika
 five — pŋā
 flame — luŋ-harē
 flat — babbær-hāinæ
 flesh — sya
 flexible — cilæbækyu
 floor — Thæura
 flour — piŋhu
 flower — phulæŋ
 fly (v.) — uDæ
 fly — bhukæy
 foam — Dola
 fodder — dalo
 food — nako
 foot — bha
 forbid — hāga habæ
 forehead — kæpal
 forest — manæŋ
 forget (v.) — bhull (IA)
 fortnight — nihapta (TB-IA)
 four — pari
 four times — pari phera (TB-IA)
 fourth — pariũ (TB-IA)
 fox — syaDi
 fresh — haniuŋto
 frog — gugæcca
 frost — palo
 fruit — phæl
 full — bhærætæ
 father's younger brother; mother's
 younger sister's husband — kakka

- father's younger brother's wife — ci-mā
 garlic — lesəni (IA)
 ginger — addu (IA)
 girl — garō
 give — be
 glacier — himar-pəuwe
 go (v.) — jia
 goat — bəkka
 God — bhəgwan
 gold — xunəŋ
 good — nhikko
 gooseberry — āoDya
 gourd — bhujō
 grass — ghaxri
 grate (teeth, v.) — kəiku
 grate (to grind) — itə
 grate (v.) — hyək
 gray — dhəurva
 graze (cattle, vt.) — hacərə
 graze (vi.) — cərə
 green — həriyo
 groom — bywlo
 ground — goDi
 group — jhikkə
 guava — behe
 gums — dhəda-xo
 guts — philiTiya
 husband's elder brother — jəTħan
 husband's elder brother's wife — di
 husband's elder sister's husband — ga-
 ni
 husband's v brother — deurə
 husband's father — iju buba
 husband's mother;
 husband's elder sister — iju
 husband's younger brother's wife
 — bhəiñyā
 husband's younger sister's husband
 — da
 husband's younger sister — nəndə
 hair — hamu
 half — adda (IA)
- hammer — mukreya
 hand — hake
 hang (v.) — Tāgy
 happy — khusə
 hard — khoTTa
 hate (v.) — nənce-pətə-ri
 have (v.) — huā
 he — ai
 head — gaDa
 headgear — pagə
 hear (v.) — kun
 heart/mind — mənə
 hearth — culvani
 heaven — agaxə
 heavy — nali
 heel — kuru gucci
 height — rəggu
 hell — nərək
 help (v.) — lagog-bə
 here — əia
 hesitate — dhər-bər
 hide (v.) — lupp
 high — ərgu
 hill, mountain — xənə
 hips — puTTħa
 his, her — aike
 hold — hoŋ
 hole — ugha
 honey — moŋ-we
 horn — sioəŋ
 horse (female) — ghoDi (IA)
 horse (male) — ghoDya (IA)
 hot — Daha
 hot plate — təo
 hot season — ghəməliħa
 house — nao
 how — xu-kħəi
 hum (a tune, v.) — həjjo-həlaike-hā
 hundred — xē (IA)
 hunt (v.) — mara
 husband — giro
 husk (v.) — paxoro

- hut—nao
 I (1sg. pronoun)—ne
 ice—himar
 in front of—həmaniyā
 incisors—dherə-daro
 increase (stretch)—tany
 increase (v.)—thəpy
 insect—dida-kidmala
 inside—bhitori
 intestines—pōTTu
 invite (v.)—nok
 invite to feed (v.)—nyoto banə
 iron—loh (IA)
 jackal—syari
 jar, pot—phūgɛlu
 jaw—jambi
 joints—kəpca
 jump across (v.)—pəTT
 jump (v.)—maTT o-hā
 keep (v.)—tha
 key—cabi
 kidney—gurəiya
 kill (v.)—hatə
 kiss (v.)—laDə hā
 kite—gəryyə
 knead (v.)—hyāku
 knee—puhe
 knot—gāThi (IA)
 know (v.)—dəhəu
 lac—lisse
 ladder—khuTu-kəni
 lake—tallə
 language—boli
 large—biəna
 last—cəhTako
 last year—rokka-bərəxə
 lastly—cyuTTi
 lay down (v.)—loT
 leaf—xua
 leak (v.)—cuə-mhā
 leave (v.)—haDDo-rugga-hā
 leech—jok
 leg—bhala
 lemon—xuru
 lie (v.)—jhuTi-hā-sya
 lift (v.)—tu
 light (lamp)—silke
 light—soj
 light (fire; v.)—mhūtə
 like that—ap-khəitə
 like this—in-khəitə
 lion—bagho (IA)
 lips—ciuDya
 listen (v.)—nhikkə-kun
 liver—mulya
 lizard (wild)—birəñ-sya
 log—həro
 loin—kəmbər (IA)
 long, tall—lanɣe
 look after (v.)—gəĩ-hā
 loose—silo
 loud—bəina-hattə
 louse egg—likkya
 louse—sirə
 love—nhikko many
 low—nicco (IA)
 low voice—həjje
 lungs—phapsu
 mother's elder sister's husband
 —dukəiya
 mother's younger sister—kāĩ-ja
 mother's mother's mother—māi-ju
 mother's brother (elder or younger)
 —mammā
 madly—pəglyu-wata
 maize—ghoga
 male—ba
 mango—abəŋ
 many—jhikkəl
 measure (v.)—nap
 meat—sya
 medicine—okhadi
 meet (v.)—bhiTTY
 melt (vi.)—gəll

- melt (vt.)— gal
 memory— phām
 milch (v.)— xake lao
 milk— dudhəŋ
 molar tooth— kurai-daro
 molasses— gurəŋ
 mole— cilkunti
 money— dhən (IA)
 monkey— maŋa
 month— mōina (IA)
 moon— junnə
 morning— həŋə-le
 morning— rattəi
 mortar— khəDya
 mosquito— ləm-jun-yē
 moss/swamp— selo
 mother— ija
 mountain— bhīTTa
 mouse— māxā
 mouth— khəbe-ru
 move (v.)— haro
 much— əndher
 mud— kəcar
 mule— khəccər (IA)
 mushroom— Dumba
 my, mine— na-ā
 nail— kili
 nail— nihəŋ
 name (to give)— namyo tha
 name— nam
 narrow— xoŋru
 navel— pute
 near— nəjik
 near— nəjikelhō
 nearly— xuāki-hā-hā
 neck— Giddə
 need (v.)— cai
 needle— xui
 nest— ghulli
 net— jali
 new— noŋ
 next— duxuro
 next year— jibi
 nine— nouwə (IA)
 nipple— cucca-gədaw
 no— hā-hā
 node (v.)— gara ghəi
 noon— cəkəl
 north— uttər
 nose— sina
 nostrils— ugha
 not smooth— khəhaDyo
 now— əb
 obey (v.)— mann
 obstruct (v.)— har khəi
 occupy (v.)— panikə khəi
 offer (v.)— be ko
 often— kəbhəi-kəbhəi
 oil (v.)— maDDo-bəi
 oil— baxa
 old— buDha
 old— puran
 once— Dah phera
 one and 3 quarters— pau nāi nhī
 one and a half— Dhīŋ
 one and a quarter— xūwāyə
 one— Da/Dah
 one fourth— paryū bhag
 onion— pyaji
 only— jhaīcəla
 only— sirphə
 open (door, v.)— khəi
 open (knot, v.)— khoi
 orange— narəŋgi
 our— na-nike
 outside— bahəry
 paddy— gaDa
 paint (v.)— rəŋyā ko
 pair— joDa
 palm— ha-kə
 parrot— xua
 part— bhak
 pastle— mohləŋ

patella—puhε-kε-mhīkəw
 path—yoŋ
 paw—bhaw/nihaw
 peacock—mor
 pebbles—ica-Dhuŋε
 person—māncə
 phlegm—thukkəw
 pierce—hanu
 pig/bore—bhuniya
 pillar—Dadalya
 pinch (v.)—kīTi-ū-ā
 place—Thəura
 plank—ohəDyā-hā
 plant (v.)—rop
 plaster (v.)—lipp
 plate—phelo
 play (v.)—khuDD
 pluck (v.)—tu
 poison—bisəŋ
 porcupine—māssi
 post (pillar)—kilə
 potato—alu
 pound (v.)—chū
 pour out—khəny
 pray (v.)—binti ghəi
 prepare (v.)—bāŋy
 price—dəm
 priest—jijharo
 protect (v.)—hə-bēcū
 pull out (v.)—to-nəko
 pungent—Daha
 push—ghucc
 put up notice (v.)—cipka
 python—xəpəpə
 quadruple—bari bhag
 quarrel (v.)—ra kə
 quick—həDbi
 quickly—həDbe
 rabbit—hahū
 rain—ti
 rainy season—comāx
 read (v.)—pəD

ready—təiyar
 rear (v.)—pər
 rebuke (v.)—mā-kəi-nε-ko
 red—Tolhəriya
 refined butter—ghīəŋ
 refuse (v.)—hā-hā-kəi
 regularly—hədiaro
 relatives—mal-mittər-hī
 relax (v.)—loT ai-huā
 religion—dhərmə
 reply (v.)—bətkaο phərkaο-ko
 report (v.)—bətkaο ko
 return (v.)—bhərəkəyo-bi
 ribs—phaŋDə
 rice (cooked)—bhəttə
 rice—daru
 ring—khaligy
 rinse (v.)—khəlka
 ripen (v.)—sinə
 roast (v.)—palo ko
 roll up—be ryu
 rolled—bāŋla
 roof—pakha
 root—jədao
 rope—jəura
 rotten—xutəDya
 rough—jigutə
 round—bāŋulo
 rub (v.)—māDD
 rupee—rupiya
 son's daughter; daughter's daughter
 —natini
 son's son, daughter's son—bati
 son's wife—buari
 son's wife's father; daughter's
 husband's father—səmdi
 sacrifice (v.)—pujo-ko
 salt—māhā
 same—ailə, aile
 sand—bəlyya
 save (v.)—hə-bēcū
 saw (v.)—cir

- saw — hətasi
 say (v.) — nɛko
 scissors — kēci
 scorpion — kəŋessi
 scrub (v.) — silɛ
 scythe — dɛl
 search (v.) — mara
 second — duxro (IA)
 see (v.) — dɔbb
 see — guhɛ
 seed — biye
 sell (v.) — kaltɔ
 send (v.) — ghall
 set (the sun, v.) — DUBY
 seven — xəttə (IA)
 seventh — xattāō (IA)
 shake (self, v.) — kəmo
 shake (vt.) — hila
 shallow — The
 sharp — ci-laggu
 she — huai (mā)
 sheep — bhɛD
 sister's son — bhəñjə (IA)
 stealthily — luppi-luppi
 stick — jāTho
 stir (v.) — hawa
 stitch (v.) — cipka
 stop (v.) — səkə-hĩ
 storm — huiya
 straight — sidu
 straw — kuths-muThu
 stream — khuri
 stretch (self; v.) — cakur
 strike (v.) — hanu
 strong (cloth) — həpar
 strong (human) — khoTɛ
 suck (v.) — ho syo
 suspect (v.) — xəŋ kya
 swallow (v.) — nhily
 sweep (v.) — jhaD
 sweet — thiū
 swim (v.) — ra pɛ
 swing (v.) — khelle ko
 sword — tɔlwari
 tail — puchera
 take (oath, v.) — bhəgwan kəheja
 take (v.) — gata
 talk (v.) — bətkao-ghəi
 taste (v.) — cəkkh
 tea — caha
 teach (v.) — ha-sikko
 tear (v.) — hacc
 tears (of eyes) — āsu
 temple — gaDa
 temple — than
 ten — dɔxə (IA)
 tether (cattle, v.) — hoi ko
 that — xuai
 their — ai-la-kɛ
 then — tɔb
 there — əi-ya
 these — əila
 these — xuaila/-jəmma
 they (female) — ai-mā-la
 they (male) — a-həi-la
 thick (liquid) — bakɛro
 thigh — jəŋga
 thin (liquid) — həpurə
 this — əi
 this year — əi-xai
 thorn — kaT-kano
 thousand — Da həjar (IA)
 thread — lotti
 three and 3 quarters — pau nāi pari
 three quarters — xū bhag (TB IA)
 three — xuŋ
 thresh (v.) — taro lao ko
 thrice — xuŋ phera
 throat — hyākuli
 throw (v.) — coD
 thumb — āguli
 tie (v.) — hoi
 tight — hanigto

- till now — ətətəl-jhani
 till what time — kināo
 tobacco — təmaku
 today — dəi
 tomorrow — kəllə
 tongue — jibəro
 tooth — daro
 towards — to-lo
 tree/wood — siŋ
 tremble (v.) — kammōhā
 triple — xu bhag
 twice — nhīphera
 two and 3 quarters — pau nāi xū
 two and a half — aDaīŋ
 two and a quarter — xāwaīnhī
 two — nhī
 understand (v.) — ci-hāmē-ja
 unhappy — khisə-nahū
 unrolled — dhəssyo
 up — ThəTTa
 upwards — thətta
 urine — chi
 use (v.) — əitana-cai
 usually — babbər
 utensils — bhāDela
 uvula — taru
 valley — bin-ti-khori
 village — pāo
 vomit (v.) — ukhal-lyo
 vomit — ukhal
 vulture — gidha
 waist — kəmbər
 wall — baDə
 walnut — əkhrot
 want (v.) — caiyo re
 wash (v.) — ci pe
 water — ti
 water-pot — phəŋlo
 we (excl.) — nani ja lə
 we (incl.) — nani
 we two — naji
 weak (breakable) — jəgarəi
 weak (human) — kəmjor, kəcua
 wear (clothes; v.) — neli
 wear (ornaments; v.) — ləga
 weave (v.) — pa ko
 week — həpta
 weep (v.) — kerə
 west — pəchāh
 wet (clothes) — kaco
 wet (to get) — jhī-yē
 wet (wood) — kaco, həriyo
 what — həy,hā
 wheat — ghuməŋ
 when — kināo
 where — gəu
 white — dhəurya
 whole — əi-jəmməl
 who — xu
 widower (address) — ranjūā
 widow — ranjū
 wife (address) — mete
 wife (ref) — na-naokəhī
 wife's brother's wife — bhəiñyā
 wife's elder brother — jeThu
 wife's elder sister's husband — da
 wife's elder sister — jeThu sali
 wife's father; father's father; mother's
 father — bubā
 wife's mother — iju
 wife's younger brother — sala
 wife's younger sister's husband — bhuli
 wife's younger sister — sali
 window — mohri (IA)
 wind — bəyar (IA)
 winnow (v.) — pato pəko
 win — jītūbwa
 work (v.) — kam khəi
 worship (v.) — puja khəi
 wring (v.) — nicory
 write (v.) — lekhh (IA)
 younger sister's husband — juāi
 yak — juppa

yawn (v.)—hao-hao lagua
year—bərəxə
yellow—pero
yes—əhəi
yesterday—byarə
you (pl.)—nəni
you (sg.)—nəŋ
young—hapar
younger brother's wife—buari
your (pl.)—nəni-la-kε
your (sg.)—nəŋ-gε

