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A Sketch of Raji Grammar

Shree Krishan
University of Delhi
Delhi

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 Asok prince who voluntarily opted for jungle life because of his fascination for hunting and wandering. Asok 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,'
/bhainya/ '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'
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 suprasegmental 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Asp.</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td></td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>g</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Asp.</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>Dh</td>
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<td>gh</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Affricates:</strong></td>
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<td>Voiceless</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Asp.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Asp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives:</strong></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plain</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>n̄</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-aspirated</td>
<td>mh</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Laterals:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plain</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>l̓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preaspirated</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trills:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approximants:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plain</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preaspirated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y̓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.0.2 Vowels

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{i} \\
\text{e} \\
\text{o} \\
\text{a} \\
\text{e} \\
\text{u}
\end{array}\]

2.0.3 Suprasegmental

Nasalization \[\text{[ ā]}\]

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 /th/ and /yh/ occur only in initial position.
4. The phonemes /N/, /η/ and /ω/ 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 /kēl-hō/ 'near', /hol-hāryā/ '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-vocically at a morpheme boundary. If the voiceless stop is aspirated, it loses the aspiration at this position.
### A Sketch of Raji Grammar

#### Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>pati</td>
<td>'arm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pīThu</td>
<td>'flour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ph/</td>
<td>phulō̂</td>
<td>'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phōri</td>
<td>'manure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>binti</td>
<td>'without water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bāN</td>
<td>'arrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bh/</td>
<td>bha</td>
<td>'ankle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhuDā̂</td>
<td>'bush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>'water, rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tallo</td>
<td>'lake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/th/</td>
<td>thapi</td>
<td>'to carry (on head)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thyu</td>
<td>'sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>daro</td>
<td>'fang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daru</td>
<td>'rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dh/</td>
<td>dhera</td>
<td>'door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhuli</td>
<td>'ash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/T/</td>
<td>Toka</td>
<td>'bear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tokēnya</td>
<td>'black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Th/</td>
<td>Thepe</td>
<td>'dark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ThaTTa</td>
<td>'up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/D/</td>
<td>Daha</td>
<td>'hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dola</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/DH/</td>
<td>Dhīنج</td>
<td>'one and a half'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dhāuwe</td>
<td>'to fall down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>ceta</td>
<td>'after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cyeTTi</td>
<td>'hasty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ch/</td>
<td>chati</td>
<td>'chest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chinkya</td>
<td>'sneeze'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>jū̂</td>
<td>'cold season'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jēThu</td>
<td>'wife's elder brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jh/</td>
<td>jīyē̂</td>
<td>'to get wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jīAD-</td>
<td>'to sweep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>kaNa</td>
<td>'blind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kāi</td>
<td>'to bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kh/</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>'bitter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khuri</td>
<td>'stream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>gaDa</td>
<td>'temple'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ginta</td>
<td>'before'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gh/</td>
<td>ghaxri</td>
<td>'grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ghō̂</td>
<td>'to send'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>manlō</td>
<td>'to buy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>māssi</td>
<td>'porcupine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.2 Vowels

1. All vowels occur in all the positions except /e/ and /æ/, 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]-[ı]; [u]-[u] and [o]-[ɔ], 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:
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ito</td>
<td>'to grind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ise</td>
<td>'to sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ija</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>ahai</td>
<td>'yes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ab</td>
<td>'now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>'what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>agaX</td>
<td>'heaven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aha-ghoi</td>
<td>'to believe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>urau-we</td>
<td>'to fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>upasyo</td>
<td>'fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ugaro</td>
<td>'mastication'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>okhedi</td>
<td>'medicine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|         | sonj    | 'light in weight' | guDo | 'axe' |}

2.1.3.2 Homorganic nasal plus oral consonant cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pp/</td>
<td>xoroppo</td>
<td>'python'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bb/</td>
<td>babbar</td>
<td>'flat surface'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tt/</td>
<td>bhatta</td>
<td>'cooked rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dd/</td>
<td>giddo</td>
<td>'vulture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/TT/</td>
<td>poTTu</td>
<td>'intestines'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/TT/h</td>
<td>aTTh</td>
<td>'eight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/DD/</td>
<td>goDDo</td>
<td>'river'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cc/</td>
<td>nīcco</td>
<td>'low'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jj/</td>
<td>bhajja</td>
<td>'brother's son'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.3.2 Homorganic nasal clusters

/ml/ jambo 'jaw'
/nt/ ginta 'before'
/nd/ oundation 'large'
/NT/ ghante 'bell'
/ND/ phaNDa 'ribs'
/nc/ mance 'person'
/nch/ mouch 'iris of eye'
/nj/ bhante 'sister's son'
/nk/ chinKy 'sneeze'
/n/ jonga 'thigh'

2.1.3.3 Dissimilar consonant clusters

/pk/ cipkao 'stick the bill'
/Tl/ beTla 'rolled up'
/jm/ rajma 'long beans'
/kr/ mukrya 'hammer'
/st/ xasto 'cheap'
/hr/ mohra 'window'
/yr/ xornu 'narrow'
/rph/ sirpho 'only'
/rk/ cirkanti 'ant'
/rm/ xamimau 'to feel shy'
/lk/ cilkunti 'mole'

2.1.3.4 Consonant plus semi-vowel clusters

/by/ byawli 'bride'
/dhy/ dhyun 'day'
/Ty/ phitiTYa 'guts'
/cy/ cyuTI 'lastly'
/kg/ pharkyor 'echo'
/sy/ sya 'flesh'
/ry/ guruya 'vulture'

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel sequence</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>ai 'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ao/</td>
<td>aoDya 'goose berry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>au 'rope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aoi/</td>
<td>nooni 'butter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>maiju 'mother's brother's wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>kaij 'mother's younger sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ao/</td>
<td>nai 'hut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eu/</td>
<td>deurwa 'husband's younger brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/io/</td>
<td>teo 'hotplate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>ciudya 'lips'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iu/</td>
<td>thu 'sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oa/</td>
<td>boa 'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>ghioj 'refined butter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ui/</td>
<td>xui 'needle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ua/</td>
<td>xokkiua 'end'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>guria 'kidney'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>huia 'whirl wind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iai/</td>
<td>jiai 'daughter's husband'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three vowel clusters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel sequence</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>xokkiua 'end'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>guria 'kidney'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iai/</td>
<td>jiai 'daughter's husband'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Syllable structure

The syllable in Raji can 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 /ai/ 'this', /ai/ 'he', a vowel and a consonant, as in /ab/ 'now', a consonant and a vowel, as in /na/ '1st. singular pronoun', /xu/ 'who', a consonant plus diphthong, as in /ua/ 'cotton', a consonant plus triphthong, as in /jua/ 'daughter's husband', a consonant plus /-y-/ plus vowel, as in /thu/ 'sweet', a consonant-vowel-consonant sequence, as in /rix/ 'anger', or a consonant-diphthong-consonant sequence, as in /duar/ 'door leaf'.

/ai/ ai 'this'
/aoi/ aoDya 'goose berry'
/au/ au 'rope'
/ao/ nooni 'butter'
/ai/ maiju 'mother's brother's wife'
/ai/ kaij 'mother's younger sister'
/ao/ nai 'hut'
/eu/ deurwa 'husband's younger brother'
/eo/ teo 'hotplate'
/iu/ ciudya 'lips'
/iu/ thu 'sweet'
/oia/ bo 'bird'
/iai/ ghioj 'refined butter'
/ui/ xui 'needle'
/iua/ xokkiua 'end'
/iia/ guria 'kidney'
/iia/ huia 'whirl wind'
/iiai/ jiai 'daughter's husband'
/uia/ xui 'needle'
/ia/ xokkiua 'end'
/iaia/ guria 'kidney'
/iaia/ huia 'whirl wind'
/iaiai/ jiai 'daughter's husband'
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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Raji</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bone'</td>
<td>haDọṃ</td>
<td>haD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'refined butter'</td>
<td>ghiọη</td>
<td>ghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sneeze'</td>
<td>chinkya</td>
<td>chık</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tooth'</td>
<td>daro</td>
<td>daRh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'waist'</td>
<td>kambor</td>
<td>kamar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'star'</td>
<td>tara</td>
<td>tara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'day'</td>
<td>dhyuŋ</td>
<td>dIwos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'flower'</td>
<td>phulaŋ</td>
<td>phul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Demonstrative + modifier(s) + noun + plural + case

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ai-la hopuro lai Tokënya</th>
<th>gedà-la-khanai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this-pl thin tall black</td>
<td>boy-pl-BEN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>geda-di miThai gata</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boy-ABL sweets take</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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:
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>byawlo</th>
<th>'groom'</th>
<th>byawli</th>
<th>'bride'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sala</td>
<td>'wife's younger brother'</td>
<td>sali</td>
<td>'wife's younger sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghoDa</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
<td>ghoDi</td>
<td>'mare'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>'elder brother'</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>'elder sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murga</td>
<td>'cock'</td>
<td>murgi</td>
<td>'hen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadha</td>
<td>'donkey'</td>
<td>gadhi</td>
<td>'she donkey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maTa</td>
<td>'male/female monkey'</td>
<td>*maT is not acceptable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bheD</td>
<td>'male/female sheep'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakka</td>
<td>'male/female goat'</td>
<td>bakki (female, very rare)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syari</td>
<td>'male/female fox'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /-jommol/ and /-la/. In most cases the dual and plural numbers are both reflected by plural marking (/-i/) on the verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>garô jia hî</th>
<th>'(The) girl goes.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>garô nhimi jia-i hî</td>
<td>'Two girls go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garô jammal jia-i hî</td>
<td>'(All) girls go.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Excl.</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>nai/nhimi</td>
<td>nani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Incl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>nani -jammol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>naŋ</td>
<td>naŋ-ni/-nhimi</td>
<td>naŋi-jammol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai-nhimi</td>
<td>ai-jammol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

- ai 'this, it'
- aila 'these'
- aiyu 'here'

**Non-proximate**

- ai 'that'
- aila 'those'
- aiyu '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'
- xuai 'by whom'
- xukə 'whose'
- həŋ ~ hā 'what'
- guhā 'where'
- guna 'which'
- kixuə 'why'
A Sketch of Raji Grammar

3.1.3.4 Emphatic possessive pronouns

The emphatic possessive pronouns /pənkə/ (sg) and /pənkəl/ (pl) are borrowed from Hindi (Hindi, apna, Kumaoni, apnaka). 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.'
- nani pənkəl jaku jai re  'You (pl.) eat (eating) your food.'
- gedə 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 agentic marker /-yə/ 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

- gedə  jia  hī  '(The) boy goes.'
- na  ti  tituŋ  hī  'I drink water.'

Agentive: /-yə/

- na-yə  ija-khənəi  dudhəŋ  bi-te  hūə  re  'I have brought milk for my mother.'
Accusative/Dative: zero

- miThai: sweet
- geda: boy
- be: give

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

ghash: grass
- goru: cow
- haiTe: feed

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

ai: this
- paTa: cloth
- garo: girl
- be: give

'Give this saree to (the) girl.'

Allative: /be/

- ai: he
- nao-be: house-ALL
- haa: NEG
- jia: go

'He did not go home.'

Instrumental: [-oi ~ -kai ~ -gai]
The instrumental marker has the form [-oi] when the noun which takes it has a final consonant, and [-kai ~ -gai] when the noun ends with a vowel.

- goD-oi: axe-INST
- kaThaaj: wood
- katiu: cut
- re: PRESENT

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

- garo: girl
- sabun-oi: soap-INST
- latta: cloth
- cipe: wash
- re: PRESENT

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

- naaj: you
- kolam-oi: pen-INST
- likkyo: write+imperative

'You write with (a) pen.'

- geda: boy
- ti-kai: water-INST
- khuDDo: play
- ha: PRESENT

'The boy is playing with water.'

Benefactive: /-khanoi/

- na-yee: I-AGT
- panika: self
- meta-khanoi: wife-BEN
- paTa: cloth
- bi-te: move-COMPL
- hua: be
- re: PRESENT

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

- ram: personal.name
- geda-khanoi: boy-BEN
- miThai: sweet
- bi-te: move-COMPL
- hua: be
- re: PRESENT

'Ram has brought sweets for (the) boys.'
Ablative: /-di/

na dilli-di bi hūa re
I Delhi-ABL move be PRESENT
'I have come from Delhi.'

siŋ-di siŋkɔ whao jhɔrau re
tree-ABL leaf separate fall PRESENT
'A leaf falls from the tree.'

sita goDi-di bi hūa re
personal.name fields-ABL move be PRESENT
'Sita has come from (the) fields.'

Genitive: /-kɔ/

ɔi syamu-kɔ nao hì
this personal.name-GEN house COP
'This is Syamu's house.'

bheDa-kɔ unnao kaTTo bɔi
sheep-GEN wool cut HORTATIVE
'Let us cut the wool of the sheep.'

nao-kɔ pakhao xudari bɔi
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:

ɔi na garɔ hì
this I girl COP
'This is my daughter.'

xuai na nao hì
that I house COP
'That is my house.'

xuai mā nəŋ-kɔ metɔ hì
that lady you-GEN wife COP
'That lady is your wife.'

ɔi nɔχɛ ai-kɔ ba hì
this man he-GEN father COP
'This man is his father.'
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Modified NP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nhikkó 'good'</td>
<td>geda 'boy'</td>
<td>nhikkogeda 'good boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thènto 'dry'</td>
<td>siŋ 'wood'</td>
<td>Thèntosìŋ 'dry wood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khàñí 'empty'</td>
<td>phàŋlo 'pot'</td>
<td>khàñiphàŋlo 'empty pot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moTìya 'fat'</td>
<td>mi 'person'</td>
<td>moTìyami 'fat person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hjikkol 'many'</td>
<td>behe 'guava'</td>
<td>hjikkolbehe 'many guavas'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gintako 'first'</td>
<td>garoŋ 'girl'</td>
<td>gintakogaroŋ 'first girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rükka 'last'</td>
<td>bareh 'year'</td>
<td>rükka bareh 'last year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jìbi 'next'</td>
<td>bareh 'year'</td>
<td>jìbi bareh 'next year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lhàñka 'far away'</td>
<td>bhìTTa 'mountain'</td>
<td>lhàñkahìTTa 'faraway mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàjìka-lho 'near specific'</td>
<td>yoŋ 'path'</td>
<td>nàjìke-lho yoŋ 'path nearby'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Hindi Numeral</th>
<th>Raji Numeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dah</td>
<td>'one'</td>
<td>nhi 'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xunŋ</td>
<td>'three'</td>
<td>pari 'four'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raji</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suruko</td>
<td>'1st'</td>
<td>suruka 'the beginning one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duxaro</td>
<td>'2nd'</td>
<td>dusra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xu</td>
<td>'3rd'</td>
<td>tisra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pariu</td>
<td>'4th'</td>
<td>cautha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pnau</td>
<td>'5th'</td>
<td>pacwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turku</td>
<td>'6th'</td>
<td>chaTha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aTTThau</td>
<td>'7th'</td>
<td>satwā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nako</td>
<td>'9th'</td>
<td>nōwā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōxa</td>
<td>'10th'</td>
<td>dōSwā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'
- xuṇ-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')
- xuṇ-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'
- **sōwa**: 'one and one fourth' (Raji changes the Hindi ś to s)
- **ṣaRhe**: 'half' (generally added to numerals above three)
- **nāi**: 'not'

Some of the fractionals used in Raji are given below:

- **pryū-bhag**: 'fourth part'
- **adda**: 'half' (Hindi adha)
- **xu-bhag**: 'three fourths'
- **xawayo**: 'one and one fourth' (Hindi sōwa)
- **Dhiy**: 'one and a half' (Hindi DeDh)
- **paunāinhī**: 'one fourth not two', i.e. 'one and three fourths'
- **ha wai nhi**: 'two and one fourth'
- **dhai**: 'two and a half' (Hindi)
- **pau nāi 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', /mænla/ 'buy', /mhuta/ '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, /-l/, 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.

\[(\text{NEG}) + \text{(Verb) + (aspect) + tense} \]
\[\text{(person) (person)}\]
\[\text{(number) (number)}\]

Examples:
- na rugga hī: 'I go (leave).'
- na hā rugga hī: 'I do not go.'
- na rugga hā re: 'I am going (leaving).'
- nani rugga hā-i re: 'We are going.'
- na hā rugga hā re: 'I am not going.'
- na rugga xuccu hā re: 'I want to go.'
- nār rugga 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
- **he** simple past (for plural subject)
- **hakko** ability
- **ri** future
- **re** transitive present
- **si** plural marker in past and future perfect and progressive aspects
- **sya ~ syā** 2nd person marker (in progressive aspect)
- **tah ~ dha** prohibitive
- **te** completive
- **torya** present perfect (singular subject)
- **torye** 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, [re ~ le]

There are two markers of present tense, i.e. /hī/, and [re ~ le]. The marker /hī/ is actually the equative copula, and occurs when there is no direct object involved in the construction. The marker [re ~ le] occurs when there is a direct object in the construction. 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/

| Naise hī | 'I sleep.' |
| Nani nhimi ise hī | 'We two sleep.' |
| Nani ise hī | 'We (plural exclusive) sleep.' |
| Nani jommol ise hī | 'We (inclusive plural) sleep.' |
| Nāi ise ci hī | 'You (singular) sleep.' |
| Nāi jommol ise ci hī | 'You (plural) sleep.' |
| Ai ise hī | 'He sleeps.' |
| Ahā ise hī | 'They sleep.' |
| Na ja hī | 'I eat.' |
| Nāi ja ci hī | 'You eat.' |
| Ai ja hī | 'He eats.' |
3.2.1.2 Past tense: zero, /he/

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Past Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na jaku ja</td>
<td>'I ate food.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nani jaku ja-i</td>
<td>'We ate food.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non jaku ja</td>
<td>'You ate food.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nani jaku ja-i</td>
<td>'You (plural) ate food.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai jaku ja</td>
<td>'He ate food.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahari jaku ja-i</td>
<td>'They ate food.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [re] and the future marker /ri/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na jaku ja</td>
<td>'I will eat food.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nani jaku ja-i</td>
<td>'We will eat food.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non jaku ja</td>
<td>'You (sg.) will eat food.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nani jaku ja-i</td>
<td>'You (pl.) will eat food.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai jaku ja</td>
<td>'He will eat food.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahari jaku ja-i</td>
<td>'They will eat food.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2 Aspect

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

3.2.2.1 Perfect: /tary-/, /cukk-/

The perfect aspect appears in all three tenses. The main perfect marker for all the tenses is [tarya] for singular subjects and [tarye] (possibly < tarya-i) for plurals. This is followed by the normal intransitive present tense marker. /cukk-/ (a Hindi perfect marker) can also be used, replacing /tary-/ in the present and past tenses. In the speech of some informants both /cukk-/ and /tary-/ 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-/, /he/, appears to be a loan from Hindi, e.g. Hindi auxiliary he (sg.) hē (pl.) for the verb 'to be'.

Present perfect:
na ja torya hī OR na ja cukko 'I have eaten.'
nani ja torye hī OR nani ja cukko he 'We have eaten.'

Past perfect:
na ja cukku na ja torya hī 'I had eaten.'
nani ja cukku si nani ja torye si 'We had eaten.'
nani ja cukku-torye si naēj ja cukku ci hī 'You (sg.) had eaten.'
naj ja torya ci hī
naj ja cukku-torya ci hī

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

na ja torya hī ri 'I will have eaten.'
nani ja torye si hī ri 'We will have eaten.'
aaj ja torya syā hī ri 'You will have eaten.'
nani ja torye si hī ri 'You (pl.) will have eaten.'
aí ja torya hī ri 'He will have eaten.'
añeja torye 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, /re/ 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 re 'I am going (leaving).' 
nani ruggə hā-i re 'We are going.' 
naŋ ruggə syā re 'You (sg.) are going.' 
nani ruggə syā-i re 'You (pl.) are going.' 
ai ruggə hā re 'He is going.' 
əhāi ruggə hā-i re 'They are going.'
Past:
na ruggə hə 'I was going.'
nani ruggə hə-i si 'We were going.'
nən ruggə syə 'You (sg.) were going.'
nani ruggə syə-i si 'You(pl.) were going.'
a'i ruggə hə 'He was going.'
aḥəi ruggə hə-i si 'They were going.'

Future:
na ruggə hə hī ri 'I will be going.'
nani ruggə hə si hī ri 'We will be going.'
nən ruggə syə hī ri 'You (sg.) will be going.'
nani ruggə syə si hī ri 'You(pl.) will be going.'
a'i ruggə hə hī ri 'He will be going.'
aḥəi ruggə hə si hī ri 'They will be going.'

3.2.2.3 Habitual: /babbor/

The habitual is expressed by a lexeme, /babbor/, which is a loan adapted from Hindi bābər or bābār 'habitually', preceded by the subject and followed by the object. The progressive marker /hə/ is always used in the predicate to show the continuity of the action.

mohan babbor na nao-ya lau hə re personal.name habitually lst house-LOC come PROGRESSIVE PRESENT 'Mohan habitually comes (is continuously coming) to my house.'

geda babbor khuDDo hə re boy habitually play PROGRESSIVE PRESENT '(The) boy habitually plays (is continuously playing).'

garō babbor nacco hə 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 hə re '(The) fire is burning/hot.'
dihu puruh yā tun le '(The) sun rises in the East.'
bhiTTa psilodi le hondal hī '(The) mountains stand forever.'
gaDDa psilodi le baghyā re '(The) river flows forever.'
3.2.3.2 Subjunctive (Conditional): /əŋər/ ... -tə/

This mood is expressed by the conditional lexeme /əŋər/, 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 /tə/, a subjunctive clause terminal.

```
əŋər  tənkha  dha  ri  to ...
if    salary  get    FUT  COND
'If (I) get the salary,...'
```

```
hikko  hi  ri  to  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 bhar-o  'Fill the vessel with water.'
ti he la                'Bring water (emphatic /he/, /la/ 'come').'
nəŋ  nao-ya ghe          'You go to the house.'
hōiNGa dhā dəbbO         'Do not see dreams.'
```

3.2.3.4 Hortative: /bəi/

```
bheDa-kO  unnaō  kaTTō  bəi
sheep-GEN  wool  cut  HORTATIVE
'Let us cut the wool of the sheep.'
```

```
nao-kO  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?'
```
3.2.3.6 Other mood markers:

/\hakko/
na kam ghoi h\akko r\e
ai po\ao h\akko r\e
syam nao-be ga h\akko r\e

'ability marker'
'I can work.' Literally: 'I can do work.'
'He can read.'
'Syam can go to (the) house.'

/xuccu/
na rugg\o xuccu h\a
gar\o nacco xuccu h\a
ai iseke xuccu h\a

'want, desire'
'I want to go.'
'(The) girl wants to dance.'
'He wants to sleep.'

/cai-/ 
na iaku ja caiyo r\e
ai be rugga caiyo r\e
na lhu caiyo r\e

'should, must'
'You (pl.) should/must eat food.'
'Now he must go.'
'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 r\e
'daxai raja ha-lhu r\e
geda bh\att\o ja r\e
ijau-gai geda bh\att\o hai-tu r\e
nokai kam khai r\e
mali-kai nokarao kam ha-gai-yu r\e

'The king takes a bath.'
'(The) slave bathes the king.'
'The boy eats rice.'
'Mother feeds rice to the boy.'
'(The) servant works.'
'Master gets (the) work done by the servant.'

3.2.5 Negatives: /\h\a/ [tah ~ dh\a]

Negatives in Raji can be divided into two subcategories, i.e. (1) negative and (2) prohibitive. The general negative marker is /\h\a/, whereas the prohibitive marker is [tah ~ dh\a]. Both the negative and prohibitive markers precede the verb in a construction.
Negative: /hā/
na sya hā ja ṡe  'I do not eat meat.'
garō sya hā ja-i ṡe  'Girls do not eat meat.'
golu nao-be hā jia  'Golu did not go home.'
shiela hā nacco hī ri  'Shiela will not have danced.'

Prohibitive: [tah ~ dhā]
nān tah khuDD-o  'You don’t play.'
coru tah hōn ni  'Don’t catch the thief.'
dudhān dhā tituν-o  'Don’t drink milk.'
kui dhā 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 babbor bi rāle  'Usually he comes.'  
he habitually move PRESCONT

na babbor ja ṡe  'I usually eat.'  
I habitually eat PRESENT

jagita khoitol ghē  'continue doing, continuously doing, do'
attōl khoi  'Do (it) at once.'
hōDbe khoi  'Do (it) quickly.'
cyūTTi-na hōta  'I killed hastily (quickly).'
gaDDo pailodi le bagghyā ṡe  '(The) river flows forever.'
ai kxtta lau  'Why did he come?'
nōn guhā pi rāle  'Where are you going (moving)_CF'
gōu 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: /lai/ 'and', /par/ 'but', /hanjākīi/ 'because', /tāp/ ~ /tāb/ 'that is why, then'.

3.4.1 /lai/ 'and'

/lai/ follows each of the nouns which occur in the construction:
sita lai gita lai lhaiki hā-i ṡe  'Sita and Gita are singing (a) song.'
na lai na bhōua lai bajar-ya ga hā-i re
I and brother and market-LOC go PROGRESSIVE-pl PRESENT
'My brother and I are going to market.'

3.4.2 /par/ 'but'

na nāo-be ta gane par 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.'

dhansin ta nhikko lo hūa par bhōua bimar hūa
Dhan sinh though good emphatic be but brother sick be
'Dhan sinh is alright but his brother is sick.'

3.4.3 /hānqi/k 'because'

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

coru thuakkē hānqi bahar Thēppō hī
thief run.away because outside dark COP
'(The) thief ran away because it was dark outside.'

3.4.4 [təp tɔb] 'that is why'

manoṭ phandao he təp ti hā hī ye
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 noni-ya hā bi hākkō
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 ~ ji] to the beginning of the dependent clause. The relative clause is a free-standing nominalized clause, giving a corelative 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.

whōi ci lo lōDa hī [jo byar bi hūa]
same he emphatic boy COP RELPRO yesterday move be
'He is the same boy who came yesterday.'
A Sketch of Raji Grammar

3.6 Conditionals

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

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

job ti hī ri goDi pari ri
when rain COP FUT field sow FUT
'When it rains we will sow the fields.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raji</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ob (IA)</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohat</td>
<td>difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohi</td>
<td>yes; 3pl. pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai-jammal</td>
<td>whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai-ya</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiya</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aila</td>
<td>these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitana-cai</td>
<td>use (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akhrot (IA)</td>
<td>walnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amma</td>
<td>father's mother; mother's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aNDa</td>
<td>egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andher</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andher-lanja</td>
<td>far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arogu</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aTTho</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attol</td>
<td>at once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attol-jhani</td>
<td>till now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aguli</td>
<td>thumb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agulya (IA)</td>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aoDya</td>
<td>gooseberry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aSU</td>
<td>tears (of eyes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aTha</td>
<td>chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-hai-la</td>
<td>they (male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abo</td>
<td>mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aDai</td>
<td>two and a half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adda</td>
<td>half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addu</td>
<td>ginger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agaha</td>
<td>above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agaxa</td>
<td>heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah-ghoi (IA-TB)</td>
<td>believe (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai-la-ke</td>
<td>their</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai-ma-la</td>
<td>they (female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aike</td>
<td>(TB-IA) - his, her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aile, aila</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ajji</td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akero (IA)</td>
<td>costly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alu</td>
<td>(IA) - potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ap-kohto</td>
<td>like that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-ba-ghoi</td>
<td>bellow (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baho</td>
<td>chirp (v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>baN</td>
<td>(IA) - arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bongga (IA)</td>
<td>crooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bong (IA)</td>
<td>bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babbar</td>
<td>usually, habitually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babbar-haina</td>
<td>flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baDe</td>
<td>wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagho</td>
<td>(IA) - lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahary</td>
<td>(IA) - outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakero</td>
<td>thick (liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bari bhag</td>
<td>quadruple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bari</td>
<td>afraid of (to be)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bat</td>
<td>son's son, daughter's son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bato</td>
<td>rolled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bantu</td>
<td>round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baty</td>
<td>prepare (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxa</td>
<td>oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxon (IA)</td>
<td>calf (of cow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be ko</td>
<td>offer (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be ryu</td>
<td>roll up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>becu</td>
<td>defense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beco-bi(IA)</td>
<td>avoid (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behe</td>
<td>guava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biguta</td>
<td>first milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bin-ti-khori</td>
<td>valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binti ghoi</td>
<td>pray (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birari (IA)</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birafi-sya</td>
<td>lizard (wild)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisen</td>
<td>poison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biye</td>
<td>(IA) - seed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
biñana—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-hon—catch (fish)
byawli (IA)—bride
byarko—evening
byara—yesterday
byawlo (IA)—groom
bæn—pharakyor—echo
bædel (IA)—change (v.), alter
boina—big
boina-hatta—loud
bæka—goat
bælyya—sand
bæna (IA)—build (v.)
bæra—year
bæsti—hii—conceive (vi.)
bætkao ko—report (v.)
bætkao pharkao-ko—reply (v.)
bætkao-ghai—talk (v.)
bætak (IA)—duck
bæxe—fat, grease
bæyar (IA)—wind
bæyar-hai bæ—fan (v.)
bha—ankle
bha—foot
bhæDela (IA)—utensils
bhak—part
bhala—leg
bhaTa—Brinjal
bhaw, nihaw—paw
bheD (IA)—sheep
bheetori (IA)—inside
bhíTTa—mountain
bhíTTy—meet (v.)
bhucalo (IA)—earthquake
buDha—bush
bujo—gourd
bhuDk (IA)—bark (v.)
bhukay—fly
bhuDli—wife's younger sister's husband
bhuDl (IA)—forget (v.)
bhuuniya—pig/bore
bhuT (IA)—burst (vt.)
bhïsi (IA)—buffalo
bhogwan (IA)—God
bhogwan kæheja—take (oath, v.)
bhïfyä—husband's younger brother's
    wife; wife's brother's wife
bhajja (IA)—brother's son (younger or
    older)
bhajjæ (IA)—brother's daughter
    (younger or older)
bhänjo (IA)—sister's son
bhar (IA)—fill (liquid, v.)
bharkyo-bi—return (v.)
bhârata—full
bhâtæ (IA)—rice (cooked)
cabi (IA)—key
caha (IA)—tea
cai (IA)—need (v.)
caiyo re—want (v.)
cakoi (IA)—chew (v.)
cakur—stretch-self (v.)
cala (IA)—drive (vehicle, etc.)
cehTa—after
celTa—behind
celTako—last
ceta—after
ci pe—wash (v.)
ci-hâmē-ja—understand (v.)
ci-laggū—sharp
ci-mâ—father's younger brother's wife
cilkunti—mole
cilhêkyu—flexible
cipka (IA)—put up notice (v.)
cipka (IA)—stitch (v.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raji-English Glossary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cir (IA) - saw (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cirkenti - ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciuDya - lips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coD - throw (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comāx - rainy season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cucca (IA) - breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cucca-gadaw - nipple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culvani - hearth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuā-mhā - leak (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cyuTTi - lastly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĉakal - noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĉakk - cry (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĉakkh - taste (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĉaro - graze (vi.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chahā (IA) - buttermilk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chati (IA) - chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi - urine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chū - pound (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chālla - bank of river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dabb - see (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dabbu-hā - compare (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāhāu - know (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dai (IA) - curd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dai - today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dām (IA) - price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau - dig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daxa (IA) - ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da (IA) - brother (older); husband's younger sister's husband; wife's elder sister's husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daD - beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalo - fodder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daro - fang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daro - tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daru - rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>debuli - eye brow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del - scythe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deura (IA) - husband's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dexu - cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dexa - earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di - husband's elder brother's wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dida-kidmala - insect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimag (IA) - brain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dixua (IA) - appear (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dona - bulge (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duar - door-leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dudhāṇ - milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dukaiya - father's elder brother; mother's elder sister's husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duxro (IA) - second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duxuro - next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duxuru (IA) - another/other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhera - door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dherā-daro - incisors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhī-pau - defeat (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhitta - down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhitta - downwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhitta - below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhokka-phaka - bless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuli (IA) - ash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuri-bāsi (IA) - beam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuyā (IA) - day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhāda- xo - gums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhān (IA) - money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhānas (IA) - bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhār-bār - hesitate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhārmā (IA) - religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhāssyo - unrolled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhaurva - gray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhaurya (IA) - white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da hājar (IA) - thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da/Dah - one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadalya - pillar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dah phera - once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daha - hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daha - pungent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dola - dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dola - foam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubb (IA) - drown (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duby (IA) - set (the sun, v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumba - mushroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DaTThāla - alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhīn - one and a half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhāu - fall down (vi.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
 Dhakk (IA)—cover (something)
 Dhokk—collapse (person)
 Dhokki (IA)—close (door, v.)
 gål-ba[h]do—brown
 găh[a] (IA)—donkey
 găD[a]—break (vi.)
 gă[ ]-hă—look after (v.)
 gă[ ]unu (IA)—deep
 gajja’oajji—animal
 gă[ ]l (IA)—melt (vi.)
 gă[l]li (IA)—cheeks
 gă[ ]ury[a]—kite
 gău—where
 găTh[-i] (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
 ga—melt (vt.)
 gara gh[a]i—node (v.)
 garö—daughter, girl
 gata—take (v.)
 ged[a]—boy
 ged[a]—child
 ged[i]—field
 gid[a]—neck
 gid[a]ha (IA)—vulture
 ginta—before
 gintako—first
 giro—husband
 goDi—ground
 goi—burst (vi.)
 guDo—axe
 guDooca—frog
 guhe—see
 gui—crack
 guna—ear
 gurkau—fall down (vt.)
 guru—elbow
 gur[i]ya—kidney

 gur[ ]—molasses
 ghăT (IA)—bell
 ghall—send (v.)
 ghaxri—grass
 ghıan—refined butter
 ghō-gor—drag
 ghōD[a] (IA)—horse (female)
 ghōDya (IA)—horse (male)
 ghoga—maize
 ghucc—push
 ghulDi—dough
 ghulli—nest
 ghum[ ]—wheat
 gh[ ]i-xak—able (to be)
 gh[ ]maliha—hot season
 hă-bćeu—protect (v.)
 hāba-ho—blow (flute, v.)
 hăddba—divorce
 hădiaro—regularly
 hahuri—amuse (v.)
 hajje—low voice
 hajja-ha[ ]aie-hă—hum (a tune, v.)
 hakya—finish (v.)
 hamaniyă— in front of
 h[ ]ng[ ]-je (IA)—accompany (v.)
 hajlj—fasten (v.)
 hănn—cover (vt.)
 hajja-le—morning
 hapar—strong (cloth)
 hapar-hī-ta—bravely
 hapta (IA)—week
 hapura—thin (liquid)
 hariyo (IA)—green
 harje—easy
 hat-ye—curse (v.)
 hata[ ]i—saw
 hă-hă—no
 hă-hă-kăi—refuse (v.)
 hăbɛco—defend (v.)
 hăci-laggu—blunt
 hāga hab[ ]—forbid
hākk—drive (cattle, v.)
hámørn—deny (v.)
hānū (IA)—beat (v.)
ha-bēcō—save (v.)
ha-kə—palm
ha-kōuyapi—carry (hanging, v.)
ha-ná—branch
ha-sikkō—teach (v.)
hace—tear (v.)
hač̄a—graze (cattle, v.)
haDbe—quickly
haDbi—quick
haDrDo-rugga-hā—leave (v.)
haDoŋ (IA)—bone
hahū—rabbit
hake—clutch
hake—hand
halhu—bathe (vi.)
hamu—hair
haninjto—tight
haninjto—fresh
hanu—pierce
hanu—strike (v.)
haŋko lagua—yawn (v.)
hapar—young
har khoi—obstruct (v.)
haro—move (v.)
hasik-ko (IA)—complain (v.)
hatō—kill (v.)
hawa—stir (v.)
herō—log
hila (IA)—shake (vt.)
himar—ice
himar-pauwe—glacier
ho syo—suck (v.)
hoi ko—tether (cattle, v.)
hoi—bind (v.)
hoi—tie (v.)
 honj—hold
 honj—catch (v.)
hū—burn (to, common)
uhā—have (v.)

huai (mā)—she
huccyo-re—desire (v.)
huiya—storm
hyāku—knead (v.)
hyākuli—throat
hyak—grate (v.)
ica-Dhuŋe—pebbles
ija—mother
iju buba—husband's father
iju—husband's mother; husband's elder sister; wife's mother
in-khōtō—like this
ito—grate (to grind)
jadao—root
jōgarō—weak (breakable)
jagiu-ta-khōtal—continuously
jammal (IA)—all
jōmman—feast
jαŋga (IA)—thigh
jaura—rope
jāTho—stick
ja—eat (v.)
jaDyo—deer
jaiy (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.)
jibrero—tongue
jibi—next year
jigutō—rough
jjharo—priest
jtitwa—win
joDa (IA)—pair
jok (IA)—leech
jū—cold season
jūai (IA)—daughter's husband; sister's son; younger sister's husband
ju-ghōai—cold (to feel)
junna—moon
juppa—yak
jhaD (IA)—sweep (v.)
jhai-cala—only
jhī-yē—wet (to get)
jhikkə—group
jhikkəl—many
jhuTi-hā-sya—lie (v.)
jhāgəru-hī (IA)—attack (v.)
jhār—awake (v.)
jhār—drop (v.)
kābhai-kābhai—often
kacar—dirt
kacar—mud
kai—bite (v.)
kaiku—grate (teeth, v.)
kallə—tomorrow
kambar—loin
kambər—waist
kmjor, kacua—weak (human)
kamo—shake (self, v.)
kōNessi—scorpion
kopal (IA)—forehead
kopca—joints
kote-nā-vē—forehead
kəTəua (IA)—bowl
kai—ja—mother's younger sister
kāxa (IA)—bell metal
kaco—wet (clothes)
kaco, hariyo—wet (wood)
kaDə—break (vt.)
kahe—barley
kakhelya (IA)—arm pit
kakka—father's younger brother;
    mother's younger sister's husband
kako—crow
kai—sell (v.)
kam khai—work (v.)
kammōhā—tremble (v.)
kaNa (IA)—blind
karəu we—dry (v.)
kərəu—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.)
(ore)-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
khali gy—ring
khelle ko—swing (v.)
khetti (IA)—crop
khisə—nahū—unhappy
khoi—open (knot, v.)
khōTē—strong (human)
khōTTa—hard
kuDD—play (v.)
kuhi—stream
khusə (IA)—happy
kuTu-kəni—ladder
(kaŋa) kha—close (eyes, v.)
khaBE—mouth
khaCCar (IA)—mule
khaDya—mortar
khahaDyo—not smooth
khai—do (v.)
khai—open (door, v.)
khai-pi-yakə—carry (on back, v.)
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kholka-rinse (v.)
khoni-empty
khony — pour out
loga—wear-ornaments (v.)
löggya—bread
laig—arrive (v.)
lam—juŋ-yë — mosquito
latta (IA) — blanket
latta (IA) — cloth
la—come (v.)
lado—belly
laDë hā—kiss (v.)
lagog-bo — help (v.)
lange—long/tall
langë-lai—broad
lekkh (IA) — write (v.)
lesani (IA) — garlic
letta (IA) — creeper
lhu-hë—bathe (vi.)
likkya—louse egg
lipp—plaster (v.)
liss—lac
loh (IA) — iron
loT—lay down (v.)
loTai-huā—relax (v.)
lotti—thread
luŋ—burn (vi.)
luŋ-harë—flame
luppi—hide (v.)
luppi-luppi—stealthily
māina (IA) — month
mānc̪a—person
mān̪e (IA) — heart/mind
māna—buy (v.)
māssi (IA) — coal
mā—female
mā-kāi-ne-ko—rebuke (v.)
māhā—salt
māhāk-ko pe-ci—accuse/backbite (v.)
māi-ju—mother's mother's mother
māssi—porcupine
māxā—mouse
machāli (IA) — calves
maDD—rub (v.)
maDDo-bāi—oil (v.)
mago—cobra
mal-mittar-hī—relatives
mammā—mother's brother (elder or younger)
man—obey (v.)
manāŋ—forest
mar-te—divide (v.)
mara—hunt (v.)
mara—search (v.)
maTa—monkey
maTTO-hā—jump (v.)
mete—wife (address)
mohlāŋ—pasta
mohri (IA) — window
mōn-we—honey
mor (IA) — peacock
moTiya (IA) — fat
mukreya—hammer
mulya—liver
murga—cock
muTīka—fist
mhē—fire
mhike—eye
mhike-hanu—eye lashes
mhūtā—light-fire (v.), burn (vt.)
mhōŋ—face
najik (IA) — near
najikēlhō—near
nāŋ—you (sg.)
nāŋ-ge—your (sg.)
nance-paṭā-ri—hate (v.)
nanda (IA) — husband's younger sister
nāni—you (pl.)
nāni-la-ke—your (pl.)
nāoni (IA) — butter
nārak (IA) — hell
na—I (1sg. pronoun)
na-ā—my, mine
puter — navel
putTha — hips
putThi (IA) — back of body
putThi-haDøn (IA) — backbone
pyaJi — onion
phøm — memory
phaik — beg (v.)
phaNDø — ribs
phapsu — lungs
phelo — plate
phiTiya — guts
pho — climb
phøgelu — jar, pot
phulbar (IA) — aluminum
phullu (IA) — bloom (v.)
phulaJ — flower
phuTTha — buttocks
phaDyaha (IA) — cot
phaJ (IA) — fruit
phøJlo — water-pot
raggu — height
raJ (IA) — colour
raJyã ko — paint (v.)
raJyø (IA) — dye (v.)
ra kə — quarrel (v.)
ra pe — swim (v.)
rajnä (IA) — bean
rake-Ji — collide (v.)
raNiJ (IA) — widow
raNiJë address (IA) — widower
rattøi — morning
rewja (IA) — custom
rix (IA) — anger
rokkA-bøøxø — last year
rops — plant (v.)
rupiyra (IA) — rupee
ruwa (IA) — cotton
rhu — climb down
ruñ — bright (light)
sakø-hi — stop (v.)
sømdJi — son's wife's father, daughter's husband's father
sala (IA) — wife's younger brother
sali (IA) — wife's younger sister
saphø (IA) — clean
sek (IA) — brood (v.)
selo — moss/swamp
serø — extinguish (v.)
sewø (IA) — apple
si-gan — blow-nose (v.)
sida hua ra — feel (v.)
sidu — straight
sil — scrub (v.)
silKø — light (lamp)
silo — loose
silJya — bed-bug
sinJhøllaw (TB-IA) — bark of tree
sin — tree/wood
sina — nose
sine — cook (v.)
sin — ripen (v.)
sioøn — horn
siøphø (IA) — only
sirø (IA) — only
sive — death
sive (TB) — die
soJ — light
sura (IA) — beginning
suru ko (IA) — first
suru-ghøi (used as IA) — begin (v.)
suyø — corpse
sya — flesh
sya — meat
syadJi — fox
syari — jackal
tab (IA) — then
taiyø (IA) — ready
talwarä (IA) — sword
tamakø (IA) — tobacco
takø — fight (v.)
tallø — lake
tambo (IA) — copper
tany — increase (stretch)
(mhønJø)-tar — close (mouth, v.)
taro lao ko—thresh (v.)
taru—uvula
teo—hot plate
ti—rain

ti—water
to-lo—towards
to-noko—pull out (v.)
tona—bring out (v.)
tu—lift (v.)
tu—pluck (v.)
tuha-potha—chicken
tun—drink (v.)
tyohar (IA)—festival
tha—pi—carry (in hand, v.)
tha—bring down (v.)
tha—keep (v.)

than—temple

thepe—dark
thiu—sweet

thokkula—few/a few
thukkaw (IA)—phlegm
thuri—calf (of buffalo)

thapy—increase (v.)
thaatta—upwards
Tägy (IA)—hang (v.)
Toka—bear (animal)

Tolheriya—red
Thenjo—dry (wood)
The—shallow
ThäNDi-ua—cold (to get)
ThötTa—up
Thāura—floor
Thāura—place

uDar—cave (natural)
udhru—collapse (house; v.)
uDō (IA)—fly (v.)

ugha—cave (man made)
ughal—hole
ughal—nostrils
ukhal—vomit
ukhal-lyo—vomit (v.)
upasy (IA)—fast (to observe)

uttar (IA)—north
whaiDola—bad
xā-jibari—brave
xāwaînhî—two and a quarter
xake lao—milch (v.)
xattāō (IA)—seventh

xax-gha—breathe (v.)
xaxé—breath
xe (IA)—hundred
xenā—hill, mountain
xode—ask (v.)
xontru—narrow

xu—who
xū bhag (TB IA)—three quarters
xū bhag—triple

xů phera—thrice

xūwâyâ—one and a quarter

xu-khāi—how
xua—leaf

xua—parrot

xuāki-hā-hā—nearly

xuai—that

xuaila/-jamma—these

xui—blood

xui—needle

xukā—cough (v.)

xun—three

xunāñ—gold

xuru—lemon

xutDya—rotten

xajao-ko—castrate (v.)
xakkua—end

xamicca khāi (IA)—consult (v.)
xųŋ kya—suspect (v.)
xarmau (IA)—ashamed of

xǫrappo—python

xasto (IA)—cheap

xattō (IA)—seven

xōwa-di-lagg—enjoy (v.)
xwôtē (IA)—co wife

yōŋ—path
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able (v.) — ghāi-xak
above — aghā (IA)
accompany (v.) — hāngal-je (IA)
accuse/backbite (v.) — māhāk-ko pe-ci
afraid of (v.) — bari
after — cēhTa
after — cēta
again — ajji
all — jōnmāl (IA)
allow — kāta-nā-vē
alone — DaTThālā
aluminum — phulbār (IA)
amuse (v.) — hāhuri
anger — rīx (IA)
animal — gājjā/oājji
ankle — bha
another/other — duxuru (JA)
ant — cirkenti
appear (v.) — dixua (IA)
apple — sewa (IA)
arm — pāti
armpit — kakhēlyā (IA)
arrive (v.) — laig
arrow — bāη (IA)
ash — dhuli (IA)
ashamed of (v.) — xarmau (IA)
ask (v.) — xode
at once — attēl
attack (v.) — jhāgāru-hī (IA)
attack (v.; by animal) — pāu
avoid (v.) — beco-bi (IA)
awake (v.) — jhār
ax — guDo
brother's daughter (younger or older) — bhaṣjē (IA)
brother's son (younger or older) — bhaṣjā (IA)
back of body — pūTThi (IA)
backbone — pūTThi-haDāη (IA)
baby — whaiDola
bamboo — bās (IA)
banana — kera (IA)
bank of river — cholla
bark (v.) — bhukk (IA)
 bark of tree — sīn khāllaw (TB-IA)
bathe (v.) — halhu
believe (v.) — aha-ghai (IA-TB)
begin — suru-ghai (used as IA)
beginning — surа (IA)
bell — ghaT (IA)
bell metal — kāxa (IA)
bellow (v.) — bā-bā-ghai
belly — lado
below — dhittē
big — bēina
bind (v.) — hoi
bird — bos
bitter — kha
blanket — lōtta (IA)
bless — dhokka-phāka
blind — kaṇja (IA)
blow (flute, v.) — hāba-ho
blow-nose (v.)—si-gən
blue—nilo (IA)
blunt—hāci-laggu
boil/to cook—pasin (IA)
bone—haDəŋ (IA)
bow—dhanas (IA)
bowl—kəTəua (IA)
boy—gəda
braid—patera
brain—dimag (Perso-Arabic)
branch—ha-ŋa
brass—pitəlo (IA)
brave—xa-jibari
bravely—həpar-hī-tə
bread—ləggya
break (vi.)—gəDo
break (vt.)—kaDo
break (v.)—kaDə
breast—cucca (IA)
breath—xaxe
breathe (v.)—xax-ghə
bride—bəwəli (IA)
bright (light)—ruŋ
bring (v.)—pita
bring down (v.)—tha
bring out (v.)—tona
brinjal—baTa
broad—langə-lai
brood (v.)—sek (IA)
brother (older)—da (IA)
brown—gəd-bəddo
buffalo—bhaisi (IA)
build (v.)—bana (IA)
bulge (v.)—donə
bull—kaTo (IA)
burn (vi.)—luŋ
burn (v., common)—hū
burn (vt.)—mhältə
burst (vi.)—goi
burst (vt.)—bhuT (IA)
bush—bhuDo
butter—nooni (IA)
buttermilk—chahə (IA)
buttocks—phuTTha
buy (v.)—məlo
calf (of buffalo)—thuri
calf (of cow)—bəxo (IA)
call (v.)—nəkə
calves—machəli (IA)
cap—kule
carry (hanging, v.)—ha-kauya-pi
carry (in hand, v.)—tha-pi
carry (on back, v.)—kəi-pi-yakə
carry (v.)—pi
castrate (v.)—xəjəo-pi-yakə
cat—bərə (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—chati (IA)
chew (v.)—cako (IA)
chicken—tuha-poTha
child—geda
chili—kur-xaini
chin—uTha
chirp (v.)—bəho
clean—sapha (IA/Perso-Arabic)
climb down—ruŋ
climb—phə
close (door, v.)—Dhəkki (IA)
close (eyes, v.)—(kaŋa) kə
close (mouth, v.)—(məŋə)-tar
cloth—latta (IA)
cloud—dəxu
clutch—hake
co-wife—xəwtə (IA)
coal—massi (IA)
cobra—mago
cock—mura
cold (to feel)—ju-ghəi
cold (to get)—ThanjDi-ua
cold season—jū
collapse (person)—Dhākk
collapse (house, v.)—udhru
collide (v.)—rāke-jī
colour—raṇ (IA)
comb (v.)—kotor
come (v.)—la
compare (v.)—dabbu-hā
complain (v.)—hasik-kō (IA)
conceive (vi.)—bosti-hī
consult (v.)—xamicca khāi (IA)
continuously—jagiuta-khaital
cook (v.)—sine
copper—tambo (IA)
corner—konji (IA)
corpse—suye
costly—ākero (IA)
cot—phāDyaha (IA)
cotton—ruwa (IA)
cough (v.)—xuka
couple—nhimilā
cover (self)—nel
cover (something)—Dhākk (IA)
cover (vt.)—hann
crack—guī
cream—jiayu (IA)
creep—letta (IA)
crooked—bāngā (IA)
crop—khetti (IA)
crow—kako
cry (v.)—cakk
curd—dai (IA)
curse (v.)—hat-yē
custom—rewja (IA)
cut (v.)—kaTT (IA)
daughter's husband; sister's son; younger sister's husband—jūai (IA)
dance (v.)—nacc (IA)
dark—thepe
daughter—garō
day—dhuyūn (IA)
death—sive
deep—gāru (IA)
deer—jāDyō
defeat (v.)—dhi-pau
defend (v.)—hābeco
defense—bēcu
deny (v.)—hāmānn
desire (v.)—huccyō-re
dew—palo
die—sive (TB)
difficult—āhat
dig—dāu
dirt—kācar
dirty—Dola
divide (v.)—mar-te
divorce—haddba
do (v.)—khāi
dog—kui
donkey—gādha (IA)
door—dhera
doors—dur
double—nī bhag (TB-IA)
dough—ghulDhi
down—dhitta
downwards—dhitta
drag—ghō-gor
drink (v.)—tuŋ
drive (cattle)—hākk
drive (vehicle)—calā
drop (v.)—jhar
drown (v.)—Dubb
dry (field/cloth)—karaw
dry (v)—karaw we
dry (pond, etc.)—po
dry (vt.)—pak-we
dry (wood)—Then to
duck—batak
dye (v.)—raṇya
ear—guna
earth—dexo
earthquake—bhucalo
east—purāba
easy — hǝrje
eat (v.) — ja
echo — bāchen-phorakyor
egg — ǝṇDa (IA)
eight — ǝTTʰa (IA)
elbow — guru
elder brother's wife — boji
empty — khāni
end — xakkhu
enjoy (v.) — xawa-di-lagg
evening — byarko
extinguish (v.) — sēǝ
eye brow — debuli
eye lashes — mhike-hanu
eye — mhike
father's sister (younger or older)
   — nhī-yā
father's mother; mother's mother
   — ǝmniā
father's sister's husband; elder sister's
   husband — ga-ni
father's elder brother — dukaiya
face — mhǝŋ
fall down (vi.) — Dhau
fall down (vt.) — gurkau
family — pariwaru
fan (v.) — bāyar-hai bǝ
gang — daro
far — andher-ǝŋka
fast (to observe) — upasy
fasten (v.) — honly
fat — moṇiya
fat, grease — bǝxe
father — ba
feast — jamman
feather — pakhǝ
feel (v.) — sida hua rǝ
female — mǝ
festival — tyohar
few/a few — thokkula
field — gedi
fifth — pŋāu
fight (v.) — take
fill (grain, v.) — (ore)-ku
fill (liquid, v.) — bhrǝ
finger — āgula
finish (v.) — hǝkya
fire — mhǝ
firewood — kǝThǝŋ
first — gintako
first — suru ko (IA)
first milk — biguǝta
fish — bura
fist — muTika
five — pǝŋ
flame — luŋ-harǝ
flat — babbǝr-hāιǝ
flesh — sǝya
flexible — cīlǝbekyu
floor — Thaur
flour — pīThu
flower — phulǝŋ
fly (v.) — uDǝ
fly — bhukǝy
foam — Dola
fodder — dalo
food — nako
foot — bha
forbid — hǝga habǝ
forehead — kǝpal
forest — manǝŋ
forget (v.) — bhull (IA)
fortnight — nihapta (TB-IA)
four — pari
four times — pari phera (TB-IA)
fourth — pariū (TB-IA)
fox — syaDi
fresh — haniuŋto
frog — gugǝcca
frost — palo
fruit — phǝl
full — bhrǝǝta
father's younger brother; mother's
   younger sister's husband — kakka
father's younger brother's wife — ci-mā

garlic — lesānī (IA)
ginger — addu (IA)
girl — garō
give — be
glacier — himar-pəuwē
go (v.) — jia
goat — bākka
God — bhāgwan
gold — xunā

good — nhikko
gooseberry — āoDya
gourd — bhujo
grass — ghaxri
grate (teeth, v.) — kāiku
grate (to grind) — itā
grate (v.) — hyāk
gray — dhaurvā
graze (cattle, vt.) — hacārā
graze (vi.) — cārā

green — hārniyo
groom — bywlo
ground — goDi
group — jhiikkā

guava — behe
gums — dhāda-xo
guts — philiTīya
husband's elder brother — jeThān
husband's elder brother's wife — di
husband's elder sister's husband — ga-nī
husband's v brother — deura
husband's father — iju buba
husband's mother;
  husband's elder sister — iju
husband's younger brother's wife
  — bāṇīyā
husband's younger sister's husband — da
husband's younger sister — nāndo
hair — hamu
half — adda (IA)
hut—nao
I (1sg. pronoun)—ne
ice—himar
in front of—hāmaniyā
incisors—dherō-daro
increase (stretch)—tany
increase (v.)—thapy
insect—dida-kidmala
inside—bhitori
intestines—pōTTu
invite (v.)—nok
invite to feed (v.)—nyoto bana
iron—loh (IA)
jackal—syari
jar, pot—phūgelu
jaw—jambi
joints—kapca
jump across (v.)—pōTT
jump (v.)—maTTo-hā
keep (v.)—tha
key—cabi
kidney—gurāiya
kill (v.)—hato
kiss (v.)—laDo ha
kite—goruryo
knead (v.)—hyāku
knee—puhe
knot—gāThi (IA)
know (v.)—dāhau
lac—lisse
ladder—khūTu-kani
lake—tallā
language—boli
large—biāna
last—cehTako
last year—rokkā-baRaxē
lastly—cyuTTi
lay down (v.)—loTT
leaf—xua
leak (v.)—cuR-mhā
leave (v.)—haDDo-rugga-hā
leech—jok

leg—bhala
lemon—xuru
lie (v.)—jhuTTi-hā-sya
lift (v.)—tu
light (lamp)—silkā
light—son
light (fire; v.)—mhūṭa
like that—ap-khoitā
like this—in-khāitā
lion—bagho (IA)
lips—ciuDya
listen (v.)—nhikka-kun
liver—mulya
lizard (wild)—bīrān-sya
log—hero
loin—kāmbar (IA)
long, tall—laŋgē
look after (v.)—gāT-hā
loose—silo
loud—baina-hattā
louse egg—likkya
louse—sīrā
love—nhikko many
low—nicco (IA)
low voice—hajjē
lungs—phapsu
mother's elder sister's husband
—dukōiya
mother's younger sister—kāṭ-ja
mother's mother's mother—māi-ju
mother's brother (elder or younger)
—mammā
madly—pāglyu-wata
maize—ghoga
male—ba
mango—abāŋ
many—jhikkāl
measure (v.)—nap
meat—sya
medicine—okhadi
meet (v.)—bhiTTy
melt (vi.)—gall
melt (vt.) — gal
memory — pham
milch (v.) — xake lao
milk — dudhaŋ
molar tooth — kurai-daro
molasses — gurọŋ
mole — cilkunti
money — dhon (IA)
monkey — maTa
month — maina (IA)
moon — junna
morning — họŋ-łe
morning — rattoi
mortar — khọDya
mosquito — lọm-juŋ-yë
moss/swamp — selo
mother — ija
mountain — bhiTTa
mouse — məxə
mouth — khabe-ru
move (v.) — haro
much — andher
mud — kacar
mule — khatcar (IA)
mushroom — Dumba
my, mine — na-ā
nail — kilī
nail — nihaŋ
name (to give) — namyọ tha
name — nam
narrow — xoŋru
navel — pute
near — najik
near — najikelhō
nearly — xuaki-ha-ha
neck — Gidda
need (v.) — cai
needle — xui
nest — ghulli
net — jali
new — noŋ
next — duxuro

next year — jibi
nine — nouwọ (IA)
nipple — cucca-ga_dw
no — ḥa-ḥa
node (v.) — gara ghai
noon — cakal
north — uttar
nose — sina
nostrils — ugha
not smooth — khọhaDyo
now — əb
obey (v.) — mann
obstruct (v.) — har khai
occupy (v.) — panika khai
offer (v.) — be ko
often — kaḥbai-kaḥhai
oil (v.) — maDDO-bai
oil — baxa
old — buDha
old — puran
once — Dah phera
one and 3 quarters — pau naï nthī
one and a half — Dhīŋ
one and a quarter — xùwāya
one — Da/Dah
one fourth — paryu bhag
onion — pyaji
only — jhaǐcạla
only — sirpho
open (door, v.) — khai
open (knot, v.) — khor
orange — narọngi
our — na-nikə
outside — bahɔry
paddy — gaDa
paint (v.) — rọŋyā ko
pair — joDa
palm — ha-kə
parrot — xuə
part — bhak
paste — mohləŋ
patella—puhe-ke-mhiðaw
path—yoŋ
paw—bhaw/nihaw
peacock—mor
pebbles—ica-Dhuŋe
person—mañcag
phlegm—thukkow
pierce—hanu
pig/bore—bhuniya
pillar—Dadalya
pinch (v.)—kiTi-ū-ā
place—Thaura
plank—ohāDyā-hā
plant (v.)—rop
plaster (v.)—lipp
plate—phelo
play (v.)—khuDD
pluck (v.)—tu
poison—bisaŋ
porcupine—māssi
post (pillar)—kilow
potato—alu
pound (v.)—chū
pour out—khany
pray (v.)—binti ghai
prepare (v.)—batiTy
price—dam
priest—jijharno
protect (v.)—ha-bēcu
pull out (v.)—to-neko
pungent—Daha
push—ghucc
put up notice (v.)—cipka
python—xaaprpa
quadruple—bari bhag
quarrel (v.)—ra kØ
quick—haDbi
quickly—haDbhe
rabbit—hahū
rain—ti
rainy season—comāx
read (v.)—paD
ready—taiyar
rear (v.)—par
rebuke (v.)—mā-kōi-ne-ko
red—Tolheriya
refined butter—ghiaŋ
refuse (v.)—hā-hā-kōi
regularly—hādiaro
relatives—mal-mittar-hī
relax (v.)—loT’ai-huā
religion—dhaṁma
reply (v.)—batkao pharkao-ko
report (v.)—batkao ko
return (v.)—bhaṛkyo-bi
ribs—phānDɔ
rice (cooked)—bhatta
rice—daru
ring—khaligya
rinse (v.)—khalka
ripen (v.)—soŋ
roast (v.)—palo ko
roll up—be ryu
rolled—bālìa
roof—pakha
root—jadho
rope—jura
rotten—xutaDya
rough—jiguta
round—bāṬūlo
rub (v.)—maDD
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—sωndi
sacrifice (v.)—pujo-ko
salt—māhā
same—aila, ailé
sand—bollya
save (v.)—ha-bēko
saw (v.)—cir
saw - hatasi
say (v.) - neko
scissors - kēci
scorpion - kāressi
scrub (v.) - siše
scythe - dēl
search (v.) - mara
second - duxro (IA)
see (v.) - dabb
see - guhē
seed - biye
sell (v.) - kaltē
send (v.) - ghall
set (the sun, v.) - Duby
seven - xattē (IA)
seventh - xattāō (IA)
shake (self, v.) - kōmo
shake (vt.) - hila
shallow - The
sharp - ci-laggu
she - huai (mā)
sheep - bheD
sister's son - bhānjā (IA)
stealthily - luppi-luppi
stick - jāTho
stir (v.) - hawa
stitch (v.) - cipka
stop (v.) - sākā-hī
call - huiya
straight - sidu
straw - kuths-mūThu
stream - khuri
stretch (self, v.) - cakur
strike (v.) - hanu
strong (cloth) - hēpar
strong (human) - khoīē
suck (v.) - ho syo
suspect (v.) - xāk kya
swallow (v.) - nhily
sweep (v.) - jhaD
sweet - thiu
swim (v.) - ra pē
swing (v.) - khelle ko
sword - tālwari
tail - puchēra
take (oath, v.) - bhagwan kāheja
take (v.) - gata
talk (v.) - bātkao-ghāi
taste (v.) - cōkkh
tea - caha
teach (v.) - ha-sikko
tear (v.) - hace
tears (of eyes) - āsu
temple - gaDa
temple - than
ten - dāxō (IA)
tether (cattle, v.) - hoi ko
that - xuai
their - aī-la-kē
then - tēb
there - aī-ya
these - āila
these - xuaila-/jāmma
they (female) - aī-mā-la
they (male) - a-hōi-la
thick (liquid) - bakēro
thigh - jōnga
thin (liquid) - hāpurē
this - ōi
this year - ōi-xai
thorn - kāT-kano
thousand - Da hajār (IA)
thread - lotti
three and 3 quarters - pau nāi pari
three quarters - xū bhag (TB IA)
three - xun
thresh (v.) - taro lao ko
thrice - xun phera
throat - hyākuli
throw (v.) - coD
thumb - āguli
tie (v.) - hoi
tight - hanipto
till now—attal-jhani

till what time—kinao

tobacco—tamaku

today—dai

tomorrow—kalla

tongue—jibero

tooth—daro

towards—to-lo

tree/wood—sin

tremble (v.)—kammohaa

triple—xu bhag

twice—nhephera

two and 3 quarters—pau nai xu

two and a half—aDaajan

two and a quarter—xawaainhi

two—nhi

understand (v.)—ci-hameja

unhappy—khisnahu

unrolled—dhassyo

up—Thatta

upwards—thatta

urine—chi

use (v.)—aitana-cai

usually—babbor

utensils—bhadelaa

uvula—taru

valley—bin-ti-khori

village—pao

vomit (v.)—ukhal-lyo

vomit—ukhal

vulture—gidha

waist—kambar

wall—bada

walnut—akhrot

want (v.)—caiyore

wash (v.)—ci pe

water—ti

water-pot—phajlo

we (excl.)—nani ja la

we (incl.)—nani

we two—naji

weak (breakable)—jagarai

weak (human)—kamjor, kocua

wear (clothes; v.)—neli

wear (ornaments; v.)—laga

weave (v.)—pa ko

week—hafta

weep (v.)—kero

west—pachah

wet (clothes)—kaco

wet (to get)—jhii-yee

wet (wood)—kaco, hariyo

what—hay,ha

wheat—ghumoj

when—kinao

where—gau

white—dhaurya

whole—ai-jammal

who—xu

widower (address)—rajiu

widow—rajiu

wife (address)—mete

wife (ref)—na-naokahi

wife's brother's wife—bhainyaa

wife's elder brother—jeThuu

wife's elder sister's husband—da

wife's elder sister—jeThu sali

wife's father; father's father, mother's

father—buba

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—beyar (IA)

winnow (v.)—pato pokoo

win—jitibwa

work (v.)—kam khai

worship (v.)—puja khai

wring (v.)—nicory

write (v.)—lekkh (IA)

younger sister's husband—juai

yak—juppa
yawn (v.) — hao-hao lagua
year — bəɾəxə
yellow — pero
yes — əhəi
yesterday — byarə
you (pl.) — nəni
you (sg.) — nəŋ
young — həpar
younger brother's wife — buari
your (pl.) — nəni-la-ke
your (sg.) — nəŋ-ge