A Sketch of Raji Grammar

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<th>著者</th>
<th>シリクシュナージャー</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>日本語</td>
<td>マラヤヤ語</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>タイトル</td>
<td>Senri Ethnological Reports</td>
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<td>査定年</td>
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A Sketch of Raji Grammar

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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 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,' /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' /hni-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 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

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<tr>
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<th>Bilabial</th>
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<td>t</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vcless Asp.</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>Th</td>
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<td>d</td>
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<td>Dh</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>n</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>η</td>
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<td>pre-aspirated</td>
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<td>nh</td>
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<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>preaspirated</td>
<td>yh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.0.2  Vowels

\[ i \quad u \]
\[ e \quad o \]
\[ \varepsilon \quad a \]

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 /r/ and /y/ occur only in initial position.
4. The phonemes /N/, /η/ 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 /m/, /mn/, /rh/, /y/ do not occur in medial position.
6. /m/, /mn/, /rh/, /y/ 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 /kæl-ho/ 'near', /hʌl-ʰəɪɾya/ 'brown' etc., the /lh/ has been treated as a consonant cluster.
7. /D/ has an allophone, i.e. flap [r], 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 [c], 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-vocally at a morpheme boundary. If the voiceless stop is aspirated, it loses the aspiration at this position.
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>phulon</td>
<td>'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phori</td>
<td>'manure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>binti</td>
<td>'without water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bN</td>
<td>'arrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bh/</td>
<td>bha</td>
<td>'ankle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhudo</td>
<td>'bush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>'water, rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tallə</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>dherə</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>Tokënə</td>
<td>'black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Th/</td>
<td>Thepe</td>
<td>'dark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ThəTTa</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>Dhinj</td>
<td>'one and a half'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dḥaube</td>
<td>'to fall down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>ceta</td>
<td>'after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cuTTi</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>jū</td>
<td>'cold season'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jəThu</td>
<td>'wife's elder brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jh/</td>
<td>jh1-yə</td>
<td>'to get wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jhəD-</td>
<td>'to sweep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>kaNa</td>
<td>'blind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kəi</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>gho</td>
<td>'to send'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>manlə</td>
<td>'to buy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>məssī</td>
<td>'porcupine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2.1.2 Vowels

1. All vowels occur in all the positions except /e/ and /e/, 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]-[i]; [u]-[u] and [o]-[o], 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:
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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/ xɔrappo 'python' jippa 'yak'
/bb/ bɔbbɔr 'flat surface' Dubbya 'to drown' (intr)
/tt/ bɔtɔ 'cooked rice' latto 'cloth'
/dd/ giddɔ 'vulture' addu 'ginger'
/TT/ poTTu 'intestines' phaTTua 'splitted'
/TTh/ ɔTThɔ 'eight' DaTThała 'alone'
/DD/ goDDo 'river' maDDDo 'to rub (imperative)'
/cc/ nicco 'low' cucca 'breasts'
/ʃʃ/ bhajja 'brother's son' bhajjɛ 'brother's daughter'
### 2.1.3.2 Homorganic nasal clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mb/</td>
<td>jambi</td>
<td>'jaw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nt/</td>
<td>ginta</td>
<td>'before'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nd/</td>
<td>andahe</td>
<td>'large'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/NT/</td>
<td>ghaNTe</td>
<td>'bell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ND/</td>
<td>phaNDe</td>
<td>'ribs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nc/</td>
<td>manca</td>
<td>'person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nch/</td>
<td>manch</td>
<td>'iris of eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nj/</td>
<td>bhunj</td>
<td>'sister's son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nk/</td>
<td>chinjya</td>
<td>'sneeze'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>Jonga</td>
<td>'thigh'</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### 2.1.3.3 Dissimilar consonant clusters

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<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Word</th>
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<tr>
<td>/pk/</td>
<td>cipkao</td>
<td>'stick the bill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Tl/</td>
<td>bATla</td>
<td>'rolled up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jm/</td>
<td>rajma</td>
<td>'long beans'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kr/</td>
<td>mukrya</td>
<td>'hammer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/st/</td>
<td>xasto</td>
<td>'cheap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hr/</td>
<td>mohri</td>
<td>'window'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nr/</td>
<td>xonnu</td>
<td>'narrow'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/rph/</td>
<td>sirpho</td>
<td>'only'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/rk/</td>
<td>cirkanti</td>
<td>'ant'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/rm/</td>
<td>xamau</td>
<td>'to feel shy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lk/</td>
<td>cilkunti</td>
<td>'mole'</td>
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### 2.1.3.4 Consonant plus semi-vowel clusters

<table>
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<td>/by/</td>
<td>byawli</td>
<td>'bride'</td>
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<td>/dhy/</td>
<td>dhyun</td>
<td>'day'</td>
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<td>/Ty/</td>
<td>philTYa</td>
<td>'guts'</td>
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<td>/cy/</td>
<td>cyuTYi</td>
<td>'lastly'</td>
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<td>pharkyor</td>
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<td>'flesh'</td>
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<td>/ry/</td>
<td>guryu</td>
<td>'vulture'</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>/ty/</td>
<td>tyohar</td>
<td>'son's wife's father'</td>
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<td>'quickly'</td>
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<td>'waterpot'</td>
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<td>dharti</td>
<td>'earth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rg/</td>
<td>murga</td>
<td>'cock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lb/</td>
<td>phulbar</td>
<td>'aluminium'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ls/</td>
<td>silsya</td>
<td>'bed bug'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tyohar</td>
<td>'festival'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thyl</td>
<td>'day'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Dyl</td>
<td>'guts'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gryo</td>
<td>'vulture'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hthyo</td>
<td>'to shrink'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/by/</td>
<td>byawli</td>
<td>'bride'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dhy/</td>
<td>dhyun</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Ty/</td>
<td>philTYa</td>
<td>'guts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cy/</td>
<td>cyuTYi</td>
<td>'lastly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ky/</td>
<td>pharkyor</td>
<td>'echo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sy/</td>
<td>sya</td>
<td>'flesh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ry/</td>
<td>guryu</td>
<td>'vulture'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/Ty/</td>
<td>philTYa</td>
<td>'guts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cy/</td>
<td>cyuTYi</td>
<td>'lastly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ky/</td>
<td>pharkyor</td>
<td>'echo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sy/</td>
<td>sya</td>
<td>'flesh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ry/</td>
<td>guryu</td>
<td>'vulture'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Cluster</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ao/</td>
<td>'goose berry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>'rope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ao/</td>
<td>'butter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>'mother’s brother’s wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>'mother’s younger sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ao/</td>
<td>'hus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eu/</td>
<td>'husband’s younger brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eu/</td>
<td>'hotplate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iu/</td>
<td>'lips'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>'sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oa/</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>'refined butter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ui/</td>
<td>'needle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iu/</td>
<td>'end'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>'kidney'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ui/</td>
<td>'whirl wind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uai/</td>
<td>'daughter’s husband'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three vowel clusters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Cluster</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>'rope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ao/</td>
<td>'butter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>'mother’s brother’s wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>'mother’s younger sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ao/</td>
<td>'hus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eu/</td>
<td>'husband’s younger brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eu/</td>
<td>'hotplate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iu/</td>
<td>'lips'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>'sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oa/</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>'refined butter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ui/</td>
<td>'needle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iu/</td>
<td>'end'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>'kidney'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ui/</td>
<td>'whirl wind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uai/</td>
<td>'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 /rua/ 'cotton', a consonant plus triphthong, as in /juai/ '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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Raji</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bone'</td>
<td>haDønj</td>
<td>haD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'refined butter'</td>
<td>ghiønj</td>
<td>ghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sneeze'</td>
<td>chìnkya</td>
<td>chìk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tooth'</td>
<td>døro</td>
<td>daRh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'waist'</td>
<td>kambør</td>
<td>kamar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'star'</td>
<td>tara</td>
<td>tara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'day'</td>
<td>dhyønj</td>
<td>dIwøs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'flower'</td>
<td>phulønj</td>
<td>phul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

ai-la hopuro langø Tokønya geda-la-khanaø
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 miThaï 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 /-ø/ and /-a/ final
masculine forms in most cases become feminine by replacing /-ø/, /-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'
sala 'wife's younger brother'
ghoDa 'horse'
da 'elder brother'
murga 'cock'
gadha 'donkey'
maTa 'male/female monkey'
bheD 'male/female sheep'
bakka 'male/female goat'
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ba</th>
<th>'father'</th>
<th>ija</th>
<th>'mother'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>poya</td>
<td>'son'</td>
<td>garō</td>
<td>'daughter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giro</td>
<td>'husband'</td>
<td>mete</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhuli</td>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
<td>bhōinya</td>
<td>'younger sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buari</td>
<td>'younger brother's wife'</td>
<td>jūaī</td>
<td>'younger sister's husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geda</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
<td>garō</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geda jia hī</td>
<td>'(The) boy goes.'</td>
<td>garō jia hī</td>
<td>'(The) girl goes.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba jaku ja re</td>
<td>'Father eats (the) food.'</td>
<td>ija jaku ja re</td>
<td>'Mother eats (the) food.'</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-mY/, 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 [-jomma ~ -jammal] 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 jammal 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:

<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></td>
<td></td>
<td>nani-jammol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>naŋ</td>
<td>naŋ-ni/-nhimi</td>
<td>nani-jammol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai-nhimi</td>
<td>ahai/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'
- aiya: 'here'

**Non-proximate**
- ai: 'that'
- aila: 'those'
- 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 [haŋ ~ hā] 'what', and /gu-/ 'which', different from Darma and Chaudangsi.

- xu: 'who'
- xuai: 'by whom'
- xukə: 'whose'
- hāŋ ~ hā: 'what'
- guna: 'which'
- kixüa: 'why'
- guhā: 'where'
xu hī  'Who is (there)\?'
xu bo u  'Whom (shall I) give it to?'
ai hā hī  'What is this?'
nāŋ xukā payao ci hī  'Whose child are you?'
nāŋ nāo guna hī  'Which is your house?'
nāŋ hāŋ kam jēi rē  'What work do you do?'

/hāŋ/ is reduplicated if the question involves plurals, e.g.:
noni-ke  godi  naya  hāŋ  hāŋ  kheti  hī  rē
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 /pānko/ (sg) and /pānkāl/ (pl) are borrowed from Hindi (Hindi, apna, Kumaoni, apanka). They follow the subject and precede the object, e.g.

na pānko jaku ja rē  'I eat (eating) my food.'
nani pānkāl jaku jai rē  'We eat (eating) our food.'
nāŋ pānko jaku ja rē  'You eat (eating) your food.'
nāŋ pānkāl jaku jai rē  'You (pl.) eat (eating) your food.'
geda pānkāl jaku jai rē  '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 agitative marker /-yē/ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>geda</th>
<th>jia</th>
<th>hī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>PRESENT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'(The) boy goes.'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>na</th>
<th>ti</th>
<th>tituŋ</th>
<th>hī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>drink</td>
<td>PRESENT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I drink water.'

reecho  pithoragarh-ya  ka  hūa  rē
personal.name  place.name-LOC  move  be  PRESENT
'Rekha has gone to Pithoragarh.'

Agentive: /-yē/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>na-yē</th>
<th>jia-khānāi</th>
<th>dudhāŋ</th>
<th>bi-te</th>
<th>hūa</th>
<th>rē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-AGT</td>
<td>mother-BEN</td>
<td>milk</td>
<td>move-COMPL</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>PRESENT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I have brought milk for my mother.'
Accusative/Dative: zero

miThai  geda  be
sweet  boy  give
'Give (the) sweet to (the) boy.'

ghaus  goru  haiTe
grass  cow  feed
'Feed (the) grass to (the) cow.'

ai  paTa  garo  be
this  cloth  girl  give
'Give this saree to (the) girl.'

Allative: /be/
i  nao-be  hǎ  jia
he  house-ALL  NEG  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  kaThaŋ  katiu  re
axe-INSTR  wood  cut  PRESENT
'(He) cuts (the) wood with (the) axe.'

garo  sabun-ai  latta  cipe  re
girl  soap-INSTR  cloth  wash  PRESENT
'(The) girl washes (the) cloth with soap.'

nəŋ  kəlam-ai  likkyo
you  pen-INSTR  write+imperative
'You write with (a) pen.'

geda  ti-kai  khuDDo  hǎ  re
boy  water-INSTR  play  continue  PRESENT
'The boy is playing with water.'

Benefactive: /-kənəi/

na-yē  panika  meta-kənəi  paTa  bi-te  hūa  re
I-AGT  self  wife-BEN  cloth  move-COMPL  be  PRESENT
'I have brought (a) saree for my wife.'

ram  geda-kənəi  miThai  bi-te  hūa  re
personal.name  boy-BEN  sweet  move-COMPL  be  PRESENT
'Ram has brought sweets for (the) boys.'
Ablative: /-di/

\[
\begin{align*}
na & \text{ dillī-di } bi \text{ hūa } re \\
I & \text{ Delhi-ABL move be PRESENT}
\end{align*}
\]
'I have come from Delhi.'

\[
\begin{align*}
siṅ & \text{ siṅkə } \text{ whao } jhārəu \text{ re } \\
tree-ABL & \text{ leaf separate fall PRESENT}
\end{align*}
\]
'A leaf falls from the tree.'

\[
\begin{align*}
sita & \text{ goDi-di } bi \text{ hūa } re \\
personal.name & \text{ fields-ABL move be PRESENT}
\end{align*}
\]
'Sita has come from (the) fields.'

Genitive: /-ka/

\[
\begin{align*}
ai & \text{ syamu-kə } nao \text{ hī } \\
this & \text{ personal.name-GEN house COP}
\end{align*}
\]
'This is Syamu's house.'

\[
\begin{align*}
bheDa-kə & \text{ unnaō } kəTTo \text{ bəi } \\
sheep-GEN & \text{ wool cut HORTATIVE}
\end{align*}
\]
'Let us cut the wool of the sheep.'

\[
\begin{align*}
nao-kə & \text{ pakhaō } xudari \text{ bəi } \\
house-GEN & \text{ roof repair HORTATIVE}
\end{align*}
\]
'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:

\[
\begin{align*}
ai & \text{ na } \text{ garō } hī \\
this & \text{ I girl COP}
\end{align*}
\]
'This is my daughter.'

\[
\begin{align*}
xuaī & \text{ na } nao \text{ hī } \\
that & \text{ I house COP}
\end{align*}
\]
'That is my house.'

\[
\begin{align*}
xuaī & \text{ mā } \text{ nəŋ-kə } \text{ metə } hī \\
that & \text{ lady you-GEN wife COP}
\end{align*}
\]
'That lady is your wife.'

\[
\begin{align*}
ai & \text{ nəche } ai-kə \text{ ba } hī \\
this & \text{ man he-GEN father COP}
\end{align*}
\]
'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>nhikko</td>
<td>'good'</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thento</td>
<td>'dry'</td>
<td>'wood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khani</td>
<td>'empty'</td>
<td>'pot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moTiya</td>
<td>'fat'</td>
<td>'person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jhikkol</td>
<td>'many'</td>
<td>'guava'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gintako</td>
<td>'first'</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rukka</td>
<td>'last'</td>
<td>'year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jibi</td>
<td>'next'</td>
<td>'year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laŋka</td>
<td>'far away'</td>
<td>'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>najiko-lho</td>
<td>'near specific'</td>
<td>'path'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'good boy' 'dry wood' 'empty pot' 'fat person' 'many guavas' 'first girl' 'last year' 'next year' 'faraway mountain' '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Modified NP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dah</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xun</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhi</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pari</td>
<td>'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>xottau</td>
<td>'7th'</td>
<td>satwā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aTTThau</td>
<td>'8th'</td>
<td>aThwā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāuo</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'

xun-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')

xun-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'
- **ṣōwa**: 'one and one fourth' (Raji changes the Hindi ṣ to x)
- **saRhe**: 'half' (generally added to numerals above three)
- **nai**: 'not'

Some of the fractional forms used in Raji are given below:

- **pryũ-bhag**: 'fourth part'
- **adda**: 'half' (Hindi adha)
- **xu-bhag**: 'three fourths'
- **xawayo**: 'one and one fourth' (Hindi ṣōwa)
- **Dhīy**: 'one and a half' (Hindi DeDh)
- **paunāinhī**: 'one fourth not two', i.e. 'one and three fourths'
- **ha wai n̄i**: 'two and one fourth'
- **dhai**: 'two and a half' (Hindi)
- **pau nai 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', /mənla/ '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, /-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 ruggo hī**: 'I go (leave).'
- **na hā ruggo hī**: 'I do not go.'
- **na ruggo hā re**: 'I am going (leaving).'
- **nani ruggo hā-i re**: 'We are going.'
- **na hā ruggo hā re**: 'I am not going.'
- **na ruggo xuccu hā re**: 'I want to go.'
- **nān ruggo 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
tē  completive
tōrya  present perfect (singular subject)
tōryē  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/

na ise hī  'I sleep.'
nani nhimi ise hī  'We two sleep.'
nani ise hī  'We (plural exclusive) sleep.'
nani jommael ise hī  'We (inclusive plural) sleep.'
nae ise ci hī  'You (singular) sleep.'
nae jommael ise ci hī  'You (plural) sleep.'
ai ise hī  'He sleeps.'
ahai ise hī  'They sleep.'
na ja hī  'I eat.'
naa 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.

na jaku ja re  'I eat food.'
nani jaku ja-i re  'We eat food.'
nan jaku ja re  'You eat food.'
nani jaku ja-i re  'You (plural) eat food.'
ai jaku ja re  'He eats food.'
ahoi jaku ja-i re  'They eat 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 [re] and the future marker /ri/.

na jaku ja ri  'I will eat food.'
nani jaku ja-i ri  'We will eat food.'
nan jaku ja ri  'You (sg.) will eat food.'
nani jaku ja-i ri  'You (pl.) will eat food.'
ai jaku ja ri  'He will eat food.'
ahoi 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: /tory-/, /cukk-/

The perfect aspect appears in all three tenses. The main perfect marker for all the tenses is [torya] for singular subjects and [torye] (possibly < torya-i) for plurals. This is followed by the normal intransitive present tense marker. /cukk-/ (a Hindi perfect marker) can also be used, replacing /tory-/ in the present and past tenses. In the speech of some informants both /cukk-/ and /tory-/- 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
- nani ja torye hī OR
- nani ja cukko hē

'I have eaten.'

'We have eaten.'

Past perfect:
- na ja cukku
- na ja torya hī
- na ja cukku-torya
- nani ja cukku si
- nani ja torye si
- nani ja cukku-torye si
- nāj ja cukku ci hī
- nāj ja torya ci hī
- nāj ja cukku-torya ci hī

'I had eaten.'

'We had eaten.'

'You (sg.) had eaten.'

Future perfect: In the future tense /tory-/ 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 torya hī ri
- nani ja torye si hī ri
- nāj ja torya syā hī ri
- nānī ja torye si hī ri
- aij ja torya hī ri
- ahih ja torye si hī ri

'I will have eaten.'

'We will have eaten.'

'You will have eaten.'

'You (pl.) will have eaten.'

'He will have eaten.'

'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 ruggā hā re
- nānī rugga hā-i re
- nāj ruggā syā re
- nānī rugga syā-i re
- ai rugga hā re
- ahih rugga hā-i re

'I am going (leaving).'

'We are going.'

'You (sg.) are going.'

'You (pl.) are going.'

'He is going.'

'They are going.'
Shree Krishan

Past:

na ruggə haya 'I was going.'
nani ruggə hə-i si 'We were going.'
nər ruggə sə 'You (sg.) were going.'
nəni ruggə sə-i si 'You (pl.) were going.'
aı ruggə hə 'He was going.'
əhəi ruggə hə-i si 'They were going.'

Future:

na ruggə hə hɪ ri 'I will be going.'
nani ruggə hə si hɪ ri 'We will be going.'
nər ruggə sə hɪ ri 'You (sg.) will be going.'
nəni ruggə sə si hɪ ri 'You (pl.) will be going.'
aı ruggə hə hɪ ri 'He will be going.'
əhəi ruggə hə si hɪ 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 barabr or barobar '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 nəo-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).'

garə 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 hə 'I go.'
mhə luq hə re '(The) fire is burning/hot.'
dihu purub yə tun le '(The) sun rises in the East.'
biTTa psəloDI le hondal hə '(The) mountains stand forever.'
gaDDa psəloDI le bagghyə re '(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.

σαγαρ | तंक्ष हा | दह | रि | तो ...
---|---|---|---|---
if | salary | get | FUT | COND
'If (I) get the salary, ...

न्हिक्को | हि | रि | तो | गेदा | खुद्दो | रि
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
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.

फुण्जो-या | टी | भार-ऑ
---|---|---
'Fill the vessel with water.'

टी | हेला
---|---
'Bring water (emphatic /हेला/, /ला/ 'come').'

नों | नौ-या | ग्हें
---|---|---
'You go to the house.'

होिनो | दां | दाब्बो
---|---|---
'Do not see dreams.'

3.2.3.4 Hortative: /bəi/

ब्हेड़ा-को | उन्नो | कात्तो | bəi
---|---|---|---
sheep-GEN wool cut HORTATIVE
'Let us cut the wool of the sheep.'

नौ-को | पाखाओ | खुदारी | 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.:

हेंग | नौं | काम | jhei | re
---|---|---|---|---
INTERROGATIVE you(sg) work do PRESENT
'Do you work?'
3.2.3.6 Other mood markers:

/hākko/
- na kam ghōi hākko re
- ai poDāo hākko re
- syam nao-be ga hākko re

/xuccu/
- na ruggō xuccu hā
- garō nacco xuccu hā
- ai iseke xuccu hā

/cai-/  
- nāni jaku ja caiyo re
- ai sbe rugga caiyo re
- na lhu caiyo re

/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: /hā/
a sya hā ja re 'I do not eat meat.'
garō sya hā ja-i re '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]
nan tah khuDD-o 'You don't play.'
coru tah hoŋ ni 'Don't catch the thief.'
dudhan dhā tituŋ-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 babbar bi rāle 'Usually he comes.'
he habitually move PRESCONT
na babbar ja re 'I usually eat.'
I habitually eat PRESENT

jagita khoitol ghā 'continue doing, continuously doing, do'
atol khoi 'Do (it) at once.'
hō Dē khoi 'Do (it) quickly.'
cyuTTi-na hōta 'I killed hastily (quickly).'</ga DD o pailoli le bagghyā re ' (The) river flows forever.'
ai kxā lau 'Why did he come?'
nōn guhā pi rāle 'Where are you going (moving)?'
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: /lāi/ 'and', /pər/ 'but', /hanjai ki/ 'because', /təp/ ~ /təb/ 'that is why, then'.

3.4.1 /lāi/ 'and'

/lāi/ follows each of the nouns which occur in the construction:
sita lāi gita lāi hāi ki hā-i re 'Sita and Gita are singing (a) song.'
3.4.2 /par/ 'but'

na náo-bē ta gane par kam āji hūa lē
I house-ALL though go but work unfinished be PRESENT
'I (would) have gone home but the work has remained unfinished.'

dhansiñ par nhikko lō hūa par bhūa bimār hūa
Dhan sinh though good emphatic be but brother sick be
'Dhan sinh is alright but his brother is sick.'

3.4.3 /hāñ̃i ki/ 'because'

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

coru thuakke hāñ̃i bahār Thēppā hī
'theft run.away because outside dark COP
'(The) thief ran away because it was dark outside.'

3.4.4 [tāp ~ tāb] 'that is why'

manō phandao hē tāp 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 tāp nōni-yā hā bi hākko
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 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 cī lō lōDa hī [jo byar bi hūa]
same he emphatic boy COP RELPRO yesterday move be
'He is the same boy who came yesterday.'
si whöi baghol hî [jo bôkka ja]
this same tiger COP RELPRO goat eat
'This is the same tiger which ate the goat.'

[loi bôkka hø-te ha] ai löDa 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 /tø/ marker in the dependent clause was discussed earlier under the subjunctive mood (2.2.3.2). The other type of conditional is formed with /jõb/, again a Hindi loan, which does not take any marker in the coordinate clause, e.g.

jõb nöñ jibi ri na nö̱-ya lô hî ri
when you come FUT I house-LOC emphatic COP FUT
'When you come I will be at home.'

jõb tî hî 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
əmmə—father's mother; mother's mother
əNDa (IA)—egg
ənder—much
ənder-ləŋka—far
əʊəgu—high
əTTθə (IA)—eight
əttəl—at once
əttəl-jhani—till now
əguli (IA)—thumb
əgulya (IA)—finger
əoDya—gooseberry
əsu (IA)—tears (of eyes)
əuTha—chin
a-həi-la—they (male)
əbaŋ—mango
əDañ (IA)—two and a half
adda (IA)—half
addu (IA)—ginger
agəhə (IA)—above
agəxə—heaven
əhə-gəhəi (IA-TB)—believe (v.)
aí—he
ai-la-ke—their
ai-mə-la—they (female)
aike (TB-IA)—his, her
ailə, ailig—same

ajji—again
akəro (IA)—costly
alu (IA)—potato
ap-khoitə—like that
ba—father
ba—male
bā-bā-gəhəi—bellow (v.)
bāhō—chirp (v.)
bāν (IA)—arrow
bāŋgə (IA)—crooked
bäs (IA)—bamboo
babbar—usually, habitually
babbar-hāina—flat
baDo—wall
bagho (IA)—lion
bahəry (IA)—outside
bakəro—thick (liquid)
bari bhag—quadruple
bari—afraid of (to be)
bati—son's son, daughter's son
baTla—rolled
baTuilo—round
baTy—prepare (v.)
baxa—oil
baxo (IA)—calf (of cow)
be ko—offer (v.)
be ryu—roll up
bēcu—defense
be—give
beco-bi(IA)—avoid (v.)
behe—guava
bigəuta—first milk
bin-ti-khori—valley
binti ghəi—pray (v.)
birari (IA)—cat
biraŋ-sya—lizard (wild)
bisəŋ—poison
biye (IA)—seed
biona—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
byara—yesterday
byawlo (IA)—groom
bocyte—pharkyor—echo
bedel (IA)—change (v.), alter
boina—big
boina-hattə—loud
bakka—goat
bollya—sand
bona (IA)—build (v.)
baraxa—year
basti-hiri—conceive (vi.)
batkao ko—report (v.)
batkao pharkao-ko—reply (v.)
batkao-ghai—talk (v.)
batak (IA)—duck
baxe—fat, grease
bayar (IA)—wind
bayar-hai bə—fan (v.)
bha—ankle
bha—foot
bhabDela (IA)—utensils
bhak—part
bhala—leg
bhata—Brinjal
bhaw, nihaw—paw
bhed (IA)—sheep
bheitori (IA)—inside
bhiTTa—mountain
bhiTTy—meet (v.)
bhucalo (IA)—earthquake
budha—bush
bujo—gourd
buikk (IA)—bark (v.)
bhukay—fly
bhuli—wife's younger sister's husband
bhull (IA)—forget (v.)
bhuniya—pig/bore
bhuT (IA)—burst (vt.)
bhâisi (IA)—buffalo
bhogwan (IA)—God
bhogwan kâheja—take (oath, v.)
bhaiyâ—husband's younger brother's
        wife; wife's brother's wife
bhajja (IA)—brother's son (younger or
        older)
bhajjë (IA)—brother's daughter
        (younger or older)
bhânja (IA)—sister's son
bhar (IA)—fill (liquid, v.)
bharâkyo-bi—return (v.)
bharatâ—full
bhatta (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.)
cetâ—after
ceti—behind
cetiako—last
ceta—after
ci pe—wash (v.)
ci-hâmê-jâ—understand (v.)
ci-laggâ—sharp
ci-mâ—father's younger brother's wife
cilkunti—mole
cilobêkyu—flexible
cipka (IA)—put up notice (v.)
cipka (IA)—stitch (v.)
cir (IA)— saw (v.)
cirkenti— ant
ciuDya— lips
cod— throw (v.)
comäx— rainy season
cucca (IA)— breast
cucca-gadaw— nipple
culvari— hearth
cuat— leak (v.)
cyuTTi— lastingly
cakal— noon
cakk— cry (v.)
cakkth— taste (v.)
caro— graze (vi.)
chahö (IA)— buttermilk
chati (IA)— chest
chi— urine
chü— pound (v.)
challa— bank of river
dabb— see (v.)
dabbu-hä— compare (v.)
dähau— know (v.)
dai (IA)— curd
dai— today
dam (IA)— price
dau— dig
daxa (IA)— ten
da (IA)— brother (older); husband's younger sister's husband; wife's elder sister's husband
daD— beard
dalo— fodder
daro— fang
daro— tooth
daru— rice
debuli— eye brow
del— scythe
deuра (IA)— husband's brother
dexu— cloud
dexa— earth
di— husband's elder brother's wife
dida-kidmala— insect
dimag (IA)— brain
dixua (IA)— appear (v.)
don— bulge (v.)
duar— door-leaf
dudhö— milk
dukaîya— father's elder brother; mother's elder sister's husband
duxro (IA)— second
duxuro— next
duxuru (IA)— another/other
dhöra— door
dherö-daro— incisors
dhi-pau— defeat (v.)
dhitta— down
dhitta— downwards
dhitta— below
dhokka-phaka— bless
dhuli (IA)— ash
dhur-bäs (IA)— beam
dhyö— (IA)— day
dhöda-xo— gums
dhöan (IA)— money
dhönaÁ (IA)— bow
dhö-bar— hesitate
dhörmö (IA)— religion
dhössyo— unrolled
dhöurya (IA)— white
Da hájar (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
DëTThöla— alone
Dhöi— one and a half
Dhöu— fall down (vi.)
Dhakk (IA)—cover (something)
Dhokk—collapse (person)
Dhokki (IA)—close (door, v.)
gad-baddo—brown
godha (IA)—donkey
goda—break (vi.)
gai-ha—look after (v.)
goiru (IA)—deep
gaul (IA)—melt (vi.)
gall (IA)—cheeks
gauriya—kite
gau—where
gathi (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 ghāi—node (v.)
garō—daughter, girl
gata—take (v.)
geda—boy
geda—child
gedi—field
gidda—neck
gidha (IA)—vulture
ginta—before
gintako—first
giro—husband
goDi—ground
goi—burst (vi.)
gudo—axe
gúcaca—frog
guh—see
gu—crack
guna—ear
gurkau—fall down (vt.)
guru—elbow
gurūiya—kidney

gūrūiya—kidney

guru—elbow

gurūiya—kidney

Shree Krishan
hākk—drive (cattle, v.)
hāmrān—deny (v.)
hānū (IA)—beat (v.)
ha-bēko—save (v.)
ha-ka—palm
ha-kōya-pi—carry (hanging, v.)
ha-nā—branch
ha-sikko—teach (v.)
hace—tear (v.)
hacōra—graze (cattle, v.)
haDe—quickly
haDbi—quick
haDDe-rugga-hā—leave (v.)
haDν (IA)—bone
hahū—rabbit
hake—clutch
hake—hand
halhu—bathe (vi.)
hamu—hair
hanjto—tight
hanjunto—fresh
hanu—pierce
hanu—strike (v.)
haDho-lagua—yawn (v.)
hapar—young
har khāi—obstruct (v.)
haro—move (v.)
hasik-ko (IA)—complain (v.)
hat̥—kill (v.)
hawa—stir (v.)
hero—log
hīla (IA)—shake (vt.)
himar—ice
himar-pauwe—glacier
ho syo—suck (v.)
hoī ko—tether (cattle, v.)
hoī(bind)—bind (v.)
hoī—tie (v.)
hoji—hold
hoji—catch (v.)
huí—burn (to, common)
huā—have (v.)

huai (mā)—she
huccyo-re—desire (v.)
huiya—storm
hyāku—knead (v.)
hyākuli—throat
hyak—grate (v.)
ica-Dhuņe—pebbles
ija—mother
iju buba—husband's father
iju—husband's mother; husband's elder sister; wife's mother

in-khaita—like this
ito—grate (to grind)
jadao—root
jāgār̥—weak (breakable)
jagiuta-khāitāl—continuously
jammāl (IA)—all
jammān—feast
jāŋga (IA)—thigh
jāura—rope
jāTho—stick
ja—eat (v.)
jaDyo—deer
jaiyu (IA)—cream
jali (IA)—net
jambi—jaw
jeThān (IA)—husband's elder brother
jeThā sali (IA)—wife's elder sister
jeThā (IA)—wife's elder brother
jia—go (v.)
jebero—tongue
jibi—next year
jigut̥—rough
jjharo—priest
jitibwa—win
joDā (IA)—pair
jok (IA)—leech
jū—cold season
jūai (IA)—daughter's husband; sister's son; younger sister's husband
ju-ghāi—cold (to feel)
junne—moon
juppa — yak
jhaD (IA) — sweep (v.)
jhaicula — only
jhī-yē — wet (to get)
jhikkɔ — group
jhikkəl — many
jhuTi-hā-sya — lie (v.)
jhɔgəru-hī (IA) — attack (v.)
jhɔr — awake (v.)
jhɔr — drop (v.)
kɔbhai-kəbhai — often
kacar — dirt
kacar — mud
kai — bite (v.)
kaiiku — grate (teeth, v.)
kallɔ — tomorrow
kambɔr — loin
kambor — waist
kəmjɔr, kəcua — weak (human)
kamo — shake (self, v.)
kəNessi — scorpion
kopal (IA) — forehead
kopca — joints
kate-nā-vē — forehead
kəTəua (IA) — bowl
kāï-ja — mother’s younger sister
kāxa (IA) — bell metal
kaco — wet (clothes)
kaco, hɔriyo — wet (wood)
kaDɔ — break (vt.)
kahe — barley
kakhelya (IA) — armpit
kakka — father’s younger brother;
     mother’s younger sister’s husband
kako — crow
kaltə — sell (v.)
kam khɔi — work (v.)
kamməhā — tremble (v.)
kaNa (IA) — blind
karəu we — dry (vi.)
karəu — dry (field/cloth)
khalka — rinse (v.)
khɔni — empty
khany — pour out
laga — wear-ornaments (v.)
lɔggya — bread
laig — arrive (v.)
lam-jun-yē — mosquito
latta (IA) — blanket
latta (IA) — cloth
la — come (v.)
lado — belly
laDə hā — kiss (v.)
lagog-bo — help (v.)
lange — long/tall
langə-lai — broad
lekkh (IA) — write (v.)
lesani (IA) — garlic
letta (IA) — creeper
luh-hā — bath (vi.)
likkya — louse egg
lipp — plaster (v.)
liše — lac
loh (IA) — iron
lōT — lay down (v.)
lōTai-huā — relax (v.)
lotti — thread
luŋ — burn (vi.)
lunŋ-harē — flame
luppi — hide (v.)
luppi-luppi — stealthily
māina (IA) — month
māncā — person
māñe (IA) — heart/mind
mānlə — buy (v.)
massi (IA) — coal
mā — female
mā-kā-ne-ko — rebuke (v.)
māhā — salt
māhāk-ko pe-ci — accuse/backbite (v.)
māi-ju — mother's mother's mother
māssi — porcupine
māxā — mouse
macholi (IA) — calves
maDD — rub (v.)
maDDo-bai — oil (v.)
mago — cobra
mal-mittar-hē — relatives
mammā — mother's brother (elder or 
younger)
man — obey (v.)
manən — forest
mar-te — divide (v.)
mara — hunt (v.)
mara — search (v.)
maTə — monkey
maTTo-hā — jump (v.)
mete — wife (address)
mohlaj — paste
mohri (IA) — window
mōn-we — honey
mor (IA) — peacock
moTiya (IA) — fat
mukreya — hammer
mulya — liver
murga — cock
mutika — fist
mhe — fire
mhike — eye
mhike-hanu — eye lashes
mhuṭa — light-fire (v.), burn (vt)
maŋ — face
najik (IA) — near
najikelhō — near
naŋ — you (sg.)
nay — your (sg.)
nance-pata-ri — hate (v.)
nanda (IA) — husband's younger sister
nani — you (pl.)
nan-la-ke — your (pl.)
nonon (IA) — butter
narak (IA) — hell
na—I (1sg. pronoun)
na-ā — my, mine
na-naokɔhɪ — wife (ref)
ná — our
nacc (IA) — dance (v.)
nají — we two
nako — food
nali — heavy
nam — name
nanyo thā — name (to give)
nāni ja lɔ — we (excl.)
nani — we (incl.)
nao — hut, house
nap — measure (v.)
naŋgĩ — orange
natini — son’s daughter; daughter’s daughter
nekɔ — say (v.)
nel — cover (self)
neli — wear-clothes (v.)
nicco (IA) — low
nicory — wring (v.)
ni-hapta (TB-IA) — fortnight
nihɔ — nail
nilo (IA) — blue
nok — invite (v.)
nokɔ — call (v.)
nɔŋ — new
nɔuwɔ (IA) — nine
nyoto banɔ — invite to feed (v.)
nhí bhag (TB-IA) — double
nhí — two
nhí-yā — father’s sister (younger or older)
nhĩmila — couple
nhĩphera — twice
nhīkko — good
nhīkko many — love (v.)
nhīkkɔ-kun — listen (v.)
nhîly — swallow (v.)
ohaDYã-hã — plank
okhadi — medicine
pachah — west
poD (IA) — read (v.)
paglyu-wata — madly
pãkha (IA) — feather
pāriwaru (IA) — family
pãtera — braid
pɔTT — jump across (v.)
pɔu — attack (v.; by animal)
pa ko — weave (v.)
pāo — village
pago — headgear
pako — dry (vt.)
pakha — roof
palo — dew, frost
palo ko — roast (v.)
pāntika khāi — occupy (v.)
par — rear (v.)
pari — four
pari phera (TB-IA) — four times
parī (TB-IA) — fourth
paryū bhag — one fourth
pasin (IA) — boil/to cook
paTi — arm
pato pako — winnow (v.)
pau nāi nī — 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.)
pɨThu — flour
pɨta — bring (v.)
pɨtɔla (IA) — brass
pŋã — five
pŋãō — fifth
po — dry (pond, etc.)
pɔTTu — intestines
puchera — tail
puhe — knee
puhe-ke-mhǐkɔw — patella
puja khāi — worship (v.)
pujo-ko — sacrifice (v.)
puran (IA) — old
purɔba (IA) — east
putē — navel
puTT̪ha — hips
puTT̪hi (IA) — back of body
puTT̪hi-haDoṇ (IA) — backbone
pyaj1 — omon
phii m — memory
phaik — beg (v.)
phaND̪a — ribs
phapsu — lungs
phelo — plate
phiTiYa — guts
pho — climb
phūgelu — jar, pot
phulbar (IA) — aluminum
phullu (IA) — bloom (v.)
phulaŋ — flower
phuTT̪ha — buttocks
pḥD̪yaha (IA) — cot
phāl (IA) — fruit
phāŋlo — water-pot
raggu — height
rāŋ (IA) — colour
rāŋyā ko — paint (v.)
rāŋya (IA) — dye (v.)
rā ko — quarrel (v.)
rā pe — swim (v.)
rānjā (IA) — bean
rake-ji — collide (v.)
rāNiū (IA) — widow
rāNiū (address) (IA) — widower
ratt̪i — morning
rewja (IA) — custom
rix (IA) — anger
rokka-baṛ̪ax̌ — last year
rop — plant (v.)
rupiyya (IA) — rupee
ruwa (IA) — cotton
r̄hu — climb down
ruṃ — bright (light)
sakha-hi — stop (v.)
saṃdi — son’s wife’s father, daughter’s husband’s father
sala (IA) — wife’s younger brother
sali (IA) — wife’s younger sister
sapha (IA) — clean
sek (IA) — brood (v.)
selo — moss/swamp
sera — extinguish (v.)
seẉ (IA) — apple
si-gān — blow-nose (v.)
sida hua ra — feel (v.)
sidu — straight
sile — scrub (v.)
silḳ — light (lamp)
silo — loose
silsya — bed-bug
siṇ khāllaw (TB-IA) — bark of tree
siṇ — tree/wood
sina — nose
sine — cook (v.)
siṇa — ripen (v.)
sioṇ̣ — horn
sirpha (IA) — only
siṛa — louse
sive — death
sive (TB) — die
soṇ — light
sura (IA) — beginning
suru ko (IA) — first
sura-ghāi (used as IA) — begin (v.)
suye — corpse
sya — flesh
sya — meat
syadī — fox
syari — jackal
tab (IA) — then
taiyar (IA) — ready
talwari (IA) — sword
tamaku (IA) — tobacco
take — fight (v.)
talḷa — lake
tambo (IA) — copper
tany — increase (stretch)
(mhāṇa)-tar — close (mouth, v.)
taro lao ko—thresh (v.)
taru—uvula
teo—hot plate
ti—rain
ti—water
to-lo—towards
to-neko—pull out (v.)
tona—bring out (v.)
tu—lift (v.)
tu—pluck (v.)
tuha-poTha—chicken
tuj—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.)
thatta—upwards
Tagy (IA)—hang (v.)
Toka—bear (animal)
Tolheriya—red
Thejto—dry (wood)
The—shallow
ThNDi-ua—cold (to get)
ThTTa—up
Thaura—floor
Thaura—place
uDar—cave (natural)
udhru—collapse (house; v.)
uDā (IA)—fly (v.)
ugha—cave (man made)
ugha—hole
ugha—nostrils
ukhal—vomit
ukhal-lyo—vomit (v.)
upasy (IA)—fast (to observe)
uttar (IA)—north
whaiDola—bad
xā-jibari—brave
xāwaínhi—two and a quarter
xake lao—milk (v.)
xattāō (IA)—seventh
xax-ghā—breathe (v.)
xaxe—breath
xe (IA)—hundred
xenā—hill, mountain
xode—ask (v.)
xoŋru—narrow
xu—who
xū bhag (TB IA)—three quarters
xū bhag—triple
xūŋ phera—thrice
xūwāyō—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
xunəŋ—gold
xuru—lemon
xutDya—rotten
xajao-ko—castrate (v.)
xakkua—end
xamicca khāi (IA)—consult (v.)
xəŋ kya—suspect (v.)
xarmau (IA)—ashamed of
xərəppə—python
xasto (IA)—cheap
xattā (IA)—seven
xəwa-di-lagg—enjoy (v.)
xəwətē (IA)—co wife
yōŋ—path
able (v.) — ghāi-xak
above — agāhə (IA)
accompany (v.) — hāŋgəl-je (IA)
accuse/backbite (v.) — māhāk-ko pe-ci
afraid of (v.) — bari
after — cēhTa
again — ajji
all — jōmmal (IA)
allow — kate-nā-vē
alone — DaTThāla
aluminum — phulbər (IA)
amuse (v.) — hāhuri
anger — rix (IA)
animal — gajjə/ōajji
ankle — bha
another/other — duxuru (JA)
ant — cīrkenti
appear (v.) — dixua (IA)
apple — sewə (IA)
arm — pāfī
armpit — kakhəlyə (IA)
arrive (v.) — laig
arrow — bāŋ (IA)
aven — dhulī (IA)
avshamed of (v.) — xərmau (IA)
ask (v.) — xode
at once — attəl
attack (v.) — jhāgəru-hi (IA)
attack (v.; by animal) — paw
avoid (v.) — beco-bi (IA)
awake (v.) — jhər
ax — guDo
brother’s daughter (younger or older) — bhajjə (IA)
brother’s son (younger or older) — bhajja (IA)
back of body — puTThi (IA)
backbone — puTThi-haDəŋ (IA)
bad — whaiDola
bamboo — bās (IA)
banana — kera (IA)
bank of river — cholla
bark (v.) — bhuK (IA)
bark of tree — sin khəllaw (TB-IA)
barter — kahe
bathe (vi.) — halhu
bathe (vi.) — lhu-hā
beam — dhuri-bāsi (IA)
bean — rajmā (Dordic)
bear (animal) — Toka
beard — dalD
beat (v.) — hānū (IA)
bed-bug — silsyə
before — ginta
beg (v.) — phaik
begin (v.) — suru-ghāi (used as IA)
beginning — sura (IA)
behind — cēhTa
believe (v.) — ahə-ghāi (IA-TB)
bell — ghāT (IA)
bell metal — kāxa (IA)
bellow (v.) — bā-bā-ghāi
belly — lado
below — dhittə
big — bəina
bind (v.) — hoi
bird — bos
bitter — kha
blanket — latta (IA)
bless — dhokka-phəka
blind — kənə (IA)
blood — xui
bloom (v.) — phullu (IA)
blow (flute, v.) — həba-ho
blow-nose (v.) — si-gən
blue — nilo (IA)
blunt — həc-ləgə
boil/to cook — pasin (IA)
bone — haDon (IA)
bowl — kəTəua (IA)
boy — gəda
braid — pətəra
brain — dimag (Perso-Arabic)
branch — ha-ŋə
brass — pitələ (IA)
brave — xā-jibari
bravely — həpar-hi-tə
bread — laggya
break (vi.) — gəDo
break (vt.) — kaDo
breast — cucca (IA)
breath — xəxe
breathe (v.) — xax-ghə
bride — bvawli (IA)
bright (light) — rhuŋ
bring (v.) — pətə
bring down (v.) — tha
bring out (v.) — tonə
brinjal — bəTə
broad — ləŋə-ləi
brood (v.) — sek (IA)
brother (older) — da (IA)
brown — gəd-bəddo
buffalo — bəisi (IA)
build (v.) — bəna (IA)
bulge (v.) — donə
bull — kəTo (IA)
burn (vi.) — ləŋ
burn (v., common) — hə
burn (vt.) — məhtə
burst (vi.) — goi
burst (vt.) — bhəTə (IA)
bush — bhəDə
butter — nəoni (IA)

buttermilk — chahə (IA)
buttocks — phuiTha
buy (v.) — mənlə
calf (of buffalo) — thuri
calf (of cow) — bəxə (IA)
call (v.) — nəkə
calves — machəli (IA)
cap — kule
carry (hanging, v.) — ha-koŋu-pi
carry (in hand, v.) — tha-pi
carry (on back, v.) — kəi-pi-yakə
carry (v.) — pi
castrate (v.) — xəjəo-pi-yakə
cat — birari (IA)
catch (fish) — bura-koŋ
catch (v.) — koŋ
cave (man made) — ughə
cave (natural) — uDər
change (v.), alter — bədəl (IA)
cheap — xəsto (IA)
cheeks — gəlī (IA)
chest — chəti (IA)
chew (v.) — cəkəi (IA)
chicken — tuha-poTha
child — gəda
chili — kur-xaini
chin — auTha
chirp (v.) — bəhə
clean — səpə (IA/Perso-Arabic)
climb down — rhu
climb — phə
close (door, v.) — Dhəkkə (IA)
close (eyes, v.) — (kaŋə) kə
close (mouth, v.) — (məŋə)-tar
cloth — ləttə (IA)
cloud — dexə
clutch — həke
co-wife — xəwtə (IA)
coal — məsə (IA)
cobra — məgo
cock — mərə
cold (to feel) — ju-ghəi
cold (to get) — ThañDi-ua

cold season — jū

collapse (person) — Dhākk

collapse (house, v.) — udhru

collide (v.) — rākē-ji

colour — rāŋ (IA)

comb (v.) — kotor

come (v.) — la

come (v.) — dābbu-hā

compare (v.) — dābbu-hā

conceive (vi.) — bosti-hī

consult (v.) — xāmicca khāi (IA)

continuously — jagiuta-khāitāl

cook (v.) — sine

copper — tambo (IA)

corner — konjū (IA)

corpse — suye

costly — akīro (IA)

cot — phaDyahā (IA)

cotton — ruwa (IA)

cough (v.) — xuka

couple — nhīmilā

cover (self) — nel

cover (something) — Dhākk (IA)

cover (vt.) — hānn

crack — gui

crystal — jaiyu (IA)

creeper — letta (IA)

crooked — bāngā (IA)

crop — khetti (IA)

crow — kako

cry (v.) — cakk

curd — daī (IA)

curse (v.) — hat-yē

custom — rewja (IA)

cut (v.) — kalīT (IA)

daughter's husband; sister's son; younger

sister's husband — jūai (IA)

dance (v.) — nacc (IA)

dark — thepe

daughter — garō

day — dhyuŋ (IA)

defeat (v.) — dhi-pau

defend (v.) — hābeco

defense — bēcu

deny (v.) — hāmān

desire (v.) — huccyo-re

dew — palo

die — sive (TB)
difficult — ṛhat
dig — dau

dirt — kācar
dirty — Dola
divide (v.) — mar-te
divorce — haddba
do (v.) — khāi
dog — kui
donkey — gādha (IA)
door — dhera
door-leaf — dur

double — nī bhag (TB-IA)
dough — ghuDhi
down — dhîta
downwards — dhîta
drag — ghō-gor
drink (v.) — tūŋ
drive (cattle) — hākk
drive (vehicle) — cala
drop (v.) — jhēr
drown (v.) — Dubb
dry (field/cloth) — karaw

dry (vi.) — karaw we

dry (pond, etc.) — po
dry (vt.) — pak-ra

dry (wood) — Thento
duck — batak
dye (v.) — rāŋya

ear — guna

earth — dexō

earthquake — bhucalo
east — purēba
father's younger brother's wife — ci-mā

garlic — lesānī (IA)
ginger — addu (IA)
girl — garō
give — be

plastic — himar-ṇauwe
go (v.) — jia

goat — bākka
God — bhagwan
gold — xunaj
good — nhikko
gooseberry — aōDya
gourd — bhujo
grass — ghaxri
grate (teeth, v.) — kāiku
grate (to grind) — ito
grate (v.) — hyāk

gray — dhōrva
graze (cattle, vt.) — hacāra
graze (vi.) — c̄arā
green — hariyo
groom — bywlo
ground — GoDi
group — jhikkə
guava — beh

gums — dhāda-xo
guts — philiTiya
husband's elder brother — jeThān
husband's elder brother's wife — di
husband's elder sister's husband — ga-ni
husband's v brother — deura
husband's father — iju buba
husband's mother;
    husband's elder sister — iju
husband's younger brother's wife — bhāiṇyā
husband's younger sister's husband — da
husband's younger sister — nāndō
hair — hamu
half — adda (IA)

hammer — mukreya
hand — hake
hang (v.) — Taγy
happy — khusə
hard — kholTa
hate (v.) — naence-patə-ri
have (v.) — huā
he — aī
head — GaDa
headgear — paga
hear (v.) — kun
heart/mind — māne
hearth — culvani
heaven — agaxə
heavy — nali
heel — kuru gucci
height — rənggu
hell — nərāk
help (v.) — lagog-ə
here — aī
hesitate — dhər-bər
hide (v.) — lupp
high — rənggu
hill, mountain — xənə
hips — pulTha
his, her — aike
hold — hoŋ
hole — ugha
honey — məŋ-wə
horn — sioŋ
horse (female) — ghoDi (IA)
horse (male) — ghoDya (IA)
hot — Daha
hot plate — təo
hot season — ghōməliha
house — nao
how — xu-khāi
hum (a tune, v.) — hajjə-həlaikę-ŋə
hundred — xe (IA)
hunt (v.) — mara
husband — giro
husk (v.) — paxoro
hut — nao
I (1sg. pronoun) — ne
ice — himar
in front of — həməniya
incisors — dherə-daro
increase (stretch) — tany
increase (v.) — thapy
insect — dida-kidmala
inside — bhitori
intestines — poTTu
invite (v.) — nok
invite to feed (v.) — nyoto bana
iron — loh (IA)
jackal — syari
jar, pot — phūgelu
jaw — jambi
joints — kəpca
jump across (v.) — poTT
jump (v.) — məTTo-hā
keep (v.) — tha
key — cabi
kidney — gurəiya
kill (v.) — hato
kiss (v.) — laDo hā
kite — gorūryo
knead (v.) — hyāku
knee — puhe
knot — gāThi (IA)
know (v.) — dəhəu
lac — lisse
ladder — khūtu-kəni
lake — tallə
language — boli
large — bənas
last — cəhTako
last year — rokka-barəxə
lastly — cyuTTi
lay down (v.) — loTT
leaf — xua
leak (v.) — cua-mhā
leave (v.) — haDDo-rugga-hā
leech — jok

leg — bhala
lemon — xuru
lie (v.) — jhuTTi-hā-sya
lift (v.) — tu
light (lamp) — silkə
light — sən
light (fire; v.) — məhūtə
like that — ap-khoitə
like this — in-khəitə
lion — bagho (IA)
lips — ciuDya
listen (v.) — nəhikkə-kus
liver — mulya
lizard (wild) — birən-sya
log — hero
loin — kəmbər (IA)
long, tall — ləŋə
look after (v.) — gət-hā
loose — silo
loud — bəina-hattə
louse egg — likkya
louse — sirə
love — nəhikkə many
low — nəcco (IA)
low voice — hajjə
lungs — phapsu
mother's elder sister's husband — dukiya
mother's younger sister — kət-ja
mother's mother's mother — məi-ju
mother's brother (elder or younger) — mammə
madly — pəglyu-wəta
maize — ghoga
male — ba
mango — abəŋ
many — jhikkəl
measure (v.) — nap
meat — sya
medicine — okhadi
meet (v.) — bhiTTy
melt (vi.) — gall
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patella—puhe-ke-mhikaw
path—yon
paw—bhaw/nihaw
peacock—mor
pebbles—ica-DhunE
person—maicE
phlegm—thukkaw
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prepare (v.)—bāTy
price—dam
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rinse (v.)—khalka
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roll up—be ryu
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rough—jigutā
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rupee—rupiya
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—natini
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son's wife—buari
son's wife's father; daughter's
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saw — hatasi
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temple — than
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their — ai-la-kē
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they (male) — a-hāi-la
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thigh — janga
thin (liquid) — hāpurwa
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this year — aī-xai
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three and 3 quarters — pau nāi pari
three quarters — xū bhag (TB IA)
three — xuŋ
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thrice — xuŋ phera
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today—dai
tomorrow—kalla
tongue—jibero
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vomit—ukhal
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wash (v.)—ci pe
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water-pot—phajlo
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we (incl.)—nani
we two—naji

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weak (human)—kanjor, kacua
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wear (ornaments; v.)—laga
weave (v.)—pa ko
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where—gau
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widow—ranjii
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wife (ref)—na-naokahi
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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—bhula
wife's younger sister—sali
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wind—bayaar (IA)
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write (v.)—lekkha
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yak—juppa
yawn (v.) — hao-hao lagua
year — ɓɛrɛxɔ
yellow — pero
yes — ɔhɔi
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