

# みんなのポジトリ

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## A Sketch of Raji Grammar

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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 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', /bhəinya/ '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-<br>without (IA) | ti-<br>water (TB)     | kori<br>depression (IA) | 'valley' |
| (2) | nhi-<br>two (TB)     | mila<br>combined (IA) |                         | 'couple' |

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

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

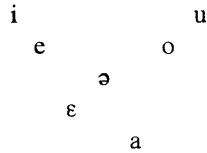
## 2.0 Phonology

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

### 2.0.1 Consonants

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

### 2.0.2 Vowels



### 2.0.3 Suprasegmental

Nasalization [ã]

## 2.1 Occurrence of phonemes

### 2.1.1 Consonants

1. Aspirated consonants do not occur finally.
2. Raji words generally end in a vowel. Though /b/, /ʈ/, /D/, /c/, /k/, /g/, /x/ occur in final position, their frequency in this position is very low.
3. The phonemes /rh/ and /yh/ occur only in initial position.
4. The phonemes /N/, /ŋ/ and /w/ do not occur initially. Though /N/ has been established as a separate phoneme, it is found only in loan words from Kumaoni. In most cases it occurs as a homorganic nasal before the retroflex consonants.
5. The phonemes /mh/, /nh/, /rh/, /yh/ do not occur in medial position.
6. /mh/, /nh/, /rh/, /lh/, /yh/ are established as monophonemes on the basis of aural perception; no instrumental test was conducted to establish their monophonemic status. They are found to be equal to the aspirated stops and they contrast with their unaspirated counterparts. In words like /kɛl-ho/ 'near', /tol-həɪrya/ '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-vocally at a morpheme boundary. If the voiceless stop is aspirated, it loses the aspiration at this position.

## Examples:

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

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

### 2.1.2 Vowels

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 2.1.3 Consonant clusters

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

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

#### 2.1.3.1 Geminates

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



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

### 2.1.3.2 Homorganic nasal clusters

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

### 2.1.3.3 Dissimilar consonant clusters

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

### 2.1.3.4 Consonant plus semi-vowel clusters

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

### 2.1.4 Vowel sequences

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

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

Three vowel clusters:

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

## 2.2 Syllable structure

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

### 3.0 Grammar

#### 3.1 The noun and noun phrase

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

<u>gloss</u>	<u>Raji</u>	<u>Hindi</u>
'bone'	haDəŋ	haD
'refined butter'	ghiəŋ	ghi
'sneeze'	chiŋkya	chīk
'tooth'	daro	daRh
'waist'	kəmbər	kəmər
'star'	tara	tara
'day'	dhyuŋ	dīwəs
'flower'	phuləŋ	phul

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

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

əi-la	həpurə	laŋge	Tokenya	geda-la-khanəi
this-pl	thin	tall	black	boy-pl-BEN
'for these thin, tall, black boys'				

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

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

##### 3.1.1 Gender

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

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

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

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

### 3.1.2 Number

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

### 3.1.3 Pronouns

#### 3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

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

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

#### 3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

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

##### Proximate

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

##### Non-proximate

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

#### 3.1.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

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

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

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

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

nəni-kə	godi	naya	həŋ həŋ	kheti	hĩ	rə
you(pl)-GEN	field	inside	INTERROGATIVE	crops	grow	PRESENT
'What crops do you grow in your field?'						

### 3.1.3.4 Emphatic possessive pronouns

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

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

### 3.1.4 Case suffixes

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

Nominative: zero

geda	jia	hĩ
boy	go	PRESENT
'(The) boy goes.'		

na	ti	tituŋ	hĩ
I	water	drink	PRESENT
'I drink water.'			

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

Agentive: /-yẽ/

na-yẽ	ija-khənəi	dudhəŋ	bi-tə	hūa	rə
I-AGT	mother-BEN	milk	move-COMPL	be	PRESENT
'I have brought milk for my mother.'					

**Accusative/Dative: zero**

mīThai	geda	bɛ
sweet	boy	give

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

ghaxə	goru	haiTɛ
grass	cow	feed

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

əi	paTa	garō	bɛ
this	cloth	girl	give

'Give this saree to (the) girl.'

**Allative: /bɛ/**

ai	nao-bɛ	hā	jia
he	house-ALL	NEG	go

'He did not go home.'

**Instrumental: [-əi ~ -kəi ~ gəi]**

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

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

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

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

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

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

'You write with (a) pen.'

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

'The boy is playing with water.'

**Benefactive: /-khanəi/**

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

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

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

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

## Ablative: /-di/

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

'I have come from Delhi.'

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

'A leaf falls from the tree.'

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

'Sita has come from (the) fields.'

## Genitive: /-kə/

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

'This is Syamu's house.'

bheDa-kə	unnao	kaTTə	bəi
sheep-GEN	wool	cut	HORTATIVE

'Let us cut the wool of the sheep.'

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

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

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

əi	na	garō	hī
this	I	girl	COP

'This is my daughter.'

xuai	na	nao	hī
that	I	house	COP

'That is my house.'

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

'That lady is your wife.'

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

'This man is his father.'



Locative: [-ya ~ -yā]

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.1.5 Adjectives

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

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

### 3.1.6 Numerals

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

#### 3.1.6.1 Cardinals

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

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

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

### 3.1.6.2 Ordinals

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

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

### 3.1.6.3 Additives

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

Dah-phera	'once'
nhi-phera	'twice'
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'
ṣəwa	'one and one fourth' (Raji changes the Hindi ṣ to x)
ṣaRhe	'half' (generally added to numerals above three)
nəi	'not'

Some of the fractionals used in Raji are given below:

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

## 3.2 The verb and verb phrase

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

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

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

Examples:

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

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

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

### 3.2.1 Tense

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.2.1.2 Past tense: zero, /hɛ/

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

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

### 3.2.1.3. Future tense: /ri/

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

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

## 3.2.2 Aspect

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

### 3.2.2.1 Perfect: /tərya-/, /cukk-/

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

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

Present perfect:

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

Past perfect:

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

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

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

### 3.2.2.2 Progressive: /hā/, /sā/

The progressive marker for 1st and 3rd persons is /hā/, which is homophonous with the negative marker /hā/, and for the 2nd person it is /syā/. The progressive marker always follows the main verb and precedes the plural marker and the tense markers, /rε/ 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 rε	'I am going (leaving).'
nani ruggə hā-i rε	'We are going.'
nəŋ ruggə syā rε	'You (sg.) are going.'
nəni ruggə syā-i rε	'You (pl.) are going.'
ai ruggə hā rε	'He is going.'
əhəi ruggə hā-i rε	'They are going.'

**Past:**

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

**3.2.2.3 Habitual: /babbər/**

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

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

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

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

**3.2.3 Mood**

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

**3.2.3.1 Declarative: zero marking**

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.2.3.3 Imperative: zero, /-o/

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

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

### 3.2.3.4 Hortative: /bəi/

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

### 3.2.3.5 Interrogative: /həŋ/

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

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



həŋ	nəŋ	bəba	paixa	jia	bau	rə
INTERROGATIVE	you(sg)	father	money	go	give	PRESENT

'Do you give money to your father?'

həŋ	nəŋ	hədiari	ci	lhu	rə
INTERROGATIVE	you(sg)	daily	go	bathe	PRESENT

'Do you take a bath daily?'

### 3.2.3.6 Other mood markers:

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

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

/cai-/	'should, must'
nəni jaku ja caiyo rə	'You (pl.) should/must eat food.'
ai əbə rugga caiyo rə	'Now he must go.'
na lhu caiyo rə	'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 rə	'The king takes a bath.'
daxai raja ha-lhu rə	'(The) slave bathes the king.'
geda bhəttə ja rə	'The boy eats rice.'
ijau-gəi geda bhəttə hai-tu rə	'Mother feeds rice to the boy.'
nokər kam khəi rə	'(The) servant works.'
mali-kəi nokarao kam ha-gəi-yu rə	'Master gets (the) work done by the servant' <sup>(12)</sup>

### 3.2.5 Negatives: /hā/ [tah ~ dhā]

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



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

### 3.4.2 /pər/ 'but'

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

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

### 3.4.3 /haŋəiki/ 'because'

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

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

### 3.4.4 [təp ~ təb] 'that is why'

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

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

## 3.5 The relative clause

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

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

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

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

### 3.6 Conditionals

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

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

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



## Raji-English Glossary

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

biəna — large  
 boji — elder brother's wife  
 boli (IA) — language  
 bos — bird  
 buari — son's wife  
 buari — younger brother's wife  
 buba — wife's father, father's father,  
     mother's father  
 buDha (IA) — old  
 bura — fish  
 bura-hoŋ — catch (fish)  
 byawli (IA) — bride  
 byarko — evening  
 byarə — yesterday  
 byawlo (IA) — groom  
 bæcən-phərakyor — echo  
 bədel (IA) — change (v.), alter  
 bəina — big  
 bəina-hattə — loud  
 bəkka — goat  
 bəlyya — sand  
 bəna (IA) — build (v.)  
 bəɾəxə — year  
 bæsti-hī — conceive (vi.)  
 bətkao ko — report (v.)  
 bətkao phərkao-ko — reply (v.)  
 bətkao-ghəi — talk (v.)  
 bətək (IA) — duck  
 bəxɛ — fat, grease  
 bəyar (IA) — wind  
 bəyar-hai bə — fan (v.)  
 bha — ankle  
 bha — foot  
 bhāDela (IA) — utensils  
 bhak — part  
 bhala — leg  
 bhaTa — Brinjal  
 bhaw, nihaw — paw  
 bheD (IA) — sheep  
 bhitori (IA) — inside  
 bhiTTa — mountain  
 bhiTTy — meet (v.)

bhucalo (IA) — earthquake  
 bhuDə — bush  
 bhujo — gourd  
 bhukk (IA) — bark (v.)  
 bhukəy — fly  
 bhuli — wife's younger sister's husband  
 bhull (IA) — forget (v.)  
 bhuniya — pig/bore  
 bhuT (IA) — burst (vt.)  
 bhōisi (IA) — buffalo  
 bhəgwan (IA) — God  
 bhəgwan kəheja — take (oath, v.)  
 bhəiñyā — husband's younger brother's  
     wife; wife's brother's wife  
 bhəjja (IA) — brother's son (younger or  
     older)  
 bhəjjē (IA) — brother's daughter  
     (younger or older)  
 bhəñjə (IA) — sister's son  
 bhər (IA) — fill (liquid, v.)  
 bhərəkya-bi — return (v.)  
 bhərətə — full  
 bhəttə (IA) — rice (cooked)  
 cabi (IA) — key  
 caha (IA) — tea  
 cai (IA) — need (v.)  
 caiyo rɛ — want (v.)  
 cakoi (IA) — chew (v.)  
 cakur — stretch-self (v.)  
 cala (IA) — drive (vehicle, etc.)  
 cəhTa — after  
 cəhTa — behind  
 cəhTako — last  
 ceta — after  
 ci pɛ — wash (v.)  
 ci-hāmē-ja — understand (v.)  
 ci-laggu — sharp  
 ci-mā — father's younger brother's wife  
 cilkunti — mole  
 ciləbəkya — flexible  
 cipka (IA) — put up notice (v.)  
 cipka (IA) — stitch (v.)

cir (IA) — saw (v.)  
 cirkenti — ant  
 ciuDya — lips  
 coD — throw (v.)  
 comāx — rainy season  
 cucca (IA) — breast  
 cucca-gədaw — nipple  
 culvani — hearth  
 cuə-mhã — leak (v.)  
 cyuTTi — lastly  
 cəkal — noon  
 cəkk — cry (v.)  
 cəkkh — taste (v.)  
 cərə — graze (vi.)  
 chahə (IA) — buttermilk  
 chati (IA) — chest  
 chi — urine  
 chũ — pound (v.)  
 chəlla — bank of river  
 dəbb — see (v.)  
 dəbbu-hã — compare (v.)  
 dəhəu — know (v.)  
 dəi (IA) — curd  
 dəi — today  
 dəm (IA) — price  
 dəu — dig  
 dəxə (IA) — ten  
 da (IA) — brother (older); husband's  
     younger sister's husband; wife's  
     elder sister's husband  
 daD — beard  
 dalo — fodder  
 dəro — fang  
 dəro — tooth  
 daru — rice  
 debuli — eye brow  
 dəl — scythe  
 deurə (IA) — husband's brother  
 dexu — cloud  
 dexə — earth  
 di — husband's elder brother's wife  
 dida-kidmala — insect

dimag (IA) — brain  
 dixua (IA) — appear (v.)  
 donə — bulge (v.)  
 duar — door-leaf  
 dudhəŋ — milk  
 dukəiya — father's elder brother;  
     mother's elder sister's husband  
 duxro (IA) — second  
 duxuro — next  
 duxuru (IA) — another/other  
 dhera — door  
 dherə-daro — incisors  
 dhi-pəu — defeat (v.)  
 dhitta — down  
 dhitta — downwards  
 dhittə — below  
 dhokka-phəka — bless  
 dhuli (IA) — ash  
 dhuri-bāsi (IA) — beam  
 dhyuŋ (IA) — day  
 dhəda-xo — gums  
 dhən (IA) — money  
 dhənəs (IA) — bow  
 dhər-bər — hesitate  
 dhərmə (IA) — religion  
 dhəssyo — unrolled  
 dhəurva — gray  
 dhəurya (IA) — white  
 Da həjar (IA) — thousand  
 Da/Dah — one  
 Dadalya — pillar  
 Dah phera — once  
 Daha — hot  
 Daha — pungent  
 Dola — dirty  
 Dola — foam  
 Dubb (IA) — drown (v.)  
 Duby (IA) — set (the sun, v.)  
 Dumba — mushroom  
 DəTTThəla — alone  
 Dhīŋ — one and a half  
 Dhəu — fall down (vi.)



Dhəkk (IA) — cover (something)  
 Dhəkk — collapse (person)  
 Dhəkki (IA) — close (door, v.)  
 gəd-bəddo — brown  
 gədha (IA) — donkey  
 gəDə — break (vi.)  
 gəĩ-hā — look after (v.)  
 gəiru (IA) — deep  
 gəjjə/oəjji — animal  
 gəll (IA) — melt (vi.)  
 gəlli (IA) — cheeks  
 gəruryə — kite  
 gəu — where  
 gāThi (IA) — knot  
 ga-ni — father's sister's husband; elder  
     sister's husband; husband's elder  
     sister's husband  
 gaDa — head  
 gaDa — paddy  
 gaDa — temple  
 gal — melt (vt.)  
 gara ghəi — node (v.)  
 garō — daughter, girl  
 gata — take (v.)  
 geda — boy  
 geda — child  
 gedi — field  
 giddə — neck  
 gidha (IA) — vulture  
 ginta — before  
 gintako — first  
 giro — husband  
 goDi — ground  
 goi — burst (vi.)  
 guDo — axe  
 gugəcca — frog  
 guhe — see  
 gui — crack  
 guna — ear  
 gurkau — fall down (vt.)  
 guru — elbow  
 gurəiya — kidney

gurəŋ — molasses  
 ghāT (IA) — bell  
 ghall — send (v.)  
 ghaxri — grass  
 ghiəŋ — refined butter  
 ghō-gor — drag  
 ghōDi (IA) — horse (female)  
 ghōDya (IA) — horse (male)  
 ghoga — maize  
 ghucc — push  
 ghuDhi — dough  
 ghulli — nest  
 ghuməŋ — wheat  
 ghəi-xak — able (to be)  
 ghəməliha — hot season  
 hə-bēcū — protect (v.)  
 həba-ho — blow (flute, v.)  
 həddba — divorce  
 hədiaro — regularly  
 həhuri — amuse (v.)  
 həjje — low voice  
 həjjə-həlaike-hā — hum (a tune, v.)  
 həkya — finish (v.)  
 həmaniyā — in front of  
 həŋgəl-je (IA) — accompany (v.)  
 həŋly — fasten (v.)  
 hənn — cover (vt.)  
 həŋə-le — morning  
 həpar — strong (cloth)  
 həpar-hĩ-tə — bravely  
 həpta (IA) — week  
 həpurə — thin (liquid)  
 həriyo (IA) — green  
 hərje — easy  
 hət-yə — curse (v.)  
 hətasi — saw  
 hə-hā — no  
 hə-hā-kəi — refuse (v.)  
 həbəco — defend (v.)  
 həci-laggu — blunt  
 həga həbə — forbid

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

juppa—yak  
 jhaD (IA)—sweep (v.)  
 jhaīcāla—only  
 jhī-yē—wet (to get)  
 jhikkə—group  
 jhikkəl—many  
 jhuTi-hā-sya—lie (v.)  
 jhəgəru-hī (IA)—attack (v.)  
 jhər—awake (v.)  
 jhər—drop (v.)  
 kəbhəi-kəbhəi—often  
 kəcar—dirt  
 kəcar—mud  
 kəi—bite (v.)  
 kəiku—grate (teeth, v.)  
 kəllə—tomorrow  
 kəmbər—loin  
 kəmbər—waist  
 kəmjor, kəcua—weak (human)  
 kəmo—shake (self, v.)  
 kəNessi—scorpion  
 kəpal (IA)—forehead  
 kəpca—joints  
 kətε-nā-vē—allow  
 kəTəua (IA)—bowl  
 kāī-ja—mother's younger sister  
 kāxa (IA)—bell metal  
 kaco—wet (clothes)  
 kaco, həriyo—wet (wood)  
 kaDə—break (vt.)  
 kahe—barley  
 kakhəlyā (IA)—armpit  
 kakka—father's younger brother;  
     mother's younger sister's husband  
 kako—crow  
 kaltə—sell (v.)  
 kam khəi—work (v.)  
 kammōhā—tremble (v.)  
 kaNa (IA)—blind  
 karəu wε—dry (vi.)  
 karəu—dry (field/cloth)

kaT-kano—thorn  
 kaThəŋ—firewood  
 kaTo (IA)—bull  
 kaTT (IA)—cut (v.)  
 kēci (IA)—scissors  
 kera (IA)—banana  
 kerə—weep (v.)  
 kili—nail  
 kilə—post (pillar)  
 kināo—till what time  
 kināo—when  
 kiTi-ū-ā—pinch (v.)  
 koNū (IA)—corner  
 kotor—comb (v.)  
 (orε)-ku—fill (grain, v.)  
 kui—dog  
 kule—cap  
 kun—hear (v.)  
 kur-xaini—chili  
 kurai-daro—molar tooth  
 kuru gucci—heel  
 kuths-muThu—straw  
 kha—bitter  
 khality—ring  
 khelle ko—swing (v.)  
 khetti (IA)—crop  
 khisə-nahū—unhappy  
 khoi—open (knot, v.)  
 khoTε—strong (human)  
 khoTTa—hard  
 khuDD—play (v.)  
 khuri—stream  
 khusə (IA)—happy  
 khuTu-kəni—ladder  
 (kaŋa) khə—close (eyes, v.)  
 khəbε-ru—mouth  
 khəccər (IA)—mule  
 khəDya—mortar  
 khəhaDyo—not smooth  
 khəi—do (v.)  
 khəi—open (door, v.)  
 khəi-pi-yakə—carry (on back, v.)

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

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

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

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

taro lao ko—thresh (v.)  
 taru—uvula  
 tɛo—hot plate  
 ti—rain  
 ti—water  
 to-lo—towards  
 to-nɛko—pull out (v.)  
 tonə—bring out (v.)  
 tu—lift (v.)  
 tu—pluck (v.)  
 tuha-poTha—chicken  
 tuŋ—drink (v.)  
 tyohar (IA)—festival  
 tha-pi—carry (in hand, v.)  
 tha—bring down (v.)  
 tha—keep (v.)  
 than—temple  
 thepɛ—dark  
 thi-u—sweet  
 thokkulə—few/a few  
 thukkəw (IA)—phlegm  
 thuri—calf (of buffalo)  
 thəpy—increase (v.)  
 thətta—upwards  
 Tāgy (IA)—hang (v.)  
 Toka—bear (animal)  
 Tolheriya—red  
 Theŋto—dry (wood)  
 The—shallow  
 ThəNDi-ua—cold (to get)  
 ThəTTa—up  
 Thəura—floor  
 Thəura—place  
 uDar—cave (natural)  
 udhru—collapse (house; v.)  
 uDə (IA)—fly (v.)  
 ugha—cave (man made)  
 ugha—hole  
 ugha—nostrils  
 ukhal—vomit  
 ukhal-lyo—vomit (v.)  
 upasy (IA)—fast (to observe)

uttər (IA)—north  
 whaiDola—bad  
 xā-jibari—brave  
 xāwaĩnhĩ—two and a quarter  
 xakɛ lao—milch (v.)  
 xattāō (IA)—seventh  
 xax-ghə—breathe (v.)  
 xaxɛ—breath  
 xɛ (IA)—hundred  
 xɛnə—hill, mountain  
 xode—ask (v.)  
 xoŋru—narrow  
 xu—who  
 xū bhag (TB IA)—three quarters  
 xū bhag—triple  
 xūŋ phera—thrice  
 xūwāyə—one and a quarter  
 xu-khəi—how  
 xua—leaf  
 xua—parrot  
 xuāki-hā-hā—nearly  
 xuai—that  
 xuaila/-jəmma—these  
 xui—blood  
 xui—needle  
 xukə—cough (v.)  
 xuŋ—three  
 xunəŋ—gold  
 xuru—lemon  
 xutəDya—rotten  
 xəjao-ko—castrate (v.)  
 xəkkiua—end  
 xəmicca khəi (IA)—consult (v.)  
 xəŋ kya—suspect (v.)  
 xəmau (IA)—ashamed of  
 xəɾəppə—python  
 xəsto (IA)—cheap  
 xəttə (IA)—seven  
 xəwa-di-lagg—enjoy (v.)  
 xəwtɛ (IA)—co wife  
 yon—path

## English-Raji Glossary

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



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

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

- easy — hærje  
 eat (v.) — ja  
 echo — bæcæn-phærakyor  
 egg — æŋDa (IA)  
 eight — æTT hæ (IA)  
 elbow — guru  
 elder brother's wife — boji  
 empty — khæni  
 end — xækkiua  
 enjoy (v.) — xæwa-di-lagg  
 evening — byarko  
 extinguish (v.) — seræ  
 eye brow — debuli  
 eye lashes — mhike-hanu  
 eye — mhike  
 father's sister (younger or older)  
     — nhĩ-yǎ  
 father's mother; mother's mother  
     — æmmǎ  
 father's sister's husband; elder sister's  
     husband — ga-ni  
 father's elder brother — dukæiya  
 face — mhəŋ  
 fall down (vi.) — Dhǎu  
 fall down (vt.) — gurkanu  
 family — pæriwaru  
 fan (v.) — bæyar-hai bæ  
 fang — daro  
 far — ændher-ləŋka  
 fast (to observe) — upasy  
 fasten (v.) — hənly  
 fat — moŋiya  
 fat, grease — bæxe  
 father — ba  
 feast — jæmmæn  
 feather — pækha  
 feel (v.) — sida hua ræ  
 female — mā  
 festival — tyohar  
 few/a few — thokkulæ  
 field — gædi  
 fifth — pŋǎũ  
 fight (v.) — take  
 fill (grain, v.) — (ore)-ku  
 fill (liquid, v.) — bhər  
 finger — āgulya  
 finish (v.) — hækya  
 fire — mhē  
 firewood — kaŋhəŋ  
 first — gintako  
 first — suru ko (IA)  
 first milk — bigəuta  
 fish — bura  
 fist — muŋika  
 five — pŋǎ  
 flame — luŋ-harē  
 flat — babbər-hāinæ  
 flesh — sya  
 flexible — ciləbəkya  
 floor — Thəura  
 flour — piŋhu  
 flower — phuləŋ  
 fly (v.) — uDæ  
 fly — bhukəy  
 foam — Dola  
 fodder — dalo  
 food — nako  
 foot — bha  
 forbid — hāga habæ  
 forehead — kəpal  
 forest — manəŋ  
 forget (v.) — bhull (IA)  
 fortnight — nihapta (TB-IA)  
 four — pari  
 four times — pari phera (TB-IA)  
 fourth — pariũ (TB-IA)  
 fox — syaDi  
 fresh — haniunto  
 frog — gugæcca  
 frost — palo  
 fruit — phəl  
 full — bhərætæ  
 father's younger brother; mother's  
     younger sister's husband — kakka

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

hut — nao  
 I (1sg. pronoun) — ne  
 ice — himar  
 in front of — həmaniyā  
 incisors — dherə-daro  
 increase (stretch) — tany  
 increase (v.) — thəpy  
 insect — dida-kidmala  
 inside — bhitori  
 intestines — 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.) — pəTT  
 jump (v.) — maTT o-hā  
 keep (v.) — tha  
 key — cabi  
 kidney — gurəiya  
 kill (v.) — hatə  
 kiss (v.) — laDə hā  
 kite — gəruryə  
 knead (v.) — hyāku  
 knee — puhe  
 knot — gāThi (IA)  
 know (v.) — dəhəu  
 lac — lisse  
 ladder — khuTu-kəni  
 lake — tallə  
 language — boli  
 large — biəna  
 last — cəhTako  
 last year — rokka-bərəxə  
 lastly — cyuTTi  
 lay down (v.) — loT  
 leaf — xua  
 leak (v.) — cuə-mhā  
 leave (v.) — haDDo-rugga-hā  
 leech — jok

leg — bhala  
 lemon — xuru  
 lie (v.) — jhuTi-hā-sya  
 lift (v.) — tu  
 light (lamp) — silkə  
 light — sonj  
 light (fire; v.) — mhūtə  
 like that — ap-khəitə  
 like this — in-khəitə  
 lion — bagho (IA)  
 lips — ciuDya  
 listen (v.) — nhikkə-kun  
 liver — mulya  
 lizard (wild) — birəñ-sya  
 log — həro  
 loin — kəmbər (IA)  
 long, tall — lanğe  
 look after (v.) — gəĩ-hā  
 loose — silo  
 loud — bəina-hattə  
 louse egg — likkya  
 louse — sirə  
 love — nhikko many  
 low — nicco (IA)  
 low voice — həjje  
 lungs — phapsu  
 mother's elder sister's husband  
     — dukəiya  
 mother's younger sister — kāĩ-ja  
 mother's mother's mother — māi-ju  
 mother's brother (elder or younger)  
     — mammā  
 madly — pəglyu-wata  
 maize — ghoga  
 male — ba  
 mango — abəŋ  
 many — jhikkəl  
 measure (v.) — nap  
 meat — sya  
 medicine — okhadi  
 meet (v.) — bhiTTY  
 melt (vi.) — gəll

melt (vt.) — gal  
 memory — phām  
 milch (v.) — xakε lao  
 milk — dudhəŋ  
 molar tooth — kurai-daro  
 molasses — gurəŋ  
 mole — cilkunti  
 money — dhən (IA)  
 monkey — maŦa  
 month — mōina (IA)  
 moon — junnə  
 morning — həŋə-lε  
 morning — rattəi  
 mortar — khəDya  
 mosquito — ləm-jun-yē  
 moss/swamp — selo  
 mother — ija  
 mountain — bhiTTa  
 mouse — māxā  
 mouth — khəbε-ru  
 move (v.) — haro  
 much — əndher  
 mud — kəcar  
 mule — khəccər (IA)  
 mushroom — Dumba  
 my, mine — na-ā  
 nail — kili  
 nail — nihəŋ  
 name (to give) — namyo tha  
 name — nam  
 narrow — xoŋru  
 navel — pute  
 near — nəjik  
 near — nəjikəlhō  
 nearly — xuāki-hā-hā  
 neck — Giddə  
 need (v.) — cai  
 needle — xui  
 nest — ghulli  
 net — jali  
 new — noŋ  
 next — duxuro

next year — jibi  
 nine — nouwā (IA)  
 nipple — cucca-gədaw  
 no — hā-hā  
 node (v.) — gara ghəi  
 noon — cəkəl  
 north — uttər  
 nose — sina  
 nostrils — ugha  
 not smooth — khəhaDyo  
 now — əb  
 obey (v.) — mann  
 obstruct (v.) — har khəi  
 occupy (v.) — panikə khəi  
 offer (v.) — bε ko  
 often — kəbhəi-kəbhəi  
 oil (v.) — maDDo-bəi  
 oil — baxa  
 old — buDha  
 old — puran  
 once — Dah phera  
 one and 3 quarters — pau nāi nhī  
 one and a half — Dhīŋ  
 one and a quarter — xūwāyə  
 one — Da/Dah  
 one fourth — paryū bhag  
 onion — pyaji  
 only — jhaīcəla  
 only — sirphə  
 open (door, v.) — khəi  
 open (knot, v.) — khoi  
 orange — narəŋgi  
 our — na-nike  
 outside — bahəry  
 paddy — gaDa  
 paint (v.) — rəŋyā ko  
 pair — joDa  
 palm — ha-kə  
 parrot — xua  
 part — bhak  
 pastle — mohləŋ

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

ready—təiyar  
 rear (v.)—par  
 rebuke (v.)—mā-kəi-nε-ko  
 red—Tolhəriya  
 refined butter—ghīəɲ  
 refuse (v.)—hā-hā-kəi  
 regularly—hədiaro  
 relatives—mal-mittər-hī  
 relax (v.)—ləTai-huā  
 religion—dhərmə  
 reply (v.)—bətkaο phərkaο-ko  
 report (v.)—bətkaο ko  
 return (v.)—bhərəkyaο-bi  
 ribs—phaɲDə  
 rice (cooked)—bhəttə  
 rice—daru  
 ring—khaligy  
 rinse (v.)—khəlka  
 ripen (v.)—sinə  
 roast (v.)—palo ko  
 roll up—be ryu  
 rolled—bāTla  
 roof—pakha  
 root—jədao  
 rope—jəura  
 rotten—xutəDya  
 rough—jigutə  
 round—bāTulo  
 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—səmdi  
 sacrifice (v.)—pujo-ko  
 salt—māhā  
 same—ailə, ailə  
 sand—bəlyya  
 save (v.)—hə-bēcū  
 saw (v.)—cir

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



till now — ətəl-jhani  
 till what time — kināo  
 tobacco — tāmaku  
 today — dāi  
 tomorrow — kəllə  
 tongue — jibəro  
 tooth — daro  
 towards — to-lo  
 tree/wood — siŋ  
 tremble (v.) — kammōhā  
 triple — xu bhag  
 twice — nhīphera  
 two and 3 quarters — pau nāi xū  
 two and a half — aDaīŋ  
 two and a quarter — xāwaīnhī  
 two — nhī  
 understand (v.) — ci-hāmē-ja  
 unhappy — khisə-nahū  
 unrolled — dhəssyo  
 up — ThəTTa  
 upwards — thətta  
 urine — chi  
 use (v.) — əitana-cai  
 usually — babbər  
 utensils — bhāDela  
 uvula — taru  
 valley — bin-ti-khori  
 village — pāo  
 vomit (v.) — ukhal-lyo  
 vomit — ukhal  
 vulture — gidha  
 waist — kəmbər  
 wall — baDə  
 walnut — əkhrot  
 want (v.) — caiyo rē  
 wash (v.) — ci pē  
 water — ti  
 water-pot — phəŋlo  
 we (excl.) — nani ja lə  
 we (incl.) — nani  
 we two — naji

weak (breakable) — jəgarəi  
 weak (human) — kəmjor, kəcua  
 wear (clothes; v.) — neli  
 wear (ornaments; v.) — ləga  
 weave (v.) — pa ko  
 week — həpta  
 weep (v.) — kərə  
 west — pəchāh  
 wet (clothes) — kaco  
 wet (to get) — jhī-yē  
 wet (wood) — kaco, həriyo  
 what — həy,hā  
 wheat — ghuməŋ  
 when — kināo  
 where — gəu  
 white — dhəurya  
 whole — əi-jəmməl  
 who — xu  
 widower (address) — raŋiūā  
 widow — raŋiū  
 wife (address) — mete  
 wife (ref) — na-naokəhī  
 wife's brother's wife — bhəiñyā  
 wife's elder brother — jeThu  
 wife's elder sister's husband — da  
 wife's elder sister — jeThu sali  
 wife's father; father's father; mother's  
 father — 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 — bəyar (IA)  
 winnow (v.) — pato pəko  
 win — jītūbwa  
 work (v.) — kam khəi  
 worship (v.) — puja khəi  
 wring (v.) — nicory  
 write (v.) — lekhh (IA)  
 younger sister's husband — juāi  
 yak — juppa

yawn (v.)—hao-hao lagua

year—bərəxə

yellow—pero

yes—əhəi

yesterday—byarə

you (pl.)—nəni

you (sg.)—nəŋ

young—hapar

younger brother's wife—buari

your (pl.)—nəni-la-kɛ

your (sg.)—nəŋ-gɛ

