

## Language acquisition: some aspects

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### Abstract

Language is very important part of human life. Communication between people not only enables them to understand one- another but aids in developing relationships and allows them to share their problems, suggestions, and plans. Thus, language is crucial part of our everyday life. But how do we learn language? How do we know what to say and when to say certain things? The present paper discusses various aspects of language acquisition.

**Key words:** language acquisition, Behaviorist and Mentalistic

### Language a special gift

*After all, stupid people learn to talk, but even the brightest apes do not.*  
- Chomsky and Miller

Language is the 'species-specific' and 'species-uniform' possession of man. It is God's special gift to mankind. It is an essential part of human life. Without language man would have remained only a dumb animal. It is our ability to communicate through words that makes us different from animals. Birds, insects the animals also have their own system of communication, they produce particular sounds on particular occasions but these sounds are extremely limited so cannot be considered as speech. Whereas through language human beings can convey a large number, rather an infinite set, of messages. We various things in the world and meet with different kinds of people and we use various words, sentences and phrases etc. to respond with others. It is only through the language that we are able to learn, to think, feel and express ourselves. Therefore, Gleason remarks:

*Language is one of the most important and characteristic form of human behaviour.*

### What is Language acquisition?

Language acquisition is the process by which humans acquire the capacity to perceive and comprehend language, as-well-as to produce and use words to communicate. The capacity to successfully use language requires one to pick up a range of tools including syntax, phonetics, and an extensive vocabulary. Language acquisition usually refers to first language acquisition, which studies infants' acquisition of their mother tongue of first language. According to Pit Corder:

*Language acquisition takes place during the period when the infant is maturing physically and mentally.*

This is distinguished from learning a second language, which normally starts at a later stage, when language performance has already become established and when many other physical and mental processes of maturations are complete or near completion.

**How is a language acquired?**

Language acquisition is concerned with how a child acquires a language system as his mother tongue. It investigates processes involved in acquiring language natively. Pit Corder rightly points out:

*Language acquisition takes place in the infant and the young child at a time when he is acquiring many other skills and much other knowledge about the world.*

The term, therefore, is used with reference to a ‘first language’ which a child acquired “naturally” and “informally” during his childhood.

Every normal child acquires a language, his first language (or ‘native tongue’), in the first few years of life. Usually a child can communicate freely by the time he goes to school. Beyond puberty, our command of language shows little progress, though in some areas – our vocabulary, for instance – learning continues through our life span. First language acquisition is thus primary in at least two ways: in term of sequences (first) and in terms of (mostly life-long) importance.

‘A child may be exposed to two (or even more) languages right from the beginning, for example if his parents use different languages.’ In this case, we may still speak of ‘first language acquisition’ – except that not one but two languages are ‘first’. In other words, a language is first – and so is its acquisition – if no other language was acquired before; otherwise, it is second. The distinction is neat if acquisition of the second language begins when acquisition of the first is over, as is typically after the case of puberty.’

Recent advances in functional neuroimaging technology have allowed for a better understanding of how language acquisition is manifested physically in the brain. Language acquisition almost always occurs in children during a period of rapid increase in brain volume. At this point in development, a child has much more neural connections than he or she will have as an adult, allowing for the child to be more able to learn new things than he or she would be as an adult.

Average Age	Language Development
6 Months	Cooing, changes to distinct babbling by introduction of consonants.
1 Year	Beginning of language understanding; one-word utterances.
12-18 Months	Single word use; repertoire of 30-50 words (simple nouns, adjectives, and action words) which cannot as yet be joined in phrases but are used one at a time does not use functions (the, and, can, be) necessary for syntax, but makes good progress in understanding.
18-24 Months	Two-word phrases ordered according to syntactic rules; vocabulary of 50 to several hundred words.
2 Years	New words every day; three or more words in many combinations; functions begin to appear, many grammatical errors and idiosyncratic expressions; good understanding of language.
3 Years	Full sentences; few errors, vocabulary of around 1,000 words
4 Years	Close to adult speech competence.

Children learn on average 10 to 15 new word meanings each day, but only one of these words can be accounted for by direct instruction. The other 9 to 14-word meanings need to be picked up in some other way. When they meet an unfamiliar word, children can use information in its context to correctly guess its rough area of meaning.

### **Approaches to the Study of Language Acquisition:**

#### **Behaviorist and Mentalistic**

There have been two approaches to the study that how children acquire language, these two are known as 'behaviourist' approach and 'mentalistic' approach to the language acquisition.

The behaviourist believe that the language acquisition is the result of experience and environmental influence. According to them, a child acquires a language through his experience and environment affects helps him in the acquisition of the language. Mentalistic, on other hand believe that the process of language acquisition is an "innate endowment" or an "inborn mechanism". According to this view 'children are born with knowledge of the basic grammatical relations and categories, for example, subject, verb and object, noun, verbs, determiners, and auxiliary element. This knowledge is universal, that is, these categories and relations exist in all human languages and all human infants are born with knowledge of them.'

From the behaviourist point of view, language is not a "mental phenomenon"; it is "behaviour". Like other forms of human behaviour, it is learnt by process of "habit-formation", whereas mentalists believe that language is not behaviour like other behaviours, but a "species-specific" and "species-uniform". According to behaviourists, children learn a language by "imitation". They imitate sounds so that these become habits. The mentalists, on other hand, consider language acquisition as a "creative" process.

#### **Chomsky's Theory of Language Acquisition**

Noam Chomsky is perhaps the best known and the most influential linguist of the second half of the Twentieth Century. He has made a number of strong claims about language. According to his theory there is an innate capacity for acquiring language and children are born with this capacity. According to Noam Chomsky:

*We are born with a set of rules about language in our heads which he refers to as the 'Universal Grammar'. The universal grammar is the basis upon which all human language build. If a Martian linguist were to visit Earth, he would deduce from the evidence that there was only one language, with a number of local variants.*

Chomsky gives a number of reasons why this should be so. Among the most important of these reasons is the ease with which children acquire their mother tongue. He claims that it would be little short of a miracle if children learnt their language in the same way that they learn mathematics or how to ride a bicycle. To describe this capacity, Chomsky has postulated a device which is called "Language Acquisition Device" (LAD) Chomsky believes:

*Without postulating such a device, it is impossible to understand how children master their native language in such a short time in spite of the highly abstract nature of the rules.*

It is presumed the human nervous system is equipped with the Language Acquisition Device, "a neurological system prewired in such a way that a person is able to process and receive language." It may be pointed out that Language Acquisition Device "is not actually a structure of the brain but the innate capacity to learn grammar."

## Conclusion

Children are exposed to very little correctly formed language. When people speak, they constantly interrupt themselves, change their minds, make slips of the tongue and so on. Yet children manage to learn their language all the same. Children do not simply copy the language that they hear around them. They deduce rules from it, which they can then use to produce sentences that they have never heard before. They do not learn a repertoire of phrases and sayings, as the behaviourists believe, but a grammar that generates infinity of sentences.

When the child begins to listen to his parents, he unconsciously recognizes which kind of a language he is dealing with – and he sets his grammar to the correct one – this is known as ‘setting the parameters’.

It is as if the child were offered at birth a certain number of hypotheses, which he or she then matches with what is happening around him. He knows intuitively that there are some words that behave like verbs and other like nouns, and that there is a limited set of possibilities as to their ordering within the phrase. This is not information that he is taught directly by the adults that surround him, but information that is given. It is as if the traveler were provided at the beginning of his journey with a compass and an astrolabe. This set of language learning tools, provided at birth, is referred to by Chomsky as the Language Acquisition Device.

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## Causitavization in Kumaun Raji

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### Abstract

This paper attempts to throw light on the process of causitavization in an endangered language Raji, spoken in the districts of Pithoragarh and Champawat in the state of Uttarakhand, India. This language belongs to the Raji- Raute group of Himalayish branch of Tibeto- Burman family.

**Key words:** Raji community. Causative construction, Tibeto- Burman, lexical, morphological

### Introduction

*Raji* is a little- known tribal community that was brought into light for the first time in 1823 by the then commissioner of Kumaun G.W. Traill. In India they have been located living in small, remote and distant hamlets, consisting from four to fifteen households. Presently they are confined to eleven villages<sup>1</sup> in the two districts - Pithoragarh and Champawat in the state of Uttarakhand. Most of these hamlets lie in an inhospitable terrain amidst dense forests at an altitude ranging from 2000ft to 6000ft above sea level far away from the surrounding Kumauni villages. A culturally contiguous Raji- Raute tribe also lives in the southwest and western regions of Nepal. From time to time different researchers have worked to record the population of this tribe. As it is a semi- nomadic forager tribe it is often difficult to collect the exact demographic details. In the 2011 census report their population was counted as 732 in all the hamlets.

The word Raji (ISO 639-3 code *jnl*) is an ethnonym used both for the group and the language they speak. During interviews I have noticed that *Rajis* in India use a word *b<sup>h</sup>ulla*<sup>2</sup> for themselves, this confirms that *Raji* is indeed an exonym<sup>3</sup> a name given by

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<sup>1</sup>Kimkhola, Bhogtirua, Ganagaon, Chipaltara, KuTachaurani, Altodi, Jamtari, Madanbori and Khirdwari, Chakarpurand Kulekh.

<sup>2</sup> It is an autonym/ endonym – ‘a group’s name for itself (self name).’ This term is used by Matisoff

<sup>3</sup> Diffloth had suggested the term exonym to Matisoff. He submitted this in his monograph titled ‘Languages and Dialects of Tibeto-Burman (1996).’

the outsiders. It is a language of the Himalayish subgroup within Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan language family. The purpose of the present paper is to describe causative constructions of this endangered language which is quickly assimilating in its dominant neighbouring language Kumauni. The main source of the following analysis and description of causative constructions of Raji is authors own field study.

### **The notion of Causative construction**

Basically, this term refers to the causal relationship between alternative versions of a sentence. The "...causative does not promote a term, but adds a new argument that represents the notional causer, which can be considered as having the new grammatical role of causer, placing it in subject, while demoting the original subject to oblique or peripheral status'(Palmer: 1994:214).

In this type of construction valence of the verb is increased from its corresponding non causative one. There is always a causee and a causer. They can be formed on the basis of intransitive and transitive caused events. It can be said that any expression that contains in semantic structure a predicate of cause, one argument of which is a predicate expressing an effect is called a causative (Payne:176).

### **Causitavization in Raji**

Causative constructions can be classified into two major types based on the productivity or regularity of causative forms, namely, productive causatives and lexical causatives. Productive causatives may be further classified into subtypes: syntactic and morphological causatives. Syntactic causatives are alternatively called as analytic causatives or periphrastic causatives. Morphological causatives are alternatively called as synthetic causatives; thus, we can say that causatives can broadly be classified into three types. In Raji three types of causative constructions are found-

- (1) Lexical causatives
- (2) Morphological causatives
- (3) Periphrastic causatives

Most languages have some lexical causatives. Here the notion of cause is wrapped up in the verb itself. It is not expressed by any additional operator (Payne 2007:177). There are three subtypes of lexical causatives-

- No change in verb
- Some idiosyncratic change in verb
- altogether different verb

The third group is found in Raji. For example-

(1)

a.

bora	ʃij
fish	died

‘The fish died.’

b.

əi	bora	hətaʔ
he	fish	killed

‘He killed a fish.’

c.

mħe	luŋ
fire	burnt

‘The fire burnt.’

d.

ija	mħe	mutja	re
mother	fire	burnt	realis

‘Mother lit the fire.’

Morphological causativization in Raji is productive and can be formed by affixation. Two types of morphological causatives are found in Raji.

In the following examples causative marker -te ~ -ta is suffixed to the verb. Consider the following examples-

(2)

a.

ti	bi	ha	re
water	come	PROG	realis

‘It is raining.’

b.

ija	gedəl	ti	bi-te~ta	ha	re
mother	child	water	bring-CAUS	PROG	realis

‘The mother is bringing water for the child.’



c.

āgulija	kəTi	gəwɑ	kəija
finger	Cut	PST	knife

‘I have cut my finger.’

d.

ja	ha	re	kəʈto	te~ta	əbəŋ	kəija
consume	PROG	realis	cut	CAUS	mango	knife

‘I am eating mango after making it cut with the knife.’

According to Bendict (1972:97), the suffix \*-t functions as causative or directive. This PTB suffix\*-t functions as causativizer in Raji also as is clear from the above example.

The second type of morphological causative in Raji is formed by devoicing the initial sound of intransitive verb roots. According to Bendict (1972:104), the prefix\*s- is reflected in aspiration or devoicing of initials. In these causatives the initials of intransitive verb roots are devoiced. The reason behind devoicing of the initials is the prefix\*s- is attached to verb roots and due to the progressive assimilation, it extends its voiceless feature to the initials of the base and it is normally dropped without trace. It must be noted that \*s- functions as causative, directive or intensive with verb roots (Bendict1972:97).

Consider the following examples-

(3)

a.

giləja	gəɽe	ku
glass	broke	

‘The glass broke down.’

b.

na	giləja	kəɽe	ku
I	glass	broke CAUS	

‘I broke the glass.’

c.

əi	j <sup>h</sup> ikkəl	kəʈ <sup>h</sup> əŋ	gəlte	ha	re
he/she	a lot	wood	sell	PROG	realis

‘s/he was selling a lot of wood.’

d.

bəjar	nəni	j <sup>h</sup> ikkəl	kəʈ <sup>h</sup> əŋ	kəlte	ha	re
he/she	we(wo)	a lot	Wood	sell CAUS	PROG	realis

‘Yesterday a lot of wood was sold by us.’

In both the examples voiced plosive /g/ is devoiced as/k/.



Another common process of causative constructions in Raji is by the use of periphrastic causatives. In this case a vector using causative meaning comes before the infinitive form of a main verb. Raji uses ha~pa which means ‘to cause’. For citation-

(4)

a.

geda	lhu	ha	re
child	bath	PROG	Realis

‘The child is taking bath.’

b.

ija	geda	halhu	ha	re
mother	child	bath CAUS	PROG	realis

‘The mother is bathing the child.’

gedəl	dud <sup>h</sup> əŋ	ja	ha	re
child	milk	consume	PROG	realis

‘The child is drinking milk.’

d.

ija	gedəl	dud <sup>h</sup> əŋ	haiʔe	ha	re
mother	child	milk	made drink	PROG	realis

‘The mother made the child drink milk.’

e.

gedal	iʃe	ha	re
child	sleep	PROG	realis

‘The child is sleeping.’

f.

diddja	gedəl	paiʃe	ha	re
elder sister	child	make her/ him sleep	PROG	realis

‘The elder sister makes the child sleep.’

### **Conclusion**

On the basis of the above description it can be underlined that Raji as spoken in India has three types of causative constructions. Sometimes causitavization is expressed through independent words. Another process works at morphological level and prefix\*-s and suffix\*-t is added to the main verb to form the causatives. In the third type of constructions a vector bearing causative meaning comes before the infinitive form of the main verb.

### **Abbreviations**

CAUS Causative                    PROG            Progressive  
PTB     Proto Tibeto- Burman

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## A Note on Kumaun Raji<sup>1</sup>

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**Name of the Tribe** - Raji / Banraut, Banmanus, Raut, Rajbaar

**Name of the language** - Raji / Rawati / Rauti<sup>2</sup> / Rajbaari / *janggali*

**Altitudinal range of their hamlets**- 2000 to 6000ft above sea level.

**Ecology** - Subtropical deciduous forests with a prominence of ‘Sal’ and ‘Bamboo’. Pine forests are also found in some places. Some edible plants of their area are- *malu*, *timur* and *tarur*.

**Population** - 732 according to 2011 census. The population data collected by the team of Society for Endangered and Lesser-known Languages (SEL) in 2019 was 899. Due to socio- economic backwardness, the government of India has identified Rajis as a primitive tribe in 1965 and as scheduled tribe in June 1967.

**Physical appearance** - In physical appearance, presently Rajis exhibit mixed physical traits of Aryans, Dravidians and Mongoloids. They are of wheatish complexion, of average height have straight and scanty hair of slight brownish colour, intermediate headed type with medium nose, round to long face, small eyes with grey pigments.

**Genetic Relationship of the Raji language**- The language is historically and genetically related to the Tibeto-Burman family, although there are linguists who are unsure of this due to observed Munda influences. Grierson, in his book ‘Linguistic Survey of India’ had named their language as ‘*janggali*’ and grouped it with Tibeto-Burman which was supported by Chatterjee also. Sharma S.R. (1987) and Sharma D.D. (1994) have suggested that the linguistic components of Raji language were paleo-linguistic relics of some of the Munda dialects, which, in the ancient past were spoken in the Himalayan region. In my previous works (Rastogi: 2002; 2012) I have tried to establish that though this indigenous language belongs to Central Himalayish branch of Tibeto-Burman family yet long contact with Indo- Aryan languages like Kumauni and Hindi has not only affected its vocabulary but also its grammar.

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<sup>1</sup> To differentiate this language form from Nepali Raji I have used this term.

<sup>2</sup> In my earlier works I have used a name **Rawati or Rauti** for their language. It was not my decision it was preferred by the community. But the term created confusion among the academic circle. People started to relate this tribe with other Hill groups like **Rawats** and a few of them even considered them Rajputs. So, to curb this wrong notion I again started using the exonym ‘**Raji**’ which was commonly used in Government documents also.

3. Names of their hamlets are-- *Altodi*, *Jamtadi*, *Chaurani*, *Kimkhola*, *Madanbori*, *Bhoktirwa*, *Ganagaon*, *Chipaltara*, *Chakarpur*, *Kulekh*, and *Khirdwari*.

**Kinship Organization** -Nuclear families, monogamy, ethnic group endogamy, classificatory kinship terms, custom of bride price.

**Religion** - They call themselves Hindus. Worship Hindu Gods and Goddesses but they do believe in spirits and goblins. During my first field I noticed that the names of their God and Goddess were different but now they have started using same as Kumauni people.

**Occupation** – The government of India tried to settle this hunter -gatherer group twice. Presently all the families are living a sedentary life in eleven hamlets<sup>3</sup> and their main occupations are- agriculture, woodcutting, raising livestock and daily wage labourers.

**Education** - Only 5% of the total population was literate in 2006 but now the situation is different. Most of the Raji children study in tribal schools but many of them leave the school after class seven or eight.

**Area & Occupation-** The government of India tried to settle this hunter -gatherer group twice. Presently all the families are living a sedentary life in eleven hamlets<sup>4</sup> and their main occupations are- agriculture, woodcutting, raising livestock and daily wage labourers in the two districts- Pithoragarh and Champawat in the state of Uttarakhand, India.

### Swadesh Word List -100 of three Kumaun Raji areas-

SL.	English	Raji	Raji <sup>5</sup>	Dharchula Raji <sup>6</sup>	Khirdwari Raji <sup>7</sup>
1	I	ना	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
2	you (singular)	नड	<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>
3	he	अइ / आइ	<i>əɪ / aɪ</i>	<i>hwe</i>	<i>ai</i>
4	we	नानि	<i>nanɪ</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nani</i>
5	you (plural)	नड	<i>nəŋ</i>		<i>nəŋ-ni/nhimi</i>
6	they	व्हइला जम्मा	<i>whəɪla ʃəm̩ma</i>	<i>hoi</i>	<i>əhəɪ/ai-ʃəmməl</i>
7	this	अइ	<i>əɪ</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>əɪ</i>
8	that	व्हाइ	<i>whaɪ</i>	<i>hwe</i>	<i>ai</i>

<sup>5</sup> I have mainly collected data from the speakers of Altodi, Jamtadi, Kimkhola and Ganagaon in the year 2001 - 2004

<sup>6</sup> I am thankful to Johan Reinhard for sharing his data collected in 1976 from Dharchula Tehsil.

<sup>7</sup> Shree Krishan collected data before 2001 from Khirdwari, a newly formed Raji hamlet of Champawat district.

9	here	अइया	<i>aɪja</i>	<i>aɪja</i>	<i>aɪ-ja</i>
10	there	आइया	<i>aɪja</i>	<i>dohai</i>	<i>aɪja</i>
11	who	खूँ	<i>kʰũ</i>	<i>shũ</i>	<i>xu</i>
12	what	हड / खड	<i>həŋ / kʰəŋ</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>həŋ~hã</i>
13	where	गोहा	<i>goha</i>	<i>gəʋho</i>	<i>guha</i>
14	when	कबय / किनो	<i>kəbəj / kɪno</i>	<i>suandəkʰa</i>	<i>kinao</i>
15	how (much)	घे	<i>gʰɛ</i>	<i>həbətkan</i>	<i>xu-khəi</i>
16	not	हा	<i>ha</i>	<i>hã</i>	<i>hã (no)</i>
17	all	जम्मा / जम्मल	<i>ʃəmma / ʃəmməl</i>	<i>ʃəməlai</i>	<i>ʃəmməl</i>
18	many	झिक्कल / झिक्क	<i>ʃʰɪkkəl / ʃʰɪkk</i>	<i>ʃɪkəla</i>	<i>ʃʰɪkkəl</i>
19	some	हचा	<i>hətʃa</i>	-	-
20	few	इतुड / इतुश्या	<i>ɪtʊd / ɪtʊʃja</i>	<i>dʒɪkəl hwe</i>	<i>thokkulə</i>
21	other	च्यूह	<i>tʃjuh</i>	<i>aʋr</i>	-
22	one	डा / दा	<i>ɖa / da</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ɖa/ɖah</i>
23	two	नी / न्ही	<i>ni / nhi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nhi</i>
24	three	खुड	<i>kʰʊŋ</i>	<i>sʊŋ</i>	<i>xuŋ</i>
25	four	पाड़ि	<i>paɽɪ</i>	<i>pəri / paɽɪ</i>	<i>paɽɪ</i>
26	five	पँडा	<i>pəŋa</i>	<i>pəŋa</i>	<i>pŋã</i>
27	big	बइना	<i>bəɪna</i>	<i>bəɪna</i>	<i>bəɪna</i>
28	long	लड	<i>ləŋ</i>	<i>ləŋe</i>	<i>lange</i>
29	wide	पेनू	<i>penu</i>	<i>peno</i>	
30	thick	मोट्या	<i>moɽja</i>	<i>bakero</i>	<i>bakero (for liquids)</i>
31	heavy	नाली	<i>nali</i>	<i>nali</i>	<i>nali</i>
32	small	तुहा /	<i>tuha</i>	<i>tuha</i>	<i>tuha</i>
33	short	चुइ	<i>tʃʊɪ</i>	<i>soto</i>	-
34	narrow	-	-	<i>səŋo</i>	<i>xoŋru</i>

35	thin	हापुर	<i>hapur</i>	<i>məfɪno</i>	<i>həpurə</i> (for liquids)
36	woman	मट्या	<i>mətʰja</i>	<i>mala /</i> <i>mətʰɪa</i>	-
37	man (adult male)	मंछ / मंछवह	<i>məntʃʰ /</i> <i>məntʃʰəwəh</i>	<i>bala /</i> <i>ba</i>	<i>ba(male)</i>
38	man (human being)	मंछ / मंछवह	<i>məntʃʰ /</i> <i>məntʃʰəwəh</i>		
39	child	गेदा	<i>geda</i>	<i>geda</i>	<i>geda</i>
40	wife	मेते	<i>metɛ</i>	<i>mete</i>	<i>mete</i>
41	husband	नाओके / परीयार / मीतेये	<i>naoke /</i> <i>pərijar</i> <i>/ miteje</i>		<i>giro</i>
42	mother	इजा	<i>ɪdʒa</i>	<i>ɪdʒɪa</i>	<i>ɪdʒa</i>
43	father	बा	<i>ba</i>	<i>bəba</i>	<i>ba</i>
44	animal	डिडो / डीडों	<i>dɪɲo / dɪɲõ</i>	<i>pəʃʊ</i>	<i>gəʃʃə/əʃʃɪ</i>
45	fish	बोरा	<i>bora</i>	<i>bora</i>	<i>bura</i>
46	bird	ब्वाँ	<i>bwã</i>	<i>bwa</i>	<i>bos</i>
47	dog	कुइ	<i>kʊɪ</i>	<i>kwi</i>	<i>kʊɪ</i>
48	louse	शिर	<i>fɪr</i>	<i>fɪre</i>	<i>sɪrə</i>
49	snake	माबू	<i>mabu</i>	-	<i>mabu</i>
50	worm	कीरे	<i>kire</i>	<i>kira</i>	
51	tree	शिड	<i>fɪɳ</i>	<i>fɪɳ</i>	<i>sɪɳ</i>
52	forest	मनड	<i>mənəɳ</i>		<i>mənəɳ</i>
53	stick	शेटा / जाँठो / डेन्तु / ठयन्तो	<i>fɛtə /</i> <i>dɛntʊ /</i> <i>tʰəjntʊ</i>	-	<i>dʒãtʰo</i>
54	fruit	फल	<i>pʰəl</i>	-	<i>pʰəl</i>
55	seed	बिये	<i>bije</i>	<i>bije</i>	<i>bije</i>
56	leaf	हुवा / खुवा	<i>hʊwa / kʰʊwa</i>	<i>wha</i>	<i>xua</i>
57	root	जड़ा / जर	<i>dʒəɽa / dʒər</i>	<i>dʒəra</i>	<i>dʒədao</i>

58	bark (of a tree)	खल्लाव	<i>kʰəllaw</i>	<i>kərtiə</i>	<i>sɪŋ kʰəllaw</i>
59	flower	फुलंड	<i>pʰʊləŋ</i>	<i>pʰʊləŋ</i>	<i>pʰʊləŋ</i>
60	grass	घाहे	<i>gʰahe</i>	-	<i>gʰaxrɪ</i>
61	rope	जउडा / जोडो	<i>dʒəʊɾə / dʒoɾo</i>	<i>ɖori</i>	<i>dʒəʊɾə</i>
62	skin	खल्लये	<i>kʰəlləje</i>	<i>kʰəle</i>	-
63	meat	श्याउ	<i>ʃjəʊ</i>	<i>ʃiə</i>	<i>sja</i>
64	blood	शुई	<i>ʃʊɪ</i>	<i>ɸwi</i>	<i>xui</i>
65	bone	हडड	<i>həɽəŋ</i>	<i>hadəŋ</i>	<i>hadəŋ</i>
66	fat (noun)	घेड	<i>gʰeŋ</i>		<i>bəhɛ</i>
67	egg	आँड्यउ	<i>āɽjəʊ</i>	<i>aniu / āde</i>	<i>əndə</i>
68	horn	सीगड	<i>siɡəŋ</i>	<i>ʃiɡəŋ</i>	<i>sioəŋ</i>
69	tail	पुछेड	<i>pʊtʃʰeɽ</i>	<i>pʊtʃer</i>	<i>pʊtʃʰeɾə</i>
70	feather	पखाउ	<i>pəkʰəʊ</i>	<i>pəkʰə</i>	<i>pkʰəə</i>
71	hair	हामू / हाँमु	<i>hamu / hāmʊ</i>	<i>hamu / haũ</i>	<i>hamu</i>
72	head	गडा	<i>gəɽə</i>	<i>gera / gəɾə</i>	<i>gəɖə</i>
73	ear	घुना / घुनह	<i>gʰʊnə / gʰʊnəh</i>	<i>ɡʊnə</i>	<i>ɡʊnə</i>
74	eye	म्हीके / मीके	<i>mhike / mike</i>	<i>mike</i>	<i>mhike</i>
75	nose	शिना	<i>ʃina</i>	<i>ʃina</i>	<i>sina</i>
76	mouth	खाबर	<i>kʰabər</i>	<i>məŋ</i>	<i>kʰəbɛɛ-ru</i>
77	tooth	दारो	<i>daro</i>	<i>daru / daro</i>	<i>daro</i>
78	tongue (organ)	जिबडा / जिबेडो	<i>dʒɪbɛɾə / dʒɪbɛɾo</i>	<i>dʒɪbɛro</i>	<i>dʒɪbɛro</i>
79	finger nail	निहड	<i>nɪhəŋ</i>	<i>nhɪhəŋ</i>	<i>nɪhəŋ</i>
80	foot	पंचा	<i>pəntʃə</i>	<i>bʰə</i>	<i>bʰə</i>
81	leg	भा	<i>bʰə</i>	<i>bʰə</i>	<i>bʰələ</i>
82	knee	पुहै / पुहे	<i>pʊhɛ / pʊhe</i>	<i>pʊhẽ / pʊhe</i>	<i>pʊhɛ</i>



83	hand	हाके	<i>hake</i>	<i>hætele / hake</i>	<i>hake</i>
84	wing	पखउ	<i>pək<sup>h</sup>əʊ</i>	<i>pak<sup>h</sup>əʊtea</i>	<i>pək<sup>h</sup>a</i>
85	belly	लादो	<i>lado</i>	<i>lado</i>	<i>lado</i>
86	guts	गुदोंग	<i>gʊdɔŋ</i>		<i>p<sup>h</sup>ilɪtɪja</i>
87	neck	गरधन	<i>gərəd<sup>h</sup>ən</i>	<i>gɪde</i>	<i>gɪddə</i>
88	back	पुट्टी	<i>pʊtt<sup>h</sup>i</i> (body part)	<i>tʃeta</i>	<i>pʊtt<sup>h</sup>i</i> (body part)
89	breast	चुच्या / शेक्ते	<i>tʃʊtʃja / sekte</i>	<i>tʃʊtʃa / dʊdɔŋ</i>	<i>tʃʊtʃta</i>
90	heart	मूठाउ	<i>mu<sup>t</sup>həʊ</i>	-	<i>məne</i> (heart/mind)
91	liver	-	-	<i>kərande</i>	<i>mulja</i>
92	to drink	जा	<i>dʒa</i>	<i>tɔŋ</i>	<i>tɔŋ</i>
93	to eat	जा	<i>dʒa</i>	<i>dʒa</i>	<i>dʒa</i>
94	to bite	चि -कइ-ए	<i>tʃi-kəi-e</i>	<i>tʃikəi</i>	<i>kəi</i>
95	to suck	न्हुको	<i>nhʊko</i>	-	<i>ho-sjo</i>
96	to spit	थुक्का पी ए	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ʊkka pi e</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ʊke</i>	-
97	to vomit	ओखालो	<i>ok<sup>h</sup>alo</i>	<i>wok<sup>h</sup>al / ok<sup>h</sup>al</i>	<i>uk<sup>h</sup>al-ljo</i>
98	to blow	हबा-हो	<i>həba-ho</i> (to blow a flute)	<i>mote</i> (to blow fire)	<i>həba-ho</i> (to blow a flute)
99	to breathe		<i>ha ha</i>	<i>hahe p<sup>h</sup>ere</i>	<i>xaxɛ</i>
100	to laugh	जहरे	<i>dʒəhəre</i>	<i>tʃəhəre</i>	-

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