The morphological classes in Santali are primarily based on whether or not they are able to take case affixes and postpositions and show verbal agreement on the basis of animateness or inanimateness. The morphemes which are able to take case markers and which show agreement in the verb are classed under declinables. They are nominals with subcategories nouns and pronouns.

3.1 NOMINAL: Nouns and pronouns are grouped under the same class as they have the same functional yield in the structure of the language and the former has the same privilege of being used with the suffixes and postpositions as the latter. The major difference between the two is that while on the paradigmatic axis nouns show opposition in number (+ gender) and case, the pronouns show opposition in person, number and case.

3.1.1 NOUN: Nouns are divided into primary, consisting of roots only and secondary or derived nouns. The formation of the secondary or derived nouns are discussed in the chapter of derivation in detail. So, here the noun derivation with its various employ is not taken up for consideration. The nouns are capable of showing opposition in number and case and a few of them also show opposition in gender. But gender is not a grammatical category in Santali, as they don't have any impact on the structure of the language, i.e. are not functional. Moreover, the
morphemes which show opposition in gender are borrowings from either Hindi or Bengali and the native nouns which are affected by this are the results of analogical extension. Examples -

- kora 'boy / young man'
- koradin 'two boys / young men'
- koroko 'boys / young men'
- korarën 'of the boy / young man' (animate)
- korakoren 'of the boys / young men' (animate)
- korakosk 'of the boys / young men' (inanimate)
- kuri 'girl / young lady'
- kuridin 'two girls / young ladies'
- kuridklek 'of the two girls / young ladies' (inanimate)
- kuridknèn 'of the two girls / young ladies' (animate)
- andi pusl 'male cat'
- andi puslkin 'two male cats'
- enga pusl 'female cat'
- enga puslko 'female cats'
- gad 'car'
- gadiko 'cars'
- gadi korÈ 'in the cars'

From the examples cited the grammatical construction of Santalí nouns may be shown as below:

\[ N = \text{Root ( + gender )} +/-\text{number} + / -\text{case} \]

Note 1 +/- is used to indicate that it is sometimes obligatory, i.e. where number and / or case are marked, and sometimes optional, i.e. where number and / or case are not marked.
3.1.1.1 - Classification of nouns; The nouns can be classified both on the paradigmatic axis and the syntagmatic axis. On both the axes different factors are involved in the classification of nouns:

I. Classification on paradigmatic axis:

(i) On the paradigmatic axis depending on whether or not the noun is derived by employing the suffixes /ic/ and /-ak/ the nouns can be subgrouped into two classes, viz., a. the nouns denoting animate beings; and b. the nouns that refer to inanimate objects; example -

a. \texttt{rhabic}' \\
\texttt{pondic}' \\
\texttt{hendic}' \\
\texttt{arakic}'

b. \texttt{olak}'

\texttt{rolayak}'

\texttt{ponask}'

\texttt{nopask}'

(ii) Again, depending on whether or not the nouns can be substituted by \texttt{uni} 'he, that person' the nouns can be classified into two classes, viz.,

a. the nouns that refer to animate human beings;

and b. the nouns that refer to animate non-human beings;

example -
(iii) Depending on whether or not the nouns take the locative suffixes /-rE/ or /-tE/ the nouns can be subgrouped under two categories, viz.,

a. the nouns that refer to animate beings;

and b. the nouns that refer to inanimate beings;

i.e. animate nouns cannot take the suffixes cited above while inanimate nouns are capable of taking them; example -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kharērE</td>
<td>'in the hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dak'rE</td>
<td>'in the water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birrE</td>
<td>'in the forest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birtE</td>
<td>'to the forest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iskultE</td>
<td>'to the school'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nutrE</td>
<td>'in the dark'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Classification of nouns on syntagmatic axis:

(1) Depending on whether or not the nouns are incorporated in the verb as subject or object in the form of the third personal clitic pronouns the same two-way classification holds, viz.,
a. the nouns referring to animate beings;
and b. the nouns referring to inanimate objects; i.e., the animate nouns are incorporated in the verb while the animate nouns are not; example:

birsa goc'-m-a-Çe' 'Birsa died'
philmanl jok'-ed-a-(e) 'Philmani is sweeping'
sota don-ed-a-(e) 'the dog is jumping'
sukchâl oŚp- gofl'-ked-Ce)- a-(e) 'Sukchand killed the bird'
but not* dare ulteu-en-a-(e) 'the tree fell'
rather dare ulteu-en-a 'the tree fell'

(ii) Again, depending on whether the governed noun is animate or inanimate the genitive case affixes and postpositions are chosen. The suffixes /-ic'/ and /-râÉn/ are used with the possessor noun or pronoun provided the governed noun is animate and the suffixes /-ak'/, /-âÉn/ , /-râÉak'/, /-râÉan/ , /-râÉanak'/ and /-râÉian/ are chosen provided the noun possessed is inanimate; example –

Note 1. The bracketted portions in the example represent the incorporated animate nouns.

Note 2. The choice of /-ic'/ and /-râÉn/ in the genitive case is purely dialectal. In the Southern dialect of Santali there is a rigid distinction between the singular governed and non-singular governed noun in the choice of the genitive case marker. If the governed noun is animate the genitive suffix /-ic'/ is chosen while in case of the non-singular governed noun the suffix /-râÉn/ is chosen. In the Northern dialect no such distinction holds.

Note 3. The choice of /-ak'/ and /-âÉn/ is again dialectal. /-ak'/ is predominant in the Northern dialect while /-âÉn/ in the Southern, though the scattered use of /-ak'/ in the latter dialect is not lacking either. Similar condition holds between /-râÉak'/ and /-râÉâÉn/, /-râÉak'/ and /-râÉâÉn/.

Note 4. The choice of /-ak'/ and /-âÉn/ on the one hand and /-râÉak'/, /-râÉak'/, /-râÉâÉn/ and /-râÉâÉn/ on the other depends on the animateness and inanimateness of the possessor. The latter ones occur with the inanimate possessor while the former ones with animate, though there is only one example – hapramkorâÉak' katha or hapramkoak' katha where both kinds of case markers occur.
43

From the above discussions the following hierarchy can be formulated to posit the classification of noun in the following tabulated form:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inanimate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Though the nouns are broadly classified as animates and inanimates, some further comments should be made about animate nouns as they cover a wide range of concepts. Besides the living beings the following objects are also considered animate.

1. The celestical bodies, i.e. the sun, the moon and the stars are animate; example -
The sun is rising

The moon set

I saw the stars of yesterday

(iii) Spiritual beings and spirits are regarded as animate; example -

he has made a kali idol

he is afraid of the ghosts

(iii) Puff-ball, ear-wax, the complete shells of the snails, thorn when pricked are regarded as animate; example -

they collected mushrooms

there are carvaxes

I burnt my shells

I extracted the thorn

(iv) Any painting or idol representing a living being is considered animate; example -

he/she has three dolls

they have drawn animals on the wall

(v) The dead human beings and animals are regarded as animate provided the name is used or the person is referred to; example -
3.1.1.3 The nominative, accusative are left unmarked as there are no overt case markers for them. There are overt case markers for the instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative. The case markers occurred with the subgroups of nouns are tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instrumental case marker</strong></td>
<td>-tE</td>
<td>-tE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td>khon, khanak', khanah (S.S.)</td>
<td>khon, khanak', khanah (S.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khon (N.S.)</td>
<td>khan (N.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genitive</strong></td>
<td>t-, -ic' (sg.), rE'n (pl)</td>
<td>-an, -ran, -rE'nak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tE' (N.S.)</td>
<td>-tE' (N.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative (rest)</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-rE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative (motion)</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-tE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instrumental</strong></td>
<td>da'iti ge'n mak' - akan - a</td>
<td>da'iti tiyok' - mE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I am cut by myself'</td>
<td>'pull down with the stick'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>gorer-(en) - mE</td>
<td>'help me'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note 1. To avoid clumsiness in the examples just one variation of the respective case markers is used, it can be substituted by other variations too.

Note 2. /khon/, in sporadic cases, is also used in the Northern Santali, but only by those who have contact with the speakers of the Southern.
3.1.2 PRONOUN: The pronouns in Sentali show opposition in person, number and case and some also show opposition in being animate and inanimate on the paradigmatic axis, and on the syntagmatic axis fill the slot of noun. Unlike noun, the personal pronouns have separate lexical identities for different persons and numbers except in the third person where dual and plural are derived from the same root as in the singular by adding the respective number suffixes. Demonstrative pronouns show variation for the animate and the inanimate, for what is definite and what is indefinite. Some of the interrogative pronouns are derived from the interrogative pronouns themselves with the addition of certain particles and some are echo formations.

3.1.2.1. Pronouns, as already noted, are capable of showing opposition in person, number and case, for instance -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ìn</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un</td>
<td>'by him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un</td>
<td>'of him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bik</td>
<td>'who'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìn</td>
<td>'we (two) (incl.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìn</td>
<td>'they (two)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un</td>
<td>'by them (two)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un</td>
<td>'of them (two)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bik</td>
<td>'who (two)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bik</td>
<td>'who (all)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the examples cited above the grammatical construction of a pronoun can be formulated thus:

Pronoun = Root + Person + Number +/- Case.

The demonstrative pronouns again show opposition in being animate or inanimate. For example -
3.1.2.2. Pronouns, in Santali, can be classified into personal and demonstrative. Of these the personal pronouns are represented by separate lexical items except in the third person which, actually a distal demonstrative for animate, forms its dual and plural with the addition of the dual and plural suffixes /-kin/ and /-ko/ respectively, to the distal demonstrative root an 'that'. The demonstratives have separate forms for the animate and inanimate which are, in turn, derived from common roots. Besides these, there is another pronoun, viz., reflexive, represented by only one lexical item, the dual and plural being formed by adding the respective number suffixes, but that is confined to third person only. The reason for considering that form of pronoun is that it is used as the third personal pronoun as well.

3.1.2.2.1. Personal pronoun: The personal pronouns in Santali have separate forms for the three persons, three numbers - singular, dual and plural, along with separate forms for the inclusive i.e. including the person addressed and exclusive i.e. excluding the same, in the first person dual and plural. The personal pronouns do not show gender distinction. The same form is used for both male and female.

3.1.2.2.1.1. The personal pronouns are used either independently or in suffixed or infixed forms. The independent forms of the personal pronouns available in my data are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Demonstrative</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>md 'this (one)'</td>
<td>noe 'this (thing)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative Demonstrative</td>
<td>3koe 'who'</td>
<td>oka 'which'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite Demonstrative</td>
<td>jafaiaa 'anyone'</td>
<td>jahā 'anything'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person Incl. Excl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>aben/abin</td>
<td>onko/unku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>und</td>
<td>unkin</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.1.2.2.1.1.1

The alternative forms *aben* and *abin* in the 2nd person dual and *onko* and *unku* in the 3rd person plural are dialectal. The form *aben* occurs in the Northern dialect while *abin* is the Southern. Likewise *onko* occurs in the Northern dialect and *unku* in the Southern.

### 3.1.2.2.1.1.2

The third personal pronoun *uni* 'he' is derived from the distal demonstrative root *on* 'that' with the animate suffix /-i/. In the Southern dialect the root after morphophonemic change is taken as the stem for the dual and plural i.e. the dual and plural suffixes /-kin/ and /-ko/ respectively are added to it. In the Northern dialect on the other hand, the root *on* remains intact in the plural i.e. *onko*

### 3.1.2.2.1.1.3

All these independent forms of the personal pronouns can fill the subject slot of a sentence. And like noun they take all case affixes and postpositions except the locative, e.g.
The personal pronominal forms incorporated in the verb phrase to refer to the person and number of the subject are tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>Excl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-m~ -mān</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dul</td>
<td>-lān</td>
<td>-bān / -bān</td>
<td>-kūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-bon / -bo</td>
<td>-bān / -bān</td>
<td>-ko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2.2.1.2

The personal pronominal forms incorporated in the verb phrase to refer to the person and number of the subject are tabulated below:
3.1.2.1.2.1

The bound morphs (except \( m \)) of the personal pronouns tabulated above have different functions. Basically they are incorporated in the verb phrase i.e. either suffixed to the verb at the end or to the word preceding it, to mark the subject. Excepting the third person they are also used to indicate the possessor pronoun being suffixed to the kinship terms.

3.1.2.1.2.2. As subject markers: The incorporation of the animate subject in the form of bound morphs of the personal pronouns in the verb or the word immediately preceding is obligatory in Santali. When an animate noun fills the slot of the subject in a sentence it is incorporated in the verb phrase in the bound forms of the third personal pronoun, the choice of singular, dual or plural depending on the number of the subject. When a personal pronoun functions as the subject in a sentence it is marked in the verb phrase in its bound form.

The distribution of the different allomorphs is as follows:

a. \( /ın / \sim /ı̇n / \) : The condition in which the one or the other occurs is purely phonological, i.e. \( /ın / \) occurs after words ending in a consonant and \( /ı̇n / \) occurs after words ending in a vowel; e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in takalagi't-ı̇n-kan} & \quad \text{I am going for money!} \\
\text{in hola-ı̇n san-len-a} & \quad \text{in hola asan-len-a-ı̇n} \quad \text{I went yesterday!} \\
\text{in taw-ı̇n a-ı̇n-ı̇n-ja} & \quad \text{in-ı̇n-ı̇n-ja} \quad \text{ja-ı̇n-ı̇n-ja} \quad \text{I am eating!}
\end{align*}
\]

b. \( /ım / \sim /ım\-ı̇s / \) : The occurrence of the first two allomorphs depends on phonological conditions, i.e. \( /ım / \) occurs after words ending in a vowel and after consonants it becomes \( /ım\-ı̇s / \); e.g.
am daka-(m) jam-a ? 'will you eat rice?' OR 'do you eat rice?'
am iskul-(em) calao-an-a ? 'did you go to the school?'

The occurrence of the allomorph /aE/ is morphologically conditioned i.e. it is used in the imperative mood only; e.g.
calak-mE 'go!'
jom-mE 'Eat!'

c. All other allomorphs are the eliptic forms of the independent personal pronouns without the initial /a-/. The allomorphs of the third personal dual and plural are the dual and plural number suffixes, the demonstrative root being left out.

3.1.2.2.1.2.3 Allomorphs suffixed to kinship terms to indicate the possessor:
The allomorphs suffixed to the kinship terms to indicate the possessors are / in--n/ in the first person, / -m, -mE/ in the second person and /-t/-tS/ in this case. Examples are:

hapani 'my / our son'
bokan 'my / our younger brother'
bongan 'thy / your mother'
kimania 'thy / your daughter-in-law'
hlan 'his / their sister-in-law'
kimintS 'his / their daughter-in-law'

3.1.2.2.1.3 Along with the subject pronoun the object pronoun is also marked in the verb in an infixed form. The infixed forms of the personal pronouns are tabulated below:
Examples are -

uni in-e dal-ked-(u)-a 'he beat me'
durup*-oco-(n)- ktn-a-e 'he is causing me to sit'
gec'-(me)-a-e 'he will kill you'
dal-(e)-ne 'beat him'
egta do gDr-kin-e-e 'the dog will bite them two'
neN-(ko)-m 'see them'

3.1.2.2.2 Demonstrative pronoun: Demonstrative pronouns unlike nouns and personal pronouns take a restricted number of suffixes and postpositions and take definite articles. Demonstrative pronouns are three - the simple demonstratives, the interrogative demonstrative and the indefinite demonstrative.

3.1.2.2.2.1 Simple demonstrative: They have different forms according to whether they refer to the animate or to the inanimate. Along with this, different types of demonstratives are found distictally. Again, further demonstrative forms
are found which are particularised and intensified besides demonstratives which refer to what is seen and what is heard.

3.1.2.2.1.1 There are five demonstrative roots attested in my data and the different simple demonstratives are formed from this. They are - no, ne(N.S)/ni(S.S), han, no and gt. The first two roots shift their vowels in the initial position informing the distal demonstratives, thus on and en/in. han forms the base of the remotal demonstrative. ne/ni with variants on/in forms the base the particularised demonstrative, no forms the base of the proximal demonstrative. no forms the base of the inanimate intensified demonstrative, gt forms the base of the demonstrative referring to what is heard.

3.1.2.2.1.2 Dietic classification of the ordinary simple demonstrative pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sg.</strong></td>
<td>nui 'this'</td>
<td>noa 'id'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proximal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dl.</strong></td>
<td>nukin 'these two'</td>
<td>noakin 'id'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pl.</strong></td>
<td>noko/nuku 'these'</td>
<td>noako 'id'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sg.</strong></td>
<td>uni 'that'</td>
<td>ona 'id'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dl.</strong></td>
<td>unkin 'those two'</td>
<td>onakin 'id'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pl.</strong></td>
<td>onko/unku 'those'</td>
<td>oneko 'id'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Remotal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sg.</strong></td>
<td>hpii 'that yonder'</td>
<td>hena 'id'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dl.</strong></td>
<td>hankin 'those two yonder'</td>
<td>henhkin 'id'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pl.</strong></td>
<td>hanko 'those yonder'</td>
<td>henhko 'id'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.2.2.1.1.3  

**Dialectic classification of the particularised demonstrative pronouns derived from the root ne/ní with its variant en/ín.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proximal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>níi 'just this'</td>
<td>níp 'id.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dl.</td>
<td>nikí 'just these two'</td>
<td>níkí 'id.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>níwínikí 'just these'</td>
<td>níko 'id.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>ní 'just that'</td>
<td>ní 'id.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dl.</td>
<td>nikí 'just those two'</td>
<td>níkí 'id.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>níwikínkí 'just those'</td>
<td>níko 'id.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Remote</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2.2.1.1.4  

**Intensified demonstrative pronouns are formed by infixing /-k'-/ either to the ordinary demonstrative pronoun for the animate nui 'this one' or the particularised demonstrative pronoun níi 'just this one' or to the demonstrative root nó 'this (inanimate)'; thus:**

- nuk'uí 'this very one' from nui 'this one'
- níkí 'this very one' from níi 'just this one'
- nok'oy 'this very thing' from nó 'this (inanimate)'

The dual and plural of the first two forms are not found, the gap being filled up by the dl. and pl. of the ordinary demonstrative pronouns nukí and nuku/noko, and particularised níkí and níkí respectively. nok'oy takes /kí/ and /ko/ to form the dual and the plural respectively.
3.1.2.2.1.1.5 Demonstrative pronoun referring to sight: Two types of distance are possible in this kind of demonstrative pronouns - distal and remotal, one being formed from the distal counterpart of the root no and the other from han.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distal</th>
<th>Remotal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>onk 'that seen there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dl.</td>
<td>onēkin 'those two seen there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>onāko 'those seen there'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2.2.1.6 Demonstrative pronouns referring to sound: Only distal form with dl. and pl. of this type of pronoun is attested in my data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Dl.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on 'that thing heard'</td>
<td>onēkin 'those two heard'</td>
<td>onāko 'those heard'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2.2.2 Interrogative demonstrative pronoun: Interrogative pronoun distinguishes between animate and inanimate and the definite and the indefinite. There are two interrogative roots, oko and ce from which the pronouns are formed. The definite interrogative pronoun for the animate is formed by adding /-e/ 'he', short form of the third personal pronoun to oko and the inanimate by adding /-a/ to the same. The indefinite interrogatives are formed from ce where /-a/ is added for the animate and /-t/ for the inanimate.
3.1.2.2.3 Indefinite demonstrative pronoun: The indefinite demonstrative pronouns also distinguish between the animate and the inanimate. There is only one root jaha 'any' from which the demonstrative pronouns are formed. The animate form is formed by adding /-a/ to jaha and the animate form then forms the base for dual and plural. The root itself functions as inanimate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. okoe 'who'</td>
<td>ok1 'which'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite: Dl. okoscin 'who two'</td>
<td>okakin 'which two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. okosko 'who all'</td>
<td>okako 'which all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. cele/cili 'who, what'</td>
<td>cet'/cit' 'what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite: Dl. celekin / cili kin</td>
<td>cet'kin / cit'kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. celeko / cili ko</td>
<td>cet'ko / cit'ko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2.2.3.1 Addition of personal suffix /-ic'/ and impersonal /-ak'/ to the adjective etak 'another' and derived adjective jahum 'any' are also used as indefinite pronouns. adam 'same' is also used as indefinite pronoun for the animate it takes the impersonal /-ak'/.

1 oka is also used as an adverb; e.g. oka m du-kan-a 'where are you going?'
2 The alternative forms given by the oblique symbol are dialectal. The forms with e are of the Northern Santali and with i of the Southern.
### Morphophonemic Changes

The different demonstrative roots when combined with different personal and non-personal suffixes are subject to the following morphophonemic changes:

#### a. 
When preceded or followed by high front vowel in the same syllable or next; e.g.

- no + i = /'nui /
- on + i = /'uni /
- in + ko = /inku /
- ni + ko = /niku /

#### b. 
When preceded or followed by high front vowel is realised as /a/; e.g.

- han + i = /han/    nd + a = /nd/    in + a = /ing/

### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>Etak'ic' 'another one'</td>
<td>Etak'ak' 'another thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dl.</td>
<td>Etak'ak'kin 'other two'</td>
<td>Etak'ak'kin 'other two things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>Etak'ko 'other ones'</td>
<td>Etak'ko 'other things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>Jahanic' 'any one'</td>
<td>Jahanak' 'any thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dl.</td>
<td>Jahanakin 'any two'</td>
<td>Jahanakin 'any two things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>Jahanako 'any more'</td>
<td>Jahanako 'any things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>Adam 'some'</td>
<td>Adamak' 'something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dl.</td>
<td>Adamakin 'some two'</td>
<td>Adamakin 'something two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>Adamako 'some all'</td>
<td>Adamako 'something more'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. Before the third personal marker /-e/ oko is realised as oko, as
   \[ \text{oko} + \text{e} = \text{okse} \]

d. Before /k/ the dental checked /b/ is realised as alveolar checked /\text{\textsuperscript{t}}/. thus
   \[ \text{cet'} + \text{-}k\text{in} = \text{cat'}k\text{in} \]
   \[ \text{cet'} + \text{-}ko = \text{cat'}ko \]

3.2 NUMBER: Number as a grammatical category affects the nominals and the verbs in Santali. There are three numbers - singular, dual and plural. Number, when it affects the verb represents the person and number of the animate subject and/or object. The inanimate subject is left unmarked. The personal pronouns have separate forms for the three numbers in the first and second person. Only the third person takes dual and plural suffixes to form their dual and plural forms. Normally the singular number is left unmarked, i.e. the absence of a suffix denotes the singular number. There are separate suffixes for dual and plural.

3.2.1 Singular Number:

1) \( \emptyset \) (unmarked):

The stem forms of nominals when unmarked are to be understood as singular number. In case of the verb the animate subject or object noun or pronoun in the singular number is represented in the verb phrase by using bound forms of the respective pronouns.

Examples showing the occurrence of singular number:
a. After noun stems:

seta + /-0/ = seta 'dog'
hor + /-0/ = hor 'man'

b. After pronoun stems:

uni + /-0/ = uni 'he'
ona + /-0/ = ona 'that (inanimate)'

oka + /-0/ = oka 'which'

jahe + /-0/ = jahe 'anyone'
jahs + /-0/ = jahs 'anything'

c. In verb phrase:

seta gegekans(e) 'the dog is barking' (subject marked)

uni hor-(e) gac'ked(e)a 'he killed the man' (subject and object both marked)

ii) The derivative animate nouns and pronouns with the personal suffix /-ic/ serve to express the singular number. Examples -

dadal 'one who beats'
jahane 'any one'

iii) The dual forms of the first and second personal pronouns are used to express the singular number and this occurs only among the kinship relations.¹ Parents-in-law and Children-in-law when addressing

¹ Cf. Materials For a Sental Grammar Pt. II (Mostly Morphological) - Bodding, P.O., 1929 : 37.
each other use the 2nd person dual and when talking to each other and referring to themselves use the exclusive form of the first person when only one person is meant. Example -

ceka-en-a-ben, bahu 'how are you, daughter-in-law?'

ruuk'-ken-a-lin 'I am getting fever'

iv) Co-parents-in-law addressing each other and in talking to themselves use the inclusive form of the first person plural when just one person is meant. Example -

hende ho, sumdi, cet'leka menak'-bon-a?

'Oh, co-parent-in-law, how are you?'

3di muskiri-bon parao-aikan-a 'I am in great difficulties'

v) There is no honorific pronoun as such in Santali. But under the influence of the IA. languages the educated Santals are using the dual form of the second personal pronoun to address and talk to a respected, senior and even to unknown persons.

vi) There is also a lexical way of expressing the singular number with the help of the numeral mit' 'one'. Example -

mit' kora 'one boy / youngman'

mit' senna 'one year'
3.2.2 Dual Number:

i) The specific suffix for denoting the dual number is /-kin/. This occurs after all nominal stems excepting the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns. It is also shown in the verb to mark the number of animate subject and object. Examples -

a. After noun stems:

hoř + /-kin/ horkin 'two men'
sokta + /-kin/ soktain 'two dogs'
dare + /-kin/ darenin 'two trees'

b. After pronoun stems:

nul + /-kin/ nulin 'these two' (animate)
uni + /-kin/ unulin 'those two' (animate)
aqua + /-kin/ aqain 'those two' (inanimate)
okoe + /-kin/ okoin 'who two' (animate)
oka + /-kin/ okain 'which two' (inanimate)
jahë + /-kin/ jahëkin 'any two' (animate)
jañë + /-kin/ jañëkin 'any two' (inanimate)

c. In a Verb phrase:

unkin ronorka(kin) 'they two are quarreling with each other'
dal(kin)më 'beat them two' (object marked)

The derived animate nouns and pronouns with the personal suffix /-ic'/ and the animate demonstrative pronouns in /-i/ first dispense with

---

1 In case of the addition of the dual suffix /-kin/ to the simple demonstrative stems for the animate like nul, uni, hör, uni, the dropping of the final /i/ occurs first, then /-kin/ is added, as /i/ serves as the animate singular marker.
their /-ic/ and /-i/ and then take the dual suffix /-kin/ in form the dual.

Example -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dadalic 'one who beats'</td>
<td>dadalkin 'two who beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aclic 'writer'</td>
<td>aclikin 'two writers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jahonic 'any one'</td>
<td>jahonkin 'any two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uni 'he / that person'</td>
<td>unkin 'those two persons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nui 'this person'</td>
<td>nukin 'these two persons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanc 'that person yonder'</td>
<td>hankin 'those two persons yonder'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) The lexical way of expressing the dual number is the use of the numeral for two either before or after the object counted, with or without the classifier.

Example -

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bar hjr</td>
<td>'two men'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barea sim</td>
<td>'two haji'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barea daira</td>
<td>'two bullocks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar kosa</td>
<td>'two kros'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daira barea</td>
<td>'two bullocks'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3 Plural Number:

i) The suffix used after the nominals excepting the first and the second personal pronouns to form the plural is /-ko/. It is also shown in the verb to mark the plural animate subject and object and in that case the

---

1 Sometimes the pronunciation of /-ko/ as /-ku/ is attested and that is not conditioned. In the plural of nui and of uni (dialectally) it is /-ku/ by vowel harmony, as the modified roots are taken as the stem in place of no and on. But sometimes it is also /-ku/ as in jisku where there is no such condition.
plural suffix after the subject nominals may be dispensed with in favour of the same suffix shown in the verb. Example -
a. After noun:

hor + /-ko/ = horko 'men'
janon + /-ko/ = janonoko 'animals'
hapram + /-ko/ = hapramoko 'ancestors'
tudu + /-ko/ = tuduko 'Tudu men' ( sept ).

b. After pronoun:

ana + /-ko/ = onako 'those' ( inanimate )
nos + /-ko/ = nosako 'these' ( inanimate )
okoe + /-ko/ = okeoko 'who all ( animate )'
oka + /-ko/ = okako 'which all ( inanimate )'
jahae + /-ko/ = jahaeoko 'any men'
jaha + /-ko/ = jahako 'anything'

c. In verb phrase:

nel-let-(ko)-a-n 'I saw them'

harko calao-en-a-(ko) or harko calao-en-(ko) 'the men went'

ii) Sometimes /-ko/ with the addition of /ta-/ , hence /tako/, serves as the plural marker. Thus -

tudu + /-tako/ = tudutako 'Tudu men'
hoponaran + /-tako/ = hoponaranoko 'my daughters'
iii) Sometimes numerals higher than 'two' and words indicating plurality are used before the nouns counted to indicate the plural.

- ponon Ḟ 'four men'
- ponon Ḟ 'four sides'
- pē Ḟ 'three men'
- ayma din 'many days'
- ayma Ḟ 'many men'
- ayma dokan 'many shops'
- jato/ jhato hapanerat 'all daughters'
- sanam Ḟ 'all men'
- sanam tandi 'the whole field'

- thora Ḟ 'some men'
- adom Ḟ 'some men'
- dome dokan 'so many shops'
- dome parkom 'so many cots'
- kichu Ḟ 'some men'
- anda Ḟ 'many men'
- anda dokan 'many shops'
- adom dokan 'so many shops'
- adhan Ḟ 'some men'

3.3 Concerning the category of gender:

The gender is not a grammatical category in Santali as it does not affect the grammatical pattern of the language. It has rather a classificatory bias extending over different sexes and in that case male, female and common gender are classified.
3.3.1 Certain nouns ending in /-a/ replace the sound by /-i/ to form the feminine. Example -

kora 'boy / young man'

kudi 'girl / young lady'

bheda 'ram'

bhidi 'sheep'

bhola 'dog'

bhuli 'bitch'

mama 'maternal uncle'

mani 'maternal aunt'

kala 'deaf'

kali 'deaf'

konka 'mad, foolish'

kuniki 'id'.

khepa 'mad'

khipi 'id'.

lahra 'lame'

lirni 'id'.

totra 'having a defect in speech'

tvi 'id'.

koda 'dumb'

kagi 'id'.

phogra 'toothless'

phgiri 'id'.

cadra 'bald headed'

cadri 'id'.

1 This is obviously an IA trait borrowed in this language. The ground behind this assumption is four fold: (i) this type of masculine-feminine formation does not cover a wide range of data; (ii) this /-a/ in masculine and /-i/ in feminine can not be said to be exclusively masculine and feminine markers. /-i/ is also the marker for the animate and /-a/ for the inanimate; e.g. nui 'this' (animate) and noa 'id' (inanimate), both being derived from the same demonstrative root no; (iii) so many nouns indicating female sex and in /-a/; e.g. enga 'female, mother', era 'wife', female'; (iv) sometimes /-i/ indicates genus commune and /-a/ species; e.g. gari 'cattle in general' dera 'bullock'.

(also Cf. Materials For A Santali Grammar II - Bodding, Rev. P.O. 1929 : 14-29).
3.3.2 There is another type of sex distinction purely a lexical one where separate words for male and female are used. Example -

**Masculine** | **Feminine**
---|---
&ndia | &gai
boyha | m&sa\ra
j&av\y | b&sh
ba | yu
&hr\El | mayjiu
sapat | &nh\at
ka&la | bitkil
harum | bur\h
babu | mai

3.3.3 Sex is sometimes indicated by using words indicating male and female before or after a word indicating common noun. Example -

**Masculine** | **Feminine**
---|---
&ndia | &nga pus\d
&ndia sadom | &nga sadom
&ndia mh\h | &nga mh\h
&ndia s&ta | &nga s&ta
&ndia su\cri | &nga su\cri
&nda g&d\h | &nga g&d\h
&nda miru | &nga miru
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit (Masculine)</th>
<th>Sanskrit (Feminine)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>एंडिपोटम  मैल डोव</td>
<td>एंगापोटम  फेम. डोव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सांडी सिम  नाम</td>
<td>एंगासिम  नेम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सांडी पाओरा  मैल पिक्कन</td>
<td>एंगापाओरा  फेम. पिक्कन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पेट्बार निखू  मैल कॉल</td>
<td>बेसी निखू  फेम. कॉल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कोरा गिया  बॉय</td>
<td>कुडी गिया  गिल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कोरा होपन  सॉन</td>
<td>कुडी होपन  डाउटर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुडी सुक्री  या सुक्री कुडी  बोर</td>
<td>पाटी सुक्री  शी-पिग, सॉव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गॉरन कोरा  ग्रांड सॉन</td>
<td>गॉरन कुडी  ग्रांड डाउटर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>होन्हरिं होपन  मैल</td>
<td>होन्हरिं कुडी  फेम.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>संगत कोरा  बॉय फ्रेंड</td>
<td>संगत कुडी  गिल फ्रेंड</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.4 Morphophonological changes: The masculine forms in /-a/ when replace it by /-i/ in forming their feminine counterparts enter into the following morphophonological changes: Vowel harmony:

(1) ऑ and ऐ preceding 'i' in the very next syllable are pronounced as उ and ऋ respectively (vide 3.3.1); e.g.

- कोरा + /-i/ = कुडी
- भोला + /-i/ = भुली
- कोन्का + /-i/ = कुडी
- तोता + /-i/ = तुट्री
- कोरा + /-i/ = कुडी
- फोग्रा + /-i/ = फुड्री
3.4 CASE: Case, in Santali, is affected by the use of affixes (prefix and suffixes) and postpositions. The declension as seen in the inflectional languages is absent. Instead, the suffixes and postpositions are used after the stem to denote different cases without affecting the phonetic shape of the stem. The case affixes and postpositions occur after both primary and secondary nouns and pronouns with the exception that some occur after the animate and some after the inanimate. They are added to the nouns and pronouns or to the number affixes and enclitic definitives added to these. In certain cases, as in the locative, the use of the case markers is restricted to the animate or to the inanimate. Again, in certain cases as in the genitive there is a sharp distinction in the selection of the case affixes and postpositions i.e. one set of the affixes and postpositions for the animate and another for the inanimate. No affixes and postpositions occur in the nominative and the accusative. In certain cases, as in the ablative and the genitive, compound case markers occur. The dialectal differences in the choice of case affixes and postpositions are also noticed as in the Southern dialect in the genitive a sharp distinction between the singular and the plural has been curiously developed. As the nouns and pronouns behave alike in case, both will be dealt with together.
3.4.1 Santali substantives can be said to have eight cases: Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive, Locative and Sociative.

S. Bhattacharya (1975) in discussing the case system in the Munda languages, has mentioned seven cases without mentioning the sociative under separate heading. He has incorporated the sociative within the instrumental. But as there are separate postpositions to mark this case relation it is better to posit a separate case rather than incorporating it into another.

I. Nominative: (Ø) There is no separate affix or postposition to mark the nominative. It is, instead, marked in the verb phrase, either at the end of the verb or the word immediately preceding it in the bound forms of the personal pronouns. The noun if it is animate is marked in the verb phrase in the bound forms of the third personal pronoun, singular or non-singular. If a personal pronoun is in the nominative it is marked by its shortened form. The inanimate noun and pronoun are not marked in the verb. Example -

\[ \text{uni hsi}-(a) \quad \text{'he sees / will see'} \]
\[ \text{inh tehs noa khst-(in) si-ked-a, gapa} \]
\[ \text{onataks-(in)si-a} \quad \text{'today I ploughed this rice-field, tomorrow I will plough that one'} \]
\[ \text{am-(en) caik'-a} \quad \text{'thou wilt go'} \]
\[ \text{unkin parken-(kin) agu-ska'd-a} \quad \text{'they two have brought a cot'} \]
\[ \text{rhphyic khstikno-(a) raka'h c'-ska'a-s} \quad \text{'the sower has appeared from the ricefield'} \]

II. Accusative: (Ø) Like nominative, it is also marked in the verb in the shortened form of the pronouns. Only the animate noun and pronouns are marked. Unlike the
subject it comes between the verb root or the tense/aspect marker and the finite /a/. When the animate noun is in the accusative case it is shown in the verb in the shortened forms of the third personal pronoun, singular or non-singular. When the animate pronoun is in the accusative it is shown in the verb by its shortened form. Only in the present indefinite/future of the benefactive stem the inanimate noun or pronoun in the accusative is marked by /-k'/ which is tagged on to the stem. When the verbroots take two objects the direct object is in the accusative and the indirect in the dative. And in that case the dative is always marked in the verb instead of the accusative. While the accusative may be animate or inanimate noun or pronoun the dative is always animate. Example -

\[
\text{in \{un-}:h-\text{ned(e)}-\text{a} 'I saw him'
}\]
\[
\text{in \{un}:n: \text{ked(e)}-\text{-a} 'he asked me'
}\]
\[
\text{in \{am-}:h-\text{ned(e)}-\text{-a} 'I will see you'
}\]

III. Instrumental: The suffix used to mark the instrumental case is /-ts/, used after both animate and inanimate nouns and pronouns, primary and secondary. Example -

1 S. Bhattacharya (1975: 143-49) has remarked 'when the verb has two objects if both the objects are animate the indirect object which precedes the direct object, takes a dative suffix (or postposition) while the direct object is in the accusative case, i.e. it is represented by an object particle in the verb ...' and in saying this he has given examples like -

\[
\text{maaju-then \text{gidr(e)}-\text{em-kedea} 'I gave the child to the woman'
}\]
\[
\text{gidr-then maaju-\text{em-kedea} 'I gave the woman to the child'
}\]

Again, he clarifies, 'Here the third person -e has been used with the verb to represent the direct object, which is 'child' in the first instance and 'woman' in the second' (P. 149). In my data no such examples occur. According to the existing literature and my data this type of formation is impossible in Santali as if there are two objects of a verb and if both are animate the dative is marked in the verb.

2 S. Bhattacharya (1975: 179) has mentioned /\text{ins}/ and /\text{hs\text{ts}t}/ as instrumental case postpositions without giving any example. They are not, however, instrumental markers as they actually mean 'for, because of, due to'.
IV. Dative: The dative case morpheme /a-/ is attached to only animate nouns and pronouns. It is marked in the verb in the form of a prefix being added to the shortened forms of the personal pronouns. Like the object in the accusative case, the dative forms of the pronouns come between the root and the finite /a/ when the tense marker is zero (∅). When the tense/aspect markers occur the case morpheme /a-/ is fused with the tense/aspect markers. The dative forms of the personal pronouns are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ašan</td>
<td>abo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td>ašan</td>
<td>ašo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>aben/abin</td>
<td>apE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>akin</td>
<td>ako</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When the dative is an animate noun it is represented in the verb by /a-/ plus the short forms of the third personal pronoun, singular or non-singular. When it is a personal pronoun it is represented by its dative form.

\[
\text{gup\,-(\text{an})-mE} \quad \text{"help me!"}
\]

\[
\text{i\u0161ul\-i\u0161 (an)-a} \quad \text{"I will give you a mango"}
\]

\[
\text{uni lai\,-(ako)-a} \quad \text{"he tells\/will tell them"}
\]

\[
\text{birs\, udak\,-(ae)-mE} \quad \text{"show Birsa"}
\]

When the dative case morpheme is fused with the tense/aspect markers the infixed forms of the personal pronouns come after the tense/aspect markers. Thus -

\[
\text{uni lai\,-(a)-d\,-(a)-a} \quad \text{(a, + ked) \"he told me\"}
\]

\[
\text{al\u0111n h\u0111p\,-ha\u0111gu\,-d\,-a} \quad \text{\"we (incl) brought the man something\"}
\]

\[
\text{uni al\u0111 sm\,-e kal\,-ak\,-e\,-t\,-15\,-a} \quad \text{\"he has sent us a cock\"}
\]

\[
\text{sit\,-ko daka\,-e i\u00b0\,-a\,-ko\,-a} \quad \text{\"she took food out to the ploughmen\"}
\]

V. Ablative: The ablative case morpheme is /-kh\u00e6r/ in the Northern dialect and /kh\u0131m/ in the Southern. /kh\u0131m/ is also used sporadically in the Northern dialect. /k\u012b\u0111n/ with the impersonal suffixes /-ak/ and /-ah/ are also very common in the Southern dialect. It is used after both animate and inanimate nouns and pronouns. Thus -

Southern dialect:

\[
\text{dare\,-(kh\u0111n)\,-e rakap\,-h\u0111juk\,-ka\,-a} \quad \text{\"he is coming up from the water\"}
\]

\[
\text{raj\, orak\,-(kh\u0111n)\,-e d\u00e6r\,-ka\,-a} \quad \text{\"the king fled away from the house\"}
\]

\[
\text{uni dare\,-(kh\u0111n)\,-(a)\,-uyuk\,-et\,-tah\u0131\u0131c} \quad \text{\"he is plucking fruit down from the tree\"}
\]
VI. Genitive: Different methods are employed to form the genitive case in Santali. The uses of suffixes are very common. Sometimes a zero suffix occurs. Sometimes the suffixed genitive is dispensed with in favour of a genitive form of the personal pronoun which is incorporated within the verb when the genitive reflects a possessor—possessed relationship. Normally the kinship terms are used with the short forms of the personal pronouns to make the genitive.

(1) Suffixed Genitive:

a. There are separate suffixes for the genitive depending on whether or not the governed noun is animate or inanimate. In the Southern dialect when the governed noun is animate singular the suffix is /-ic'/.

1 In the Jambani block of the Southern dialect this /-ic'/ occurring after in 'first person sg' is pronounced as in
animate and in the non-singular number the suffix is /-r£h/. There is no such 
singular-non-singular dichotomy in the Northern dialect where the common suffix is
/r£h/ provided the governed noun is animate. Example -

**Southern dialect:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Southern dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iokhan-(ic') gidra</td>
<td>'Lakhan's son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-(ic') goe'hor</td>
<td>'my dead one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-(ic') uric</td>
<td>'my bullock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-(ic') gatE</td>
<td>'my friend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uni-(ic') oprakgonke</td>
<td>'his wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nui hør-(ic') koja</td>
<td>'this person's buffalo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac'-ic') hrigidra</td>
<td>'his daughter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apE-(ic') ayu</td>
<td>'your mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unku-(ic') ayo</td>
<td>'their mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-(ic') dafri</td>
<td>'my cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uni-(ic') bahu</td>
<td>'his wife'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Northern dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lakhan-(r£h) hopen</td>
<td>'Lakhan's sons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-(r£h) gatE</td>
<td>'my friends'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Northern dialect:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern dialect</th>
<th>Northern dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>am-(r£h) mibran</td>
<td>'thy goat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manjid-(r£h) hopenko</td>
<td>'the headman's sons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-(r£h) gatE</td>
<td>'my friend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hola-(r£h) indi</td>
<td>'yesterday's star/stars'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. There are various suffixes when the governed noun is inanimate; they are
\(-/ak'/-\text{sh}/, /-rEak'/-/\text{sh}/, /-R\text{enak}/, /-\text{sh}/, /-\text{sh}/, /-\text{rEak}'/

and /-\text{rEnah}/ are exclusively used in the Southern dialect while /-ak'/ and /-rEak'/
in the Northern, although the scattered use of /-ak'/ in the Southern is not
unfound.

/-ak'/ and /-\text{sh}/ are used with the animate noun or pronoun when the genitive
denotes the possessor - possessed relationship. Example -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern dialect</th>
<th>Southern dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{in-(ak')}) orak'</td>
<td>(\text{in-(ah)}) orak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{am-(ak')}) katha</td>
<td>(\text{am-(ah)}) katha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{hapranko-(ak')}) katha</td>
<td>(\text{hapranko-(ah)}) katha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{idh\text{h}(ak')}) orak</td>
<td>(\text{idh\text{h}(ah)}) orak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-\text{rEak}'/, /-\text{rEah}/, /-\text{rEnak}'/ and /-\text{rEnah}/ are used with the inanimate nouns when the
governed noun is also inanimate. The formation of /-rEak'/ and /-rEah'/ is made by
adding the genitive suffix /-ak'/ or /-\text{sh}/ for the inanimate to the locative suffix
of rest, i.e. /-rE/.

1 Grierson, G.A. (1906:41) has remarked, 'It is sometimes also used alone as a

But he has not given any example. In my data no such occurrence is attested.

2 Ho Grammar ( Catholic Orphan Press, Calcutta ).
type of genitive as locative - genitive, as this type of genitive denotes, the belongingness of something to a place. /-rEnak'/ and /-rEnah/ are formed by adding the suffix /-ak'/ or /-ah/ to the genitive suffix for the animate i.e. /-rEn/, /-rEak'/ is predominant in the Northern dialect while /-rSan/, /-rEnak'/ and /-rSan/ are used in the Southern dialect. Example -

Southern dialect

dare-(rEnak') jõ or dare-(rEnah) jõ 'fruit of the tree'

bir-(rEnak') dare 'tree of the forest'

øre katha-(rEnak') muçat 'the end of lie'

opak-(rEnah) dumar 'the opening (for ingress and egress) of the house'

dare-(rEak') dumar 'the branch of the tree'

noa-(rEak') den 'the value of this'

muhst-(rEak')-(rEnah) hatiar 'arms of iron'

Northern dialect

bir-(rEak') dare 'a tree of the forest'

nabel-(rEak') pal 'the share of a plough'

noa katha-(rEak') buta 'the beginning of this matter'

(ii) Unmarked genitive or zero genitive: This type of formation is found to express possessor-possessed and kinship relationship. Example -

in ayo 'my mother'

ako opak 'their house'

ale opak 'our house'

loknon hopon 'Lakhan's son'
(iii) Genitive incorporated in the verb:

- hopon-e hEc*-an-(tin)-a 'my son came'
- nahSl idi-(tin)-mE 'take away my plough'

The use of this type of genitive is decreasing in favour of the suffixed genitive.

(iv) Genitive expressed by adding the bound forms of the personal pronouns:

This is restricted to the kinship terms only. Example:

- bsk-(n) 'my younger brother'
- mlabra-(n) 'my younger sister'
- bra-(n) 'my wife'
- bgs-(t) 'his / someone's mother'
- bsko-(t) 'his / someone's younger brother'

VII. Locative: Two suffixes are used to form the locative in Santali, /-rE/ denoting locative of rest and /-tE/ for locative of motion. These are used after the inanimate nouns and pronouns, as the animate nouns and pronouns don't have locative case. Example:

**Locative of Rest:**

- kharan-(rE) 'in the ditch'
- singayokto-(rE) 'at night fall'
- jah-(rE) 'in the bone'
- jah-ko-(rE) 'in the bones'
- dare-(rE) 'on the tree'
- rumal-(rE) 'in the handkerchief'
- ato-(rE) 'in the village'
- mlari-(rE) 'in the mirror'
- tukur-(rE) 'in the small pot'
- cupi-(rE) 'in the tail'
setak'-(r3) 'in the morning'
topasonty-(r3) 'at bath time'
dissam-(r3) 'in the country'
orkid-(r3) 'in the house'
chatcten-(r3) 'on the roof'
taka-(r3) 'in the middle'
jhaa-(r3) 'in any place'
mutati-(r3) 'in the dark'
gona-(r3) 'in the value'
bhitri-(r3) 'inside'
mika-(r3) 'at night'
bhagalpur-(r3) 'at Bhagalpur'
noa-(r3) 'in this'
noa-(r3) 'in that'
hsan-(r3) 'in that younder'

Locative of Motion:
hsat-(t3) 'to the market'
uni bhor-(t3) tiyok'-led-a-e 'he arrived at dawn'
oke-(t3)-m calak'-ka'na-a 'where are you going'
noa kapasat-(t3) calak'-ma' go through this door'
noa doar-(t3) calak'-ma' go through this opening'
iskul-(t3) calak'-ma' go to the school'
oke-(r3) 'in which place, i.e. where'
rado-(r3) 'in the month'
loa-(r3) 'into the water'
bir-(r3) 'in the forest'
seton-(r3) 'in the sun'
bura-(r3)
gharaj-(r3) 'in the household'
semai-(r3) 'in front'
ti-(r3) 'on hand, at hand'
jhaga-(r3) 'on feet'
khst-(r3) 'in the field'
none-(r3) 'in mind'
VIII. Sociative: The sociative case is formed by adding various postpositions like /tuluc'/, /sāo/, /sāngə/, /sān/, /salak'/, /sāthe/ and /sālēt'/. Some of the postpositions like /sāngə/, /sāo/ and /sān/ are also used in combination with the suffix /-tē/ to indicate the same. Example—

uni-(tuluc')-e hēc'-akan-a 'he has come with me'

uni-(tuluc') tahēn-mē 'stay with him'

unku-(tuluc') sānk'-mē 'go with them'

spat-(sālēt')-ko hēc'-en-a 'they have come with their father'

hapon-sālēt' bana sāgə hō goc'-lad-a-a 'he killed a she-bear along with her cub'

uni-(sāotē) mit'-tan alo hēnak'-a 'there is a lamp with him'

uni- hap-(sāotē)hēc'-len-a 'he came along with a man'

hapon-(sāotē) bana sāgə hō goc'-lad-a-a 'he killed a she-bear along with her cub'

alē-(sāo)hjuk'me 'come with us'

unku at' baba-(sāotē)-ko hec'-len-a 'they came with their father'

in yu-(sāo)bajar-in calak'-kan-a 'I am going to the market with my mother'

baklak'- (salak') dō alo'-pē agui-a 'do not bring the timber with the bark on'

sagār-(salēt') e calae-en-a 'he went taking a cart along'
3.5 POSTPOSITION: It is a known fact that the Munda languages are very rich in postpositions and different syntactic relations are expressed by these. Santali, being a Munda language is not an exception. Some of the case-relations are expressed by using different postpositions. Besides case-relations there may be other syntactic relations which are also expressed with the aid of postpositions.

3.5.1 Santali postpositions can be divided into two groups - one denoting syntactic relations including case relations, and the other being used for morphological constructions. A particular postposition may have different grammatical functions, i.e. it may be used to denote another syntactic relation or to form some morphological constructions.

3.5.2 There are certain postpositions which are always bound i.e. their occurrence always depends on free morphemes. There are also certain postpositions which are actually free words but sometimes occur as postpositions as well, i.e. occurring after nominals they express certain syntactic relations. They are made of nouns.
and verbs with or without a suffix. There is, again, a number of postpositions which are also used as verbs. A good number of postpositions like /sang2/, /sath2/, /sudha/, /dhare/ are borrowed from the neighbouring IA. languages like Bengali and Hindi. Dialectal peculiarities in the use of the postpositions are also found. They are to be discussed in the analysis of the respective postpositions.

3.5.3 The postpositions are added either to the nouns and pronouns with or without the number suffixes or to the enclitic definitives added to these. Some of them are also added to the infinitives. Some are also used after the genitive. A few postpositions are also used after a complete phrase and even after a sentence. The postpositions which are discussed elsewhere, while discussing the case or the degree of adjectives, are not touched upon here unless they express some other functions and meanings.

3.5.4 The postpositions are discussed below:

(i) /thEn/thEc'/: It conveys the sense 'nearby, beside (something or somebody or place)' /thEc' is common in the Southern dialect while /thEc' is in the Northern. Example-

\[-(thEn)menak'-'a 'it is with me'\]

1 It is impossible to give the exact translation of the constructions with /thEn/thEc'/. Somewhere it is translated by 'with', somewhere by 'before', somewhere by 'to'. To have an exact equivalent it can be compared with the Bengali postposition kache (Loc. of kach 'side, neighbourhood', Chatterjee, S.K., O.D.B.L., 1926 : 768) as amar-kache boi-jat na 'the book is not with me'. So it should not be construed and misunderstood with some other postpositions which are also translated by 'with' or 'to' and so on.
'having been reached near the light that snake was killed by the weapon'

'there was a silver stick and a golden stick near his head'

'go before that old lady'

'he will go to the village headman'

'with us'

'with whom shall I get it'

'I came to tell you this'

'he will get help with the village headman'

'he stays with his father'

'he is with him'

'this is with whom'

(ii) /säë-sëc'/ a postposition denoting direction. /säë/ and /sëc'/ are used indiscriminately, no dialectal feature can be had from the distribution of these. Example -

'there is sharpness in all directions'

'towards the river water'

'towards the forest'

'to which direction'

'towards the forest'

'towards the mountain'

'towards the village'
(iii) /lagit'/ /gat'/: The postpositions are used to express purposes and intention after all nouns, pronouns and infinitives. They are also sometimes used in combination with the suffix /-tâ/, hence /lagit'tâ/, /lagat'tâ/ with the same meaning. /lagit'/ with /lagit'tâ/ is predominant in the Northern dialect while both /lagit'/ with /lagit'tâ/ and /lagat'/ with /lagat'tâ/ are prevalent in the Southern, the use of the one or the other being dependent on the individual choice. Example -

uni rajhopon-(lagit') do bislau agu-ad-a-s

'he brought poisonous sweet for the prince'

in am noa katha meta-m-(lagit'tâ)-hâc'-len-a

'I came for telling you this word'

nê's do uni ec'-(lagit')-a agu-akoa-a 'this year he has brought for himself'

taka-(lagit')-in hâc'-akan-a 'I have come for money'

am-(lagit')-if hâc'-akan-a 'I have come for you'

taka han-(lagit')-if hâc'-akan-a 'I have come to have money'

in nui-(lagit'tâ) tos-hâc'-akan-a 'I am taking milk for drinking'

akhrîn-(lagit') 'for selling'

uduk'-lagit' 'for shoving'

kau'di-(lagit')-in hâc'-akan-a 'I have come for money'

gat'-(lagit') 'for what purpose'

topo-(lagit') 'for the purpose of bathing'

payrak'-(lagit') 'for the purpose of swimming'

benao-(lagit') 'for making'

gidra-(lagit') 'for the bot'
sap'-(lagit') 'for catching'

alō-(lagit') 'for us'

Southern dialect:

uni ao1-(lagat)-sāl-an-a-e 'he sap for himself'

am-(lagat)-iN hāc'-akan-a 'I have come for you'

(iv) /modre/ (var./mudre/): 'among', locative of mod 'middle'. The borrowed postposition from Bengali /modhe/ with /-rE/, hence /modhe-rE/ is also used in the same sense. Example -

spa-(modhe) jāhā-ge logon hijuk'-pE 'any one of you come quickly'
noko-(modre) hatao-joh-mā 'take from among these things'

noko-(modre) kumbro men-a-a 'there is thief among these persons'

spa-(modhe) jāhā-ge logon hijuk'-pE 'any one of you come quickly'
alō-(modre) jāhā mit' hor 'any one of us'

(v) /dharerE/ : locative suffix /-rE/ being added to /dhar/ 'side', hence by the side' (cf. Bengali dhar 'by the side'). bar-(dharerE) 'by the side of the forest'

(vi) /dharic'~ dharic'/ : Convey the sense 'till, until, upto' etc. denoting both time as well as space dimension. The variant forms of these postpositions are /dharic'/ and /dharic'/ . They are used after nouns of place, after inanimate indefinite interrogative and inanimate indefinite pronouns and in these cases the space dimension is indicated by the postposition. After
infinitives the time dimension is specified. The same time dimension is specified when it is used after interrogative adjectives. Example -

cura- (dhahic1) 'upto the top (of the mountain)'

buru- (dhahic1) 'upto the mountain'

bir- (bicip1) 'upto the forest'

nal- (hahic1) 'upto the river'

uni suri hijuk- (dhahic1) okat- (hahic1) alom cahak- 'do not go anywhere until he comes'

'gjuk- (dhahic1) 'until death'

jewt- (hahic1) tahin- 'till I live'

oka- (bicip1) 'upto which'

jaha- (dhahic1) 'upto any (place)'

tin- (hahic1) 'until what time'

(vii) /bhit connectors with locative suffix of rest, /-ra/, /chahic1/, /chahic1/, hence 'inside, within, among'. Example -

qaqk- (chahic1) men- e-a 'he is there in the house'

satini (chahic1) 'within seven days'

aL-(chahic1) mit- har 'one man among us'

dak- (chahic1) ooc do cet' 'lapak' kena 'what is moving in the water'

1 The postpositions used in the examples can be replaced by other variants too.
With the suffix for locative of motion /-tS/, hence /bhitartS/, /bhitritS/
they express 'to the inside'.

uni orak'-(bhitartS) seterok'-a-e  A uni orak'-(bhitritS) seterok'-a-e
  'he will enter into the inside of the house'

(viii) /tala-rd/ : locative of /tala/ 'middle, centre', hence 'in the middle'.
  Example -
  orak'-(talarE) durup'-akan-a-e 'he is sitting in the middle of the house'

(ix) /latar-riS/ ; locative of /latar/ 'below' and conveys the locative sense
  used only with the noun. Example -
  dhiri-(latarrE) 'under a stone'
  ot-(latarrS) 'under the earth'
  dare-(latarrE) 'under the tree'
  jaghe-(latarrE) 'under the feet'

(x) /cetan-rE/ : locative of /cetan/ 'above, top', used only with nouns to
  indicate a locative sense. Example -
  orak'-(cetanrE) 'on the house'
  dare-(cetanrE) 'on the tree'
  durhi-(cetanrE) 'on the hill'
(xi) /cot/: 'top', always used with the locative suffixes, /-tS/ when movement is marked and /-rE/ when rest, to carry a locative sense, hence /cot-tS/, /cotrE/. It is used with nouns only. Example -

buru- (cot:t) le són-ašen-a 'we have gone to the top of the mountain'
darę- (cotrE) menak'-a 'it is on the top of the tree'

(xii) /leka/: adjectival and adverbial postposition meaning 'like'. It is added to all kinds of nouns and pronouns and even to adverbs. With the suffix /-tB/ the way of action is specified. Example -

tarup'- (leka) 'like a leopard'
onka- (leka) 'like thus'
cet'- (leka) 'like what'

rud- (leka) horkane-a 'he is a man like this person'

noma- (leka) mena-a 'what is he like'
nonka- (leka) alo-m laj'-a 'do not say like this'

oka- (leka) ho noa do alo, mord'-a 'you would not give it by any means'

noa- (leka) onko do hork-horuy-ed-a 'they are sowing paddy in this way'

(xiii) /atE/: 'taking along with'.

uni lôthi- (atE) taram-ed-a-e 'he is walking taking a stick along'

uni ac'ôh gira- (atE) day-skad-a-e 'he has run away taking his children along'
(xiv) /semporkot/ : 'about', borrowed from Bengali, used with the genitive or the root itself. Example -

uni amak'(semporkot) ceta beko lai-e 'he will not tell anything about you'
sto-(semporkot) 'about the village'

(xv) /pore/ : 'after', ( OF. Bengali pore 'after')

Ana-(pore) 'after that'

(xvi) /hotec'ta/ (var. hotet) : 'for, by, due', indicating instrumentality.

dek' bod-(hotec'ta) ban topo-len-a 'I did not bathe due to dirty water'

uni rusk'(hotec'ta) ba-e hesc'-skan-e 'he has not come due to having fever'

uni-(hotec'ta) calao ba' ganok'-e 'going will not be done by him'

ana-(hotec'ta) ban calak'-a 'I shall not go for that'

mit'grapic-(hotec'ta) nuruk' nuruk'-t wacno-en-e 'he was saved from falling for one minute'

ruak'ken-(hotec'ta) 'due to having fever'

taka hamok'-(hotec'ta) 'for having money'

(xvii) /tuluc/ : denotes being with, association with, meeting with, from the most casual to the most intimate:

saaok'-(tuluc)-e jepit' idi-ed-a 'he sleeps as he walks'

uni calak'-(tuluc)-e mhe-led-a 'he said as he walked'
(xviii) /katê/: Purely a postposition, meaning 'having done' but is also used after simple demonstrative, interrogative and inanimate indefinite demonstrative pronouns, nouns and adjectives with an adverbial force.

Example -

rubî hêc'-(katê) 'having unturned'

hêc'-(katê) 'having come'

lai-(katê) 'having told'

rakap'-(katê) 'having risen'

dohp-(katê) 'having kept'

ajam-(katê) 'having heard'

dh-(katê) 'having written'

phasera-(katê) hatao-ked-e 'he got possession of it deceitfully'

mit'jaka-(katê) En-skö-m 'give them one rupee each'

beber-(katê) kol-kat'-ko-e 'he sent them out in couples'

cen-(katê) 'in that way'

In continuing a narrative it indicates 'the, after this'.

ina-(katê)-ko argument 'after that they harrow it'

(xix) /mêntê/: mën 'say' + /tê/ (lit. 'by saying') 'for the purpose of'.

dhap-(mêntê) ekje-kan-e 'making a thud sound'

ghr-mêntê hijuk'-mê 'come slowly'

cet'-(mêntê)calao-en-e 'for what purpose did he go?'

thenga-(mêntê) mak' aeu-skat'-e-e 'he cut and brought it in order to make a stick'
(xx) /iats/: 'on account, owing to, due to', used after nouns, pronouns and infinitives. Example -

ona-(iats) 'therefore'

am-(iats)-a hēc'-slam-a 'I have come because of you'.

di hor-(iats) ba- a sor-len-a 'she did not come near on account of the multitude of people'.

ru-(iats) ba-a hēc'-len-a 'he did not come on account of fever'.

(xcx) /tayom/: 'behind, back'.
in-(tayom) 'after that'.

3.6 INCLITIC DEFINITIVES: Santali possesses two suffixes — one for the noun and the infinitives and the other for the pronouns, which are used after nouns, infinitives and pronouns other than personal to define the nature of the object referred to. The suffixes, when added to nouns and pronouns become a part of them, the number and case affixes and postpositions coming after them. They are called then the definitives as they are used only when the object is specified. Where the object is unspecified the definitive is not used.

3.6.1 Two definitives are /tst'/: for noun and infinitive and /tak'/ for pronouns.

Example -

hpon-(tst') 'the son'

bokot-(tst') tako 'his brothers'

dar-(tst') 'the branch'

behutl-(tst') 'his wife'
Get-(tst') 'the cutting'
har-(tst') 'the path'
harel-(tst') 'the husband'
nui-(tak') 'the one here (animate)
noa-(tak') 'the thing here'
nul-(tak*) 'this very one (one animate)
han-(tak) 'that very one (inanimate)
oka-(tak') 'which very one (do)
jaHa-jabak' (any thing) (do)
okoa-(tak') 'which one (animate)
ni-(tak') 'this thing (particular)
oka-kej 'which one (inanimate)'
aghat-(tst') 'his mother'
get-(tst') 'the cow'
hat-(tst') 'his sister-in-law'
datat-(tst') 'his elder brother'
ul-(tst') 'his elder sister'
apat-(tst') 'his father'
kakat-(tst') 'his uncle'
apat-(tst')-tako 'their father'
ac'-(tst') 'he himself'
jinib-(tst') 'the thing'
alat-(tst') 'his co-parent-in-law'