CHAPTER SEVEN

PARTICLE
7.0 Santali has a good number of particles though not so large as compared with other grammatical classes. The forms belonging to this class are neither free nor bound. They are not free as their occurrences are sentence-bound and not bound like affixes and postpositions for they are almost always preceded and followed by open juncture. Besides the native ones Santali has borrowed some words from the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages which are deemed as particles.

7.1 Some of the particles, e.g. negative, affirmative, invitative, temporal, adversative, interrogative, conjunctive and disjunctive have their independent meaning. But some particles are untranslatable and their meaning depends on their syntax. Certain particles like ordinary negative, affirmative and interrogative when occur alone express a complete idea, hence correspond to a sentence, thus—

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{ban} 'no'
  \item \texttt{eh} 'yes'
  \item \texttt{ki} 'what?'
  \item \texttt{cede} 'why?'
\end{itemize}

7.2 Santali particles can be divided into the following groups depending on the different functions they perform in a sentence:

7.2.1 **Negative**: There are three negative particles — /ban/ as ordinary negative, /alo/ as prohibitive negative and /mo/ as emphatic negative.
All of them occur in the preverb position and in all the three cases the suffixed forms of the personal pronouns are added to them instead of the verb to mark the animate subject. The ordinary negative /baŋ/ drops its final consonant when the suffixed forms of the subject pronouns are added to it though exceptions are not rare.

7.2.1.1 /baŋ/: It is used in ordinary negative sentences and also in conditional clauses in which the protasis will or may take place, takes place or has taken place.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{unku ba-ko-baŋ-ko bsay-a} & \quad \text{'they do not know'} \\
\text{all ba-lebaŋ-le sínk'-a} & \quad \text{'we (pl.) will not go'} \\
\text{íñ ba-ñ baŋay-a} & \quad \text{'I do not know'} \\
\text{unkin hó adö ba-kin-baŋ-kin dár-še-a} & \quad \text{'even they (dl) had not run then'} \\
\text{jodí uni lehatE ba-e} & \quad \text{'if he would not come out earlier'} \\
\text{ondo-kok'-a teble hande ba-e tiyok'-ka-a} & \quad \text{'he might not reach there (yonder)'} \\
\text{EnkÉ būnim giārE do ba-m goc'-dās-ad-e-a} & \quad \text{'even then you could not kill that boy'} \\
\text{spÉ birutÉ ba-pE calak'kana} & \quad \text{'are you (pl.) not going to Biru ?'} \\
\text{setōli/situàtE hor baŋ bék'-kan-a} & \quad \text{'the road is not seen in the dark'} \\
\text{noa do baŋ jēmok'-a} & \quad \text{'this will not be eaten'}
\end{align*}
\]
7.2.1.1 /bañ/ when occurs alone is used as negative answer, thus —

cəka, aben biruf bar-ben calak'-a? 'what, will you (dl) not
go to Biru?' bañ 'no'

7.2.1.2 /alo/: It indicates prohibition and occurs in the simple
present / future verb forms with second person and verb forms with alo
performs the function of the negative imperative. Example —

handE alo-m calak'-a 'do not go there'
alo-ben/bin ray-a 'do not speak'
setud/situE alo-m 'do not run in the sun'
dar-buqay-a
simbera alo-m japid-a 'do not sleep by day'
iskul alo-pE calak'-a 'do not go to school'

7.2.1.2.1 There is only one instance in my data — khub soktokatE tolE,
jEyoum alo lara 'tie it very hard, so that it may not be loosened', where
it is used in a final clause and loses its prohibitive sense. Again, the
general preverb position of the negative finds its alternative in this parti-
cular instance.

7.2.1.3 /oh/: It is an emphatic negative used with the subjunctive
verb forms and with the another aspect in the apodosis part of a conditional
sentence. Examples —

in do ohn lai-ke-a 'I might not say'
they are saying, 'we can make him by uttering mystical formula but we we are unable to give him life' 
'I am unable to kill this boy'
'I shall not certainly give them this without being paid for it'
'if you did not beat me I would certainly not beat you'
'if he had not come I would certainly not have gone'
'if he doesn't give me I won't give him'

7.2.2 Affirmative: There are three affirmative particles, all being used in the same context. All occur in the sentence-initial position as the answer of yes-no type questions.

7.2.2.1 /hE/ hoi~hoy/: /hoi/and/hoy/ are found in Southern Santali along with hE while hE is predominant in the Northern dialect. The particles when used alone express each a complete idea.
Q. iskul-tE -m calek'-a? 'Will you go to school?'
A. hE, iskul-tE -m calek'-a 'Yes, I go, shall go to school.'

Q. am hE, iskul-tE -m hE, ak-an-a 'Have you come to see?'
A. hE, hE, iskul-tE -m hE, ak-an-a 'Yes, I have come to see.'

Q. cele, am do hor-tE -m rop-a? 'Is it so, (that) you speak Santali?'
A. hE, in do hor-tE -m rop-a 'Yes I speak Santali.'

Q. one-ge-n kuli-ket'-in-a? 'Did you asked me about that?'
A. hoi, one-ge-n kuli-ket'-me-a? 'Yes, I asked you about that.'

7.2.3 Invititative

7.2.3.1 /dEla/.

It occurs in the sentence-initial position with the anterior aspect with the emphatic particle /ge/ and without the finite /a/ in first person dual and plural inclusive, the subject pronoun being added to it.

dEla-bon khel-len-ge 'Come, let us play'
dEla-bon jom-le-ge 'Come, let us eat'
dEla-bon jopit'-le-ge 'Come, let us (di) sleep'
7.2.3.1.2 It is also used in the sentence-initial position with the ordinary verb form without the finite /a/ to denote invitation.

\[ \text{dEla-bon haku/hako sap'} \] 
\[ \text{'come, let us catch fish'} \]

7.2.3.1.3 It also occurs in the preverb position with the imperative verb form. The subject pronoun is not added to it.

\[ \text{baha mai, dEla hijuk'-mE} \] 
\[ \text{'O phulmani, come'} \]

7.2.3.1.4 When used alone it indicates an invitation to come.

\[ \text{dEla 1 'come 1} \]

7.2.3.2 /diloi/ : It is used in that particular context when the response to the invitation is not immediate. It is used with the imperative verb form in the preverb position.

\[ \text{diloi hijuk'-mE 'come (not immediately) !} \]

7.2.3.3 /do/du/ : It occurs in the sentence-initial and preverb position with the imperative verb form and denotes persuasion or invitation.

\[ \text{do/du a\text{\text{\text{gu}} ca\text{\text{\text{la}}}}'mE 'come, go to fetch'} \]
\[ \text{do/du bo\text{\text{\text{lo}} ca\text{\text{\text{la}}}}'m 'go, enter'} \]
\[ \text{hili dai 1 do/du 'o sister-in-law! come make me return'} \]
\[ \text{ruarjon -mE} \]
7.2.3.1 /ma/ : It occurs in the perverb position with the imperative verb form, within the verb in the optative verb forms. It generally softens the imperative into an optative sense.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma mën-më} & \quad \text{'come, speak'} \\
\text{ma sëNok'-më} & \quad \text{'come, go'} \\
\text{dakakok'-ma-e} & \quad \text{'may he prepare rice'} \\
\text{ror-ma-e} & \quad \text{'may he speak'}
\end{align*}
\]

7.2.3.5 /colo/ (cp. Bengali colo) : It occurs in the sentence initial and preverb position with the simple present / future verb forms in the first person dual and plural inclusive.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{colo disam} & \quad \text{depan-bon calak'- a} \quad \text{'come, we will go for a visit to the country'} \\
\text{colo-lan} & \quad \text{jom-a} \quad \text{'come, we will eat'}
\end{align*}
\]

7.2.3.5.1 It also occurs with the anterior aspect in first person dual and plural inclusive.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{colo-bon} & \quad \text{sëN-len-ge} \quad \text{'come, let us go'} \\
\text{colo-lan} & \quad \text{re-pëput'-le-ge} \quad \text{'come, let us break it'}
\end{align*}
\]

7.2.4 Emphatic : There are three emphatic particles, /ge/, /ma/, /do/ and /to/.

7.2.4.1 /ge/ : It is bound morpheme being always closely attached to the words emphasized. It occurs with the subject NP, object NP, with the verb and adverb. In the verb it is incorporated between the tense/aspect markers
and the finite /a/, in all other cases it is postponed.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am-ge-m calak'-a} & \quad \text{'you (not any other person!) go will go'} \\
\text{unku pE hor ona katha-ge-ko} & \quad \text{'all three of them said yes to that (particular) word'} \\
\text{he manao-ked-a} & \quad \text{'he has come (not done any other thing)'} \\
\text{hE Bo'-en-ge-e-e} & \quad \text{'go thus(not in any other way)'} \\
\text{nona-ge calak'-mE} & \quad \text{'we stay/will stay here (not in any other place)'}
\end{align*}
\]

7.2.4.2 /d\/. Like /ge/ it is not bound as it is preceded and followed by open juncture with stress on it. It emphasizes that part of the sentence after which it occurs.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uni do dE-p-akad-e-e} & \quad \text{'he has run away'} \\
\text{nitok'dE pEisi serma} & \quad \text{'it is now being sixty years'} \\
\text{hoyuk'-kan-a} & \quad \text{} \\
\text{uni gidr© do bE-ko-dE-p-akad-e-e} & \quad \text{'you could not kill that boy'} \\
\text{hijuk'-kando 'do coming'}
\end{align*}
\]

7.2.4.3 / to / (BB. Beng., Hindi to). It occurs with the subject NP to emphasize giving it an expletive sense.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am to hole-m hE-e'-akan-a} & \quad \text{'you, it is known have come yesterday'} \\
\text{(op. Bengali - tumi to kal esecho')} \\
\text{(Hindi - hamlog to kar kharid reh ha\u0930 'we are buying car')} \\
\text{in to jojom-in durup'-akan-e, ekE\u0962} & \quad \text{'you have apparently, sat to eat, who will bring the goat'}
\end{align*}
\]
7.2.5 Temporal:

7.2.5.1 /ado/ 'then, thereupon'. It occurs in the sentence-initial, medial and preverb position. It never starts a discourse. In the discourse it goes with what is new rather than with what is given.

ado topon somoy uni bughi do ona alo sap'-ked-a 'thereupon at the time of bath that old lady caught hold of that light'

montri hopon ado kiṣor hopon-e beret'-ked-e-a 'the son of the minister then roused the son of the rich man'

ar uni rakkhos ado-e dar'-ked-a 'and that man-eater then ran away'

7.2.5.2 /khan/.

7.2.5.2.1 The bare /khan/ is used as such in the Northern dialect denoting 'then, thereupon', where it is used in the sentence-initial position introducing the continuation of a previous statement in the discourse.

khan kora gidra rorruar-ked-a, henda baba ona gundli ma bili jut-skhan-a 'then the boy replied, 'o father, that gundli has been ripe'

khan dosar hilok'-ge setak'-re gidra-e matae-kan-a de̱la̱ñ-ja siglāñ idī-a 'then the very second day he is telling the son in the morning 'come, son, we will go for ploughing'

khan ayo-e mōc'-ked-a 'sanam kẖet'-ben si caba'-ked-a 'then the lady told 'you have ploughed up all the field'
7.2.5.2.2 /han/ in conjunction with the demonstrative root en 'that' in the Northern dialect and in 'that' in the Southern dialect meaning 'after that' is also used as a temporal particle

N.S. enkhanin calak'a 'then I shall go'
S.S. inkhan-in calak'a 'id.'

7.2.5.3 /jokhon/ : (cp. Bengali jokhon) 'when'. It occurs in both the dialects.

jokhon unin metaekan tahEkana unjokhan uni
bhagikoo'tE aijomet' tahEkanae 'when I was telling him then he was hearing attentively'
amak' isi do jokhon sirk'ben joraoidia unjokhEn gidra do lahakaemE 'when you will join your plough then keep the boy infront'

7.2.5.4 /tarpore/ : (cp. Bengali tarpore) 'then'. It is used only in the Southern dialect and occurs in the sentence-initial position. It never occurs in starting discourse but rather sums up the previous statement in the discourse.

pEpon maha unisok' bok' hasoekan tahE tarpore uni do goc'ene 'he was suffering from headache for three or four days, then he died'
lahatE jomlen tarporen calak'a 'first take your food then we will go'

7.2.6 Conditional.
(i) It is a bound morpheme used with the verb forms in the simple past in neutral, with the anterior aspect in active and neutral and simple present / future verb forms introducing the protasis. In all cases the finite / a / is not added. /khac'/' is predominant in the Northern dialect with sporadic uses of /khan/. /khan/ is the only form found in the Southern dialect.

N.S. am em hukumen-khac' noa bān kamikea 'if you order I would not do it'

N.S. jodi thik damiẖ namle-khac' pasEc' in akhrinkikinga

If I get actual price I would probably sell the two (animate)

S.S. baẖ' calaolen-khan uni baa hEc'kok'a 'if I had not gone he would not have come'

S.S. am bam kho-inkhan ūāurkōk'ān 'unless you call me I would have fallen'

S.S. baẖ' calaclen-khan unisalak' ĕEpĒl bān hoikok'a 'if I had not gone, meeting with him would not have happened'

S.S. ĕnelle-khan-goḏ dala looph' if I find I shall beat him'

N.S + S.S bam kami-khan tahleṅ chadeomea 'if you do not work I shall discharge you'
7.2.6.2 /jodi/ (cp. Bengali jodi) 'if': It occurs in sentence-initial, medial, and preverb positions introducing the protasis of a conditional sentence.

```
jodi uni lahatE bae ondokok'a table hand uni bae tiyok'kea

'if he would not come out earlier he would not reach there'
```

```
in jodi unkuic' gidra bañ bancaokea table goc'kok'ae  'if I would not save their child then it would have died'
```

```
jodi . thik damin namkea tablen akhrinkikina  'if I would get

actual price then I would have sold the two (animate)'
```

```
jodi bañ calaolenkhan unisalak' nEpEl bañ boikok'a  'if I would not go, meeting with him would not have happened'
```

```
jodi-m calaolenkhen in bañ calaokok'a  'if you would go I would

not have gone'
```

7.2.7 Illative.

7.2.7.1 /tobe/ (cp. Bengali tobe) 'then': It introduces the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

```
jodipE uddhariina tobe apEic' gatEpE namsea  'if you (pl) rescue

me then you will get your friend'
```

7.2.7.1.1 /tobe/ in conjunction with /khan/ serves the same purpose.

```
in jodi gidra bañ bancaokea tobekhan goc'kok'ae  'if I would

not save the child then it would have died'
```

```
in jodi bañ calackok'a tobekhan bae hko'kok'a  'if I would not

go then he would not have come'
```
7.2.7.2 /tahle/ ( cp. Bengali tahole) 'then': It is sometimes used to introduce the apodosis of a conditional sentence. It is also used in conjunction with /khan/.

jodi thik damin namkea tahle akhrinkika 'if I would get actual price then I could have sold the two'

am jodi bam kcia tablekhan don bagikema 'if you do not work then I shall dismiss you'

7.2.8 Adversative.

7.2.8.1 /mfnkhan/ : 'but' composed of mfn 'say' and /khan/ 'if', hence 'if it (is) said, but' etc. It occurs at the clause-initial position and serves as co-ordinating conjunct.

i{ do unin' tilledea mfnkhan-e at'lena 'I had seen him but (then) he was lost

mfnkhan cika\Wekt/sokakt\-co mit'din uni hqat'man orak'onga do boh\\W lac' haso nemkedea 'but one day the wife of that man anyhow got headache and stomach pain'

\Wtelledean, minkhan bar almaradeka 'I had seen him but did not speak to him'

7.2.8.2 /bankhan/ : It is composed of the negative particle /ban/ 'not' and the conditional particle /khan/ 'if', hence, 'if not, otherwise'.

```
onka do alom roga, baakhelaal dalmea 'do not speak thus, otherwise we (dl) will beat you'

in danri akhrikkhali akhrin kina baakh do baan 'if I can sell the cow I shall sell, otherwise not'

nui gidro do jahnaked idiotokaemE, baakh goco'kaemE 'take away this boy anywhere otherwise kill him to get out of the way'

calak'ain baakh cet'in cekay/cikaya 'I will go, if not what will I do?'

7.2.8.3 /bickom/ : 'rather'

nitok' do bickom baai calak'a 'rather I shall not go now'

marsalkhan bickom nutko dularkeda 'they loved darkness rather than light'

7.2.8.4 /bora/ : (cp. Bengali bora) 'rather'

hor do dher do beko stlenka, 'Santals had not gone there huge

bora deko/diku bartikeko tabeka in number rather there were many

Hindus'

7.2.8.5 /hutka/ : It is used in conditional sentences to introduce the apodosis in which the protasis is supposed not to have been realised, and, therefore, the apodosis would not have occurred.
naadEm tahElankhan hutkw bareñ obhe goç'lena 'if thou hadst been here he would not have died'
amem koElinkhan hutkw-Emskema 'if thou hadst asked me I would have given it to you'

7.2.f Copulative : /ar/ (cp. Bengali ar) 'and': It is used to connect words, phrases, and sentences. It is also used in the sentence-initial position for continuing a discourse.
raja ar hoñ 'the king and the man'

birsa ar inñ ocalak'a 'Birsa and I will go'

uniic' 'orak'gomke ar djastar gidranko tahEkan 'there were his wife and many children'
in jodi mantariñ lia ar dak'in chitkaua noa jekko jopongodok'a 'if I utter mystical formula and sprinkle water these bones will be joined'
ona aojomsaotE uni eyo do adie ragnaot'ena ar bogetEkin jhograena 'hearing that his wife became angry and they (dl) quarreled much'
ar note hoñ setaEkena 'and the dawn approached by this time (continued discourse).
7.2.10 Disjunctive: /sE/ : 'of'

\[ \text{sE am 'I or you'} \]
\[ \text{'ajomkedam sE-m baña 'did you hear or not'} \]

7.2.11 Indefinite: /coE/ : It is a postpositional bound morpheme, expressing the subjective doubt regarding a statement. It is postposed to the interrogative pronouns and adverbs to form a kind of quasi-indefinite pronoun and adverb.

\[ \text{okco-c-e noňkatE paraena baň disaledea } \]
\[ \text{'who ever crossed by this way I had not recognised'} \]
\[ \text{cele-co-e gErkidina 'which ever bit me'} \]
\[ \text{oka-co-n hataa baň bujbatudareak'kana 'what ever I shall take I cannot understand'} \]
\[ \text{cot'-co-m leikeda baň bujbaudareada 'what ever you told I could not follow'} \]
\[ \text{tis'-co-e rorleda 'when he spoke'} \]
\[ \text{(time not exactly known)} \]

7.2.12 Inclusive: /ho/ : It is used with the subject NP, object NP and adverb to include those parts of the sentences to which it is added.

\[ \text{rakkhoho-e dørkedo 'even the man-eater ran away'} \]
\[ \text{am ho-ñ hëlet'mea 'I saw ever you'} \]
\[ \text{uniak! ho iditoraryme 'take away even his (things)'} \]
\[ \text{ar note ho setak'ena 'and the dawn approached even by this time'} \]
\[ \text{gapa ho-hat baň durup'a 'even tomorrow the market will not sit'} \]
7.2.12.1 /h3/ in conjunction with the copulative or indicates 'again'.
`meafi arbo hat durup'a 'day after tomorrow again the market will sit'.

7.2.13 Interrogative.
7.2.13.1 /ki/ (cp. Bengali ki) 'what'. In a real question it is optionally used after the subject NP.

- `apE ki biru bapE calak'kana OR apE biru bapE calak'kana` 'are you not going to Biru?'
- `am ki daka bam gadaoakada OR am daka bam gadaoakada` 'have you not eaten up rice?'
- `am ki noam Emkina OR am noam Emkina` 'would you give me this?'
- `am ki darem mak'leda OR am darem mak'leda` 'had you cut the tree?'

7.2.13.2 /cedeak'/: 'Why'.

- `cedeak' birtEpE calak'a` 'why do/will you go to the forest?'
- `cedeak' em landaeda` 'why are you laughing?'

7.2.14 Adverbial: All the particles cited under this category are bound morphemes being incorporated within the verb and thus modifying it.

7.2.14.1 /tora/: In conjunction with the verb root it expresses that something occurs immediately preceding the leaving of a certain place.

- `uniak' jinis idi-toraE` 'take away his thing'
7.2.14.2 /bara/ : It expresses frequency and habit of certain action.

įnir-bara-ykanae  'he runs about'

孙悟E alora dōr-bara-ya  'do not run about in the darkness'

7.2.14.3 /oto/ /hoto/ : It conveys the idea of the actor departing after having performed any action. /oto/ is used in the Northern dialect while /hoto/ is in the Southern.

N.S. uni kheērē sare Er-oto-keda  'he applied fertilizer in the field'

N.S. nui gidra do jāanhēn idi-oto-kasē  'take away this boy anywhere'

S.S. uni gidraē doho-hoto-keda  'he put down the child'

S.S. mērdēme tōl-hoto-keda  'he hosed up the goat(for so body)'

7.2.14.4 /got'/ : It expresses suddenness, instantaneity and quickness of any action.

uni ayo do jēis raŋga- got'-ena  'this his wife suddenly because very angry'

sēng-got'-enae  'he went away'

7.2.15 Vocative

7.2.15.1 /E/: It is used before kinship terms, names and titles for calling attention.

E pērā  'o friend!

E bōyha  'o brother!

E go  'o mother!'
7.2.15.2 /ea/: It is used in addressing younger and inferior ones. It is only used by male folk.

`cet'-aa` 'look, what?'

7.2.15.3 /na/: It is used after the vocative /t/ and other words by female folk for calling attention. It is restricted among friends only.

`Ena cet' lekarE hatbon calak'a` 'look, how shall we go to the market?'

`Ena nakic' do alopE bhabnaa` 'look, do not worry about comb'

7.2.15.4 /hEnda/: It is commonly used by male and female folk for calling attention. It may stand alone or may be followed by another particle /ho/.

`hEnda baba ona gundli ma bili/bele jutakana` 'father, that millet has been ripe'

`hEnda ho 1 gidrapE hEkedtìnE` 'look, did you see my son?'
7.2.15.5 /hoi/.

*hoi bacha 'o boy'

7.2.15.6 /rE/ : It is a bound morpheme being added to the person addressed.

dairE 'o elder sister!
dairF 'o daughter!
dada-rE 'o elder brother!

7.2.15.7 /go/ : It is used by women.

*E yu go 'o mother!
*E mai go 'o daughter!

7.2.15.8 /ho/ : It is used after the words for the persons addressed to call attention.

7.3 Morphophonemic change.

7.3.1 /baŋ/ drop its final nasal when the short forms of the personal pronouns are added to it:

baŋ + ŋ = bañ
baŋ + e = bae
baŋ + m = bam

=200
7.3.2 The vowel of /bañ/ is neutralised when the short form of the first personal pronoun is added to it:

\[ \text{bañ} + \tilde{n} = \text{bañ} \]

7.3.3 /cOn/ drops its final nasal when the short form of the personal pronouns are added to it:

\[ \text{cOn} + \tilde{n} = \text{cOn} \]
\[ \text{cOn} + \text{m} = \text{cOn} \]
\[ \text{cOn} + \text{e} = \text{cOn} \]