CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Santali belongs to the Kherwari group of the North Munda sub-family of the Munda family which is, in its turn, a section of the Western group of the great Austroasiatic family of languages. Pinnow (1959) offered a classification of the Austroasiatic languages into two main branches — West Obergruppe consisting of Munda languages and Nahali and Ost Obergruppe including the rest of the Austroasiatic languages. Zide (1969) divides the Munda languages into two main groups — South Minda (abbreviated SM) and North Minda (abbreviated NM). The eastern i.e. Kherwari and the western i.e. Korku form the North Munda branch. Santali is separated off as a special branch of Kherwari. South Minda, Santali.

1. Pinnow in his latter papers took up the position of the Munda languages and comparing the external relationship of the Munda languages with other Austroasiatic ones he revised his earlier classification slightly, but the position of the Munda remains the same, i.e. Munda – Nahali is separated off as the Western branch. Cf. H. J. Pinnow’s (1960, 1963) Über den Ursprung der von einander abweichenden Strukturen der Minda Und Khmer – Nikobar Sprachen. Indo-Iranian Journal 4, 81-103. The position of the Munda languages within the Austroasiatic family. Linguistic Comparison in South-East Asia and the Pacific, ed. by H. L. Shorto, 140-152.

2. Here the name conforms to that of Robert Shaffer (1940), P. B. J. Kuiper (1962) and S. Bhattacharya (1957) rather than to H. J. Pinnow’s (1959) Nahali.
on the other hand, consists of koruput Munda (abbreviated KM) and Central Munda (abbreviated CM). Koraput Munda consists of Sora-Gorum (abbreviated SG) group and Gutob-Remo-Gat\(j\) (abbreviated GRG). Central Munda consists of Kharia and Juang. Bhattacharya (1975) conforming to the same geographical classification puts forward another classification based on some morphological features. He proposes a two-way division - Lower Munda, consisting of the three

1. Zide's diagram appears thus:

2. Munda Branch of Austroasiatic

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Upper Munda

North Western

Korku Moasi

Santali Mundari Kharia Juang Sora Parengi

Lower Munda

North eastern

Intermediary (Zikata-Sabara group)

Digey Bonda Gutab

Korku Moasi

Santali Mundari Kharia Juang Sora Parengi
extreme southern languages Bidey (Gta*), Bonda and Gutab bordering to Andhra-Pradesh and Upper Munda covering the rest, as the three southernmost languages included in Lower Munda as opposed to the Upper Munda, do not show the pronominal incorporation in the verb, differ in respect to genitive marker and by not having the dual marker. But whatever be the situation the position of Santali remains the same, Santali has been branched off as a special member of Kherwari (North eastern) group possibly because it has reached a higher stage of development than any other languages of the same group and also preserves the peculiar linguistic features of Munda more faithfully than the rest.

1.2.1 The name 'Santal' is the anglicized form of Sāotal derived, in turn, from Sāmanta - pāla 'dweller of the frontier' and is used to name the tribe by the Bengalees. L.O. Skrefsrød has tried to derive the same from saōt in Midnapur where the Santals are supposed to have been settled in remote antiquity. There is still a place named Sāot in Midnapur where the Santal habitate is very common. But the derivation of Sāotal from Sāot is nothing but a mere assumption, the Santals call themselves hor 'man' and the Santal is only used by those who are christianised. From the, term majhi or majhi 'village head man' they also call themselves majhi or majhi when asked about the caste. Being the oldest ethnic stock in India they are also known as adivasi 'those who have been living in the land from the very beginning'. Chatterji (1961) attaches great importance to this name remembering the contribution of the Santals in the evolution of Indian life and culture.

1.2.2 Santali, the language, is derived from the ethnic name. From Sāotal the Bengalees use the name Sāotali for their languages. The Santals themselves call their language hor or hor ror, being more analytical ror 'language, speech' is attached to hor 'Santal, man' in the latter, hence 'language of the Santal'. The language is also sometimes returned under the name majhi bhasa 'language of majhi'.

In North Bengal the language is known as jauli or paharia. In the South Bengal and Orissa the language is known as Thar, in Bihar it is named Farsi 'foreign'.

1.3 The Santal population is spread over a large strip of land covering almost the whole of eastern India—say, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. The most compact area of Santal population comprises the West of Birbhum and Burdwan, the sadar sub-division of Bankura, the Jhargram sub-division of Midnapur, almost the whole of Purulia, in West Bengal; the south of Bhagalpur and Monghyr, the Santal Parganas, Hazaribagh, and Dhalbhum in Bihar, and Baleshwar, Murubhanj and Keonjhar in Orissa. In Assam the Santal settlements are confined to tea gardens only, where they migrated and still migrate for the purpose of having occupation in the tea plants. Their scattered settlements are also found in North Bengal, south 24-Parganas, Hooghly, Howrah etc in South Bengal where they are occupied as day-labours. The Santals settled at Rajsaahei, Rangpur and Chittagong hill tracts in Bangladesh are not the natives of its soil. They are all immigrants. They had migrated from India at different periods.

1.3.1 The total number of the Santals in India is, according to 1971 census, about 140 lakhs, of which about 13 lakhs is in West Bengal, 18 lakhs in Bihar, 4 lakhs in Orissa, about 1 lakh in Assam and a few thousands in Tripura and Madhya Pradesh.

The distribution of the Santals in different states are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>86,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>1,801,304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>9,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>452,953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>2,222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>1,376,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,729,471</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.3.2 The Santals are the most numerous among the tribes who speak Munda. In western fringe of West Bengal, north Orissa, and Santal Parganas normally they were strong and this helped them maintaining group solidarity and preserve their language and culture much better than elsewhere. But elsewhere the Santals now remaining are but like scattered remnants of a substance floating here and there in a mass of water, into which they have been all but melted, and in which they are on the point of disappearing. By far the greater part of their substance has already commingled in the fluid around them, the remainder is saturated with it, and it is only in the very kernel and inner centre of the largest lumps, that something like the pure original substance is to be sought. They are found wherever a bunch of hills or an unhealthy jungle has given them refuge. Even there they are closely surrounded by, and to a considerable extent penetrated, or saturated with an Aryan element which modifies both their feature and their language.

1.3.2.1 The proportion of the population retaining the Santali language decreases as the tribes spread out to industrial and more accessible areas. For example, in West Bengal as a whole, 55% of the Santals speak their own language but in 24 Parganas the proportion falls to 10%.

1.3.2.2 The bilingualism is more extensive among the tribal population than among the general population. The percentage of population speaking a subsidiary language is just 8.65% in case of the general population but 30% in case of tribal population. Obviously the necessity for knowing the most common language of the area is very great in the case of the tribes who speak the tribal language which is obviously a minority one. As a rule bilingualism is encouraged whenever a small linguistic group finds itself plated in the midst of a population speaking a different tongue.
1.4 It is worth mentioning that the Santal speech community scattered among a number of political units, some members of it permanently belonging to West Bengal, some to Bihar, some to Orissa and some elsewhere. Their original habitat still remains undeciphered. As it is not still included in 8th schedule as an official language of a political unit, unlike the Aryan and Dravidian speech communities they don't have 'terra firma' under their heel, the study of their language in different areas is needed as they are mostly bilinguals. Being a minority speech community they can't help knowing the dominant language of the region where they stay. In everyday intercourse they have to come across a group of people who belong to a different speech community, viz. Bengali speech community in West Bengal, Bihari speech community in Bihar, Oriya in Orissa, Assamese in Assam. So it is very common that the local language will influence their native tongue — somehow or other. In this way the Santali is, to some extent, modified in phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary. The lexical items of the local language are taken into Santali with some nativizing elements or intact. The connotation of some lexical items is changed under this foreign influence. The new sounds are borrowed or the native sounds are modified. The new suffixes and postpositions are borrowed and nativized following the phonotactic rules of its own. The influence of its neighbouring languages in syntax remains to be seen. Again, due to the geographical proximity and distance a language creates local blocs within itself, which in turn, differ from one another in certain respects. Santali of Midnapore differs from that of Bihar due to the same respect. In this way dialects are created in it. Santali spoken in Midnapore, South Bankura, Purulia is more simplified in structure than that spoken in Santhal Parganas, Birbhum, north Bankura and north Bengal.
The process of Aryanization among the Santals has been going on through the ages. Living side by side with a people like the Aryans with more power and higher civilization sometimes they are forced to adopt and sometimes they are interested in the Aryan culture which ultimately make Aryan penetration into their language and culture.

As they grow more civilized they start adopting Aryan system along with designations for the same: thus lado 'cake', mithai 'sweet', dal 'beans', caole 'rice' panni 'shoes' etc. specialized crafts originally do not belong to them and as the shoemaker, blacksmith, carter do not belong to Santal society the corresponding terms like mulo 'shoemaker', Kamar 'blacksmith', gadvan 'carter' are borrowed from Aryan. Similarly trade not belonging to their regular means of livelihood the trade terms like mal 'goods' cij 'sample', ashab 'furniture', bajor 'market', khorca 'expense' are taken from or through the neighboring Aryan language. In time calculation the Aryan influence is noticeable: thus we have ghari 'a white', din 'day' bochor 'year', ciralka 'a long time'. Even though they have got their own village administration the Aryan terms like manjhi or majhi 'headman' (skt. madhyam), panchayet are used. Even in the household the Aryan influence is clear. The inner apartment is bhitar or bhitri, door is duar. The terms like pukhri 'pond', bande 'id' are of Aryan origin. Normally the kinship terms and the terms for the body parts of any language are kept free from foreign influence. But here the Aryan influence is so strong that the kinship system is also affected. Thus wife is bahu, nephew is bhagna, niece bhagni, bhai is brother. The terms for the sentimental feelings are borrowed from Aryan: thus maya 'affection', daya 'pity', lej 'shame'.
1.4.1.2 In the grammatical level, like the lexical one, the Aryan influence is fast progressing. The grammatical gender, though attested only in a few examples, is framed on the analogy of Aryan, the masculine nouns being ended with /-a/ and feminine /-i/; thus kale 'deaf', masc. and kali 'id' feminine; kora 'boy, young man', masc. Kuri 'girl, young lady' fems. The first three ordinal numbers pahil-poilo, dosar and tesar are borrowed from Hindi. A good number of postpositions like / lagit' / 'for', / thEn/'at with', / sōge / 'along with', / upār / 'above', / bhitor-bhitri / 'inside' / sathe / 'with' &c. are borrowed from Aryan either through Hindi or Bengali. The particles like / judi-jodi / 'if', / / 'so that', / talte / 'for that', / tō/, / ar / 'and', / tokhon / 'then' &c. are from the same source. In verb also very many Aryan roots like cal 'go', bujh 'understand' are borrowed, but with modification, here / -ao / or / -an / are added resulting in calao , bujhau . But when they are conjugated the verbal suffixes are indigenous. Aryan nouns are used as verbs but are so nativized that they fit well to the santali pattern. In bahu -ad - e - a - h. 'I gave him a wife', bida -ka - e - a - ko 'they sent him off', the Aryan nouns bahu and bida are pitted against the santali suffixes.

1.4.1.3 In Santali, though the influence of the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages is strongly felt in modern times than before, the grammar is not so much exposed as the vocabulary. And the non-native elements which are getting their way into the language are being readily nativized by giving a phonetic twist and well incorporated in the language. In the non-native elements, following the native pattern the vowel a is made neutralised if it is preceded or followed by i or u: thus bhitar for bhitor , kali for kali, kumi for kam, juan for juan or juan, bahu
for bahu, pachim for pachim, caukidar for caukidar, upar for upar, sutar for suta 'thread', mandir for mandir 'temple', lagd for laddu 'sweet meat', saari for sari 'saree', rani for rani 'queen, thäi for thäi 'place', utar for utter 'north', rai for rai 'mustard', lagit' for lagi'Tor', mami for mami 'maternal aunt' &c. The borrowed verb roots are nativized by replacing the final a with /-ao/ or /-aw/ thus parao 'to fall', oalao 'to go', bujhaa 'to understand' jopaao 'to link', lagao 'to cultivate' etc. The borrowed words or grammatical elements ending in a vowel are added a checked consonant in the final position: thus, / lagit' / 'for' /-tak'/ definite article.

1.4.2 Santali being scattered in different places is subject to differences in phonology, morphology and vocabulary. A line of demarcation is being emerged gradually between Santali spoken in the districts of Midnapore, Purulia and south Bankura comprising khatra, ranibandh, raipur, taldangra and Simlapal blocks in West Bengal' and Baleshwar, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar in Orissa and that spoken in north Bankura comprising Ghataha and Saltona blocks, Birbhum, Malda, West Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri in West Bengal, Santal Parganas, Bhagalpur, Munghyr in Bihar. Campbell mentioned these two dialects and named them Southern and Northern dialects respectively. For certain practical hazards, here in our survey, all the areas mentioned by Campbell are not undertaken. Covering only West Bengal and Santal Parganas of Bihar dialectal situation in Santali has been chalked out and in that case also Campbell's demarcation as Northern and Southern has been conformed. As already remarked the dialects are still growing and the differences between the two is not great. The possible differences between the two dialects, northern, henceforth N.S and southern, henceforth S.S. are the following:
1.4.2.1 In phonology the southern dialect is more simplified than the northern one.

1.4.2.1.1 In the southern dialect the pronunciation of /a/ is gradually missing which is being replaced by / a /; the northern dialect, on the other end, still clings to this.

1.4.2.1.2 Loss of homorganic nasal and nasalization of the preceding vowel is another feature of the southern one, compare —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern</th>
<th>Northern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pèr</td>
<td>pond 'white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majhi</td>
<td>mañji 'village headman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñría</td>
<td>andia 'male cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhídār</td>
<td>bhindar 'to fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odōn</td>
<td>ondok 'to come out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cūdo</td>
<td>cando 'sun'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In case of onđē 'here' onđā 'there', handē 'there yonder' the nasal is slightly heard.

1.4.2.1.3 Pronunciation of retroflex stop as flap is more or less a common feature of the southern dialect. Compare —
There is a preference for /n/ in the southern dialect as compared with the northern which preserves the checked stops. Compare —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern</th>
<th>Northern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-an/</td>
<td>/-ak1/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-rak1/</td>
<td>/-rak1/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-tak1/</td>
<td>/-tak1/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-an/</td>
<td>/-an/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the southern dialect there is also a tendency, although shared by the younger generation of the northern dialect, of pronouncing /e/ as /i/ and /o/ as /u/. In certain examples the pronunciation of /e/ as
/i/ and /o/ as /u/ has been established; e.g. abin 'you two' (cp. aben in l.S),
unku 'they' (cp. onku in N.S), ni 'this' (cp. ne in N.S).

1.4.2.2 In morphology the southern dialect shows some peculiarities as compared with the northern one.

1.4.2.2.1 In the genitive case two suffixes are used when the governed noun is animate, one for the singular and the other for the plural. /-ic/ is added when the governed noun is singular and /-rEn/ when it is plural. In the northern dialect, on the other hand, /-rEn/ is used for the singular and plural both (vide 3.1.1.1.3).

1.4.2.2.2 In the causative-permissive verb stem the formative is /-hoco/ in the southern dialect and /-oco/ in the northern (vide §3.1.2).

1.4.2.3 In the past progressive tense the past tense particle is /tahe/ in the southern dialect, while in the northern it is /taheko/.

1.4.2.4 In the ablative case, the determinative suffix /ko/ is added to the postposition /kon/ in S.S., while in N.S. no such addition takes place (vide §3.1.3).

1.4.2.5 In vocabulary the southern and the northern dialects are differentiated by borrowings from the neighbouring languages. The local borrowings in the two dialects is so high that it has made one almost unintelligible to the other. In certain cases the usage is also different. The terms like hapa 'mother', Eka 'wife', heryl 'husband' etc. are treated as vulgure in the southern dialect and are almost obsolete, while in the northern they are regularly used in the aforesaid sense. They are, in the southern dialect, replaced by ayo 'mother', babu 'wife' and jary 'husband' respectively. The same thing is sometimes indicated by different terms, for instance, 'cloth' is lugri in the southern and kiero in the northern, 'shirt' is doto in the southern and jam in the northern.
1.5 Santali was first brought to light by the foreign missionaries. Prior to that no attempt had been made to study this language by any native or other Indian. Although there seemed to have a suppressed motivation of exploiting these simple and ignorant people. "For from the madding crowd's ignoble strife they led a life quite ignorant of the civilized world. They did not have a square deal from any corner. And this was the condition which led the Europeans to work among them. It may not be true that all the missionaries were exploiters, but it seems certain that some of them were employed by the British rulers in India to wash the brain of the Santals which would positively help the rulers to rule over them. But it still remains unquestionable that the missionaries were the first to bring Santali into the knowledge of the world and to make it accessible to the scholarly world.

1.5.1 Rev. J. Phillips (1845) was the pioneer among the European scholars in throwing light on the Santali language in his *A Santali Primer*. In 1850 his *Sequel to A Santali Primer* appeared. Both the works, though the latter one can be said to be supplementary to the earlier one, brought sensation in the scholarly world. These are introductory and nothing serious can be expected from these. Actually in his *An Introduction to the Santal Language* (1852) we find a comprehensive grammar, although in the *Preface* he recognizes the limitations about giving "any very accurate account" of the numbers and language spoken by the Santals for the limited acquaintance with them. In his *Introduction* he submits with "unfeigned diffidence" : ...A first effort, ...., is necessarily exposed to many errors, which time and careful observation alone can correct. In the absence of all established authority, much difficulty has been experienced in fixing the orthography, and ascertaining the exact meaning of many words, as they are differently used and
differently pronounced by different persons. As Santali has characters of its own "to supply this deficiency the bengali alphabet has ..., been adopted" (p-1). The palatal nasal /n/ is identified as velar nasal, represented by Bengali. No distinction has been made among the checked consonants. Among other things the derivative nouns have been paid attention.

Santali verb being the most complicated one has been paid much attention. Some 39 pages have been spared to verb (p.13-51) as compared with other chapters, of chapter I (Of Letters) P. 1-3, Chapters II-III (Of Pronouns and Of Nouns respectively) p.3-13, Chapter V (Of Adjectives, Adverbs &c) P. 51-57.

It consists of two parts — Grammar (p. 1-57) and Reading Lessons (58-82). At the end vocabulary (p. 83-186) enters.

1.5.2 Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud's *A Grammar of the Santhal Language* (1873) is the first authoritative and comprehensive study of the Santali language, although he has adopted the old name Turanian as the ultimate source of the language. The grammar is divided into two parts — the first part discussing phonology and morphology, although not named as such and the second part discussing syntax. The short and long counterparts of the seven *æ, ë, 翻, 翻, 翷, 翸* and 翹 are mentioned and the neutral vowels ə, ɪ, ʊ and ʊ are first posed. Here, also, the checked consonants k', c' (represented ch'), t' and p' were first recognized and described. The pronunciation of all the "letters" are given by comparing them with German or English equivalents. The conditions under which the four checked consonants are changed to their corresponding full voiced counterparts are discussed in the section "of the permutation of letters" (Ch.I: Sec. IV). Like Phillips, three methods of noun declension — one belonging to Masouine — Feminine and the other two to Neuter, are discussed (Ch. II).
The possessive pronouns which are actually suffixed forms of the personal pronouns are also classed with the personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns as a separate entity (Ch. IV). The number of the demonstratives is not so large as mentioned by P.O. Bodding (1929). Santali verb morphology is of the greatest complexity and that Skrefsrud had felt it well can be seen from the range of discussion—while the entire phonology and morphology have been accommodated in 40 pages (sounds P. 1-2 and morphology P. 13-40) the verb is given some 255 pages (P. 40-295). The stem discussed in the present thesis as benefactive is discussed by Skrefsrud as reservative. His elaborate discussion of verbs has made it more complex. The derivation of nouns from nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs by suffixation, infixation and compounding is discussed in detail (Ch. VII : 303-26).

1.5.3 Before G. A. Grierson (1906) and P. O. Bodding (1922-29) dev. F. T. Cole attempted in his Santali Primer (1896) "to clear up some of the difficulties experienced by beginners in their first efforts to acquire this difficult and idiomatic language" (Preface). It consists of 55 chapters. The checked G' and K' are represented by : and ' . The verb is discussed in detail (P.37-95) with remark, "The wonderful intricacy of the verbal system is a marvel to the student and considering the mental calibre of the Santals of the present day, one is all the more surprised to find such a complex, and yet perfectly regular, verbal system" (P. 37). It can be called a simplified version of Skrefsrud.
G.A. Grierson as a part of his survey of the Indian languages has touched upon the Munda languages, especially Santali in his *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV (1906). Along with discussing the sounds and grammatical features he has given a skeleton grammar in a tabular form in which nouns, pronouns, "conjugational bases" (Vol. IV : 53) inflexional bases (IV : 53) and negative particles are entered. The description of the sounds is phonemic. The different values of \( \Delta \) and \( \Theta \) are mentioned. Unlike the previous grammars he has recognized no real cases in Santali. Different demonstratives based on proximity and distance are classified. Demonstratives like lateral and intensive and those referring to sight and sound are classified. The finite /a/ is mentioned in the Survey as "categorical a" (p. 45). Lastly he has recognized locality-based differences in the language, and that has in recent years given rise to a slight difference in dialect *between* the east, where most loan words come from Bengali, and the west which chiefly borrows from Dihari, and the south where the influence of Oriya is felt" (P. 54).

P.O. Sodding's *Materials For A Santali Grammar*, Pt. I & II (1922; 1929) was the first monumental and most authentic of the grammars written so far and still remains unsurpassed. Living more than three decades among the Santals he grasped the very essence of the language which helped him much in writing the grammar. He was not much satisfied with terminology adopted by him and he submits in the *Foreword* : "The working of an agglutinating language or of the mind of the speakers of such a language is, as will be seen, very different from that of an inflexional language. The ordinary grammatical terms have (with a few additions) been used; these are not, however, adequate to the needs of a language
that represents a stage of development different from that of the inflexional languages. Any one who could coin terms suitable for the needs of an agglutinating language would render a real service to the student of this and similar languages. All the sounds are correctly described; stress, syllabification and euphonic harmony are studied with minute observations. He has objected to the term neutral used by Skrefsrud and given the conditions under which those vowels are made such. In practical writing he has used ṣ (s).

In the part of morphology (named Mostly Morphological) "much syntactic matter has come in, partly because omission would make it more difficult for the student to understand the peculiar working of this agglutinating language" (Preface). Different grammatical classes are discussed; his elaborate discussion of the animate - inanimate distinction will remain as the best guide for those who want to study the Santal mental make up for many years to come. The case is not recognized. The section on the postposition is the most elaborate one covering both the native and borrowed ones. His minute observation on different suffixes and detailed discussion of the different types of demonstratives demand special mention. The verb (p. 154-267) which was made unnecessarily complex by Skrefsrud is made simple and accessible.

Had he not died earlier he could have completed the proposed part of syntax. Yet the work done by him in the field of Santali linguistics is still unsurpassable and the future scholars will remember him with reverence. His A Santali Grammar For Beginners (1929) is a concise and simplified version of his Materials For A Santali Grammar for the learners. His A Santal Dictionary 1-5 (1929-36) remains the best source of expressive derivation.
In the very Preface of his *An Introduction to Santali Pt. I & II*, R. M. Macphail submits, "As its name implies, this book does not pretend to be a full grammar. Such a work already exists, in Boding's "Materials For a Santali Grammar", Parts I and II; but that is not an easy book for the beginner, and the need has been felt for something simpler. This is an attempt to meet that need" (Preface). It is divided into two parts — the first part describing different sounds in chapter I sets forth some common words and simple constructions in a series of lessons, in Chapter II and thereafter describes various grammatical classes using phrases learned in Chapter II to illustrate their use and the Part II consists of a vocabulary of about eleven hundred common Santali words followed by an English-Santali section. It is actually meant for helping the new learners of Santali to find easily how the different forms and functions are formalized. Since it is primarily meant for pedagogical purpose, theoretical discussions and justifications are kept a minimum.

The present analysis is done on the basis of the data primarily collected through an intensive field survey between October 1979 and July 1982 in the block level of the different districts of West Bengal and Bihar. The data consists of about six hundred sentences, fifteen texts and a few hundreds of words and paradigms.

The survey is carried out only in those areas where they muster very strong and have been inhabiting for some decades. The Santali of Assam and Tripura are not considered as they are actually taken over as tea plant labours from either Bihar or West Bengal or from both. The Santals of 24-Parganas of west Bengal are not considered too as they migrate very recently from the aforesaid areas. The survey in Orissa and other districts like Bhagalpur, Hazaribagh,
Monghyr, Singhbhum etc. in Bihar was not undertaken for time factor and also for the present work is not primarily intended for dialect survey. For the description of the morphological structure of the language the area actually covered was found sufficient.

1.6.2 In doing the survey the blocs are chosen which are inhabited by 20,000 or more Santal speakers. In this way in West Bengal Chhatna, Saltora, Khatra, Ranibandh, Raipur, Taldangra and Simlapal blocs in Bankura, Garhbeta, Shalbani, Jambani, Binpur, Keshiary, Gopiballavpur Nayagram and Jhargram in Midnapur, Rampurhat in Birbhum, Balurghat in West Dinajpur, Kishipur and Baghmundi in Purulia and Santal Parganas in Bihar were chosen. After a pilot survey once in West Bengal and once in Bihar a skeleton of possible differences were chalked out and a detailed questionair were prepared for detailed survey. Following the questionair some six hundred sentences were recorded from the informants of different age and sex either in tape or in writing. The number of words varied in different blocs from time to time. In covering the whole six hundred sentences different villages under each bloc were visited and if any difference was noticed with any informant that was verified by other supporting sentence with other informants. The processing of the material went hand in hand with the survey so that check and feed process could be applied.

1.6.3 Besides this, some published works like that of Skrefsrud (1973), Bodding (1929), Macphail (1953) and a few periodicals like Pachimangla (published by West Bengal Government) were of much help in supplying materials.
1.7 The present thesis presents in a fairly exhaustive manner the essential details about the morphological structure. In describing the morphological pattern of nouns, adjectives and adverbs syntax has automatically come in. The animate - inanimate distinction is quite impossible unless syntax is considered. The description of the particles remains incomplete if their syntax is not looked into. The expressive derivation which is developed to a high degree in Santali has been discussed in a fairly detailed way. The complex verb structure is discussed in a simplified manner.

1.7.1 The grammatical classes established on the morphological and syntactic criteria are the following: Nominal, including noun and pronoun, verb, adjective and numeral, adverb and particles. Nominal and verb enter into morphological construction while the others do not. In that respect they may be grouped together as one class. But that is avoided on account of their different syntactic behaviour and are treated separately.

1.7.2 The morphological processes employed are profixation, infixation, suffixation, reduplication and compounding of which the first one is very rare. Compounding involves two root morphemes and in that sense compounding at its purest clashes with derivation which shows an interplay of a root morpheme and a grammatical morpheme. But here compounding is not treated separately and is included in derivation as compound forms are not numerous. When the roots or the root and the affix come together morphophonemic changes occur, but that is not of high degree. So without ascribing separate chapter on morphophonemics the changes are treated along side the elements which show
such changes in a different sub-section.

1.8 The transcription followed here is mere or less phonemic with few exceptions. The checked consonants \( p' \), \( t' \), \( c' \) and \( k' \) are allophones of their corresponding full counterparts \( p \), \( t \), \( c \) and \( k \). But they are retained in the transcription along side \( p \), \( t \), \( c \) and \( k \), as a tremendous sentiment of the Santals is involved in it. The palatal and velar nasals are transcribed as \( \tilde{M} \) and \( \tilde{n} \). The nasalisation is indicated by \( \tilde{} \) above the nasalised vowel. The retroflex stops and flaps are indicated by putting a dot below. The vowel \( a \) although normally occurring predictably, is maintained as in certain examples like dar 'run', ad 'beginning' at 'opportunity', ghat 'fault', raska 'rejoice', jat 'caste', khaktak 'basket', pae 'recede', rar 'tune' and others its predictability is missing. The sounds used in transcription are the following:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
\text{i} & \text{u} & \text{p} & \text{t} & \text{ṭ} & \text{c} & \text{k} \\
\text{e} & \text{a} & \text{o} & \text{p}' & \text{t}' & \text{c}' & \text{k}' \\
\text{E} & \text{a} & \text{o} & \text{b} & \text{d} & \text{ḍ} & \text{j} & \text{g} \\
\text{s} & \text{h} & \text{m} & \tilde{\text{n}} & \text{n} & \text{ñ} & \text{ñ} \\
\text{l} & \text{r} & \text{f} & \text{v} & \text{y}
\end{array}
\]