CHAPTER FOUR
CONJUGATIONAL MORPHMES
4.0 The Santali verb is defined by the fact that it takes tense and/or aspect markers with or without the markers for the active and neutral, modal markers, personal terminations, marker for the finiteness of action and gerundial suffix. The words which denote action, event or condition are not the ones treated as verbs but any word is treated as such provided it takes the above markers. The verb with the finite marker is treated as finite and without this and with the gerundial suffix is treated as non-finite.

4.1 Santali verb structure may be shown in the following diagram:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense/aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal terminations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. There is a strong tendency among the speakers in the Southern dialect and also among the youngsters in the Northern dialect to eliminate the finite marker in the past-progressive although the action concerned is finite.
4.2 Root: The roots from which the verbs are formed can be classified into three groups—transitive, intransitive and transitive-intransitive, according to the markers they take for the active or neutral along with tense/aspect markers and according to their potential capacity of taking object infixes.

4.2.1 Transitive verb roots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>idi</td>
<td>'(to) take away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isin</td>
<td>'(to) cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir</td>
<td>'(to) reap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñam</td>
<td>'(to) get'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñi'li</td>
<td>'(to) see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal</td>
<td>'(to) beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tol</td>
<td>'(to) bind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jok</td>
<td>'(to) sweep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cas</td>
<td>'(to) cultivate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dak</td>
<td>'(to) rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jom</td>
<td>'(to) eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tum</td>
<td>'(to) shoot with bow and arrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rop</td>
<td>'(to) speak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rek</td>
<td>'(to) cry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mak</td>
<td>'(to) cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cet</td>
<td>'(to) learn, teach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar</td>
<td>'(to) run'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>god</td>
<td>'(to) give a daughter in marriage, respond'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toa</td>
<td>'(to) give milk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bicar</td>
<td>'(to) judge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dipal</td>
<td>'(to) cover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep</td>
<td>'(to) catch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirin</td>
<td>'(to) buy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akirin</td>
<td>'(to) sell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñah&gt;</td>
<td>'(to) keep, put down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batao</td>
<td>'(to) take'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jepit</td>
<td>'(to) sleep, make sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rohy</td>
<td>'(to) sow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rapak</td>
<td>'(to) burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atkik</td>
<td>'(to) steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shop</td>
<td>'(to) begin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandra</td>
<td>'(to) hunt, seek'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akpm/ajom</td>
<td>'(to) hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuli</td>
<td>'(to) ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanm</td>
<td>'(to) work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurumatu</td>
<td>'(to) try'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gupi</td>
<td>'(to) tend cattle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Er</td>
<td>'(to) sow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nu 'to drink'

utu 'to prepare curry'

savay 'to have a full supply of rain

car 'to take, pull out of water

the kao 'to push into fire'

deri 'to delay'

bilom 'to delay'

khem 'to spend time with joy'

si 'to plough'

kurpar 'to arrange for wrong purpose

budis 'to think'

crhē 'to sing in praise'

argo 'to be pregnant'

barja 'to know'

laga 'to chase, drive away'

bēmka 'to earn'

serēn 'to sing'

érē 'to tend cattle'

sēreco 'to exceed'

ak 'to bow'

jāvāy 'to give a daughter in marriage

jērao 'to link'

gēr 'to bite'

egēr 'to soold' (used by women)

rohēt / rōhēt 'to scold' (by men)

pūjā/pūja 'to trace'

uyuk 'to cover with cloth'

sin 'to shut'

gidē 'to throw away'

āka 'to draw picture'

steā 'to spread out to receive'

galmarca 'to converse'

teāgi 'to wait'

ghē 'to bind a knot'

tiyok 'to reach'

uyuk 'to bring down'

hētn 'to divide'

le 'to dig'

cesē 'to try'

tərəm 'to walk'

tovāk 'to throw down'

lo 'to lift water'

saprao 'to edit'
or '(to) draw, pull'
portion '(to) cover with winnow'
tis/tiak' '(to) bend'
banam '(to) play fiddle'
gEt' '(to) cut'
tin '(to) stone'
don '(to) jump'
ran '(to) treat medically'
ha/ha '(to) take on the lap'
arjao '(to) earn'
Em '(to) give'
lai '(to) tell'
uduk' '(to) show'
hobo '(to) call'
goro 'help'
dul '(to) pour'
aris 'bear malice'
baengEt' '(to) watch'
chitkaa 'sprinkle'

hirin 'forget'
num '(to) name'
dis 'remember, be conscious of'
ru '(to) sound'
or 'blow flute'
bheja '(to) send'
tam '(to) beat'
raet' '(to) cover with winnow'
riko '(to) try'
cal '(to) give'
mEn '(to) say'
agu '(to) bring'
ror '(to) speak'
kol/kul '(to) send'
bogi '(to) leave'

jut '(to) make'
ml '(to) write

4.2.2 Intransitive verb roots:
bEt' '(to) cover the eyes with palm, put on a lid'
sEn '(to) go'
beec' '(to) come'

calao '(to)
dec' '(to ascend)
um ' (to) take bath'
seter ' (to) arrive'
bolo ' (to) enter'
tengo/tíngu ' (to) stand'
boi ' (to) be'
rua ' (to) get fever'
param ' (to) cross cover'
payra ' (to) swim'
dubuc ' (to) pop head under water'
răngao ' (to) get angry'
khac ' (to) seek'
dhurau ' (to) begin, start'
rurar ' (to) return'
ondok ' (to) come out'
jora ' (to) drop'
hir ' (to) run away'
seteñ ' (to) come out'
kondel ' (to) fall'

Transitive-Intransitive Verb roots:
gitic ' (to) lie down, lay down'
rakap ' (to) rise, ascend, pull somebody/thing up'
parhaso ' (to) read, teach'
durup ' (to) sit make sit'
gac ' (to) die, kill'
4.3 Stem Formation.

4.3.1 Causative/Permissive stem.

4.3.1.1
The morphological processes employed to form causative/permissive stems is
prefixation and suffixation. Of these, suffixation is
employed for all types of roots — transitive, intransitive and transitive-intransitive, and reciprocal stems but prefixation is restricted to two
transitive roots only. These two roots can be used in combination with suffix
but never in combination with both the processes.

4.3.1.2
The difference between the causative and the permissive lies in the case status
of the person acted upon, though they are formed with the same formatives. In
the causative the person caused, i.e. acted upon, is in the accusative while
in the permissive the person acted upon is in the dative.
The suffix for the causative/permissive varies in phonological shape in the two dialects. In the northern the formative is /-oco/ (also /aco/) and in the southern it is /-hoco/, while the prefix is uniformly /a-/ in both.

4.3.1.4 By prefixing /a-/: This is restricted to the two transitive roots *jam* 'eat' and *nu* 'drink'. They are also used in combination with the suffix /-oco/-/-hoco/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixation</th>
<th>Suffixation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>jam</em> 'eat'</td>
<td><em>ajj</em> 'feed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nu</em> 'drink'</td>
<td><em>nu</em> 'make drink'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1.5 By sufffixing /-oco/-/-hoco/:  

1) To transitive roots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern</th>
<th>Southern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dal</em> 'beat'</td>
<td><em>daloco</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mEn</em> 'say'</td>
<td><em>mEnoco</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nEl</em> 'see'</td>
<td><em>nEloco</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tim</em> 'pick up from tree'</td>
<td><em>timoco</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uyuk</em> 'bring down'</td>
<td><em>uyuk'oco</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ran</em> 'treat medically'</td>
<td><em>ranoco</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bicar</em> 'judge'</td>
<td><em>bicaroco</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ii) To intransitive roots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern</th>
<th>Southern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sEn 'go'</td>
<td>sEn 'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oalao 'go*'</td>
<td>oalao 'go*'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hSc1 'come*'</td>
<td>hSc1 'come*'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sEnoeo</td>
<td>sEnoeo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cal ao ooo</td>
<td>cal ao ooo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hBc5ofeo</td>
<td>hBc5ofeo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iii) To the transitive—intransitive roots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern</th>
<th>Southern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gitic' 'lie, lay'</td>
<td>gitic' 'lie, lay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durup' 'sit, make sit'</td>
<td>durup' 'sit, make sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pērēc 'be full, fill'</td>
<td>pērēc 'be full, fill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goc 'die/kill'</td>
<td>goc 'die/kill'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iv) To reciprocal stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern</th>
<th>Southern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nēpēl 'see each other, meet'</td>
<td>nēpēl 'see each other, meet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēpam 'get together, meet'</td>
<td>nēpam 'get together, meet'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.2 Benefactive stem.

4.3.2.1 The benefactive stem is formed by suffixing /-ka/ to the transitive and transitive-intransitive roots. When added to the transitive-intransitive roots the transitive meaning is prominent. The stem indicates an action done for somebody else.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern</th>
<th>Southern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tol 'bind'</td>
<td>tol 'bind (for somebody)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gitic' 'lay'</td>
<td>gitic' 'lay (for somebody)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapal 'cover'</td>
<td>dapal 'cover (for somebody)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dpho 'keep'</td>
<td>dpho 'keep (for somebody)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Southern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ganra</strong> tola-e-mB</td>
<td><strong>gidra</strong> dohka-e-mE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bullock-bind(ben.) -3po-you</td>
<td>child - keep(ben.) -3po-you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bind the bullock'</td>
<td>'keep the child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dapalka</strong> - m</td>
<td><strong>kamikak’</strong> - mE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cover(ben.) - you</td>
<td>work(ben.) - you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cover (it)'</td>
<td>'work'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>horo dalka-m</strong></td>
<td><strong>silpìn</strong> siňka’ - mE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paddy-thrash(ben.)-you</td>
<td>door - close(ben.) - you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thrash paddy'</td>
<td>'close the door'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3 Reciprocal stem.
4.3.3.1 The morphological processes employed to form the reciprocal stem is infixation and suffixation. Both the processes are restricted to the transitive and transitive-intransitive roots, though in the latter case the transitive meaning is prominent.

a. Infixation: The infix /-p¥-/ is inserted after the first vowel of the root, the vowel of the infix being the same root vowel after which the insertion takes place, hence the vowel of the infix is represented as $V^r$.

- **dal** 'beat'  
  - **dapal** 'beat each other'
- **Em** 'give'  
  - **Epm** 'give each other'
- **lai** 'tell'  
  - **lmpai** 'tell each other'
- **or** 'draw, pull'  
  - **opor** 'draw each other'
- **gër** 'bite'  
  - **gşpër** 'bite each other'
- **mër** 'see'  
  - **nşpër** 'see each other, meet'
- **tun** 'pierce (with arrow)'  
  - **tupun** 'pierce each other (with arrow)'
- **rşr** 'speak'  
  - **rşpr** 'speak to each other, gossip, quarrel'
- **mak** 'cut'  
  - **mapak** 'cut each other'
- **rok** 'pierce through'  
  - **rşok** 'pierce each other through'
- **ol** 'write'  
  - **opol** 'write to each other'
- **tol** 'bind'  
  - **topol** 'bind each other'
- **tul** 'draw water'  
  - **tupul** 'draw water for each other'
- **cal** 'give'  
  - **capal** 'give each other'
- **Eşër** 'scold, abuse'  
  - **Eşpër** 'scold each other, quarrel'
b. Suffixation:

i) By suffixing /-ok'/ to the transitive and the transitive–intransitive roots:

- gEr 'bite'
- EgEr 'scold, abuse'
- dal 'beat'
- tangi 'wait'
- hoho 'call'  


\[\text{hoho} \text{'call each other'}\]
\[\text{tanga} \text{'wait for each other'}\]
\[\text{kupul} \text{'ask each other'}\]
\[\text{gapalamarao} \text{'gossip'}\]
\[\text{lapanda} \text{'laugh together'}\]
\[\text{upuduk} \text{'show each other'}\]

b. Suffixation:

ii) Sometimes the reciprocal stem is also formed by adding /-jon/ to a restricted number of transitive roots, like,

- lai 'tell'
- bobo 'call'
- Em 'give'

\[\text{laijon} \text{'tell each other'}\]
\[\text{bobojon} \text{'call each other'}\]
\[\text{Emjon} \text{'give each other'}\]

4.3.3.2 The infixation is the only process of forming the reciprocal stem in the Southern dialect while in the Northern dialect there is an optional variation between this process of infixation and the process of suffixation. And this suffix-type of reciprocal formation is particularly used by the male teenagers while the grown up men and the women particularly cling to the first process.
4.3.3. The suffixed reciprocal stems, unlike infixed ones, are conjugated only in simple present/future, present and past progressive and in the imperative mood. In other tenses and moods the simple roots are conjugated, while the context shows whether it is reciprocal or not.

4.3.4 Iterative/Intensive stems.

4.3.4.1 This is formed by reduplicating the initial consonants along with the accompanying vowels or the initial vowels if the roots begin with a consonant or a vowel respectively, as the case may be. This is restricted to the transitive roots and to two intransitive roots only. Both the iterative and the intensive functions are performed by the same stem, the context determining whether the iterative or intensive meaning is hinted upon.

i) With the Transitive roots:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
g\bar{et} 'cut' & g\bar{g}\bar{et} 'cut' \\
\bar{n}\bar{al} 'see' & \bar{n}\bar{e}n\bar{al} \\
mak' 'cut' & mamak' \\
\bar{d}\bar{al} 'beat' & \bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{d}\bar{al} \\
r\bar{or} 'speak' & r\bar{or}\bar{or} \\
tol 'bind' & t\bar{ot}\bar{ol} \\
dak 'run' & d\bar{a}\bar{dak} \\
jok 'sweep' & j\bar{oj}\bar{ok} \\
rak 'pierce' & r\bar{or}\bar{or}\bar{ok} \\
dak 'rain' & d\bar{a}\bar{dak} \\
rak 'cry' & r\bar{ar}\ar\bar{ak} \\
cas 'cultivate' & c\bar{a}\bar{c}\bar{a}\bar{s} \\
\bar{n}\bar{u} 'drink' & \bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{u} \\
\end{array}\]
### ii) Only two intransitive roots are found undergoing reduplication to form an iterative / intensive stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Iterative Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sën 'go'</td>
<td>sEsEn 'go intensively repeatedly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īrir 'run'</td>
<td>īīrīr 'run again and again, run persistently'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.4.2 The roots with the initial consonants followed by diphthongs reduplicate their initial consonants along with the first components of the diphthongs:

lai 'tell'  
lalai 'tell ever and again, reiterate'

4.3.4.3 Bodding (1929 : 168f.) has mentioned a process of forming the 'performative base', here iterative / intensive, by infixing /-k'/ after the initial vowel of the root but this type of formation is not returned in my data either from the Northern or from the Southern.

4.3.4.4 The iterative / intensive stems are conjugated in the simple present future, present and past progressive and cannot take any object infix.

4.3.5 Medio-passive stem.

4.3.5.1 The morphological process employed to form a Medio-passive stem is to suffix /-jon/ to the transitive roots, to a limited number of intransitive and transitive-intransitive roots, the intransitive meaning being prominent in the latter case. The stem thus formed denotes an action meant for the doer himself.

i) With the transitive roots:

dal 'beat, thrash'  
agu 'bring'  
kami 'work'  
ńeb 'see'  
raske 'rejoice'  
ir 'reap'  
uyuk' 'bring'  
daljon 'beat, thrash for self'  
agujon 'bring for self'  
kamijon 'work for self'  
ńeljon 'see for self'  
raskajon 'rejoice for self'  
irjon 'reap for self'  
uyuk'jon 'bring for self'

1. 'Another way is to infix a /-k'/ after the initial or first vowel . . . This may be done with all base words' - Bodding, P.O. Materials For A Santali Grammar (Dumka, 1929), p. 168.
ru 'play on drum'  rujan 'to play on drum for self'
ord 'play on flute'  orjan 'to play on flute for self'
sEra 'learn'  sErajn 'learn for self'
gEr 'bite'  gErjn 'bite for self'

ii) With the intransitive roots:
hir 'run away'  hirjn 'run away to save oneself'
calao 'go'  calaojn 'go for self'

iii) With the transitive-intransitive roots:
gitic 'lie'  giticjn 'lie for self'
durup 'sit'  durupjn 'sit for self'

4.3.5.2 This suffixed stem is conjugated in the simple present / future, present and past progressive and in the imperative mood; in other tenses and moods the simple root replaces the stem.

4.3.6 Passive/Reflexive stem.

4.3.6.1 The suffix for the passive and reflexive stems is /-ok/. It is added to the transitive roots and transitive-intransitive roots in which the transitive meaning is prominent and to the causative stem to make the passive and to the transitive roots to make a reflexive as well. There is no formal difference within the verb between the passive and the reflexive, the context alone determining whether passive or reflexive is involved.

i) Passive from transitive and transitive-intransitive roots:
ham 'get'  hamok 'be got, gotten'
Eel 'see'  Elok 'be seen'
Eam 'give'  Eamok 'be given'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Passive</th>
<th>Reflexive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dal</td>
<td>'beat'</td>
<td>dalok'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop</td>
<td>'start'</td>
<td>Ehobok'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isin</td>
<td>'cook'</td>
<td>isinok'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mājom</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
<td>mājomok'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōbōy</td>
<td>'sow'</td>
<td>rōbōyok'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōc</td>
<td>'kill'</td>
<td>gõjuk-gõjok'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ii) Passive from causative stem:

- ranoco/hoco 'cause to medicate'
- jomoco/hoco 'cause to eat'

### iii) Reflexive from transitive roots:

- ol 'write'
- Em 'give'
- mōl 'see'
- or 'draw, pull'
- mak 'cut'
- ir 'reap'
- dal 'beat'
- gōr 'bite'

4.3.6.2 Passive/Reflexive stem is conjugated in the simple present / future, present and past progressive and in the imperative mood, in other tenses and moods the simple root is conjugated.
4.3.7 Compound Stem.

4.3.7.1 Juxtaposition of two transitive roots:

sendranam 'search and get'
sendra 'search' + nam 'get, find'

kamidare 'able to work'
kami 'work' + dare 'be able'

Emidare 'able to give'
Em 'give' + dare 'be able'

mak'agu 'cut' and bring'
mak' 'cut' + agu 'bring'

nalnam 'see and find'
nal 'see' + nam 'find'

4.3.7.2 Juxtaposition of two intransitive roots:

rakaphacock 'ascend and come'
rakap' 'ascend' + haco 'come'

argobacock 'descend and come'
argo 'descend' + haco 'come'

ruarhacock 'come back'
ruar 'return' + haco 'come'

4.3.7.3 Juxtaposition of an intransitive root and a transitive root:

sendar 'able to go'
sen 'go' + dare 'be able'

4.3.7.4 Juxtaposition of a root and an adverbial particle:

hira 'run about'
hir 'run away' + bara

darbara 'run about'
dar 'run' + bara

dalgato 'beat up'
dal 'beat' + gato

kamito / kamibato
kami 'work' + oto (N.S.) / hato (S.S.)

surbara 'go about'
sen 'go' + bara

4.3.8 By a reclassification of the above stems, two groups, henceforth called active and neutral, may be set up depending on the formative elements added to the tense/aspect markers and on the potential capacity of taking objects. The first group, henceforth called active stems, consists of the following:

1. (N.S.) Stands for Northern Santali
2. (S.S.) Stands for Southern Santali.
i) all transitive roots;

ii) all transitive-intransitive roots when the transitive meaning is prominent;

iii) causative-permissive stems;

iv) benefactive stems;

v) compound stems consisting of two transitive roots;

vi) compound stems in which the second element is a transitive root; and

vii) compound stems in which the second element is an adverbial particle.

The second group, henceforth called neutral stems, consists of the following:

i) all intransitive roots;

ii) all transitive-intransitive roots when the intransitive meaning is prominent;

iii) reciprocal stems;

iv) passive/reflexive stems;

v) medio-passive stems; and

vi) compound stems consisting of two intransitive roots.

4.3.9 Iterative/intensive stems are not included in any of the above groups as, when they are conjugated in the simple present/future, present and past progressive and in the imperative mood no overt marker for the active or neutral occurs and they do not admit of any object infix. Another point to note is that the causative/permissive stems are always active irrespective of whether they are formed from the transitive or intransitive roots. The formation of the reciprocal and the benefactive is restricted to the transitive roots, but while the former is always neutral the latter is always active. The passive is always neutral whether it is formed from the transitive or transitive-intransitive roots. The compound stems are active or neutral depending on the transitivity or intransitivity of the last element of the compound. The transitive-intransitive roots are included in both depending on which counterpart (transitive or intransitive) of the root is specified.
4.3.10 Morphophonemic Changes.

4.3.10.1 Morphophonological changes in the stem suffixes.

(i) The initial vowel of the passive-reflexive-(reciprocal) suffix /-ok'/
is elided when it is added to roots and stems ending in a vowel (vide 4.3.3.1b(i):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bobo} + /-ok'/ & = \text{bobo'k'}
\text{tangi} + /-ok'/ & = \text{tangik'}
\end{align*}
\]

(ii) o of /ok'/ becomes ə when it is added to roots with E (vide 4.3.3.1b(i)
and 4.3.6.1) and ur and or (vide 4.3.6.1(iii):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gE} & + /-ok'/ = \text{gErok'}
\text{EgE} & +/-ok'/ = \text{EgErok'}
\text{hE} & +/-ok'/ = \text{hErok'}
\text{o} & + /-ok'/ = \text{ok'}
\text{or} & +/-ok'/ = \text{orok'}
\end{align*}
\]

(iii) The initial vowel of /-ok'/ optionally becomes ə when it follows a root
ending with c (vide 4.3.6.1(i):

\[
\text{goc} + /-ok'/ = \text{gocuk'}
\]

4.3.10.2 Morphophonological changes before the stem suffixes.

(i) The final checked consonants of the roots become voiced when they are followed
by /-ok'/ (vide 4.3.6.1(i) and (iii):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Eh} & +/-ok'/ = \text{Ehobok'}
\text{mak} & +/-ok'/ = \text{magok'}
\text{goc} & +/-ok'/ = \text{gojok'}-\text{gjuk'}
\end{align*}
\]
(ii) The stem suffix optionally changes the quality of the root vowel in its own (vide 4.3.6.1(i)):

\[ \text{goo}^1 + /-\text{ok}'/ = \text{gojok}' \]

(iii) The final c' of a root optionally changes the root vowel from o to u when /-ok'/ is added and the vowel of the suffix is also changed to u simultaneously (vide 4.3.6.1(i)):

\[ \text{goo}^1 + /-\text{ok}'/ = \text{gujuk}' \]

4.4 Marker for the active and neutral.

4.4.1 There are two sets of markers for the active and neutral stems — one set consisting of one member only i.e. /-t'/ for the active and the other set consisting of two members, i.e. /-ok'/ and /-n/ for the neutral.

4.4.2 The active marker is added to the tense/aspect markers when they are added to the active stems. The active marker is not added to the imperative with or without the aspect marker, to the invititative and subjunctive modal suffixes when they are added to the active stems.

4.4.3 The neutral marker /-ok'/ is added to all intransitive roots excepting a few like topo 'bathe', gar 'descend' and teno/ti'gu 'stand', and optionally to the infixed (vide 4.3.3.1a) reciprocal stems when they are conjugated in simple present/future, present and past progressive and in the imperative mood, in other tenses /-n/ is added to the tense/aspect markers, to indicate the neutrality of the stems. In the subjunctive mood the neutral marker /-ok'/ is added the modal suffix /-ke/ resulting in /-kok'/. The marker /-n/ is added to all other tense/aspect markers and to the imperative with the aspect suffix, to the invititative modal suffix when they are added to the neutral stems.
4.4.4 The three intransitive roots mentioned above (vide 4.4.3) take the neutral marker /-n/ instead of /-ok/ when they are conjugated in the simple present/future, present and past progressive. In other tenses and moods /-n/ is suffixed to the tense/aspect and modal suffixes. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>topo 'bathe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>topon 'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tango 'descend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tingon 'id'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5 Aspect suffixes.

4.5.1 Santali employs a number of suffixes to denote different aspects. It is interesting to note that the suffixes which are employed to denote different states of action are also employed to express time dimension, thus serving a dual role. Santali aspects may be broadly divided into non-completive and completive, both having two broad divisions - indeterminative and determinative. Non-completive indeterminative is indefinite while the same determinative is progressive. Completable indeterminative is aorist while the same determinative is either resultative stating an accomplished fact the result of which is still present or non-resultative stating an action which happened long ere and the result of which is no longer present or an action which is to be taken up prior to certain other action. In a tabular form they may be represented as follows:

### Non-completive:

- **Indeterminative**: indefinite - Ø (Zero)
- **Determinative**: Progressive - /-e/kan/

### Completive:

- **Indeterminative**: aorist - /-ke/aka/-e/
- **Determinative**: resultative -/-aka/ (accomplished and result is still present)
: non-resultative -
  a. accomplished but result not obtained -/-le/
  b. priorative (action to be taken up prior to certain action) -/-le/

4.5.2 Non-completive determinative progressive is /-e/ in the active and /kan/ in the neutral. Indeterminative aorist in the completive is /-ke/ in the active and /-e/ in the neutral.

4.5.3 All the aspect suffixes except /$/ and /kan/ are added with an active or neutral marker when they are suffixed to the respective stems. Thus the aspect suffixes with the active and neutral markers are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-completive determinative progressive:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-et'/</td>
<td>/kan/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compleive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminative aorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ket'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determinative resultative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-aket' /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; non-resultative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(accomplished)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-let' /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; non-resultative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Priorative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-le/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.4 Indeterminative aorist determinative non-resultative in the completive with the directional prefix /a-/ and with the benefactive stem suffix /-ka/ and the determinative resultative in the completive with direction /a-/ change their phonological shape. The changed forms are as follows:
Morphophonemic changes:
1. at' < set' < aket' < a + ket'
2. at' < set' < alet' < a + let'
3. an < saen < a + en
4. an < salen < a + len
5. -kat' < aket' < akaket' < ka + ket'
6. -kat' < aket' < akaket' < ka + let'
7. -akawat' < akaat' < aka + a + t'

Tense markers.

4.6.1 The particle /kan/ denotes the present tense. It is quite different from other aspect tense suffixes. While the aspect tense suffixes take object after them, it takes the object before it, i.e. between the stem and /kan/. Again it has nothing
to do with active or neutral, therefore, it is used with both types of stems.

It is also independently conjugated; thus —

kan-a-n 'I am'
kan-a-m 'you are'
kan-a-e 'he is'

It is secondarily shifted to the non-completive determinative progressive in the neutral and in the active with first and third person singular object. Example —

a. /kan/ as present tense marker:

uni do hor-(kan)-a-e 'he is a man'
uni hor do khepa-(kan)-a-e 'this man is mad'

b. /kan/ as a non-completive determinative progressive marker:

uni calak'-kan)-a-e 'he is going'
uni dal-in-(kan)-a-e 'he is beating me'

4.6.1.2 /thēkan/ denotes the past tense and like /kan/ it is independently conjugated, as

thēkan-a-n 'I was'
thēkan-a-m 'you were'
thēkan-a-e 'he was'

4.6.1.2.1 The form is attested as such in the Northern dialect, while in the Southern dialect /thēc'/ is attested, both having the same function. Example —

mit'ān bir (thēkan)-a/(thēc') 'there was a forest'
unirēn orak' gomkē ṣlį napay(thēkan)-a-a/(thēc)-e
 'his wife was very beautiful'
4.6.1.2.2 By the composition of /tahEkan/ - /tahEc'/ and different aspect suffixes different tense nuances are also indicated. The tense nuances expressed by this particle being used after the aspect suffixes will be shown in the aspect/tense network (vide 4.6.2).

4.6.2 3 Zero or the absence of any marker denotes the future tense. However, the priorative aspect suffix may be used in the future giving the tense of anterior future.

4.6.2 The aspect-cum-tense network can be enumerated as follows:

Present tense:

Non-completive indeterminative indefinite as Simple Present — 0 (zero) (active) neutral)

Non-completive determinative progressive as Present Progressive — /et'/ (active)

Past tense:

Complettive indeterminative aorist as Simple Past — /-ket'/ (active)

Complettive determinative resultative as Perfect — /-akat'/ (active)

/-akan/ (neutral)

Do with /tahEkan/ - /tahEc'/ as Past Perfect——

/-akat'tahEkan/ - /-akat' tahEc'/ (active)

/-akan tahEkan/ - /-akan tahEc'/ neutral)

Complettive determinative non-resultative (action not obtained) as Pluperfect — /-let'/ (active)

/-len/ (neutral)
4.6.2.1 Morphophonemic changes of the suffixes.

(i) The final t' of the suffixes becomes d, when a vowel follows (vide 4.6.3):

\[
dal + /-et'/ + /a/ + e = daledae \quad \text{'he is beating'}
\]

\[
dal + /-ket'/ + /a/ + e = dalkedae \quad \text{'he beat'}
\]

(ii) The final t' of the suffixes becomes t, when a k follows (vide 4.6.3):

\[
dal + /-ket'/ + \text{\textit{kin}} + /a/ + e = \text{\textit{dalkedae}} \quad \text{'he beat them (two)'}
\]

4.6.3 Examples are given to illustrate the use of the different aspect-tense markers with two groups of stems, active and neutral. (The examples are given with hyphens in between the morphemes).
### SIMPLE PRESENT

#### a. With active stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive root</th>
<th>dal-e-a-e 'he beats him'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beat-3po-fm-3ps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal-a-e 'he beats'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beat-fm-3ps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive-intransitive root:</th>
<th>gitic'-e-a-e 'he lays him'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(when the transitive meaning is prominent)</td>
<td>lay -3po-fm-3ps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative stem:</th>
<th>daloco/hoco - m - a-e 'he causes you to beat'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cause to beat -2po-fm-3ps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Permissive stem:</th>
<th>nloco/hoco - n-a-e 'he lets me to see'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>allow to see -1po-fm-3ps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefactive stem:</th>
<th>tolkak' -a-e 'he binds it (for somebody)'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bind for someone-fm-3ps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolka - e - a - e</td>
<td>'he binds (the cow) (do)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bind for someone-3ps-fm-3ps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Abbreviations will read as:
  1 = first person, prp = present.
  2 = second person, p = progressive.
  3 = third person, perf = perfect.
  p = person, P = past.
  o = object, refl = reflexive.
  s = subject, dt = dative.
  fm = finite marker.
Compound stem of two:
transitive roots

\[ \text{sendrañam} - a - e \]
see and find -fm-3ps

\[ \text{sendrañam} - e - a - e \]
'he searches and finds him'
seek and find -3po-fm-3ps

Compound stem in which:
the last component
is transitive

\[ \text{sendare} - a - e \]
able to go -fm-3ps

'he is able to go'

b. With the neutral stems:

Intransitive roots:

\[ \text{Sñok} - a - e \]
'he goes'
go -fm-3ps

Transitive - intransitive root (when the intransitive meaning is prominent):

\[ \text{gitic} - a - e \]
'he lies'
lie -fm-3ps

Reciprocal stem:
1. \[ \text{dapal} - a - kin \]
'They(two) beat each other'
beat each -fm-3ps(dl)
2. \[ \text{dalok} - a - kin \]
'id'

Passive stem:

\[ \text{dalok} - a - e \]
'he is beaten'
be beaten -fm-3po

Reflexive stem:

\[ \text{Eñok} - a - e \]
'he sees himself'
see oneself -fm-3ps

Mediopassive stem:

\[ \text{daljon} - a - e \]
'he beats (thrashes) for himself'
best for oneself -fm-3ps

Compound of two intransitive roots

\[ \text{rakap1 hijuk} - a - e \]
'he ascends and comes'
ascend and come -fm-3ps
4.6.3.2 PRESENT PROGRESSIVE

a. With Active stems:

Transitive roots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dal-ed-a-e</td>
<td>'he is beating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal-e-kan-a-e</td>
<td>'he is beating him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal-ed-e-a-e</td>
<td>'he is beating him'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive-intransitive roots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>goo'-ed-a-e</td>
<td>'he is killing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goo'-ed-e-a-e</td>
<td>'he is killing him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goo'-e-kan-a-e</td>
<td>'id.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Causative stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daloco/hoco - et'-me-a-e</td>
<td>'he is causing you to beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daloco/hoco - e-kan-a-e</td>
<td>'he is causing him to beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daloco/hoco - ed-e-a-e</td>
<td>'id.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Permissive stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tolkak'-kan-a-e</td>
<td>'he is binding (for somebody)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolka-e-kan-a-e</td>
<td>'he is binding it (cow)(for somebody)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Compound of two transitive roots:

- mak'agu-ed-a-e 'he is cutting and bringing'
  cut and bring -prp-fm-3ps

Compound stem in which the second component is a transitive root:

- sEndare -e - a - e 'he is able to go'
  able to go -prp-fm-3ps

b. With neutral stem:

Intransitive root:

- sEnok' - kan - a - e 'he is going'
  go -prp - fm - 3ps

Transitive-intransitive (when the intransitive meaning is prominent):

- gujuk' - kan - a - e 'he is dying'
  die - prp-fm-3ps

Reciprocal stem:

1. depal - kan - a - kin 'they are beating each other'
   beat each other -prp-fm-3ps(dl)

2. dalok' - kan - a - kin 'id.'

Passive stem:

- dalok' - kan - a - e 'he is being beaten'
  be beaten -prp - fm - 3ps

 Reflexive stem:

- nElok' - kan - a - e 'he is seeing himself'
  see oneself - prp-fm-3ps

Mediopassive:

- daljon - kan - a - e 'he is beating for himself'
  beat for oneself - prp-fm-3ps

Compound stem of two intransitive roots:

- ruorhijuk' - kan - a - e 'he is returning, coming back'
  return and come - prp-fm-3ps
### 4.6.3.3 SIMPLE PAST

#### a. With Active stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive root:</th>
<th>dal - ked - a - e</th>
<th>beat - P - fm - 3ps</th>
<th>'he beat'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dal-ked-e-a-e</td>
<td>beat-P-3po-fm-3ps</td>
<td>'he beat him'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Do with dative/a-/ (indirect object) | lai - af - ko - a - e | tell-P-3po-fm-3ps | 'he told them' |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive-intransitive root (when the transitive meaning is prominent)</th>
<th>goc' - ked - a - e</th>
<th>kill - P - fm - 3ps</th>
<th>'he killed them'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>goc' - ked - e - a - e</td>
<td>kill-P - 3po - fm - 3ps</td>
<td>'he killed him'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Causative stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>daloco/hoco - ked-e-a-e</th>
<th>cause to beat - P-3po-fm-3ps</th>
<th>'he caused him to beat'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h&amp;co'o/oco - ked-e-a-ko</td>
<td>cause to come-P-3po-fm-3ps(pl)</td>
<td>'they caused him to come'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Permissive stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>goc'owo/oco - ad - e - a - le</th>
<th>allow to die - dt. &amp; P-3po-fm-3ps(pl)</th>
<th>'we let him die'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h&amp;co'o/oco - ad-e-a-ko</td>
<td>allow to come - dt. &amp; P-3po-fm-3ps(pl)</td>
<td>'they permitted him to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;co'owo/oco - ad - e - a - e</td>
<td>allow to see - dt. &amp; P-3po-fm-3ps(n)</td>
<td>'he permitted him to see'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Benefactive stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>depalkad - a - e</th>
<th>cover for &amp; P-fm - 3po</th>
<th>'they covered (for someone)'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uyuk'kad - e - a - e</td>
<td>cover for someone &amp; P-</td>
<td>'he covered it(cow) (to help someone)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Compound of two: 
transitive roots

- **nBlnam - ked - a - e**  
  'he saw and found'  
  see and find -P - fm - 3ps

Compound in which the second component is a transitive root

- **sKhndare - ed - a - e**  
  'he was able to go'  
  able to go -dt. & P-fm-3ps

b. With neutral stems:

**Intransitive root:**

- **sKm - en - a - e**  
  'he went'  
  go -P - fm - 3ps

**Transitive-intransitive root when the intransitive meaning is prominent:**

- **gco' en - a - e**  
  'he died'  
  die - P - fm - 3ps

**Reciprocal stem:**

1. **dapal -en - a - kin**  
   'they(two) beat each other'  
   beat each other -P-fm-3ps(d1)

2. **dal -en - a - kin**  
   'id'

**Passive stem:**

- **dal -en - a - e**  
  'he was beaten'  
  beat -P - fm - 3ps

**Do of causative:**

- **goc'oco/hoco -en - a - e**  
  'he was caused to die'  
  cause to die -P-fm-3ps

**Reflexive stem:**

- **Bel -en - a - e**  
  'he saw himself'  
  see -P-fm - 3ps

**Mediopassive stem:**

- **dal -en - a - e**  
  'he beat(thrashed) for himself'  
  beat -dt. & P - fm - 3ps

Compound of two:

intransitive roots

- **rearhKo' -en - a - e**  
  'he came back'  
  return & come -P - fm-3ps
### a. With Active stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive root:</strong></td>
<td>dal - akad - a - e</td>
<td>'he has beaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beat - perf - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dal - akad - e - a - e</td>
<td>'he has beaten him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beat - perf - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Do with dative:</strong></td>
<td>lal - akawad - e - a - e</td>
<td>'he has told him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tell - perf &amp; dt - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive-Intransitive:</strong></td>
<td>goc' - akad - a - e</td>
<td>'he has killed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kill - perf - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Causative:</strong></td>
<td>daloco/hoco - akad - e - a - e</td>
<td>'he has caused him to beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cause to beat - perf - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Permissive:</strong></td>
<td>daloco/hoco - akawad - e - a - e</td>
<td>'he has permitted him to beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>allow to beat - perf &amp; dt - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goc'ooc/hoco - akawad - e - a - e</td>
<td>'he has permitted him to die'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>allow to die - perf &amp; dt - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Benefactive:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compound of two:</strong></td>
<td>mak'agu - akad - a - e</td>
<td>'he has cut and brought'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cut and bring - perf - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compound in which:</strong></td>
<td>sändare - akawad - a - e</td>
<td>'he has been able to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>the second component:</strong></td>
<td>able to go - perf &amp; dt - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>is a transitive root:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### b. With neutral stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intransitive root:</strong></td>
<td>sën-akan - a - e</td>
<td>'he has gone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go - perf - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive-Intransitive:</strong></td>
<td>goc' - akan - a - e</td>
<td>'he has died'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>die - perf - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reciprocal: 1. dapal-akan-a-kin 'they (two) have beaten each other'
   beat each other -perf -fm -3ps (dl)

2. dal-akan-a-kin 'id'

Passive: dal-akan-a-e 'he has been beaten'
   beat -perf -fm -3ps

Do of causative: godoco/ho-akan-a-e 'he has been caused to die'
   cause to die -perf -fm -3ps

Reflexive: tab-akan-a-e 'he has seen himself'
   see -perf -fm -3ps

Mediopassive: dal-akawan-a-e 'he has beaten (paddy) for himself'
   beat -perf &dt. -fm -3ps

Compound of two: ruarhe' -akan-a-e 'he has come back'
   return and come -perf -fm -3ps

4.5.3.5 PAST PERFECT

a. With Active stems:

Transitive root: dal-akat'-tahakan-a-e 'he had beaten'
   beat -perf -P -fm -3ps

dal-akad-e-tahakan-a-e 'he had beaten him'
   beat -perf -3po -P -fm -3ps

Do with active: lai-akawad-e-tahakan-a-e 'he had told him'
   tell -perf -3po -P -fm -3ps

godoco/ho-akawad-e-a-e 'he had let him die'
   allow to die -perf -3po -fm -3ps

Transitive-intransitive root: god'-akat'-tahakan-a-e 'he had killed'
   kill -perf -P -fm -3ps

god'-akad-e-tahakan-a-e 'he had killed him'
   -3po-

Causative: daloco/hoco-akad-e-tahakan-a-e 'he had caused cause to beat -perf -3po -P -fm -3ps' him to beat'
Permissive:  
\[
\text{daloko/hoco -akawad -e -tah\k\k\k -a - e} \\
\text{allow to beat -perf -3po -P - fm -3ps}
\]
\text{he had permitted 
allow to beat -perf -3po -P - fm -3ps him to beat}

Benefactive:

Compound of two:  
transitive roots  
\[
\text{mak'agu -akat' -tah\k\k\k -a - e} \\
\text{cut and bring -perf -P - fm -3ps}
\]
\text{he had cut and brought}

Compound in which:  
the second component as a transitive root.  
\[
\text{s\k\k\k\k -akawat' -tah\k\k\k -a - e} \\
\text{able to go -perf & dt. -P - fm -3ps}
\]
\text{he had been able to go}

Compound in which:  
the second component is a particle  
\[
\text{dalgot' - akawat' -tah\k\k\k -a - e} \\
\text{dalgot' - akawad - e - tah\k\k\k -a - e}
\]

b. With Neutral stems:

Intransitive root:  
\[
\text{te\k\k\k o -akan -tah\k\k\k -a - e} \\
\text{stand -perf -P - fm -3ps}
\]
\text{he had risen and remained standing!}

Transitive-intransitive root (when the intransitive meaning is prominent)  
\[
\text{g\k\k\k o -akan -tah\k\k\k -a - e} \\
\text{die -perf -P - fm -3ps}
\]
\text{he had died}

Reciprocal:  
1.  
\[
\text{dapal -akan -tah\k\k\k -a - kin} \\
\text{beat each other -perf -P - fm -3ps (dl)}
\]
\text{they had beaten each other!}

2.  
\[
\text{dal -akan -tah\k\k\k -a - kin} \\
\text{id!}
\]

Passive:  
\[
\text{dal -akan -tah\k\k\k -a - e} \\
\text{beat -perf - P - fm -3po}
\]
\text{he had been beaten}

Do of Causative:  
\[
\text{g\k\k\k o/lco/hoco -akan -tah\k\k\k -a - e} \\
\text{cause to die -perf - P - fm -3po}
\]
\text{he had been caused to die}

Reflexive:  
\[
\text{\k\k\k -akan -tah\k\k\k -a - e} \\
\text{see -perf -P - fm -3ps}
\]
\text{he had seen himself}

Mediopassive:  
\[
\text{dal -akawen -tah\k\k\k -a - e} \\
\text{beat -perf & dt -P - fm -3ps for himself}
\]
\text{he had beaten (paddy) for himself}
Compound of two: transitive roots
rua hBc' akan - tahEkah - a - e, he had come back, return and come -perf -P -fm -3ps

4.6.3.6 PLU PERFECT

a. With Active stems:

Transitive root:
- dal - led - a - e 'he had beaten'
  beat -plu.perf -fm -3ps
- dal - led - e - a - e 'he had beaten him''
  -3po-

Transitive-intransitive root (when the transitive meaning is prominent)
- go'o' - led - a - e 'he had killed'
  kill
- go'o' - led - e - a - e 'he had killed him''
  -3po-

Causative:
- daloco/hoco - led - e - a - e 'he had caused him to beat'
  cause to beat

Permissive:
- daloco/hoco - ad - e - a - e 'he had permitted him to beat'
  allow to beat -dt & plu.perf-

Benefactive:
- poko - tomad - a - e 'he had covered (for someone)'
  cover(for someone) & plu.perf-

Compound of two: transitive roots
- makagu - led - a - e 'he had cut and brought'
  cut and bring-

Compound in which the second component is a transitive root
- akndare - ad - a - e 'he had been able to go'
  able to go -of. & plu.perf-

b. With Neutral stems:
Intransitive root: sēm - len - a - e
            go - plu perf - fm - 3ps
            'he had gone'

Transitive-intransitive root (when the intransitive is prominent):

gōc' - len - a - e
            die - plu perf - fm - 3ps
            'he had died'

Reciprocal:

1. dapal - len - a - kin
            beat each other - plu perf - fm - 3ps (dl)
            'they had beaten each other'

2. dal - len - a - kin
            'they had beaten each other'

Passive:

dal - len - a - e
            'he had been beaten'
            - 3ps

Reflexive:

nēk - len - a - e
            see - perf & refl - fm - 3ps
            'he had seen himself'

Mediopassive:

nēk - an - a - e
            see - dt & plu perf - fm - 3ps
            'he had seen for himself'

Compound of two intransitive roots:
ārgohēc' - len - a - e
            'he had descended and come'
            descend and come-

4.6.3.7 ANTERIOR PLUPERFECT

a. With the Active stems:

Transitive roots:

idi - let' - ko - tahēkan - a - ko
            take away - plu perf - 3ps(pl) - fm - 3ps(pl)
            'they had taken them away'

Do with dative / a-/:

īmi - ad - in - tahēkana - e
            tell - dt & plu perf - 1po - T - fm - 3ps
            'he had told me'

Transitive-intransitive root (when the transitive meaning is prominent):

gōc' - let' - ko- tahēkan - a - e
            'he had killed them'

Causative:

dalooc/hōc' - let' - kin- tahēkan - a - e
            'he had caused them (two) to beat'
            cause to beat -
Permissive: nikówοco/hοco -ad -e -тахankan-a-ko
   'they had permitted him to see'

Benefactive:  дапалкад -e -тахankan-a-e
   'he had covered it(axim) for someone'

Compound of:  нəлəм -led -e -тахankan -a -e
   'he had seen and found him'

Compound in:  сəндаре -at' -тахankan -a - e
   'he had been able to go'

b. With the neutral stems:

Intransitive root:  həc' -len -тахankan -a -ə
come -plu perf-P-fm-1ps
   'I had come'

Transitive-intransitive root (when the transitive meaning is prominent):

gəc' -len - тахankan -a - e
die-
   'He had died'

Reciprocal:  1. дапал -len -тахankan-a-kin
   'they(two) had beaten each other'
   beat each other-plu perf-P-fm-3ps(dl)

   2. дал -len -тахankan -a -kin
   'Id'

Passive:  нəм -len -тахankan -a
   find-
   'it had been found'

Reflexive:  нəл -len -тахankan -a - e
   'he had seen himself'
   see -3ps

Mediopassive:  дал -an -тахankan -a - e
   'he had beaten(paddy) for himself'
   beat -dt & plu perf -P-fm-3ps
### Compound of two intransitive roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Compound</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>argōtīlen - tanākān - a - e</td>
<td>he had descended and come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1.6.3.8 PAST PROGRESSIVE

**a. With Active stems:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive root</td>
<td>dal - et' - tanākān - a - e</td>
<td>'he was beating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beat-p - P - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dal - et - me - tanākān - a - e</td>
<td>'he was beating you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive-intransitive root</td>
<td>bancaō - et' - ko - tanākān - a - e</td>
<td>'he was saving them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>save</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>dalōco/hoco - et - tanākān - a - e</td>
<td>'he was causing him to beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cause to beat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permissive</td>
<td>ñÉlōco/hoco - a - kan - tanākān - a - e</td>
<td>'he was permitting him to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>allow to see - dt - 3po - P - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td>tolka - a - kan - tanākān - a - e</td>
<td>'he was binding it(cow) for someone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bind for someone - 3po - P - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound of two transitive roots</td>
<td>mak'agō - et' - tanākān - a - e</td>
<td>'he was cutting and bringing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cut and bring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound in which the second component is a transitive root</td>
<td>sāndare - et' - tanākān - a - e</td>
<td>'he was being able to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>able to go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b. With Neutral stems:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive root</td>
<td>sānok' - kan - tanākān - a - e</td>
<td>'he was going'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go - P - P - fm - 3ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive-intransitive root: gujuk'-kan-tahok-an-e  
  dis - P  - Fm-3ps  
  he was dying

Reciprocal:
1. depal-kan-tahok-an-e  
   beat each other  
   they(two) were beating each other

2. dalok'-kan-tahok-an-e  
   beat each other  
   id

Passive:
hamok'-kan-tahok-e  
be found  
  dalok'-kan-tahok-e  
be beaten  
  -3ps  
  he was being beaten

Reflexive:
nelok'-kan-tahok-e  
see oneself  
  -3ps  
  he was seeing himself

Mediopassive:
dolj'ok'-kan-tahok-e  
beat for oneself  
  -3ps  
  he was beating for himself

Compound of two intransitive roots:
ruephijuk'-kan-tahok-e  
return and come  
  -3ps  
  he was returning

4.6.3.9 SIMPLE FUTURE

SAME AS SIMPLE PRESENT

4.6.3.10 Here, in the examples of the causative/permissive, the stem suffix of both the dialects are given separated by a dash, the first stem suffix /-oco/ belongs to the northern dialect and /-hoco/ to the southern. The alternative /tahok'/ in the Southern dialect as the past indicator in the past progressive is also indicated in the table.
4.7 Mood.

4.7.1 The action or events in Santali can be divided as real (indicative), as desired (optative) or simply as possible (subjunctive) as needed or advisable (imperative) and as welcoming (invitative). The mood for the optative and the subjunctive can be subsumed under subjunctive since the marker is the same for both and the various meanings are often fluid and vague and in many respects almost identical.

4.7.1.1 There is no special marker for the prohibitive mood, the prohibitive particle /alo/ being used before the verb in the simple present / future expresses prohibition which can better be termed negative imperative (a sort of 'don't'), although the finite /a/ is used at the end of the verb which is understood in the imperative.

Example —

alo-m calak’ — a 'do not go'
alo -pE roP — a 'do not speak'
alo -m dal -e - a 'do not beat him'
nut -rE alo - m darbaray — a 'do not run about in the dark'

4.7.1.2 There is no special marker for the conditional mood. The conditional particle / khan / with or without the priorative aspect suffix /-lo/-len/ denotes conditionality. Example —

janwar-in nam - le - ko - khan aqü-ko-e-ñ 'if I find them (animals) I shall bring them'

ba-n san-len - khan uni be-e hijuk’ — a 'if I do not do he will not come'
Indicative: $ (zero). It indicates the reality of an action and the normal verb in different tenses serves the purpose of an indicative mood.

Subjunctive: /ke/ active,

/kok'/ neutral.

It is formed by adding /-ke/ to the active stems and /-kok'/ to the neutral and indicates the desire of an action on the part of the subject or simply possibility of an action. The modal suffix takes the object infix after it. The different forms of /-ke/ with the object infix are tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First</td>
<td>-kin</td>
<td>-kelan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>-kelin</td>
<td>-kelin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>-kem</td>
<td>-keben(H.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-kebin(S.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Third</td>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>-kikin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example -

Active:

uni dal -(kiñ) -a - e 'he might beat me'

omko/unku if kichu - ko ñm-(kiñ) - a 'they might give me something'

mit'tekam ñm - (kiñ) - a 'would you give me one rupees'

unkin daagra -m akhrin -(ki'kin) - a 'would you be willing to sell these (two) bullocks'

thik dam - in ñam - la - khan akhrin (ki'kin) -a-n 'if I get proper price I might sell them'

ranoco/hoco-(ke)-a-n 'had I been able to cause him to treat medically'

unkin orak! -rE idı-(ki'kin) -a 'had I been able to take them (two) home'

dāira-kosóh-ñ akhrin-(keko)-a 'I would never sell the cows'

Neutral:

calaé-(ko'k)-a-a 'I might go'

gidra ba-ñ bencáo-la-khan goc'(ko'k) -a-s-a 'if I had not saved the child he might have died'

ba-ñ sēn-len-khan ba-ñ ñapam-(ko'k) -a 'if I do not go I might not meet'

ba-m sēn-len-khan in' hōba-ñ sēn-(ko'k) -a 'if you do not go I also might not go'

nce-m ñm-kok'-a 'would you like to give this ?

ba-m hōbo-in-khan kharā-rō-ñ nūr-(ko'k) -a 'had you not called me I might have fallen in the ditch'

tapam-(ko'k) -a-kin 'they might have fought each other'

ojha-thān-in ranocó/hoco-(ko'k) -a 'had I been treated by the Ojha'
4.7.3.2 Morphophonemic changes:

(i) The final vowel of /ke/ is elided before another vowel of the neutral marker and the object infix; thus

\[
\text{ke + -ok' = kok'}
\]

\[
\text{ke + e(3rd person sg.object) = ke}
\]

(ii) The final vowel of /-ke/ becomes high i before the first person sg. and third person dual suffixes (vide 4.7.3.1):

\[
\text{dal-kiīn-a-e 'he might beat me'}
\]

\[
\text{Bkhrin-kikin-a-m 'would you be willing to sell these two?'}
\]
Neutral:

- cartE hijuk-(mE) 'come quickly'
- ma durujf-(mE) 'please sit down'
- gitic'-(mE) 'lie down'
- sawik'-mE 'see yourself'
- dare-khon ergon-(pE) 'descend from the tree'
- noa-khon bachaojikn-(mE) 'take from this'
- rakaup' hijuk'-(mE) 'descend and come from the tree'
- ranocok'-(ben) 'be medically treated (N.S.)'
- ranusook'-(bin) 'id' (S.S.)
- laha-tE calao-len-(mE) adom lai-a 'go first, then you will say'

4.7.3.2 Morphophonemic change:

The second person singular /-mE/ optionally becomes /-m/ after vowel of the object. Infix but not the rule, after the prioriative aspect suffix /-le/ and benefactive stem suffix /-ka/ it is the rule, like

- ma durup'-ko-(m) 'please make them sit'
- Ema-ko-(m) 'give them'
4.7.4 Invititative:

/-le/ active

/-len/ neutral

4.7.4.1 The invititative mood is formed by adding /-le/ and /-len/ along with the emphatic particle/ge/to the active and neutral stems respectively. The contracted forms of the first person inclusive dual -lan and plural-bon follow the emphatic /ge/ if the invititative particle/dEl/ is not used before the verb, but if it is so used lan and bon are added to it. The finite marker/a/is not used.

Example -

dEl-bon jom-(le)-ge or jom-(le)-ge-bon  'come, let us eat'
dEl-bon sap'-(le)-ge  sap'-(le)ge-bon  'come, let us catch it'
dEl-lan ruput-(le)-ge/ ruput'-(le)-ge-lan  'come, let us break it'
dEl-lan sap'-(le)-ge/ sap'-(le)ge-lan  'come, let us catch him'
dEl-bon payra-(len)-ge/payra-(len)-ge-bon  'come, let us swim'
dEl-lan tahE-(len)-ge / tahE-(len)-ge-lan  'come, let us stay'

4.7.4.2 Morphophonemic changes:

(1) The final vowel of /-le/ is elided before the 3rd person singular object infix, i.e. /-le/ + e = le, as in

uni sap'-le-ge-lan  'come, let us catch him'
4.8 Pronominal incorporation.

4.8.1 The incorporation of the animate subject or object in the verb phrase in the short form of the personal pronouns (except in 'I') is obligatory in Santali. When the subject or object of a sentence is a personal pronoun it is shown in the verb phrase by its contracted form. When an animate noun fills the subject or object slot of a sentence the contracted form of the 3rd personal pronoun is used in the verb phrase. The contracted form of the pronoun for the animate subject may be suffixed to the finite marker /a/ or to the word preceding the verb. The animate object is always infixed within the verb. The infix for the indirect object always takes a dative marker /a-/ which is either attached to it as in simple present-future and present and past progressive or incorporated within the aspect/tense suffixes (vide 4.6). Unlike indirect object there is no special marker for the direct object, the infixed contracted forms of the personal pronouns express it.

4.8.2 Parallel to the independent personal pronouns the incorporated forms are also eleven in number. In a tabular form they can be represented thus -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ben/bin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.8.2.1 All these contracted forms (except -mE and -mis-) are used as suffixes or infixes, so the suffix and infix signs are avoided. In the second person dual the two forms ben and bin represent the Northern and Southern dialect respectively. The form /-me-/ in the second person singular is specifically used as the object infix, the form m is used as the subject suffix, indirect object infix with dative /a-/. The form /mE/ in the second person singular is specifically used as the imperative suffix. The contracted form for the first person plural inclusive is bon while the independent form is abo, although the contracted form bo is sporadically attested in the Southern dialect.

4.8.2.2 Morphophon* changes:

(i) m, as suffix, gets an increment e in the initial position when it is added to a word ending in a consonant, iskul-em calak'-a 'do you go to school?'

(ii) The third person singular e as suffix becomes i after words ending in /i/ /u/ /a/ and forms a diphthong with it and becomes semivocalic:

uni gidra-i gitio'xmc -e-kan-a 'he is causing the child to lie'
uni-i calak'-a 'he will go'
unku-i met-sko-a 'he told them'

(iii) The third person singular e suffix or infix when added to a word ending in /a/ axx or /o/ forms a diphthong with it and becomes semivocalic: as

uni calak'-e-a 'he goes, will go'
gidra dohksa-e-m 'keep the child'

(iv) The first person singular suffix gets an increment UA, when occurs after a root or suffix ending in a consonant:

dal-akad-in-a-e 'he has beaten me'
4.8.3 The pronominal genitive may be infixed within the verb to represent the possessor and in that case the contracted forms of the personal pronouns except in take the prefix /ta-/ . The possessive infixes can be tabulated as follows -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>-tin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-talE-</td>
<td>-talE-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td></td>
<td>-taben-</td>
<td>-tabE-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tam-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td></td>
<td>-takin-</td>
<td>-tako-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-taE-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples -
(S.S.) cet'jinis henak'-tabin-a 'which things are there of you' ?
(S.S.) uni-ic' adjuve gidrako tabEkan-tam-a 'there are many sons of him
(N.S.) unkin-rEn mit'tEco kora gidrE-e tabEkan-takin-a 'they had one male child'

4.8.3.1 Morphophone: /a/ change.

The final vowel of the prefix /ta-/ is elided before in, as in
/tas/ + _in_ = tin

4.9 Marker for the finite verb /a/: The finite verbs in santali are always suffixed by /a/. This /a/ gives the sentence a 'demonstrated reality'. This is attached to all aspect /tenses and moods except the imperative and the invitative.
In the protasis portion of a conditional clause it is not added. It is generally suffixed at the end of the verb provided the pronominal subject is suffixed to the word preceding the verb. But if it is not added to the preceding word this /a/ is prefinal i.e. the subject pronoun comes after it. Example -

- Hana orak'-rE lota menek'-a 'there is pot in that house'
- Uni ato-rE-e calakikan-a 'he is going to the village'
- Alom orhE-in-a 'do not sing in my praise'
- Mit' ghuric' tahEin-mE 'stay for a while'
- Dile-bon sEe-len-ge 'come, let us go'
- Be-m baha-in-khan bur-kokla-t 'if you did not call me I might have fallen in the ditch'

4.10 Dative marker /a/: Santali possesses a dative marker /a/ which marks the indirect object or the dative case. In the active stems it takes the object after this. In the neutral it is used in the mediopassive stem to indicate the subject who is logically the indirect object. In certain cases however, as in the simple past and pluperfect it is prefixed to the aspect/tense markers, as in

- A + ket' (simple past) = at'
- A + let' (pluperfect) = at'

But in certain cases as in the perfect it is added to the aspect/tense in such a way as would give it an infixal character, as in

- Akh + w + a + t' = akawat'
- Akh + w + a + n = akawan

4.11 Total inventory of the verbal formatives: Santali verbal formative elements can be divided into five groups – primary (stem formatives), secondary (aspect/tense and modal formatives), tertiary (active, neutral, dative and possessive
(formatives), quarternary (personal markers), and finite. All the formatives are listed below:

i) Primary:

Causative / permissive : a-; -oo (Mas); -h e (S.S)
Reciprocal : -p-; -ok' (N. S. only)
Benefactive : -ka
Passive/Reflexive : -ok'
Mediopassive : -joñ
Iterative/Intensive : Reduplication

ii) Secondary:

Simple present / future: ø
Present progressive : -e (active) , kan (particle) (neutral) used to denote present also.
Simple past : -ke (active)
-ø (neutral)
Perfect : -aka
Pluperfect : -le
Past : tohñkan (Particle)
Indicative mood : ø (zero)
Subjunctive mood : -ke (active)
-kok' (neutral)
Invititative mood : le + ge (Particle)

iii) Tertiary:

active : -t'
Neutral : -n; -ok'
(iv) Quarternary:
Pronominal suffixes and infixes: in^-n, lan, lin, bon, le, m, -m\textsubscript{N}, -me, ben(N.S.)/bin (S.S.), pe, e, kin, ko.

(v) Finite verb marker: a-

4.11.1 Regarding the entry of certain formatives under primary or tertiary and the listing certain points need mentioning. Within the lists the dialectal variations like /-oco/ in the Northern and /-hoco/ in the Southern dialect as causative formative, /ben/ in the Northern dialect and /bin/ in the Southern dialect as 2nd person dual subject or object marker, /-ok'/ among the teenagers in the Northern dialect as reciprocal formative, are entered and this is done to represent a clearer picture.

4.11.2 Only the particle for the past /tañc/ in the Southern dialect is not entered in the list. In the Southern dialect /tañkan/ as the past indicator retain its form, only in the past progressive it becomes /tañc/.

4.11.3 Pinnow (1966) has mentioned /-ok'/ and /-Jon/ as the tertiary suffixes. But here in contradiction to Pinnow, /-ok'/ is entered under both primary and tertiary affixes and /-Jon/ under primary affixes. The reason behind their entry under the primary affixes is that they are taking the place of the primary affixes i.e. they are attached to the root and modify its meaning in forming stems like passive, reflexive, mediopassive and sometimes also reciprocal, though they are not conjugated throughout all tenses and are replaced by certain other affixes. But it is true that in modifying the meaning of the roots they are playing an important role. /ok'/ also enters in the list as the tertiary suffix, as then it is added either to the stems already formed or to the subjective suffix and there it indicates neutrality.

4.12 Non-finite verb.

Dative : a-
Possessive : ta-

(1) Possessive : ta-

(4) Finite verb marker: a-

4.12 Non-finite verb.
4.12.1 Gerund: The gerund is formed by adding /katÉ/ to the verb stems active or neutral:

dalkatÉ 'having beaten'
kamikatÉ 'having done'
jamkatÉ 'having eaten'
dalom'katÉ 'having been beaten'
timoco/hookatÉ 'having caused to bring down'

nBljonkatÉ 'having seen for ownself

sEnkatÉ 'having gone'