CHAPTER FIVE
ADJECTIVES NUMERAL
5.1 ADJECTIVE.

5.1.1 The root morphemes, derivative morphemes and the phrases which serve as attributes in endocentric attributive constructions and as predicate complements in subject-predicate complement sentences are grouped as adjectives in Santali. The adjectives, in Santali, do not agree in number or in gender except in a few borrowed items, and in case with their qualified nouns. Some examples are:

a. As attributes in endocentric attributive construction:

- jhotom korako 'all boys', jhotom 'all', attribute, korako 'boys', head.
- marañ biñ 'big snake', marañ 'big', attribute, biñ 'snake', head.
- bis lñju 'poisonous sweet', bis 'poisonous', attribute, lñju 'sweet', head.
- onkan katha 'word like that', onkan 'like that', attribute, katha 'word', head.
- jñhan kami 'any work', jñhan 'any', attribute, kami 'work', head.
- darayakan serma 'coming year', darayakan 'coming', attribute, serma 'year', head.
- orak n hñr 'man belonging to the house', orak'r n 'belonging to the house', attribute, hñr 'men', head.
b. As predicate complement:

uni do kala-ge-a-e 'he is deaf', kala 'deaf', predicate complement.

nui do koňka-ge-a-e 'this one is mad', koňka 'mad', predicate complement.

phulmani do kuňki-ge-a-e 'phulmani is mad', kuňki 'mad', predicate complement.

kora do usul-ge-a-e 'the youth is tall', usul 'tall', predicate complement.

ona churi do thubru-thobro-ge-1a 'that knife is blunt',

thubru-thobro 'blunt', predicate complement.

noa do sebel-sibil-a 'this is palatable', sebel-sibil 'palatable',

predicate complement.

uni gidre do baric-ge-a-e 'this child is bad', baric 'bad', predicate complement.

uni do karp-ge-a-e 'he is blind', karp 'blind', predicate complement.

uni do karp-ge-a-e 'she is blind', karp 'blind', predicate complement.

tfagoc' do ali laser-a 'the axe (small) is very sharp',

laser 'sharp', predicate complement.

seta do khepa-kan-o-e 'the dog is mad', khepa 'mad', predicate complement.

buqbić' hopen khepa-tahê-kan-o-tahê-o-e 'the son of the old lady was mad'

Note 1: Some of the adjectives have counterparts with high vowels along with the mid-high as thobro-thubru 'blunt', sebel-sibil 'palatable'. Both the pronunciations are given.
5.1.1.1 The adjectives as predicate complements sometimes occur with the particle /ge/ but that is not the rule i.e. they may occur as such without the particle. In the subject-predicate complement sentences the adjectives are followed by the finite marker /a/ and occasionally by the particles /kan/ and /tahakan/ for the present and past tenses respectively.

5.1.1.2 In a phrase having two layers of endocentric attributive constructions, an adjective may occur as the head of the first layer but ultimately the head of the whole construction is a noun. For example —

\[ \text{\texttt{adj mara\n̆n bin}} \quad \text{'very big snake'} \]\n
\[ \text{\texttt{adj mara\n̆n 'very big'} and \texttt{adj mara\n̆n bin 'very big snake'.}} \]

In the first layer i.e. \texttt{adj mara\n̆n}, mara\n̆n is the head which is modified by \texttt{adj} 'very', but in the ultimate layer \texttt{bin} is the head attributed by \texttt{adj mara\n̆n}.

5.1.2 Formation of adjectives: On the formal criteria adjectives may be divided into four groups — simple, derivative, verbal and phrasal. Besides these, certain nouns and verbs are also used as adjectives in endocentric attributive constructions. Example —

\[ \text{\texttt{jel utu 'meat curry', jel 'meat'} and \texttt{utu 'curry'};} \]
\[ \text{\texttt{sendra kopa 'hunting boy', sendra 'hunt', kopa 'boy'};} \]
\[ \text{\texttt{kopa gidra 'male child', kopa 'boy', youngman',} } \]
\[ \text{\texttt{gidra 'child'.}} \]

5.1.2.1 Simple adjectives: These are the root morphemes having the original adjectival value and which are obviously simple and indecomposable and are used as attributes in endocentric attributive constructions and as predicate complements in subject-predicate complement sentences; example —
a. Adjective

bhage 'good'
boge 'good'
händE 'black'
arak' 'red'
pone/pöri 'white'
bele-bili ripe'
țuar 'orphan'
usul 'high'
jeleñ 'long'
sari 'true, honest'
béric! 'bad, wicked'
napay 'nice'
loțu 'big'
rimsic' 'small'

b. As predicate complement:

nui gai do händE-kan-s-s-händE-ge-a-händE-e 'this cow is black'
bhit do pone/pöri-ge-a 'the wall is white'
nui do rimsic'-ge-a-e 'he/she is small'
nui do aji béric'-ge-a 'this person is very bad'
uniek' tiria do aji napay-a 'his flute is very nice'
5.1.2.2 Derivative adjectives: The adjectives which are derived from nouns, pronouns and pronominal adverbs by adding different suffixes are grouped as derivative adjectives. (For details of adjective derivation vide 2.2.2) Like simple adjectives the derivative adjectives are also used as attributes in endocentric attributive constructions and as predicate complements.

Examples -

a. As attribute:

botoran gam 'fearful story', botoran 'fearful', attribute
and gam 'story', head.
dayavan hor 'kind man', dayaven 'kind', attribute
and hor 'man', head.
darean hor 'strong man', darean 'strong', attribute
and hor 'man', head.
sakaman dare 'leaf having tree', sakaman 'leaf having',
attribute and dare 'tree', head.
hErElan Bra 'husband-having lady', hErElan 'husband-having',
attribute and Bra 'lady', head.
jahan dorkar 'any need', jahan 'any', attribute and dorkar 'need', head.
nohkan kami 'work like this', nohkan 'like this', attribute
and kami 'work', head.
nohkan hor 'man like this', nohkan 'like this', attribute
and hor 'man', head.
okatEn gedi 'car destined for where', okatEn 'destined for where', attribute and
 gedi 'car', head.
okarEn godet 'messenger of where', okarEn 'of where',
attribute and godet 'messenger', head.
b. As predicate complement:

noa bir do ədi botran-ə-~botran-ge-a 'this forest is very fearful'
uni do dayavən-kan-a-e 'he is kind'
Era do bərəlan-a-e 'the lady is having husband'
ona nənə do nohkan-ge-a 'that essay is like this'
uni do okarən-kan-a-e 'he is of where'

5.1.2.3 Verbal adjectives: Different types of verbal constructions are used as adjectives.

1) Reduplicated verb stem is used as adjective; e.g.

a. As attribute:

dadal hop 'beating man' from dal 'beat'

kuri 'sight-having girl' from həl 'see'
gər seta 'biting dog' from gər 'bite'

b. As predicate complement:

nui hop do dadal-ge-a-e 'this man is in the habit of beating'
seta do gər-ge-a-e 'the dog is in the habit of biting'

ii) Reciprocal verb stems are occasionally used as attributive adjectives in endocentric attributive constructions; e.g.

gipitic' təndi 'collective lying place' from gitic' 'lie'
dupurup' təndi 'collective sitting place' from dupurup' sit'

iii) The intransitive verb roots and stems with /kan/ are used as adjectives; e.g.

calak'kan hop 'going man' from calso 'go'
hijuk'kan serma 'coming year' from həc' 'come'
gujuk'kan daura 'dying bullock' from gəc' 'die'
darəykan hənda 'coming night' from derəy 'come'
iv) Verb roots with the perfect suffix in the neutral are used as attributive adjectives; e.g.

- jaroaakan bop 'gathered men' from jaroa 'gather'
- hōc'akan bōya 'brother who has come' from hōc 'come'

v) Verb roots with the simple past tense suffix in the neutral are used as attributive adjectives; e.g.

- calaoen serma 'last year' from calao 'go'
- paromēn mānā 'last day' from parom 'pass'

5.1.2.4 Genitive and phrasal adjectives: Nominals with genitive suffixes and /leka/ – phrases are functionally adjectives. A /leka/-phrase when used predicatively the adjectival /-n/ is suffixed to it; e.g.

a. As attribute:

- orak'-rēn bēhu 'wife of the house'
- dare-rēk'jo 'fruit of the tree'
- am-ak' katha 'thy word'
- ato-rēn manva 'man of the village'
- hō-rēn hopon 'my son'
- baha-leka daka 'flower-like rice'
- eBăgēl-leka pauni 'fire-like liquor'

b. As predicate complement:

- nui hopon do iñ-rēn-kan-a-e 'this son is mine'
- jo do noa dare-rēk'-kan-a 'the fruit is of this tree'
- okatāk' do am-ak'-kan-a 'which one is yours?'
- daka do baha-lekan-a 'the rice is like flower'
5.1.3 Types of adjectives: Semantically the adjectives may be subgrouped into two types — qualificative and quantificative.

5.1.3.1 Qualificative: The qualificative adjectives express the nature and character of the person or thing qualified. They are used both attributively and predicatively. Examples —

As attribute

- manjhi/ manji hɔŋ 'head man'
- bhale hɔŋ 'good man'
- nohkan kami 'work like this'

As predicate complement

- nui do manjhi/manjhi-kan-a-e 'the person is the head of the village'
- uni do bhale-tahɔkan-a-e 'he was good'
- uni do nohkan-ge-a-e 'he is like this'

5.1.3.1.1 Another mark of the qualificative is its susceptibility of modification by aŋi 'very', tin 'how'; e.g.

- aŋi bele-bili jɔ 'very ripe fruit'
- aŋi bariŋ hɔŋ 'very bad man'
- tin maraŋ 'how big'
- tin napay 'how nice'

5.1.3.2 Quantificative: Quantificatives express the quantity of the nouns. They are used as attributes in endocentric attributive constructions but not predicatively; e.g.
sanam 'all' as in sanam tandi 'all places'
syama 'many' as in syama koña 'many boys'
joto/jhoto 'all' as in joto/jhoto hor 'all men'
tin 'how many' as in tin boyha 'how many brothers'
adm 'some' as in adm hor 'some men'

1.1.4 Position of adjective:

i) Adjectives in endocentric attributive constructions precede the nominal head; e.g.
banar koña 'both boys'
ponon hor 'all four men'

ii) In the subject-predicate complement sentence where the adjective is used as predicate complement it is obligatorily followed by the finite marker /a/.
Sometimes the particles /ge/, /kan/ and /tahEkan/ are also used after the adjective and in those cases the finite marker comes after them; e.g.
uni do bobd-ge-a-e 'this person is dumb'
noa churi do adi laser-a 'this knife is very sharp'
iN do rEhagE-tahEkan-a-n 'I was hungry'
seta do khEpe-kan-a-e 'the dog is mad'
5.1.5 Gender distinction: Normally the adjectives do not show gender concord with the noun qualified. But a few adjectives borrowed from the neighbouring I.A. languages (Bengali or some forms of Eastern Hindi) show two-way gender distinction - masculine and feminine. In these cases the adjectives ended in \(-a/-a\) by \(-i/-i\) in the feminine and as such the adjectives ended in \(-a/-a\) are regarded as masculine. Examples -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kala</td>
<td>kali 'deaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kohka</td>
<td>kuhki 'dumb, mad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khëpa</td>
<td>khepi 'mad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kărë</td>
<td>kărì 'blind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totra</td>
<td>tutri 'stammering'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōda</td>
<td>kūdi 'dumb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phogra</td>
<td>phurgi 'teethless'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.5.1 Morphophonological changes:

i) when a is followed by i in the next syllable it is neutralized; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kala</th>
<th>kali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kărë</td>
<td>kărì</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) when e is followed by i in the next syllable it becomes e; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>khëpa</th>
<th>khepi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
iii) when o is followed by i in the next syllable it becomes u; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>koňka</th>
<th>kuňki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>totra</td>
<td>tutri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōda</td>
<td>kōdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phogra</td>
<td>phugri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.6 Degree of comparison: The adjective itself is not inflected to show the different degrees of comparison. Rather to obtain comparative and superlative degrees the postpositions are added to the ꙰Ꙃꆀ with which something is to be compared.

5.1.6.1 To obtain the comparative degree the ablative postpositions /khon/ 'from' in the Southern dialect and /khōc'/ 'id' in the Northern dialect are used. /khon/ may take the impersonal suffix /-ak'/ and then the postposition becomes /khonak'/; e.g.

Southern dialect —

nuic' bitkil inic'-(khon) hōse marañ-a 'the buffalo—cow of this person is bigger even that of mine'

hana dare noa dareko-(khon) ṭō sāğa-ge-a 'that tree (yonder) is bigger than this tree'

nuțak' marañic'—khonak' dare-a 'this very one is stronger than the earlier one'

hana-(khon) noa ṭō bhage-a 'this is better than that (yonder)'.
Northern dialect -

iniEn kada-(kho'c') unirEnge lato-a-e  'his buffalo is bigger than
that of mine'

noa-(kho'c') hanage bhage-a  'that (yonder) is better than this'

5.1.6.1 Sometimes along with the above mentioned postpositions the morphemes bisi
'more', barti 'id' are used before the adjectives to express the comparative
degree; e.g.

S.S. uni-(khon) nuige bisi dare-a-e  'this one is stronger than that one'

N.S. noa jo one jo-(kho'c') barti sebel-sibil-a  'this fruit is more
palatable than that'

5.1.6.2 To obtain the superlative degree the same ablative postpositions/khon/
or / kho'nak' (Southern dialect) and / kho'c' (Northern dialect) are added
to jota-jhotikhan 'all' and then the comparison is made with this; e.g.

S.S. ul jota-jhotikhan sebel-sibil-a  'mango is the most palatable
of all'

N.S. uni hof jota-jhotikhan usul-a  'that man is the tallest of all'

5.2 NUMERAL.

5.2.1 The numerals in Santali are generally found as quantifiers combined with
classifiers. The actual number is denoted by the quantifiers. The quantifiers
are used singly when they are used in counting or in enumerating human beings
but in all other cases they are combined with classifiers which are bound
morphemes and are never used alone. These two morphemes used in combination
actually present the numeral system in Santali.
Some morpho-syntactic functions are performed by numerals. First, they may take certain suffixes and as such function as adverbs; e.g. mit' + /-tE/ = mit\text{tE}s 'together'; mit' + /-\text{then}/ = mit\text{thEn} 'in one place'. Secondly, like attributive adjectives they occur in endocentric attributive construction to qualify nouns, but like pure adjectives they do not occur as predicative adjectives; e.g.:

\begin{itemize}
\item bar h\text{ar}' two men'
\item barea d\text{ab}ra 'two bullocks'
\item pba k\text{a}ja 'three buffaloes'
\item mit't\text{a}n bir 'one forest'
\end{itemize}

Thirdly, the inclusive numerals along with their capability of being used as adjectives are also used as nouns (vide §2.3).

5.2.2 Numeral classifier: The numeral classifier in Santali is a limited class of morphemes, defined by the fact that the members of the class can occur directly after the quantifier and form a word with it.

5.2.2.1 The classifiers fall into two classes, viz. human and non-human. The class human is, in turn, divided into indefinite marked by \( \emptyset \) and definite. Human definite and non-human are marked by the same classifiers. The above categorization may be shown in the following diagram:

\begin{itemize}
\item Indefinite - Zero
\item Human
\item \begin{itemize}
\item definite
\item Same
\item classifier
\end{itemize}
\item Non-human
\end{itemize}
5.2.2.2 The classifiers in Santali are not used indiscriminately i.e. any classifier cannot be used with any quantifier. They have particular distribution and accordingly fall into three classes. The classifiers belonging to class I are used with the quantifier for 'one' only; the class II is used with the quantifier from 'two' through 'four'; and the class III is used with the quantifiers from 'five' onwards. The last class is sometimes used with the quantifier for 'one' also, particularly in songs, perhaps 'metri causa'.

5.2.2.3 The following list includes all of the common classifiers:

5.2.2.3.1 Class I: /tā/, /tān/, /tāc/. These classifiers are used with the quantifier for 'one' and are used for human non-living beings, non-human living beings, non-human non-living objects, for a wide and miscellaneous variety of inanimate objects in everyday use, viz. furniture, household objects etc., for non-corporeal objects like words, songs and stories, things in general and particular. The same classifiers are also used for the human living beings when definite.

5.2.2.3.1.1 There are dialectal differences regarding the choice of the classifiers. /tān/ and /tāc/ are used regularly in the Northern dialect where they are in free variation. /tā/ is the regular one in the Southern dialect.

Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern</th>
<th>Northern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mit'tān goc'hor</td>
<td>mit'tēc' goc'hor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mit'tān uric'</td>
<td>mit'tēc' uric'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mit'tān kali bonga</td>
<td>mit'tēn kali bonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mit'tān putul</td>
<td>mit'tēn putul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'tone dead man' | 'one bullock'

'one kali idol' | 'one doll'
5.2.3.2 Class II: /ea/. This classifier is limited to the numerals from 'two' through 'four' and 'twenty' and are used for the non-human living beings, human non-living beings, for non-human non-living objects and also for the same objects entered in class I. The same classifier is used for the human living beings when definite. Example -

barea boŋa 'two ghosts'
barea sim 'two cocks'
pəa putul 'three dolls'
ponea jinis 'four things'
barea kathə 'two words'
pəa parkom 'three cots'
ponea gatE 'four friends' (definite)
5.2.2.3.3 Class III: \( /\text{gotan}/, /\text{ghtEc'}/, /\text{gotEn}/ \) : Quantifiers from 'five' through 'ten' and the distributive numerals take these classifiers. There are sporadic instances of using these classifiers with the quantifier for 'one' but that is limited to songs and presumably demanded for metrical purposes. These classifiers are used for the non-human living beings, non-human non-living objects, human non-living beings and other countable objects. The classifiers are also used for the human living beings when definite.

5.2.2.3.3.1 Dialectally, \( /\text{gotan}/ \) is the common classifier in the southern dialect while \( /\text{gotEn}/ \) and \( /\text{ghtEc'}/ \) are in free variation in the northern dialect.

5.2.3 The numerals can be broadly divided into primary and derived. The primary ones are (i) cardinal; (ii) ordinal; (iii) approximative and (iv) fractional. The derived ones are formed either by adding affixes and other formatives or by reduplication. They are (i) distributive, (ii) proportional and (iii) inclusive.

5.2.3.1 Cardinal numeral. There are ten basic quantifiers in Santali and those may be called the atoms of the numeral system. Further numerals from 'ten' onwards are formed from these atoms. Santali numeral system is a mixture of decimal where the quantifiers from ten onwards are formed from 'ten' either by addition or by multiplication and vigesimal where 'twenty' serves as the base for forming further quantifiers. The atoms can be enumerated as follows:

mit' 'one' turui 'six'
bar 'two' say 'seven'
pE 'three'
pon 'four' irEal 'eight'
art 'nine'
more 'five' gEl 'ten'
The quantifiers from 'ten' through 'nineteen' are formed by adding the quantifiers for 'one' to 'nine' to the base 'ten' and hence the quantifier for 'ten' is the augend i.e. that which is added to and the quantifiers from 'one' to 'nine' which are added to form the intermediate quantifiers i.e. from 'eleven' to 'nineteen', are addends. The addends usually occur after the base. Thus we find:

- gül mit' 'eleven'  gül turui 'sixteen'
- gül bar 'twelve'  gül eay 'seventeen'
- gül pę 'thirteen'  gül iral 'eighteen'
- gül pon 'fourteen'  gül arë 'nineteen'
- gül mörë 'fifteen'

The decades from 'twenty' onwards are the result of multiplication. Here we find two types of formations — in one case, the quantifier for 'ten' serves as the multiplicand i.e. that which is multiplied and the basic numeral function as multiplier i.e. that which multiplies, thus —

- bar gül = 2 x 10 = 20  turui gül = 6 x 10 = 60
- pę gül = 3 x10 = 30  eay gül = 7 x 10 = 70
- pon gül = 4 x 10 = 40  iral gül = 8 x 10 = 80
- mörë gül= 5 x 10 = 50  arë gül = 9 x 10 = 90
5.2.3.1.1 Regarding the position of the multiplier and the multiplicand, the multiplier usually precedes the multiplicand. Here, in the above examples where 'ten' is the serialized multiplicand there is a separate quantifier for hundred viz., say-~sp 'hundred', say being used absolutely and sp contextually, which is normally the case in the decimal decimal system.

5.2.3.1.2 In the other type there is a separate quantifier for 'twenty' viz., isi which serves as the serialized multiplicand for further decades. In this case the round decades (i.e. 40, 60, 80, 100) are formed by the simple multiplication of the base, and the odd decades (i.e. 30, 50, 70, 90) are the results of the combination of multiplication with addition. Thus—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mit'isi} & = 1 \times 20 = 20 \\
\text{bar isi} & = 2 \times 20 = 40 \\
\text{in rE isi} & = 5 \times 20 = 100 \\
\text{mit' isi g:l} & = 1 \times 20 + 10 = 30 \\
\text{bar isi g:l} & = 2 \times 20 + 10 = 50 \\
\text{pE isi g:l} & = 3 \times 20 + 10 = 70 \\
\text{pon isi g:l} & = 4 \times 20 + 10 = 90
\end{align*}
\]

The intermediate quantifiers between decades from 'twenty' onwards are also the result of combination of multiplication with addition. Here also the same two systems survive, i.e. both decimal and vigesimal occur as the
base and to the base the quantifiers from 'one' through 'nine' are added to derive the intermediate ones. In these composite quantifiers the multiplier precedes and the addend follows the multiplicand; thus —

Type II  \( \text{mit' isi mit'} = 1 \times 20 + 1 \)  \( = 21 \)
Type I  \( \text{bar g} \text{gl mit'} = 2 \times 10 + 1 \)
Type II  \( \text{mit' isi bar} = 1 \times 20 + 2 \)  \( = 22 \)
Type I  \( \text{bar g} \text{gl bar} = 2 \times 10 + 2 \)
Type II  \( \text{mit' isi g} \text{gl mit'} = 1 \times 20 + 1 \times 10 + 1 \)  \( = 31 \)
Type I  \( \text{p} \text{E g} \text{gl mit'} = 3 \times 10 + 1 \)
Type II  \( \text{bar isi turui} = 2 \times 20 + 6 \)  \( = 46 \)
Type I  \( \text{pon g} \text{gl turui} = 4 \times 10 + 6 \)

The quantifier mit' 'one' generally precedes 'twenty' and 'hundred' to indicate that 'twenty' or 'hundred' is taken as the unit.

5.2.3.1.3 Cardinal numeral and language contact. Santali being a neighbour to the eastern Indo-Aryan languages, viz. Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Eastern Hindi, has direct contact with these languages and their speakers. Staying side by side with the speakers of these alien languages and having direct contact it has borrowed, among other linguistic features, the numerals. Both in the Northern and the Southern dialects
commonly the Santali numerals up to 'six' are preserved and further numerals,
say from 'seven' onwards are borrowed from these IA languages. Mostly the
speakers of the Southern dialect cannot recognize the original Santali
numerals above 'six', and counting goes on in IA numerals. But in the Northern
dialect the speakers can recognize the original numerals beyond 'six' and occa­sionally use them, though for practical purposes the IA numerals are used and
in this system isi is 'twenty'. The numerals from 21 through 26 are formed
by adding the original numerals to the base mit' isi 20 and from 27 through
39 the numerals are formed by adding IA numerals to the base mit' isi 'twenty'.
In this way the first six original numerals are added to the round base i.e.
40, 60, 80, 100 and the further ones added are Indo-Aryan.

5.2.3.2 Ordinal numeral and language contact. Santali has no original ordinal
numeral and it is quite interesting that there is no ordinal like 'first',
'second', 'third' etc. where there are numerals for 'one', 'two' and so on.

5.2.3.2.1 Santali has three borrowed ordinal numerals from IA and they are
pahil-polo 'first', dser 'second' and tesar 'third'. They are used as
attributes in an endocentric attributive construction and also as adverbs;
e.g. as attribute: pahikora 'first boy'
   as adverb pahil jôlem 'eat first'

5.2.3.2.2 In the Northern dialect, when it becomes necessary the common
cardinals with the suffix/-is'/ for the animate and /-ak'/ for the inanimate
are used as such and in this way the first three borrowed ordinals mentioned
above are also affected. Thus —
Approximative numeral. The approximative numerals are expressed by using side by side the two consecutive numerals approximated, the higher numeral being preceded by the lower with or without any conjunctive link in between; thus—

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Animate} & \text{Inanimate} \\
pahilic' & \text{'first'} & pahilak' & \text{'first'} \\
dosaric' & \text{'second'} & dosarak' & \text{'second'} \\
tesaric' & \text{'third'} & tesarak' & \text{'third'} \\
ponic' & \text{'fourth'} & ponak' & \text{'fourth'} \\
mēpēic' & \text{'fifth'} & mēpēak' & \text{'fifth'} \\
turuiic' & \text{'sixth'} & turuiak' & \text{'sixth'} \\
seayic' & \text{'seventh'} & seayak' & \text{'seventh'} \\
iralic' & \text{'eighth'} & iralak' & \text{'eighth'} \\
arēic' & \text{'ninth'} & arēak' & \text{'ninth'} \\
gēlic' & \text{'tenth'} & gēlak' & \text{'tenth'} \\
\end{array}
\]

Some speakers trying to be more deliberate and analytic use an overt conjunctive between the two numerals; thus—

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{bar pē} & \text{'two or three'} \\
pē pon & \text{'three or four'} \\
\end{array}
\]
Sometimes also a term for approximation is used with the numeral; thus—pasEc' mit say 'about one hundred'.

5.2.3.4 Fractional numeral. Santali has only one fractional numeral expression and that is tara or adha for half, adha being borrowed from IA.

Sometimes the expressions like

bar hatiE-rEak' mit'hatiE 'one of two divisions'

pon hatiE-rEak' mit'hatiE 'one of four divisions'

pE hatiE-rEak' bar hatiE 'two of three divisions'

as fractional numerals are used but they are rather very uncommon.

5.2.3.5 Distributive numeral. Distributive numerals from 'one' through 'five' are formed by reduplicating the initial consonant along with the vowel; thus—

mit' 'one' —► mimit' 'one each'
bar 'two' —► babar 'two each'
pE 'three' —► pEpE 'three each'
pon 'four' —► popon 'four each'
mSrE 'five' —► nBnMr 'five each'
5.2.3.5  Bodding (1929:60) has shown the formation of the distributive numerals from 'one' through 'ten' in this way. But in my data the formation of the distributive numerals in this way is restricted to the first five numerals only. The other distributives are formed by adding /katE/ after the cardinal numerals along with the classifiers. This type of formation is also not rare in case of the first five distributives; thus—

mit'tah katE 'one each' (Southern dialect.)

mit'ton-ES' katE 'id' (Northern dialect.)

pEa katE 'three each'

ponea katE 'four each'

mEEgotan katE 'five each' (Southern dialect.)

mEEgotEn-gotEc' katE 'id' (Northern dialect.)

turuigotan katE 'six each' (Southern dialect.)

turuigotEn-gotEc' katE 'id' (Northern dialect.)

gElgotan katE 'ten each' (Southern dialect.)

gElgotEn-gotEc' katE 'id' (Northern dialect.)

5.2.3.5.2  The reduplicated distributive numerals very often require the classifiers /gotan/, /gotEn/ and /gotEc'/. Sometimes the classifiers for the respective cardinal numerals are used instead of /gotan/, /gotEc'/ and /gotEn/. Sometimes /katE/ is also added after the numeral classifiers or directly after the reduplicated distributive numerals; thus—
Southern dialect

mimit' gotan
'one each'

babar gotan
'two each'

babar gotan kate 'id'

babar katE 'id'

mimit? mimit? kate
'two each'

babarea babarea kate
'two each'

Northern dialect

mimit' gotEn gotEn
'one each'

babar gotEn
'two each'

babar gotEn kate 'id'

babar katE 'id'

mimit? mimit? kate
'two each'

babarea babarea kate
'two each'

5.2.3.6 Repetitive numeral. Repetitive numerals are formed by adding
/dhao/ or /dom/ to the basic numerals; e.g.

mit'dhoa~dom
'once'

bar dhao~dom
'twice'

pE dhao~dom
'thrice'

saydhao~dom
'seven times'

gEl dhao~dom
'ten times'

They are used as adverbs.
5.2.3.7 Inclusive numeral. Santali possesses three inclusive numerals, viz. banar 'both', pōnē 'all three' and ponon 'all four'. They have dual functions, first, like nouns they are used as subject or object of a sentence,

\[ \text{banar-ge dal-kin-mē 'beat both'} \]

\[ \text{pōnē ḍgu-akat'-ko-o 'I have brought all three'} \]

and second, they are used as attributes in endocentric attributive constructions; e.g.,

\[ \text{ponon kumbro 'all four thieves'} \]

5.2.4 Morphophonemic changes.

(i) t' of mit' becomes /n/ before another morpheme beginning with h; e.g.,

\[ \text{mit' hor = / min hōr/} \]
\[ \text{mit' hōpta = / min hōpta/} \]

(ii) a. r of banar is lost before another morpheme beginning with h; e.g.,

\[ \text{banar hōr = / bana hōr/} \]

b. e of the classifier /ea/ is dropped after a numeral ending in vowel; e.g.,

\[ \text{pē + /ea/ = / pē a/} \] .