GENDER IN THE MUNDA LANGUAGES

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The first comparative account of the Munda languages was offered by Sten Konow in 1906 in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV. But Santali and Mundari, and to some extent also Korku, were the only Munda languages on which reliable material was available at that time. While discussing the general characteristics of the Munda Family, Konow, therefore treated Sa. and Mu. as 'ideal' Munda languages, and mentioned the characteristics of these two tongues, especially those of Sa., as the characteristic features of the Munda Family as a whole.

The fifties and sixties of the present century mark a new epoch in the study of the Munda languages, since fresh attempts were made during this period to explore and study this little-known Indian speech-group. The major efforts were directed towards those Munda tongues that were inadequately recorded, or hitherto unrecorded. As a result of these field-investigations we have now a clearer picture of the whole Munda field. Hence it has become necessary to redescribe Munda, and reexamine its relationship with the other branches of Austroasiatic and Austronesian, in the light of this new material. When this material is taken into account, it will be found that the structure of Munda is much more varied and the reconstruction of Proto-Munda much more difficult than was originally believed to be the ca
In our Munda studies we have examined sixteen Munda tongues, ten of which are independent languages, six important dialects. As we did not study Sa. and Mu. ourselves in the field, we have used in our studies the published material available on them, especially those collected by Bodding on Sa. and Yfman on Mu. For the remaining Munda tongues we have drawn mainly from our own material collected in 1951, 1954-55, 1957 and 1961.

We may choose any aspect of Munda grammar to show the inadequacy and lop-sidedness of the earlier accounts. Let us illustrate this point by discussing the Gender system in Munda. By 'gender' we mean a classification of nouns or other parts of speech on the basis of inflections or other grammatical features. It is usually believed that Munda gender is a 5o-group inflectional and concordant type based on the concepts of animateness and inanimateness. The rigid pattern which is found in Sa. is considered to be the original Munda gender-type. But this pattern of animate and inanimate gender is not found in the five South Munda languages, Saorda, Parengi, Guto, Nuña and Dîdêy, and it has become very dim in the central Munda languages, Juang and Kharia. On the other hand, a complex type of sex-based gender is found everywhere in Munda. In this system the masculine and feminine of the animate nouns are formed with the help of inflections and compounds. The 'husband' terminology features prominently in this gender system in Munda. In addition to these two systems, there is a third basis of gender-classification found predominantly in SM. It is a 5o-group inflected pattern based on the concepts of 'superiority' and 'inferiority' (or 'rationality'
and 'irrationality') of the objects. The Munda numeral forms feature prominently in this system of gender. We will describe below these three systems prevalent in Munda.

'Animate' and 'Inanimate' Gender

The Anim.-Inan. gender-system is the most developed one among the systems to be found in Munda, for it is expressed in three ways, namely, (i) inflection, (ii) concord and (iii) declension. The other two systems lack in the congruence forms. Earlier scholars have shown that in Sa. and Mu., and to some extent also in Ko., the different inflections used with Anim. and Inan. nouns agree with those taken by forms of singular and non-singular numbers, demonstrative pronouns, adjectives and third person non-reflexive verbs. We will give below in a tabular form a summary of these correspondences found in Sa., Mu., Ho. and Ko.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Demonstratives, etc.</th>
<th>Verbs (3rd per non-refl.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sa. Anim. sing. -ic', -n, etc.</td>
<td>-i, -n, etc.</td>
<td>-e (Subj. and Obj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anim. du. -kln</td>
<td>-kln</td>
<td>-kln (Subj. and Obj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anim. pl. -ko</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-ko (Subj. and Obj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inan. sing. -ak', -a, -ay, etc.</td>
<td>-ak', -a, -ay, etc.</td>
<td>-zero (Subj. and Obj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inan. du. -kln, -zero</td>
<td>-kln, -zero</td>
<td>-zero (Subj. and Obj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inan. pl. -ko, -zero</td>
<td>-ko, -zero</td>
<td>-zero (Subj. and Obj.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| | | -i |
| Anim. du. | -kįn, -kįn, etc. | -kįn (Subj. and Obj.) |
| Anim. pl. | -ko, -ku | -ko (Subj. and Obj.) |
| Inan. sing. | -ak', -aŋ, -zero | -zero |
| Inan. du. | -kįn, -zero | -zero |
| Inan. pl. | -ko, -zero | -zero |
| Anim. sing. | -zero | -l | -l (Obj.) |
| Anim. du. | -kįn | -kįn | -kįn (Subj. and Obj.) |
| Anim. pl. | -ko | -ko | -ko (Subj. and Obj.) |
| Inan. sing. | -zero | -a | -e (Obj.) |
| Inan. du. | -kįn, -zero | -zero |
| Inan. pl. | -ko, -zero | -zero |
| Anim. sing. | -zero | -įj' | -j- (Obj.) -zero (Subj.) |
| Anim. du. | -kįn, -kįn | -kįn (Obj.) -kįn, -zero (Subj.) |
| Anim. pl. | -ku | -ku | -ku (Obj.) -ku, -zero (Subj.) |
| Inan. sing. | -zero | -zero |
| Inan. du. | -kįn, -zero | -zero |
| Inan. pl. | -ku, -zero | -zero |

The suffixes used in the two sets of forms for Im. and Inan., it will be seen above, are cognatic. It will also be found that the use of the inflections and the congruence forms is quite regular only in Sa. and Mu. But it is not so in Ho. and Ko.
The use of the Anim. and Inan. inflections and congruence forms are noticeable to a lesser degree in the remaining Kher. speeches. Earlier workers thought that these have been gradually lost from the minor Kher. speeches and Ko. due to the influence of IA. But it may also be that the system has not developed in the other Kher. speeches and Ko. to the extent it has in Sa. and Mu.

We will now cite a few examples to illustrate the above-mentioned inflections and concordance:

Sa.: ponč-ic' the white one (Anim.), ponč-ak' the white thing (Inan.); nu-ı, nükü-i this, this one (Anim.), no-a this, this thing (Inan.); poćam-e āučı-ked-e-a he shot the dove with a āučı-arrow (lit. dove + he, āučı + past tense + dove + verbal a); but janhe-ko cas-ět tahččan-a they were cultivating millet (lit. millet + they, cultivate + past tense, state + imperfect tense sign + verbal a); etc. This gender affects also the genitive case in Sa. and Mu. Thus Sa. un-ı-ren eŋga-t his/her mother, iń-ak orčč my house, etc.

Mu.: sen-ı-ń? one who went, esel-ni? one having fair skin (Anim.); ponč-ı-a? a white thing (white things); paku-a? očč? Paku's house; etc.

Ho: ań-a? era in-ı my wife is that one, ań-a? sim n-ı my fowl is that one, ań-a? oń-ı? in-a my house is that one; kumbu-ı to steal (a person or animal), kumbu-e- to steal a thing, etc.

Ko.: hančč-ı' that (Anim.), hančč that (Inan. cf. also čč-ı' he, she, it (Anim.); tone-ıj' who, which one (Anim.), tone which one (Inan.); ara-/ara to leave something, arak-ej'- to unfasten (a person or animal), ay huńju doğę now see the game, ay ččj'
e-i-j' now see him, ay ḍi-ku-ke ḍoge-ku now see m, ḍi-j-a uren his house, ḍi-j-a kon-ṭe his son, etc.

The grammatical distinction between the Anim. Inan. categories has gradually decreased elsewhere in Munda. Even in the different dialects of M. the impact of this gender system has become restricted and irregular, which fact has also been ordered in LST, IV. Outside Kher., this system has become less pervasive in Ko. But when we cross the boundaries of Kher. and Ko. we find the inflections congruence forms discussed above altogether absent in other Munda languages. So far as the realization of nouns is concerned, Kharia and Juang, two Munda languages having a dual number outside r.-Ko., show a slight trace of the Anim.-Inan. hotomy. This is noticed in their use of dual and plural suffixes only with Anim. nouns, while their n. nouns form non-singular in other ways. But there is no living affix used in any one of these tongues to differentiate between Anim. and n. nouns. In SM the markers of number and case usually dispensed with when the noun is neuter, not Inan.

Many words ending in -ak'/-aʔ/-a and indicating mon inanimate objects are found in SM and CM. I do not know how far we will be justified in regarding it as the Inan. -ak'/-aʔ in a petrified form. e for example, Bo. Ṽulak' leaf, paper, Di. ulia, Pa. So. ɔ̄la leaf, Kh. ulaʔ id., Sa. ɔl- to te, Mu. Ko. ɔl- id., etc.; cf. also Semang Pa. ̣e', li' leaf, Semang K. Ken. selā, Pangan imb. halik', Sakei Sung. selā, Mon sla, lha, eng, Khmus la, Annam. la, Jaraí hola, Cham hala, er slek, Khasi slak leaf (SB L-32).
Classification of Nouns Based on Sex

The animate nouns can, however, be reclassified into different sex-groups and age-groups, and in this matter all the Munda tongues follow more or less the same pattern. Here we should classify animate nouns into 'human' and 'non-human' groups, i.e., 'superior animates' and 'inferior-animates'. The human animates distinguish between masc. and fem. nouns by adding different sex-linked words like 'father', 'mother', 'husband', 'wife', 'brother', 'sister', 'son', 'daughter', 'boy', 'girl', etc. to noun forms. We may call these sex-linked words 'key words' which are added either before or after the superior animate nouns, thereby forming a compound. This variety may be called 'compounded sex-based gender'. These key-words in most cases signify also an age-group. This is the common method for differentiating the masc. and fem. of human animate nouns in Munda. The other device employed to form the masc. and fem. of human animates is to use affixes. This type may be called 'inflected sex-based gender'.

The non-human animate nouns, on the other hand, use only key-words and not affixes to form masc. and fem. The key-words used here are borrowed mostly from the kinship terminology, and usually prefixed to nouns. The compound forms in most cases will then be something like 'father-tiger', 'mother-tiger', 'child-tiger', etc. In some instances the key-word are found applicable only to certain species of big animals, and, therefore, behave like 'classifiers'. Thus, in Bonda, Parengi, etc. andra 'a male being', is used to indicate the male species of big animals or quadrupeds, jalla 'one having long feathers', is used for the male species of peacock, and the won- ganza for 'cock'. Another peculiarity of the
pounded sex-based gender lies in the fact that the
type of the animal whose gender is to be specified is
determined either in its full, extended or abbreviated
form, the latter pattern probably being more original
in Munda. It will also be found that the use of this
broad gender is more common in SM. In the rest of
Munda languages separate words, i.e. sex-linked
terms, are more often used to signify the opposite
genders of the nonhuman animates, although the use of
pounds for this purpose is also present in them.

We will at first cite a few examples to show the
construction of sex-groups and age-groups of nonhuman
mates in the Munda languages:

Di. bo-ku? male tiger (: bo < Di. aba, Bo. ba?
her +ŋku? tiger), jàlia-ko? peacock, also bo-ko?
(: ŋko? peacock), etc.; ñia-ku? tigress (for
cf. Bo. ñlo house), ñia-ko? peahen, etc. ĕun-ția
of cow, huhun-ția very young calf of cow,
-ku? young of tiger (: hũ child, dìlatia cow, Bo.
taŋ id.), etc.

Bo. ba?–ku male tiger (: kukusag' tiger);
–ku tigress, ʁona-kuŋ peahen (ʁon, ʁon mother,
ũŋ, kükum peacock), etc.; ŕon-țay male calf of
(: glar bull), ʁau-baŋ young calf of cow or buf-
o, ʁau-ber–meŋ very young kid (: ʁau small, young,
(od) goat), etc.

Pa. anđra-kuו male tiger, auŋ-kul tigress,
ia-munzur peacock, kuŋkela-munzur peahen, kuson,
, guni-kuson bitch, ganza-ŋŋol cock (: ŋŋol hen);
ŋŋ-kul young of tiger (: bubon child, young of
mal; cf. SB C-101 : Semang wong child, young of
thing). In the forms taŋ–on calf of cow, and
a-bubon young one of uncastrated pig, the key-
words, meaning 'child', have been suffixed, and not prefixed. These are actually cases of compound genitives where the first member of the compound is used adjectively.

So. orro-tan ox, ayan-tanli cow,acon-tan male calf of cow, bin-tan male calf of cow, bin-tani female calf of cow (: tanli, tanli cattle; bin and bin-tani are Oriya words meaning 'grown-up boy' and 'grown-up girl', respectively).

Ju. jalia-marak peacock, kunthia-marak peahen, ondia-kon-tan male calf of cow, mai-kon-tan female calf of cow (: ondia bull, mai mother (IA) ), etc.

Kh. jhalla-mara? peacock, orej'-kontan male calf of cow, kon-tan female calf of cow (: orej' ox), etc.

Sa. ondia-pusi male cat, enga-pusi female cat, (also pusi-ondia, pusi-enga), senqi-sim cock, enga-shehen (: senqi = Sk. sanga ox), sim-hopon chicken; etc.

Mu. sandi-sim cock, enga-sadom mare, etc.

Ho. biar-kega he-buffalo, enga-kega she-buffalo karay-hon buffalo-calf, sandi-sukri male pig, enga-sukri female pig, sukri-hon young of pig, etc.

As. engate-mara?, miari-mara? peahen (: mara? peacock), enga-kul tigress (: kul tiger), etc.

Bh. mara? peahen (mou < Sk. mayura peacock), sarli-hopon male calf of cow, etc.

Kor. murga-sim cock, etc.

Kw. kha-da-hon male calf of buffalo, paoda-hon female calf of buffalo, bachia-hon male calf of cow, basru-hon female calf of cow, etc.

Korku and Mowasi use either masc. and fem. suffixes borrowed from IA, or separate words to indicate
A variation of gender in the names of animals.

The practice of using separate sex-linked words is gradually on the increase as we leave the SM area and proceed through the CM and Kher.-Ko. regions. The practice of treating a neutral word as masc. (in a few cases also fem.) and the formation of the fem. for masc. if the neutral word is treated as fem.) at of that base is also more common in Munda outside.

The use of suffixes for differentiating the sex of an animal is also quite unknown elsewhere in Munda outside Ko.-Mo. It will also be found from the examples cited above that individual Munda languages and different groups of them have their own preferences for the key-words to be used for this purpose.

The masc. and fem. of human animate nouns, as we have said before, can be formed by using both commands and inflections. Our etymological study of kinship terms in the Munda languages throws important light on this aspect of Munda gender. We have seen KTML that some terms are 'neutral' words the meanings of which extend over different sex-groups, e-groups and generations. But the majority of the terms are now sex-linked and denote specifically single kinship items like 'father', 'mother', 'brother', etc. It has also been shown in that study that the 'neutral' or 'classificatory' kinship terms are now gradually narrowing down their semantic range, taking 'descriptive' words which are either prefixed or suffixed. These descriptive words often serve as the key-words to form the sex-based gender. For example, Mu. guŋgu father's elder brother, father's elder brother's wife, etc., etc. In descriptive words are now used to restrict the
meaning. Thus, Sa. baba-gongo father's elder brother, gongo-ayo father's elder brother's wife, etc. (see KTML 22). But such widely neutral kinship terms are rarely found now in Munda. Terms which now express a specific male or female relation are quite numerous, and fem. or masc. forms are formed from these bases with the help of key-words or inflections.

Let us give here a summary of the results of our study of compounded and inflected types of sex-based gender of the human animate nouns in Munda. The key-words which form the compounds are used either in their full or abbreviated forms. They are added either before or after the nouns. The use of key-words, though widespread in Munda, is found more commonly in Kher. and Ko. On the other hand, the suffixation of bound morphemes, though found commonly in Munda, is used more frequently outside Kher. and Ko. Following are some of the formatives:

A. Full words or part-words demoting fem.:

(i) -bɔi, used commonly in Bo. and Di.; cf. Di. Bo. ǵireŋ-bɔi husband's younger sister, wife's younger sister (Di. Bo. ǵireŋ husband's younger brother, wife's younger brother), Di. ǵil-bɔi husband's younger sister, Bo. ǵi-bɔi id., So. ǵi-boy id., ǵeril-bɔi wife's younger sister (KTML 81), etc. The term bɔi/boy may be connected with Juang bo mother, Semang, Jarum bōk, bō, Semang Pa. Max. bo'(bu) id. It is very commonly used in Bo. to form the fem. Thus, aleʔ a stiff-necked person, fem aleʔ-bɔi, masc. aleʔ-ʔ-a; kamar blacksmith (IA), fem. kamar-bɔi wife of a blacksmith; etc.
(ii) -kui as in Ho. unği-kui sister (: unği mother, kui woman), kul-hon daughter (: hon child);
    Đoŋ-kui brother's wife, Di. Đo-koi husband's younger brother's wife, Kh. Đoŋ-ku husband's elder brother's wife (KTML 80 and Pinnow 311); etc.

(iii) -nçelan/-sel: Ju. koŋ-celan daughter ( KTML 1), So. mon-sel-en sister's or brother's daughter (cf. Mon etc. mon nephew: KTML 104 and Pinnow 287), Kh. bok-sel husband's younger sister, wife's younger sister (: boker husband's younger brother, etc., KTML 67); cf. also Bo. selã girl, female, selam-bol woman, wife.

(iv) -era wife, woman, female; -ayo mother; min female relation by marriage: Sa. kamar-era blacksmith's wife, gongo-era, gongo-ayo, gongo-tadji father's elder brother's wife, etc. (KTML 22);
    bala-era son's or daughter's mother-in-law
    bala, bala-tadji son's or daughter's father-in-
    law; cf. SB L-22 Orang Berumb. blã father-in-law, father-in-law, KTML 94); Mu. hon-kimin daughter-in-
    law, haga-kimin younger brother's wife (: haga brother; KTML 68); etc.

(v) -kuri: Sa. kuri-boeha, boeha-era sister (: boeha brother; KTML 8 and 63; cf. also
    bhoa elder sister, Semang Plus. bã brother, sister); Mu. bokote-kuri younger sister (with reference to a third person; boko younger brother, younger sister), kuri-hon female child, etc.

B. Inflections indicating fem.:

Let us quote a few examples: Gu. ʔonon-ṭeŋ
dughter, brother's daughter (: ʔonon son), Ju.
ʔon-ṭeŋ a Juang woman (: juan a Juang man), etc.
Gu. kin-m-gal son's wife, married woman, Ju. kin-m-day younger brother's wife, grandson's wife (: cf. Mu. kin-m female relation by marriage, KTML 104), So. sou-ræe wife (: sou husband), Ju. bok-o-ray younger sister, husband's younger brother's wife, kan-day wife, old woman, Kh. kæray (: Kh. (Pinnow) kaɾ person; cf. also Nicobarese kaŋ female Kh. boker-day husband's younger brother's wife (: boker husband's younger brother), kulam-day younger sister (: kulam brother), etc.

Ko. kon-jei daughter (: kon son), etc.

It seems certain that here we are dealing with a bound morpheme whose function is to form fem. from a neutral or masc. base, or to modify or strengthen the meaning of a word which already indicates a female. We propose to take the original suffix to be -ai (cf. masc. -a); -ai>-e>-e. The preceding d-/-r-/-r-/-ŋ- and j- are accretions, or another morpheme whose function is now lost.

Two more fem. morphemes are found in Bo. They end in nasal sounds: -ʊŋ/-ʊm and -ɪŋ/-ɪŋ. Thus muna?-ʊŋ elder wife (cf. muna?-ŋ-a elder brother < muna? big), dau-ʊŋ, dau-ʊm younger wife (cf. dau-la younger brother < dau small, young) and punta?-ŋ-ɪŋ a pot-bellied woman (masc. punta?-ŋ-a; cf. also punta?-ʊŋ a pot-bellied dog; < punta? a pot-bellied person or animal).

In addition to these fem. suffixes, there is a fem. -l used frequently in many Munda languages, particularly in Kher. In most instances it occurs in words borrowed from IA. Thus, Kh. mosl mother's younger sister, (: mosl mother's younger sister's husband), Mu. kakt father's younger brother's wife,
her's younger sister, stepmother (: kaka father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband, etc.). Sa. goŋo-बुङ्ल father's elder brother's etc.; cf. also Bo. दांगण-बो-र-ि, दांगण-बो?woman bald on the head, masc. दांगण-बो?र-ा.

IA fem. suffixes -n, -ni, -kini are also found in loanwords. Thus, Bo. सोंदी-नि, सोंदी-किनी's or daughter's mother-in-law, Mu. Sa. सोंदी-न, Kor. संधे-ि id., उरा-यिन an Oraon woman, etc. Ko. form तुला-किन Tula's wife, quoted by Drake, also belong here.

C. Full words or part-words denoting masc.:

(i) -ोंगर/-गर/-ेर: So. mar-ोंगर
her's sister's son (: mar-ेर-सेड father's sister's daughter, ोंगर-ेन a male being, husband), kongher young man, Ju. konger boy aged about five years (: kon child), बोको-गर husband's younger brother (: बोको younger brother), Kh. bok-ेर band's younger brother, wife's younger brother, etc. The use of this formative is found to be confined to CM and SM. It is used as the second term of the compound.

(ii) The key-word used in Kher. for the formation of masc. are: हेरेल-, हेरेल-, -ारा, आ-, etc. Examples: Sa. हेरेल-होन son, हेरेल-होन male, man, Kw. herel-hon male child, (: herel/ एl husband, male, grown-up man); Mu. jai-ारा and daughter's husband (cf. jai-kimin grandson's e), अरा, होन-रा son-in-law; Mu. कोरा-होन boy, कोरा-होन id., etc.

D. Inflections denoting masc.:

(i) -ा It is commonly used in Bo. Thus, gug' + आ द्रुगुगा, द्रुगुग-र-ा a man suffering from goitre (cf. fem. द्रुगुग-बोळ), तारिक' + आ
tari?g-a a man whose waist is bent, also tarig-
busorem id., fem. tarig-boi (: busorem a male, a
married man), etc.; cf. also Di. rem-a, rem-o-a man.
The -a in Kher. kor-a son, fem. ku?-i daughter,
seems to be of IA origin; cf. fem. -i above.

(ii) -ol/-o?, -o; Gu. rem-o?, pl. -nen man
(cf. khmer jhm-o? id.; cf. also Bo. dau-?a younger
brother, dau small, young; cf. also the -?i in Kher.
here! husband.)

(iii) -o; Ko. kor-o, pl. kor-ku man, Kher.
ho?-o, ho? id.

Classification based on 'Rationality' and
'Irrationality'

The numerals in Munda are also very important
from the point of view of gender. But this area of
Munda linguistics has not yet been fully explored.
Many Munda languages, particularly those spoken in
the southern area, have two forms of numerals,
one of them being used for counting rational or
superior objects, and the other for counting
irrational or inferior objects. This practice has
now been lost from Sa. and Mu. But our material on
Ho. offers an interesting clue to an earlier state
of things in Kher. In this dialect of Kher. such a
distinction is still made in the forms of numerals.
Thus, in Ho. mi?-o one, is used in masc. and fem.,
while mi?-a-? id., is used in neut. Similarly,
bar-o two (masc. and fem.), bar-la id. neut., ape
three (masc. and fem.), ap-la id. (neut.), upun
four (masc. and fem.), upun-la id. (neut.), moy
five (masc. and fem.), moy-a id. (neut.), turul
six (masc. and fem.), turu-ya id. (neut.), ai
seven (masc. and fem.), ai-ya id. (neut.), iril
eight (masc. and fem.), iri-la id. (neut.), are nin
sc. and fem.), are-ā id. (neut.), gel (masc. and
.), gel-ea id. (neut.), etc. Here the 'Super.'
ms do not have any suffix excepting in the forms
'one' and 'two'. The -o suffix used in those
ms may be compared with the -o in kor-o, hor-o
oted above. But the neuter forms systematically
the -a/-ea, etc. which suffix seems to be
eivalent to a determinative particle, also called
eral classifier, found to be used with numerals in
y IA languages of Eastern India; cf. Beng. ek-ṭa,
tal Hindi ek-ṭho one, definitely one (usually
oting also an irrational or inferior object).
equivalent formative used to indicate a superior
al being is a morpheme derived from Sk.
 a person; e.g. Beng. ek-jon one person, etc.

In Sa. and Mu. the cardinal numbers have two
ms, one of which is the root and the other an
ended form with -a/-ea/-ia added to it; e.g.
or two, bar-ia id. But the extended forms do
express any special meaning now. Hoffman clari-
d the difference of meaning of the two numeral
ms miad' and mi'd' with the help of two usages:
d' botolo one bottle, mi'd' botolo one bottleful;
also Beng. ek-ṭa botol one bottle, ek botol
one bottleful. In Mu(B.), on the other hand,
d'/moiad and mi'd' have been given to mean 'one
nan.)' and 'one (Anim.)', respectively. Scholars
worked on Santali do not appear to have tried to
plain the difference between the two forms for each
ural one of which is extended with the help of
. We may mention here that the Sa. numerals have
en found to take the Anim. and Inan. suffixes.
d, bar-gel twenty, bar-gelu-āk' id. (Inan.),
egel-ic' id. (Anim.), etc.
But in the other Munda languages outside Kher., the superior-inferior dichotomy, i.e. a division of numerals on the basis of (i) masc.-fem. and (ii) neut., is maintained fairly regularly. Since this division is confined to the forms of numerals in Munda, it will perhaps be better to treat this phenomenon under the category of numeral classifier and not gender. But we have seen that in Munda the gender affects not only the nouns, but also other parts of speech. Secondly, the term 'gender' has been used in this paper in a much wider sense than as a mere division of nouns on the basis of sex. Any valid systematic classification of nouns or its correlates which affects the grammar has been called here 'gender'. The main function of the numerals is to count the nouns, and our major point of interest here is that the rationality or irrationality of the noun changes the form of the numerals in most of the Munda languages. We know that gender affects the numerals also in many Dravidian languages.

Let us quote examples of this phenomenon from the non-Kher. Munda languages. In Korku we have bar kom two (Super.), bar-lya id. (Infer.), ap-khor three (Super.), ape-ya, aphe-ya id. (Infer.), etc.; khor is derived from kor-o man, person; cf. Kw. mi-khor one person, miy hoŋ one (Super.), miy goŋ id. (Infer.), bar hoŋ two (Super.), bar goŋ id. (Infer.), pɛŋ hoŋ three (Super.), pɛŋ goŋ id. (Infer.), etc. Similarly, Kh. muŋ one (Super.), munj, moeŋ id. (Infer.). The distinction is not maintained in Kh. numerals beyond 'one'. In Ju. we find special forms to indicate 'Super'. category for 'one' and 'two'; e.g. Ju(Ke.) mìnog', binog',
milog one (person), (Ke.) banog' two (persons).
Ju. form for 'one', muiŋ, is now used indiscriminately. Thus, muiŋ bibuŋ one snake, haŋo-muiŋ a
e (= indefinite), bi-siŋ, mi-siŋ one day, dinu-
one day, once upon a time, joŋa-miŋ a pair
ut.); also muiŋ munisso one man, etc.

This type of differentiation of the numeral forms is quite regular in the Southern Munda
languages. Thus, So. bai-yo one (Super.), abboi
tracted form bo) id. (Infer.); Gu. mui-ro,
-qaŋ one (Super.), mui id. (Infer.), mbar-ju,
r-zu two (Super.), mbar id. (Infer.), igen-ro
ree (Super.), igen id. (Infer.); Bo. mui-qa, muin-
min-qa one (Super.), mui, muiŋ, muiŋ id. (Infer.),
y-ŋ two (Super.), mbar id. (Infer.), igen-ŋ-ro
ree (Super.), ingen(n), igen id. (Infer.), u?un-
ro four (Super.), u?ŋŋ, ūŋ id. (Infer.), mɔ?ɔ-y-a
ve (Super.), mɔ?ol id. (Infer.), ti?ram six
uper.), ti?r i id. (Infer.), etc.; cf. also Bo.
av-ŋ all (Super.), gulay id. (Infer.); Di.
nj-a, munj-a one (Super.), mui muya id. (Infer.),
ay-a two (Super.), mbar mbar-klik mbar-bha
(Infer.), ējir-ua, ējir-o three (Super.),
-klik, ējir-bha id. (Infer.), etc.

The different pairs of numeral forms are now
ten used indiscriminately in the Munda languages.
we have to take note of the fact that different
forms of most of the cardinal numbers still exist
most of them, and that in many places these forms

1bha head is used in Di. to count big animals,
klík to count birds, insects, small animals and
her neut. objects.
are constructed with the help of suffixes that are also found in the Munda kinship terms. The situation in Munda is very confusing now, which is perhaps due to the increasing influence of the modern IA languages which are dominant in these areas. But one thing seems to be quite certain, this is that the formation of masc. and fem. gender with the help of key-words and suffixes is universal in Munda. The use of key-words for this purpose is commonly found also in other branches of Austroasiatic. It is, therefore, likely that the suffixation was present in Austroasiatic in general, but it was lost in Mon-Khmer and other AA languages of the Far-Eastern Asiatic regions due to the influence of Chinese. An attempt may now be made to determine whether the nominal forms in the Mon-Khmer languages contain any petrified traces of the suffixes forming gender and other grammatical categories in Munda.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>Austroasiatic (languages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anim.</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Asuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beng.</td>
<td>Bengali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bh.</td>
<td>Birhoç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo.</td>
<td>Bonda (= Remo, Bondo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Central Munda (languages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di.</td>
<td>Dīçey (= Gata?, Didayi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dh.</td>
<td>Dhenkanal dialect of Ju.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gu.</td>
<td>Gutob (=Gadaba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho.</td>
<td>Hoffman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>Indo-Aryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inan.</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infer.</td>
<td>Inferior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ju.</td>
<td>Juang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke.</td>
<td>Keonjhar dialect of Ju.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KTML</td>
<td>&quot;Kinship Terms in the Munda Languages&quot; (see Bibliography)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>Kharia, Kheria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kher.</td>
<td>Kherwari (i.e. Sa., Mu. and their dialects)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>Korku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kor.</td>
<td>Kōraku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>Erōga Kōrowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSI</td>
<td>The Linguistic Survey of India, ed. G. A. Grierson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>Mowasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu.</td>
<td>Munḍari, (B.) M. B. Bhaduri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neut.</td>
<td>neuter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obj.</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>Parengi (= Gorum)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pinnow
pl.
Sa.
SB
sing.
Sk.
SM
So.
Subj.
Super.

see Bibliography
plural
Santali
see Bibliography, Skeat and Blagden
singular
Sanskrit
South Munda (languages)
Saoḍa (= Sōrā, Sora, Savara)
Subject
Superior


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