Numerals in Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri
Dr. Hari Madhab Ray
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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to study numerals and counting system of the Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri language. The numerals are found in day to day usage in children's game, in idioms, in riddles and personal names. I will try to explore use of numerals in general sense. The aim here is to see whether there is any adstratal or superstratal influence on the Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri numerals in a language contact situation. The data were collected from Coochbehar and Alipurduyar districts of West Bengal.

1. Introduction and Background

The paper shows general usage of numerals (numbers) in the Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri language.[1] The word 'number' does not refer to the grammatical number i.e. singular, dual, paucal, plural (Dixon 2010: 158) but rather numerals and quantifying numbers only.[2] It is believed that numeral plays a significant role in the daily activities of a community. The speakers of a community use numerals in counting system. Numeral refers to the numbers which are used for counting and also in measure system in natural language. David Miller (1979) in "*What is in a numeral*?" opines that the naïve answer is that a numeral is a number-designator whose 'value can be determined without reference to the empirical facts'.[3] Pearla Nesher and Tamar Katriel (1986) talk about number from linguistic perspective and they carry out an experiment which shows how the children learn these abstractions. According to Nesher and Katriel (1986) in the natural language system, numbers function as predicates, modifying the nouns in their scope quantitatively. They function within a sentence like adjectives in some respects. On the other hand, in the formal language of mathematics, numbers do not function as predicates for a quantitative description of objects in the world; rather, the number itself is the object of discussion, and its characteristics are described by using other predicates.[4]

Frege G. (1968) looks at numbers as abstract objects, more specifically, abstract singular objects.[5] According to William C. Kneale (1972) "… numbers are ordinarily designated either by words like 'one', 'two', 'three', which would otherwise be called numerical adjectives, or by words

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[1] Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in different areas of North Bengal mainly in Coochbehar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Alipurduyar, Malda, North and South Dinajpur, lower part of Assam, Purniya of Bihar, Jhapa and Morong of Nepal, and Rangpur of Bangladesh etc.

[2] For discussion on grammatical numbers on Indo-Aryan languages see Masica, Collin P. 1991. The Indo-Aryan languages. CUP: Cambridge. Page-223-229.

[3] Miller, David. 1979. What's in a Numeral? Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the AnalyticTradition, Vol. 35, No. 4. Springer.

[4] Pearla Nesher and Tamar Katrie. 1986. Learning Numbers: A Linguistic Perspective. Journal for Research in Mathematics Education, Vol. 17, No. 2. pp. 100-111.

[5] Frege, G. (1968). The foundations of arithmetic. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

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like 'hundred', "thousand', 'million', which started life as numerical nouns of aggregation but have come to be used in arithmetic without regard to any things aggregated."[6] Bloomfield (1935) in 'Language' talks about numbers and its deviations. According to him English "system of decimal numbers (twenty-two, thirty-five, etc.) shows traces of a duodecimal or twelves system (eleven, twelve instead of *one-teen, *two-teen). Other irregularities are formal, as two: twenty: second: half, three: thirteen, third. Furthermore, the connotation of certain numbers like three, seven thirteen, and of additional terms like dozen, score, gross cannot be stated mathematically." [7]

2. Numerals in Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri: A Descriptive Account

Numerals are used in counting systems, measure terms and also for quantifying. They are divided into cardinals, ordinals and fractionals, collectives and multiplicatives;

2.1. Cardinals

Cardinal numerals of Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri from one (1) to hundred (100) are given below as it is pronounced by the informants.[8]

ENG	R/K	IPA	R/K	Gloss
1	১	[æk]/ [ɛk]	অ্যাক	'One'
2	২	[ɖui]	দুই	'Two'
3	৩	[t̪in]	তিন	'Three'
4	৪	[cair]	চাইর	'Four'
5	৫	[pac]	পাচ	'Five'
6	৬	[cʰɔy]	ছয়	'Six'
7	৭	[ʃat̪]	সাত	'Seven'
8	৮	[at̪]	আট	'Eight'
9	৯	[nɔy]	নয়	'Nine'
10	১০	[ɖɔʃ]	দশ	'Ten'
11	১১	[ɛgaro]	অ্যাগারো	'Eleven'
12	১২	[baro]	বারো	'Twelve'
13	১৩	[t̪ɛro]	ত্যারো	'Thirteen'
14	১৪	[cɔiɖɖo]	চৌদ্দ	'Fourteen'
15	১৫	[ponoro]	পোনোরো	'Fifteen'
16	১৬	[ʃolo]	ষোলো	'Sixteen'
17	১৭	[ʃotoro]	সোতোরো	'Seventeen'
18	১৮	[at̪ʰaro]	আঠারো	'Eighteen'
19	১৯	[uniʃ]	উনিশ	'Nineteen'

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[6] Kneale, William C. 1972. Numbers and Numerals. The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science, Vol. 23, No. 3. pp.191-206.

[7] Bloomfield, Leonard. 1935. Language. Motilal Banarsidas. Reprint. 1964. Delhi. Page-279.

[8] ENG=English Numeral, R/K=Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri, IPA= International phonetic alphabet, R/KS=Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri script, The symbol /ɖ/ is used for dental, /t̪/ is also dental.

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20	২০	[biʃ]/ [kuɽi]	বিশ/ কুড়ি	'Twenty'
21	২১	[ækɔiʃ]	অ্যাকোইশ	'Twenty-one'
22	২২	[baiʃ]	বাইশ	'Twenty-two'
23	২৩	[ʈeiʃ]	তেইশ	'Twenty-three'
24	২৪	[cɔbbiʃ]	চব্বিশ	'Twenty-four'
25	২৫	[pɔciʃ]	পচিশ	'Twenty-five'
26	২৬	[cʰabbiʃ]	ছাব্বিশ	'Twenty-six'
27	২৭	[ʃaʈaiʃ]	সাতাইশ	'Twenty-seven'
28	২৮	[aʈʰaiʃ]	আঠাইশ	'Twenty-eight'
29	২৯	[unʈiriʃ]	উনতিরিশ	'Twenty-nine'
30	৩০	[ʈiriʃ]	তিরিশ	'Thirty'
31	৩১	[ɛkʈitiʃ]	অ্যাকতিরিশ	'Thirty-one'
32	৩২	[bɔʈʈiriʃ]	বত্তিরিশ	'Thirty-two'
33	৩৩	[ʈeʈʈiriʃ]	তেত্তেরিশ	'Thirty-three'
34	৩৪	[cɔuʈiriʃ]	চৌতিরিশ	'Thirty-four'
35	৩৫	[pɔyʈiriʃ]	পয়তিরিশ	'Thirty-five'
36	৩৬	[cʰɔʈʈiriʃ]	ছত্তিরিশ	'Thirty-six'
37	৩৭	[ʃaiʈiriʃ]	সাইতিরিশ	'Thirty-seven'
38	৩৮	[aʈʈiriʃ]	আটতিরিশ	'Thirty-eight'
39	৩৯	[uncɔlliʃ]	উনচল্লিশ	'Thirty-nine'
40	৪০	[cɔlliʃ]	চল্লিশ	'Forty'
41	৪১	[ɛkcɔlliʃ]	অ্যাকচল্লিশ	'Forty-one'
42	৪২	[beyalliʃ]	বেয়াল্লিশ	'Forty-two'
43	৪৩	[ʈeʈalliʃ]	তেতাল্লিশ	'Forty-three'
44	৪৪	[cuyalliʃ]	চুয়াল্লিশ	'Forty-four'
45	৪৫	[pɔycɔlliʃ]	পয়চল্লিশ	'Forty-five'
46	৪৬	[cɔycɔlliʃ]	ছয়চল্লিশ	'Forty-six'
47	৪৭	[ʃatcɔlliʃ]	সাতচল্লিশ	'Forty-seven'
48	৪৮	[aʈcɔlliʃ]	আটচল্লিশ	'Forty-eight'
49	৪৯	[unopɔncaʃ]	উনপঞ্চাশ	'Forty-nine'
50	৫০	[pɔncaʃ]	পঞ্চাশ	'Fifty'
51	৫১	[ɛkanno]	অ্যাকান্ন	'Fifty-one'
52	৫২	[bahanno]	বাহান্ন	'Fifty-two'
53	৫৩	[terpanno]	তেরপান্ন	'Fifty-three'
54	৫৪	[cuyanno]	চুয়ান্ন	'Fifty-four'
55	৫৫	[pocpanno]	পোচপান্ন	'Fifty-five'
56	৫৬	[cʰappanno]	ছাপ্পান্ন	'Fifty-six'
57	৫৭	[ʃaʈanno]	সাতান্ন	'Fifty-seven'
58	৫৮	[aʈʰanno]	আঠান্ন	'Fifty-eight'

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59	৫৯	[unoʃait̪]	উনোষাইট	'Fifty-nine'
60	৬০	[ʃait̪]	ষাইট	'Sixty'
61	৬১	[ɛkʃɔt̪t̪i]	আকষট্টি	'Sixty-one'
62	৬২	[baʃɔt̪t̪i]	বাষট্টি	'Sixty-two'
63	৬৩	[t̪eʃɔt̪t̪i]	তেষট্টি	'Sixty-three'
64	৬৪	[cɔuʃɔt̪t̪i]	চৌষট্টি	'Sixty-four'
65	৬৫	[pɔyʃɔt̪t̪i]	পয়ষট্টি	'Sixty-five'
66	৬৬	[ʃɔycʰɔt̪t̪i]	ষয়ষট্টি	'Sixty-six'
67	৬৭	[ʃat̪ʃɔt̪t̪i]	সাতষট্টি	'Sixty-seven'
68	৬৮	[at̪ʃɔt̪t̪i]	আটষট্টি	'Sixty-eight'
69	৬৯	[unoʃɔt̪t̪ur]	উনোষত্তর	'Sixty-nine'
70	৭০	[ʃɔt̪t̪ur]	সত্তর	'Seventy'
71	৭১	[ɛkat̪t̪ur]	অ্যাকাত্তর	'Seventy-one'
72	৭২	[bahat̪t̪ur]	বাহাত্তর	'Seventy-two'
73	৭৩	[t̪eyat̪t̪ur]	তেয়াত্তর	'Seventy-three'
74	৭৪	[cuyat̪t̪ur]	চুয়াত্তর	'Seventy-four'
75	৭৫	[pocat̪t̪ur]	পচাত্তর	'Seventy-five'
76	৭৬	[cʰiyat̪t̪ur]	ছিয়াত্তর	'Seventy-six'
77	৭৭	[ʃat̪at̪t̪ur]	সাতাত্তর	'Seventy-seven'
78	৭৮	[at̪ʰat̪t̪ur]	আঠাত্তর	'Seventy-eight'
79	৭৯	[unoaʃi]	উনআশি	'Seventy-nine'
80	৮০	[aʃi]	আশি	'Eighty'
81	৮১	[ɛkaʃi]	অ্যাকাশি	'Eighty-one'
82	৮২	[beraʃi]	বেরাশি	'Eighty-two'
83	৮৩	[t̪eraʃi]	তেরাশি	'Eighty-three'
84	৮৪	[curaʃi]	চুরাশি	'Eighty-four'
85	৮৫	[pocaʃi]	পচাশি	'Eighty-five'
86	৮৬	[cʰiyaʃi]	ছেয়াছি	'Eighty-six'
87	৮৭	[ʃat̪aʃi]	সাতাশি	'Eighty-seven'
88	৮৮	[at̪ʰaʃi]	আঠাশি	'Eighty-eight'
89	৮৯	[unonɔbbɔi]	উননব্বই	'Eighty-nine'
90	৯০	[nɔbbɔi]	নব্বই	'Ninety'
91	৯১	[ɛkanɔbbɔi]	অ্যাকানব্বই	'Ninety-one'
92	৯২	[beranɔbbɔi]	বেরানব্বই	'Ninety-two'
93	৯৩	[t̪iranɔbbɔi]	তেরানব্বই	'Ninety-three'
94	৯৪	[curanɔbbɔi]	চুরানব্বই	'Ninety-four'
95	৯৫	[pocanɔbbɔi]	পচানব্বই	'Ninety-five'
96	৯৬	[cʰiyanɔbbɔi]	ছিয়ানব্বই	''Ninety-six'
97	৯৭	[ʃat̪anɔbbɔi]	সাতানব্বই	'Ninety-seven'

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98	৯৮	[aʈanɔbbɔi]	আঠানব্বই	'Ninety-eight'
99	৯৯	[neranɔbbɔi]	নেরানব্বই	'Ninety-nine'
100	১০০	[ɛkʃo]	অ্যাকশো	'One-hundred'

It has been seen that the literacy rate among Rajbanshis were very low in earlier times. The illiterate or the semiliterate used to count till twenty [biʃ/kuɽi] বিশ/কুড়ি and then keep on adding one, two, three as for example [ɛk kuɽi ɛk] এক কুড়ি এক 'one twenty one' i.e. 'twenty one'; [ɛk kuɽi ɖui] 'one twenty two' means 'twenty two'; [ɛk kuɽi ɖɔʃ/ ɖeɽ kuɽi] এক কুড়ি দশ/ দেড় কুড়ি 'one twenty ten/1.5 twenty' means 'thirty'; [ɖui kuɽi] দুই কুড়ি 'two twenty' means 'forty'; [ʈin kuɽi] তিন কুড়ি 'three twenty' means 'sixty'; [cair kuɽi] চাইর কুড়ি 'four twenty' means 'eighty'; [pac kuɽi] পাচ কুড়ি 'five twenty' means 'hundred'.[9] However, the literate or educated speakers influenced by neighboring dominant langauges Bengali/Assamese use the counting system as presented in the above table. After one hundred, numerals will proceed by increasing order as for example:

101	১০১	[ɛkʃo ɛk]	অ্যাকশো অ্যাক	'One hundred one'
102	১০২	[ɛkʃo ɖui]	অ্যাকশ দুই	'one hundred two'
200	২০০	[ɖui ʃo]	দুই শো	'two hundred'
205	২০৫	[ɖui ʃo pac]	দুই শো পাঁচ	'two hundred five'

All the forms for nineteen through eighty nine are formed by prefixing [uno] 'one less' as for example [uniʃ] 'nineteen'; [unʈiriʃ] 'twenty nine'; [uncɔlliʃ] 'thirty nine'; [unoponcaʃ] 'forty nine'; [unoʃait] 'fifty nine'; [unoʃɔʈʈur] 'sixty nine'; [unoaʃi] 'seventy nine'; [unonɔbboi] 'eighty nine'. The number ninety nine is [niranɔbboi] i.e. nine plus ninety; it is not *[unoʃo] or *[unoɛkʃo] 'one less hundred'.

The other higher numbers are [haɟar] 'thousand', [lakʰ] 'one hundred thousand', [kuʈi] 'one hundred lakh'. Sujon Barman (2011) in his dictionary 'Kamtapuri Abhidhan' mentions the following numbers. Here ten (10) is multiplied in the new number as it is formed:[10]

[pac kuɽi] পাঁচ কুড়ি	=	[ʃɔ] শও	'one hundred'
[ɖɔʃʃɔ] দশ শও	=	[ʃɔhoʃro] সহস্র	'one thousand'
[ɖɔʃʃɔhoʃro] দশ সহস্র	=	[ɔjuʈ] অযুত	'ten thousand'
[ɖɔʃ ɔjut] দশ অযুত	=	[lɔkkʰo] লক্ষ	'hundred thousand'
[ɖɔʃ lɔkkʰo] দশ লক্ষ	=	[nijuʈ] নিযুত	'million'
[ɖɔʃ nijuʈ] দশ নিযুত	=	[kuʈi] কুটি	'ten million'
[ɖɔʃ kuʈi] দশ কুটি	=	[ɔrbbuɖ] অর্বুদ	'ten crore'
[ɖɔʃɔrbbuɖ] দশ অর্বুদ	=	[birinɖo] বৃন্দ	'Ten x ten crore'
[ɖɔʃbirinɖo] দশ বৃন্দ	=	[kʰɔrbo] খর্ব	'khorba'
[ɖɔʃ kʰɔrbo] দশ খর্ব	=	[nikʰɔrbo] নিখর্ব	'nirkhaba'

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[9]The informants Mr. Prabash Barmn and Miss Bhabani Ray (my mother) informed me that people of old generations used to count till twenty [kuɽi] and then add [ɛk, ɖui, ʈin] etc, the used to make knots in the rope or lines on the soil for counting. While measuring rice they used to remember by number of baskets or sacks etc.
[10]The data appear on the dictionary, 'Kamtapuri Abhidhan' by Sujan Barman, the real question is how many native speakers know about this numeral?

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[d̠ɔʃ nikʰɔrbo] দশ নিখর্ব	=	[ʃɔnkʰo] শঙ্খ	'sankha'
[d̠ɔʃʃɔnkʰo] দশ শঙ্খ	=	[pɔd̠d̠o] পদ্ম	'padma'
[d̠ɔʃ pɔd̠d̠o] দশ পদ্ম	=	[ʃagor] সাগর	'sagar'
[d̠ɔʃʃagor] দশ সাগর	=	[ɔnt̠o] অন্ত	'anta'
[d̠ɔʃɔnt̠o] দশ অন্ত	=	[mɔd̠d̠ʰo] মধ্য	'madhya'
[d̠ɔʃ mɔd̠d̠ʰo] দশ মধ্য	=	[pɔrad̠d̠ʰo] পরাধ্য	'paradhya'

However, they are rarely used by the Rajbanshis. It is more common to use 100 crore or 2000 crore, 50000 crores etc. The Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri speakers will read the number 45684069 as [cair kuʈi cʰappanno lɔkkʰo curaʃi haɟar unoʃɔʈʈur].

2.2. Ordinals

Ordinals are borrowed from Sanskrit. These ordinals are used with variations as for example, [pɔila/pot̠ʰom] পইলা/পথম 'first'; [d̠ut̠iya/d̠it̠iya] দুতিয়া/দ্বিতীয়া 'second'; [t̠it̠iya/t̠it̠iyɔ] তিতিয়া/তিতিয় 'third';[cɔut̠ʰa]চৌঠা'fourth'; [pɔnco/pɔncom] পঞ্চ/পঞ্চম 'five','fifth'; [ʃɔʃʈʰo/ʃɔʃʈʰom] ষষ্ঠ/ষষ্ঠম 'sixth; [ʃɔpt̠o/ʃɔpt̠om] সপ্ত/সপ্তম 'seventh'; [ɔʃʈo/ɔʃʈom] অষ্ঠ/অর্ষ্ঠম'eight'; [nɔbom] নবম 'ninth'; [d̠ɔʃom] দশম 'tenth'; [ekad̠ɔʃ] একাদশ 'eleventh'; [d̠wad̠ɔʃ] দ্বাদশ 'twelveth'; [t̠rɔyod̠ɔʃ] ত্রয়োদশ'thirteenth', [cɔt̠urd̠ɔʃ] চতুর্দশ 'fourteen'; [pɔncod̠ɔʃ] পঞ্চদশ 'fifteenth'; [ʃɔʃʈʰod̠ɔʃ/ ʃoɽʃ] ষোড়ষ।ষর্ষ্ঠদশ'sixteenth'; [ʃɔpt̠od̠ɔʃ] সপ্তদশ 'seventeenth'; [ɔʃʈod̠ɔʃ] অষ্ঠদশ 'eighteenth'; [unobiɳʃo] উনবিংশ 'nineteenth'; [biɳʃo] বিংশ 'twentieth'; [ekobiɳʃo] একবিংশ 'twenty first'. [11] It has been seen that the Hindu Calender also uses Sanskrit ordinals to signal the days of the fortnight; [prot̠ʰoma] প্রথমা'first day', [d̠it̠iya] দ্বিতীয়া 'second day', [t̠it̠iya] 'তৃতীয়া 'third day', [cɔt̠urt̠ʰi] চতুর্থী 'fourthday', [pɔncomi] পঞ্চমী'fifth day', [ʃɔʃʈʰi] ষষ্ঠী 'sixth day', [ʃɔpt̠omi] সপ্তমী 'seventh day', [ɔʃʈomi] অষ্ঠমী'eight day', [nɔbomi] নবমী 'ninth day', [d̠ɔʃomi] দশমী'tenth day', [ekad̠ɔʃi] একাদশী 'eleventh day', [d̠ad̠ɔʃi] দ্বাদশী 'twelveth day', [t̠rɔyod̠ɔʃi] ত্রয়োদশী ত্রয়োদশী 'thirteenth day', [cɔt̠urd̠ɔʃi] চতুর্দশী 'fourteenth day'. The fifteenth day of the full moon is called [purnima] পূর্ণিমা 'full moon' and the fifteenth day of dark fortnight is designated as [amabaiʃʃa] আমাবাইসস্যা'dark fortnight'.

2.3. Fractionals

Fractionals are forms such as the following; [ad̠ʰa] আধা'half', [poya] পোয়া 'quarter', [ʃoya] সোয়া 'one and quarter', [d̠ɛr] ড্যার 'one and half', [aɽai] আড়াই 'two and half', [ʃaɽe] সাড়ে 'plus half' etc. These are used as measure words as well as with numerals as for example; ¼: [ɛk poya] অ্যাক পোয়া 'one quarter'; [d̠ui poya] দুই পোয়া two quarter = [ad̠ʰaʃer] , ½: আধা সের 'half kilo'; [tin poya] তিন পোয়া three quarters ; [car poya] চার পোয়া 'four quarters' = [ɛk ʃer] আক 'one kilo'; [pac ʃer] পাচ সের 'five kilos' = [ɛk d̠ʰara] এক ধারা 'five kilos'; [at̠d̠ʰara] অ্যাট ধারা = [ɛk mɔn] অ্যাক মন 'forty kilos'; [d̠ui mɔn] দুই মন 'eighty kilos'; [æɽai mɔn] আড়াই মন 'two and half mɔn'= [ɛk kuinʈal] অ্যাক কুইন্টাল 'one hundred kilos'; [ʃoya ʃer] সোয়া স্যাড়'one

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[11] The use of the tatbhava ordinal forms has been greatly curtailed in Bengali. They are now restricted, to indicate the days of the month, and besides occur in one or two stereotyped occasions. Page-804. Sk Chatterjee, ODBL

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kilo and a quarter'/ plus 1/4; [aɖʰa mɔn] আধা মন 'twenty kilos'; [ɖeɽ] দেড় 'one and half'; [aɽai] আড়াই'two and half'; [ʃaɽe] সাড়ে 'half' (increasing) plus ½ ; [ʃaɽe t̪in] সাড়ে তিন 'three and half', [pɔne] পনে 'a quarter less', [pɔne ɖuit̪a] পনে দুইটা 'a quarter to two'.

2.4. Measure Words
Though India adopted the metric system for measuring different items or objects, the traditional measure expressions are still found in many rural, semi-urban or urban areas. To measure grain and liquid the following measure words are used in Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri; [poya] পোয়া 'one fourth of Ser'; [ʃɛr] স্যাড় 'one kilogram', [ɖʰara] ধারা 'five kilogram'; [mɔn] মন 'forty kilogram or eight dhara'. These words are used with numerals and with fractionals as discussed above in 2.3. To measure land, [kaṭa] কাটা 'one twentieth of a bigha'; [ʃɔt̪ok] শতক 'one thirty-three-th of a bigha'; [bigʰa] বিঘা 'five eighth of an acre' etc. are used. For precious metals, gems and spices, [rɔt̪i] রতি 'two and one fourth'; [maʃa] মাসা 'eight rɔt̪i'; [t̪ola] তোলা 'one eightieth of a ʃɛr' etc. are used. For clothes, [t̪ʰan] থান 'a bale of cloth', [gɔɟ] গজ 'a yard', [hat̪ʰ] হাথ 'one half of a yard' etc. are used in Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri.

2.5. Collectives
Collectives are the followings; [ɟora] জোড়া 'pair', [gonɖa] গোন্ডা 'two pairs/ group of four', [ɖɔrɟon] দরজ্জন 'twelve', [hala] হালা 'twelve', [pon] পন 'eighty'. These are used with numerals as for example [ɛk gonɖa] এক গোন্ডা 'four'; [t̪in gonɖa] তিন গোন্ডা 'three four/twelve' [ɛk hala] এক হালা 'twelve'; [biʃ gonɖa] বিশ গোন্ডা 'eighty', [t̪in pon] তিন পোন 'two hundred forty'.

2.6. Multiplicatives
Multiplicatives are formed by suffixing [gun] গুন or [guna] গুনা to the (contracted) forms of the numerals as for instances [ɖuguna] দুগুনা or [diguna] দিগুনা or [ɖuiguna] দুইগুনা 'twice'; [haɟar guna] হাজার গুনা 'thousand times'.

3. Numerals in a larger context
Numerals play a significant part in the day to day life of a community. Numerals may take part in number agreement and also in word-formation processes (reduplication). In the following subsections, I will highlight use of numerals in a larger socio-cultural and linguistic context;

3.1. Adjectives and numerals
Numerals modify the head noun and functions as adjectives as for example [dɔʃ din] দশ দিন 'ten days', [ɔʃṭo pohor] অষ্টপোহর 'eight pohor (3 hrs)/ one day', [duit̪a cɛɳɽa] দুইটা চ্যাংড়া 'two boys' but *[duit̪a cɛɳɽa-la/cɛɳɽgula]* দুইটা চ্যাংড়া-লা/ চ্যাংড়া-গুলা will be ungrammatical. Besides, numeral classifiers [ṭa, ɟon, kʰan] suffixed to the numeral but not to the noun.[12] The suffixation of numeral classifiers to the noun result ungrammatical formations as for example; [biʃ ɟon manuʃ]

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[12] According to Aikhenvald , Bengali has five numeral classifiers which are suffixed to the numeral: ṭa 'countable non-human', [ṭi] 'diminutive of ṭa', [jɔn] 'human', [kʰana] 'solid objects rectangular and flat shape', [kʰani] 'diminutive of kʰana'.

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বিশ জন মানুষ 'twenty persons' * [manuʃjɔn biʃ] মানুষজন বিশ 'twenty persons'. Greenberg's (1963) Universal 20 (a) that in prenominal position the order of demonstrative, numeral, and adjective (or any subset thereof) conforms to the order Dem > Num > A, and (b) that in postnominal position the order of the same elements (or any subset thereof) conforms either to the order Dem > Num > A or to the order A > Num > Dem.

3.2. Numerals and Reduplication

The reduplication of the numerals refers to distributive quality as in 1. (a) and (b) and (c) for emphasis. [13]

1. (a) [ʃɔbay pac pacʈa kɔri nɛo] সবায় পাঁচ পাঁচটা করি নেও।
     Each five five-CLF Do take
     'each of you take five items' (distribuitive)
(b) [duijɔn duijɔn kɔri aiʃo] দুইজন দুইজন করি আইসো
     Two.cLF two.CLF do come
     'Come in a group of twos' (distributive)
(c) [haɟar haɟar lok] হাজার হাজার লোক
     Thousand thousand people
     'Thousands of people' (emphasis)
(d) [kuʈi kuʈi ponam taɔ hɔil bɔɖnam] কুটি কুটি পোনাম তাও হইল বদনাম
     Crore crore even be bad name
'Too much reverence brought bad name.' (non-literal)

3.3. Numerals in Children's Game and in Riddles

Children play different kinds of game. The use of numbers is different from the normal practices though this usage also varies depending on the nature of game ([bʰaʈa kʰɛla] ভাটা খেলা, 'ball throwing game' [ɛkka-dokka kʰɛla] এক্কা দোকা খেলা 'a kind of game played on the floor/land' etc.). The numbers used here are different with phonological variations;

'One'	[ɛkka] অ্যাক্কা [ɛkki] অ্যাক্কি, [ɛɽi] অ্যাড়ি , [ɛka] অ্যাকা	1
'Two'	[dokka] দোক্কা, [duri] দুরি, [doka] দোকা,	2
'Three'	[tekka] তেক্কা, [teka] তেকা, [tiri] তিরি , [tilli] তিল্লি, [telli] তেল্লি, [tina] তিনা	3
'Four'	[cɔuri] চৌরি, [cara] চারা	4
'Five'	[campa] চাম্পা	5

The use of single and double digits are beautifully used by the boys in [marbel kʰela] a game played with marbles. A group of boys participate in this game. The looser will be called by these names sequentially if he cannot reach the target as for example:

[ɛk] অ্যাক	[e] এ	[endur] এন্দুর	'rat'
[dui] দুই	[e] এ	[dati] দাতি	'teeth'

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[13] See Abbi, Anvita. 1997. Reduplicated Structures of South Asian Languages. Bahri Publication.

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[tin] তিন	[e] এ	[tɛli] তেলি	'oilman'
[cair] চাইর	[e] এ	[cor] চোর	'thief'
[pac] পাঁচ	[e] এ	[pɛca] পেচা	'owl'
[cʰɔy] ছয়	[e] এ	[cʰuca] ছুঁচা	'mouse'
[ʃat] সাত	[e] এ	[ʃala] সালা	'brother-in-law'
[aʈ] আট	[e] এ	[aɽi] আড়ি	'spinster'
[nɔy] নয়	[e] এ	[nɔʈi] নটি	'ill-natured/prostitue'
[dɔʃ] দশ	[e] এ	[ɖamɽi] দামড়ি	'Calf (cow)'
[ɛgaro] অ্যাগারো	[e] এ	[ɔdʰibaʃ] অধিবাস	'before marriage'
[baro] বারো	[e] এ	[biyaɔ] বিয়াও	'marriage'
[tɛro] তেরো	[e] এ	[tɛlʃendur] ত্যালসেন্দুর	'ceremony oil is given'
[cɔiddo] চৈদ্দ	[e] এ	[coda] চোদা	'copulate'
[ponoro] পনেরো	[e] এ	[pæʈ] প্যাট	'pregnant'
[ʃolo] ষোলো	[e] এ	[ʃolʃola] সোলসোলা	'loose'

Here is another game [hai iʃpiriŋ kʰɛla] হাই স্প্রিং খেলা 'kind of game', the following rhymes are noticeable:

[haiʃ piɽiŋ lɔʈapaʈa, kali ɟabo kɔlikaʈa] হাইস পিরিং লতা-পাতা, কালি যাবো কলিকাতা
[kɔlikaʈar ɖɛʃʈa guya ɖʰɔre pacʈa] কলিকাতার দ্যাশটা, গুয়া ধরে পাচটা
[ɟʰɛmɔni guya nal, haɟar ʈakar mal] যেমনি গুয়া নাল, হাজার টাকার মাল।

3.4. Numerals in Riddles

Rajbanshi has a rich tradition of folk lore and folk literature transmitted from one generation to the next. Riddles used by children and adults form an important part of this tradition. Riddles are specific to socio-cultural settings. It is shared and enjoyed amidst a social gathering mainly by children and teenagers though the adults also take part in it. The origin of many riddles are obscure, but are thought to be antique and old. The riddles are not simply an instrument for amusement for the children and teenagers but a worthy of serious study from different point of view i.e. sociological, cultural, ethnological and anthropological and comparative. Language used to express riddles is often superfluous, flowery, ornamental, or rhythmic. The meaning of the riddles is hidden, to be found through clues. The numerals and its usages found in the following riddles;

(a) [ʈin ʈɛro aro baro nɔy diya milon kɔro]
তিন তের আরো বারো নয় দিয়া মিলন করো
mor ʃoyamir ɛi nam par kɔri dɛɔ bari jaŋ]
মোর সোয়ামীর এই নাম পার করি দেও বাড়িযাং। উত্তরঃ শাইট
"Three multiply by thirteen plus twelve then add nine, the answer would be mine husband's name, and now you take your boat to cross me over the river". Answer: sixty.

(b) [pɔk pɔk pɔkila cair maʈʰa baro ʈʰɛŋ koʈe dɛkʰila]
পক পক পকিলা চাইর মাথা বারো ঠ্যাং কোট্টে দেখিলা? উত্তরঃ গাই ছ্যাকা

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"Where have you seen four heads and twelve legs?" Answer: Extracting cow milk.

(c) [ɛʈʈi gelun uʈʈi gelun buʈir haʈɛkena buʈik dɛkʰi aʃilun **ɛkekona** ɖaʈ]

এন্তি গেলুং উন্তি গেলুং গেলুং বুড়ির হাট একেনা বুড়িক দেখি আসিলুং একে কোনা দাত। উত্তরঃ কাড়াইল

"I have gone here and there and finally gone to the Buri market, I had seen an old lady who has only 1 tooth." Answer: Bamboo stick with a hook.

(d) [**ɛk** gɔce **ɛk** pʰɔl pɔki ace ʈɔlmɔl]

এক গচে এক ফল পকি আচে টলমল. উত্তরঃ কাটোলসুপুরি

"There is a tree only one fruit is found and birds are moving around to taste it" Answer: Pineapple.

(e) [**ɛk** maʈoyal ʈar **ɖui** cal]

এক মান্ড়োয়াল তার দুই চাল উত্তরঃ ঘর, কলার পাতা

'One rod but has two roofs' Answer: house or banana leaves

(f) [uʈʰite jʰɔkomɔko bɔʃite pahaʈ **lɔkkʰo lɔkkʰo** jib mare na kɔre ahaʈ]

উঠিতে ঝকমক বসিতে পাহাড় লক্ষ লক্ষ জীব মারে না করে আহাড় উত্তরঃ চটকা জাল

"While getting up it tumbles, when it sits looks like a mountain, it catches thousands of creatures but it does not eat". Answer: A kind of net for catching fish.

(g) [ɔɖim pɔki ɔpʰula ʃak kon ɟɔnturuʈar **aʈʰaroʈa** nak]?

অডিম পকি অফুলা শাক কোন যন্ত্রুটার আঠারোটা নাক? উত্তরঃ বাদুর, ঢেকিয়া শাক, চেংটি মাচ

A bird does not lay egg, a vegetable does have flowers but what is animal has eighteen noses? Answer: [baɖur, ɖʰekiya ʃak ar cɛŋʈi mac] i.e. (bat, fern, a kind of fish).

(h) [ʃoyami iʃʈiri **baiʃ** kan bʰaŋgi ɖiben kɔtʰar man]

সোয়ামী স্ত্রী বাইশ কান, ভাঙি দিবেন কথার মান? উত্তরঃ রাবন আর মন্দাদরী

The husband and wife have 22 ears, can you say who are they? Answer: [rabon ar mɔnɖaɖori].

(i) [ʃɔug bʰaiyer **ɛk** nam, **eke** name ɖake, **ɛk kuʈi baro** bʰai ɛke gʰɔre tʰake]

সউগ ভাইয়ের এক নাম, একে নামে ডাকে, এক কুড়ি বারো ভাই একে ঘড়ে থাকে। উত্তরঃ দাঁত

'All the brothers have one name, people call them by one name, they are thirty-two in total, they stay together in one house, who are they'? Answer: [ɖaʈ] i.e. tooth.

3.5. Numerals and Personal Name

Naming a person or to give a name to a person different community may follow different practices. In Rajbanshi community name giving ceremony mixed up with [bʰatcʰaoyani] ভাতছাওয়ানি 'feeding food to the child for the first time through rituals' is held after six or eight months of the child's birth. However, adults of the household may follow different practice, if a child is born on a particular day they keep the name of the child as for example a boy born on Monday will be named as [ɔmaru] সমারু and girl will be named as [ɔmari] সমারি. Personal names are found with numbers as for example [bɔʈʈiriʃ] বত্রিরিস 'thirty two', [cʰɔʈʈiriʃ] চউতিরিস 'thirty four' [ʃait] ষাইট 'sixty'. We also find names [ɛkanʈo] একান্ত , [ɛkaɖɔʃi] একাদশী etc.

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4. Observation and Conclusion

Vandriem (2001) in his survey of the Himalayan languages Rajbanshi is included because of its Tibeto-Burman ancestry. It is also claimed that the Rajbanshis abandoned their original Tibeto-Burman speech and started using an Indo-Aryan language, if the claim is true in the intense language contact situation whether Rajbanshi has retained any numerals from other language family or these numerals are mainly from Indo-Aryans source. Here in the following table 1-21 from different languages of four language families of India (Austro-Asiatic: Kharia, Dravidian: Telegu and Tamil, Tibeto-Burman: Bodo, Indo-Aryan: Hindi, Rajbanshi) provided. [14]

Numeral	Khariya	Telegu	Tamil	Bodo	Hindi	Rajbanshi
1	[moiŋ]	[okaṭi]	[onnu]	[se]	[ek]	[ɛk] অ্যাক
2	[ubar]	[reṇḍu]	[rɛnḍu/irḍnḍu]	[nwi]	[ḍo]	[ḍui] দুই
3	[uʔpʰe]	[muͦḍu]	[mu:nu]	[tʰam]	[ṭin]	[ṭin] তিন
4	[iʔpʰon]	[naͦlgu]	[na:ɭu]	[brwi]	[car]	[cair] চাইর
5	[moloy]	[aydu]	[aɟu/anɟu]	[ba]	[panc]	[pac/pãc] পাচ/পাঁচ
6	[tibru]	[aru]	[a:ru]	[ḍo]	[cʰe]	[cʰɔy] ছয়
7	[tʰam]	[eͦḍu]	[e:ɭu]	[sni]	[saͦt]	[ʃaṭ] সাত
8	[tʰom]	[enimidi]	[eṭṭu]	[ḍain]	[aͦtʰ]	[aṭ] আট
9	[tʰomsiŋ]	[tommidi]	[onpaḍu]	[gu]	[naw]	[nɔy] নয়
10	[gʰol]	[padi]	[paṭṭu]	[zi]	[ḍas]	[ḍɔʃ] দশ
11	[gʰul]	[padakoṇḍu]	[paḍincnu]	[zise]	[gyaraͦh]	[ɛgaro] এগারো
12	[gʰolsiŋ]	[paṇḍeṇḍu]	[pəninḍu]	[zinwi]	[barah]	[baro] বারো
13	[tak]	[padmuͦḍu]	[pəḍimunu]	[zitʰam]	[terah]	[ṭɛro] তের
14	[ṭoya]	[padnaͦlgu]	[pəḍina:ɭu]	[zibrwi]	[cəudah]	[cɔiḍḍo] চৌদ্দ
15	[raba]	[padahaydu]	[pəḍinanɟu]	[ziba]	[pəndrəh]	[ponoro] পোনোরো
16	[rabe]	[padahaͦru]	[pəḍina:ru]	[zido]	[soləh]	[ʃolo] ষোলো
17	[tarsiŋ]	[padiheͦḍu]	[pəḍinɛɭu]	[zisni]	[sətreh]	[ʃoṭoro] সোতোরো
18	[dubuʔŋ]	[paddenimidi]	[pəḍinɛttu]	[zidain]	[atʰrah]	[aṭaro] আঠারো
19	[ḍubki]	[pandommidi]	[pattam bo:ḍu]	[zigu]	[unnis]	[uniʃ] উনিশ
20	[ekṛi]	[iravay]	[iruvaḍu]	[nwizi]	[bis]	[biʃ]~বিশ [kuɽi] কুড়ি

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| 21 | [ekɽimoiŋ] | [iravayokaʈi] | [iruvaʈʈonnu] | [nwiziwi] | [ikkis] | [ɛkɔiʃ] আকুওইশ |

The numerals play a very important role in Rajbanshi society as for example the numbers [pac] পাচ 'five' and [ɖɔʃ] দশ 'ten' have some social significance. In various social and religious ceremonies, calling and invitng five persons is a convention. At the time of marriage, five banana tree is needed, at the time of worshipping Mashan, [pac ɖʰoŋgol ɖɔiciɽa] 'flattend rice and curda at five banana pots ' five [ɟɔba pʰul] 'hibiscus rosa', [pac pʰoʈa ʃɛnɖur] 'five bindi of vermillion'are needed. The [pɔnco] পঞ্চ 'five' which means 'a gathering of five' or [dɔʃ ɟɔn] দশজন 'ten people/' from the society who can take important decision on the social, religious, personal level of the peoples concerned. It is to be noted that highest unit of counting in Kharia is twenty. Ramakrishna Reddy (2006) points out that Kharia has mono-morphemic number words from 1-20, and the formation of compound numerals starts only after 20. For example, 21 is structurally decomposable as 20(ekɽi) +1 (moiŋ). From synchronic point of view, it can be argued that 10 is the basic number for Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and also in Tibeto-Burman (Bodo). Bodo and other Sino-Tibetan languages were in intense contact situations with Rajbanshi and we do not see any numerals borrowed from Bodo which are retained in Rajbanshi as a remnant of its Tibeto-Burman ancestry. [15]

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[15] It is to be noted that the highest unit for counting among the Kols is twenty (Santhali <isi>, Mundari <hisi, isi>, Kurku<isa>:)….. the word <kori, kuri> occurs in Tamil as <kodi>. Although any cognate form has not been found in the Kol speeches, it is still exceddingly likely that <kori, kuri> in its origin is a Kol word and not Dravidian or Aryan.

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