Chapter Two

BACKGROUND STUDIES ON MEITEILON

2.1. Earlier Studies On Meiteilon

According to C.Yashawanta Singh, studies of this language can be divided into three groups: (1) Studies by English scholars, (2) Studies by Manipuri Sanskrit scholars and, (3) studies by the scholars of the 1980s.

The first hand to touch this language was William Pettigrew who brought out the first *Manipuri Grammar* (1927). Others can be mentioned like A.S. Primrose (1888), T.C. Hodson (1908), and George Grierson (1967). All their works were based on the general aspects of the language.


Scholars of the 80s were already exposed to developments of the modern linguistic sciences. Some of them worth mention are as follows: Miss Modhubala Devi (1980) in her thesis *Manipuri Grammar* deals with phrases and clauses, P.C.Thoudam in his thesis *A Gramatical Sketch of Meiteiton* deals with phonology,
morphology and syntax, Chandramani Singh, M.S. Ningomba and I.R.Babu bring out the small grammar for class nine and ten (in Meiteilon) *Meiteilonmit* (1981) and W. Tomchau's *Meiteilon Grammar* (1981) and Chungkham Yashwanta Singh's *Some Aspects of Meitelon*. No one has taken up a detailed research in the field of Phonetics. Even though P.C. Thoudam deals with Phonology as a chapter in his thesis, it is a very subjective description.

2.2. Phonetic Studies On Meiteilon

George A. Grierson (1967) was the first modern linguist who studied Meiteilon from the phonetic point of view. In his Linguistic Survey of India, vol. III, in the Tibeto-Burman family, in the Kuki-Chin group, he states, "K, t, p and ch are, in the old manuscripts, generally written instead of g, d, b, and j, respectively, and the same is also often the case in modern writing. Final vowels of mono syllabic words are probably long; thus; mi, man; ma, he; pa, father. But a long vowel is apparently shortened in most cases where a syllable is added. Thus, ma, he, but ma-khoi, they; yama, elder brother, but ma-yama-da, his elder brother-to; a-ma, one, but a-ma-na, one by. There are, however, many exceptions to this rule, especially in the two first specimens. A short a is apparently often written to denote the indistinct vowel sound between concurring consonants. Thus we find pi-da-re, gave not; woi-d-re, am not etc., where da or d is used in the same way.
The consonants \( b \) and \( p; d \) and \( t; g \) and \( k; r \) and \( l \) seem to be interchangeable in such a way that the soft consonants are used after a vowel, hard ones after a consonant, \( r \) being considered as the soft doublet of \( l \). After \( m, n, \) and \( ng \), we usually, find \( b, d, \) and \( g, \) but \( l \) and not \( r \)” (Grierson, 1967, pp-24-25).

Inder Singh (1975), in his *Manipuri Phonetic Reader* published by the central institute of Indian languages (CIL), in the phonetic reader series-12, describes the languages in simple terms without using terminological complexity.

In this reader, he describes the speech sounds of Meiteilon according to conventions of phonetics. His description of each sound consists of the following details.

(a) The phonetic definition of the sound.

(b) The movements of the speech organs during the production of particular sound.

(c) The distribution of the sound.

(d) Also presents a few details of syllabic structure and tones of Meiteilon.

A.G. Khan (1987) in his Ph.D Thesis submitted to Gauhati University titled *A Contrastive Study of Manipuri (Meiteilon) and English Phonology* gives twenty-four consonantal sounds and classified into seven groups according to their manner of articulation. There are six vowels, classified as front, central and back. There are two tones - falling and level, according to him. He also divides the Meiteilon phonemes as indigenous and borrowed phonemes.

In his *Meiteilongi Grammar Amasung Composition*, in part I and II, W. Tomchau Singh talks briefly about the 24 consonants and 6 vowels briefly. He also talks about Meiteilon tones. According to him there are three tones. They are named as light tone, medium tone and heavy tone. He also talks briefly on the Meiteilon syllables. There are six types of syllables in this language.

M.S. Ningomba (1992) also wrote a Meiteilon grammar titled *Meitei Lonmit*, prescribed as a text book of Manipuri grammar for classes IX and X by the Central Board of Secondary Education, New Delhi, covers some aspects on Meiteilon phonology. In his grammar the 24 consonants are classified into three groups, unlike his predecessors. In the final group there are 15 consonants and in the second group there are 5 sounds b, d, g, s and r. He says these sounds are derived from the 5 sounds in the first group, viz, p, t, k, c and l. His statement is based on the assumption that the place of articulation of both the sounds are similar. There are 6 vowels and only 2 tones, (no names given). *Loanwords in Meiteilon (Manipuri): A Linguistic Study*, is another thesis which covers some aspects on Meiteilon Phonology. This Thesis was submitted by Y. Momon Devi (1994) to Manipur University. There, in this thesis, in her chapter IV, she writes
on Loanwords, their impacts and influences, distribution on this language. In *Some Aspects of Meitei Phonology*, Abbi and Mishra (1994) give a set of twenty distinctive consonantal phonemes in Meiteilon. Out of these, four of the phonemes /bh, dh, jh and gh / are grouped as marginal phonemes. There are six vowel phonemes which are classified as High, Higher mid, Mean mid and Low in a three-way contrast - front, central and back. According to them there are two tones - High and Low (marked as [\/] and [\] respectively).

The salient features of some these studies which have a bearing on our present study are as follows:

**2.3. Tones In Meiteilon**

"The vowels and consonants are defined in terms of their point and manner of articulation. But the same parameters do not define tones. One can say roughly that the 'tone is a psychological impression obtained from the physical frequency of sounds'. Also while comparing different tonal sounds one can understand that one item is different from the other within a functional unit". Further Inder Singh also makes the following observations.

"Manipuri or Meiteilon may be described as a language with a constructive pitch on each syllable, contributing towards the inherent lexical structure just as consonants and vowels do. For example, in Meiteilon (Khɔŋ) means leg and (khɔŋ) means 'canal'. Here the first word carries a falling tone while the second word a rising tone. But for the tonal contrast these words would be homophones. Also, let's consider (khɔm) means 'breast' which carries a level tone. It is the relative
pitch level in these words which is significant for the learner of this language" (Inder Singh, 1975, pp.16-17).

According to Inder Singh, Meiteilon shows a three way tonal contrast i.e. falling, rising and level tones. In the average range of Meiteilon speaker a voice is divided into several levels between the extremities of high and low, these tones can be represented by their approximate starting as well ending pitch levels. It is convenient here to have mid, higher-mid, and lower-mid levels of pitch as the intermediate levels of reference. However, these distinctions according to the author are abstractions, and they are necessary to generalize and schematize the description to a considerable degree and are of a merely illustrative nature.

**Falling Tone**

Falling tone, marked as (\( \downarrow \)) \( \text{\textit{leg}} \) has a falling pitch contour starting almost at the upper 2/3 limit of the higher-mid range and reaching the lower two third of the low range at the end. The loudness falls sharply towards the end of the vowel and the duration is far below average. Some examples are given below.

/ i / `blood'
/ ut / `ash'
/æŋ/ `yes'
/næŋ/ `you' etc.
Rising Tone

Rising tone, marked as (/) in (khɔŋ) ‘canal’ has a rising pitch contour starting at about the middle of the lower-mid range and reaching almost the top limit of the high range at the end. The loudness rises towards the end of the vowel and the duration is slightly below average. Examples are:

/ u / ‘tree’
/ɔk / ‘pig’
/ɔi/ ‘left’
/tə/ ‘spear’
/ya/ ‘tooth’

Level Tone

Level tone left unmarked as in (khom) (however it may be marked /-/ e.g./khom/has almost a level contour of pitch which is positioned in the mid of the pitch range of the speaker’s voice the loudness of the respective vowel sound remains the same throughout and the duration of the syllable with this tone is between an average and slightly above average duration examples are as follows:

/ i / ‘thatch’
/ ut / ‘camel’
/ tələp / ‘salary’ etc.

P.C. Thoudam, in his Ph. D. Thesis recognizes only two tonal contours: (a) falling tone, and (b) level tone. The falling tone is marked as [\] and the level tone unmarked. The falling tone is called tone number one and the level tone, tone number two. Tone number one is a fall from the level tone and it is shorter than
tone number two, ends abruptly. Unlike tone number one, tone number two does not end abruptly. It always remains in the same pitch and lengthen the vowel (P.C. Thoudam, 1980: 6). Some of the examples are as follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Falling Tone</th>
<th>Level Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ i / 'blood'</td>
<td>/ i / 'thatch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ un / 'skin'</td>
<td>/ un / 'snow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khəi/ 'navel'</td>
<td>/khəi/ 'fishing hook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cabəl/ 'eating'</td>
<td>/cabəl/ 'mongering'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to P.C. Thoudam, the two tones in Meiteilon have different length or duration. A vowel in Meiteilon always accompanies a tone, therefore, any length in the vowels, if audible, is not the vowel length but the length of the tone’ (P.C. Thoudam, 4).

Sometimes the length and height of the same tone is different. This is conditioned by the environment hence it is regarded as phonetic and does not provide the grounds for identification as separate toneme. In some instances tones change their colour (P.C. Thoudam, 7).

According to W. Tomchou in his Meileilongi Grammar Amasung Composition, there are three tones. He calls them as light tone, Middle tone and Heavy tones. (W. Tomchou, 1996, 5).

Light tone = Rising, Heavy = Falling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Light</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Heavy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>/tu/ 'body hair'</td>
<td>/tu/ 'indication'</td>
<td>/tu/ 'fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>/məpal / 'flower'</td>
<td>/məpal / 'bank of river'</td>
<td>/məpal/ 'outside'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
But to M.S. Mingomba (1992), in his *Meitei Lonmit* gives only two main tones.

Examples

\[ /\text{cabal} / \] `to eat`

\[ /\text{cabal} / \] `fish mongering on the water surface`

\[ /i/ \] `blood`

\[ /i/ \] `thatch`

As we can see in all these studies number one - there is no agreement on the number of tones in Meiteilon, number two - there is also no agreement amongst these scholars, regarding the nature of tones, some people recognising different levels, others recognising only the contours, none of them even suggesting a combination of the two. There is also no evidence, no systematic investigations into the tones and the nature of vowels (length, intensity etc.) carrying these tones. Similar variance can also be seen, may be to a lesser extent, in the case of segmental phonemes of this language, in different studies on Meiteilon.

### 2.4. Consonants And Vowels In Meitilon

In his Ph.D. thesis, P.C. Thoudam divided the speech sounds of Meiteilon into two sub-systems. The phonemes of the first sub-system are inherited phonemes and those of the second sub-system are borrowed phonemes from Indo-Aryan languages, especially, Bengali-Assamese. There are twenty five (25) segmental and five (5) suprasegmental phonemes in the frist sub-system, while there are eight (8) segmental phonemes in the second sub-system. The phonemes in the first sub-system are divided into seventeen consonants, two semi-vowels and six vowels. The suprasegmental phonemes of the frist sub-system are divided into two
tonal phonemes and three juncture phonemes. The eight segmental Phonemes in the second sub-system are consonants. Vowel length is not a distinctive feature in Meiteilon (P.C. Thoudam, 1980). The following chart illustrates the above Meiteilon phoneme classification.

**Consonants**

The Meiteilon consonants in the first sub-system are of four kinds: stops; a fricative; a liquid and two semi-vowels. Voiceless stops are aspirated and unaspirated, while aspiration is absent in the case of voiced stops. These consonants occur in five positions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram showing the consonant phonemes in the first sub-system (P.C. Thoudam, 1980, Page 4).
The eight consonants in the second sub-system are of only one kind: stops. Four of them are voiced aspirated while the other four are voiced and unaspirated. These phonemes occur in four positions: bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. They occur in four positions as in the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dh</td>
<td></td>
<td>jh</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram showing borrowed consonant phonemes (P.C. Thoudam, 1980, page 9).

Vowels

The six vowels occur at three levels of tongue height - high, mid and low. There is a front- back contrast at high level, and at mid level there is a three-way contrast: front, central and back. There is one central vowel at the low level. The six vowels are: /i, e, a, a, o, u/. Vowel length is conditioned by tone, which accompanies them. Length is not distinctive for the six vowels and no contrast is found between short and long vowels. The front and central vowels are unrounded. The back vowels are rounded. Diametrically the six vowels occur as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rounded</td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
<td>Rounded</td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram showing the positions of the six vowels in Meiteilon (P.C. Thoudam, 1980, Page. 5).
"Vowel length is conditioned by tone, but phonetic vowels length has a complex distribution. Because of this complexity vowel length phoneme creates more problems than it solves, as each major morpheme has a long and short shape which occur in totally unpredictable distribution" (P.C. Thoudam, pg. 59).

Examples: /taba/ 'falling', /ataba/ 'something fallen', /manba/ 'oldness', /amænba/, 'something old', etc. In the above examples the tone is shifted, there by making the length of the vowel different such as /a/ in /ataba/ is shorter than /a/ in /taba/.

The unpredictable distribution (P.C. Thoudam) is because of the fact that P.C. Thoudam ignored the syllabic structure of the two words involved, /taba/ is bisyllabic the first syllable is stressed and also has a longer vowel duration than the second. In case of / taba / /ta/ is the second syllable and, since the stress is on the first syllable / a / and the second syllable /ta/ unstress has a slightly shorter duration than the /ta/ syllable in the bisyllabic structure. Same can be said about /amænba/.

P-C. Thoudam's observation on the relationship between vowel length and tone seems to be rather tentative and subjective.

In his Ph.D thesis, *A Contrastive Study of Manipuri (Meiteilon) and English Phonology*, A.G. Khan, (1987, p.50), observes:

"In present day Manipuri there are thirty segmental phonemes of these, twenty four are consonantal phonemes and six are vowel phonemes. The consonantal phonemes are classified into seven contrastive groups: plosives, affricates, nasals, fricatives, lateral, trill and semi-vowels. Indigenous and
borrowed consonantal phonemes putting together, there are twelve plosives, three
nasals, two fricatives, one lateral, one trill, and two semi-vowels. The six vowels
are classified as front, central and back. In addition to this segmental phonemes,
there are two suprasegmental phonemes mainly, falling and level tone." The
following charts will show his classification of Meiteilon Phonemes.

A.G. Khan gives the complete set of phonemes as following inventory:

Inventory of Phonemes

(a) Consonants
p t c k
b d j g
ph th - kh
bh dh jh gh
m n n̄
s h
r
w y

(b) Vowels
i u
a ə
e ə

(c) Tones
Falling /\ /
Level unmarked

(A.G. Khan, 1987).

A.G. Khan makes no comment on the relationship between vowel length and tone.

In A.G: Khan's thesis the Meiteilon speech sounds are classified into
indigenous and borrowed phonemes. There are thirty (30) phonemes in A.G.
Khan's phonemic chart while twenty-nine phonemes in P.C. Thoudam's. In A.G.
Khan’s chart there is the trill sound */r/* under alveolar category which is not found in P.C. Thoudam’s. The reason, it seems that P.C. Thoudam considers */l/* and */r/* in free variation on the basis of only the native words whereas A.G. Khan takes into account the loan words as well. On the basis of indigenous words and borrowed words together Khan considers */l/* and */r/* in contrast to each other. And, hence, the two are listed separately as distinct phoneme in the chart.

At the phonetic level the difference between the two descriptions are the followings: (a) P.C. Thoudam considers these four stop consonants */t, th, d, dh/* as alveolar but A.G. Khan describes them as dental. (b) The sounds */c, ch, j, jh/*, P.C. Thoudam treats them as palatal stops and A.G. Khan considers three of these sounds */c, j, jh/* as alveo-palatal affricates. There is no */ch/* in his chart. There is an alveolar fricative */s/* sound as a separate phoneme. (c) As mentioned above, P.C. Thoudam includes a voiceless palatal stop */ch/* and no dental or palatal fricative sounds */s/* and */z/* as phonemes whereas A.G. Khan’s study includes an alveolar fricative sound */s/*. The fricative */h/* is listed as a distinct phoneme in all the three studies but P.C. Thoudam’s chart has a label glottal aspirated which Khan does not mention whether aspirated or unaspirated.

For ready references, after comparing those three studies, here I reproduce P.C. Thoudam’s chart as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glotal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unas.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Unas.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Unas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice Nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative Semi-Vowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram showing the consonant phonemes of sub-system I and II by P.C. Thoudam (1980, page 4 and 9).
There are six vowels in all the three studies. P.C. Thoudam and A.G. Khan classify these six vowels into front, central and back whereas M.S. Ningomba does not classify them. In this context mention may be made of Abbi and Mishra’s study on Meiteilon vowel phonemes. They put the six vowels into four tongue height positions-High [i, u], Higher mid [e, o], Mean mid [ə], and Low [a] in a three-way contrast — front, central and back. P.C. Thoudam puts the vowels into three levels—high, mid and low and classifies them into rounded and unrounded.

Here is the vowel chart given by P.C. Thoudam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram showing the vowel phonemes of Meiteilon (P.C. Thoudam 1980, p.5).

In all the four studies, there are two tones in Meiteilon. P.C. Thoudam and A.G. Khan classify the two tones as falling tone and level tone. M.S. Ningomba does not name them. According to Inder Singh (pp. 16-19) and W. Tomchou Singh (p.5) there are three tones in this language. Inder Singh names them as falling tone, rising tone and level tone while W. Tomchou calls them as light tone, heavy tone and medium tone. (see more details in the previous section)

M.S. Ningomba, in his Meitei Lonmit talks about Meiteilon grammar. Here, he talks about Meiteilon phonology, morphology and syntax. He uses English terminology but describes the linguistic elements based on Meiteilon structure.
According to M.S. Ningomba, there are 24 consonants in Meiteilon. He divides these sounds into three categories. The first 15 consonant sounds are categorised as the main consonant phonemes of this language. They are as follow:

- p  t  k
- ph th kh
- m n η
- c s l
- h w y

The consonants of the second group are b, d, g, z and r. He says these sounds are derived from p, t, k, c and l respectively because the place of articulation of these sounds is the same with those of p, t, k, c and l.

And the consonants of the third group belong to the borrowed phonemes. They are bh, dh, gh and sh. (M.S. Ningomba, 1992, pp. 2-6).

There are xix vowels in Meiteilon. They are as follows (M.S. Ningomba, 1992, pp.7-8).

- a
- e
- o

He divides Meiteilon tones into two main types. Because of these two tones, and six vowels in this language, there are 12 phonemes. He doesn't give any names to the two tones. All these sounds are described in a very brief section (in pages 2-10).

Momon Devi, discusses about the phonological aspects of loanwords. She talks about how the loanwords from Sanskrit/Hindi which are non-evident in Meiteilon become naturalized in Meiteilon. In the process of naturalization many of these borrowed sounds and their sequence which did not fit easily into the phonological framework of Meiteilon have, naturally undergone various phonetic and phonemic changes. She explains how these sounds, sometimes have either been dropped, modified or replaced by the nearest equivalents of Meiteilon sound system. These phonetic and phonological adjustments are attested in both vowel and consonantal phonemes and sometimes in the structure of Meiteilon words as a whole, as well, she says. Overall, in this chapter she works on the loanwords only.

2.5. Syllables In Meiteilon

In Meiteilon both open and close syllables are found (Inder Singh, 1975: 16). In one syllable in this language at least one vowel occurs and there are syllables where there are vowels and consonants. There are syllables which begin with vowels and syllables which begin with consonants. There are some syllables which are made by only vowels (W. Tomchau Singh, 1995, p.1).

e.g. /i/ 'blood'

/i/ 'thatch'

/i/ 'to write'

/əi/ 'left'

/əi/ 'to be'

/ai/ 'me'
/ ui / `to doze'
/ ui / `to see'

There are syllables beginning with vowels and followed by consonants. Examples are as follows:
/ æj / `yes'
/ in / `fishing net'
/ æk / `pig'
/ ut / `ash'
/ un / `snow'
/ un / `skin'

There are syllables beginning with consonants. Examples:
/ pi / `give'
/ ta / `spear'
/ tu / `body hair'
/ ka / `room'
/ thau / `oil'
/ mæi / `fire'
/ khɔi / `bee'
/ pat / `lake'
/ mɔn / `pillow'
/ cak / `cooked rice'
/ kap / `distance between thumb and last figure'
/ tin / `insect'
From these examples we can find 6 types of syllables (Singh, W. Tomchau, 1995, p.1). The structures can be explained as follows:

1. Syllables made of only one vowel or two - / i / `blood'
   
   V / ui / `doze'

2. Syllables made of one vowel and one consonant - / ok / `pig'
   
   VC / un / `snow'

3. Syllables made of one consonant and one or two vowels
   
   CV / ta / `spear'

   CCV / thau / `oil'

4. Syllables composed of one consonant followed by one vowel and followed by one consonant-
   
   CVC / phak / `mattress'

   / pat / `lake'

5. Syllables composed of two consonants and one or two vowels-
   
   CCV, CCVV / kwa / `beetlenut'

   / khwai / `people'

6. Syllables consisting two consonants, one vowel and one consonant-
   
   CCVC / kwak / `crow'

   / khwan / `waist'
2.6. References


