CHAPTER-3

3.0 PHONOLOGY:

The TB phonetic system could not be compared with the Indo-Aryan phonetic system. Because there are some specific peculiarities of own. P.K. Benedict observed, "the TB vowel system is made up of five phonemes /a, o, u, i, e/, which appear both in medial and final position".\(^1\)

Comparatively, the vowel system of Boro and Rabha are also made up of six phonemes, i.e. /i, u, v, e, o, a/, which occur in all position of word. Boro and Rabha have also some common similarities in case of consonant phonemes. There are 16 consonants for Boro and 20 phonemes are postulated for Rabha consonant system. Tone occurs fairly in Boro and Rabha as found in more TB languages. So, both the respective languages are called as tonal language. The tone contrast is a striking feature in these languages. The phonemic presence of tone is found in vowel phonemes where tone is a phoneme. In this chapter, emphasis is also given on diphthong and syllabification of the concerned languages. It is worth mentioning here that a comparative work on tone, syllable and diphthong system of Boro and Rabha has been scantily recorded by linguists till date. The following topics are taken into account in this chapter:

A) Affinity in vowel phonemes
B) Affinity in consonant phonemes
C) Affinity in tones
D) Affinity in syllables
E) Affinity in diphthongs

3.1 Phonemic inventories: In terms of vowel phonemes of Boro and Rabha, the phonemic inventory is designed according to the lip-rounding and tongue position. Thus in terms of

\(^1\) Benedict, P.K: Sino-Tibetan A Conspectus, p-57
consonant phonemes, the phonemic inventory of these languages are postulated according to the place of articulation and manner of articulation. The inventories are given below:

**A) Vowel phonemes:**

i) BORO:

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

ii) RABHA:

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

Boro and Rabha have six common vowel phonemes occurring in initial, medial and final position of word.

**B) Consonant phonemes:**

i) BORO:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bi-labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>(p^h)</td>
<td>(b^h)</td>
<td>(\theta^h)</td>
<td>(k^h)</td>
<td>(g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>(m)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(\eta)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>(z)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>(l)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td>(w)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(y)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ii) RABHA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bi-labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p, ph</td>
<td>t, th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>k, k’h</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s, z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1 Phonetic description of vowel phonemes: Consonant phonemes like /p, t, ch, k/ are not occurred in Boro; but these are occurred in Rabha. Basically Rabha has inherited these phonemes from TB root. The articulations of vowel phonemes are found similar in both the languages. These are as follows:

/ɪ/ : high front un-rounded vowel
/u/ : high back rounded vowel
/ʊ/ : high back un-rounded vowel
/e/ : front mid un-rounded vowel
/o/ : back mid rounded vowel
/a/ : low central un-rounded vowel

3.1.2 Phonemic distribution of vowel phonemes: In Boro and Rabha, all vowel phonemes have occurrences in initial, medial and final position of word. Examples are as follows:

A) BORO:

i) Initial position:

/ɪ/ : /isɪŋ/       inner part
/u/ : /un/         back
/ w/ / wi/  a term for addressing
/ e/ / eu/  to fry
/ o/ / or/  fire
/ a/ / an/  l

**ii) Medial position:**

/ i/ / bir/  fly
/ u/ / bun/  speak
/ w/ / zwn/  we
/ e/ / bwn/  to protect
/ o/ / bon/  fire-wood
/ a/ / bar/  wind

**iii) Final position:**

/ i/ / b/  to beg
/ u/ / b/  to beat
/ w/ / bw/  to pull, to draw
/ e/ / b/  it, this
/ o/ / zo/  to be torn
/ a/ / za/  eat

**B) RABHA:**

**i) Initial position:**

/ i/ / iba/  this also
/ u/ / usi/  there
/ w/ / wmba/  husband
/ e/ / ekay/  this
/ o/ / oar/  boundary
ii) Medial position:

/i/: /chin/  
/u/: /chua/  
/w/: /twkam/  
/e/: /ren/  
/o/: /sok/  
/a/: /par/  

iii) Final position:

/i/: /mfi/ curry, vegetable  
/u/: /stu/ thorn  
/w/: /bw/ to draw  
/e/: /the/ fruit  
/o/: /so/ mosquito  
/a/: /ha/ land, soil  

3.1.3 Phonetic description of consonant phonemes:
A) BORO:

/p^h/ voiceless bi-labial aspirated plosive  
/b/ voiced bi-labial unaspirated plosive  
/t^h/ voiceless alveolar aspirated plosive  
/d/ voiced alveolar unaspirated plosive  
/k^h/ voiceless velar aspirated plosive  
/g/ voiced velar unaspirated plosive  
/m/ voiced bi-labial nasal  
/n/ voiced alveolar nasal  
/eta/ voiced velar nasal
/s/ voiceless alveolar unaspirated fricative
/z/ voiced alveolar unaspirated fricative
/h/ voiceless glottal fricative
/r/ voiced alveolar trill
/l/ voiced alveolar lateral
/w/ voiced bi-labial semi-vowel
/y/ voiced palat al semi-vowel

B. RABHA:
/p/ voiceless bi-labial unaspirated plosive
/b/ voiced bi-labial unaspirated plosive
/pʰ/ voiceless bi-labial aspirated plosive
/t/ voiceless alveolar unaspirated plosive
/d/ voiced alveolar unaspirated plosive
/tʰ/ voiceless alveolar aspirated plosive
/ch/ voiceless palatal unaspirated plosive
/k/ voiceless velar unaspirated plosive
/g/ voiced velar unaspirated plosive
/kʰ/ voiceless velar aspirated plosive
/m/ voiced bi-labial nasal
/n/ voiced alveolar nasal
/ŋ/ voiced velar nasal
/s/ voiceless alveolar unaspirated fricative
/z/ voiced alveolar unaspirated fricative
/h/ voiceless velar fricative
/r/ voiced alveolar trill
/1/ voiced alveolar lateral
/w/ voiced bi-labial semi-vowel
/y/ voiced palatal semi-vowel

3.1.4 Phonemic distribution of consonant phonemes:

A) BORO:

i) Initial position:
/pʰ/: /pʰč'/ to uproot
/b/: /bú/ to beat
/tʰ/: /tʰkŋ/ go
/d/: /daŋ/ to touch
/kʰ/: /kʰon/ to collect
/g/: /go'n/ stick
/m/: /má/ what
/n/: /ná/ fish
/ŋ/: It has no occurrence in initial position of word.
/s/: /su/ to measure
/z/: /zú/ to pack, to bundle
/h/: /hu/ to rub off
/r/: /ru/ to boil
/l/: /lu/ to pour
/w/: It has no occurrence in initial position of word.
/y/: It has no occurrence in initial position of word.

The analysis shows that all of the consonant phonemes except /ŋ, w, y/ have initial occurrence in Boro.

ii) Medial position:
/pʰ/: /lapha/ a kind of leafy vegetable
/b/: /ebré/ to hide
/tʰ/: /intʰŋ/ a ring worn by women in the ear or nose
/d/: /indi/ a castor oil plant
/kʰ/: /akʰu/ conduct
/g/: /agú/ before or previous
/m/: /amaw/ pale
/n/: /anáw/ a term for addressing as 'my sister'
/ŋ/: /añkʰal/ scarcity
/s/: /gusú/ cold
/z/: /guzu/ to cough
/h/: /gwhw/ strength
/r/: /saráí/ an iron pan
/l/: /saláí/ tongue
/w/: /dawé/ a kind of tree
/y/: /ayda/ chapter

In the above examples, most of the consonant phonemes are occurred intervocally.

iii) Final position:

/pʰ/: It has no final occurrence in basic Boro vocabulary; but occurred in loan words e.g. /boropʰ/--ice, snow
/b/: /gab/ colour
/tʰ/: It has no final occurrence in basic Boro vocabulary; but used in loan words e.g. /gath/--bundle
/d/: /srwddf/ secretly
/kʰ/: It has no final occurrence in basic Boro vocabulary.
/g/: It has no final occurrence in basic Boro vocabulary.
/m/: /bam/ to take in arms
/\ n /: /dán/ to cut
/\ η /: /anə/ I
/\ s /: It has no final occurrence in basic Boro vocabulary; but occurred in loan words e.g. /mas/—month
/\ z /: It has rare occurrence in final position of words; e.g. /aroz/—prayer
/\ h /: It has no final occurrence in basic Boro vocabulary.
/\ r /: /bir/ to fly
/\ l /: It has no final occurrence in Boro basic vocabulary; but used in loan words; e.g.
/\ sial/—fox
/\ w /: /zaw/ to winnow
/\ y /: /bay/ to buy

B) RABHA:

i) Initial position:
/\ p /: /par/ flower.
/\ b /: /bár/ fire.
/\ pʰ /: /par/ night
/\ t /: /tʰ/ bird
/\ d /: /dam/ mat
/\ tʰ /: /tʰon/ roll
/\ ch /: /chak/ leaf
/\ k /: /kay/ man
/\ g /: /gap/ colour
/\ kʰ /: /kʰok/ a kind of bamboo basket
/\ m /: /mən/ name
/\ n /: /ná/ fish
/ η / It has no occurrence in word-initial position of basic Rabha vocabulary.

/ s /: / so'/ mosquito

/ z /: / zeη / breadth

/ h /: / ha / land, soil

/ r /: / ram / path, way

/ l /: / lwybak / frog

/ w /: It has no occurrence in word-initial position of basic Rabha vocabulary.

/ y /: It has no occurrence in word-initial position of basic Rabha vocabulary.

In Boro and Rabha, the nasal / η / and semi-vowels / w, y / have no occurrence in word-initial position.

ii) Medial position: All of the consonant phonemes have occurrence in word-medial position in Rabha. Example:

/ p /: / charpak / soul

/ pʰ /: / apʰe / star

/ b /: / gabur / young boy

/ t /: / hituk / advice

/ d /: / lada / clod, lump of earth

/ tʰ /: / réthe / banana

/ ch /: / pichi / egg

/ k /: / bákeη / axe

/ kʰ /: / dokʰom / a low stool for sitting

/ g /: / hangar / charcoal

/ m /: / gimi / elder sister’s husband

/ n /: / bantʰo / brinjal

/ η /: / langre / Moon
/ s /: / sasa / hare
/ z /: / zuzú / grandfather
/ h /: / nuha / lowland
/ r /: / baray / clan
/ l /: / dalay / branch of tree
/ w /: / lewa / creeper
/ y /: / saya / shade

iii) Final position:

/ p /: / tap / hurriedly
/ b /: / gab/ colour
/ pʰ/: It has no occurrence in word-final position in Rabha basic vocabulary; but is used in loan words.
/ t /: It is rarely occurred in word final position, e.g./ tat /— across
/ bat /— guilt
/ d /: It does not occur in word-final position in Rabha basic vocabulary; but occurrence is rarely found in loan words.
/ ch /: It has no occurrence in word-final position in Rabha basic vocabulary.
/ k /: / nok / house.
/ kʰ /& / g /: It does not occur in word-final position in basic Rabha vocabulary; but occurrence is rarely found in loan words.
/ m /: / sam / grass
/ n /: / kén / seed
/ ꝙ /: / pʰaṅ / plant, tree
/ soṅ / village
/ s /: It is rarely occurred in word-final position in Rabha;
The analysis fairly shows that some of the consonant phonemes in Rabha do not occur in word-final position. Of these, the bi-labial aspirated plosive / pʰ /, alveolar unaspirated plosive / d /, alveolar aspirated plosive / tʰ /, palatal unaspirated plosive / ch /, velar unaspirated plosive / g /, velar aspirated plosive / kʰ /, alveolar unaspirated fricative / z /, glottal fricative / h /, alveolar lateral / l /, and bi-labial semi-vowel / w / are mentionable in this regard. But occurrence is rarely found in loan words.

3.2 Tones in Boro and Rabha:

Tone occurs in Boro and Rabha language. The Boro and Rabha tone system is an inherited TB feature. Tone occurs in most of the TB languages. In these languages, pith is typically associated with a syllable and each syllable is characterized phonologically by a distinct tone. Generally, meaning distinction between words is made by tones in tonal languages. Boro and Rabha have all these characteristics. That is why, they are called tonal language. Two tonal systems are occurred in Boro and Rabha. These are: A) High tone B) Unmarked low level.

High tone is marked with an accent mark over the vowel phoneme while unmarked low level tone is indicated without the accent mark over the vowel phoneme. Another important point
is that there are usually only one tone marking is allowed either in mono-syllabic or poly-syllabic word. A comparative list regarding tone is given below:

A) BORO:

/bay/ to be broken up
/bay/ to buy
/bár/ to jump across
/bar/ wind
/dán/ to cut
/dan/ month
/dáu/ bird
/daw/ to travel
/éu/ to fry
/eu/ to plough
/ér/ to stir
/ér/ to increase
/pʰán/ to roll
/pʰan/ to sell
/zó̂/ sit
/zó/ to tear into pieces
/mýśa/ tiger
/mýsa/ to dance
/ón/ to love
/on/ rice-powder
/rán/ to dry
/ran/ to distribute, to divide
/ gáb / to cry, to weep
/gab / colour

B) RABHA:

/bí-a/ break
/bi-a/ marriage
/chú-a/ wrap
/chu-a/ be tall, be high
/pʰun-a/ stitch
/pʰun-a/ be full
/kán-a/ have in abundance
/kan-a/ put on dress
/kʰó-a/ to draw water from a well
/kʰo-a/ weave
/rím-a/ to catch
/rim-a/ to cook
/ráy/ banana leaf
/ray/ judgement
/ró/ length
/ro/ endless
/sá-a/ eat
/sa-a/ ach, pain

3.3 Syllables in Boro and Rabha:

As defined by David Crystal, “syllable is a unit of pronunciation typically larger than a single sound and smaller than a word.” In case of Boro and Rabha, a syllable is to be defined as a

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^ Crystal, David: A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, p-342
segment of speech or sequence of phonemes which contains one or more than one syllable nucleus. Each of the syllables contains a nucleus which is more sonorous than non-syllabic phoneme. Usually every syllable has a nucleus bearing pitch or pitch level i.e. tone. Sometimes a nucleus constitutes a syllable and that is regarded as meaningful word in both the languages. For example, / i / (meaning- he, she, it, this) is a meaningful unit i.e. a syllable nucleus which constitutes a word. Of course, this type of structure is not available in both the languages.

Structure of open-syllable and closed-syllable is available in these languages. In this analysis, ‘v’ stands for vowel, and ‘c’ stands for consonant. Both Boro and Rabha have mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic words. In a syllable, an onset is the opening segment while coda is the closing segment. A few examples of similar syllabic structure of both the languages are given below:

3.3.1 **Open syllable:** In this pattern, nucleus is the closing segment. So, it is often called as open syllable.

**A) BORO:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>VV</th>
<th>VV</th>
<th>VV</th>
<th>VV</th>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ i /</td>
<td>/ ai /</td>
<td>/ eú /</td>
<td>/ eu /</td>
<td>/ wi /</td>
<td>/ dá /</td>
<td>/ hw /</td>
<td>/ be /</td>
<td>/ bá /</td>
<td>/ bu /</td>
<td>/ ru /</td>
<td>/ mú /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it, this, he, she (‘i’ correspond to ‘bi’)</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>to fry</td>
<td>to plough</td>
<td>a term of addressing someone</td>
<td>now, at present</td>
<td>to give</td>
<td>this, it</td>
<td>to beat</td>
<td>to swell</td>
<td>to boil</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cv / gi / to fear
cvv / dw‘i / to lay egg
cvv / dwi / water
cvv / dw‘u / to feed
cvv / mai / paddy
cvv / zwu / rice-beer
cvv / mw‘i / deer
cvv / bwu / to cut
ccvv / brwi / four
ccvv / srai / orderly, fairly

B) RABHA:

v / i / it, this, he, she
vv / oi / a term for addressing
cv / kí / dog
cv / re / cane or reed
cv / ró / length
cv / su / thorn
cv / ihéc / fruit
cvv / kui / areca-nut
cvv / chai / song
cvv / bai / god
ccvv / gráw / abundant
ccvv / graw / intensely
ccvv / pbráw / appearing brightly and in large quantity

3.3.2 Closed syllable: In this pattern, a syllable always ends in a syllabic consonant. So, it is often called as closed syllable. A few examples are given below:
## A) BORO:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VC</th>
<th>/un/</th>
<th>to make sharp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>/un/</td>
<td>back, back side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>/an/</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>/em/</td>
<td>bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>/or/</td>
<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>/or/</td>
<td>to become wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/bar/</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/goη/</td>
<td>horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/lir/</td>
<td>to write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/san/</td>
<td>the Sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/dyη/</td>
<td>to keep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/ar/</td>
<td>sure, natural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/sw'b/</td>
<td>to smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/lam/</td>
<td>to open, to dry in sunshine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/sên/</td>
<td>a kind of fishing trap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## B) RABHA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VC</th>
<th>/an/</th>
<th>I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>/on/</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>/ol/</td>
<td>a kind of arum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/bak/</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/bw'η/</td>
<td>strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/k'ok/</td>
<td>bamboo basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/soη/</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/guk/</td>
<td>grasshopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/son/</td>
<td>wolf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4 Diphthongs in Boro and Rabha: This is a term that was used in the phonetic classification of vowel sounds on the basis of their manner of articulation.³ Basically it is a gliding sound and articulated with a single impulse of breath. Diphthong is a combination of two syllabic phonemes or sounds. It consists of a single syllable. Boro and Rabha have the following type of diphthongs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ui/</td>
<td>/ui/</td>
<td>white ant</td>
<td>/sui/</td>
<td>take aim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ dúi/</td>
<td>to be small</td>
<td>/ kui/</td>
<td>areca-nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>blood</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/swu/</td>
<td>to bite</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oi/</td>
<td>/goi/</td>
<td>areca-nut</td>
<td>/koi-a/</td>
<td>be bent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iu/</td>
<td>/ziu/</td>
<td>life</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>/dau/</td>
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<td>/hau-sa/</td>
<td>desire, wish</td>
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<td>collective</td>
<td>/chau/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and mutual</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>/ eú/</td>
<td>to fry</td>
<td>/deu-ri/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ seu/</td>
<td>to decay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>/mai/</td>
<td>paddy</td>
<td>/zai-a/</td>
<td>change place</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>/lai/</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>/zai-na/</td>
<td>shadow</td>
</tr>
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</table>

It is worth mentioning here that diphthong is a meaningful unit i.e. syllable nucleus which contains a syllable. Thus in Boro /eú/ (to fry) is a syllable; but it contains two syllable nucleuses. In Rabha /oi/ (a term for addressing someone) is also a diphthong which contains two syllable nucleuses. These two words are mono-syllabic in nature.

³ Crystal, David: A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, p-113