A LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF CHAKMA LANGUAGE

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INTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted that the history of the evolution of a language is intimately associated with the story of its speakers. This is particularly true of Languages spken by closely knit ethnic groups residing in remote areas of the world. Since these languages often do not get much official patronage as a medium of education or conducting official business the exposure of such groups to more dominating Socio-linguistic environments creates many problems. In some cases the communicative needs enforce massive amounts adoptations and assimilations which change the very character of the language. In some other cases the native speakers after a few generations forget their own tongue and adopt a pidgin as a medium of communication for survivial. These changes become rampant when forced migrations or traumatic changes happen in their lives. Either these factors influence the language and make the task of classification and codefication difficult.

The case of Chakma language is a classical one where migration from eastern India to Arakans and subsequent movements to Chittagong Hill Tracts has brought in so many changes that today it is difficult to trace its origins. Linguists since the middle of the last century have given a variety of theories regarding its origin and almost all of them have been questioned in one form or the other. Their demographic distribution distribution in three countries namely Bangladesh, Mynamar and India and within India in four north-eastern States namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Mizoram and Tripura has created a situation where Chakmas in one administrative unit have little contact with each other. Naturally this has affected the adoption of an uniform

Orthographic system and recognition and codefication of the
standard form of the language. Issues of survival naturally
take precedence over codefication of the language, but this
makes the task more difficult.

THEORIES REGARDING ITS ORIGIN

Grierson (1904) classified the language as a sub
dialect of Bengali and Chatterjee reiterated this view in
1967. Both of them were quite obviously guided by the
presence of a large number of words from the Bengali spoken
in and around the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Similarities in
the phonological structure and the syntactic structure were
perhaps other factors which guided them to their conclusion.
Native speakers like Chakma (1992) and Talukdar (1994) have
pointed out features like the presense of a number of
Arakanese words, the script which resembles the ancient
Pali script and the differences in the morphemic features
to question this view. It is a fact that lexical items from
Tibeto-Burman and Sino-Tibetan language are present and
there are remarkable differences between the morphemic and
syntactic structures of Bengali and Chakma. Indeed it is
difficult to accept or reject any of the theories in toto.
A look into the history of the people explains many of the
problems associated with the language.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

There are no recorded histories of the Chakmas
and most of the reconstruction of the history is done on
the basis of examination of oral traditions and folk-lores
Most scholars believe that the Chakmas are connected with
the Sakya dynasty (the dynasty of Buddha) and that they
originally belong to Kapil Nagar an ancient Kingdom in the
northern Bihar or south-eastern Nepal. It was perhaps the
missionary zeal to spread Buddhism that encouraged Dhaja
Raja, a Sakya prince, to migrate to the Arakans with some
followers in the 5th century before Christ and establish a
kingdom there (Gogoi 1976 r 104). Talukdar believes that
the kingdom was set up at Champak Nagar in northern Burma
and its inhabitants came to be known as Chakmas (1994:9)
Pemberton (1994) believes that the Chakmas are a mixture of
the Shakyas of Kapilavastu and the Thek tribe of Burma.
There are some scholars who believe that the Chakmas are
mixture of Theks and the descendents of Shah Shuja and
Mughal Prince of the seventeenth century (Rizvi 1976:65
and Karim 1965).

One may never be able to reconstruct the past
precisely. However, what is certain is that the Chakmas
have a long history of migration to escape persecution
and subsequent assimilation with the local environment to
create a new identity for themselves. The Sakya line
perhaps explains their Buddhist faith, their Pali script
and their Thek influence their mongoloid looks and the
Arakanese lexicon.

The migrations from Burma began again the 10th
century AD as unsettled conditions prevailed in Arakans.
In fits and starts they began moving out to Chittagong Hill
Tracts and established themselves in Chittagong. This slow
but steady process of migration continued for about six
centuries. Harvey believes continous persecution and bar-
barism was one of the major factors leading to migrations
(1967:137-216).

1769 marks a water-shed in the history of the
Chakmas. In this year Chittagong Hill Tracts was annexed
into the British Empire and the seat of Chakma power
shifted from Chittagong to Rangamati. It also exposed the
Chakmas to formal education and their exposure to the
Bengali language also began from this period. As the medium
of instruction was Bengali the Chakmas were forced to
learn Bengali. This was to have profound impact on the
Chakma language.

On one hand long years of survival in Arakans
had naturally influenced their language and many semantic
and lexical items had automatically crept in. However,
from the late eighteenth century they found that Bengali
was a language of opportunities for them. For a small
ethnic community which had constantly moved around in search
of security and stability the contact with Bengali was a
God sent opportunity. The comparitively safe environment
and the opportunities available through a knowledge of
Bengali saw large-scale adoptation of the language and the
assimilation of Bengali words in the Chakma language. The
massive adoptation perhaps explains the close proximity
between the two and the background to view that Chakma is
a dialect of Bengali.

PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

The phonetic features of the language and very similar to that of Hindi and Bengali. All the consonants in Hindi are present in Chakma language. A list of the consonants has been added in the Appendix. It is interesting to note Bengali does not distinguish |b| and |ʊ| and both are articulated as |b|, however, Chakma like Hindi does distinguish between the two and these two sounds and these form minimal pairs for constrasts in meanings. Peculiarly, enough typical sounds like the breathed |mʰ|, |ʃʰ| or sounds like |tl| so common in the Sino-Tibetan languages like Lushai, Kuki or Burmese are absent in Chakma language. In fact when one studies the consonant chart of Chakma one cannot but be surprised by the similarities with the Indo-Aryan languages.

The native speakers of the language often do not distinguish between |ʃ| and |s| though they are separate phonemes. There is also a lot of interchangibility between |tʃ| and |s|. So much so that |s| is often pronounced as |tʃ|. There is also a natural tendency to transform alveolar plosive |t| to a more soft dental fricative |θ|, though both these phonemes do not form minimal pairs and there are separate orthographic symbols to distinguish the two. These are perhaps examples of the influence of Assamese and Bengali exerting their influence on the spoken form of Chakma.

The vowel inherent in the Chakma consonant is |aː| and not |ʌ| as happens in Bengali, Hindi or Assamese. This indeed is something unique to the Chakma system of consonants. The orthographic symbol for the consonants includes the vowel |a| and a special mark has to be put over the consonant symbol to show that it is bereft of the vowel. For example, if x is the symbol for the consonant |K| it would be read as |Kaː| and x or the consonant with marker on top would be read as |K|.

The Vowel system of the language is similar to that of Bengali and Hindi. As far as Cardinal vowels are concerned there are no differences. A list of the vowels and diphthongs is given in Appendix II. The orthographic system like that of Hindi and Bengali uses special markers to indicate vowels occuring a ter the consonants. The use

of diphthongs is rather limited in Chakma, though diphthongs
like $|ɑʊ|$, $|ɑ˙|$, $|ei|$ and $|oʊ|$ do exist and each of these
has a single orthographic symbol like in the Indo-Aryan
languages. Vowel clusters which are so common in the lang-
uages of north-eastern India are quite limited in use. One
could perhaps conclude that most of the words where vowel
clusters occur have come about as a result of close contact
with Arakanese or Burmese.

The language generally does not use consonant
clusters and normally the syllable structure is CVCV. Most
of the consonant clusters are found in borrowed words. For
example the very word Chakma has a consonant cluster $|Km|$.
It must however be noted that the original word was
$|tʃaŋma|$ which had two syllables $|tʃaŋ|$ and $|ma|$ and the
word $|tʃama|$ is an Anglisized version of the same word.

Examples of vowels occuring in the initial
position of the word are comparitively few. Most of the
words begining with vowels, commence with $|ɑ˙|$ like $|ɑ˙tjɑ˙|$
(maternal grandfather) or $|ɑ˙lɑ k|$ (high). Use of other
vowels in the initial position of words is mostly limited
to borrowed or assimilated words like English. Similarly
consonants at the initial position of a word must nece-
ssarily have a vowel symbol or marker attached to them.
At the initial position of the word consonants like $|þ|$
or $|g|$ are not possible. They must necessarily be either
$|þə|$, $|þo|$ or something like that. To make the consonant
without any vowel suffix the symbol '-' is used over the
symbol denoting the consonant. However, this is possible
only at the final position of the word and not medially
or at the initial position of the word.

Nazalization of consonants and vowels occur
often at the medial and final position of the word.
Nazalization when used after a verb changes its aspect.
For example the suffix $|oŋ|$ with the root form of the verb
denotes past perfect tense. For example the root verb
$|dʒˑm|$ (to go) when suffixed with $|iŋ|$ denotes 'had gone'
and it is a similar case with all verbs. However, nazali-
zation does not occur at the initial position of a word.
Though nasal phonemes and used in the initial position of
a word like $|mʊk|$ (wife) or $|nɑˑd n|$ (grandson). The use of
the phoneme $|ŋ|$ at the initial position is not possible,
though it occurs at other possible. There are, however,
no restrictions regarding the environments of other

phonemes, though some mutually exclusive phonemes like
|b| and |ʋ|, |tʃ| and |ʃ| are there.

Unlike most of the languages in the tribal belts
of north-eastern India and Mynamar, Chakma is not a tonal
language. That is to say the change of tone does not change
the meanings of words. Besides intonation patterns like
those of English where some words and syllables are stressed
more than the others is not observable in Chakma. All the
syllables in a word and all the words in a sentence get
equal stress like most of the Indo-Aryan languages. However,
intonational differences indicating changes of mood are very
much a part and parcel of the language.

MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES

It has repeated emphasized earlier that the
language came in close contact with a number of different
languages and words from those have either been adopted or
assimilated. However one notices some peculiar features in
the Chakma morphemic system.

Firstly, the system of nouns has some remarkable
features which distinguish it from other languages in the
region and most languages from the Indo-Aryan family. Most
Indian languages do not have a system of distinguishing
singular nouns from plural ones. The difference is mostly
deduced from the context of use. In Chakma the suffixation
of the bound morpheme 'um' or 'ani' makes the noun plural.
Thus 'duar' (door) with addition of the morpheme 'ani'
becomes 'duarani' (door) and 'peek' (bird) with the addition
of 'um' becomes 'peekum' or birds. The two bound morphemes
are not substitutable and are added in some specific phono-
logical environments. There is a distinction between
singulars and plurals even in the pronouns. All personal
pronouns like 'I' 'we', 'you', 'He' 'They' have Chakma
equivalents. However, in the neuter gender there is no
distinction between singulars and plurals as far as pronouns
are concerned.

There is, however, no change in the pronoun with
the change of gender. Thus 'te' denotes both 'he' and 'she'
In the case of nouns there is no system of changing a noun

from masculine to feminine by suffixation or affixation of
some morphemes. Normally separate words exist for separate
genders. In case of animals to denote gender the word
meaning male or female is sometimes affixed. For example,
'mala garu' (male cow) where 'mala' specifies the gender.
The neuter gender is specified through the use of the pro-
noun |ijɑ:n| (it).

     In English the different cases of the noun are
specified through the use of prepositions like 'By John'
'with John' etc. In Chakma the noun takes different forms
in various cases. The noun takes some bound morphemes as
suffix to indicate various cases. For example, suffixing
'ar' with the noun indicates belonging to. If 'Ram' is the
noun 'Ramar' will indicate 'of Ram'. The suffixation of
'tum' would mean from the subject. Thus jhiya (daughter)
suffixed with 'tum' would be 'jhiyatum' or from daughters
'Kay' suffixation indicates 'to' and the like. The suffixes
do not change with the change in the number of the noun
thus 'duarkay' and 'duaranikay' both indicate to door and
to doors respectively.

     The system of operation of nouns brings out the
close similarity between Chakma, Pali and Sanskrit.
Sanskrit distinguishes nouns on the basis of number and has
a regular form for noun case endings. Sino-Tibetan lang-
uages and other languages in the region do not have such an
elaborate and precise system of noun case endings. These
systems inherent within the language perhaps indicate the
fact that the language though operating in this region has
an origin from the Indo-Aryan or Indo-European family of
languages.

     In the case of adjectives there is some distin-
ction between the positive, comparitive and superlative
forms. However, the manner of changing a positive into
comparitive and superlative is not very regular. Perhaps
the communicational needs of the language do not require a
regular system for changing adjectives from one degree into
another. The affixation of 'bhari' to an adjectives
generally denotes comparitive degree and affixation of
'beg' or 'bej' denotes a supelative degree. However, in
some instances different words have also been used to denote
the difference in degree. For example, the word 'algi'

(lazy) in the superlative form is not 'begaligi' but
'begkunatun', though this holds good in a word like
'sweet' and 'sweetest' 'meeda' and 'bejmeeda' or 'dool'
(pretty) 'bejdool' (prettiest). The adjectives do not
change with the change of the number and gender of the
noun qualified and always occur before the noun.

The system of changing a noun into an adjective
or vice-versa does not seem to exist in the language.When
adjectives are to be used as a noun normally a new morpheme
is used. However, adjectives in some cases are used as
verbs by using the suffix 'gara'. For example, the adjec-
tive 'naran' (soft) changes to 'narangara' (soften) or
'pagal' (mad) becomes 'pagalgara' (madden). This rule,
however, does not work in the case of all adjectives. Some
of these functions can be attributed to the fact that since
the communicational needs are limited the system of changes
from one category of morphemes into another has not esta-
blished itself formally. In the course of time when the
pressure of communication increases perhaps the system will
also evolve systematic grammatical coventions.

There are a number of prepositions in the lang-
uages though there is no system of articles. However, the
exact use of prepositions is not like that of English,
where it is used to define the object. The prepositions
are sometimes used as verbs also. For example in a sen-
tence like 'He is between us', the preposition 'sere'
(between) is used as verb 'Te ama sere' (He us between). It
is, however, difficult to compare the system of prepositions
of Chakma and English. In English prepositions help to
decide the case endings of nouns like 'of father' and 'to
my daughter', and they occur as independent free morphemes.
In Chakma the role of prepositions in deciding the noun
case-endings is limited as the nouns take different forms
in various cases. The role of prepositions is thus quite
limited to that of communicating positions, relations and
the like e.g. 'ugure' denoting on or up, 'tale' below and
'kai' near.

Adverbs are mostly compound words in Chakma
'jadhi-jadhi' (quickly) or 'lare-lare' (slowly). Most of
them are made into adverbs by repeating the verbs to
qualify their action or emphasising on the nature of the

action. Sometimes two verbs are also joined together to
form an adverb. For example 'jadepade' (definately) is a
combination of two verbs to emphasize the nature of action.
However, the system of conversion of a morpheme from a
verb or noun or adjective is quite rudimentary and perhaps
no definite conventions exist. It is the nature of commu-
nication which decides the type of morpheme to be used in
a particular sentence or situation. Codefication of the
rules regarding this aspect of language use is difficult
to describe on the basis of available data.

SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE

        It has been mentioned earlier that no formal
grammar of the language exists except perhaps some rudimen-
tary descriptions by Phayre (1841:712) and Talukdar (1994)
and some broad hints in Grierson (1904). Most of data
used and analysed has been taken from native speakers of
the language, who were reasonably educated and fluent in
their language. The syntactic structure of the language
is essentially Subject + Object + Verb at the sentence
level. Which seems to be very similar to most Indian
languages. However, there are some instances of Sino -
Tibetan languages where Object + Subject + Verb structure
is used in the first person. In Chakma language the Order
of a sentence is always S-O-V. The subject normally con-
sists of a NP or a pronoun. Instances of complex sentences
in the available folk-lores as recorded by Grierson (1904)
are very rare. Most sentences appear to be simple senten-
ces with a single subject and object and no relative
clauses and such other devices to make the structure com-
plex. Some instances of compound sentences are found
where two simple sentences have been joined together with
the help of a conjection. It appears that the use of simple
sentences is a stylistic feature of the language and perhaps
comes about as a result of the socio-cultural needs of
communication being comparitively simple and limited.

        In imperitive sentences sometimes the subject
is omitted and the sentence consists of merely the Object
and the Verb. For example, in a sentence like duar khul
(door open) the subject is omitted. Such instances of
omission of subject is observed even in some statements

relating to first person for example in a sentence like
we have two sons the Chakma equivalent would be 'amatun
divapua'. It is, however, difficult to say whether these
are instances of collocation, or accepted grammatical
for us.

Considering the fact that the Chakma language
has no codefied grammar and its use in modern times is
mostly oral, the language appears to have an elaborate,
precise and well developed system of verb. In fact the
form of the verb can tell us all about the time and status
of action. One need not look into the context of use and
the Object to deduce the time and status of action. Besides
the three tenses (which is present in all languages) there
are quite a few aspects which the vern takes in each tense.
Most developing languages have the infinitive, continous
aspects in the present and a past and future tense with no
aspects. Chakma surprisingly has four aspects in the
present, two in the past and one in the future. The change
in the form of the verb to indicate its various tenses and
aspects are very regular and formal and a definite pattern
emerges about the forms taken by the verb in its various
aspects. For example, |ŋr| at the final position of the
verb indicates 'ing' form of the verb in the first person
singular.

What makes the system more complex and perhaps
precise is the fact that the verb has a separate form for
singulars and plurals and even changes its form with the
change of the person. In all cases the verb is guided by
the Subject and not the Object. For example, in a sen-
tence I go home the Chakma equivalent would be 'Mui gharat
jim' ' I to home go' and for 'we go home' it would be 'Ami
gharat jir'. Obviously the verb has changed its form and
if the pronoun were to be substituted by 'You', 'He' and
'They' the verb would take the following forms 'jeu' 'jai'
and 'jan' respectively. The coordination of the verb is
with the subject. However, the gender of the Subject does
not change the form of the verb as happens in the case of
Hindi.

In the perfect-continuous aspect of the present
tense 'gari' as an auxilliary verb occurs before the main
verb and the main verb takes 'e' as an affix. Otherwise

the main verb takes the form of the continuous aspect of
the present tense. It must be noted, however, that this
use is rather limited. The suffixation of $|\Flat|$ indicates
past tense and for future sometimes the auxilliary 'thebo'
is added before the main verb. Use of the verb twice is
sometimes resorted to show emphasis on action, however,
sometimes the adverb takes a similar position.

Negative sentences are formed by affixing 'na'
to the main verb and to indicate future tense 'thebo' is
affixed to the main verb. However, as mentioned earlier
for present and past tense no such affixation is necessary,
However, the presense of a noun or pronoun as subject in-
dicating the number is essential in a sentence. The number
is not deduced from context, though in some cases where
verb forms are similar the time or tense is deduced from
the subject. Interrogative sentences are formed by rever-
sing the sentence with the morpheme 'ei', 'it', 'ta' and
'iba' indicating 'how', 'what', 'where' and 'whose' respec-
tively. There does not appear to be any difference between
'yes/no' and 'wh' questions as far as the construction of
the sentences afe concerned.

The adjectives always preceede the noun and
adverbs precede the verbs as happens in most Indian lang-
uages. There are some instances of the use of double
adjectives and double adverbs to emphasize a quality or
the quality of action. Prepositions normally follow the
nouns or adverbs in most sentences. Though the use of
preposition is not so common as in the case of English.

The above discussion on the sentence structure
of the language particularly those relating to the system
of verbs brings out very clearly the similarities with
Sanskrit, where the verbs take a different form with the
change of tense aspect, person and number. It is quite
clear from this that the language has its roots not in the
environments where its speakers reside, but somewhere in
the Indian hinterland.

THE LITERATURE IN THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SCRIPT

The Chakma is written in a script which, allowing for its cursive form, is almost identical with the Khmer character, which was formerly in use in Cambodia, Laos, Annam, Siam, and, atlest, the Southern parts of Mynamar. (Chakma 1992 and Grierson 1904). "The Khmer alphabet is, in its turn, the same as that which was current in the south of India in the sixth and seventh centuries." (Grierson 1904:323) The Burmese alphabet is perhaps a more corrupted form of the Khmer alphabet, though it is derived from it. Thereare however, important differences between the Khmer system and that of Chakma, the inherent |Q| as a part and parcel of all consonant alphabets is a peculiarity of the Chakma system. The Chakma alphabet consists of 33 symbols including the vowel markers attached with consonants while forming words.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the demographic distribution of Chakmas has ensured that their original script is almost on the verge of getting forgotten as its use for printing books and for teaching-learning the language is almost non-existant. Chakmas in the Indian State of Tripura and the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh have adopted the Bengali script for teaching-learning the language upto the primary level and for creative writing. Those in Mizoram have adopted the Roman script and information regarding the adaptations made by the Chakmas in the Arakan region of Burma is not available. However, considering the policy of the government there it is quite likely that they have been forced to adopt the Burmese language.

The important question before the Chakmas today is the adoptation of a single script and a decision regarding the standard form of the language. Pleothera of scripts and dialects may be a sign for a living language, but, for a language still struggling for its survival too much of dialectic diversity can really result in the language getting lost. Socio-economic Compulsions point out the difficulties associated with reviving the original script, as many Chakmas desire. Perhaps a better idea could be the adoptation of either the symbols of IPA or

the Devanagari Script as both can cater to the phonetic
peculiarities associated with the language. It may be
pointed out that the Bengali script has some inherent
limitations which can distort the language in the long
run.

        The ancient literature in the language is
mostly in the form of oral traditions, folklores and
ballads. Some samples written in the original script
survive to this day. However, in the present an emphatic
attempt is being made to revive the literature of the
language and experiments are being done with the literary
forms to regenerate the language and its literature. Most
of these creative works are being done in the language
using the Bengali script. The Chakma Cultural Organiza-
tion and other such Organizations based in Tripura, West
Bengal and Chittagong Hill Tracts are doing their utmost
to revive the language.

CONCLUSIONS AND LOOKING FORWARD

        From the discussion in the body of the paper
it is evident that it is not possible to classify the
language as a dialect of Bengali or Burmese just on the
basic lexical similarities or cultural affinities. The
morphological structure and the syntactic structure show
its closeness to Sanskrit and Pali though later changes
came about the environmental factors. If the history
of the Chakmas is to be believed that they hailed from
the Sakya dynasty of northern Bihar the claim that theirs
is a language seems to be more plausible. The similari-
ties discussed earlier only reiterate this claim. It is
certain that language do take in new words but the basic
structure remains unchanged. The process of assimilation
mutates words and phonological structures to adheare to
its own system. So the more presense of words which are
similar to another language cannot make the first
language a dialect of the second.

The intonation pattern, structure of sentences, rules of operation etc are also important markers for classifying a language. It may be mentioned that the intonation pattern is similar to that of the Indo-Aryan languages and changes in tone do not change the meaning of words. What troubles the language today is lack of official patronage. Though Chakma District Council in the Mizoram State of India and some other organizations are making attempts to start primary education through Chakma language. Yet one feels that there is a need for adoptation of an uniform script and recognizing one of the dialects as the standard language.

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APPENDIX II

List of Vowels

Chakma	Alphabets	Chakma pronounciation	English form
1	𝔖	Talmua—A	a
2	𝔖	Aubartulya—A	ā
3	𝔖	A bannya—E	e
4	𝔖	A bannei phudo dilya—EE	ee
5	𝔖	Ektandya—U	u
6	𝔖	Deetandya—U	uu
7	𝔖	Lejubho—E	ea
8	𝔖	Dee bania—AI	aai
9	𝔖	Ekha din—dhel Jya—O	O
10	𝔖	Dwi adib-dhei-diliy—OU	ou (cou)
11	𝔖	Ek Phudo liya—ANG	ang
12	𝔖	Dwi phudo diliy—AH	aa

13	꠩	... n ... .. --	... ... proper ...unciation in ...glish it is like in Bengali language D/in phonatic transcription.
14	ꠦ	Dhel dya—I	:
15	ꠌ	Bachi —U	.
16	ꠑ	Tandya—U	u
17	ꠑ	Dwi tandya—UU	uu
18	ꠟ	Ekar dile—E	e
19	ꠎ	Dnel Bangya—AI	...

APPENDIX I

Chakma Characters

ම	ෆ	∩	ꝛ	₠
kï	*khä*	*gä*	*ghä*	*ṅä*
ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ
chä (tä)	*chhä*	*jä*	*jhä*	*ñä*
ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ
ṭa	*ṭhä*	*ḍä*	*ḍhä*	*ṇä*
ꝛ	∞	ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ
tä	*thä*	*dä*	*dhä*	*nä*
ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ
pä	*phä*	*bä*	*bhä*	*mä*
ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ	○	ꝛ
yä	*rä*	*lä*	*wä*	*shä*
ꝛ	ꝛ	ꝛ		