

A PROPOSED ORTHOGRAPHY OF UVWIĘ

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CERTIFICATION

I, Efeturi Evuarherhe, a student of the department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Benin, with matriculation number ART 1106379 have completed the requirements for coursework and research for the Bachelor of Arts Degree of the University of Benin. The work embodied in this project is original and has not been submitted in part or whole for any other degree or diploma programme of this or any other university or institution.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all native speakers of Uvwie, who in their own little way, have kept the language alive

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Efeturi Evarherhe

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the phonology of Uvwie, an endangered language spoken in parts of Delta State, aiming to construct orthography for the language. Orthography is a system which facilitates the writing of a language, and its documentation. It also facilitates literacy in the language. It refers to the agreed system (of alphabets) used to represent the spoken form of a given language. Literacy as well as documentation— as means for revitalising or maintaining an endangered language – requires the creation of a writing system for the language (Cf. Grenoble and Whaley, 2006). The study is thus motivated, in part, by the need to codify the language. In addition, implementing Nigeria’s policy on language of instruction in pre-primary and early primary education (See NPE, 2004) in the Uvwie Local Government Area of Delta State also requires that a writing system should be constructed for Uvwie, the ‘language of the immediate environment’; hence this study. The process employed in designing the proposed orthography in this work is not haphazard but follows certain principles and procedures: main research tools are Sociophonology (cf. Awonusi, 2007; Milroy, 2001; Ugorji, 2009) and the Principles of Orthography (Williamson 1984). Data were

drawn from native speakers using the SIL wordlist, and phonetically transcribed. The outcome of the analyses is an inventory of ‘socio-phonemes’ and tonemes, to which orthographic equivalence are assigned for the purpose of writing the language.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

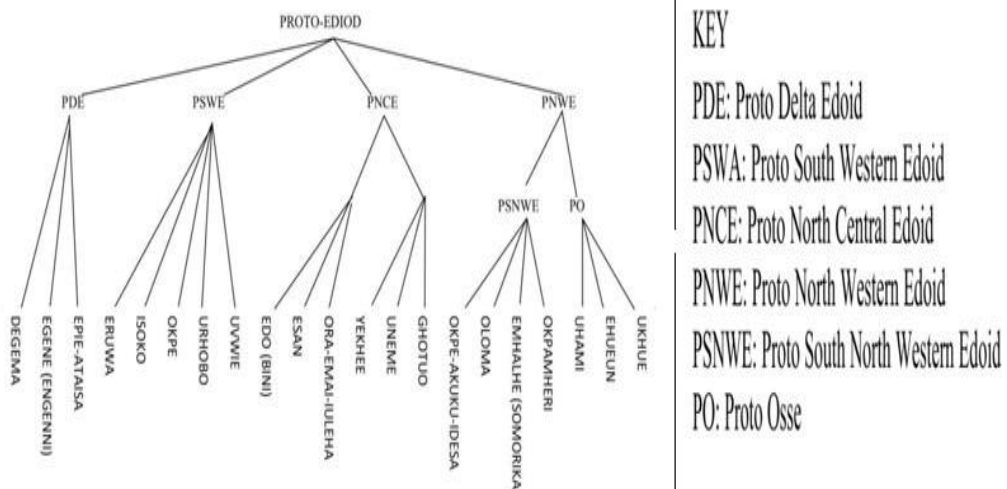
Orthography refers to the systems constructed to make the writing of a language possible. It also refers to the agreed letters used to represent the sounds of a given language. Issues relating to orthography are generally parts of Language planning. Wardhough (2006:357) defines language planning as “an attempt to interfere deliberately with a language or one of its varieties: it is human intervention into natural processes of language change, diffusion and erosion. One of the principal goals of language planning noted by Nahir (2013) is language maintenance, that is, the preservation of the use of a group’s native language as a first or second language where pressures threaten or cause a decline in the status of the language. This may be achieved through graphization, a type of corpus planning (Kloss, 1969, 1986; Wardhough, 2006; Daoust, 1998; Bakmand, 2000; Ferguson, 2006; Haugen, 1972) which

refers to the development, selection and modification of scripts and orthographic conventions for a language (Liddicoat, 2005), thus enabling easy transmission of material through generations and communication with larger numbers of people.

1.1 LANGUAGE OF STUDY

Uvwie is a southwestern Edoid language spoken by the Uvwie people of Delta State, Nigeria. It is classified in (Elugbe, 1989) alongside Urhobo, Isoko, Okpe and Eruwa as shown in the Edoid family tree in figure (1) below.

Figure 1: The Edoid Family Tree (Elugbe, 1989)



The people who speak the language “bear linguistic, social and cultural affinity with the people of ...[Urhobo], Okpe, Isoko and Bini” (Darah and Ekiugbo, 2014). Oral tradition holds that the people migrated from Benin, and settled first in Orhobi (Urhubi) but later moved to AroWha (Erowha). While in Erowha, a group of Uvwie people headed by Oguni, found, and settled in an area named Uzi-Eurho (meaning encampment) in the neighbourhood of Ewvreni near Ughwerun territory, but later moved to Patani, and later southward to their present location because the climate and land did not favour their type of Agricultural practice.

Presently, the Uvwie people occupy the central part of Delta state. It is geographically a low terrain area bounded by the adjoining town or city or Warri, viewing it from standard map covering the geographical positioning of Delta State. The indigenous Uvwie communities are Effurun, Ekpan, Okere, Ogberikoko, Ugbulokposi, Ugbomoro, Alegbo with neighbouring communities as Udu, Okpe and Itsekiri towns.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

A simple question such as: “can you help me type my language?” may receive “how do you write your language” as response instead of a simple yes or no. The above can, in some sense, be seen as a summary of the essence of this research work. Thus this work aims to facilitate the use of written form for Uvwie language as it develops an orthography for Uvwie, an endangered language spoken in parts of Delta State. It covers such issues as: what writing system is suitable for the language? What are the distinctive and permissible sounds of the language? How can these sounds be represented adequately in the orthography? Etc. Thus in this work, attempt is made at proposing orthography for Uvwie language. First, all socially significant sound segments (socio-phonemes) were established using the sociophonology model as basis, and guided by the principles of orthography (Williamson, 1984), each sounds is then assigned an orthographic representation, and writing rules specified which may serve then serve as means of writing the language.

1.3 PURPOSE OF STUDY

Literacy as well as documentation– as means for revitalising or maintaining an endangered language like Uvwie (Mowarin, 2004) – among other reasons requires the creation of an orthography for the language (Cf. Grenoble and Whaley, 2006). Thus the necessity of this work. Orthographies are said to be means of putting spoken language into written form. They include alphabetic system and writing rules which guide how the language should be written. It is therefore the aim of this research is to, in the first place, establish the set of sounds which can and should constitute the socio-phonemic inventory of Uvwie. This is because the orthography of a language is necessarily derived from the spoken form of the language, as Omozuwa (2012:17) rightly puts it, “it is only through a good understanding of the ‘soundscape’... of a language that an appropriate, adequate, and consistent orthographic rendering of... [a] language can be given.” The alphabetic system which can best represent the sounds of the language, as well as rules which should guide the writing of the language is then proposed.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

Writing system is an important aspect of a language as it has impact on the language (Coulmas, 2003). Developing an orthography for Uvwie can help it revitalize and maintain it since the language is currently endangered as noted in Mowarin (2004). The preservation of a language or its use as a group's native language where pressures threaten or cause a decline in use may be achieved through various means one of which is orthography development.

An orthography of Uvwie may also help to ensure written materials such as dictionary, grammar books etc. are produced, and these may further help maintain the language.

1.5 SCOPE OF STUDY

The scope of this study is limited to the linguistic aspects which are necessary for the development of orthography for the Uvwie language. Specifically, the work will focus on establishing the phonemic inventory of the language guided by sociophonology,

assign suitable orthography to the language guided by the principles of orthography as proposed by Williamson (1984), as well as specify writing rules which may serve as guidelines for writing the language.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

The data used for this work are purely primary. They were gotten from native speakers in Effurun, Enerhen and Ekpan community in a recent fieldwork using the SIL comparative wordlist (Snider and Roberts, 2006). The 1700 points word list was first administered to them to provide the Uvwie equivalents of the items listed, after which, recording was made in mp3 format using a digital recording device, in order to get the spoken form, since orthography of any language derives from the language's spoken form. The data were then transcribed using phonetic transcription and all analysis guided by the theoretical frameworks adopted for this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at previous works which are related and relevant to this study. Specifically, the chapter reviews various terms and concepts employed as well as their definitions, and previous studies. It is divided into two main sections, viz: conceptual review and review of previous studies.

2.1 CONCEPTUAL REVIEW

The different concepts relevant to this work are reviewed below. The concepts include orthography, orthography development, principles of orthography development, procedures in orthography development, models of orthography development etc.

2.1.1 ORTHOGRAPHY

The term orthography is generally agreed to mean ‘a writing system’ adopted by a particular language or speech community (Cahill and Karen, 2008). It is a means of representing words and

utterances in graphical form, or a complex visual representation of language and thought which is designed to facilitate literate communication (Schroeder, 2010). According to Ugorji (2009), orthography is a compound word which derives from two Greek words: *ortho* (correct, straight) and *grapheo* (to write, or to spell). This etymology has shaped the various definitions of orthography proposed by scholars. For example, Ugorji (2009:36) defines orthography as “the systems constructed to make the writing of languages possible. For Ohiri-Anichie (2008:423), “the orthography of a language refers to the agreed letters used to represent the sounds of the language, the letters being collectively known as the alphabet of the language.” She also argues that orthography refers to agreed rules for spelling or writing the language.

According to Coulmas (2003:35), “orthographies are writing systems that are standardized with respect to (a) a set of graphic symbols (graphemes), such as signs, characters, letters as well as diacritics, punctuation marks etc; and (b) a set of rules/conventions

such as orthographic rules and pronunciation rules for writing word boundaries, punctuation rules, capitalization rules etc. Koffi (1990:11) simply defines it as “an attempt to provide correct spelling for a language.”

2.1.2 ORTHOGRAPHY DEVELOPMENT

Orthography development entails all efforts and procedures employed in devising a writing system for a given language. It is a complex task which requires a careful assessment of issues going beyond purely linguistic decisions (Lupke, 2011). However, any orthography development should be guided by linguistic specialists who propose a system based on analysis, and undertake systematic testing before decisions are finalized. According to Sjoberg (1964:262), devising efficient orthographies for unwritten languages is a task that requires the services of specialists in linguistics who have been trained on how to analyze a language into its essential components and to select a minimum set of symbols that can represent the attested phoneme in the language. He also posits that only in rare instances has an individual lacking

knowledge of these special techniques been able to create a relatively simple and consistent orthography for his language.

Ugorji (2003), Emenanjo (2002) and Lutz (1995) opine that orthography development is fundamentally a part of language planning efforts; thus it may be directed towards establishing or altering the functions of a language or its variety thereby solving communication problem(s) associated with language use in given domain; or it may simply be a means of maintenance and management of a language given the fact that language is an aspect of the socio-economic resources of a people; thus the equitable distribution of such resources for the maximum benefits of all is therefore essential.

Ugorji (2009) also opines that orthography development has implications for the esteem of linguistic groups, the linguistic rights of minorities as well as speakers of major languages; namely, it can promote or prevent the use of a language or its varieties, discourage or encourage and empower speakers or otherwise, by according

higher status to favoured varieties and hence their speakers and lower status to unfavoured varieties and their speakers.

The process of developing orthography for a given language is not haphazard but follows certain principles and procedures. Human speeches and utterances are governed by a number of principles. This is also true of orthography development. In constructing or developing a writing system for a given language, there are some essential guidelines that should be taken into consideration. Grenoble and Whaley (2006:189-9), and Seifart (2006: 279-289) outlined the following as factors which should be considered in orthography development.

- Who will be the primary users, the proficient speakers or the beginners?
- How deep (or abstract) will be the orthography?
- Are the speakers already familiar with the characters?
- Do the community leaders and other members approve the orthography?

It follows therefore that any attempt to develop a writing system for any language must necessarily consider the targeted audience, the nature of the writing system to be proposed, audience's familiarity with proposed writing system as well as the possibility of its acceptability by the speech community. In the case of Uvwie, the target consists largely of younger speakers, most of whom lack proficiency in the language. Thus one of the aims of proposing a writing system for Uvwie is to promote language pedagogy and to encourage the development of written materials in the language; and by implication enabling the older and younger generation to read and learn in the native language. Such proposed orthography may be 'deep' or 'shallow' with respect to beginners or fluent speakers (Cf. Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Seifart, 2006). A shallow orthography represents allophones (variants of a phoneme) to make it easier for the beginners to read and learn the language while deep orthography, which is more suitable for fluent speakers and readers, may use only one symbol for two or more allophones of a phoneme. The second (deep orthography) is most employed in

orthography development; thus only distinct sounds or syllable are assigned graphemes in most languages.

Familiarity with proposed character facilitates learnability of proposed orthography; hence it is important. An orthography is easier to learn if it is similar to the character of the language of school education or similar to the character of neighbouring languages which speakers may already be familiar with. Acceptability as an important factor hinges on social, political and linguistic reasons. Thus any proposed orthography for Uvwie may or may not be adopted by those for whom it is made- the tribal, education authorities etc. depending on the aforementioned three variables.

On his part, Swadesh (1965) proposed three basic principles which should guide orthography development, which are:

- Adequacy,
- Mechanical efficiency and economy, and
- Harmony with co-existing systems.

He went further to state that,

...suitable simplified alphabets generally can be devised only after careful advance studies, by capable personnel, of all factors, the nature of the phonetic system, its relation to the form structure (morphophonemics), relative frequencies, previous practices in writing the language, facts about other co-existing languages, attitudes and opinion... of the people (ibid. Pg 9)

Smalley (1964), Williamson (1984) and Barnwell (1998) also gave their views on the principles guiding orthography development. Smalley's view is contained in a volume on different aspects of orthography development which he edited. His main point of view is that "since writing is different from speech, a writing system that is merely phonetic is ultimately unsatisfactory."

2.1.2 MODELS OF ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography of a language is often derived from the spoken form of the language (Williamson, 1984, Ugorji, 2009, Esizimotor, 2009); thus, elicitation of significant sounds and assignment of characters to sounds are two essential procedures in orthography development. There are a number of models or scripts which can be used as the character inventory for the orthography of a given language. Some of these scripts as noted in Hosken (2003) are discussed below.

- Roman Scripts: Roman script is used as the basis for most orthographies. It has the advantage of having relatively simple behaviour: letters just follow each other in a sequence with no contextual variation and no changes in relative positioning. Words are easily identified, being separated by white space and line breaking is relatively straightforward. Hyphenation can be relatively easy or diabolically difficult. A common feature of this script is that accent marks or other diacritics are added over letters is to add accents over. An

important question to consider therefore is whether such diacritics are letters in their own right (signifying a change in tense, for example), or are simply ways of creating new letters (and so cannot be considered apart from their base characters). Typically Roman based orthographies are based on some other orthography such as English, French, Spanish, etc. The Roman Scripts also use punctuation marks and case (upper, lower and title case). For example, in English, a word is title cased following a full stop and for proper nouns.

- Arabic Scripts: Arabic based scripts, including closely related scripts such as Mongolian, Syriac, etc. have the special characteristic of linking. Characters change shape according to how they link to other characters in the word. However, there can be occasions when a particular character combination results in the linking behaviour being suppressed. For example the Persian plural suffix is separated from the rest of the word by stopping the suffix from linking to the main word. Vowels are typically

represented in an Arabic based orthography using combining marks

- Syllabic Scripts (Syllabaries): In a syllabic script the consonant and vowel are inflected to form a single glyph (or fidel, in Ethiopic based scripts). They often consist of one large table listing all the possible character shapes used and their meaning. In syllabary, gemination (the process of consonant doubling) is often marked using a diacritic rather than two fidels, while loan words often have final consonants.

Other scripts include Ideographic Scripts, Indic scripts, Southeast Asian scripts, Cyrillic scripts, Greek scripts etc.

Hosken (2003) also discusses parameters which any of these models must meet, some of which are:

- List all characters in the alphabet, in what is considered the alphabetical order, if there is one. Though diacritics are rarely included, but they are characters just like base characters. Thus the models must specify all the

consonants and vowels, as well as tone marks, nasality and other diacritic where necessary.

- List the relationships between characters in the various cases (Upper and lower cases) should be listed.
- List all the punctuation characters and their functions. Very often such information is borrowed from another orthography. If so, then this should be stated, along with any differences in this orthography.
- Give behavioural information characters. i.e. describes the visual interactions between characters. For example, if two characters next to each other may result in one, or both, changing shape or position? What do diacritics attach to? If there is a separate acute accent used as a tone mark, what characters can it occur over? Only vowels? How about nasals? Etc.
- Describe where line breaks may occur in a run of text in the orthography. There is an assumption that some scripts break at a space. Thus orthographies based on scripts that

have inter word spaces may not pose problem indicating line breaking but for those scripts that do not have inter-word spaces, the description of where lines can break in a text in such an orthography must be provided. In addition, if hyphenation is supported by the orthography, the hyphenation rules that describe where hyphens may go in a word must also be provided.

- Describe the sort order for the orthography. i.e, give information about the standard relative ordering of alphabet and diacritic.

2.2 REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

‘Nigerian languages do not have writing systems until the advent of the missionaries, who carried out studies in some Nigerian languages and developed their orthographies. However, only a few languages have their orthographies developed. Recent researches also show that there are some elements of linguistic inconsistencies in the orthographic system (See Ugorji, 2003, 2009; Bamgbose, 1965 etc) consequent upon the fact that some

missionaries were not linguists and as such, end up imposing some other language (especially English) on Nigeria indigenous languages. For example, one major name associated with the history of Yoruba and its writing system is Samuel Crowther (Ajayi, 1960). His vocabulary of the Yoruba language in 1843 contained the following.

Single letters: *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, I, j, k, l, m, n o, p, q, r, s, t, u, w* and *y*

Digraph: *gb, kp, ng, ts* and *sh*

Although most of these letters are familiar when compared with what exists in the current orthography(which has twenty-five letters viz: *a, b, d, e, e, f, gb, h, I, j, k, l, m, n, o, o, p, r, s, s, t, u, w* and *y*), the actual representation of words differ a great deal from what we know of today as seen in the difference between Crowther's rendering of "they can do a lot of things that the black man cannot do" in (a)and what it is today in (b).

- Nwọng le she nhungkpukporhtieniaduduko le she
- Nwọn le ẹohunpúpọ tí èniyàndúdú lè ẹe

Bamgbose (1965) has also highlighted some of the outstanding problems in the Yoruba orthography. In the same vein, Elugbe (1991), Aziza (2008), Akpoyibo (1997), Rolle (2013), Omozuwa (2007, 2012) among others have also noted inconsistency for other Nigerian languages especially in the area of sound inventory which is the basis for orthography development. Some of these languages include Igbo (Ugorji, 2003, 2009), a language spoken in Eastern Nigeria; Edo (Omozuwa, 2007; 2012), an Edoid language spoken by the Bini people of Edo State; etc. In this work, we attempt, within the theoretical framework of sociophonology, to establish the functional speech sounds in Uvwie for the purpose of designing an adequate and consistent orthography guided by the principles of orthography as couched in Williamson (1984)

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This work adopts two frameworks for this study because of their suitability for our study. These are the sociophonological model and the principles of orthography (Williamson, 1984).

3.1 SOCIOPHONOLOGY

Sociophonology is a framework for constituting what should constitute the socio-phonemic inventory for a given language. The framework employs "social vicissitudes" (Awonusi, 2007:21) in establishing the phonemes of a language and kicks against the notion of associating a particular variety as standard (Milroy, 2001; Awonusi, 2007), thereby favouring all aspects of the speech community's varieties.

The basic units of this model are sociolinguistically defined to include all elements of spoken language which mark

grammatical and social meaning in language use as linguistic meaning (Ugorji, 2009). This model, among other reasons was chosen because it considers all speech forms for a given language. Within this framework, language is not monolithic but varies according to users and according to uses. Thus the framework is 'democratic' (Ugorji, 2009) unlike the phonemic analysis approach which favours "socially motivated suppression" (Broadbent, 1991:282). The traditional approach paradigm for eliciting sound segments for the purpose of orthography is the phonemic analysis approach (Ugorji, 2009). Certain inadequacies of this approach were noted in Ugorji (2009:366-367) which served as motivating factor for an alternative approach known as Sociophonology. Some of these inadequacies are reviewed below.

1. It induces shift from people's dialects; i.e. an approach which favours the selection of a given dialect as 'standard' may as well 'encourage' speakers of different varieties of a given language to shift from their dialect to the 'standard' dialect.

2. It permit literacy only in the standard dialect; thus resulting in a consequent underdevelopment or attrition of the other varieties.
3. It violates the rights of regional variety speakers to communicate (in writing) in their God-given linguistic heritage.
4. It diminishes oral data or makes inaccessible some dialect data or some subtle features thereof which may be crucial to literacy research.
5. It reduces linguistic resources as dialects may merge with standard one over time or die out of disuse and/or non-codification.
6. It implies that regional varieties are substandard forms and their speakers are associated with low esteem as a result, demeaning their ethnolinguistic sensibilities.

Thus Broadbent argues that, "the aspects of phonological systems can be subject to socially motivated suppression and that such 'social suppression is not something that should be reflected in the grammatical analysis. [however] in order to obtain a clear

grammatical generalization, we need to abstract away from such 'sociolinguistic suppression'. It follows therefore that in establishing the phonemes of a given language, no particular regional variety should be used as standard; hence data for this work were collected from three different regions within the speech community. Therefore, all socially significant sounds constituted the socio-phonemic inventory used as a basis for proposing an orthography for Uvwie language in this research work.

3.2 PRINCIPLES OF ORTHOGRAPHY

Williamson (1984) proposed five principles/parameters which any good orthography must meet.

- Principle of accuracy: A good orthography "should represent all and only the significant sounds in the language" (Bamgbose, 1965:8).i.e. It must have a distinct way of representing all the significant phonemes and tonemes of the language (Williamson, 1984; Esizimotor, 2009).

- Principle of consistency: A good orthography must be consistent. This means that “... any letter or letter combination should stand for the same sound or sounds throughout the system” (Wolff, 1954:8).
- Principle of convenience: The principle of convenience requires that an orthography must not employ too many symbols that are difficult to write, type or print (Williamson, 1984). However, such ‘conveniency’ must not violate the principle of accuracy.
- Principle of harmonisation: The principle of harmonisation requires that a proposed orthography be similar to another which is in use in that region (Wolff, 1954).
- Principle of familiarity: This principle requires that the spelling system and spelling rules of the language should not be too different from what people are used to.

Following these principles,

1. All significant sound segments which should constitute the socio-phonemic inventory will be represented with a letter (s).
2. Only significant socio-phonemes will be represented in the orthography.
3. No letter will represent more than one socio-phoneme and vice-versa.
4. The Roman script will be adopted because of its simplicity; i.e. it is easy to write or type. This orthography is also similar to that of neighbouring languages; thus it is already familiar to the native speakers of Uvwie.
5. Rules for writing the language as well as means of representing tones will also be specified in this work. This is to ensure that the writing system is constrained; and by extension ensures it complies with the principles of orthography.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

It is the concern of this chapter, in the first place, to discuss the phonology of Uvwie, and to propose an orthographic system as well as writing rules for the purpose of writing the language. The chapter is divided into two main sections; the first discusses the significant consonants sounds. The vowel segments and tones are discussed in sections three and four respectively.

4.1 THE PHONOLOGY OF UVWIE: AN OVERVIEW

4.1.1 CONSONANT SEGMENTS

Evident from our data (See Appendix), the attested phonetic consonants are represented in figure (2) below.

Figure (2): The Attested Phonetic Consonant Sounds of Uvwie

| | Bilabial | Labio-Dental | Alveolar | Palatal-Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Labio-Velar |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Stop | p ^h b | | t ^h d t ^{hw} d ^w | | c ɟ | k ^h g g ^w | k ^{ph} g ^b |
| Nasal | m m ^j m ^w | | n n ^j | | ɲ | | ŋ |
| Fricative | | f v f ^j v ^j | s z s ^w s ^j s̃ | ʃ ʒ | | x ɣ | |
| Affricate | | | | tʃ dʒ | | | |
| Approximant | | | l | | j j̄ j ^w | | |
| Trill/Tap | | | ɾ ɾ ^j ɾ ^w | r r ^j | | | |

In what follows, we present an analysis of the data for the purpose of arriving at what should constitute the socio-phonemic inventory of Uvwie.

The Distributional Pattern of Segments:

Data (1): Distribution of Consonants

- a. /so.rɔ.guɔ.nɔ.je.rɛ.xɛ̃/ “(be) curious”
- b. /e.t^he/ “snake”
- c. /o.nũ.ɓɔ/ “anus”
- d. /o.ti.vũ/ “bladder”
- e. /ʃa.rã/ “go”
- f. /a.nɛ̃/ “here”

| | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------|
| g. | /o.brɔ/ | “there” |
| h. | /u.tʃe.tʃe.ri/ | “far” |
| i. | /mã.mẽ.ɸie.ɸiɔ/ | “mark out” |
| j. | /i.gɸɛ/ | “mud block” |

The distributional patterns of segments are shown in the data above.

The following are evident from the data.

1. Consonant segments only occur in syllable initial position and not in syllable final position; thus the syllable structure of the language is simple. This is further shown in (2) below.

Data 2:

| | | |
|------|--------------------------|---------------|
| i. | /xɔ.rẽ/ | “hold” |
| ii. | /bɔ/ | “raise, lift” |
| iii. | /bɔ.t ^h o.rɔ/ | “lower” |
| iv. | /dʒa.bɔ.nẽ/ | “drop” |
| v. | /s ^w e/ | “throw” |

As seen, in the data above, only onsets are attested in the language. However, consonant segments may be affected by adjacent sound segment. For example, where consonant

segment precedes the high back rounded vowel, it is labialized; and where it occurs before the high front unrounded vowel, it is palatalised. Where voiceless stops occur syllable initial, they aspirated. Some consonant segments in Uvwie may also copy nasality features from adjacent nasal vowels.

Data (3): Labialisation of Consonants

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| a. [t ^h aro] | “blind” |
| b. [oro ^g ɔnɔ̃jere ^{x̃} ɛ] | “be curious” |
| c. [e ^g o ^g wo ^u omũ] | “announcement” |
| d. [s ^w inu] | “sing” |
| e. [ɛbɔ ^m o ^m arafe] | “naming ceremony” |

In (3) above, the segments /t/, /g/, /m/ and /s/ are realised with additional lip rounding due to the effect of an underlying high back rounded vowel, /u/ following it.

Data (4): Palatalization of Consonants

- a. [jaɾɐmʲĩãtʰa] “(be) eloquent”
- b. [oriabe] “(be) guilty
- c. [ororavʲiomã] “(be) jealous”
- d. [ovʲɛ] “cry, weep”
- e. [ororesiemẽji] “(be) stubborn”

In 4a-e, there is an underlying high front unrounded vowel which triggers the palatalization of the segments /m/, /r/, /v/ and /s/; thus they are realized with additional lip raising.

Data (5): Nasalization of Consonants

- a. [ònúš̃] “anus”
- b. [fíró̃] “blow nose”
- c. [imĩjãɾɐmẽ̃] “brother-in-law”

In (5) above, the nasality feature of the preceding nasal vowel spreads rightward unto the following consonants; thus

the consonant segments are realised with some nasal colouration.

Data (6): Aspiration of voiceless stops

- a. [ɔk^hɔbaro] “leader”
- b. [abek^hɛre] “left (direction)”
- c. [up^hɛno] “scar”
- d. [ɛk^hɛ] “head”
- e. [ɛt^{hw}ɛkp^hɛ] “hair”

As stated earlier, consonant segments occur only in syllable initial position. Where such consonant sounds are voiceless stops (bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar or labial-velar), they are aspirated as shown in (6) above.

2. Stops contrast occurs at five places of articulation in the language, with each having a voiced and voiceless counterpart, as evident from the near minimal data below (The voiceless bilabial plosive is not attested in Effurun

region, but it is found in Ekpan and Enerhen region within the Uvwie speech community).

Data (7): Near minimal pair contrast for stops

| | |
|-----------|-------------|
| a. /upe/ | “mark” |
| /ɔbe/ | “book” |
| b. /t̃/ | “roast” |
| /d̃/ | “lean” |
| c. /aka/ | “urine” |
| /εga/ | “reverence” |
| d. /ikpe/ | “ten” |
| /igbe/ | “dance” |

3. The voiced and voiceless palatal stops and the post-alveolar affricates are allophones in the language, though not defined by phonetic environment but by regional accent. Thus for example, while Effurun region uses the palatal stops, the Ekpan region makes use of the affricate. Experimental

research is however required in subsequent research work to substantiate this.

Data 8:

| Ekpan | Effurun | Gloss |
|-----------------|-------------|---------------|
| i. [tʃɪdʒɛ] | [cidʒɛ] | “(be) seated” |
| ii. [atʃuvɛ] | [acuvɛ] | “labour” |
| iii. [utʃɪ] | [uci] | “grave” |
| iv. [dʒarɔrɔ] | [ʒarɔrɔ] | “goiter” |
| v. [odʒamudiji] | [oʒamudiji] | “problem” |

4. Fricative contrast at four places of articulation, approximants at two and trill at one.

Data (9): Near minimal pairs contrast for fricatives, approximants and trill

- a. /ufi/ “roap” /uvi/ “paddle”
b. /ose/ “father” /oze/ “bowl”

5. Where consonant cluster occurs, only a CC cluster is permitted. C₁ can be any consonant, while C₂ must necessarily be either /j/, /w/ or /r/.

Data (10): Consonant cluster constraint

- a. /mřẽ/ “see”
- b. /ɛ̀gwòmjòvũ/ “womb”
- c. /ɔ̀rjẽ̀da/ “witch”

From the foregoing, the socio-phonemes of the language can be represented as figure (3) below.

Figure (3): Socio-phoneme chart of Uvwie

| | Bilabial | Labio-Dental | Alveolar | Palatal-Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Labio-Velar |
|-------------|----------|--------------|----------|------------------|---------|-------|-------------|
| Stop | p b | | t d | | c ɟ | k g | kp gb |
| Nasal | m | | n | | ɲ | | |
| Fricative | ɸ | f v | s z | ʃ ʒ | | x ɣ | xw ɣw |
| Affricate | | | | tʃ dʒ | | | |
| Approximant | | | l | | j | | |
| Trill/Tap | | | ɾ r | | | | |

Evident in the chart above is the representation of the palatal stops (/c/ and /ɟ/) and the palatal-alveolar affricates (/tʃ/ and /dʒ/) despite their being allophones defined by speech regions. This is in tandem with the tenets of sociophonology.

4.1.2 VOWEL SEGMENTS

Our data show that Uvwie contrast fourteen vowel phoneme, seven of which are oral and seven nasal. The vowels are presented in the chart below

Figure 4: A chart showing the attested vowels of Uvwie

| | Front | Central | Back |
|---------------|--------|---------|--------|
| High (Closed) | i ĩ | | u ũ |
| Mid-High | e ě | | o õ |
| Mid-Low | ɛ ẽ | | ɔ õ |
| Low (open) | | a ǎ | |

Some minimal pairs/near-minimal pairs indicating vowel contrast are presented below.

Data (11): Somenear-minimal pairs of Uvwievowels

- a. /er^wẽ/ “bull”
 /or^wɛ/ “mad person”
- b. /sã/ “(be) different”
 /sa/ “shoot”

| | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------|
| c. | /bõ/ | “build” |
| | /abɔ/ | “hand” |
| d. | /b ^w o/ | “break” |
| | /bõ/ | “build” |
| e. | /erũ/ | “up” |
| | /eru/ | “cap” |
| f. | /ɔbo/ | “medicine man” |
| | /ɔbe/ | “book” |

We also noted that oral vowels may occur word initial, word medial or word final, while nasal vowels occur only in word final position. Vowels which are preceded by nasal segments are nasalised, that is, they copied the nasality feature of the adjacent nasal consonant to the left.

4.1.3 TONES

Like other Edoid languages, Uvwie is a tonal language. A number of tonal patterns have been noted in the language. Our data is restricted to tones at the lexical level, that is, how pitch variation

distinguishes the linguistic meaning of lexical items. Two basic tones are identified: low and high. However, more data and further research is required to determine if the downstepped high as found in neighbouring Urhobo (Rolle, 2013; Aziza, 1997), Edo (Omozuwa, 2010, 2012), etc is also attested in Uvwie.

Data (12): Tonal Patters

- a. LL /èxà/ “play”
- b. HH /énú/ “up”
- c. HL /úkò/ “cup”
- d. LH /àdzã/ “bat”

Data (13): Some tonal Contrast

- a. /énú/ “up”
 /ènù/ “beak/mouth”
- b. /èkpè/ “head”
 /èkpé/ “beat”
- c. /ákpá/ “fool”
 /àkpã/ “bald”

d. /ɔ̀kpɔ̀/ “walking stick”

/ɔ́kpɔ́/ “namesake”

e. /ibi/ “kernel”

/ibi/ “charcoal”

4.2 UVWIE WRITING SYSTEM: A PROPOSAL

This section makes an attempt to assign characters (alphabets) to the significant sound segments and tones noted in the preceding section as well as provide relevant rules for writing the language. In developing an orthography, one must choose the writing system to adopt. A vast array of different types is currently in use. There are four main types of writing systems viz; logographic, alphabetic, semi-syllabic, and consonantal. In addition, there are a lot of mixed systems found across the world. Japanese writing system for example, combines a logographic system with a semi-syllabic one. This work adopts the alphabetic system, and specifically, it adopts the roman script for the Uvwie language.

Alphabetic systems use single symbols to represent individual phonological segments. This means that a sound segment and its variants can be represented by only one letter. For example, we do not need to represent the [p^h] in /pit/ and the [p] in /split/ by two different letters (Fromkin et. al, 2007:551). Generally, alphabetic systems are preferred for the introduction of literacy in a local language because they tend to use fewer symbols than semi-syllabic or logographic systems; they are more likely compatible with typewriter and computer keyboards, and they tend to be used in the languages of wider communication that surround our language of study.

The Roman script on the other hand is used as the basis for most orthographies. It has an advantage of having relatively simple form. Letters follow each other in a sequence with no contextual variation and no changes in relative positioning; thus words are easily identified. Typically, Roman based orthographies are based on some other orthography such as English, French, and Spanish.

The Roman script has twenty six letters in both upper and lower case (Tench, 2008) as shown in (14) below.

Data (14): Letters of the Roman Script (Upper Case and Lower Case)

Aa Bb Cc Dd Ee Ff Gg Hh Ii Jj
Kk Ll Mm Nn Oo Pp Qq Rr Ss Tt
Uu Vv Ww Xx Yy Zz

In what follows, we propose an orthography for Uvwie guided by the principles of orthography as couched in Williamson (1984).

Thus:

1. All significant sound segments which should constitute the socio-phonemic inventory will be represented with a letter (s).
2. Only significant socio-phonemes will be represented in the orthography.
3. No letter will represent more than one socio-phoneme and vice-versa.

4. The Roman script will be adopted because of its simplicity; i.e. it is easy to write or type. This orthography is also similar to that of neighbouring languages; thus it is already familiar to the native speakers of Uvwie.
5. Rules for writing the language as well as means of representing tones will also be specified in this work. This is to ensure that the writing system is constrained; and by extension ensures it complies with the principles of orthography.

4.2.1 VOWELS

As stated earlier, our data show that Uvwie contrast fourteen vowel phonemes, seven of which are oral and seven nasals. The oral vowels and the assigned letters are presented in (15) below.

Data (15): Proposed Orthographic Representation of Vowels

| | Vowel | Proposed Orthographic Form | Example |
|----|--------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| a. | /i/ | I i | /òrìmí/ Orimi “corpse” /ìbèrìě/Iberhie “buttocks” |
| b. | /e/ | E e | /kperi/ kperi “blow” /ìgbe/ igbe “dance” |
| c. | /ɛ/ | Ē ē | /upɛnɔ/ upɛnɔ “mark” /osɛ/ osɛ “father” |
| d. | /a/ | A a | /oka/ oka “omen” /oza/oja “suffer” |
| e. | /ɔ/ | Ō ō | /ɔmɔ/ɔmɔ child” /ɔga/ɔga “serve” |
| f. | /o/ | O o | /odo/ odo “malaria” /otu/ otu “flock” |
| g. | /u/ | U u | /udi/ udi “drink” /inu/ inu “song” |

4.2.2 CONSONANT

Twenty-eight consonant socio-phonemes are attested in the Uvwie language. In what follows, we assign orthographic representation to the sounds, guided by the principles of orthography as couched in Williamson (1984).

Data (15)

| S/N | Socio-Phonemes | Upper Case |
|--------|----------------|------------|
| i. | /p/ | P p |
| ii. | /b/ | B b |
| iii. | /t/ | T t |
| iv. | /d/ | D d |
| v. | /k/ | K k |
| vi. | /g/ | G g |
| vii. | /kɸ/ | Kp kp |
| viii. | /gɸ/ | Gb gb |
| ix. | /m/ | M m |
| x. | /n/ | N n |
| xi. | /ɲ/ | Ny ny |
| xii. | /ɸ/ | Ph ph |
| xiii. | /f/ | F f |
| xiv. | /v/ | V v |
| xv. | /s/ | S s |
| xvi. | /z/ | Z z |
| xvii. | /ʃ/ | Sh sh |
| xviii. | /ʒ/ | J j |
| xix. | /x/ | H h |

| | | |
|---------|-------|---------|
| xx. | /ɣ/ | Gh gh |
| xxi. | /xw̄/ | Hw hw |
| xxii. | /ɣw̄/ | Ghw ghw |
| xxiii. | /tʃ/ | Ch ch |
| xxiv. | /dʒ/ | Dj dj |
| xxv. | /c/ | C c |
| xxvi. | /j/ | Jj jj |
| xxvii. | /l/ | L l |
| xxviii. | /j/ | Y y |
| xxiv. | /r̥/ | Rh rh |
| xxv. | /r/ | R r |

4.2.3 TONE

Lojenga (2011) observes that several systems of representing tone in an orthography have been used over time and in different parts of the world. He also listed five of these systems namely: accents, punctuation marks, numbers and unused consonant letters. This work adopts the accent system as tone orthography for Uvwie as it is the commonly used system in Africa.

Data (16)

- a. Low `
- b. High ´
- c. Rising ˇ

4.2.4 WRITING RULES

1. Case: One orthographic characteristics which is particularly important to Roman based scripts is the concept of Case. Proper nouns should appear in upper case.
2. Nasal Vowel: Vowels with inherent nasal features should be marked with letter ‘n’ immediately following the nasal vowel.
3. Tone: Since the tonal contrast is two ways, only high tone should be marked, and the unmarked considered as low tone. This is to reduce complexity in the orthography.
4. Compound words: Compounds words should be joined together, i.e. hyphenation should not be used.
5. Loanwords: Loanwords should be written in line with the writing system of Uvwie.
6. In all cases, the vowels, ϵ and \circ should be well represented, as it’s a convention for some writers to use ‘e’ and ‘o’ respectively instead of ϵ and \circ . According to Omozuwa (2012:13), “...dotting ‘e_s’ and ‘o_s’... is as important as

crossing the 't_s' in languages. If the 't_s' are not crossed, they are, logically, interpreted as 'l_s'.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This research has been on orthography development for Uvwie language. The analysis was based on data sourced from native speakers' speech sounds using SIL wordlist, and guided by sociophonology and principles of orthography. Sociophonology is a model in phonology which considers all sociolinguistically significant elements of the phonology of a given language salient to a graphisation enterprise in a democraticalized polity (Cf. Ugorji, 2009). Generally, since it is given that a good orthography is one that derives from the spoken language; it follows therefore that all spoken form of a language, including regional and social dialects are crucial to any graphisation enterprise (Cf. Ugorji, 2009; Williamson, 1984, Viereck, 2006).

This work differs from that of neighbouring languages such as Urhobo and Isoko in its employing the sociophonological model for

data collected and analysis. The traditional phonemic analysis employed in the Urhobo and Isoko cases entails that the orthography for these languages is ‘mono-dialectal’, i.e. It takes a single dialect as means of representing the language. Findings from this research indicate that there are forty-two significant sounds in the language, and these served as the basis for which an orthography was designed. The proposed orthography is the Roman script, and this choice is guided by Williamson’s (1984) principles of orthography. In employing Williamson’s principles of orthography,

- 1) All significant sound segments were represented with a letter (s).
- 2) Only significant socio-phonemes were represented in the orthography.
- 3) No letter represents more than one socio-phoneme and vice-versa.
- 4) The Roman script was adopted because of its simplicity; i.e. it is easy to write or type. This orthography is also similar to

that of neighbouring languages, and already familiar to the native speakers of Uvwie.

- 5) Rules for writing the language as well as means of representing tones are also specified in this work. This is to enable the writing system to further comply with the principles of orthography couched in Williamson (1984).

The study was motivated, in part, by the need to codify Uvwie. Thus far, there is no writing system to document the language despite the fact that the language is seriously endangered. In addition, if the Nigeria policy on education which specifies that the language of the immediate environment should be used as medium of instruction in pre-primary and early primary education, and as a school subject of study from primary 4 upward must be implemented within Uvwie local government area of Delta State, then there must be an orthography for what should be considered “the language of the Uvwie environment”. Such orthography will

then be used for writing the language. The research therefore aims at reviving and maintaining the language.

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APPENDIX

A PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION OF UVWIE WORD LIST

| | Gloss | Transcription | | Gloss | Transcription |
|-----|-------------|---|-----|------------------|--|
| 1) | Corpse | [òrímí] | 22) | hair (of body) | [è ^{hw} òmǎ] |
| 2) | Skin | [òk ^h órómá] | 23) | shoulder | [èk ^h òk ^h ò] |
| 3) | Head | [èk ^h è] | 24) | chest | [ùdú] |
| 4) | Forehead | [òk ^h òt ^h ò] | 25) | breast | [èn ⁱ é] |
| 5) | Face | [òx ^w áró] | 26) | side of the body | [èbèró ^{mǎ}] |
| 6) | Eye | [òb ⁱ áró] | 27) | waist | [èk ^h ú] |
| 7) | Nose | [ìr ^w ò] | 28) | navel | [èr ^u ú] |
| 8) | Ear | [òs ^o] | 29) | umbilical cord | [k ^h èk ^h èr ^u ú] |
| 9) | cheek | [òxwá] | 30) | stomach | [èvú] |
| 10) | mouth | [ènú] | 31) | womb | [èg ^w òm ⁱ òv ^o] |
| 11) | lip | [èbèrúg ^b únú] | 32) | back | [òbrúk ^h é] |
| 12) | tongue | [èrè ^m ù] | 33) | small of back | [òbrúk ^h ét ^h èt ^h è] |
| 13) | tooth | [ób ⁱ ák ^h ò] | 34) | buttock | [ìbèr ^u é] |
| 14) | molar tooth | [ób ⁱ ák ^h òk ^h òrò] | 35) | anus | [ònú ^o] |
| 15) | jaw | [òbǎ] | 36) | penis | [ùr ^o] |
| 16) | chin | [ég ^b ór ^o] | 37) | testicle | [èn ⁱ é] |
| 17) | neck | [òk ^h òré] | 38) | vagina | [òxòrò] |
| 18) | throat | [ùvó] | 39) | clitoris | [ùb ⁱ òxòrò] |
| 19) | voice box | [ùvók ^h óró] | 40) | arm | [àb ^o] |
| 20) | hair | [è ^{hw} èk ^h é] | 41) | armpit | [è ^h èv ⁱ] |
| 21) | beard | [è ^{hw} èg ^b ǎ] | 42) | elbow | [ògùnǎb ^o] |

| | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 43) hand | [àbó] | 71) blow nose | [fir̃o] |
| 44) palm | [èk ^{hw} ábó] | 72) breathe | [èwẽ] |
| 45) finger | [ifábó] | 73) yawn | [èwẽ] |
| 46) thumb | [isirábó] | 74) snore | [àrẽ] |
| 47) leg | [àwó] | 75) pant | [ìkp ^{hà} t ^{hà}] |
| 48) hip | [èk ^h ẽ] | 76) blow | [vòwè] |
| 49) knee | [ùgbẽ] | 77) spit | [èm ^é énú] |
| 50) foot | [isirábò] | 78) cough | [òròmákwò] |
| 51) heel | [ùfikráwò] | 79) belch | [vèvié] |
| 52) sole | [òróráwò] | 80) hiccough | [sìsìrẽ] |
| 53) toe | [isiráwò] | 81) sneeze | [èt ^h ir ^ẽ mũ] |
| 54) bone | [òwã] | 82) urinate | [èwèmũ] |
| 55) bone marrow | [ùgbòrùdùk ^h ẽ] | 83) defecate | [ènēmũ] |
| 56) brain | [àfòrẽ] | 84) shiver | [úrírĩ] |
| 57) heart | [ùb ^h ùdú] | 85) perspire/sweat | [òdzá] |
| 58) liver | [idú] | 86) bleed | [òbàrúgwé] |
| 59) kidney | [ib ^h òkú] | 87) dizzy | [òmèr ^w ésù] |
| 60) intestines | [ivú] | 88) faint | [òròdávẽ] |
| 61) bladder | [òt ^h ívú] | 89) sleep | [èmèrè] |
| 62) gall bladder | [ùvò] | 90) dream | [émér ^é é] |
| 63) muscle/vein | [ùrè] | 91) wake up | [ròmòrè] |
| 64) saliva | [èm ^é énù] | 92) see | [mrèré] |
| 65) nasal mucus | [èr ^w ó] | 93) notice | [dìòrò] |
| 66) earwax | [ilù] | 94) look at | [dijè] |
| 67) tears | [àm ^ì òv ^j é] | 95) hear | [sèmè] |
| 68) blood | [òbàrà] | 96) listen | [kòsò] |
| 69) urine | [àk ^h á] | 97) smell | [sòr ^é é] |
| 70) blink/wink | [bràrò] | 98) feel | [rèr ^w èpè] |

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 99) taste | [dzàmè mù] | 127) slap | [g ^w è] |
| 100) eat | [r'èrè] | 128) stand | [r'èyà] |
| 101) bite | [èròmàmè] | 129) lean against | [r'èrè] |
| 102) crunch | [r'ùkprèkprù] | 130) bend down | [ròmè] |
| 103) chew | [gbar'è] | 131) bow | [ròmàk ^h òrò] |
| 104) swallow | [sèmèlò] | 132) (be) seated | [tʃidzɛ] |
| 105) choke | [èrèt ^h ùr'òǵé] | 133) squat | [romè] |
| 106) lick | [r'ǎrjere] | 134) kneel | [dig ^w ɛ] |
| 107) suck | [udzir'ime] | 135) (be) lying down | [riemɛr'è] |
| 108) drink | [d ^h ere] | 136) (be) hot | [t ^h ot ^h o] |
| 109) sit | [tʃidzɛ] | 137) (be) hungry | [ɔxɔmɔ] |
| 110) rise up | [boboma] | 138) (be) sated | [otʃidzɛ] |
| 111) lie down | [rimɛr'è] | 139) (be) drunk | [udjem ^w ɛ] |
| 112) turn round | [dzumak ^h ir'ar'è] | | [davevũ] |
| 113) walk | [fa] | 140) (be) tired | [omãbej'è] |
| 114) step | [zawɔ] | 141) (be) sleepy | [omeres ^w ɛ] |
| 115) stumble | [dze] | 142) rest | [romoma] |
| 116) limp | [salawɔ] | 143) (be) awake | [omɛrɛrɔmɔ] |
| 117) crawl | [ɔrɔ] | 144) wrinkle (on skin) | [ugur'è] |
| 118) run | [dze] | 145) pimple | [akp ^h a] |
| 119) swim | [r'ɛrɛ] | 146) hunchback) | [t ^h uluk ^h e] |
| 120) jump | [ɛlamu] | 147) (be) bald | [akp̄a] |
| 121) kick | [salɔ] | 148) (be) blind | [t ^w aro] |
| 122) stamp | [t ^h am ^w ɛ] | 149) shortsighted | [omamrerej'è] |
| 123) trample | [zɛ] | 150) (be) thin | [t ^h arere] |
| 124) wave | [kp ^h abɔ] | 151) barren woman | [ɔdzã] |
| 125) indicate | [r'ɛnabɔ] | 152) blind person | [ot ^w aro] |
| 126) clap | [g ^w abɔ] | 153) deaf (mute) | [odĩ] |

- 154) cripple [ukp^holo]
- 155) dwarf [orok^hok^hlɛ]
- 156) giant [ɛd^warã]
- 157) stupid person [akpa]
- 158) mad person [ɔr^ɔwɛ]
- 159) (be) healthy [mãसाने]
- 160) (be) sick/ill [omag^wanee]
- 161) hurt oneself [oror^womɔ]
- 162) heal, cure [simõmã]
- 163) medicine [uk^homu]
- 164) get well [omẽsasa]
- 165) revive [simõro]
- 166) swelling [ɛfuru]
- 167) tumour [ufuru]
- 168) bruise [ufoma]
- 169) burn [ot^homõmã]
- 170) goiter [dzarɔrɔ]
- 171) ulcer [emⁱãmõrevũ]
- 172) wound, sore [ɛlo]
- 173) pus [ivori]
- 174) scar [ukpɛgɔ]
- 175) intestinal worm [ek^horjirevũ]
- 176) illness, disease [eremãvõ]
- 177) elephantiasis [ɛwewẽ]
- 178) ringworm [ewemũ]
- 179) leprosy [igbẽ]
- 180) malaria [odo]
- 181) fever [odo]
- 182) pain [ɛdamũ]
- 183) give pain [k^horoboramⁱãmẽ]
- 184) vomit [akpã]
- 185) stomachache [ev^wamⁱãmõro]
- 186) headache [ekpãamⁱãmõro]
- 187) life [akpɔ]
- 188) (be) alive [ɛdzerakpɔ]
- 189) menstrual period
[areramrɔmɔ]
- 190) (be) pregnant [ororɔmrevũ]
- 191) miscarriage [ororevunɔrienu]
- 192) labour [atfuvjɛ]
- 193) bear (child) [ororatfɛvjɛ]
- 194) (be) born [ororovjenu]
- 195) (be) young [ɔmɔt^het^he]
- 196) grow up [ɔrɔgbãrenẽ]
- 197) die [ugo]
- 198) death [ogu]
- 199) (be) dead [ɔrogunũ]
- 200) think [ororeroro]
- 201) believe [esegburjemẽ]
- 202) hope [omãray^wamãrjɛrure]
- 203) know [oronjɛrɛrɛ]
- 204) knowledge [iroro]
- 205) wisdom [iroro]
- 206) (be) wise [ɛgbare]
- 207) Intelligent [ororɔgbãrenẽ]
- 208) (be) stupid [àkpá]

- 209) (be) confused [ur̩j̩ere]
- 210) learn [jer̩ɛ̃]
- 211) teach [jónóró]
- 212) show [dʒeφ̩a]
- 213) remember [karor̩ɔ]
- 214) forget [ɔt̩f̩rojar̩ɔ]
- 215) happy/rejoice [ɛ̀gógómũ]
- 216) laugh [ɛx̩w̩emũ]
- 217) smile [ɛx̩w̩em̩ɛ̃]
- 218) (be) sad [ororerojiroro]
- 219) cry, weep [ov̩ɛ]
- 220) sorrow [ororebremũ]
- 221) shame [omãvomɛ]
- 222) pity [arodómɛ̃]
- 223) fear [or̩ɔ]
- 224) frighten [ororadz̩er̩ɔ]
- 225) startle
- 226) (be) angry [òx̩w̩éré]
- 227) calm [omõmãr̩ɔɔ]
- 228) (be) proud [ororabomã]
- 229) respect/honour [ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀]
- 230) love [ɛg̩w̩ɔlɔ]
- 231) hate [ororug̩w̩ɔnɔnɛ]
- 232) despise [ororenũr̩ɔɔ̃]
- 233) want [ɛg̩w̩ɔn̩ɔ̃]
- 234) decide [ororem̩w̩ɔgberur̩w̩ɔye]
- 235) choose [t̩h̩ɔlɔre]
- 236) hesitate [k̩h̩emɛ̃k̩h̩emɛ̃]
- 237) abstain [k̩h̩enomã]
- 238) allow [roborog̩w̩ɔn̩ɔ̃ɛ̃]
- 239) forbid [obomɛ̃r̩ɛ]
- 240) prevent [roborug̩w̩ɔn̩ɔ̃ɛ̃]
- 241) plan [ʒiroro]
- 242) try [dʒamũm̩ɛ̃g̩ba]
- 243) try [dʒamũm̩ɛ̃g̩ba]
- 244) succeed [orumekp̩herabo]
- 245) fail [ororor̩ɔ̃emũ]
- 246) pretend [omer̩w̩ɛ]
- 247) (be) kind [omãmũr̩w̩ere]
- 248) (be) generous [omãmõro]
- 249) (be) selfish [okp̩h̩ɛ̃]
- 250) (be) honest [omãmõro]
- 251) (be) corrupt [ot̩h̩ar̩ã̃ɛ̃]
- 252) (be) wicked [evũr̩ã̃ɛ̃]
- 253) (be) fierce [ororɔg̩w̩onɛ̃]
- 254) (be) jealous [ororav̩omã]
- 255) (be) shy [om̩ɛ̃v̩ɔ]
- 256) (be) courageous [orav̩ew̩ɛ̃]
- 257) coward [akpa]
- 258) curious [orɔg̩w̩ɔn̩ɔ̃jer̩ɛ̃ɛ̃]
- 259) (be) eager [ororɔg̩w̩ɔn̩ɔ̃v̩ɛ̃r̩ɛ̃]
- 260) (be) lazy [ɔv̩ɛ̃lɛ]
- 261) (be) patient [edir̩ɪ]
- 262) (be) Impatient
[orores̩dir̩ɪn̩ɛ̃w̩omũ]
- 263) (be) restless [omãt̩h̩or̩ɔ̃ji]

- 264) (be) stubborn [ororesiemēji]
- 265) reputation
[ororavomāmūr^wemū]
- 266) leadership [ɔk^hobaro]
- 267) (be) difficult [oborɔgɓenē]
- 268) suffer [oza]
- 269) obstruct [ororadzamōro]
- 270) stumbling block
[ɔreradzamōro]
- 271) danger [oboremrōro]
- 272) problem, trouble
[odzamudiji]
- 273) human being [ɔrāk^hɔ]
- 274) self [omē]
- 275) man [ɔrox^wa]
- 276) woman [àrè]
- 277) white man [ojibo]
- 278) fetus [ak^herɛvū]
- 279) baby [ɔmɔ^het^he]
- 280) twin [imīvɛ]
- 281) child [ɔmɔ]
- 282) boy [ɔmɔrox^wa]
- 283) girl [orimīrɛ]
- 284) adult [ɔk^ha^hko]
- 285) young man [idamā]
- 286) virgin [ɔɣɔ]
- 287) old person
[omāmɔrɔk^hak^ho]
- 288) relative [imūjɛ]
- 289) ancestor [irimī]
- 290) grandparent
ek^hak^horik^hori]
- 291) father [osɛ]
- 292) mother [ijɛ]
- 293) brother [imijɛ]
- 294) sister [imijēmɛrɛ]
- 295) father's brother [ɛrɛmɛ]
- 296) mother's brother
[òmijɛrɛmɛ]
- 297) mother's sister (aunt)
[òmijɛrɛmɛrɛ]
- 298) father's sister (aunt)
[òmijɛrɛmɛrɛ]
- 299) cousin [ɔmijemeorɔmɔ]
- 300) firstborn [ɔmijemerɔk^hak^ho]
- 301) descendant [ɔmɔrekrū]
- 302) son [ɔmɔ]
- 303) daughter [ɔmɔrɛ]
- 304) grandchild [ourɔmɔ]
- 305) nephew [ourɔmɔk^hɔk^hɔvo]
- 306) name [or^wā]
- 307) namesake [ɔk^hɔ]
- 308) in-law [ɔgɔ]
- 309) husband [orɔmɛ]
- 310) wife [arɛ]
- 311) co-wife [oφroφrɛ]

- 312) father-in-law [ɔgɔerɔrɛmẽ]
- 313) mother-in-law [ijãrɛmẽ]
- 314) brother-in-law [imĩãrɛmẽ]
- 315) sister-in-law [omĩãrɛmẽ]
- 316) son-in-law
[omĩãrɛmẽɔrok^wa]
- 317) daughter-in-law
[omĩãrɛmẽrare]
- 318) widow [arɛvɔrɔk^waje]
- 319) widower [amɔgunũ]
- 320) orphan [ɔmɔrovosejĩ]
- 321) fiancé [ɔsẽ]
- 322) fiancée [ɔsẽ]
- 323) bastard [ɔmɔrovoseji]
- 324) tribe [arɛmẽnẽrɛ]
- 325) clan [ek^woro]
- 326) family [ekrũ]
- 327) friend [ugɓajã]
- 328) neighbour [ɔromãbazare]
- 329) acquaintance
[ɔromãvegɓarugɓajã]
- 330) host [ɔrorumẽm^woni]
- 331) guest, visitor [ɔrɔrɔ]
- 332) stranger [ɔrɔrɔ]
- 333) enemy [ovrigrẽ]
- 334) thief [ozi]
- 335) guide [ɔrarɛret^horo]
- 336) messenger [ɔrɔrat^huromũ]
- 337) crowd [ot^hu]
- 338) chief [ɔk^hak^huro]
- 339) elder [ɔk^hak^ho]
- 340) master [osũ]
- 341) slave [ovrẽ]
- 342) farmer [oy^were]
- 343) fisherman [ox^wixerĩ]
- 344) hunter [or^ɔɛ]
- 345) blacksmith [ororevroro]
- 346) potter [ɔrarɛ^wɔ]
- 347) weaver [òròrè^wó]
- 348) butcher [ox^weramũ]
- 349) trader [ɔt^hwek^hi]
- 350) servant [ororagoro]
- 351) beggar [ororemrɛrɛria]
- 352) soldier [isodze]
- 353) prostitute [igɓeradzɔ]
- 354) midwife [orɛrɛ]
- 355) medicine man [ɔbo]
- 356) fetish priest [ok^herebo]
- 357) sorcerer [ɔmrãro]
- 358) witch [ɔrɛɛda]
- 359) fortune-teller, diviner
[ororamãro]
- 360) meet, encounter [omẽvamũ]
- 361) accompany [ororak^hanɔro]
- 362) (be) together [ok^hugɓe]
- 363) assemble [uk^hok^ho]

- 364) invite [g^wetfɛ]
- 365) (be) alone [oroɾumōvo]
- 366) abandon [akp^harovre]
- 367) flee [djɛ]/[jɛ]
- 368) drive away [djɛfare]
- 369) avoid [kenoma]
- 370) (be) same [ɔv^wɔvo]
- 371) (be) different [sā]
- 372) resemble [ɔxɔxɔne]
- 373) imitate [arok^heraro]
- 374) admire [edzoro]
- 375) befit, suit [oborifonĩ]
- 376) language [edzadzɛ]
- 377) word [emɛ̃]
- 378) meaning [oroɾo]
- 379) say [t^ha]
- 380) voice [urɿiri]
- 381) speak [tɛmɛ̃]
- 382) whisper [g^hɔɸɿɔɾɔ]
- 383) shout [x^were]
- 384) chat [g^hikũ]
- 385) (be) eloquent [jaremi^hata]
- 386) (be) silent [fɔt^homo]
- 387) greet [rɿɛ̃]
- 388) call (someone) [sɛ̃]
- 389) say goodbye [rɿobug^womũ]
- 390) announce [g^wog^wo]
- 391) announcement [eg^wog^womu]
- 392) news [ikhũ]
- 393) explain [dzidzedze]
- 394) advise [brutfɛ]
- 395) gossip [ig^wegũ]
- 396) lie [ujōg^we]
- 397) ask [nō]
- 398) plead [g^wɛ]
- 399) request [nɛk^hp^hɛre]
- 400) answer, reply [ek^hp^haxōmũ]
- 401) thank [irɿemũ]
- 402) Promise [iveve]
- 403) oath [ir^wɔ̃]
- 404) swear [rɿumirō̃]
- 405) insult [imāre]
- 406) slander [ɔbɔt^ha]
- 407) threaten [dzoro^hmũ]
- 408) argue [simɛnũ]
- 409) argument [emɛsimɛnũ]
- 410) grumble [gɔrō̃]
- 411) contradict [tem^huive]
- 412) accuse [sɛdzɔ]
- 413) deny [sɛ̃]
- 414) admit [rɿom̃]
- 415) agree [rɿom̃]
- 416) agreement [obomarɿom̃ɔrɿɔ]
- 417) persuade [ɛy^wemũrɿivere]
- 418) praise [edziromũ]/[eziromũ]
- 419) bless [eziromũ]/[ebruba]

- 420) congratulate [eɾiɾemũ]
421) boast [omẽbomũ]
422) tell, recount (story) [vope]
423) story (tale) [ek^hũ]
424) proverb [ise]
425) speech, discourse
[emiet^hamũ]
426) account [eroromũ]
427) embrace, hug [ɾomõɾare]
428) kiss [egbeme^hfõfõmũ]
429) nurse [oxere]
430) spank [ɾabog^we]
431) whip [ɾabog^we]
432) help [uk^hetfamũ]
433) protect, defend [ɾarit^he]
434) look after [ɾarit^here]
435) bring up (a child) [[ɾarut^he]
436) rule over [s^wesũ]
437) order (someone to do
something) [ɾuɾemu]
438) command [ɾuɾemu]
439) duty [ir^wo]
440) send (someone to do
something) [zi]
441) serve [oga]
442) lead, guide [sũ]
443) follow [[ɾok^hɸ^hɸni]
444) obey [ɾobomãbõxeyε]
- 445) please [bik^ho]
446) annoy, disturb [ok^were]
447) deceive [ɔjõmẽ]
448) quarrel [un^wek^hõmu]
449) fight [oxõre]
450) stab [dumũ]
451) kill [xwε]
452) take revenge [oruk^hemẽ]
453) resolve (dispute) [exwεremũ]
454) intercede [eg^wemũk^horo]
455) compromise [ɔɾiẽmẽ]
456) appease/pacify [egomũ]
457) steal [otɸuzi]
458) judge [eg^wõmũ]
459) law [urɿ]
460) (be) fair, just [ug^wemẽ]
461) (be) guilty [oriabe]
462) (be) innocent [oɾexariõv^wõvo]
463) punish [odzarie]
464) penalty, punishment [oɾo]
465) dwell, inhabit [zare]
466) inhabitant [eberare]
467) bush dweller [oɾoko]
468) move away [ɸãnäre]
469) country [ek^woɾo]
470) frontier [ok^hobaro]
471) town, city [εwo]
472) village [ok^ho]

- 473) camp [ɔk^hut^het^he]
474) market [ek^hi]
475) article of clothing [eɾɔrəmũ]
476) wear clothes [k^wewũɾɔ]
477) dress [osēmē]
478) undress [k^wewũnõmã]
479) (be) naked [bãfɔ]
480) hat [et^hu]
481) shirt [ewũrabɔ]
482) trousers [ewũrawɔ]
483) shoe, sandal [sabatho]
484) cloth worn by women
[oxõrare]
485) bead [owara]
486) string, thread [ofi]
487) bracelet [osemeok^hore]
488) necklace [oɸararok^hore]
489) ankle ring, bangle [osã]
490) ring (finger) [osãrabɔ]
491) earring [ɔrɔmɔsõ]
492) plait, braid (hair) [mēt^ho]
493) (facial) incision(s) [oparo]
494) walking stick [ɔk^hp^hɔ]
495) bathe, wash oneself [oxa]
496) apply [ogɸoro]
497) wipe off (excreta) [riē]
498) cut (hair) [brēt^hõ]
499) shave [wãrē̃]/[xwãrē̃]
500) razor [azade]
501) comb [ofēt^ho]
502) tooth stick, toothbrush
[uwo]/[uvo]
503) food [emrēre]
504) meat [erãmũ]
505) fat [ivri]
506) oil [evri]
507) soup [oɣwɔ]
508) pap, mushy food [ak^hamũ]
509) bread [ik^hara]
510) crust [irɿɾ^wε]
511) salt [uwãk^ha]/[uɣwãk^ha]
512) breakfast [ewerɿɾɔk^he]
513) evening meal
[owerɿjeok^hiamũ]
514) feast [ore]
515) leftovers [rit^hek^hɔ]
516) spoil (food) [mĩrē]
517) mould [mã]
518) milk [amēmⁱē]
519) curdled milk [amēmⁱēramũ]
520) alcohol [udi]/[kiãkⁱã]
521) beer (traditional) [esⁱɔɾε]
522) palm wine [udirɔbo]
523) prepare [mwegɸe]
524) cut [bru]
525) slice [biē]

- 526) peel [kɸ^hẽ]
- 527) mix [gɸek^hgɸe]
- 528) stir [gɸebonẽ]
- 529) pound [dùmẽ]
- 530) grind [lò]
- 531) knead [r^wõ]
- 532) pluck [kɸ^hãrẽ]
- 533) cook [ɲẽ]
- 534) roast [t^hõ]
- 535) fry [k^hàk^hé]
- 536) boil (water) [bàmẽɲẽ]
- 537) cooking pot [èk^wé]
- 538) pot (for water) [èɸrèkɸ^hóró]
- 539) cooking stone [tɸàrikɸ^hé]
- 540) grinding stone
[tɸàrikɸ^hèmàràlíríbó]
- 541) upper grinding stone [òmõlo]
- 542) lower grinding stone [òlò]
- 543) pestle [òmũdo]
- 544) mortar, pounding [udo]
- 545) plate [omõze]
- 546) bowl [oze]
- 547) cup [uk^ho]
- 548) spoon [uk^huzere]
- 549) bag [òbomẽ]
- 550) box [ekɸ^het^hi]
- 551) basket [obenẽ]
- 552) bucket [ik^horoba]
- 553) calabash [obeɛɛ]
- 554) bottle [ololo]
- 555) (be) full [òvònẽ]
- 556) (be) empty [ufefe]
- 557) (be) open [r^jefò]
- 558) close [r^jore]
- 559) cover [ut^huyo]
- 560) uncover [r^jefò]
- 561) store (up) [r^jirare]
- 562) heap [r^jomèk^hok^honẽ]
- 563) heap up [k^hok^hokɸ^hrũ]
- 564) wrap up [fare]
- 565) unwrap [r^jefò]
- 566) pack [g^wek^hok^ho]
- 567) string [ufi]
- 568) rope [ufi]
- 569) knot [gɸa]
- 570) fasten [gɸak^hok^horok^ho]
- 571) tie [tɸure]
- 572) untie [r^jefò]
- 573) (be) tight [k^hok^horok^ho]
- 574) loosen [r^jirẽ]
- 575) (be) loose [r^jirẽ]
- 576) compound [egodo]
- 577) wall [igɸẽ]
- 578) door [etɸe]
- 579) doorway [un^wetɸe]
- 580) window [ubakɸ^ho]

- 581) roof [ebõ]
- 582) beam [tʃimõ]
- 583) floor [orɔug^wo]
- 584) bedroom [uvũruk^he]
- 585) kitchen [uk^honẽ]
- 586) entrance [un^wẽtʃẽ]
- 587) courtyard [egodurɨ]
- 588) fence [ògḃá]
- 589) well [òr̀àrè]
- 590) bathing place [arẽmãrora]
- 591) latrine [oruk^he]
- 592) garbage dump
[aramẽt^wek^{hw}ek^{hw}arɔ]
- 593) garden [ògḃɔ]
- 594) shelter [ug^womũ]
- 595) build [bõ]
- 596) mark out [mãmẽ^hɸeɸɔ]
- 597) mud block [igḃẽ]
- 598) thatch [etʃẽ]
- 599) plaster [egḃemu]
- 600) lime [ot^hiɛt^het^he]
- 601) paint [ɔda]
- 602) ladder [ogḃada]
- 603) chair [ar^wõ]
- 604) stool [emẽk^het^hi]
- 605) bed [uk^he]
- 606) mat [ere]/[abiba]
- 607) fan [adzudzu]
- 608) bell [agogo]
- 609) ring (bell) [k^heragogo]
- 610) act [ru]
- 611) work [ov^hẽ]
- 612) mend [r^herẽ]
- 613) forge [odjegũ]
- 614) hammer [ogḃẽ]
- 615) anvil [emẽr^he]
- 616) lump (clay, mud) [r^hiemũ]
- 617) potter's [r^hiemũmãmõmã]
- 618) wood [orɔ]
- 619) cut down [tʃɛx^worɔ]
- 620) log [ètʃémuràk^hpò^hrò]
- 621) hollow out [firerorɔ]
- 622) cut into pieces [brukrẽkrẽ]
- 623) saw (wood) [berẽ]
- 624) plank [owãwã]
- 625) knot (in wood) [ok^harorɔ]
- 626) splinter [r^herẽkrẽkrẽ]
- 627) chisel [emer^we]
- 628) nail [op^herẽ]
- 629) sew [ok^homũ]
- 630) needle [eg^wede]
- 631) thread [ufi]
- 632) pocket [egabewũ]
- 633) (be) torn [berẽ]
- 634) weave [r^hvẽ]
- 635) cloth [oxõ]

- 636) rag [ɛbɛrɛɔxɔ̃]
- 637) broom [ukp̄^here]
- 638) sweep [kp̄^here]
- 639) polish [gɓɛ]
- 640) wash [fɔ̃[~]ɛ̃]
- 641) draw water [samɛ̃]
- 642) fetch (firewood) [tiɛɾa]
- 643) dig [ɛt^hɔmũ]
- 644) rubbish [ɔvɔmũ]
- 645) cultivate, farm [uwɛwɛ]
- 646) boundary (of field) [ubru]
- 647) fertile soil [oɾɔɾoɾɔmũ]
- 648) barren [ayɛ̃]/[agɛ̃]
- 649) clear [ɛgɓɛ̃]
- 650) sow, plant [kɔ̃]
- 651) weed [ɛbe]
- 652) hoe (v) [ugɓot^hɔ]
- 653) hoe (n) [ɛxwɔ]
- 654) sickle [ada]
- 655) machete [oɸia]
- 656) harvest [ɛy^wie]
- 657) harvest (dig up yams)
[ɛy^wiemũ]
- 658) pick, pluck (fruit) [kp̄^hārɛ̃]
- 659) harvest, collect (honey from
hive) [ɛy^wiemũ]
- 660) threshing-floor
[ɔjemɛ̃t^{hw}awarɔ]
- 661) shell [ok^hɔr^wemãmã]
- 662) domesticate, tame [tʃuru]
- 663) herd [ugegede]
- 664) cattle pen [ug^womũgegede]
- 665) feed (animals)
[tʃeramɛ̃g^ware]
- 666) milk (cows, goats)
[ɔmⁱemⁱereramũ]
- 667) hunt [ibefi]
- 668) stalk [aberabe]
- 669) chase (v) [dʒɛ]
- 670) track (animal) [urɛ̃]
- 671) footprint (human) [utʃivĩ]
- 672) bow [ak^hare]
- 673) poison [uk^homũri^ari^a]
- 674) knife [ɔmɔãɸia]
- 675) club [ukp̄^hokp̄^ho]
- 676) hunting [ibefi]
- 677) birdlime [ɔ̃rɛ]
- 678) trap [ufi]
- 679) set (trap) [kp̄^hârufi]
- 680) evade [dʒɛnãre]
- 681) escape [dʒɛnãre]
- 682) wound (animal) [ok^wɔmu]
- 683) slaughter, kill [oxwemũ]
- 684) fish [ɛɾɛrĩ]
- 685) fish dam [owɛ]
- 686) fish trap [ugɛ̃]

- 687) fishing net [arere]
688) fishing line [owẽ]
689) fishhook [owẽ]
690) bait [okor̥i]
691) have, possess [ɔr̥aboro]
692) need [obomãg̃wone]
693) get, obtain [t̃hemãbɔ]
694) give [kʰɛ]
695) return [okʰir̥e]
696) belongings [ɛj̃jeremũ]
697) owner [orerore]
698) rich man [ɔdafɛ]
699) poor man [og̃berɛ]
700) (be) rich [efɛ]
701) (be) poor [og̃berɛ]
702) money agent [oret̃heridɔnɔ]
703) cowrie shell [ufefɛ]
704) barter (exchange of goods)
[ɔs̃jemẽt̃h̃ɔr̥ɛ]
705) buy [dɛ]
706) sell [r̥ẽ]
707) (be) scarce [arodarɔnẽ]
708) (be) expensive [orararẽ]
709) (be) inexpensive [okʰwekʰu]
710) price [okʰa]
711) negotiate a price [evemũ]
712) payment [ɔsɛx̃wamũ]
713) pay (for goods) [x̃wɔsa]
714) gift [ɔsere]
715) hire [m̃mom̃ɔ]
716) beg (for money) [g̃wɛ]
717) borrow [mrɛ]
718) lend [m̃m̃m̃ɔkʰɛ]
719) debt [ɔsa]
720) offer [kʰɛ]
721) accept [r̥ɔm̃ɔ]
722) refuse [sẽ]
723) tax [osek̃p̃hɛ]
724) tribute [ɛjiromũ]
725) inheritance [ukʰu]
726) inherit [r̥uk̃wu]
727) journey, trip [ɛʃamũk̃p̃hɛ]
728) travel, go on a trip [k̃p̃hɛ]
729) traveler [ok̃p̃hɛ]
730) wander [ɔbɔʃa]
731) (be) lost [yru]/[ỹwru]
732) path, road [ore]
733) crossroads [adesã]
734) cross (river) [abada]
735) canoe [ɔkʰɔ]
736) paddle [uvi]
737) bale out [fɛñɔkʰɔ̃]
738) capsize [jumẽ]
739) bring [r̥ɔr̥e]
740) take (away) [kʰɔ]
741) send [ʒi]

- 742) carry (in arms) [bɔ̃]
743) carry (child) on back [bɔ̃mɔ̃]
744) carry on head [bɔ̃kʰaɪkʰe]
745) unload [ʒabɔ̃nɔ̃kʰa]
746) war [ɔ̃fɔ̃mɔ̃]
747) peace [ɔ̃fʷɔ̃mɔ̃]
748) army [ɪsɔ̃dʒe]/[ɪgʷesasa]
749) spy [ɹɔ̃fɪ]
750) sword [ɔ̃kʰɔ̃rɔ̃mɔ̃]
751) gun [ɔ̃kʰɔ̃ɣɔ̃]
752) shield [ʒɔ̃mɔ̃mɔ̃]
753) conquer [babɔ̃]
754) (be) defeated [ɹɔ̃je]
755) prisoner, captive
[ɔ̃rɔ̃rɔ̃kʰekɔ̃rɔ̃]
756) plunder (a town) [gʷɔ̃rɔ̃ɣɔ̃]
757) music [ɪnɔ̃]
758) song [ɪnɔ̃]
759) sing [sʷɪnɔ̃]
760) hum [sɹɔ̃ɣɔ̃wɔ̃]
761) whistle [gʷɔ̃ɔ̃ɣɔ̃]
762) dance (n) [ɪgʷɔ̃]
763) dance (v) [gʷɪgʷɔ̃]
764) flute [ɔ̃gʷɔ̃]
765) harp [ɔ̃gʷɔ̃]
766) horn [akʰɔ̃erɔ̃]
767) shell [ɔ̃fɔ̃fɔ̃]
768) play instrument [kʰɔ̃erɪ]
769) blow (horn) [kʰɔ̃erɪ]
770) draw (picture) [sɪɔ̃]
771) decorate [ɔ̃rɔ̃mɔ̃]
772) carve [kʰarɔ̃]
773) play [ekrɔ̃mɔ̃]
774) game [ekrɔ̃mɔ̃]
775) tobacco pipe [ugʷɔ̃rɔ̃ɣɔ̃]
776) pipe-stem [ugʷɔ̃rɔ̃ɣɔ̃]
777) tobacco [ɪtʰɔ̃]
778) reverence (for God) [ɣga]
779) God [ɔ̃sɔ̃nɔ̃brugʷɔ̃]
780) god (lesser) [ɣdʒɔ̃]
781) evil spirit [ɣɪgʷɔ̃gʷɔ̃]
782) ghost (visible apparition)
[ɣɪ]
783) soul, spirit [ɣɪ]
784) spirit (of dead person)
[ɣɪ]/[ɣɪmɪ]
785) pray [ɣrɔ̃mɔ̃]
786) blessing [ɣbrugʷɔ̃]
787) prophecy [mɔ̃rɔ̃]
788) vision [arɔ̃mɔ̃mɔ̃]
789) omen [ɔ̃kʰa]
790) witchcraft [ɔ̃rɔ̃]
791) bewitch, cast spell
[kʰɔ̃okʰɔ̃rɔ̃]
792) curse (v) [ɪrʷɔ̃]
793) curse (n) [ɪrʷɔ̃]

- 794) poison (n) [uk^humũrɪrɪa]
- 795) poison (a person) [uk^humũrɪrɪa]
- 796) amulet, charm, fetish [eg^henē]
- 797) protect by charm [dɛbo]
- 798) mask (n) [ek^hp^heɜɔ]
- 799) (be) taboo [eɾɛmũ]
- 800) exorcise [eɾɛmũije]
- 801) sacrifice [ije]
- 802) pour libation [ijeɜmũ]
- 803) dwelling place of the dead [erimĩ]
- 804) tradition, custom [ir^weru]
- 805) feast (n) [orɛ]
- 806) naming ceremony [ɛbɔŋmɔmarafe]
- 807) circumcision [ejamũ]
- 808) initiation (male) [ɔrɔg^wa]
- 809) initiation (female) [ɔr^wek^hi]
- 810) marry [orɔmũ]
- 811) marriage [orɔmũ]
- 812) (be) engaged [x^worɔmũ]
- 813) brideprice [ɛɣa]
- 814) wedding [ɛɣa]
- 815) bride [arek^hok^hɔ]
- 816) groom [ɔrɔk^warɔrɔɛ]
- 817) polygamy [ɛjareb^wobuɔrɔmũ]
- 818) adultery [ɔfarɛg^hɔmũg^hɛradɜa]
- 819) divorce (v) [nɛrɔmũ]
- 820) funeral [orimɛtsɔmũ]
- 821) mourning [uɔvɛɛ]
- 822) wail [eweremũ]
- 823) condole [rɔmɔrɔ]
- 824) corpse [orimĩ]
- 825) bury [tɕi]
- 826) grave [utɕi]
- 827) cemetery [ewĩ]
- 828) animal [eramũ]
- 829) bull [eɾ^wɛ]
- 830) goat [ɛwe]
- 831) he-goat, billy goat [okɔ]
- 832) she-goat, nanny goat [in^hɛwe]
- 833) sheep [ogegede]
- 834) ram [ogegede]
- 835) ewe [omɔgegede]
- 836) lamb [omɔgegede]
- 837) flock [ot^hu]
- 838) chicken [ɔxɔ]
- 839) rooster [ɔk^ha]
- 840) hen [ɔxɔjɔrɛ]
- 841) chick [ɔmɔxɔ]
- 842) turkey [t^holot^holo]

- 843) duck [kᵑᵑʰukᵑᵑʰujɛkʰɛ]
- 844) horse [osi]
- 845) pig [esi]
- 846) boar [esirɔɾokʷa]
- 847) sow [esirejaɾɛ]
- 848) piglet [ɔmɛ̃si]
- 849) dog [ɔɾɔmākʰo]
- 850) pup [ɔmɛ̃ramākʰo]
- 851) cat [inɛ̃]
- 852) kitten [ɔmĩnɛ̃]
- 853) elephant [enĩ]
- 854) hippopotamus [enĩramɛ̃]
- 855) monkey [obʰabɔ]
- 856) baboon [obʰabɔ]
- 857) antelope [ɔʰʰɛ̀vɛ]
- 858) mouse/rat [ɔʰfɛ̀rɛ̀mú]
- 859) grass cutter [údí]
- 860) hare [óreré]
- 861) squirrel [ùgᵑᵑʰɛ̀rú]
- 862) porcupine [ɔ̀rìgᵑᵑʰɛ̀]
- 863) bat [àdʒá]
- 864) fruit bat [àdʒá]
- 865) wild cat [inɛ̃]
- 866) leopard [okᵑᵑʰorɔkᵑᵑʰo]
- 867) lion [okᵑᵑʰɛ̀ɾabɔ]
- 868) hide (of animal) [okʰɔɾɔ]
- 869) fur [ɛʰo]
- 870) horn [itʃo]
- 871) udder [iniɛ̃]
- 872) tail [urumũ]
- 873) elephant's tusk [ɛkᵑᵑʰɛ̀rɛ]
- 874) bark (as dog) (v) [gᵑᵑʰomũ]
- 875) bird [omɔ̀fɛ]
- 876) dove [ɛɾɾurɛ]
- 877) weaver-bird [ɔ̀rɔkʰa]
- 878) parrot [omɔ̀kʰo]
- 879) cattle egret [ilebe]
- 880) owl [okʰukʰuruyᵑᵑʰo]
- 881) eagle [ugo]
- 882) hawk [aso]
- 883) feather [ibekᵑᵑʰɛ̀]
- 884) wing [abɔ]
- 885) beak [enũ]
- 886) gizzard [idu]
- 887) claw [ifabɔ]
- 888) egg [ukɛ̃]
- 889) eggshell [ufɛferukɛ̃]
- 890) nest [ugʷomɔ̀mɔ̀rofe]
- 891) flock (of birds) [otʰwimofɛ]
- 892) fly/soar (v) [dã]
- 893) land (v) [damɔ̀ɾɔ]
- 894) perch [damũ]
- 895) crow [bo]
- 896) peck [sorɔ]
- 897) lay (eggs) [ɾɔ̀ɾɔ̀yikɛ̃]

- 898) incubate (set on eggs) [ɾurikẽ̃]
- 899) hatch [sikẽ̃]
- 900) fish [ir̩er̩i]
- 901) mudfish [owẽre]
- 902) fish-scale [er̩õk^he]
- 903) crab [odibri]
- 904) snail [or̩ara]
- 905) snake [et^he]
- 906) python [ogɓo]
- 907) lizard [omõr̩i]
- 908) chameleon [ey̩w̩ug^we]
- 909) gecko [ɔdaluyemũ]
- 910) monitor lizard [ɔwẽr̩e]
- 911) crocodile [agɓak^hara]
- 912) frog/toad [ogõro]
- 913) tortoise (land) [ɔr̩r̩er̩ir̩abig^womõɟa]
- 914) turtle (water) [ɔr̩r̩er̩iramẽ]
- 915) venom (of snake) [obi]
- 916) shell (of turtle) [uk^hwek^hwẽ]
- 917) bite (snake) [ɾ̩omõmõmũ]
- 918) crawl (lizard) [ɟa]
- 919) hiss [y̩w̩ienu]
- 920) insect ir^wõ]
- 921) louse [ir̩u]
- 922) bedbug [ɟiɟi]
- 923) maggot [ɔdõ]
- 924) ant [er̩ãr̩ãmũ]
- 925) soldier ant [esak^ha]
- 926) flying ant [er̩iada]
- 927) scorpion [k^hak^hasumãya]
- 928) grasshopper [abak^ha]
- 929) cricket [or̩er̩e]
- 930) leech [idzẽ̃]
- 931) caterpillar [ok^hori]
- 932) millipede [esimũ]
- 933) earthworm [ok^hori]
- 934) fly (n) [ewemũ]
- 935) mosquito [ir^wõ]
- 936) dragonfly [adadamũ]
- 937) spider's web [avere]
- 938) honey [ẽɲõ]
- 939) tree [or̩a]
- 940) oil palm [or̩e]
- 941) coconut palm [or̩arik^hok^hodia]
- 942) grass [ɛbe]
- 943) bamboo [eyamũ]
- 944) weeds [odĩ]
- 945) leaf [ɔbe]
- 946) bark (of tree) [ok^hora]
- 947) root [or̩orer̩a]
- 948) flower [ododo]
- 949) thorn [iwẽ̃]
- 950) juice [amũt^hẽ̃]

- 951) stone [otʃarokp̄h̄ẽ]
- 952) corn [ok^ha]
- 953) kernel [ibi]
- 954) fruit [emãmõ]
- 955) banana [odibo]
- 956) plantain [omr̄ẽ]
- 957) lemon [ut^hĩẽ]
- 958) orange [ut^hĩẽ]
- 959) grapefruit [ut^hĩẽ]
- 960) pawpaw [ip^hɔp^hɔ]
- 961) pineapple [lalaza]
- 962) onion [ut^hut^hã]
- 963) garlic [ut^hut^hafɔfo]
- 964) red pepper [ir̄ibovavare]
- 965) okra [ifawo]
- 966) egg-plant [ĩjãji]
- 967) mushroom [it^hu]
- 968) cassava [imĩdak^ha]
- 969) cocoyam [k^hok^hojibo]
- 970) yam [ɔɛ]
- 971) maize, corn [ɔk^ha]
- 972) rice [irosũ]
- 973) groundnut [isag^we]
- 974) cola nut [ave]
- 975) palm nut [obi]
- 976) sugar cane [uk^hwere]
- 977) coffee [it^hi]
- 978) (be) ripe [ɔvarenẽ]
- 979) ripen, become ripe [ɔvarenẽ]
- 980) (be) rotten [ɔvɔnẽ]
- 981) world [akp̄ɔ]
- 982) place [asã]
- 983) desert [at^ho]
- 984) forest [egb̄o]
- 985) mountain [ukp̄erũ]
- 986) summit, highest point [erũ]
- 987) pit [ukp̄ɔtɔ]
- 988) pepper [ir̄ibo]
- 989) rock (large) [otʃarokp̄ɛ]
- 990) stone (small) [otʃarokp̄ɛ]
- 991) sand [ijumũ]
- 992) dust [owuje]
- 993) clay [elakp̄^ha]
- 994) mud [ijumũ]
- 995) iron [it^herũ]
- 996) gold [oro]
- 997) rust (n) [ek^hegb̄a]
- 998) water [ɔmẽ]
- 999) ocean, sea [abadi]
- 1000)lake [iwori]/[ivori]
- 1001)waterhole [en^wãmẽ]
- 1002)spring [or̄ar̄e]
- 1003)river [ur̄je]
- 1004)current (river, stream)
[ɔk^here]
- 1005)riverbed (dry) [or̄orur̄je]

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| 1006)river bank [ɔsɔmũr̥jɛ] | 1033)flood [uk ^w amẽ] |
| 1007)bridge [ag̃bada] | 1034)dry up [jarɛ] |
| 1008)island [uk ^h ẽrũ] | 1035)drought [ok ^h ak ^h a] |
| 1009)bubble [ɛr̥ɔr̥ɔ] | 1036)season [ɔk ^h e] |
| 1010)foam [ifuyɛ] | 1037)rainy season [ɔk ^h ios̥io] |
| 1011)slime (organic) [ɛgɔr̥ɛ̃] | 1038)dry season [ɔk ^h uvo] |
| 1012)fire [er̥ãre] | 1039)hot weather [arɔk ^h et ^h ot ^h o] |
| 1013)flame [er̥ãre] | 1040)cold weather [arɔk ^h igr̥ẽgr̥ẽ] |
| 1014)smoke [ivir̥ĩ] | 1041)light [ut ^h wo] |
| 1015)fireplace [ug ^w er̥ãre] | 1042)sunshine [uvo] |
| 1016)firewood [ug ^w er̥ãre] | 1043)shadow [uxoxo] |
| 1017)charcoal [ibi] | 1044)darkness [ok ^h uk ^h u] |
| 1018)ashes [ig ^w omẽr̥ãre] | 1045)time [ɔk ^h e] |
| 1019)sky [erũ] | 1046)now [t̥fam̃rẽm̃] |
| 1020)air (breathed) [avɛrɛ] | 1047)before [bri] |
| 1021)cloud [os̥jibir̥ɔ] | 1048)after [nɔrɛ] |
| 1022)sun [uvo] | 1049)early [r̥ɔ] |
| 1023)moon [emẽramũ] | 1050)late [r̥omãr̥ɛji] |
| 1024)full moon [ɔmẽram̥jɔvɔnũ] | 1051)once [abɔvo] |
| 1025)new moon [ɔmẽramũk ^h ok ^h ɔ] | 1052)sometimes [ɔk ^h ɛzɔ] |
| 1026)star [is̥jɔ] | 1053)always [k ^h ɔk ^h ek ^h e] |
| 1027)noise [òdó] | 1054)never [bɛmẽdɛ] |
| 1028)wind [òdʒú] | 1055)wait [rɛya] |
| 1029)harmattan [òxwáxwá] | 1056)day [ɛdɛ] |
| 1030)storm [ogiribo] | 1057)month [ɔmẽramũ] |
| 1031)thunder [agbarã] | 1058)year [uk ^h e] |
| 1032)rain [òs̥jò] | 1059)today [irɛnɛ] |
| | 1060)yesterday [ur̥jɛvarenẽ] |

- 1061) tomorrow [urerarɛ]
- 1062) olden times [ɔk^haxwãre]
- 1063) dawn (before sunrise)
[ɔk^hirjɛ]
- 1064) sunrise [uvor^wafe]
- 1065) morning [urjɔk^he]
- 1066) noon [ɛgeruvo]
- 1067) afternoon [ɔk^heruvo]
- 1068) sunset [okⁱamũ]
- 1069) daytime [uvo]
- 1070) night [aso]
- 1071) things [ek^wak^wa]
- 1072) top [erũ]
- 1073) bottom [orɔ]
- 1074) front (of something) [aro]
- 1075) back (of something) [uk^he]
- 1076) side (of something) [ɔk^hok^hɔ]
- 1077) middle [rjɔ^we]
- 1078) edge (n) [ɔk^hok^hɔ]
- 1079) point (n) [are]
- 1080) move [fa]
- 1081) come [mɔ]
- 1082) **go [farã]
- 1083) arrive [rɛ]
- 1084) remain [zjã]
- 1085) leave (place) [nⁱa]
- 1086) return, go back [k^hirɛ]
- 1087) enter [ro]
- 1088) come [mɔ]
- 1089) ascend, go up [k^herũ]
- 1090) descend, go down [k^hɔ]
- 1091) fall [rjɛ]
- 1092) disappear
- 1093) speed (n) [dʒemũ]
- 1094) (be) fast [dʒexere]
- 1095) (be) slow [p^hup^huru]
- 1096) hasten, hurry [ok^hak^ha]
- 1097) take [kɔ]
- 1098) catch [mũ]
- 1099) pick up [rɔ]
- 1100) hold [xɔrɛ]
- 1101) raise, lift [bɔ]
- 1102) lower [bɔ^horɔ]
- 1103) drop [dʒabɔnɛ]
- 1104) throw [s^we]
- 1105) shoot (v) [sa]
- 1106) knock down [g^wemɔrɔ]
- 1107) pull [simɛ]
- 1108) drag [simɛ]
- 1109) push [d^wɛ]
- 1110) surround [k^hiriãrjɛ]
- 1111) overtake [rarɛ]
- 1112) twist [r^wɛ]
- 1113) fold [k^hirɛ]
- 1114) coil (rope) [k^hirɛ]
- 1115) hang up [rɔdɔ]

- 1116) spread out (maize) [rɔφiã]
 1117) stretch [riẽ]
 1118) hit [g^we]
 1119) beat [xwẽ]
 1120) rub [gɓore]
 1121) scrape (v) [k^hare]
 1122) scratch (v) [k^hare]
 1123) pierce [dumẽ]
 1124) tear [bɛrɛ]
 1125) strip off [bãfɔ]
 1126) squeeze [miẽ]
 1127) crush [dumẽ]
 1128) create [ru]
 1129) alter [deriɛ]
 1130) break [b^wɔ̃]
 1131) destroy [gɓɔrɛ]
 1132) ruined [gɓɔrɛ]
 1133) join, put together
 [k^hwɛk^hugbe]
 1134) accumulate [k^hok^ho]
 1135) gather [k^hok^ho]
 1136) divide, separate [gale]
 1137) scatter [rã]
 1138) throw away [s^wɛfare]
 1139) put [fiɛ]
 1140) leave [siewo]
 1141) keep [rãrut^he]
 1142) hide [zɛnɛ]
 1143) lose [runũ]
 1144) look for [g^wɔnẽ]
 1145) find [g^wɔnẽm[~]rẽ]
 1146) blow (of wind) [dzu]
 1147) blow down [d^zwɛrɔ]
 1148) blow away [d^zwɛfare]
 1149) fan [adzudzu]
 1150) flow [djiɛ]
 1151) drip [sũ]
 1152) leak (v) [jarɛ]
 1153) sprinkle [mĩrẽ]
 1154) smear [rogɓoriɛ]
 1155) soak [gɓɛramẽ]
 1156) wring out [miẽ]
 1157) dry out [jarɛ]
 1158) float [exorj]
 1159) sink [rimĩ]
 1160) drown [rimĩ]
 1161) shine [mũ]
 1162) (be) dim [ut^hwok^hok^hrɔ]
 1163) light [ut^hwo]
 1164) quench [f^wẽ]
 1165) burn [t^homẽ]
 1166) melt [rãmĩẽ]
 1167) begin [t^wɛrɔ]
 1168) beginning [ɛtũxɔ]
 1169) continue [r^wɛfare]
 1170) end (n) [oba]

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| 1171)cease, stop [ʃaʃewo] | 1198)cold (objects) [ugregrē] |
| 1172)finish, complete [oywreni] | 1199)white [ofofo] |
| 1173)(be) big [ukp̄ ^h oro] | 1200)black [obibi] |
| 1174)(be) small [ut ^h et ^h e] | 1201)red [ovaware] |
| 1175)(be) high [kp̄ ^h erū] | 1202)blue [obibi] |
| 1176)(be) low [kp̄ ^h orɔ] | 1203)green [obibi] |
| 1177)(be) long [grogro] | 1204)brown [obibi] |
| 1178)lengthen [r ^w etferi] | 1205)yellow [ovaware] |
| 1179)(be) short [k ^h ok ^h ole] | 1206)dark [obibi] |
| 1180)fat [ɛd ^w omã] | 1207)light [ofofo] |
| 1181)thin [k ^h amõmã]/[t ^h erẽrẽ] | 1208)taste (n) [dʒamẽ] |
| 1182)(be) wide [obenĩ] | 1209)sweet [omẽmẽrɛ] |
| 1183)widen [bɛbe] | 1210)bitter [em ^w ẽnu] |
| 1184)deep [k ^h ok ^h odo] | 1211)odour [avõ] |
| 1185)(be) shallow [k ^h odoneji] | 1212)stink [ɛvõmũ] |
| 1186)straight [rĩɛ] | 1213)strong [g ^w ag ^w a] |
| 1187)(be) heavy [ɔxɔxɔ] | 1214)good [orõmũ] |
| 1188)(be) light (not heavy) [ɔxɔxõnẽji] | 1215)truth [uremẽ] |
| 1189)(be) sharp [ɔdanẽ] | 1216)beautiful [erumũ] |
| 1190)sharpen [tʃɔ] | 1217)ugly [unũnũrẽ] |
| 1191)blunt [ɔdanẽji] | 1218)clean [ɔfonõ] |
| 1192)soft [olɔlɔ] | 1219)dirty [gɸegɸe] |
| 1193)soften [dʒɔlɔ]/[lɔlɔ] | 1220)new [okp̄ ^h okp̄ ^h ɔ] |
| 1194)***dry [ja] | 1221)old [axwãre] |
| 1195)wet [kp̄ ^h ɔrɔ] | 1222)one [ɔvo] |
| 1196)slippery [ɣwòrĩɛ] | 1223)two [ivɛ] |
| 1197)hot [òt ^h ót ^h ó] | 1224)three [esã] |
| | 1225)four [enẽ] |

- 1226) five [isorĩ]
- 1227) six [era]
- 1228) seven [ir̥ur^wõ]
- 1229) eight [εr̥ere]
- 1230) nine [ir̥ir̥ĩ]
- 1231) ten [ikp̥^he]
- 1232) eleven [ikp̥^heɔvo]
- 1233) twelve [ikp̥^hivε]
- 1234) thirteen [ikp̥^heasa]
- 1235) fourteen [ikp̥^hene]
- 1236) fifteen [ikp̥^hegb̥isorĩ]
- 1237) sixteen [ikp̥^hera]
- 1238) seventeen [ikp̥^hegb̥ir̥^wor^wõ]
- 1239) eighteen [ikp̥^hegb̥er̥ε̃]
- 1240) nineteen [ikp̥^hegb̥ir̥ir̥ĩ]
- 1241) twenty [uzε]
- 1242) twenty-one [uzεgb̥ɔvo]
- 1243) twenty-two [uzεgb̥ivε]
- 1244) thirty [ɔgb̥ã]
- 1245) forty [uzɔvε]
- 1246) fifty [uzɔvεgb̥ikp̥^he]
- 1247) sixty [uzɔsã]
- 1248) seventy [uzɔsãgb̥ikp̥^he]
- 1249) eighty [uzεne]
- 1250) ninety [uzεnegb̥ikp̥^he]
- 1251) hundred [udzusorĩ]
- 1252) thousand [uri]
- 1253) first [ɔrɔk^hare]
- 1254) second [ɔrive]
- 1255) third [ɔresã]
- 1256) last [ɔrɔk^huk^he]
- 1257) add [fiba]
- 1258) count [k^heri]
- 1259) arrange [rurεfo]/[rurorɔmũ]
- 1260) abundant [obunũ]
- 1261) lack [ovoněji]/[rurorɔmũ]
- 1262) (be) used up [oywrenĩ]
- 1263) all [t^hot^ho]
- 1264) many [bubu]
- 1265) few [buněji]
- 1266) everybody [k^horok^horo]
- 1267) everything [k^herek^here]
- 1268) everywhere [k^harek^hare]
- 1269) nothing [ufefe]
- 1270) I [mēmē]
- 1271) you [wε̃]
- 1272) he [ɔn̥ε̃]
- 1273) we [orĩ]
- 1274) you (pl.) [owε]
- 1275) they [owã]
- 1276) here [an̥ε̃]
- 1277) there [obro]
- 1278) far [utʃetʃeri]
- 1279) up [erũ]
- 1280) down [orɔ]
- 1281) forward [arε]

- 1282)backward [uk^he]
- 1283)right (direction) [abere]
- 1284)left (direction) [abek^here]
- 1285)inside [er^wo]
- 1286)outside [afẽ]
- 1287)between [irur^we]
- 1288)this [ɔnãnã]
- 1289)that [ojenã]
- 1290)some [evo]
- 1291)who? [eg^wɔ]
- 1292)what? [emẽ]
- 1293)which (one)? [orufo]
- 1294)where? [f^wo]
- 1295)when? [ok^hiuf^wo]
- 1296)why? [fɔkⁱemẽ]
- 1297)how? [erere]
- 1298)how many? [ir^wɔ]
- 1299)and [ave]
- 1300)because [ifɔkⁱemẽ]
- 1301)yes [é]
- 1302)no [èg^wò]
- 1303)lean [dɔ̃]
- 1304)mark [ùp^hé]
- 1305)beat [èkp^hé]