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On Pichi (Equatorial Guinea): Sociolinguistic, typological and contact-related aspects

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1. Introduction

This paper presents an overview of Pichi, the English-lexifier creole spoken on the island of Bioko (Equatorial Guinea). It focuses on typologically noteworthy aspects that invite comparison with Naijá and the other English-lexifier contact languages of West Africa. I first provide a sociohistorical overview in 2, then provide a typological summary in 3. In 4, the tone system of Pichi is presented, and 5 features a comparison of the tense-mood-aspect systems of Pichi, Naijá, Cameroon Pidgin, and Ghanaian Pidgin English. The outcomes of language contact with Spanish on the one hand, and with Naijá and Cameroon Pidgin on the other, are the focus of 6. Section 7 concludes this paper.

2. Sociohistorical overview and present status

ORIGINS. Pichi is spoken on the island of Bioko, Equatorial Guinea. The language belongs to the West African subfamily of the vast family of Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles of the Americas and Africa, which is estimated to be spoken by about 120 million peope in Africa and the Americas (Yakpo 2016). With somewhere between 100–150,000 speakers, Pichi is one of the most widely spoken languages of Equatorial Guinea. Pichi is an offshoot of 19th century Krio (Sierra Leone) and shares many characteristics with its sister languages Krio, Aku (Gambia), Naijá, Cameroonian Pidgin, and Ghanaian Pidgin English. However, insulation from English and intense contact with Spanish, the colonial and official language of Equatorial Guinea, have given Pichi a character distinct from the other West African English-lexifier creoles and pidgins. During the 20th century, Bioko island witnessed a massive expansion of the cocoa plantation economy. The bulk of manual labor was provided by Southern Nigerian, and to a lesser extent, Liberian, Ghanaian and Cameroonian contract workers, who outnumbered the indigenous population of Bioko by by the 1950s. The present-day oil boom in Equatorial Guinea has once more made Bioko the destination of migratory movements from the West African sub-region. Although the language has essentially guarded its Krio character, the continuous presence in Bioko of speakers of other varieties of West African Creole and Pidgin Englishes throughout the last hundred and fifty years or so has not gone unnoticed in the phonology, lexicon and grammar of Pichi. Further, Early Krio underwent significant lexical and grammatical influence from Yoruba (Bradshaw 1966; Hancock 1971) and these influences were transferred to Pichi (Yakpo 2013; 2019a)

SOCIOLINGUISTIC STATUS. No African language enjoys any explicit state support in Equatorial Guinea. That said, languages other than Pichi are nonetheless spontaneously produced in public discourse, are increasingly heard in semi-formal contexts, and have slots in the national radio station *Radio Nacional de Guinea Ecuatorial*. Some have more or less accepted standard orthographies, and there is a modest religious literature. Pichi is, in contrast, absent from print, online and audio-visual media, and is not normally employed in church, larger social gatherings (e.g. weddings) or other semi-formal settings. Pichi is equally rare in contemporary pop music, a somewhat surprising fact in view of the prominence of music sung in Naijá and Ghanaian Pidgin English in the soundscape of Malabo. Interactions in Pichi are therefore almost entirely relegated to the interpersonal domain. In comparison to its sister languages, Pichi is the most

disadvantaged English creole in West Africa on all counts (for a comparative analysis of the sociolinguistic status of the West African English-lexifier contact languages, see Yakpo 2016).

3. Typological summary

Yakpo (2019b) provides a comprehensive description of the grammar of Pichi. Here follows a brief summary of salient typological characteristics. Pichi has a nominative-accusative alignment, SV(O) word order and adjective-noun order, prenominal determiners, and prepositions. Pichi has a seven-vowel system and twenty-two consonant phonemes, including two labio-velar plosives. The language has a two-tone system with tonal minimal pairs, morphological tone for the marking of pronominal case distinctions, and numerous tonal processes. The morphological structure of Pichi is largely isolating. However, there is some inflectional and derivational morphology in which affixation and tone are put to use. Pichi is characterized by a weak verb-adjective distinction. The categories of tense, modality, and aspect are primarily expressed through preverbal particles. Pichi is an aspect-prominent language in which aspect, rather than tense, plays a dominant role in expressing temporal relations. Besides that, the modal system includes an indicative-subjunctive opposition. The copula system employs various suppletive forms and is differentiated along the semantic criterion of time-stability. Pichi verbs fall into three lexical aspect classes: dynamic, inchoative-stative, and stative. Content questions are formed by way of a mixed question-word system which involves transparent and opaque question elements. Clause linkage is characterized by a large variety of strategies and forms, in which a subordinator, a quotative marker, and two modal complementizers stand out as multifunctional elements with overlapping functions. The language also features various types of multiverb constructions. These include secondary predication, clause chaining, and serial verb constructions. Amongst the latter figure instrumental serial verb constructions involving the verb *ték* 'take' as well as comparative constructions featuring the verb *pás* '(sur)pass'. Many of the typological characteristics summarized above align Pichi closely with the Atlantic-Congo languages spoken in the West African littoral zone and beyond. At the same time, characteristics like the prenominal position of adjectives and determiners show a typological overlap with English. There are also numerous structural and lexical parallels with the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier creoles of the (Circum-)Caribbean, such as, for example, Jamaican, Creolese (Guyana), and the creole languages of Suriname.

4. Lexical and grammatical tone

TONES, TONE PATTERNS AND MINIMAL PAIRS. The tone system of Pichi resembles that of Naijá and the other African AECs in all its general characteristics with respect to the number of tones, the attribution of lexical tone to words, word patterns, tonal processes, and the functions of grammatical tone.

Pichi has two distinctive tonemes, a High (H) and a Low (L) tone. The language employs lexical and morphological tone, and there is an unevenly distributed number of tone classes. Boundary tones at the right edge of utterances fulfil the pragmatic and grammatical functions of intonation. Some monosyllabic roots are distinguished from each other by tone alone. The list below contains all words in my corpus to which this applies. In conformity with a general pattern, function words are L-toned, while the corresponding content words are H-toned:

(1)	L tone		H tone	
	bay	'by'	*báy*	'buy'
	bɔt	'but'	*bɔ́t*	'hit with the head'

de	'ipfv'	*dé*	'day; there'
di	'def'	*dí*	'this'
lɛk	'like'	*lék*	'(to) like'
so	'so'	*só*	'like this; sew; show'
wet	'with'	*wét*	'wait'

However, there are also numerous homophones, which can neither be distinguished segmentally, nor by their pitch properties. The following list contains some homophones:

(2) Homophones

dé	'day; there; COP.LOC'	*líf*	'leaf; live'
an	'3SG.OBJ; and'	*lɔ́s*	'loose; louse'
día	'deer; expensive'	*na*	'FOC; LOC'
bia	'beer; bear'	*nó*	'know; NEG'
bló	'blow; relax'	*nyús*	'news; use'
kɔ́s	'cost; (to) insult'	*wé*	'way; SUB'
léf	'leave; left'	*wích*	'bewitch; which'

FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENTIATION BY TONE. Most English-derived content words bear at least one (i.e. obligatory) but not more than one (i.e. culminative) H tone. However, monosyllabic English-derived function words bear an arbitrary L or H. In addition, Pichi has a stock of African-derived words with more diverse tone patterns, among them multisyllabic ones bearing only L or H tones, e.g. *sósó* /HH/ 'only', *òkóbó* 'impotent man' /LHH/, *jɔ̀mbà* /LL/ 'lover'. All low-toned monosyllabic roots are words with more or less grammatical functions, such as personal pronouns (e.g. *à* '1SG.SBJ'), determiners (e.g. *dì* 'DEF'), TMA markers (e.g. *bìn* 'pst', *kìn* 'HAB'), clause linkers (e.g. *èf* 'if'), or prepositions (e.g. *pàn* 'on'). Low-toned function words, except dependent personal pronouns (see below), are listed here:

(3) Low-toned function words

dì	'DEF'	*lɛ̀k(ɛ̀)*	'like'
sɔ̀n	'some, a'	*nà*	'LOC; FOC'
bìn	'PST'	*pàn*	'on'
dè	'IPFV'	*tò*	'to'
gò	'POT'	*wèt*	'with'
kìn	'HAB'	*àn*	'and'
mɔ̀s	'OBL'	*ɔ̀*	'or'
bày	'by'	*èf(ɛ̀)*	'if'
fɔ̀	'PREP'	*bɔ̀t*	'but'
frɔ̀n	'from'	*sò*	'so'

There are, however, limits to this pattern of functional differentiation by tone. The monosyllabic roots *dɔ́n* 'down; done; PRF', *kán* 'come; PFV', *mék* 'make; SBJV', *sé* 'say; QUOT', and *wán* 'one; a' also have a more grammatical meaning besides their lexical one. Yet, their different functions are covered by segmentally and suprasegmentally identical forms.

TONAL DERIVATION. Tone derivation occurs in two contexts. In compounds (including reduplications), the lexical H tone over the first component is deleted (also see Yakpo 2012). The syllable whose tone has been deleted becomes L-toned. The second component retains its original tone pattern. In (4), the H-toned noun *mán* is modified prenominally by the verb *fúlis* '(be) foolish', which has an H.L tone pattern. Both words retain their original tone configuration:

(4) *Fúlis mán*
H.H H
be.foolish man
'Foolish man.'

(5) ***Màrèd**-mán*
L.L-H
marry.CPD-man.
'Married man.'

In contrast, example (5) features a compound noun. The head noun *mán* 'man' is modified by the verb *máred* 'marry; be married' with an H.L pattern. However, *máred* and *mán* form a single phonological word, the compound noun *màrèd-mán* 'married man'. The H tone over the first syllable of *márèd* (the dependent) has been deleted in the process and replaced by L. At the same time, *mán*, the head of the compound, retains its H tone (which falls slightly due to its utterance-final position).

Reduplicated verbs exhibit the same suprasegmental characteristics as compound nouns. The lexical H-tone over the first component (the dependent) is deleted in (6) and (7) and replaced by an L tone, while the second component (the head) retains its original tone configuration:

(6) *Dí **rɔ̀n-**rɔ́n.*
H **L**-H
this RED.CPD-run
'This running around'

(7) *Náw **hàlà**-hálà.*
H **L**.L-H.L
now RED.CPD-shout
'Now, (it was) constant shouting.'

TONAL INFLECTION. Morphological tone is employed in the personal pronoun paradigm in order to express case functions using sometimes segmentally identical, and sometimes segmentally different forms:

Table 1. Suprafixation with personal pronouns

Category expressed	Suprafix
Object case & emphasis	H tone
Subject & possessive case	L tone

The expression of the grammatical relations of subject, object, and possessive involves the use of (tonal) suprafixation, summed up in the following Table. An example for case assignment (object vs. possessive case) via tonal alternation is given in (8) below:

Table 2. Pichi personal pronoun paradigm

	Dependent (clitic) pronouns			Independent (non-clitic) pronouns
	Subject (L-toned)	Object (L-toned)	Possessive (L-toned)	Object & emphatic (H-toned, except 2PL)
1SG	*à*		*mì*	*mí*
2SG	*yù*		*yù*	*yú*
3SG	*è*	*=àm*	*ìn*	*ín*
1PL	*wì*		*wì*	*wí*
2PL	*ùnà, ùnù*		*ùnà, ùnù*	*ùnà, ùnù*
3PL	*dèn*		*dèn*	*dén*

(8) *è* *nó* *gí* ***mí*** ***mì*** *mɔ̀ní* *yét.*
3SG.SBJ NEG give 1SG.OBJ 1SG.POSS money yet
'He hasn't yet given **me my** money.'

CONSTRUCTIONAL TONE: TONE-CONDITIONED SUPPLETIVE ALLOMORPHY. Pichi features two pronominal variants that both instantiate (direct and indirect) object case. The pronominal variants are the gender-neutral dependent object pronoun *=àm* '3SG.OBJ' and the gender-neutral independent pronoun *ín* '3SG.INDP'. The former is a clitic and the latter a phonologically and syntactically independent form. Consider the following examples involving the two variants (see Yakpo 2019a for a more complete analysis):

(9) *è* *gò* *márèd=**àm**.*
3SG.SBJ POT marry=3SG.OBJ
'S/he'll marry him/her.'

(10) *à* *fít* *ték* *dì* *wɔ̀tá* *à* *tròwé=**àm**.*
1SG.SBJ can take DEF water 1SG.SBJ throw=3SG.OBJ
'I can take the water (and) pour it away.'

(11) *yù* *fíbà* ***ín*** *bɔ́kù.*
2SG resemble 3SG.INDP a.lot
'You resemble him/her a lot.'

The following uses of the allomorphs *=àm* and *ín* are ungrammatical in Pichi:

(12) **è* *gò* *márèd* ***ín**.*
3SG.SBJ POT marry 3SG.INDP
Intended: 'She will marry him.'

(13) **è* *dɔ́n* *tròwé* ***ín.***
3SG.SBJ PRF throw 3SG.INDP
Intended: 'She has thrown it away.'

(14) *yù* *fíbà=àm* *bɔ̀kú.*
2SG resemble=3SG.OBJ a.lot
Intended: 'You resemble him a lot.'

Examples (9)-(11) instantiate tone-conditioned suppletive allomorphy (TCSA), i.e. the alternation of the suppletive variants *=àm* and *ín* is conditioned by a tonal feature. TCSA serves to avoid an inadmissible sequence of identical tones (*LL) across the clitic boundary and is therefore a manifestation of the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) (Leben 1973). The Pichi OCP is subject to an "adjacency requirement" (Suzuki 1998), in this case a "sequential prohibition" (Ajíbóyè & Pulleyblank 2018). This means that *LL is banned *iff* the tone-bearing segments are string-adjacent, hence *ṾṾ>>ṾṾ, ṾCṾ. Allomorph distribution according to the phonological class of the host is summarized in the following Table:

Table 3. Phonological conditioning of allomorphy

Host class	Allomorph used	Example
C/_ #	*=àm*	*márèd=àm*
Ṿ/ _#	*=àm*	*tròwé=àm*
Ṳ̀/_#	*ín*	*fíbà ín*

Tonal OCP phenomena are commonplace in the adstrates of Pichi, e.g. in the Bantoid languages of the Beti-Bulu-Fang cluster, spoken by the vast majority of Equatoguineans including speakers of Pichi (e.g. in Eton van de Velde 2008: 63–66). Beyond an areal proclivity for tonal dissimilation, a plausible specific source of OCP Tone in Pichi is Yoruba. Pichi shares a historical link with Yoruba via Early Krio. Yoruba has a tonal dissimilation strikingly similar to the Pichi OCP in its domain of application: clitic object pronouns acquire a tone polar to that of the wordfinal vowel of the preceding verb (Akinlabi & Liberman 2000). After L- or Mid-toned verbs, object clitics always bear an H tone, as in (15)(a) After H-toned verbs, object pronoun clitics become Mid-toned via deletion of the H tone, as in (15)(b) (Mid tone is unmarked; gloss mine).

(15) (a) *ó* *kọ̀* *ó́* (b) *ó* *kọ́* *o.*
3SG.SBJ divorce 3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ teach 3SG.OBJ
'S/he divorced him/her.' 'S/he taught him/her.'
(Akinlabi and Liberman 2000: 39)

5. Comparison with other West African English-lexifier creoles: The TMA system

Close parallels in grammatical structure provide evidence for the relatedness of the African AECs. The Table below shows the forms and ordering of TMA markers in four African AECs, namely Krio, Pichi, Naijá and Ghanaian Pidgin English (GhaP). Forms shared by various constellations of the four languages are marked so by different types of underline. Forms not underlined (e.g. *mék* 'SBJV' and *dè* 'IPFV') are shared by all four languages. The most salient commonalities are the presence of the same devices for marking basic TMA categories, represented by the forms without any underline. For example, all four

languages have a general imperfective aspect marker *dè* 'IPFV' which covers functions associated with the imperfective domain such as progressive, continuous and habitual aspect.

Table 4. TMA form inventory and positioning in African AECs

Mood	Pron.	NEG.	Tense	Mood	Aspect		Verb	Aspect
mék	*yù*	*nó*	*bìn*	*gò*	*dɔ́n*	*dè*	*chɔ́p*	*fínìsh*
SBJV	2SG	NEG	PST	POT/FUT	PRF	IPFV	'eat'	COMPL
				mɔ̀s	*né(v)á*	*kán/kɔ́m*		*dɔ́n*
				OBL	NEG.PRF	PFV		COMPL
				fɔ̀	*fínìs*			
				OBL/COND	COMPL			
				gét fɔ̀	*kìn*			
				OBL	HAB			
					blànt			
					HAB			
Only Krio		Only Krio/ Pichi		Only Krio/ Pichi/ Naijá	Only Pichi		Only Naijá/ GhaP	

Another form common to all four languages is *kán/kɔ́m,* glossed here as "(narrative) perfective" and etymologically related to the English verb 'come'. The distribution and high frequency of this marker in Pichi and in Naijá (Tagliamonte 2000) suggests an advanced stage of grammaticalization into a true perfective marker in these languages, albeit specialized to the high foreground in narrative discourse (Yakpo 2019b: 178–185). In contrast, the distribution of the marker *kán* in my GhaP data indicates a more specialized function, namely that of a "consecutive" or "new event" marker (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 69). Further, the same devices are employed for marking the following mood and tense categories: the potential mood/future tense/irrealis marker *gò,* the obligative/conditional mood marker *fɔ̀* as well as the subjunctive mood marker and modal complementizer *mék* 'SBJV'.

The major differences between the four languages amount to: (1) the form and positioning of the perfect and completive aspect markers in all four languages; (2) the absence of a dedicated habitual aspect marker in Naijá and GhaP as well as the presence of an additional habitual marker in Krio (i.e. *blànt* 'remain; HAB'); (3) the absence of the past tense marker *bìn* and the obligative mood marker *mɔ̀s* in GhaP; (4) the presence of the phrasal obligative modal auxiliary *gét fɔ̀* 'have to' (pronounced [géfɔ̀]) in Pichi and Krio. Naijá and GhaP speakers normally employ the obligative mood marker *fɔ̀* alone for this function.

The differences between the four languages firstly support the split between Krio and Pichi on the one hand, and Naijá and GhaP on the other: Only Krio and Pichi feature separately grammaticalized habitual markers (*kìn* in Krio/Pichi and *blànt* in Krio). Naijá bridges the gap between Krio/Pichi on one end and Ghanaian Pidgin on the other by having forms common to all three languages and no totally distinct forms. shares central markers with Krio/Pichi, namely the past tense marker *bìn* and the affirmative/negative perfect markers *dɔ́n/né(v)à.* At the same time, Naijá also shares the feature of a postverbal completive aspect marker *fínìsh* with GhaP. Examples (16) and (17) below illustrate the differences in perfect and completive marking between GhaP and Naijá on the one hand, and Pichi on the other. In GhaP and Naijá, completive aspect is expressed via the postverbal marker *fínìsh*. In GhaP, the use of postverbal *fínìsh* is the only means of overtly expressing a perfective notion next to the use of bare (dynamic) verbs:

(16) *Chàlé, yù chɔ́p **fínìsh**?*
INTJ 2SG.SBJ eat COMPL
'Man, have you finished eating?' (GhaP)

To my knowledge, Pichi is the only language of the four that *only* allows the expression of completive aspect by means of preverbal *finish* (pronounced [fínìs]), as in (17). Pichi therefore stands out among the four languages in being the only one without a postverbal completive aspect marker. Further research is needed in order to establish why this is the case.

(17) *Chícò, yù **dɔ́n** **fínìs** chɔ́p?*
INTJ 2SG PRF finish eat
'Man, have you (already) finished eating?' (Pichi)

In contrast to Pichi and Naijá, Krio marks completive aspect by way of post-verbal *dɔ́n* rather than *fínìsh*. The Krio completive aspect marker *dɔ́n* is therefore homophonous with the preverbal perfect marker and both are derived from English 'done'.

6. Language contact

BORROWING FROM SPANISH. Spanish has left a deep imprint on the lexicon and grammar of Pichi. In the process, entire semantic fields have been carried over from Spanish into Pichi. For example, Pichi speakers hardly ever employ native, Krio-derived numbers higher than five. My corpus shows that the Pichi numeral *sévèn* 'seven' is only employed in 22% of all possible cases, with the Spanish equivalent *siete* occurring in all remaining instances. Likewise, the Spanish date nomenclature and system of telling the time are the only accepted means of expressing these concepts in Pichi, as shown in (18):

(18) *Só yù wánt dé dé **las** **cuatro**, wì dɔ́n **dé***
so 2SG want COP.LOC there the.PL four 1PL PRF COP.LOC
las tres y veinte.
the.PL three and twenty
'So you want to be there at 4 (and) we're already here at 3:20'.

A further consequences of contact with Spanish is the presence of numerous structural calques. One example is the use of the weather verb *fɔ́l* 'to rain'. In the native Pichi construction, *fɔ́l* takes the weather noun *rén* 'rain' as a subject:

(19) *À bìn chék sé **rén** gò **fɔ́l**.*
1SG.SBJ PST check QUOT rain POT rain
'I thought it would rain.'

The second, Spanish-influenced type of construction features the expletive pronoun *è* '3SG.sbj' rather than a weather noun in subject position. This construction is a calque from the equivalent Spanish structure in which the verb *llover* 'to rain' is employed with a (covert) expletive subject as in *llueve* or *está lloviendo*

‘(it) rains’ or ‘it is raining’:

(20) *À dè sí dì dé lèkɛ̀ sé è wánt fɔ́l.*
1SG.SBJ IPFV see DEF day like QUOT 3SG.SBJ want rain
‘(The way) I see the weather, it’s like it’s about to rain.’

LEXICAL INFLUENCES FROM NAIJÁ AND CAMEROON PIDGIN. A final factor that has contributed to the specific linguistic profile of Pichi is contact with other African AECs. Pichi shows traces of koineization due to its history of contact with Naijá and Cameroonian Pidgin. Plantation laborers from British colonies of West Africa by far outnumbered the indigenous population of Bioko during the cocoa boom of the early to mid 20th century. Some parts of the phonology, lexicon and grammar owe their characteristics to contact and convergence with AEC varieties spoken by West African labor migrants, and Naijá in particular. Koineization has, for instance, led to the presence of lexical doublets. The existence of lexical variants like the ones contained in the following Table suggests borrowing from West African AECs other than Krio. “Variant 1” in the Table below lists forms that are ultimately derived from Krio. The forms under “Variant 2” are likely to be derived from Naijá and/or Cameroon Pidgin:

Table 5. Lexical doublets in Pichi

Variant 1	Variant 2	Gloss
nét	*náyt*	night
lèk	*làyk*	like
dréb	*dráyv*	drive
nɔ́bà	*né(v)à*	NEG.PRF marker
pɔ́sìn	*pésìn*	person
wákà	*wɔ́k, wàká*	walk
tínàp	*stánàp/stánɔ̀p*	stand (up)
kɛ́r, kyér	*kárì*	carry, bring
ìf, èf, èfɛ̀	*ìf*	if
gál, gyál	*gél*	girl

7. Conclusion

The facts presented above suggest that complex processes of change and differentiation have fashioned the phonology, grammar, and lexicon of Pichi. These processes were occasioned by migration from the linguistic homeland of Krio, Freetown (Sierra Leone) by a founder population, acquisition and shift to Pichi by populations indigenous to Bioko island, interlectal cross-diffusion with Naijá and Cameroon Pidgin, as well as contact and convergence with adstrate (the Bantu languages, and particularly Bube), substrate languages (also Bube), and the superstrate Spanish. The overall outcome is the development of a language that is to some degree a genealogical blend. On the one hand, Pichi fits well into the general areal typology of West Africa that links languages of the Atlantic-Congo, Mande, Chadic and other African families. At the same time, Pichi retains an Indo-European heritage via its English, and increasingly Spanish lexicon, and traces of these two languages in its grammar.

Glossing conventions and abbreviations

-	Morpheme Boundary
=	Clitic Morpheme Boundary
:	Separates meanings of unparsed morpheme
#	Word boundary
1	1st Person
2	2nd Person
3	3rd Person
ó	High Tone
ò	Low Tone
C	Consonant
COP	Copular verb
DEF	Definite Article
EMP	Emphatic particle
FOC	Focus Particle
H	High Tone
INDP	Independent Person Form
IPFV	Imperfective Aspect
L	Low Tone
M	Mid Tone
NEG	Negative Particle
OBJ	Object Case
PFV	Perfective Aspect
PL	Plural Number
PLACE	Place Name
POSS	Possessive Case
POT	Potential Mood
PREP	General associative preposition
PRF	Perfect Aspect
PRS	Present Tense
SBJ	Subject Case
SG	Singular Number
SUB	Subordinator
TCSA	Tone-conditioned Suppletive Allomorphy
V́	High-toned vowel
V̀	Low-toned vowel

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