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To
Katiana Ines Clémentine

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3, …	Noun class numbers
1pl	First person plural
1sg	First person singular
2pl	Second person plural
2sg	Second person singular
3pl	Third person plural
3sg	Third person singular
AdjCd	Adjective Concord
Adv	Adverb
APPL	Applicative
CAUS	Causative
Cd	Concord
Cl	Class
CLIT	Clitic
COND	Conditional
COORD	Coordinator
COP	Copula
DemPro	Demonstrative Pronoun
DemCd	Demonstrative Concord
DET	Determiner
FV	Final vowel
GenCd	Genitive Concord
GprnCd	General Proform Concord
IM	Infinitive Marker
InfxV	Infix Vowel
IntPro	Interrogative Pronoun
LOC	Locative
Neg	Negative Marker
NumCd	Numeral Concord
ObjP	Object Pronoun
OrdCd	Ordinal Concord
PASS	Passiv
PAST	Past
PN	Person’s name

POS	Possessive Root
PosPro	Posessive Pronoun
PosCd	Posessive Concord
Pref	Prefix
PREP	Preposition
PRES	Present
PROC	Procedure
PROG	Progressive
RelPro	Relative Pronoun
RELAT	Relationship
SP	Subject Pronoun
TAM	Tense Aspect Mood
VerbP	Verb Prefix
VR	Verbal Root

FOREWORD

In Africa, many languages are spoken, but the size of most languages is relatively small. Consequently, many of these languages have not been studied, although each language is a facet in the long history of humankind and is an exhaustible cultural resource.

Although there are several descriptions of Mopke, they are fragmentary. Dr. Atindogbe's work is an attempt to fill this gap with his careful approach to the language. I hope that this book, although small, will serve not only as research material for linguistics scholars, but also as a grammar manual for those who would like to learn this precious language, including those who have, or almost have, forgotten it.

Shigeki KAJI

PREFACE

There are a number of scientific publications on the Mokpe (Mokpwe, Bakweri) language. From Rogozinsky (1903), Lorch (1908), Ardener (1968) to Atindogbé (2004; 2012), passing through Hombert (1973), Gensler (1980; 1981a; 1981b), Hawkinson (1986), Kagaya (1992a; 1992b; 1992c), Connell (1997, with material collected in the 1950s by Edwin Ardener), etc. there have been several studies on the structure of Mokpe in the various compartments of linguistics: phonology, tonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. However, none of these works is a coherent, homogenous bulk regrouping all these aspects in one volume (even small) and addressing the Mokpe language structure in a fluid way, with a discussion thread: grammar. So, the *A Grammatical Sketch of Mokpe* is my modest contribution to the noble enterprise to see the Mokpe language documented, described and 'modernized' for the native speakers, the scientific milieu and the general public. This is just the beginning of a more voluminous work, "*A Reference Grammar of Mokpe*" and this first attempt of a linguistically coherent work was a nice and rewarding experience. A number of reasons motivate this endeavor, but I will state just a few.

First, my primary goal is to provide a concise volume where the structure of the Mokpe language could be seen at a glance without having to turn many pages and to read savant terminology. This primary objective then set the pace for the methodology to be adopted: descriptive, structural and typological. I believe and hope that the absence of a sophisticated linguistic jargon will make this short version of the Mokpe language structure also accessible to non-linguistic knowledge readers. I am thinking, first and foremost, about the Bakweri children who are no longer speaking their language due to the exclusive reign of Cameroon Pidgin English as an unavoidable Lingua Franca of the Southwest Region, as well as English and French as the two official languages of Cameroon. My concern goes to the Bakweri students reading Linguistics who can now see how their language functions, how their language accommodate phonological processes such as assimilation, deletion, tone copying, etc. notions that look so unfamiliar and so abstract to them although they practice them in their everyday use of their mother tongue. My concern goes to students of linguistics interested in African languages and more precisely Narrow Bantu languages and who would like to see how phonological processes they have been discussing in other languages also operate in Mokpe. My concern goes to the authors who have attempted to provide an alphabet and orthographic rules to read and write Mokpe. May this contribution and my position regarding the alphabet be an inspiration to solve the problem of harmonization of the alphabets, considering the fact that the many alphabets

will not ease the reading and learning process. It is necessary to adopt one writing system once for good even if the latter will undergo adjustment as time passes. My concern finally goes to all the Bakweri people who are "struggling" to have their language and culture know by the children and the general public.

Second, my passion for descriptive linguistics as an essential component of Documentary Linguistics, and the assurance to know more about the "mystery" an under-described language is hiding from general linguistic knowledge was a determinant factor in this enterprise.

Third, the possibility of furnishing teaching material to university courses on the structure of the African languages as a means to know more about the individual languages of the world linguistic patrimony.

Fourth, the accomplishment of a duty as researcher and university lecturer whose mission cannot be dissociated from the one of the University he is working for, that is the provision of service to the community.

The book is divided in three main sections: phonology, morphology and syntax. In the section on the phonology, I presented the sound system of the language, the various current phonological processes, the tone system and an alphabet. The morphology is divided into two parts, the noun morphology and the verb morphology. Then the book ended with the simple and complex sentence structures, syntax. One particularity on this book is that it provides extensive examples on each phenomenon described. The examples are carefully selected to be representative of the phenomenon described on various criteria including:

1) The shape/structure of the word (nouns and verbs)
2) The noun class of the word (nouns)
3) The tonal class of the word (verbs)
4) The tonal class/subclass and group/subgroup of the word (both nouns and verbs)
5) The length of the utterance
6) The position of the word (nouns and verbs)

In short special care was put on the selection of the illustrations.

The *A Grammatical Sketch of Mokpe* started in 2005 with data collection, and this exercise has continued till the final version of this work. By 2007, the bulk of the work was done, and only the chapter on syntax was left. In the meantime, other duties and academic commitments did not allow me to go back to the grammar, finish the last chapter and do the final readings and adjustments. Fortunately, I had the opportunity to be invited as a Research Fellow at Kyoto University in Japan, from February to May 2012. That was the time I was able to complete what I started many years ago.

Two people are at the center of this endeavor, that I will never stop thanking for their quality and decisive contribution. First, I am grateful to Mr Lynonge Paul, my “many-in-one” consultant who understood at the early stage of this work my intention and gave me all the linguistic support. His role did not only consist of kindly providing data for the book but also to explain and research on the areas or questions he could not answer immediately during our elicitation sessions. Paul, thanks for your restless collaboration, thank you for your incredible patience in answering all my questions on your language, even those for which you had no immediate answer. I will then express my profound gratitude to Prof. Shigeki Kaji of the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies (ASAFAS) of Kyoto University who made it possible for me to have the unique opportunity to stay at ASAFAS to complete this work. His utmost support throughout my stay in Kyoto and the indefectible assistance of his colleague Prof. Araki, of his collaborators Numata-san and Inai-san were valuable assets that contributed tremendously to the accomplishment of this task.

This work is a grammatical sketch and I am aware of its gaps and shortcomings. For example, I am conscient that there is still some works to do on the alphabet, the tonology and many other aspects, and these will be my next preocupations on the language. However, in the meantime, may this contribution be seen as an important step forward in our knowledge of Mokpe and may it prove to be not only a useful continuation of works started by previous authors, but also a starting point for further research on the grammatical structures of Mokpe.

A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF MÒKPÈ (BAKWERI) , BANTU A20

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ABSTRACT This work, *A Grammatical Sketch of Mòkpè* (*Bakweri*), is a linguistic description that emphasizes data showing the basic and relevant structures of the language. It covers four aspects: phonology, orthography, morphology, and syntax. Phonology studies the sound and tone systems of a language and revealed that Mokpe has seven vowels and 23 consonants, although Connell (1997) states 21. The phonological rules noted include: deletion, epenthesis, affricate and glide formation, and vowel assimilation. Tonally, Mokpe exhibits two lexical tones (low and high) and a grammatical high tone. The two basic tones combine to form either a rising or falling tone. The most prominent tonological processes are tone deletion, tone copy, tone simplification, and Meeussen's Rule. Based on the phonological study, 26 graphemes (unigraphs only) are proposed for writing the Mokpe language. These include 18 consonants, seven vowels, and two tones. The morphological study of the nominal and verbal systems of Mokpe revealed that the language retains many intrinsic traits of Narrow Bantu. The structure of the noun is a noun class prefix followed by a root. There are 13 noun classes numbered consecutively from 1 to 10, 13 to 14 and 19. They are grouped into nine genders (singular/plural pairs), with the odd-numbered classes being singular and even-numbered classes being plural: 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 5/4, 7/8, 9/10, 14/6, 14/10, and 19/8. Regarding the verbal morphology, the focus was on inflection and derivation. The verb denotes an action, process, or state and changes according to person, time, mood, and class in agreement with the noun class of the subject. Derivation is still very productive in Mokpe. Some verb meanings are obtained by combining the verb root with a suffix. As far as syntax is concerned, the study revealed that Mokpe is a subject-verb-object (SVO) language.

Key Words: Mokpe; Bakweri; Gammar; Bantu; Cameroon.

I. INTRODUCTION

Mokpe (Mokpwe, Bakweri) is spoken in the Southwest Region of Cameroon, largely in Fako Division, in the cities of Limbe, Muyuka and Tiko. A census of as far back as 1982 by SIL revealed that a population of 32,200 speak Mokpe (Lewis, 2009). This number is not far from what Mutia (2005: 217–218) advanced:

> With a total population of just over 35,000, the Bakweri occupy about 85 villages in Fako division. The Bakweri are […] divided into two main groups, namely *Vakpe va Lelu* (Upper Bakweri) and *Vakpe wa Mbenge* (Lower Bakweri). The Upper Bakweri are closer to the base of the Cameroon Mountain stretching from Mafanja in the West and to Ekona in the East. The Lower Bakweri inhabit the area along the Atlantic coast and

include the villages of Ewota, Kie, Bimbia, Batoke, Bakingili, Bomboko, and Sanje (in the West Coast), Bonjongo, and Mokunda.

However, considering the perfide influence exerted on the languages of the Southwest Region by the linguafranca Cameroon Pidgin English (Akum, 2011), this number might have dropped considerably. Indeed, the speakers also use Cameroon Pidgin English and/or Duala. Although the exact relationship between Mokpe, Wumboko, Bubia and Isubu, is not yet firmly established, it is alleged that literature may serve the four speech forms.(1) Guthrie (1967/71) classified Mokpe as a Narrow Bantu language of Zone A, precisely A22, under the Duala Group (A20).

The objective of the present work is to provide a simple descriptive grammar (a sketch grammar) of the language for teaching and learning purposes. The work is divided into three sections: phonology, morphology and syntax. The variety decribed here is the one spoken by the Upper Bakweri people. My field research assistant is a native of Gbassa/Bwassa (the father's village), and he grew up between Bwasa, Bova (the mother's village) and Buea, the capital city of the Southwest Region.

1. Location of Mokpe Speakers

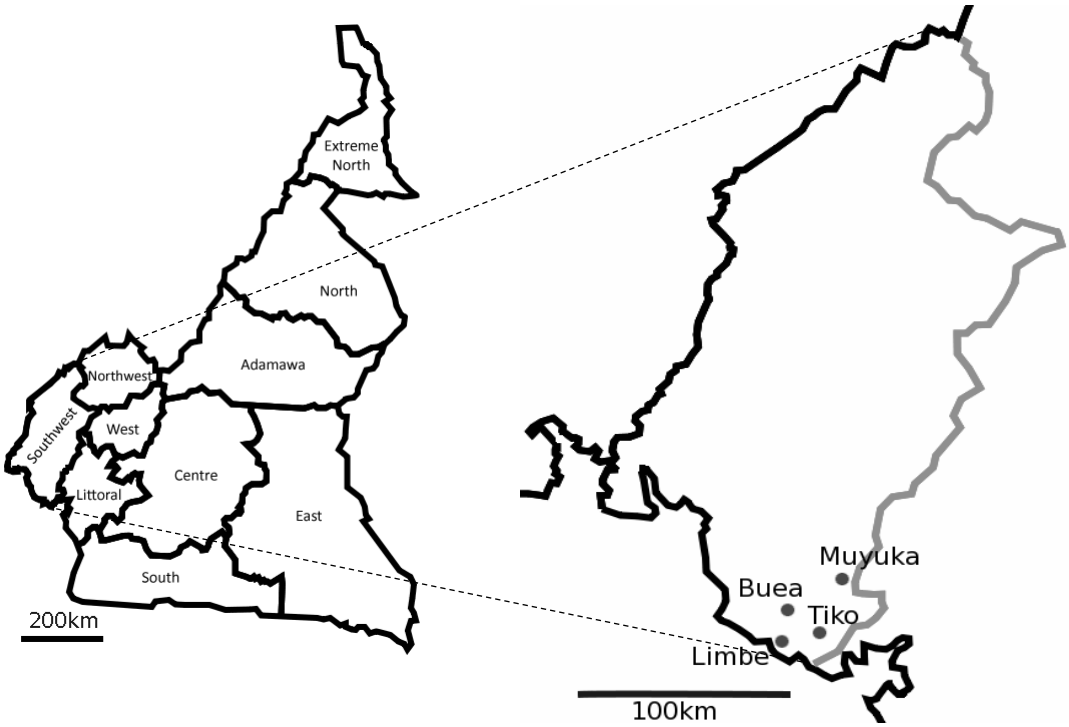


Fig. 1. Map of Cameroon (Southwest Region).

2. Mokpe and the Surrounding Languages

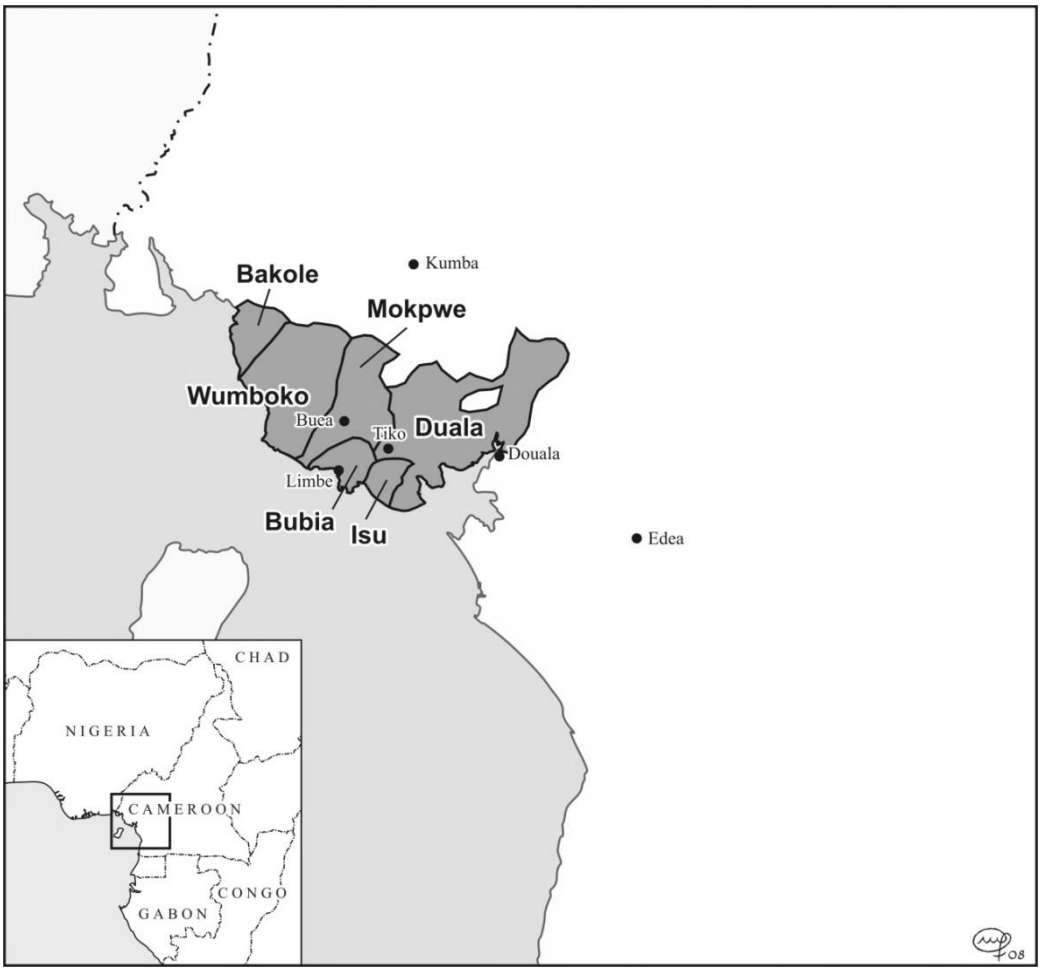


Fig. 2. Map of the Southwest Region with the languages surrounding Mokpe.

II. PHONOLOGY[(2)]

1. Consonants

Mokpe has the following consonant system:

		Labial		Alveolar		Post-alv/ Palatal	Velar	Labial-Velar	
Nasals		m		n		ɲ		ŋm	
Plosives:	plain	(p)	b	t			k	kp	gb
	prenasalised		mb		nd	ndʒ	ŋg		ŋgb
Affricates						dʒ		ŋw	
Fricatives		ɸ	β						
Approximants				l		j		w	
Liquidified Fricative				zr					

The system above differs from what Connell (1997) presented in the brief grammatical introduction of his dictionary of the Mokpe language:

		Labial		Alveolar		Post-alv/ Palatal	Velar	Labial-Velar	
Nasals		m		n		ɲ			
Plosives:	plain	(p	b)	t	d		k	kp	gb
	prenasalised		mb		nd	ndʒ	ŋg		ŋmgb
Fricatives		ɸ	β	s					
Approximants				l		j		w	

It is obvious that I have six sounds (dʒ, zr, ŋm, ŋgb, ŋw, g) that do not exist in Connell's chart. On the other hand, I lack three sounds (ŋmgb, d and s), which are found in Connell (1997).

The six sounds missing in Connell's dictionary are exemplified here by the following words:

[ŋm]	ŋmándʒà	"sea"	[ŋgb]	ŋgbâ	"dog"
[dʒ]	dʒòlí	"firewood"	[ŋw]	lŭŋwɛ̀lɛ̀	"to show"
[zr]	lĭzrɔ̀	"eye"	[g]	gàlé	"gari, tapioca"

As far as the /ŋmgb/ is concerned, we have not identified a single word where this sound appears in our corpus. Similarly, no word made up with this sound is found in Connell's dictionary. Note that this sound is split in two in my work: /ŋm/ and /gb/, illustrated by *ŋmánà* "child" and *gbààβá* "snake" respectively.

The sound /p/ is found only in borrowed words like *píjà* “pear,” while /b/ on the other hand is very uncommon. In our corpus, we found it in *lĭbà* “to steal” and *bɔ̀* “selfishness” only. And, even then, it should be noted that *bɔ̀* freely varies with *wɔ̀* while *ìbâ* “steal!” (1st pers. imp.) can equally be said *ìwâ*. Finally, /g/ is as rare as /p/, because it is only found in borrowed words: *gàlé* “gari, tapioca” (grinded and dry cassava).

It is worth recalling that the consonantal system of Mokpe creates a lot of controversy among researchers. In addition to sounds that may exist in one phonological description but not others (e.g. the divergence between my work and Connell’s own), there is the question of phonological representation of certain sounds.

For example, /s/ in Connell (1997) is phonemicized as /r/ in Kagaya (1992a). The phonetic reality that I represent in this work with the symbols /zr/ is equally found in Muzang (1997), but with three variants: [rz], [ʒr], [rʒ]. Indeed, many speakers will use [rz], [ʒr] or [rʒ]. I opted for /zr/, the liquidified alveolar fricative, because that is what my informants use. Ngoisah (2002), contrary to Muzang (1997) and me, uses /rz/. This sound is realised as /s/ in Bubia as shown in (4) below.

Mokpe	Bubia	Gloss
lĭʒrɔ̀	lĭsɔ̀	"eye"
ìzròzré	ìsòsé	"crab"
lìzròŋgá	lìsòŋgá	"tooth"
jăzrù	jăsù	"chin"
èèzrè	èèsè	"bone"
mbúzrà	mbúsà	"back"
ìzràzrí	ìsàsí	"mat"
ɲìzrɛ̀	ɲìsɛ̀	"thirst"
zràlì	sàlì	"small"
lìzrìmá	lìsìmá	"cold"

On the other hand, Ngoisah (2002) and Connell (1997) consistently disagree on which of the phonemes /ɸ/ or /β/ appears where. A look at their respective data reveals that they contrast in all the words that they happen to have in common. There is no single word in which the two authors agree on the sound to appear. Consequently, I want to believe that the two authors may be investigating two separate varieties. The examples below illustrate this controversy:

Ngoisah (2002)		Connell (1997)		Gloss
IPA	Orthography	IPA	Orthography	

/ɸ/	ɸê	hwê	/β/	βê	vê	"be"
	ɸá	hwa		βá	va	"they"
	ɸè	hwè		βè	vè	"NCP, cl. 8"
	ɸéjà	hwejà		βéjà	vejà	"hear"
	káɸɛ̀	kahwɛ̀		káβɛ̀	kavɛ̀	"antelope"
	ɸànɛ́	hwànɛ		βànɛ́	vànɛ́	"carry"
	ɸéwă	hwewă		βéwă	vewă	"two"
	gbàɸá	gbàhwa		gbàβá	gbàva	"snake"
	ɸándà	hwandà		βándà	vandà	"cover"
	lìɸàtò	lìhwàtò		lìβàtò	lìvàtò	"cloth"
	nà ɸélì	nà hwelì		nà βélì	nà velì	"I am"
	màlíɸá	màlíhwa		màlíβá	màlíva	"water"
	èɸámbó	èhwambo		èβámbó	èvambo	"plank"

/β/	βéjá	hveja	/ɸ/	ɸéjá	feja	"sore"
	βàálɛ̂	hvàalɛ̂		ɸàálɛ̂	fàalɛ̂	"light a fire"
	lìβóá	lìhvoa		lìɸóá	lìfoa	"to open"
	lìβàβà	lìhvàhvà		lìɸàɸà	lìfàfà	"broom"
	mòóβò	mòohvò		mòóɸò	mòofò	"head"
	èβùmá	èhvùma		èɸùmá	èfùma	"orange"

It is difficult to say that this disparity originates from a dialectal variation. One of our informants, although from the same region as Ngoisah, claimed to be surprised by the forms produced by the researcher. She perceives just the opposite sound. My main informant, for the same set of words, produced the sounds transcribed by Connell's.

2. Vowels

Mokpe has the following vowel system:

front	central	back	
i		u	closed
e		o	half-closed
ɛ		ɔ	half-open
	a		open

This system is identical to what is found in Connell (1997) and in Ngoisah (2002).

3. Tones

1. Lexical tones

Like most Bantu languages of the zone, Mokpe contrasts two lexical basic tones: the low (̀) and the high (́). However, a downstepped high tone (ꜜ), the falling (̂) and the rising (̌) are equally noted. The falling and the rising are the results of the combination of the two basic tones. Example:

Low		High	
ŋmà	"year"	kɔ́	"snail"
wɔ̀kpɔ̀	"beard"	ɲáŋgá	"sand"
lìkpàmbà	"cassava"	ímbúndá	"friends"

Falling		Rising	
lìβê	"breast (female)"	tǔ	"room"
ɲô	"body"	lìmɛ̌	"to swallow"
		mɔ̌lɛ̀ŋgù	"sheep"

2. Grammatical tones

The language equally exhibits grammatical tones. This is illustrated in the paired phrases in (8), where the indefinite and definite articles are rendered by the low and the high tone respectively.

mòtò / βàtò	cl. 1/2	"a man / people"
mótò / βátò		"the man / the people"
mòóβò / mèóβò	cl. 3/4	"a head / heads"
móꜜóβò / méꜜóβò		"the head / the heads"
lìzrɔ̀ŋgá / màzrɔ̀ŋgá	cl. 5/6	"a tooth / teeth"
lǐzrɔ̀ŋgá / măzrɔ̀ŋgá		"the tooth / the teeth"
lǐzrɔ̀ / mǐzrɔ̀	cl. 5/6	"an eye / eyes"
líꜜízrɔ̀ / míꜜízrɔ̀		"the eye / the eyes"
èlèlà / βèlèlà	cl. 7/8	"a duck / ducks"
élèlà / βélèlà		"the duck / the ducks"
ìwɔ́nì / βèwɔ́nì	cl. 19/13	"a cartridge / cartridges"
îwɔ́nì / βêwɔ́nì		"the cartridge / the cartridges"
wòzrô	cl. 14	"a face"
wôzrô		"the face"

Grammatical tones are also very productive in the verbal paradigm where it is used to distinguish between the past simple and the present perfect tenses. That is:

lìjɔ́ɔ́ “to laugh”

Past simple		Present Perfect	
nà mà jɔ̌	"I laughed"	ná mă jɔ̀	"I have laughed"
ò mà jɔ̌	"you laughed"	ó mă jɔ̀	"you have laughed"
à mà jɔ̌	"s/he laughed"	á mă jɔ̀	"s/he has laughed"
ì mà jɔ̌	"we laughed"	í mă jɔ̀	"we have laughed"
è mà jɔ̌	"you laughed"	é mă jɔ̀	"you have laughed"
βá mà jɔ̌	"they laughed"	βá mă jɔ̀	"they have laughed"

lìdʒàá “to come”

Past simple		Present Perfect	
nà mà dʒă	"I came"	ná mă dʒà	"I have come"
ò mà dʒă	"you came"	ó mă dʒà	"you have come"
à mà dʒă	"s/he came"	á mă dʒà	"s/he has come"
ì mà dʒă	"we came"	í mă dʒà	"we have come"
è mà dʒă	"you came"	é mă dʒà	"you have come"
βá mà dʒă	"they came"	βá mă dʒà	"they have come"

lěmbà (> lì + émbà) “to sing”

Past simple		Present Perfect	
nà mèmbá	"I sang"	nă měmbà	"I have sung"
ò mèmbá	"you sang"	ǒ měmbà	"you have sung"
à mèmbá	"s/he sang"	á měmbà	"s/he has sung"
ì mèmbá	"we sang"	í měmbà	"we have sung"
è mèmbá	"you sang"	é měmbà	"you have sung"
βá mèmbá	"they sang"	βá měmbà	"they have sung"
NB: mèmbá >mà+émbà		NB: měmbà (>mà+ émbà)	

lìkɛ̂ "to cut"

Past simple		Present Perfect	
nà mà kɛ́	"I cut"	ná ꜜmáá kɛ̂	"I have cut"
ò mà kɛ́	"you cut"	ó ꜜmáá kɛ̂	"you have cut"
à mà kɛ́	"s/he cut"	á ꜜmáá kɛ̂	"s/he has cut"
ì mà kɛ́	"we cut"	í ꜜmáá kɛ̂	"we have cut"
è mà kɛ́	"you cut"	é ꜜmáá kɛ̂	"you have cut"

βá mà kɛ́ "they cut" βá ꜜmáá kɛ̂ "they have cut"

4. Realization of Segments

1. Consonants

	Mokpe		English	French	
/p/	píjà	"pear"	power	pas	"step"
/b/	mwĭbɛ̀	"thief"	bottle	bouton	"bud"
/t/	lùútù	"rubbish heap"	tap	temps	"weather"
/k/	lìkɛ̂	"to cut"	cake	képi	"cap"
/g/	gàlé	"garri"	get	gagner	"to gain"
/β/	βíndí	"charcoal"	—	—	—
/ɸ/	ɸáò	"matchet"	—	—	—
/l/	ŋmàlí	"female"	late	laver	"to wash"
/j/	jòómà	"thing"	yawl	yole	"yawl"
/w/	wàŋgá	"farm"	worry	watt	"watt"
/m/	mɔ̀zrɔ̀kɔ̀	"song"	man	mardi	"Tuesday"
/n/	lĭnà	"name"	nothing	nonne	"nun"
/ɲ/	ɲìɲá	"louse"	new	pagne	"cloth"
/kp/	măkpà	"bags"	—	—	—
/gb/	ègbê	"one hundred"	—	—	—
/dʒ/	dʒòlí	"firewood"	jet	—	—
/zr/	èzrù	"wall"	—	—	—
/mb/	mòβémbé	"nose"	embryo	emballage	"packing"
/nd/	lìwɛ̀ndì	"knife"	under	indolence	"sloth"
/ndʒ/	ndʒúŋgù	"navel"	—	—	—
/ŋg/	ŋgɔ̀ndɔ́	"groundnut"	finger	ongle	"nail"
/ŋgb/	lìŋgbă	"to give"	—	—	—
/ŋm/	ŋmánà	"child"	—	—	—
/ŋw/	lŭŋwà	"to pierce"	—	—	—

Labialisation and palatalisation create the possibility of coarticulative consonants. Only biphonematic types are noted:

- Labialisation

biphonematic						
mw-	mw-àŋgá	"root"	>	mù-	+	-àŋgá
				cl.1		Root

mw-	mw-ĭbɛ̀	"thief"	>	mù-	+	-íbɛ̀
				cl.1		Root
lw-	lw-àtù	"cloth"	>	l-	+	-ùàtù
				cl.5		Root

➢ Palatalisation

biphonematic

lj-	lj-ămà	"jaw"	>	lì-	+	-ámà
				cl.5		Root
lj-	lj-òβá	"door"	>	lì-	+	-òβá
				cl.5		Root

2. Vowels

	Mokpe		English	French	
/i/	ìtámbí	"shoe"	fit	lit	"bed"
/u/	lèlùwà	"market"	pull	cou	"neck"
/e/	ètò	"rat"	face [feɪs]	thé	"tea"
/o/	mòláló	"uncle"	note [noʊt]	numéro	"number"
/ɛ/	ŋmɛ̆mɛ̀	"bat"	bet	père	"father"
/ɔ/	ndʒɔ́lɔ́	"lizard"	boy	or	"gold"
/a/	màámà	"jaws"	adult	taper	"to tap"

5. Syllable Structure

Mokpe has two syllabic shapes: CV and V. The most common shape is CV. The CV is sometimes realised, $C_{glide}V$ (i.e. CwV and CjV). In other words, the high vowels of the prefix (*i* and *u* in *lì-* and *mù-* for example) desyllabify when followed by another vowel.

CV		$C_{glide}V$		V	
mɔ̀	"arm"	ljò-βá	"door"	à	"s/he, it"
ŋgà-ndà	"nail"	ljɔ̆-ŋgɔ́-ŋgɔ́	"knee"	è-tò	"rat"
mà-zrò-ŋgá	"teeth"	mwà-ŋgá	"root"		
lì-ká-kù-mɛ̀-nɛ̀	"to stick"				

6. Phonological Rules

1. Deletion rules

Deletion, i.e. instances where a sound gets eliminated from the string of set of words appears to be the most salient segmental rule in Mokpe. This happens to both vowels and consonants. The cases reported here are of two types: deletions that are triggered by the environment, and deletions that are motivated by rapid flux of the speech. The deleted item is bolded.

- Deletions that are triggered by the environment

The first of two vowels following each other across morpheme or word boundary will get deleted if this first vowel is preceded by a coda.

Example 1

Deletion of vowel /i/ of the infinitive marker (IM) and of vowel /a/ of the subject pronoun 1st person (1sg):

a.	IM		Root		Infinitive	
	lì-	+	émbà	→	lěmbà	"to sing"
	lì-	+	òká	→	lòká	"to play"
	lì-	+	úmbà	→	lŭmbà	"to close"
	lì-	+	ɛ̀ndɛ́	→	lɛ̀ndɛ́	"to go"
	lì-	+	àgbá	→	làgbá	"to climb"

b.	1sg		Root		Present	
	nà	+	émbà	→	němbà	"I sing"
	nà	+	òká	→	nòká	"I play"
	nà	+	úmbà	→	nŭmbà	"I close"
	nà	+	ɛ̀ndɛ́	→	nɛ̀ndɛ́	"I go"
	nà	+	àgbá	→	nàgbá	"to climb"

However, be careful! Do not be chocked to read or hear two distinct consecutive vowels, the subject pronoun 3rd person (3sg) and the vowel of the verb root:

3sg		Root		Present	
à	+	émbà	→	à émbà	"s/he sings"
à	+	òká	→	à òkà	"s/he plays"
à	+	úmbà	→	à úmbà	"s/he closes"
à	+	ɛ̀ndɛ́	→	à ɛ̀ndɛ̀	"s/he goes"

à	+	àgbá	→	à àgbà	"s/he climbs"

Indeed, there is no deletion in the instances above. Remember that deletion occurs if and only if the vowel that gets deleted is preceded by a consonant.

Example 2.

In the following nouns, the vowel of the noun class prefix /mò-/ (singular) or /wù-/ (plural) will delete in front of another vowel.

NC		Root		Output	
mò-	+	ólánà	→	mólánà	"woman"
mò-	+	úɲánà	→	múɲánà	"man"
wù-	+	úɲánà	→	wúɲánà	"men"

- Deletions that are motivated by the flux of the speech

a) The first of two vowels following each other across morpheme or word boundary will get deleted in rapid speech.

Slow speech		Rapid speech	
jòkpó **á** mbólì	→	jòkpá mbólì	"he-goat"
ɲàmà **í** βă	→	ɲàmí βă	"two animals"
kémà **í** jáò	→	kémí jáò	"three monkeys"
Ìwàná ém**á** ètŭ	→	ìwàná émètŭ	"the mouth which is small"

b) Intervocalic /β/, /l/ or /j/ will get deleted in rapid speech.

Slow speech		Rapid speech	
βèòkpó **β**é mbólì	→	βèòkpó é mbólì	"he-goats"
βáănà **β**ámì	→	βáănà ámì	"my children"
líízrɔ̀ **l**ì zràlì	→	líízrɔ̀ ì zràlì	"the small eye"
èlèlà **j**ámì	→	èlèlà ámì	"my duck"

c) Whole syllables get deleted in rapid speech.

Slow speech		Rapid speech	
ònô ŋmánà wà múɲánà	→	ònô ŋmánà múɲánà	"this boy (near me)"
mĭzrɔ̀ mémá mɛ́nɛ̆	→	mĭzrɔ̀ mɛ́nɛ̆	"the eyes which see"
èŋgbá émá èlómă	→	èŋgbá èlómă	"the dog which barks"
à βélì ndí mòtà wòòwê	→	à βélĭ mòtà wòòwê	"he is a bad person"
éβùmá éβélì ndí jé$^{!}$tí	→	éβùméélĭ jé$^{!}$tí	"the fruit is strong"

2. Epenthetic rules

When certain suffixes of the verbal derivational morphology are added to the verb root, an epenthetic consonant, the liquid /l/ or the nasal /n/ is inserted between the final vowel and the suffix. That is that case of the relationship morpheme -ɛlɛ.

/lŭŋmà + ɛlɛ/	→	[lŭŋmɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀]	"to come from (somewhere)"
to come +RELAT			
/lìzráɛ̀nɛ̀ + ɛlɛ/	→	[lìzráɛ̀nɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀]	"sign (sth for sb)"
to sign +RELAT			
/lìɸìá + ɛlɛ/	→	[lìɸìánɛ́lɛ́]	"to mix sth with sth"
to mix +RELAT			
/lìrzàŋgá + ɛlɛ/	→	[lìrzàŋgánɛ́lɛ́]	"to bring together (people)"
to assemble +RELAT			

In some other utterances, the glides /w/ and /j/ are inserted to break a sequence of two vowels.

èmúŋánà ă ò βáằ ɛ̀ŋgɔ̀ndà ámì	→	èmúŋánà ă wò βáằ ɛ̀ŋgɔ̀ndà ámì
"the man who will mary my daughter"		
nà mà ŏ!ŋgówánɛ́ mbítí	→	nà mà wŏ!ŋgówánɛ́ mbítí
"I helped myself"		
à ó!ŋwɛ́ (íŋɔ́) wîtí	→	à wó!ŋwɛ́ (íŋɔ́) wîtí
"kill yourselves"		

3. Feature changing rules

- Affricate and Glide formation

The concord vowels /i/ and /e/, change respectively to [dʒ] and [j] before another vowel.

- /i/ → [dʒ]

ìlìβòànɛ̀ ì ɔ̀kɔ́	→	ìlìβòànɛ̀ dʒɔ̀kɔ́	"one key"
ìnɔ̀ní í ɔ́kɔ́	→	ìnɔ̀ní !dʒɔ́kɔ́	"one bird"
ì ŏβì múŋánà	→	dʒŏβì múŋánà	"we have a man"
ì àzréjɛ́ lìkɛ̂	→	dʒààzréjɛ́ lìkɛ̂	"we wanted to cut"

íwɔ̃̀nì émá í óŋwă → íwɔ̃̀nì émá dʒóŋwă
"the cartridge which kills"
wɔ́ɔ̃̀lɔ̀ wémá wɔ́ ì ònŋgówání → wɔ́ɔ̃̀lɔ̀ wémá wɔ́ dʒònŋgówání

"the canoe which helps us"

- /e/ → [j]

ìzrù è ɔ̀kɔ́	→	ìzrù jɔ̀kɔ́	"one wall"
èjémbé é ɔ́kɔ́	→	èjémbé ˈjɔ́kɔ́	"one animal"
è ǒβì màlíwá	→	jǒβì màlíwá	"you (pl) have water"
è àzréjɛ́ lìkɛ̂	→	jààzréjɛ́ lìkɛ̂	"you (pl) wanted to cut"

➢ Vowel assimilation

The vowel /a/ of the collective action suffix -na is realised /ɔ/ if the final vowel of the verb root is /ɔ/ and as [ɛ] if the final vowel of the root is /ɛ/.

/lìŋwâ + na/	→	[lìŋwânà]	"to die with ..."
/làgbá + na/	→	[làgbáná]	"to climb with..."
/lìnàŋgá + na/	→	[lìnàŋgáná]	"to sleep with..."
/lìɲɔ̂ + na/	→	[lìɲɔ̂nɔ̀]	"to drink with..."
/lìjɔ̌nɔ́+ na/	→	[lìjɔ̌nɔ́]	"to laugh with..."
/lìkúlɛ̀+ na/	→	[lìkúlɛ̀nɛ̀]	"to finish with..."
/lɛ̀ndɛ́nɛ́ + na/	→	[lɛ̀ndɛ́nɛ́]	"to go with..."

7. Tonal Rules

We have noted tone deletion, tone simplification and tone lowering, precisely, Meeussen's Rule.

1. Tone deletion

In some cases, when a vowel gets deleted, its tone does not survive but also get deleted. For examples of such cases, please turn back to all the instances of vowel deletion discussed above in (17, 18, 20). You will notice that each time a vowel is deleted, it goes with its tone. Let us however recall the examples for sake of convenience.

NC		Root		Output	
mò-	+	ólánà	→	mólánà	"woman"
mò-	+	úɲánà	→	múɲánà	"man"
wù-	+	úɲánà	→	wúɲánà	"men"

In these examples indeed, the vowel of the prefix erases with its tone and the noun surfaces with the high tone of the first vowel of the root only. Note that we had a low tone facing a high before deletion occurs.

2. Tone copy

The vowel /a/ of the collective action suffix -na copies the tone the final vowel of the root.

/lìŋwâ + na/	→	[lìŋwânà]	"to die with ..."
/làgbá + na/	→	[làgbáná]	"to climb with ..."
/lìɲɔ̂ + na/	→	[lìɲɔ̂nɔ̀]	"to drink with ..."
/lìjɔ̌nɔ́+ na/	→	[lìjɔ̌nɔ́]	"to laugh with ..."
/lìnàŋgá + na/	→	[lìnàŋgáná]	"to sleep with ..."
/lìkúlɛ̀+ na/	→	[lìkúlɛ̀nɛ̀]	"to finish with ..."
/lɛ̀ndɛ́nɛ́ + na/	→	[lɛ̀ndɛ́nɛ́]	"to go with ..."

Similarly, the causative, applicative and the process are all marked by the toneless suffixes -izrɛ, -eja and -ɛa respectively. These morphemes replace the last vowel of the verb root and copy its tone.

/lɔ̌kɔ̀wà+ izrɛ/	→	[lɔ̌kɔ̀wìzrɛ̀]	"to teach (cause sb to learn)"
to learn +CAUS			
/làndá + izrɛ/	→	[làndízrɛ́]	"to cause sb to buy"
to buy +CAUS			
/lìŋwâ+ eja/	→	[lìŋwéèjà]	"die for ..."
to learn +APPL			
/lɔ̀ŋgá + eja/	→	[lɔ̌ŋgéjá]	"to look after" (a child)
to grow +APPL			
/lɛ̀ndɛ́ + ɛa/	→	[lɛ̀ndɛ́á]	"to go to"
to go +PROC			
/lìɸáŋgà + ɛa/	→	[lìɸáŋgɛ̀à]	"to become spoiled"
to spoil +PROC			

3. Tone simplification

In some other cases, more precisely when it is the vowel of a root which is deleted, the tone will survive and re-associate with the vowel of the prefix. This creates a contour tone which is simplified.

NC + Root	Vowel del.	Tone reass.	Tone Simpl.	Output	
βà- + ólánà	βà- +˝ lánà	βălánà	βálánà	βálánà	‘women’

4. Meeussen's Rule (H-tone lowering)

In Bantu languages, there is a tonal process whereby the second of two successive high tones is systematically deleted or lowered. We must have noticed when we were briefly discussing the grammatical tones of the Mokpe language that two consecutive high tones result in the lowering of the second in the present perfect tense. In the example below, the tones on the subject pronoun are low except for the last subject pronoun "they" whose tone is high. The tone on the past marker (mà) equally surfaces with a low tone. Then there is no tone lowering. In the present perfect, on the contrary, the tense marker is high-toned (má) and it is lowered because it immediately follows high-toned subject pronouns.

lìŋgbă "to give"

Past simple		Present Perfect	
nà mà ŋgbă	"I gave"	ná ꜜmáá ŋgbà	"I have given "
ò mà ŋgbă	"you gave"	ó ꜜmáá ŋgbà	"you have given "
à mà ŋgbă	"s/he gave"	á ꜜmáá ŋgbà	"s/he has given "
ì mà ŋgbă	"we gave"	í ꜜmáá ŋgbà	"we have given "
è mà ŋgbă	"you gave"	é ꜜmáá ŋgbà	"you have given"
βá mà ŋgbă	"they gave"	βá ꜜmáá ŋgbà	"they have given"

The phrases in column A below do not exhibit any lowering because the high tone of the noun root is preceded by a low tone on the noun class prefix (mò-, ŋm-) or by zero noun class and then zero tone). Lowering happens when the tone of the prefix turn to be high.

A (no H lowering)		B (H lowering, Meeussen's Rule)	
mòóβò mòndɛ́nɛ̀	"a big head"	móꜜóβò máázrɛ̂	"the whole head"
ŋmĕmà mòzràlì	"a small heart"	méꜜémà mòndɛ́nɛ̀	"the big hearts"
ŋgbázrèlì ndɛ́nɛ̀	"a big cartridge"	íꜜŋgbázrèlì ndɛ́nɛ̀	"big cartridges"

Furthermore, we have cases of word boundary. When the last vowel of the first lexeme of the phrase is low-toned, there is no lowering of the following high-toned vowel. But in B such lowering occurs because there are two successive high tones.

A (no H lowering)		B (H lowering, Meeussen's Rule)	
kémà βɔ́kɔ́	"one monkey"	ndʒìjá ꜜβɔ́kɔ́	"one road (path)"
lĭzrɔ̀ lɔ̀kɔ́	"one eye"	èwòlóꜜlɔ́kɔ́	"one work"
lĭnà lɔ̀kɔ́	"one name"	lìzrɔ̀ŋgáꜜlɔ́kɔ́	"one tooth"
wòzrô wɔ̀kɔ́	"one face"	wɔ̀ŋgɔ́ ꜜwɔ́kɔ́	"one brain"
ìlìβɔ̀ànɛ̀ dʒɔ̀kɔ́	"one key"	ìnɔ̀níꜜdʒɔ́kɔ́	"one bird"

ìzrù jɔ̀kɔ́	"one wall"	èjémbé ꜜjɔ́kɔ́	"one animal"
tɔ̀ímá jŏmà	"each thing"	tɔ̀ímá ꜜdʒɔ́ŋgɔ́	"each pot"
tɔ̀ímá mŏβò	"each head"	tɔ̀ímá ꜜmúɲánà	"each husband"
tɔ̀ímá mòtò	"each person"	tɔ̀ímá ꜜzráŋgó	"each father"
tɔ̀ímá ɲàŋgó	"each mother"	tɔ̀ímá ꜜlítô	"each ear"
tɔ̀ímá ŋgbâ	"each duck"	tɔ̀ímá ꜜlínà	"each name"
tɔ̀ímá ŋmâ	"each year"	tɔ̀ímá ꜜŋmánà	"each baby"

Finally in the examples below, the tonal structure of the wh-question is just the structural description of Meeussen's Rule.

H lowering, Meeussen's Rule

ó ꜜnú wɛ́lɛ́lê	"where are you from?"
ó ꜜné mbèzrà	"where is the boy?"
ó ꜜné lèlà	"where is the duck?"
ó ꜜné kémà	"where is the monkey?"
í ꜜmá βóndó dʒá	"when do you come?"
í ꜜmá βóndó dʒá βê	"when do you come again?"

8. The Alphabet

Following the some of the principles outlined in the *General Alphabet of Cameroonian Languages* (Tadadjeu et Sadembouo 1979), I propose 26 graphemes (unigraphs) to write the Mokpe language. There are 18 consonants, 7 vowels and 2 tones.

Consonants

p, b, t, k, g, ɸ, β, l, w, j, ʒ, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, d, r, z.

Vowels

i, u, e, ɛ, o, ɔ, a.

Tones

̀ (low) ́ (high)

1. Consonants: illustration

Phoneme	Grapheme	Examples			
		Initial position		Mediane position	
/p/	p	píjà	"pear"	——	
/b/	b	bɔ̀	"selfishness"	lǐbà	"to steal"
/t/	t	tàmbá	"hat/cap"	lìtô	"ear"
/k/	k	kɔ́	"snail"	lìkɔ̀kɔ́	"to pound"
/g/	g	gàlé	"garri"	——	
/ɸ/	ɸ	ɸéjá	"wound"	káɸè	"antelope"
/β/	β	βétâ	"five"	lìβɛ́lɛ̀	"to call"
/l/	l	lìwɛ̀ndì	"knife"	èwùlé	"grass"
/j/	j	jǔtùtù	"smoke"	lìβìjà	"to know"
/w/	w	wúɸá	"day"	lìwówà	"to take"
/m/	m	mɔ̌mɛ̀	"male"	kémà	"singe"
/n/	n	nà	"and"	mànɔ̀nɔ́	"fat"
/ɲ/	ɲ	ɲìɲì	"housefly"	mɔ̀ɔ̀ɲɛ̀	"ground"

Some of the graphemes will be used to write some single sounds.

Phoneme	Grapheme		Examples			
			Initial position		Mediane position	
/dʒ/	dʒ	(d + ʒ)	dʒùŋgó	"eagle"	βààdʒèdʒɛ̀	"mothers"
/kp/	kp	(k + p)	kpâ	"fall!"	wɔ̀kpɔ̀	"beard"
/gb/	gb	(g + b)	gbààβá	"snake"	ìgbê	"sun"

The single graphemes can also be utilized to write co-articulated sounds like [zr], [mb], [nd], [ndʒ], [ŋg], [ŋgb], [ŋm], [ŋw].

Phoneme	Grapheme		Examples			
			Initial position		Mediane position	
/zr/	zr	z + r	zràlì	"small"	ìzròzré	"crab"
/mb/	mb	m + b	mbówà	"village"	zrómbé	"star"
/nd/	nd	n + d	ndɔ̀ndɔ̀kì	"needle"	mbòndò	"buttocks"
/ndʒ/	ndʒ	n + d + ʒ	ndʒàwù	"hunger"	ìlándʒò	"fruit"
/ŋg/	ŋg	ŋ + g	ŋgàtá	"basket"	ŋgàŋgà	"doctor"
/ŋgb/	ŋgb	ŋ + g + b	ŋgbázrèlì	"cartridges"	làŋgbá	"to shoot"
/ŋm/	ŋm	ŋ + m	ŋmɛ̌mɛ̀	"bat"	lǒŋwà	"to kill"
/ŋw/	ŋw	ŋ + w	——	——	lǔŋwɛ̀lɛ̀	"to show"

In other words, the unigraphs will combine to form digraphs and trigraphs. That is the reason why graphemes such as ŋ, d, r, z, ʒ, which do not exist as single sound/phoneme in the language are included in the alphabet. I call them *auxiliary symbols*,[(3)] because they help in the orthographic transcription of /nd/, /ŋg/, /dʒ/ and /zr/. Although the digraphs or trigraphs are made of 2 or 3 letters, they represent a unique phoneme, /mb/, /nd/, /ndʒ/, /ŋgb/, /ŋw/ etc.

2. Vowels: illustration

Phoneme	Grapheme	Examples		
		Initial position	Mediane position	Final position
/i/	i	ìndókó	dʒìtítí	mbèβɛ̀nì
		"pepper"	"darkness"	"wind"
/u/	u	úŋwɛ́lɛ̂	ìwùŋgá	mɔ̌lɛ̀ŋgù
		"show!"	"stomach"	"sheep"
/e/	e	èlùwà	èlèlà	èèjé
		"market"	"duck"	"tree"
/o/	o	óŋwâ	mèòndó	ŋmèó
		"kill!"	"tails"	"egg"
/ɛ/	ɛ	èkɛ̀	dʒɛ̌mɛ̀	"èmùnɛ̀
		"metal"	"tongue"	"wave"
/ɔ/	ɔ	ɔ̀	màɔ̀ŋgɔ́	ŋgɔ̀ndɔ́
		"you (sg.) "	"spear"	"groundnut"
/a/	a	à	ŋgàndó	lǐkpà
		"s/he"	"crocodile"	"bag"

3. Tones: illustration

Phoneme	Grapheme	Examples		
		Initial position	Mediane position	Final position
/ ̀ /	̀	èkòwò	mɔ̀kɔ̀yɔ̀	mòzràŋgò
		"skin"	"bachelor"	"peace"
/ ́ /	́	zrɛ́lɛ̀	múnyanà	ndʒɛ̀mbú
		"burn"	"husband"	"paralysis"

Like the consonants, the tones will combine to write the two contour tones, rising and falling.

Phoneme	Grapheme	Examples		
		Initial position	Mediane position	Final position
	´ + `	ôzré	———	òŋgâ
		"under"		"live, grow"
	` + ´	lĭzrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀	βáănà	ŋmă
		"to hunt"	"the children"	"hoe"

4. Summary: the alphabet proper

The Mokpe alphabet is therefore made up of the following symbols:

Unigraphs				
A	a	À	à	"he, she"
ß	β	ßétâ	βétâ	"five" dʒ
D	D[4]	——	——	——
E	e	Èlùwà	èlùwà	"market"
Ɛ	ɛ	Ɛ̀kɛ̀	ɛ̀kɛ̀	"metal"
ɸ	ɸ	ɸéjá	ɸéjá	"wound"
G	g[5]	Gàlé	gàlé	"garri"
I	i	Ìndókó	ìndókó	"pepper"
Ʒ	ʒ	——	——	——
K	k	Kɔ́	kɔ́	"snail"
L	l	Lìwɛ̀ndì	lìwɛ̀ndì	"knife"
M	m	Mŏmɛ̀	mŏmɛ̀	"male"
N	n	Nà	nà	"and"
Ɲ	ɲ	Ɲìɲì	ɲìɲì	"housefly"
Ŋ	ŋ[6]	Ŋgàtá	ŋgàtá	"basket"
O	o	Óŋwâ	óŋwâ	"kill!"
Ɔ	ɔ	Ɔ̀	ɔ̀	"you (sg.)"[7]
P	p	Píjà	píjà	"pear"
R	r	——	——	——
T	t	Tàmbá	tàmbá	"hat/cap"
U	u	Úŋwɛ́lɛ̂	úŋwɛ́lɛ̂	"show!"
W	w	Wúɸá	wúɸá	"day"
J	j	Jŭtùtù	jŭtùtù	"smoke"
Z	z	Zràlì	zràlì	"small"
`	`	——	——	——
´	´	——	——	——

5. Rules of orthography

The first orthographic rule states that some of the consonant graphemes above combine to form digraphs. These are:

k p → kp

g b → gb

z r → zr

m b → mb

n d → nd

n d ʒ → ndʒ

ŋ g → ŋg

ŋ m → ŋm

ŋ w → ŋw

ŋ g b → ŋgb

These combinations produce the following digraphs:

Digraphs				
Zr	zr	Zràlì	zràlì	"small"
Mb	mb	Mbówà	mbówà	"village"
Nd	nd	Ndɔ̀ndɔ̀kì	ndɔ̀ndɔ̀kì	"needle"
Ndʒ	ndʒ	Ndʒàwù	ndʒàwù	"hunger"
Ŋg	ŋg	Ŋgàtá	ŋgàtá	"basket"
Ŋgb	ŋgb	Ŋgbázrèlì	ŋgbázrèlì	"cartridges"
Ŋm	ŋm	Ŋmɛ̌mɛ̀	ŋmɛ̌mɛ̀	"bat"
Ŋw	ŋw	Ŋwéé jà	ŋwéé jà	"die for something"

Note that all tones are marked.

Ndɔ̀ndɔ̀kì	ndɔ̀ndɔ̀kì	"needle"
Tàmbá	tàmbá	"hat/cap"
wúŋá	wúŋá	"day"

Wŭβà	wŭβà	"chicken"
Lìβâ	lìβâ	"marriage; wedding"
Ljŏŋgɔ́ŋgɔ́	ljŏŋgɔ́ŋgɔ́	"knee"
Úŋwɛ́lɛ̂	úŋwɛ́lɛ̂	"show!"

The marking of all tones allows the visualizations of Meeussen's rule.

ná ꜜmáá ŋgbà	→	"I have given"
móꜜóβò máázrɛ̂	→	"the whole head"
tɔ̀ímá ꜜlínà	→	"each name"
èjémbé ꜜjɔ́kɔ́	→	"one animal"
ó ꜜné mbèzrà	→	"where is the boy?"

6. The Mokpe alphabets

For comparative reasons, I present below the five alphabets that have been proposed for the Mokpe language. My alphabet, although the shortest, can equally be used to write the language efficiently.

Table 1. The various alphabets designed for the Mokpe language

No.	Connell (1997)	Blay	Ekobena (2004)	Ngoisah (2002)	Atindogbé (the present work)
	a	a	a	a	a
	b	(b)	ch	(b)	b
	d	c	e	ch	β
	e	e	ɛ	e	d
	ɛ	gb	f	ɛ	e
	f	hf	gb	gb	ɛ
	g	hw	i	hv (β)	ɸ
	gb	hz	j (dʒ)	hw (ɸ)	g
	i	i	k	i	i
	j	j (dʒ)	kp	j (dʒ)	dʒ
	k	k	l	k	k
	kp	kp	m	kp	l
	l	l	mgb	l	m
	m	m	mb	m	n
	mb	mb	n	mb	ɲ
	n	n	nw	n	ŋ
	nd	nd	nd	nd	o

ng	nj (ndʒ)	nj (ndʒ)	nj (ndʒ)	ɔ
nj (ndʒ)	ny (ɲ)	ny (ɲ)	ny (ɲ)	p
ny (ɲ)	ŋg	o	ŋg	r
o	ŋgb	ɔ	ŋgb	t
ɔ	o	s (zr)	ŋm	u
p	ɔ	t	ŋw	w
s (zr)	(p)	u	o	j
t	t	v	ɔ	z
u	u	w	rz	̀
v	w	y	t	́
w	y	̀	u	
y	̀		w	
̀			y	
			̀	

III. MORPHOLOGY: THE NOUN AND THE NOUN PHRASE

Genarally, most parts of speech in Mokpe, as in most Bantu languages, are generally made up of a prefix and a root:

Prefix + Root

Some roots may lack a prefix. This may just be the result of some phonological process whereby the prefix gets deleted. We therefore have:

Root

1. Nouns

The noun has the following structure:

Noun Class Prefix + Root

There are 12 prefixes, arranged in classes numbered from 1 to 19 (without 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17 and 18), and grouped in 9 pairs as we shall see below following the singular/plural tandem. The prefixes bearing uneven numbers mark the singular, whereas those with the even numbers express plurality. The passage from singular to plural is done through the substitution of the singular prefix by the plural prefix.

The examples below show all the 12 classes of nouns, organised in pairs (sg/pl). The prefix is separated from the root by a hyphen. When there is no overt prefix, the root is preceded by nothing. When the prefix exhibits a variant, it is clearly spelled out through sub-classes labelled with letter b), c), etc.

1. Nouns of class 1 and class 2

	class 1			class 2	
a)	mò-tò	"person"	b)	βà-tò	"persons"
	mò-mbákí	"elder"		βà-mbákí	"elders"
	mò-kòmí	"slave"		βà-kòmí	"slaves"
c)	ŋm-ánà	"child"	d)	β-ánà	"children"
	ŋm-ɛ̀ní	"guest"		βà-ɛ̀ní	"guests"
e)	mw-ǐbɛ̀	"thief"	f)	βà-íbɛ̀	"thieves"
	mw-ìmbà	"witch"		βà-ìmbà	"witches"
g)	m-ólánà	"woman"	h)	β-álánà	"women"
	m-ɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀	"hunter"		βà-zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀	"hunters"
	m-úŋánà	"man"		w-úŋánà	"men"

The 2 prefixes and their variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
mò- ~ ŋm- ~ mw- ~ m-	βà- ~ β- ~ w-

Distribution of the variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
mò- before consonants	βà- before consonants and vowels
ŋm- before vowels a and ɛ	ɛ and i
mw- before vowel i	β- before vowel a
m- before vowels o, ɔ and u	w- before vowel u

Basic prefixes for classes 1 and 2

Singular prefix (Class 1):	Plural prefix (Class 2):
mò-	βà-

2. Nouns of class 3 and class 4

	class 3			class 4	
a)	mò-òndó	"tail"	b)	mè-òndó	"tails"
	mò-ómɛ̀	"male"		mè-ómɛ̀	"males"
	mò-zréwá	"horn"		mè-zréwá	"horns"

	mò-láló	"mother's brother"		mè-láló	"mother's brothers"
	mò-zrô	"river"		mè-zrô	"rivers"
c)	mɔ̀-ɔ̀lí	"rope"	d)	mɛ̀-ɔ̀lí	"ropes"
	mɔ̀-ɔ̀ɲɛ̀	"ground"		mɛ̀-ɔ̀ɲɛ̀	"grounds"
	mɔ̀-zrɔ̀kɔ̀	"song"		mɛ̀-zrɔ̀kɔ̀	"songs"
	mɔ̀-ɔ́lɛ̀ŋgù	"sheep"		mɛ̀-ɛ́lɛ̀ŋgù	"sheep"
e)	ŋm-â	"year"	f)	mɛ́-â	"years"
	ŋm-ă	"hoe"		mɛ̀-á	"hoes"
	ŋm-ɛ̆mɛ̀	"bat"		mɛ̀-ɛ́mɛ̀	"bats"
	ŋm-ándʒà	"sea"		mɛ̀-ándʒà	"seas"
			g)	mì-ízrɔ̀	"eyes"
				mì-ínà	"names"
				mì-jà	"palm trees"
				mì-jɔ̀	"stoves"

Note: the singular forms of the words in (g) are found in class 5.

The 2 prefixes and their variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
mò- ~ mɔ̀- ~ ŋm-	mè- ~ mɛ̀- ~ mì-

Distribution of the variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
mò- before consonants and any root starting with vowel o mɔ̀- before any root whose first vowel is ɔ ŋm- before vowels a and ɛ	mè- before consonants and any root starting with vowel o mɛ̀- before any root whose first vowel is ɔ, ɛ or a mì- before any root whose first vowel is ɪ- and semivowel j

Basic prefixes for classes 3 and 4

Singular prefix (Class 3):	Plural prefix (Class 4):
mò-	mè-

3. Nouns of class 5 and class 6

	class 5			class 6	
a)	lì-tô	"ear"	b)	mà-tô	"ears"
	lì-já	"hand"		mà-á	"hands"

	lì-wɔ̀	"neck"		mà-wɔ̀	"necks"
	lì-wɛ̀ndì	"knife"		mà-wɛ̀ndì	"knives"
	lì-zrɔ̀ŋgá	"tooth"		mà-zrɔ̀ŋgá	"teeth"
	lì-βùmbú	"hair"		mà-βùmbú	"hairs"
c)	lj-ămà	"jaw"	d)	mà-ámà	"jaws"
	lj-ɔ̌ŋgɔ́ŋgɔ́	"knee"		mà-ɔ́ŋgɔ́ŋgɔ́	"knees"
	lj-òβá	"door"		mà-òβá	"doors"
e)	l-ùùŋgá	"belly"	f)	mà-ùŋgá	"bellies"
	l-ùwàtù	"cloth"		mà-àtù	"cloths"
	l-ùútù	"rubbish heap"		mà-wútù	"rubbish heap"
	l-úmbú	"nest"		mà-wúmbú	"nests"

The 2 prefixes and their variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
lì- ~ lj- ~ l-	mà-

Distribution of the variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
lì- before consonants lj- before vowel o, ɔ or a l- before vowel u	

Basic prefixes for classes 5 and 6

Singular prefix (Class 5):	Plural prefix (Class 6):
lì-	mà-

Let us point out here that some words of class 5 take their plural in class 4. This leads to the pairing 5/4:

	class 5			class 4	
a)	lì-ízrɔ̀	"eye"	b)	mì-ízrɔ̀	"eyes"
	lì-ínà	"name"		mì-ínà	"names"
	lì-jà	"palm tree"		mì-jà	"palm trees"
	lì-jɔ̀	"stove"		mì-jɔ̀	"stoves"
	lì-kɔ̀	"plantain"		mɛ̀-kɔ̀	"plantains"

4. Nouns of class 7 and class 8

	class 7			class 8	
a)	è-èjà	"word"	b)	βè-èjà	"words"

	è-èjé	"tree"		βè-èjé	"trees"
	è-èzré	"bone"		βè-èzré	"bones"
	è-èlélé	"dawn"		βè-èlélé	"dawns"
	è-zrù	"wall"		βè-zrù	"walls"
	è-lèlà	"duck"		βè-lèlà	"ducks"
	è-wókà	"compound"		βè-wókà	"compounds"
	è-zrózró	"thigh"		βè-zrózró	"thighs"
c)	ɛ̀-ɛ̀kɛ̀	"iron"	d)	βɛ̀-ɛ̀kɛ̀	"irons"
e)	j-ǎlí	"leaf"	f)	βè-álí	"leaves"
	j-ǒnó	"yam"		βè-ónó	"yams"
	j-ǎzrù	"chin"		βè-ázrù	"chins"
	j-òkpè	"dry season"		βè-òkpè	"dry seasons"
	j-ǒndò	"axe"		βè-óndò	"axes"
			g)	βj-ùŋgù	"mosquitoes"

Note: The singular of mosquitoes is dʒ-ùŋgù (class19).

The 2 prefixes and their variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
è- ~ ɛ̀- ~ j-	βè- ~ βɛ̀- ~ βj-

Distribution of the variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
è- before consonants and any root whose first vowel is e	βè- elsewhere
ɛ̀- before any root whose first vowel is ɛ or ɔ	βɛ̀- before any root whose first vowel is ɛ or ɔ
j- before all vowels except ɛ or ɔ	βj- before any root whose first vowel is u

Basic prefixes for classes 7 and 8

Singular prefix (Class 7):	Plural prefix (Class 8):
è-	βè-

5. Nouns of class 9 and class10[8]

	class 9			class 10	
a)	m-búzrà	"back"	b)	m-búzrà	"backs"
	m-búwà	"rain"		m-búwà	"rains"

	m-bòndò	"buttock"		m-bòndò	"buttocks"
	m-bɛ̀βɛ̀nì	"wind"		m-bɛ̀βɛ̀nì	"winds"
	n-dʒúŋgù	"navel"		n-dʒúŋgù	"navels"
	n-dʒùmá	"war"		n-dʒùmá	"wars"
	ŋ-gɔ̀ndɔ́	"groundnut"		ŋ-gɔ̀ndɔ́	"groundnuts"
c)	m-bàzrì	"maize"	d)	í-mbàzrì	"maize"
	n-dʒééndʒéé	"thorn"		í-ndʒééndʒéé	"thorns"
	n-dʒɔ̀kù	"elephant"		í-ndʒɔ̀kù	"elephants"
	ŋ-gàtá	"basket"		í-ŋgàtá	"baskets"
	ŋ-gàndà	"nail"		í-ŋgàndà	"nails"
	ŋ-gòɲà	"soup, sauce"		í-ŋgòɲà	"soups"
	ŋ-gbâ	"dog"		í-ŋgbâ or ŋ-gbâ	"dogs"
e)	-ɲô	"body"	f)	-ɲô or í-ɲô	"bodies"
	-ɲàmà	"meat"		-ɲàmà or í-ɲàmà	"meats"
	-ɲáàwɛ̀	"bee"		-ɲáàwɛ̀ or í-ɲáàwɛ̀	"bees"
	-ɲàkà	"cow"		-ɲàkà or í-ɲàkà	"cows"
	-ɲìɲì	"housefly"		-ɲìɲì	"houseflies"
	-ɲiɲá	"louse"		-ɲìɲá	"louses"
g)	pùzrí	"cat"	h)	pùzrí	"cats"
	tàmbá	"hat/cap"		tàmbá	"hat/cap"
	kɔ́	"snail"		kɔ́	"snails"
	zrɔ̀wɛ̀	"dust"		zrɔ̀wɛ̀	"dusts"
	wúɲá	"day"		wúɲá	"day"
	zrómbé	"star"		í-zrómbé	"stars"
	kíŋgɛ̀	"king"		í-kíŋgɛ̀	"kings"
	kémà	"monkey"		í-kémà	"monkeys"
	wɔ́zrì	"horse"		í-wɔ́zrì	"horses"

The 2 prefixes:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
N ~ Ø	N- ~ Ø
	í-

Distribution of the variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
N- elsewhere Ø- before nasals, voiceless	N- elsewhere Ø- before nasals, voiceless

plosives (p, t, k), liquidified fricatives (zr) and approximants (w)	plosives (p, t, k), liquidified fricatives (zr) and approximants (w) í- no prediction possible, seems to be optional

Basic prefixes for classes 9 and 10

Singular prefix (Class 9):	Plural prefix (Class 10):
N	N

6. Nouns of class 14

Class 14, a singular class, surprisingly, has generally no fix or precise class as plural counterpart. These singular forms may take their plural prefix nowhere else than in that same class 14. In other words the plural forms are identical to the singular forms.

	class 14			class 14[(9)]	
a)	wò-ndʒà	"freedom"	b)		
	wò-zráŋgí	"cleanliness"			
	wò-zrúβé	"bad luck"			
	wò-tání	"brightness"			
	wò-lìjá	"meeting"		wò-lìjá	"meetings"
	wò-zrò	"parrot"		wò-zrò	"parrots"
	wò-mbá	"type of tree"		wò-mbá	"type of tree"
c)	w-ɔ̀kpɔ̀	"beard"	d)	w-ɔ̀kpɔ̀	"beards"
	w-ŏmbé	"kite"		w-ŏmbé	"kites"
	w-ɔ̌lɔ̀	"boat"		w-ɔ̌lɔ̀	"boats"
	w-ŭlùlɛ̀	"type of tree"		w-ŭlùlɛ̀	"types of tree"
e)	gb-áŋgó	"care, caution"			
	gb-àká	"herd"			
	gb-èŋgì	"tapping of palm wine"			
	gb-ìndà	"duration"			

Some singular forms can take their plural prefix from class 6 or class 10. The cases of singular nouns (class 14) taking their plural in class 10 also shows evidence of instances of nouns with double prefix.

	class 14			class 6	
a)	wò-zrô	"face"	b)	mà-zrô	"faces"
	wò-kòmbò	"beard"		mà-kòmbò	"beards"

	w-ŭ	"night"		mà-wŭ	"nights"
	w-ɔ̀ŋgɔ́	"brain"		mà-ɔ̀ŋgɔ́	"brains"
c)	gb-ằŋgú	"iron wood tree"		mà-á̰ŋgú	"iron wood trees"
	gb-ìtó	"story"		mà-jìtó	"stories"
	gb-àà̰βá	"snake"		mà-à̰βá	"snakes"
	gb-ě	"tree"		mà-é	"trees"
d)	w-ómbé	"kite"	e)	í-w-ómbé	"kites"
	w-ŭβà	"chicken"		í-w-ŭβà	"chickens"
				dʒ-ŭβà	

The 2 prefixes and their variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
wò- ~ w- ~ gb-	wò- ~ w-
	mà-
	í-

Distribution of the variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix (wù- ~ w-):
wò- before consonants w- before any root whose first sound is vowel u, o, or ɔ gb- before any root whose first sound is vowel ɪ, e, ɛ, or a	wò- before consonants w- before any root whose first sound is vowel u, o, or ɔ

Basic prefixes for classes 14

Singular prefix (Class 14):	Plural prefixes:
wò-	wù- (class 14) mà- (class 6) í- (class 10)

7. Nouns of class 19

	class 19			class 8	
a)	ì-nɔ̀ní	"bird"	b)	βè-nɔ̀ní	"birds"
	ì-tɛ̀ŋgɛ̀	"pot (water)"		βè-tɛ̀ŋgɛ̀	"pots (water)"
c)	ì-zrázrí	"mat"	d)	βè-zrázrí	"mats"
	ì-támbí	"shoe"		βè-támbí	"shoes"
	ì-zròzré	"crab"		βè-zròzré	"crabs"
	ì-ndókó	"pepper"		βè-ndókó	"pepper"

	ì-lùkà	"bottle"		βè-lùkà	"bottles"
e)	dʒ-ùŋgù	"mosquito"	f)	βj-ùŋgù	"mosquitoes"
	dʒ-ùŋgó	"eagle"		βj-ùŋgó	"eagles"

The 2 prefixes and their variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
ì- ~ dʒ-	βè- ~ βɛ̀- ~ βj-

Distribution of the variants:

Singular prefix:	Plural prefix:
ì- before consonants dʒ- before vowel	βɛ̀- before any root whose first vowel is ɔ or ɛ βè- elsewhere βj- before vowel u

Basic prefixes for classes 19 and 8

Singular prefix (Class 19):	Plural prefix (Class 8):
ì-	βè-

8. Summary of the morpho-phonological rules

Class 1

mò- → ŋm- before vowels a and ɛ
mò- → mw- before vowel i
mò- → m- before vowels o, ɔ and u

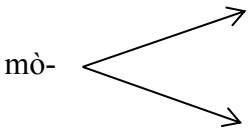
Class 2

βà- → β- before vowel a
βà- → w- before vowel u

Class 3

mò- → mɔ̀- before any root whose first vowel is ɔ
mò- → ŋm- before vowels a and ɛ

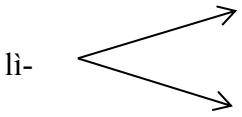
Class 4



mὲ- before any root whose first vowel is ɔ, ɛ or a

mì- before any root whose first vowel is ɪ- and semivowel y

Class 5

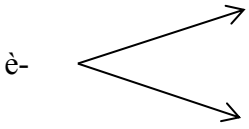


lj- before vowel o, ɔ or a

l- before vowel u

Class 6 (no rule)

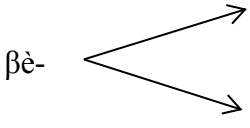
Class 7



ὲ- before any root whose first vowel is ɛ

j- before any root whose first vowel is ɪ, a, u, o or ɔ

Class 8



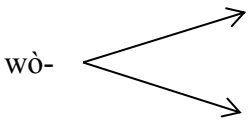
βὲ- before any root whose first vowel is ɛ or ɔ

βy- before any root whose first vowel is u

Class 9 (no rule)

Class 10 (no rule)

Class 14



w- before any root whose first sound is vowel u, o, or ɔ

gb- before any root whose first sound is vowel ɪ, e, ɛ, or a

Class 19

ì- ⟶ dʒ- before vowels

9. Summary of the paired classes

The Mokpe prefixes are therefore paired as follows:

Table 2. The pairing of Mokpe noun prefixes

Class Pairing or Genders	Prefixes: Sg/Pl
1/2	mò-/βà-
3/4	mò-/mè-
5/6	lì-/mà-
5/4	lì-/mì-
7/8	è-/βè-
9/10	N-/N- or í-
14/6	wò-/mà-
14/10	wò-/í-
19/8	ì-/βè-

10. Paired classes and meanings in Mokpe

We have identified the following meanings for the Mopke noun class prefixes:

Table 3. Meaning of Mopke noun class prefixes

	Scope of Meaning	Example	
Class 1/2:	▪Active human beings	mò-/βàtò	"person"
mò-/βà-	▪Member of ethnic group	mò-/βàkpè	"Bakweri man"
	▪Nationalities	mò-/βàkálá	"European"
	▪Human beings of verbal derivation	mɔ̀-/βàzrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀	"hunter"
Class 3/4:	▪Nature	ŋm-/mɛ̀ándʒà	"sea"
mò-/mè-	▪Animals	mɔ̀-/mɛ̀ólɛ̀ŋgù	"sheep"
	▪Human related	mò-/mèómɛ̀	"male"
Class 5/6:	▪Parts of body	lì-/màwɔ̀	"neck"
lì-/mà-	▪Household items	lì-/màwɛ̀ndì	"knife"
Class 7/8:	▪Nature	è-èlélé	"dawn"
è-/βè-	▪Domestic birds	è-/βèlèlà	"duck"
Class 9/10:	▪Nature	mbúwà	"rain"
è-/βè-	▪Non wild animals	ŋgbâ	"dog"
Class 14:	▪Abstract nouns	wò-ndʒà	"freedom"
wò-	▪Parts of body	wò-zrô	"face"
	▪Reptiles	gbà-àβá	"snake"
	▪Special birds	wò-zrò	"parrot"
Class 19	▪Birds	ì-/βɛ̀nɔ̀ní	"bird"
ì-	▪Nature	y-/βèòkpè	"dry season"

11. Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns are formed by inserting a high tone on the first syllable of the infinitive form.

lŏŋwà "to kill"

l-ôŋwà	l-á	kíŋgɛ̀
5-DET.kill	5-Cd	9.king

"The killing of the king."

lìkɛ̂ "to cut"

lî-kɛ̂	l-á	ɲàmà
5-DET.cut	5-Cd	9.meat

"The cutting of the meat."

12. Locative nouns

In Mokpe, there is no such thing like locatives or locative nouns, as it is the case in most Bantu languages, with the classes 16, 17 and 18 expressing "at/on a place", "towards a place" and "in a place". There is just one morpheme, /ó/, placed before a noun to mark all the various nuances of location.

ó mbówà		"in/to the village "
wêkí jélùwà	(èkí "place")	"at the market"
ó tŏŋgóŋgó	(tóŋgóŋgó "near")	"nearby"
ôténá ndáwù	(ôténá "in", lexicalised)	"inside the house"
ó wòzró wó mbówà	(wòzró "front")	"in front of the village"
ô mbúzrá ndáwù	(mbúzrá "behind")	"outside the house"
ôŋmáɲú	(ŋmáɲú "top")	"on / on top of"
ôténì		"in / inside"
ôzré	(zré "down")	"under"
ôzré já téèlì		"under the table"
ômbúzrà		"behind"
ô mbúzrà jàámì		"behind mine"

13. Abstract nouns

Those nouns dominantly take their class prefix from class 9/10, but they also use prefixes from other classes. Although some of the prefixes they take are singular, they don't have plural counterparts.

mɔ̀ɲɛ̀ŋgì	(cl. 3)	"joy, pleasure"
mɛ̀làkìzrɛ̀nɛ̀	(cl. 4)	"forgiveness"
lɛ̌mɛ̀à	(cl. 5)	"agreement"
lìkàkɛ́nɛ́	(cl. 5)	"promise"
màtíjà	(cl. 6)	"cultivation, planting "
màkpázrí	(cl. 6)	"rapidity"
èzrɔ́lízrɔ́lí	(cl. 7)	"sorrow"
mbákì	(cl. 9)	"encouragement"
ndʒàwò	(cl. 9)	"hunger"
ŋgíɲà	(cl. 9)	"force"
βòndʒà	(cl. 9)	"permission"
kúmbà	(cl. 9)	"boastfulness"
lɔ̀ŋgɛ̂	(cl. 9)	"life, growth"
wɔ́ŋgɔ́	(cl. 14)	"fear"
wòndʒà	(cl. 14)	"agression"

14. Mass concept

Like abstract concepts, uncountable nouns take their prefixes from the plural classes 6, 8 and 10.

màlìwá	(cl. 6)	"water"
màwúdʒà	(cl. 6)	"oil"
màjìdʒá	(cl. 6)	"blood"
βèwɔ́lì	(cl. 8)	"spit"
mbàzrì	(cl. 10)	"maize"
ɲáŋgá	(cl. 10)	"sand"

15. Nominal derivations

Some nouns derive from the roots of the verb, either by maintaining the class 5 prefix or by taking a prefix from a different class.

When they maintain the noun prefix of class 5, they are identical to the infinitival form of the verb from every respect, or they use other strategies such as final vowel change or tone change.

➢ The noun class prefix li- is maintained:

Fully identical to the infinitive form of the verb

lɛ̌mɛ̀à (ɛ́mɛ́â)		"to agree (agree)"
lɛ̌mɛ̀à	(cl. 5)	"agreement"
lìkàkɛ́nɛ́ (kákɛ́nɛ̂)		"to promise (promise)"
lìkàkɛ́nɛ́	(cl. 5)	"promise"

Vowel and tonal change

lòká (òkâ)		"to play (play)"
lòkò	(cl. 5)	"game"
lòŋgá (òŋgâ)		"to live, to grow"
lòŋgê	(cl. 5)	"life, growth"
lìβáŋgà (βáŋgâ)		"to run (run)"
lìβáŋgí	(cl. 5)	"race"

Tonal change

lìtɔ̂ (tɔ̂)		"to leak (leak)"
lìtɔ́ / màtɔ́	(cl. 5/6)	"drop"

The noun take a different class prefix:

lìkpɛ́zròɸà (kpɛ́zróɸá)		"to become lame (become lame)"
mɔ̀kpɛ́zròɸà / βàkpɛ́zròɸà	(cl. 1/2)	"a lame (person)"
lɪ̌zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ (ízrɔ́ŋgɔ̂)		"to hunt (hunt)"
mɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ / βàzrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀	(cl. 1/2)	"hunter/s"
lìlàkízrɛ́ (làkízrɛ̂)		"to forgive (forgive)"
mɛ̀làkìzrɛ̀nɛ̀	(cl. 4)	"forgiveness"
lǎlàɸɛ̌ (áláɸɛ̂)		"to answer (answer)"
dʒálàɸɛ́ / màálàɸɛ́	(cl. 5/6)	"answer"
lìzràŋgóɸá (zràŋgóɸâ)		"to inherit (inherit)"
lìzràŋgó / βèzràŋgó	(cl. 5/8)	"heritage, property"
lìtíjànà (tíjáná)		"to hoe (hoe)"

màtíjà	(cl. 6)	"cultivation, planting"
lìβòtéjá (βótéjâ)		"to begin (begin)"
èβòtélí / βèβòtélí	(cl. 7/8)	"beginning"
lìkùmbá ŋgèŋgè (kùmbâ ŋgèŋgè)		"to boast (boast)"
kúmbà	(cl. 9)	"boastfulness"

16. Compound nouns

They are made up of other nouns, a noun and an adjective or they are done by reduplication. In the first two cases, the first noun of the compound determines the agreement system.

Noun + Cd + noun		
ŋmánà / βáǎnà		"child/ren"
múɲánà / wúɲánà		"male/s"
ŋmánà wà múɲánà / βánà βà wúɲánà	(cl. 1/2)	"son/s"
mólánà / βálánà		"female/s"
ŋmánà wà mólánà / βánà βà βálánà	(cl. 1/2)	"daughter/s"
ɲàmà		"meat"
màlíwà		"water"
ɲàmà màlíwà / ɲàmà dʒá màlíwà	(cl. 9/10)	"fish"
dʒɔ̀ŋgɔ́ / βèɔ́ŋgɔ́		"pot/s"
dʒɔ̀ŋgɔ́ dʒá m!álíwá / βèɔ́ŋgɔ́ βé m!álíwá	(cl. 5/8)	"water pot"
mòlélí / mèlélí		"food"
dʒɔ̀ŋgɔ́ dʒá ¦mólélí / βèɔ́ŋgɔ́ βé m!ólélí		"cooking pot/s"
Noun + Cd + Adjective		
ŋgòndá	"cripple"	
mòtò / βàtò	"person"	
mòtò à ŋgòndá / βàtò βá ŋgòndá	"handicapped/s"	
Reduplication (root + root)		
mɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ / βàzrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀	(cl. 1/2)	"hunter/s"
ìzrɔ́βɛ́zrɔ́βɛ̂	(cl. 5)	"June"
ìkúlɛ̀kùlɛ̀	(cl. 5)	"tortoise"
élówàlòwà	(cl. 7)	"moon"
èmàŋgìmàŋgì	(cl. 7)	"crowd

ɛ̀zrɔ́lízrɔ́lí	(cl. 7)	"sorrow"
ndʒééndʒéé / índʒééndʒéé	(cl. 9/10)	"thorn"
ɲìɲì / ɲìɲì	(cl. 9/10)	"housefly"
tímítímì / tímítímì	(cl. 9/10)	"freeborn"

17. Nominal loans

Loan nouns are perfectly integrated in the noun class system. They have adapted and follow all the principles that govern noun agreement in the language.

➢They can be in class 3/4 and take the agreement accordingly.

mò-ótówà / mè-ótówà "car/s"
mó-òtówà ŋm-âzrɛ̂ "the whole car"
3.DET-car 3-PRO

mó-òtówà mó mà ŋmɛ̀zrɛ́ ŋmɛ̂lɛ̂
3.DET-car 3.Cd PAST knock yesterday
"the car knocked him yesterday"

➢They can be in class 9/10.

tàksí / tàksí "taxi/s"
nà mà wóβá tàksí "I took a taxi"
1sg PAST take 9.taxi

➢They can be in class 9/10, but take agreement in a different class, e.g. class 3 or 7 as native nouns do.

mɔ̂ní "money"
jàwónò mɔ̂ní mó má βáŋgá βé-jà
today 9.money 3.Cd PAST spoil 8-thing
"today money has spoiled things"

báísíkl / báísíkl "bicycle/s"
è-báísíkl j-àzrɛ̂ "the whole bicycle"
7.DET-bicycle 7-PRO

pùzrí / pùzrí "cat"
étò é mà lá βɛ́nɛ́ ndí nà è-pùzrí

7.DET-rat Cd PAST eat COP.PASS CLIT by 7-cat
"the rat was eaten by the cat"

➢They can take the locative marker as any native nouns.

wíkì / wíkì "week/s"
ó wíkì "in one week"
LOC PAST

➢They can enter predicative / locative constructions as any native nouns.

zrùkúlù / zrùkúlù "school/s"
nà βélì ó zrùkúlù "I am in school "
1sg COP LOC 9.school

An example like *pùzrí* "cat" is an evidence that loan words are equally phonologically integrated in the language. Indeed, since the phoneme /s/ does not exist in Mokpe, the /s/ from the English loan [pusy] is changed to the Mokpe /zr/. That is one of the reasons why one cannot change or represent the Mokpe sound /zr/ to /s/ as many author did in the Mokpe orthography, since the language does not compromise those two sounds.

18. Marking syntactic relationship: agreement

Within a phrase or sentence, all constituants that are grammatically dependent on a specific noun have to be constructed within the same class as this noun.

é-nè è-lèlà "this duck (near me)"
7-DemCd 7-duck
βé-nè βè-lèlà "these ducks (near me)"
8-DemCd 8-duck

lí-zròŋgá l-á ŋw-ánà "the tooth of the child"
5-tooth 5-CLIT 1-child
má-zròŋgá m-â β-ánà "the teeth of the children"
6-tooth 6-CLIT 2-child

l-úwàtò l-âŋgɔ́ lí-téjà ndí nă l-á!ámɛ̀
5-fabric 5-POS 5.COP-red CLIT ADV 5-PosPro
"your fabric is red like mine"

má-àtò m-âŋgɔ́ má-téjà ndí nă má-!ámɛ̀

6-fabric 6-POS 6.COP-red CLIT ADV 6-PosPro
"your fabrics are red like mines"

19. The Nominal Prefixes of Mokpe, Urbantu and Protobantu

Table 4. Nominal Prefixes of Mokpe compared to Urbantu and Protobantu

Class Pairing	Mokpe	Urbantu	Proto-Bantu
1/2	mò-/βà-	*mu-/*va-	*mu-/*ba-
3/4	mò-/mè-	*mu-/*mi-	*mu-/*mi-
5/6	lì-/mà-	*li-/*ma-	*di-/*ma-
5/4	lì-/mì-		
7/8	è-/βè-	*ki-/*vî-	*ki-/*bį-
9/10	ø-/ø- and í-	*ni-/*lî-ni-	*ny-/*ny-
11		*lu-	*du-
12/13		*ka-/*tu-	*ka-/*tu-
14	wò-	*vu-	*bu-
15		*ku-	*ku-
16		*pa-	*pa-
17		*ku-	*ku-
18		*mu-	*mu-
19/8	ì-/βè-	*pî-	*pį-
20		*ɣu-	20
21		*ɣî-	21

2. The Noun Phrase

1. Qualifying the noun: adjectives

Although they are used as qualifiers of nouns and/or absolute pronouns, adjective can also stand on their own as independents constituents of a sentence.

ndɛ́nɛ̀	"big"
lètá	"strong"
lìkàká or kpáɲókpáɲó	"sour"
lìtɛ̌	"sweet"
lìzrɔ́ŋgɔ̀	"deep"
wòòwê	"bad"
gbwámù	"good"

lǒndà	"full"
lìzrɔ́ndʒɔ̀	"dry"
lèéjà	"sharp"
lìtúnà	"blunt"

(1) Attributive use

In their attributive use, adjectives generally follow the nouns.

à	m	ìmá	è-βɔ̀ndí	ndɛ́nɛ̀	"s/he dug a big hole"
3sg	PAST	dig	7-hole	big	
à	m	ìmá	è-βɔ̀ndí	ɛ́-zrɔ́ŋɔ́	"s/he dug a deep hole"
3sg	PAST	dig	7-hole	deep	

Adjectives are in formal agreement with the noun they qualify.

Cl.	Prefix	AdjCd	Examples	
1	mò-	mò-	mólánà mòzràlì	"small woman"
2	βà-	βà-	βálánà βàzràlì	"small women"
3	mò-	mò-	ŋměmà mòzràlì	"small heart"
4	mè-	mè-	mèémà mèzràlì	"small hearts"
5	lì-	lì-	lìzròŋgá lìzràlì	"small tooth"
6	mà-	mà-	màzròŋgá màzràlì	"small teeth"
7	è-	è-	βèlèlà ndɛ́nɛ̀ (> βèlèlà èndɛ́nɛ̀)	"big duck"
8	βè-	βè-	βèlèlà βèndɛ́nɛ̀	"big ducks"
9	N-	è-	kémà ndɛ́nɛ̀ (> kémà èndɛ́nɛ̀)	"big monkey"
10	N-/í-	N-/í-	kémà ndɛ́nɛ̀ (>kémà índɛ́nɛ̀)	"big monkeys"
14	wò-	wò-	wɔ̀ŋgɔ́ wɔ̀ ndɛ́nɛ̀	"big brain"
19	ì-		ìnɔ̀ní ndɛ́nɛ̀ (>ìnɔ̀ní ìndɛ́nɛ̀)	"big bird"
8	βè-	βè-	βènɔ̀ní βè ndɛ́nɛ̀	"big birds"

Note that the noun classes 7, 9, 10 and 19 which are all only vocalic drop before the adjective.

Cl.	Prefix	AdjCd	Examples	
7	è-	è-	èlèlà zràlì	"small duck"
7	è-	è-	èzrù ndɛ́nɛ̀	"big wall"
9/10	N-/ N-/í-	ì-/í-	ɲàmà ndɛ́nɛ̀	"big fish/es"
9/10	N-/ N-/í-	ì-/í-	kémà zràlì	"small monkey/s"
9/10	N-/ N-/í-	ì-/í-	mbúwà ndɛ́nɛ̀	"big (heavy) rain/s"

9/10	N-/ N-/í-	ì-/í-	ŋgbázrèlì ndɛ́nɛ̀	"big cartridge/s"
9/10	N-/ N-/í-	ì-/í-	βàkó ndɛ́nɛ̀	"big mountain/s"
9/10	N-/ N-/í-	ì-/í-	wàná ndɛ́nɛ̀	"big mouth/s"
19	ì-	ì-	ìlìβòànì zràlì	"small key"

Despite the fact that adjectives are generally placed after the noun, we registered this case (which should be seen as a kind of grammaticalisation?) whereby the adjective *èkòká* is placed before the noun *mólánà*. That is: *èkòká mólánà* "big woman". Similarly, the noun *ŋmánà* "child" can be used as adjective and is placed before the nouns.

Cl.	Examples	
7	ŋmáné èlèlà	"small duck"
7	ŋmáné èjé	"small tree"
9	ŋmánâ kémà	"small monkey"
14	ŋmáná wɔ̀ŋgɔ́	"small brain"
14	ŋmáná wùzrû	"small face"
19	ŋmáná ìnɔ̀ní	"small bird"
10	βáná ŋàmà	"small fishes"
10	βáná ŋgbázr!élì	"small cartridges"
8	βáná βèzrù	"small walls"
10	βánáá ŋàmà	"small fishes"

(2) Predicative use

As a general rule, the predicative use of the adjective is done with the copula *éβélì* followed by the clitic *ndì*.

	èŋɔ̀βíŋà éβélì ndì kpáŋókpáŋó	"the lemon is sour"
	ònô múŋánà à βélì ndì wòòwê	"the man is bad"
	èmúŋánà à βélì ndì gbwámù	"the man is good"
	éβùmá éβélì ndí tèŋgíl!élí	"the fruit is round"

However, they can be omitted without obstructing the meaning and the relationship of the adjective to the qualifying noun. In those instances, they are just like the attributives. Also, when the subject of the predicate is the neutral pronoun, "it" the concord precedes the adjective.

éβùmá jé!tí	"the fruit is strong"
à mà wówá éβùmá jét!í	"s/he took a strong fruit"
j-étì (>é-étì)	"it is strong"

dʒɔ!ɔ́ŋgɔ́ dʒóndì	"the pot is full"
à βélì ndì lìkàzrɛ́ dʒɔ!ɔ́ŋgɔ́ dʒóndì	"s/he is lifting the full pot"
dʒ-óndì (>í-óndì)	"it is full"
βéálí βɛ́ zrɔ́ndʒì	"the leaves are dry"
à βànɛ́ βèálí βɛ́ zrɔ́ndʒì	"s/he is carrying dry leaves"
βɛ́ zrɔ́ndʒì	"they are dry"
lúwɛ̀ndì lééjà	"the knife is sharp"
à wóβì lùwɛ̀ndì lééjà	"s/he has a sharp knife"
lééjà (>lí-ééjà)	"it is sharp"
lúwɛ̀ndì lítúnì	"the knife is blunt"
à wóβì lùwɛ̀ndì lítúní	"s/he has a blunt knife"
lítúnì	"it is blunt"

When the copula is in the past, the past tense marker is placed between the concord and the adjective.

èmbɔ̌ ètɛ̀	"the banana is sweet"
à mà lá mbɔ̌ ètɛ̌	"s/he ate a sweet banana"
è-mà-tɛ̌	"it was sweet"
éβɔ̀ndɛ́ ɛ́ zrɔ́ŋɔ̂	"the whole is deep"
à mìmá èβɔ̀ndí ɛ́ zrɔ́ŋɔ̂	"s/he dug a deep hole"
è-mà-zrɔ́ŋɔ̂	"it was deep"

2. Connexive

Coordination is done with the morpheme *nà* placed between the two elements of the coordination.

ndive nà mbela βá βélì ndí βàòkèlì	"Ndive and Mbella are players"
èŋgbá nà èŋgòmbá	"the dog and the porcupine"
βɛ̌nɔ̀ní βéájɛ̀ɛ̂ nà èkúlù	"the three birds and the tortoise"

The morpheme *nà* is equally used to coordinate verbal nouns.

èβóndá é mă dʒà ó lɔ̌kànèà nà lìlâ mólèélí ŋmáwú
"the time has come to taste and to eat their food"

3. Apposition

Many nouns can be juxtaposed using short breaks (symbolised here by a comma) in the utterance without necessarily being coordinated by *nà*.

è-ndʒɔ̀ɔ́	è	mà	ŋwáá	ná	mé-ànò	lí-ǎnèlì	nà	lí-ĭbà
7-tiger	7.CD	PAST	die	PREP	4-trick	5-violence	COORD	5-teth

"the tiger died because of tricks, violence and theft"

é-lèlà,	ì-wúɸà,	è-ŋgbá,	è-ndʒɔ̀ɔ́	nà	è-ŋgòmbá
7-duck	9-fowl	7-dog	7-tiger	COORD	7-porcupine

"the duck, the fowl, the dog, the tiger and the porcupine"

4. Nominal possession or associative constructions

In 'possessed-possessor' constructions (genitive constructions), the possessor noun is marked by a possessive or genitive concord (GenCd) that is in agreement with the head noun. The GenCd is generally followed by the low tone vowel /a/ which can be viewed as clitic of such constructions, which may be deleted depending on the environment. Indeed it deletes in classes 2, 3, 4, 8, and 14, but survives in classes 1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 and 19, and triggers the change of the vowel /e/ to [j] and the vowel /i/ to [dʒ].

Cl.	Prefix	GenCd	Examples	
1	mò-	wà	ŋmɛ̀ní wà à zráŋgó	"the guest of the father"
2	βà-	βá	βǎɛ̀ní βá má ìzráŋgó	"the guests of the father"
3	mò-	mó	móŏβò mó ɲàmà	"the head of the animal"
4	mè-	mé	méòβó mé ɲàmà	"the heads of the animal"
5	lì-	lí	lízròŋgá lá ŋmánà	"the tooth of the child"
6	mà-	má	mázròŋgá má à βánà	"the teeth of the children"
7	è-	é	élèlà já mòkálá	"the duck of the European"
8	βè-	βé	βélèlà βé βàkálá	"the ducks of the European"
9	N-	è-	èɲàmà jà ŋwánà	"the fish of the child"
10	í-	é-	íɲàmà já ŋwánà	"the fishes of the child"
14	wò-	wó	wɔ̌ŋgɔ́ wɔ́ mòtò	"the brain of the man"
19	ì-	í	ílìβwànì dʒá ndáwò	"the key of the door"
8	βè-	βé	βélìβwànì βé ndáwò	"the keys of the door"

In some utterances, another morpheme, *má*, was noted in the constructions (e.g. *βǎèní βá má ìzráŋgó* "the guests of the father"). The examples below are more instances of the morpheme *má*.

wɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ wá má kíŋgɛ̀	"the canoe of the chief"
wɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ wá má í kíŋgɛ̀ (wɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ wá mí kíŋgɛ̀)	"the canoe of the chiefs"
mɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ má má kíŋgɛ̀	"the canoes of the chief"
mɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ má má í kíŋgɛ̀ (mɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ má mí kíŋgɛ̀)	"the canoes of the chiefs"

è-wàmbì	j-à	wòɲá ɲàŋgó	j-àmá	kíŋgɛ̀
7-eight	7-CLIT	10.brothers	e-CLIT	9.chief

"all the eight brothers of the chief"

Without being certain, one can say that the vowel /à/ noted above might be a remnant of a disyllabic morpheme **àmá*, the linking element of the two nouns in the genitive construction. This might be quite plausible as we can notice in the utterance above that the so-called clitic vowel /à/ does not delete after the PossCd. Consequently, one might posit that the utterances in square brackets below (left side column) are derived from the ones in slashes (right side) where the PossCd precedes the possible morpheme àmá.

[wɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ wá má kíŋgɛ̀]	>	/wɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ wɔ́ àmá kíŋgɛ̀/
[wɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ wá má í kíŋgɛ̀]	>	/wɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ wɔ́ àmá í kíŋgɛ̀/
[mɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ má má kíŋgɛ̀]	>	/mɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ mé àmá kíŋgɛ̀/
[mɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ má má í kíŋgɛ̀]	>	/mɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ mé àmá í kíŋgɛ̀/

Then, the vowel of the PosCd gets deleted but its tone survives and replaces the tone of the vowel /a/ of the disyllabic clitic. Indeed, one can see that where the morpheme **àmá* is not used the PosCd does not undergo any change as in *wɔ̌ŋgɔ́ wɔ́ mòtò*, "the brain of the man". Thus, **àmá* is a morpheme whose usage is dropping maybe due to extensive language contacts.

Furthermore, note that the Mokpe genitive can be rendered not only as "the guest of the father" but also as "the father's guest". However, although we have a relationship 'possessed-possessor', Mokpe equally accepts constructions that reverse that order.

Cl.	Prefix	GenCd	Examples	
5	lì-	lí	lǐíná lá mòlêlì or èmòlêlì lǐǐnà	"the name of the teacher"
6	mà-	má	mǐíná má mòlêlì or βálêlì mǐǐnà	"the names of the teacher"
6	mà-	má	mázròŋgá mâ βánà or βáănà mázròŋgá	"the teeth of the children"
7	è-	é-	élèlà já mòkálá or èmòkálá élèlà	"the duck of the European"
8	βè-	βé	βélèlà βé βàkálá or βàkálá βélèlà	"the duck of the European"
	wò-	wó	wôzró wó ŋwánà or ìŋmánà wôzrô	"the face of the child"

5. Numerals

(3) Cardinal Numbers

In Mokpe, numerals follow the noun they quantify. The numerals from one to five require a class prefix that shows class agreement. There are two roots for the numeral "two": -àkɛ́ (class 2) and -βă (all the others classes).

-ɔ̀kɔ́	ŋmánà mɔ̀kɔ́	"one child"
-àkɛ́ (for class 2)	βánà βá βàkɛ́	"two children"
-βă (for all the other classes)	màámà máβă	"two cheeks"
-jáò	βèwòló βéjáò	"three works"
-nĭ	kémà ínĭ	"four monkeys"
-tâ	βèwɔ́nì βétâ	"five partridges"

More examples of numeral from one to five showing class agreement are presented below. The noun comes first and the numeral follows.

Cl.	Prefix	NumCd	Examples	
1	mò-	mó-	mòtò mɔ̀kɔ́	"one person"
2	βà-	βá-	βátò βáβàkɛ́	"two persons"
			βánà βáβàkɛ́	"two children"
			βálánà βáβàkɛ́	"two women"
			βàtò βájáò	"three persons"
			βàtò βánĭ	"four persons"
			βàtò βátâ	"five persons"
3	mò-	mó-	ŋmèémà mɔ̀kɔ́	"one heart"
4	mè-	mé-	mèémà méβă	"two hearts"
			mèóβò méjáò	"three heads"
			mèémà ménĭ	"four hearts"
			mèóβò métâ	"five heads"
5	lì-	lí-	lĭzrɔ̀ lɔ̀kɔ́	"one eye"
6	mà-	má-	mĭzrɔ̀ máβă	"two eyes"
			màámà májáò	"three cheeks"
			mĭnà mánĭ	"four names"
			mĭzrɔ̀ mátâ	"five eyes"
7	è-	é-	èzrù jɔ̀kɔ́	"one wall"
8	βè-	βé-	βèzrù βéβă	"two walls"
			βèlèlà βéjáò	"three ducks"

			βèwòló βénĭ βèzrù βétâ	"four works" "five walls"
9	N-	β-	kémà βɔ́kɔ́ ndʒìjá ˡβɔ́kɔ́ kóŋgí ˡβɔ́kɔ́	"one monkey" "one road" "one time" or "once"
10	N-/í-	í-	kémà íβă ndʒìjá íβă kémà íjáò ɲàmà ínĭ ɲàmà ítâ	"two animals" "two roads" "three animals" "four fishes" "five fishes"
14	wò-	wɔ́-/wó-	wɔ̀ɔ́lɔ̀ wɔ̀kɔ́ wɔ̀ŋgɔ́ ˡwɔ́kɔ́	"one canoe"
19	ì-	í-	ìnɔ̀ní ˡdʒɔ́kɔ́	"one bird"
8	βè-	βé-	βènɔ̀ní βéβă βèlìβòànì βéjáò βènɔ̀ní βénĭ βèwɔ́nì βétâ	"two birds" "three keys" "four birds" "five partridges"

While the agreement of all the other classes seem perfect and in accordance to the general tendency observes so far, class 9 shows a β- consonant whose origin cannot be explained.

After five, the other numerals are just placed after the noun they quantify without any morpheme materialising the link.

mòtówá	βèlìβòànì mòtówá	"six keys"
lìzràmbá	íkíŋgè lìzràmbá	"seven chiefs"
wàmbì	màákpà wàmbì	"eight bags"
lùùwá	βèβózrí lùùwá	"nine bottles"
ljŏmɛ̀	mèlòŋgá ljŏmɛ̀	"ten buckets"
mbàŋgɛ̀ nà jɔ̀kɔ́	βèkí mbàŋgɛ̀ nà jɔ̀kɔ́	"twenty-one places"
zráíjáò nà βéβă	βèèzré zráíjáò nà βéβă	"thirty-two bones"
mènìménĭ	βèálí mènìménĭ	"forty leaves"
mènìwàmbì	màwèndì mènìwàmbì	"eighty knives"
ègbê	mɛ̀zrɔ̀kɔ̀ ègbê	"hundred songs"

When used in counting, i.e. when the numeral does not have an overt head noun that it quantifies the first five numerals are prefixed with the pair of class 7/8. The singular numeral (one) takes the prefix of class 7, *é-*, while the plural numerals (4-5) take the

prefix of class 8, *βé-*. From six to ten, the numerals are just independent nouns. From eleven upwards, the numerals are composed of three morphemes except the multiples of ten. The counting is done by the addition of ten to one (for 11), ten to two (for 13), ten to three (for 13), etc. The addition is rendered by the coordinator *nà* "and"/"with" placed between the two numbers. After nine has been added to ten, there is a single noun to express the multiple of ten, and the addition process starts again till the next multiple of ten, etc. Note that from 11 to 15, the pair of prefix 7/8 is maintained no matter whether it is ten or any of its multiples.

jɔ̀kɔ́	"one"	mbàŋgɛ̀ nà jɔ̀kɔ́	"twenty-one"
βéβă	"two"	mbàŋgɛ̀ nà βéβă	"twenty-two"
βéjáò	"three"	mbàŋgɛ̀ nà βéjáò	"twenty-three"
βénĭ	"four"	mbàŋgɛ̀ nà βénĭ	"twenty-four"
βétâ	"five"	mbàŋgɛ̀ nà βétâ	"twenty-five"
mòtówá	"six"	mbàŋgɛ̀ nà mòtówá	"twenty-six"
lìzràmbá	"seven"	mbàŋgɛ̀ nà lìzràmbá	"twenty-seven"
wàmbì	"eight"	mbàŋgɛ̀ nà wàmbì	"twenty-eight"
lùùwá	"nine"	mbàŋgɛ̀ nà lùùwá	"twenty-nine"
ljŏmɛ̀	"ten"	zráíjáò	"thirty"
ljŏmɛ̀ nà jɔ̀kɔ́	"eleven"	zráíjáò nà jɔ̀kɔ́	"thirty-one"
ljŏmɛ̀ nà βéβă	"twelve"	zráíjáò nà βéβă	"thirty-two"
ljŏmɛ̀ nà βéjáò	"thirteen"	zráíjáò nà βéjáò	"thirty-three"
ljŏmɛ̀ nà βénĭ	"fourteen"	zráíjáò nà βénĭ	"thirty-four"
ljŏmɛ̀ nà βétâ	"fifteen"	zráíjáò nà βétâ	"thirty-five"
ljŏmɛ̀ nà mòtówá	"sixteen"	zráíjáò nà mòtówá	"thirty-six"
ljŏmɛ̀ nà lìzràmbá	"seventeen"	zráíjáò nà lìzràmbá	"thirty-seven"
ljŏmɛ̀ nà wàmbì	"eighteen"	zráíjáò nà wàmbì	"thirty-eight"
ljŏmɛ̀ nà lùùwá	"nineteen"	zráíjáò nà lùùwá	"thirty-nine"
mbàŋgɛ̀	"twenty"	mènìménĭ	"forty"

The base *mènì* is found in the multiple of ten from 40 to 90.

mènìmétâ	"fifty"
mènìmòtówá	"sixty"
mènìlìzràmbá	"seventy"
mènìwàmbì	"eighty"
mènìlùùwá	"ninety"

The numerals hundred, thousand and million are the nouns below.

	ègbê	"hundred"
	ìkólí	"thousand"
	ìlùnì	"million"

The privative adjective *tɔ̀* "no" functions as a quantifier used with either mass nouns or plural countable nouns to indicate a lack or zero quantity of something.

Cl.2	tɔ̀ βánà	"no children"
Cl.4	tɔ̀ mèózrô	"no rivers"
Cl.6	tɔ̀ mĭnà	"no names"
Cl.8	tɔ̀ βèwòŋgó	"no boxes"
Cl.10	tɔ̀ kémà	"no monkeys"
Cl.6	tɔ̀ màwúdʒà	"no oil"
Cl.8	tɔ̀ βèɔ́lì	"no spit"

The adjective *tɔ̀ímá* "each" is placed before the noun to mark individuality and singularity.

Cl.1	tɔ̀ímá ŋmánà	"each child"
Cl.3	tɔ̀ímá mòóβò	"each head"
Cl.5	tɔ̀ímá ꜜlítô	"each ear"
Cl.7	tɔ̀ímá èzrù	"each wall"
Cl.9	tɔ̀ímá mbèzrà	"each boy"
Cl.14	tɔ̀ímá ꜜwózrô	"each face"
Cl.19	tɔ̀ímá ìnɔ̀ní	"each bird"

(4) Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers are built using a three-part construction including the 3sg, the verb *lùkìzrɛ̀* "to make sth up" and the cardinal number. The expression means literarily, "which leads one", "which leads two", "which leads three", "which leads four", etc.

	à úkízrɛ́ jɔ̀kɔ́	"first"	à úkízrɛ́ mòtówá	"sixth"
	à úkízrɛ́ βéβă	"second"	à úkízrɛ́ lìzràmbá	"seventh"
	à úkízrɛ́ βéjáò	"third"	à úkízrɛ́ wàmbì	"eight"
	à úkízrɛ́ βénĭ	"fourth"	à úkízrɛ́ lùùwá	"nineth"
	à úkízrɛ́ βétâ	"fifth"	à úkízrɛ́ ljŏmɛ̀	"tenth"

However, when a noun is added to the construction, the ordinal for "first" changes completely into a genitive construction with the morpheme *wòzrô* "face?" preceded by a concord and the head noun.

Cl.	Prefix	OrdCd	Examples	
1	mò-	wà	mòtò wà wòzrô	"the first person"
3	mò-	mò	mòóβò mò wòzrô	"the first head"
5	lì-	lì-	lìámà là wòzrô	"the first cheek"
7	è-	è-	èzrù jà wòzrô	"the first wall"
9	N-	è-	kémà jà wòzrô	"the first monkey"
14	wò-	wó-	wɔ̀ɔ́lɔ̀ wà wòzrô	"the first canoe"
19	ì-	í-	ìlìβɔ̀ànì dʒà wòzrô	"the first key"

è-ŋgbɛ̀ndɛ̀	j-à	wòzrô	j-à	ŋmâ
7-month	7-CLIT	14.first	7-CLIT	9.year

The first month of the year

The “irregularity” starts and ends with the ordinal numeral "first". From "second" the regular formula is used. But interestingly, the plural form of the nouns ordered is also used. Then, the formula is: Numeral concord + úkízrɛ́ + plural form of noun + and plural form of equivalent cardinal number.

Cl.	Prefix	OrdCd	Examples	
1/2	mò-	à	mòtò à úkízrɛ́ βàtò βáβă mòtò à úkízrɛ́ βàtò βájáò mòtò à úkízrɛ́ βàtò βáně̌ mòtò à úkízrɛ́ βàtò βátâ	"the second person" "the third person" "the fourth person" "the fifth person"
3/4	mò-	mó-	mòóβò múúkízrɛ́ mèóβò méβă mòóβò múúkízrɛ́ mèóβò méjáò mòóβò múúkízrɛ́ mèóβò ménĕ̌ mòóβò múúkízrɛ́ mèóβò métâ	"the second head" "the third head" "the fourth head" "the fifth head"
5/6	lì-	lí-	lìámà lúkízrɛ́ màámà máβă lìámà lúkízrɛ́ màámà májáò lìámà lúkízrɛ́ màámà mánĕ̌ lìámà lúkízrɛ́ màámà mátâ	"the second cheek" "the third cheek" "the fourth cheek" "the fifth cheek"
7/8	è-	é	èzrù júkízrɛ́ βèzrù βéβă èzrù júkízrɛ́ βèzrù βéjáò èzrù júkízrɛ́ βèzrù βénĕ̌ èzrù júkízrɛ́ βèzrù βétâ	"the second wall" "the third wall" "the fourth wall" "the fifth wall"
9/10	N-	é	kémà júkízrɛ́ íkémà íβă kémà júkízrɛ́ íkémà íjáò kémà júkízrɛ́ íkémà ínèí (ínĕ̌)	"the second monkey" "the third monkey" "the fourth monkey"

			kémà júkízrɛ́ íkémà ítâ	"the fifth monkey"
14/5	wò-	wó-	wɔ̀ɔ́lɔ̀ wùúkízrɛ́ móɔ̌lɔ̀ máβă	"the second monkey"
			wɔ̀ɔ́lɔ̀ wùúkízrɛ́ móɔ̌lɔ̀ májáò	"the third monkey"
			wɔ̀ɔ́lɔ̀ wùúkízrɛ́ móɔ̌lɔ̀ mánĭ	"the fourth monkey"
			wɔ̀ɔ́lɔ̀ wùúkízrɛ́ móɔ̌lɔ̀ mátâ	"the fifth monkey"
19/8	ì-	í-	ìnɔ̀ní dʒúkízrɛ́ βɛ́nɔ̀ní βéβă	"the second monkey"
			ìnɔ̀ní dʒúkízrɛ́ βɛ́nɔ̀ní βéjáò	"the third monkey"
			ìnɔ̀ní dʒúkízrɛ́ βɛ́nɔ̀ní βénĭ	"the fourth monkey"
			ìnɔ̀ní dʒúkízrɛ́ βɛ́nɔ̀ní βétâ	"the fifth monkey"

6. Pronouns

Mokpe makes use of a variety of words that substitute for nouns, i.e. pronouns. These include: absolute pronouns (or/and subject concords), demonstrative pronouns, independent pronouns, interrogative pronouns and possessive pronouns.

Like in many Bantu languages, genuine absolute pronouns in Mokpe are for the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural, i.e. for the senders and the receivers.

	Subject case		Object case	
1sg	nà	"I"	ìmbâ	"me"
2sg	ò	"you"	wâ	"you"
1pl	ì	"we"	ízrɔ̂	"us"
2pl	è	"you"	íŋɔ̂	"you"

The 3sg and 3pl, the substitutives, vary according to the noun they represent. We have the subject case and the object case.

- The subject cases prefixes or subject concord are as follows:

Cl.	Prefix	SP	Examples	
1	mò-	à-	èmólánà àlâ	"the woman eats"
2	βà-	βá-	βáălánà βálâ	"the women eat"
3	mò-	mó-	móŏndó móóβì lìβùmbú	"the tail has hair"
4	mè-	mé-	méŏndó méóβì màβùmbú	"the tails have hair"
5	lì-	lí-	lízrɔ̀ŋgá líkɛ́ ɲàmà	"the tooth cuts meat"
6	mà-	má-	măzrɔ̀ŋgá mákɛ́ ɲàmà	"the teeth cut meat"
7	è-	é-	élèlà éŋɔ̂ màléwá	"the duck drinks water"
8	βè-	βé-	βélèlà βéŋɔ̂ màléwá	"the ducks drink water"
9	N-	è-	éŋgbâ èlómà	"the dog barks"

10	í-	í-	íŋgbâ ílómà	"the dogs bark"
14	wò-	wó-	wɔ́ɔ̃ŋgɔ́ wólùtèjà	"the brain thinks"
19	ì-	í-	ínɔ̀ní íkòòwà	"the bird flies"

➢ As for the object case prefixes we have:

Cl.	Prefix	ObjP	Examples	
1	mò-	mó-	nà mà ŋmɛ̌nɛ̀ /mó-ènɛ́/ (nà mènɛ́ ŋmèní wămì)	"I saw him/her" ("I saw my guest)
2	βà-	βá-	nà mà β-énɛ́ /βá-ènɛ́/ (nà mà βáɛ̀ní βámì)	"I saw them" ("I saw my guests")
3	mò-	mó-	nà mà ŋménɛ́ /mó-ènɛ́/ (nà mènɛ́ móòtó)	"I saw it" ("I saw the green snake")
4	mè-	mé-	nà mà mɛ́ɛ́nɛ̀ /mé-ènɛ́/ (nà mènɛ́ méòtó)	"I saw them" ("I saw the green snakes")
5	lì-	lí-	nà mà lɛ́nɛ́ /lí-ènɛ́/ (nà mènɛ́ líĭzrɔ̀)	"I saw it" ("I saw the eye")
6	mà-	má-	nà mà mɛ́ɛ́nɛ̀ /má-ènɛ́/ (nà mènɛ́ míízrɔ̀)	"I saw them" ("I saw the eyes")
7	è-	é-	nà mà jɛ́nɛ́ /é-ènɛ́/ (nà mènɛ́ élèlà jámì)	"I saw him/her" ("I saw my duck")
8	βè-	βé-	nà mà βɛ́ɛ́né /βé-ènɛ́/ (nà mènɛ́ βělèlà βéámì)	"I saw them" ("I saw my ducks")
9	N-	è-	nà mà jɛ́nɛ́ /é-ènɛ/ (nà mènɛ́ ɲàmà jámì)	"I saw it" ("I saw my animal")
10	í-	í-	nà mà dʒɛ́né /í-ènɛ/	"I saw them"
			(nà mènɛ́ íɲàmà dʒámì)	("I saw my animals")
14	wò-	wó-	nà mà wɛ́nɛ́ /wó-ènɛ/	"I saw it"
			(nà mènɛ́ wɔ̃ɔ̃lɔ́ wéní)	("I saw his canoe")
19	ì-	í-	nà mà dʒɛ́né /wó í-ènɛ́ /	"I saw it"
			(nà mènɛ́ ínɔ̀ní dʒázrú)	("I saw our bird")

(5) Dependent Possessive Pronouns

The dependent possessive pronouns are made up of a root preceded by a possessive concord (PosCd) which is in agreement with the head noun.

1sg	-ámì	"my"
2sg	-àŋgɔ́	"your"
3sg	-éní	"his"
1pl	-ázrú	"our"
2pl	-áɲú	"your (pl)"
3pl	-áwú	"their"

The possessive pronouns require the prefixes below.

Cl.	Prefix	PosCd	Examples	
1	mò-	wà-	ŋmèná ămì or ŋmèní wămì /ŋmèní wà-ámì/	"my guest"
			ŋmèná ŋgɔ́ or ŋmèní wàŋgɔ́ /ŋwèní wà-àŋgɔ́/	"your guest"
			ŋmèné ění or ŋmèní wění /ŋmèní wà-éní/	"his guest"
			ŋmèná ăzrú or ŋmèní wăzrú /ŋmèní wà-ázrú/	"our guest"
			ŋmèná ăɲú or ŋmèní wăɲú /ŋmèní wà-áɲú/	"your (pl) guest"
			ŋmèná ăwú or ŋmèní wăwú /ŋmèní wà-áwú/	"their guest"
2	βà-	βá-	βáɛ̀ná ámì or βáɛ̀ní βámì /βáɛ̀ní βá-ámì/	"my guests"
			βáɛ̀ní βáŋgɔ́ /βáɛ̀ní βá-àŋgɔ́/	"your guests"
			βáɛ̀ní βéní /βáɛ̀ní βá-éní/	"his wives"
			βáɛ̀ní βázrú /βáɛ̀ní βá-ázrú/	"our guests"
			βáɛ̀ní βáɲú /βáɛ̀ní βá-áɲú/	"your (pl) guests"
			βáɛ̀ní βáwú /βáɛ̀ní βá-áwú/	"their guests"
3	mò-	mó-	móŏβò ŋwámì /móŏβò mó-ámì/	"my head"
			móŏβò ŋwâŋgɔ́ /móŏβò mó-àŋgɔ́/	"your head"
			móŏβò ŋwéní /móŏβò mó-éní/	"his head"
			móŏβò ŋwázrú /móŏβò mó-ázrú/	"our head"
			móŏβò ŋwáɲú /móŏβò mó-áɲú/	"your (pl) head"
			móŏβò ŋwáwú /móŏβò mó-áwú/	"their head"
4	mè-	mé-	méòndó méámí	"my tails"

			méòndó méàŋgɔ́	"your tails"
			méòndó mééní	"his tails"
			méòβó méázrú	"our heads"
			méòβó méáɲú	"your (pl) heads"
			měěβó méáwú	"their heads "
5	lì-	lí-	lĭzròŋgá lámì /lĭzròŋgá lí-ámì/	"my tooth"
			lĭzròŋgá láŋgɔ́ /lĭzròŋgá lí-àŋgɔ́/	"your tooth"
			lĭzròŋgá lení /lĭzròŋgá lí-éní/	"his tooth"
			lĭzròŋgá lázrú /lĭzròŋgá lí-ázrú/	"our tooth"
			lĭzròŋgá láɲú /lĭzròŋgá lí-áɲú/	"your (pl) tooth"
			lĭzròŋgá láwú /lĭzròŋgá lí-áwú/	"their tooth"
6	mà-	má-	măzròŋgá mámì /măzròŋgá má-ámì/	"my teeth"
			măzròŋgá mâŋgɔ́ /măzròŋgá má-àŋgɔ́/	"your teeth"
			măzròŋgá mení /măzròŋgá má-éní/	"his teeth"
			măzròŋgá mázrú /măzròŋgá má-ázrú/	"our teeth"
			măzròŋgá máɲú /măzròŋgá má-áɲú/	"your (pl) teeth"
			măzròŋgá máwú /măzròŋgá má-áwú/	"their teeth"
7	è-	é-	élèlà á mì or élèlà já mì /élèlà é-á ámì/	"my duck"
			élèlà á ǃŋgɔ́ or élèlà já ǃŋgɔ́ /élèlà é-á àŋgɔ́/	"your duck"
			élèlà jéní /élèlà é-á éní/	"his duck"
			élèlà jázrú (élèlà é-á ázrú/	"our duck"
			élèlà á ɲú or élèlà jáɲú /élèlà é-á áɲú/	"your (pl) duck"
			élèlà á wú or élèlà jáwú /élèlà é-á áwú/	"their duck"
8	βè-	βé-	βělèlà βéámì	"my ducks"
			βělèlà βéǃaŋgɔ́ /βělèlà βé àŋgɔ́/	"your ducks"
			βělèlà βééní	"his ducks"
			βělèlà βéázrú	"our ducks"

			βělèlà βéáɲú βělèlà βéáwú	"your (pl) ducks" "their ducks"
9	N-	è-	ɲàmà á mì or ɲàmà jámì /ɲàmà è-ámì/ kémà jàŋgɔ́ /kémà è-àŋgɔ́/ kémà jéní /kémà è-éní/ kémà jázrú /kémà è-ázrú/ kémà jàɲú /kémà è-áɲú/ kémà jàwú /kémà è-áwú/	"my animal" "your monkey" "his monkey" "our monkey" "your (pl) monkey" "their monkey"
10	N-	í-	íɲàmà dʒámì /íɲàmà í-ámì/ íɲàmà dʒâŋgɔ́ /íɲàmà í-àŋgɔ́/ íɲàmà dʒééní /íɲàmà í-éní/ íɲàmà dʒázrú /íɲàmà í-ázrú/ íɲàmà dʒáɲú /íɲàmà í-áɲú/ íɲàmà dʒáwú /íɲàmà í-áwú/	"my animals" "your animals" "his animals" "our animals" "your (pl) animals" "their animals"
14	wò	wó-	wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wámí /wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wó-ámí/ wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wáŋgɔ́ /wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wó-àŋgɔ́/ wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wéní /wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wó-éní/ wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wázrú /wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wó-ázrú/ wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wáɲú /wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wó-áɲú/ wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wáwú /wɔ̌ɔ̌lɔ́ wó-áwú/	"my canoe" "your canoe" "his canoe" "our boat" "your (pl) canoe" "their canoe"
19	ì-	í-	ínɔ̀ní dʒámì /ínɔ̀ní í-ámì/ ínɔ̀ní dʒâŋgɔ́ /ínɔ̀ní í-àŋgɔ́/ ínɔ̀ní dʒéní /ínɔ̀ní í-éní/ ínɔ̀ní dʒázrú /ínɔ̀ní í-ázrú/ ínɔ̀ní dʒáɲú /ínɔ̀ní í-áɲú/ ínɔ̀ní dʒáwú /ínɔ̀ní í-áwú/	"my bird" "your bird" "his bird" "our bird" "your (pl) bird" "their bird"

(6) Demonstratives

The demonstratve is constructed with a consonantic root (-C-), a nasal or prenasal, flanked with an affix on either side. I call this consonantic root the demonstrative pronoun (DemPro).

Proximal	-n-	"this"
Distal	-ŋg-	"that"

The affix of the left side, the prefix, is definitely that demonstrative concord (DemCd) while the affix on the right side, the suffix, is the highly predictable vowels o, u, a, e, i. The distribution is done as follows:

- If the DemCd ends with the vowel /o/, then the suffix is /o/ for both the proximal and the distal;
- If the DemCd ends with the vowel /a/, then the suffix is /u/ for the proximal and /a/ for the distal;
- If the DemCd ends with the vowel /e/, then the suffix is /e/ for both the proximal and the distal;
- If the DemCd ends with the vowel /i/, then the suffix is /i/ for both the proximal and the distal;

Tonally, while the melodie for both the proximal and distal is L-H in class 1, it is H-L for the proximal and H-H for the distal for all the other classes. All this information is summaried below:

Vowel of DemCd	Suffix					
	Proximal			distal		
/o/	/o/	ò-n-ó mó-n-ò wó-n-ò	(cl.1) (cl.3) (cl.14)	/o/	ò-ŋg-ó mó-ŋg-ó wó-ŋg-ó	(cl.1) (cl.3) (cl.14)
/a/	/u/	βá-n-ù má-n-ù	(cl.2) (cl.6)	/a/	βá-ŋg-á má-ŋg-á	(cl.2) (cl.6)
/e/	/e/	mé-n-è é-n-è βé-n-è	(cl.4) (cl.7) (cl.8)	/e/	mé-ŋg-é é-ŋg-é βé-ŋg-é	(cl.4) (cl.7) (cl.8)
/i/	/i/	lí-n-ì í-n-ì í-n-ì	(cl.5) (cl.10) (cl.19)	/i/	lí-ŋg-í í-ŋg-í í-ŋg-í	(cl.5) (cl.10) (cl.19)

The demonstratives require the prefixes below.

Cl.	Prefix	DemCd-Rt-suffix	Examples	
1	mò-	ò-n-ó ò-ŋg-ó	ònó mòtò òŋgó mòtò	"this person" "that person"
2	βà-	βá-n-ù βá-ŋg-á	βánù βàtò βáŋgá βàtò	"these people" "those people"

3	mò-	mó-n-ò mó-ŋg-ó	mónò ŋměmà móŋgó ŋměmà	"this heart" "that heart"
4	mè-	mé-n-è mé-ŋg-é	ménè mèémà méŋgé mèémà	"these hearts" "those hearts"
5	lì-	lí-n-ì lí-ŋg-í	línì lìzròŋgá líŋgí lìzròŋgá	"this tooth" "that tooth"
6	mà-	má-n-ù má-ŋg-á	mánù màzròŋgá máŋgá màzròŋgá	"these teeth" "those teeth"
7	è-	é-n-è é-ŋg-é	énè èzrù éŋgé zrù	"this wall" "that wall"
8	βè-	βé-n-è βé-ŋg-é	βénè βèzrù βéŋgé βèzrù	"these walls" "those walls"
9	N-	é-n-ê (è-n-ê) é-ŋg-ê (è-ŋg-ê)	énê kémà éŋgê kémà	"this monkey" "that monkey"
10	N-	í-n-ì í-ŋg-î	ínì kémà íŋgî kémà	"these monkeys" "those monkeys"
14	wò	wó-n-ò wó-ŋg-ó	wónò wɔ́lɔ̀ wóŋgó wɔ́lɔ̀	"this canoe" "that canoe"
19	ì-	í-n-ì í-ŋg-í	ínì ìnɔ̀ní íŋgí ìnɔ̀ní	"this bird" "that bird"

Note the presence of a floating low in class 9, *énê kémà* "this monkey" *éŋgê kémà* "that monkey". That low tone creates a dowstep of a high in utterances like *éŋgé ꜜjémbé* "that animal".

Also note that the DemCd for class 9 is the vowel /e-/of class 7. However, although in the examples above the vowel /é-/ of class 7 and 9 all bear a high tone, the true tone of class 9 is low, /è-/. The high tone of the vowel /é-/ of class 9 is due to it position (initial) and its function as determiner. The real tone of class 9 is illustrated in the paradigm below where the demonstrative enters a presentative form. The vowel /é-/ (*èzrù é-ŋgê*) of class 7 is high while the one of the class 9 /è/ (*ɲàmà è-ŋgê*) is low.

Class 7		Class 9	
èzrù éŋgê	"that is a wall"	ɲàmà èŋgê	"that is a meat"
jŏmà éŋgê	"that is a thing"	mbólì èŋgê	"that is a goat"
èβózrí éŋgê	"that is a bottle"	mbòkò èŋgê	"that is a chair"
èβùmá éŋgê	"that is a fruit"	kòòɸà èŋgê	"that is a calabash"
èwòló éŋgê	"that is a work"	tŭ èŋgê	"that is a "room"

èzrù éŋgê	"that is a wall"	ndáwò èŋgê	"that is a house"

Interesting to also note is the fact that tonally, the morpheme for ‘that’ ends with a low tone when placed at utterance-end position:

Cl.1	ŋmánà òŋgô	"that is a child"
Cl.3	mòóβò móŋgô	"that is a head"
Cl.5	lìzròŋgá líŋgî	"that is a tooth"
Cl.7	èlèlà éŋgê	"that is a duck"
Cl.9	ɲàmà èŋgê	"that is a animal"
Cl.14	wɔ̌lɔ̀ wóŋgô	"that is a canoe"
Cl.19	ìnɔ̀ní íŋgî	"that is a bird"
Cl.6	màlìwá máŋgâ	"that is water"
Cl.8	βèwɔ́lì βéŋgê	"that is spit"

(7) Summary

The table below gives a summary of the qualifiers, associative constructions and pronouns concords.

Cl.	Prefix	AdjCd	GenCd	NumCd	OrdCd	PosCd	DemCd
1	mò-	mò-	wà	mó-	wà	wà-	ò-C-o
2	βà-	βà-	βá	βá-		βá-	βá-C-u/-a
3	mò-	mò-	mó	mó-	mò	mó-	mó-C-o
4	mè-	mè-	mé	mé-		mé-	mé-C-e
5	lì-	lì-	lí	lí-	lì-	lí-	lí-C-i
6	mà-	mà-	má	má-		má-	má-C-u/-a
7	è-	è-	é-	é-	è-	é-	é-C-e
8	βè-	βè-	βé	βé-		βé-	βé-C-e
9	N-	è-	è-	è-	è-	è-	è-C-e
10	N-/í-	N-/í-	é-	í-		í-	í-C-i
14	wò-	wò-	wó	wó-	wó-	wó-	wó-C-o
19	ì-	ì-	í	í-	í-	í-	í-C-i
8	βè-	βè-	βé	βé-		βé-	βé-C-e

(8) Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in Mokpe are generally autonoumous words that function independent of the noun which they may accompany. They are placed before the noun.

- ímá "which?"

Cl.1	ímá ŋmánà	"which child?"
Cl.2	ímá βánà	"which children?"
Cl.3	ímá ŋměmà	"which heart?"
Cl.4	ímá mèémà	"which hearts?"
Cl.5	ímá lìzròŋgá	"which tooth?"
Cl.6	ímá màzròŋgá	"which teeth? "
Cl.7	ímá èlèlà	"which duck?"
Cl.8	ímá βèlèlà	"which ducks?"
Cl.9	ímá ǃkémà	"which monkey?"
Cl.10	ímá ǃkémà	"which monkeys?"
Cl.14	ímá ǃwózrô	"which face?"
Cl.19	ímá ìnɔ̀ní	"which bird?"

- ndʒê "who?"

Cl.1	ndʒê à βélí ŋmánà	"who is a child?"
Cl.3	ndʒê à βélí ŋmémà	"who is a heart?"
Cl.5	ndʒê à βélí lìzròŋgá	"who is a tooth?"
Cl.7	ndʒê à βélí èlèlà	"who is a duck?"
Cl.9	ndʒê à βélí ɲàmà	"who is an animal?"
Cl.14	ndʒê à βélí wɔ̌lɔ̀	"who is a canoe?"
Cl.19	ndʒê à βélí ìwɔ́nì	"who is a cartridge?"
Cl.5	ndʒê à βélí málíwá	"who is water?"
Cl.8	ndʒê à βélí βéwɔ́lì	"who is spit?"

The interrogative pronoun is placed after the personal pronoun in an attributive sentence.

ndʒó òŋgô (ndʒê òŋgô)	"who is it?"
mbâ ndʒê	"who am I?"
wàâ ndʒê	"who are you?"
mɔ̀ɔ̂ ndʒê	"who is s/he?"
ízrɔ̂ ndʒê	"who are we?"
íɲɔ̂ ndʒê	"who are you?"
wɔ́ɔ̂ ndʒê	"who are they?"

- ó ꜜné "where?"

The interrogative pronoun *ó ꜜné* "where?" is bi-morphemic: the locative morpheme *ó* and the root *né*.

Cl.1	ó ꜜné mòtò	"where is the person?"
Cl.3	ó ꜜné mòóβò	"where is the head?"
Cl.5	ó ꜜné lízròŋgá	"where is the tooth?"
Cl.7	ó ꜜné élèlà	"where is the duck?"
Cl.9	ó ꜜné èkémà	"where is the monkey?"
Cl.4	ó ꜜné wôzrô	"where is the face?"
Cl.9	ó ꜜné ínɔ̀ní	"where is the bird?"

- mămɛ́ "what?"

mămělí mɔ́zrɔ̀ŋgí /mămɛ́ βélí mɔ́zrɔ̀ŋgí/	"what is the price?"
măm ꜜɔ́ mèɛ̀nɛ́ /mămɛ́ ɔ́ mà ɛ̀nɛ́/	"what did you see?"
măm ꜜóó màgbèé /mămɛ́ ó mà gbèé/	"what did you do?"
mămɛ́	"what is it?"

- How many?

The pronoun -tí "how many?" is the only one which take a concord in agreement with the head noun.

(Cl.2) βánà βátí
βá-nà βá-tí
2.palm tree 2-IntPro
"how many children?"

(Cl.4) mèémà métí
mè-émà mé-tí
4.palm tree 4-IntPro
"how many hearts?"

(Cl.6) mĭjà mátí
m-ĭjà má-tí
6.palm tree 6-IntPro
"how many palm trees?"

(Cl.8) βèɔ́ŋgɔ́ βétí
βè-ɔ́ŋgɔ́ βé-tí

8.pot 6-IntPro
"how many pots?"

(Cl.10) kólà ítí
Kólà í-tí
10.kola 10-IntPro
"how many kola nuts?"

Thus, apart from -tí the other interrogatives can stand on their on. In other to be automous, -tí "how many?" will take the default prefix βé-.

ímá? "which?"
mămɛ́? "what?"
ndʒɛ̂? "who?"
ó ˡné? "where?"
βé-tí "how many?"

(9) General Proforms

- -àzrɛ̂ "all, whole"

The general proform -àzrɛ̂ "all, whole" is a root that requires a concord that agrees with the head noun. Although the language uses the root -àzrɛ̂ for "all" and "whole", the distinction between "all" and "whole" is done through the selection of the appropriate number concord: a plural prefix for "all" and a singular prefix for "whole".

Cl.	Prefix	GprnCd	Examples	
1	mò-	wà-	èmólánà wàzrɛ̂	"the whole woman"
2	βà-	βá	βáănà βâzrɛ̂	"all the children"
3	mò-	mó	mólòŋgá ŋmâzrɛ	"the whole bucket"
4	mè-	mé	mélòŋgá méàzrɛ̂	"all the buckets"
5	lì-	lí	lĭtàŋgá lâzrɛ̂	"the whole foot"
6	mà-	má	mătàŋgá mâzrɛ̂	"all the foots"
7	è-	é-	ézrù jâzrɛ̂	"the whole wall"
8	βè-	βé	βézrù βéàzrɛ̂	"all the walls"
9	N-	è-	ìmbówà jàzrɛ̂	"the whole village"
10	í-	í-	ímbówà dʒâzrɛ̂	"all the villages"
14	wò-	wó	wôzrô wâzrɛ̂	"the whole face"
19	ì	í	ínɔ̀ní dʒâzrɛ̂	"the whole bird"

The plural subject pronouns take the concord βá- irrespective of the person:

ìzrɔ̂ βâzrɛ̂	"we all"
ìŋɔ̂ βâzrɛ̂	"you all"
wɔ̂ βâzrɛ̂	"they all"

Once again, one must distinguish between the /é-/ of class 7 and the one of class 9 /è-/.

Class 7		Class 9	
éèjé jâzrɛ̂	"the whole tree"	ètǔ jàzrɛ̂	"the whole room"
ékí jâzrɛ̂	"the whole place"	èŋgbɛ̀ndɛ̀ jàzrɛ̂	"the whole month"
ézrù jâzrɛ̂	"the whole wall"	èmbówà jàzrɛ̂	"the whole village"
élùwà jâzrɛ̂	"the whole market"	èβàkó jàzrɛ̂	"the whole mountain"
éβózrí jâzrɛ̂	"the whole bottle"	èndáwò jàzrɛ̂	"the whole house"

- -ítí and mɛ́nɛ́ "alone, self"

The expression of 'alone' is done with the root -ítí preceded by twice the corresponding independent pronoun. While the first independent is unbound, the second is attached -ítí. In the singular forms, it is the independent pronouns mbá "me", wá "you" and mɔ́ "him/her" which are repeated before the root -ítí, while in the plural forms it is the only concord βá-.

mbâ mbítí	/mbâ mbá-ítí/	"I alone"
wâ wítí	/wâ wá-ítí/	"you alone"
mɔ̂ ŋmítí	/mɔ̂ mɔ́-ítí/	"s/he alone"
ìzrɔ̂ βítí	/ìzrɔ̂ βá-ítí/	"we alone"
ìŋɔ̂ βítí	/ìŋɔ̂ βá-ítí/	"you alone"
wɔ̂ βítí	/wɔ̂ βá-ítí/	"they alone"

Note that the morpheme *méné* can also be used for the plural persons.

ìzrɔ̂ ꜜmɛ́nɛ́	"we alone"
ìŋɔ̂ ꜜmɛ́nɛ́	"you alone"
wɔ̂ ꜜmɛ́nɛ́	"they alone"

7. Prepositions and prepositional phrases

The preposition *nà* "with" is used in abstract nouns to indicate manner of action.

nà ŋgíɲà	"with force"
nà ndʒàwò	"with hunger"

nà wɔ́ŋgɔ́	"with fear"
nà wòndʒà	"with agression"
nà ììlì	"with sympathy"
nà mɔ̀ɲɛ̀ŋgì	"with pleasure"
nà gbǎŋgò	"with care"
nà ɛ̀zrɔ́lízrɔ́lí	"with sorrow"
nà lùùwá	"with cry"
nɛ̀ɛ̀jɔ̀ /nà ɛ̀jɔ̀/	"with laugh"

When used with the personal independent pronouns, it is a function word expressing agreement, sympathy or association (on the side of).

nìmbâ /nà ìmbâ/	"with me"
nòwâ /nà òwâ/	"with you"
nà mɔ̂	"with him/her"
nà ìzrɔ̂	"with us"
nà ìŋɔ̂	"with you"
nà wɔ̂	"with them"

The preposition *nàá* "like" is used to express the idea “in the manner of”, similarity and resemblance.

Cl.1	nàá ˡŋmánà	"like a child"
Cl.3	nàá ˡmóóβò	"like a head"
Cl.5	nàá lìzròŋgá	"like a tooth"
Cl.7	nělèlà	"like a duck"
Cl.9	nàá ˡkémà	"like a monkey"
Cl.14	nàá ˡwózrô	"like a face"
Cl.19	nǐnɔ̀ní	"like a bird"

nìímbá /nàá ìmbá/	"like me"
nôwá /nàá òwá/	"like you"
nà mɔ́	"like him/her"
nǐˡzrɔ́ /nàá íˡzrɔ́/	"like us"
nàá íˡŋɔ́	"like you"
nàá wɔ́	"like them"

Some usual preposition phrases are worth noting. They refer to time, space or position.

lìwòtéělélé /lìwòtéjá éělélé/	"from the morning"

nà wɔ̂	"among them"
nátɛ̀ɛ̀ èŋgómbé	"until the evening"
ó mbówà	"to the village"
ô mbúzrà jàámì	"behind mine"
ô mbúzrá mbówà	"outside of the village"
ô mbúzrá mòtò	"behind the man"
ô mbúzrá ndáwù	"outside the house"
ô zré já téèlì	"under the table"
óténá mbówà or ó mbówà	"in the village"
ôténá ndáwù	"inside the house"
ówòzró wó mbówà	"in front of the village"
ówòzró wó ndáwù	"in front of the house"
wêkí jélùwà	"at the market place"
wělùwà	"at the market"
wítí ìtèní	"in the mid"

IV. THE VERB AND THE VERB PHRASE

1. Verbal Inflection

The verb, like in any other language of the world, denotes an action (*lăkà* "to pass"), a process (*lŏnà* "to grow") or a state (*lìβɛ̂ lɔ̀kízrɛ́* "to be sick"). Grammatically, it changes according to person, time, mood and class in concord with the noun class of the subject. Syntactically, it forms the predicate which can be verbal or non-verbal. Except for the first person of the imperative form, the verb stem must be preceded by a verbal pronoun and a/several temporal or modal modifier(s).

1. The isolated and infinitive forms

The isolated form of the verb is its shape without the infinitive marker *lì-*. The infinitive marker in Mokpe is the class prefix *lì-* which is attached to a root. This prefix is realised [l-] before roots starting with vowels and remains [lì-] before roots starting with consonants. The examples below are selected according to the shape and length of the syllable as well as the tonal patterns of the verb.

Examples

a. Monosyllabic roots

lâ	"eat"	lìlâ	"to eat"

pkâ	"fall"	lìpkâ	"to fall"
ɲɔ́	"drink"	lìɲɔ̂	"to drink"
ndê	"go"	lɛ̀ndɛ́	"to go"
ŋwâ	"die"	lìŋwâ	"to die"
ŋgbâ	"give"	lìŋgbă	"to give"

b. Disyllabic roots

íɓá	"steal"	lĭɓà	"to steal"
áŋgâ	"count"	lăŋgà	"to count"
ɛ́nɛ̂	"see"	lɛ̆nɛ̀	"to see"
dʒàâ	"come"	lìdʒă	"to come"
jɔ̀ɔ̂	"laugh"	lìjɔ̆	"to laugh"
mɛ̀ɛ̂	"swallow"	lìmɛ̆	"to swallow"
βɛ́lɛ̂	"call"	lìβɛ́lɛ̀	"to call"
zrùmâ	"bow"	lìzrùmâ	"to bow"
kóká	"bite"	lìkókà	"to bite"
tìmbá	"return"	lìtìmbá	"to return"

c. Trisyllabic roots

ókówâ	"learn"	lŏkòwà	"to learn"
ándʒílɛ̂	"carry"	làndʒílɛ́	"to carry"
kpééjá	"enter"	lìkpéèjà	"to enter"
kààwá	"divide"	lìkààwá	"to divide"
lìβówâ	"open"	lìlìβówá	"to open"
lùtéjâ	"think"	lìlùtéjá	"to think"
límízrɛ̂	"extinguish"	lìlìmìzrɛ̀	"to extinguish"
kóŋgámá	"lie down"	lìkóŋgàmà	"to lie down"
nàŋgôzré	"lie down"	lìnàŋgôzré	"to lie down"
kàmbówâ	"pour"	lìkàmbówà	"to pour"
zrɔ́ŋgízrɛ̂	"dry" (fish)	lìzrɔ́ŋgìzrɛ̀	"to dry" (fish)

d. Quadrisyllabic roots

ókánéâ	"taste"	lŏkànèà	"to taste"
lìíòzré	"sit down"	ljǒ!ózré	"to sit down"
ɛ́ɲɛ́lɛ́lɛ̂	"expose"	lɛ̆ɲɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀	"to expose"

e. Compound verb forms

tíjà lùmbɛ̀	"slap"	lìtjá lùmbɛ̀	"to slap"

ókâ wɔ́ŋgɔ́	"fear"	lɔ̌kà wɔ́ŋgɔ́	"to fear"
zríŋgâ or zríŋgá ŋgɔ̀lì	"snore"	lìzríŋgà ŋgɔ̀lì	"to snore"
zrùmá mâwɔ́ ŋgɔ́ŋgɔ́	"kneel"	lìzrùmá mâwɔ́ ŋgɔ́ŋgɔ́	"to kneel"

While the tone of the verb prefix is always low, the tonal pattern of the base varies. However, this variation allows a classification of the verbs in tone groups (cf. subsection IV.*3*).

Note that the monosyllabic and disyllabic verb roots largely prevail in the language.

2. The verbal root templates

In the unmarked case, the verbal roots have the following CV templates:

Table 5. Mokpe verb syllable templates

CV shapes		Examples			
a.	CV	ɲɔ́	"drink"	ŋgbâ	"give"
b.	V.CV	íɓá	"steal"	áŋgâ	"count"
	CV.V	jɔ̀ɔ̂	"laugh"	mɛ̀ɛ̂	"swallow"
	CV.CV	βɛ́lɛ̂	"call"	zrùmâ	"bow"
c.	V.CV.CV	ókówâ	"learn"	ándʒílɛ̂	"carry"
	CV.V.CV	kpééjá	"enter"	kààwá	"divide"
	CV.CV.CV	lìβówâ	"open"	nàŋgôzré	"lie down"
d.	V.CV.CV.V	ókánéâ	"taste"		
	CV.V.V.CV	lìíòzré	"sit down"		
	V.CV.CV.CV	ɛ́ɲɛ́lɛ́lɛ̂	"expose"		

3. The tonal groups of the verbs

The verbs in Mokpe can be divided into two tonal groups: low and high.

a. Low tone verbs

Infinitive		Isolated form	
lìŋgbă	"to give"	ŋgbâ	"give"
lìjɔ̌	"to laugh"	jɔ̀ɔ̂	"laugh"
lòká	"to play"	òkâ	"play"
lìkòówá	"to fly"	kòówâ	"fly"
lìkàmbówá	"to pour"	kàmbówâ	"pour"

b. High tone verbs

Infinitive		Isolated form	
lìkɛ̂	"to cut"	kɛ̂	"cut"
lìŋwâ	"to die"	ŋwâ	"die"
lɛ̌nɛ̀	"to see"	ɛ́nɛ̂	"see"
lǎkà	"to pass"	ákâ	"pass"
lǔŋwɛ̀lɛ̀	"to show"	úŋwɛ́lɛ̂	"show"
lɔ̌ŋgɛ̀lɛ̀	"to remember"	ɔ́ŋgɛ́lɛ̂	"remember"
lìβɔ́ŋgà	"to forget"	βɔ́ŋgâ	"forget"
lìzríìmà	"to pull"	zríímâ	"pull"
lìtíndɛ̀lɛ̀	"to push"	tíndɛ́lɛ̂	"push"
lìzrɔ́ŋgìzrɛ̀	"to dry" (fish)	zrɔ́ŋgízrɛ̂	"dry" (fish)

The identification of a low-toned verb vs. a high-toned verb is possible thanks to the first tone of the verb root of the infinitive forms.

Low tone verbs		High tone verbs	
lìjɔ̌	"to laugh"	lìpkâ	"to fall"
lìdʒǎ	"to come"	lìzrâ	"to dance"
lìmɛ̌	"to swallow"	lìkɛ̂	"to cut"

In the isolated forms, the first tone of the verbs permits their classification into the appropriate tone group even if the apparently monosyllabic low-toned verbs double their vowels in order to carry the original low tone of the verb and the falling tone of the imperative or isolated form.

Low tone verbs			High tone verbs		
Infinitive	Isolated form		Infinitive	Isolated form	
lìjɔ̌	jɔ̀ɔ̂	"to laugh"	lìpkâ	pkâ	"fall"
lìdʒǎ	dʒàâ	"come"	lìzrâ	zrâ	"dance"
lìmɛ̌	mɛ̀ɛ̂	"swallow"	lìkɛ̂	kɛ̂	"cut"

Disyllabic verbs are tonally unequivocal whether in the infinitive or isolated forms.

Low tone verbs			High tone verbs		
Infinitive	Isolated form		Infinitive	Isolated form	
lìkɛ̀ká	kɛ̀kâ	"taste"	lìwɔ́tɔ̀	wɔ́tɔ̂	"dress"
lìtɛ̀mbɛ́	tɛ̀mbɛ̂	"leak"	lìtɛ́mɛ̀	tɛ́mɛ̂	"stand up"
lìzrùmá	zrùmâ	"bow"	lìβáŋgà	βáŋgâ	"run"

In disyllabic vowel-initial roots, the rising coutour tone on the first vowel of the root in high-toned verbs is in fact a combination of a low followed by a high. The low tone is that stranded tone of the vowel of the verb prefix, and the high tone is the tone of the verb root. One can see that this stranded low tone is no longer present in the isolated form.

High tone verbs					
		Infinitive		Isolated form	
lì-énɛ̀	→	lɛ̌nɛ̀	"to see"	énɛ̂	"see"
lì-ákà	→	lǎkà	"to pass"	ákâ	"pass"
lì-úŋwɛ́lɛ̀	→	lǔŋwɛ̀lɛ̀	"to show"	úŋwɛ́lɛ̂	"show"
lì-ɔ́ŋgɛ́lɛ̀	→	lɔ̌ŋgɛ̀lɛ̀	"to remember"	ɔ́ŋgɛ́lɛ̂	"remember"

As for the low-toned verbs, the vowel /ì/ of the verb prefix lì- gets deleted and its low tone merges with the one of the first vowel of the root.

Low tone verbs					
		Infinitive		Isolated form	
lì-ìβɛ́	→	lìβɛ́	"to cook"	ìβɛ̂	"cook"
lì-òká	→	lòká	"to play"	òkâ	"play"
lì-àgbá	→	làgbá	"to climb"	àgbâ	"climb"
lì-àŋgbá	→	làŋgbá	"to shoot"	àŋgbâ	"shoot"

4. Compound verbs

Some verbs are made up of two morphemes, generally a verb and a noun.

mbákì	"encouragement"	
lìŋgbá mbákì	"to encourage"	(to give encouragement)
βòndʒà	"permission"	
lìŋgbá βòndʒà	"to allow"	(give permission)
βèzràzrá	"whisper"	
lɔ̌ɸà βèzràzrá	"to whisper"	(to tell whisper)
dʒɔ́βì	"speech"	
lɔ̌ɸà dʒɔ́βì	"make a speech"	(to tell speech)

5. The subject and object (independent) pronouns

When conjugated, the verb is preceded by a subject pronoun (SP). It appears in two forms: a full or plain form before consonant-initial verbal roots and in a truncated or

modified form before vowel-initial roots. The verb root can also take an object or substitute pronoun (ObjP), which is placed between the TAM and the verb root.

Table 6. Subject and object pronouns

	Subject pronouns			Object pronouns
	Full form		Modified form	
	All other tenses	Present perfect		
1sg	nà	ná	n-	ìmbâ
2sg	ò	ó	w-	wâ
3sg	à	á	—	mɔ̀ɔ̂
1pl	ì	í	dʒ-	ízrɔ̂
2pl	è	é	j-	íɲɔ̂
3pl	βá	βá	β-	wɔ̂

Thus, the SPs [nà] and [βá] lose their vowel when they precede vowel-initial roots. The vocalic SPs [ò], [ì] and [è] change to [w], [dʒ] and [j] respectively when occurring before roots beginning with vowels. The 3rd person singular pronoun [à] does not undergo any change.

As far as the tones are concerned, the SPs generally bear a low tone, except for the 3rd person plural which is high-toned. This is what is obtained in all tenses, except the present perfect tense which commands that the SPs bear a high tone all through (cf. table 6 above).

In the conjugated forms, after the deletion of the vowel of the subject pronoun, its tone survives and docks onto the vowel of the root to create a contour tone.

Full form				Truncated/modified form	
1sg	nà	kòòwà	"I fly"	nĕmbà	"I sing"
2sg	ò	kòòwà	"you fly"	wĕmbà	"you sing"
3sg	à	kòòwà	"he flies"	à émbà	"he sings"
1pl	ì	kòòwà	"we fly"	dʒĕmbà	"we sing"
2pl	è	kòòwà	"you fly"	jĕmbà	"you sing"
3pl	βá	kòòwà	"they fly"	βĕmbà	"they sing"

The presentative is formed as follows:

ìmbâ	"it is me"
òwâ	"it is you"
mɔ̂	"it is him"

ízrɔ̂ "it is us"
íŋɔ̂ "it is us"
wɔ̂ "it is them"

It is negated with the negative marker *zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́* placed before the substitute pronoun.

zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ ìmbâ "it is not me"
zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ òwâ "it is not you"
zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ mɔ̂ "it is not him"
zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ ízrɔ̂ "it is not us"
zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ íŋɔ̂ "it is not you"
zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ wɔ̂ "it is not them"

In a verbal construction where the subject is a noun, the 3rd person singular and plural pronouns always follow and agree in class with that noun:

Ndive à βélì ndí mòòkèlì

Ndive	à	βélì ndí	mò-òkèlì
PN	3sg.Cd	Cop	1-player

"Ndive is a player"

Ndive nà Jozro βá βélì ndí βàòkèlì

Ndive	nà	Jozro	βá	βélì ndí	βà-òkèlì
PN	COORD	PN	3pl.Cd	Cop	2-player

"Ndive and Josso are players"

Èŋgbâ èmà lá èwúɸà

è-ŋgbâ	è-	mà	lá	è-wúɸà
7-dog	7.Cd	PAST	eat	7-fowl

"The dog ate the fowl"

Íŋgbâ ímà lá èwúɸà

í-ŋgbâ	í-	mà	lá	è-wúɸà
10-dog	10.Cd	PAST	eat	7-fowl

"The dogs ate the fowl"

Móŏtówà mómà ŋmɛ̀zrɛ́ ŋmɛ̂lɛ̂

mó-ŏtówà	mó	mà	ŋm-	-ɛ̀zrɛ́	ŋmɛ̂lɛ̂
3-car	3.Cd	PAST	ObjP	knock	yesterday

"The car knocked him yesterday"

Mé-ŏtówà mémà ŋmɛ̀zrɛ́ ŋmɛ̂lɛ̂

mé-ŏtówà	mé	mà	ŋm-	-ɛ̀zrɛ́	ŋmɛ̂lɛ̂
4-car	4.Cd	PAST	ObjP	knock	yesterday

"The cars knocked him yesterday"

6. The indicative mood

(1) The defective verb *βélì / βɛ́* "be"

Present

Positive		Negative	
nà βélì ndí	"I am"	nà zrêndʒé	"I am not"
ò βélì ndí	"you are"	ò zrêndʒé	"you are not"
à βélì ndí	"s/he is"	à zrêndʒé	"s/he is not"
ì βélì ndí	"we are"	ì zrêndʒé	"we are not"
è βélì ndí	"you are"	è zrêndʒé	"you are not"
βá βélì ndí	"they are"	βá zrèndʒé	"they are not"

Past

Positive		Negative	
nà mà βɛ́	"I was"	nà zrí βɛ̂	"I was not"
ò mà βɛ́	"you were"	ò zrí βɛ̂	"you were not"
à mà βɛ́	"s/he was"	à zrí βɛ̂	"s/he was not"
ì mà βɛ́	"we were"	ì zrí βɛ̂	"we were not"
è mà βɛ́	"you were"	è zrí βɛ̂	"you were not"
βá mà βɛ́	"they were"	βá zrí βɛ̂	"they were not"

Future

Positive		Negative	
nà βɛ̂ ndí	"I shall be"	nà zrá ꜜβɛ́	"I shall not be"
ɔ̀ βɛ̂ ndí	"you will be"	ò zrá ꜜβɛ́	"you will not be"
à βɛ̂ ndí	"s/he will be"	à zrá ꜜβɛ́	"s/he will not be"
ì βɛ̂ ndí	"we shall be"	ì zrá ꜜβɛ́	"we shall not be"
è βɛ̂ ndí	"you will be"	è zrá ꜜβɛ́	"you will not be"
βá βɛ̂ ndí	"they will be"	βá zrà βɛ́	"they will not be"

(2) The defective verb *lǒβà* " to have"

Present / Present continous

Positive		Negative	
nǒβì	"I have"	nà zróβì	"I don't have / I haven't"
ò óβì	"you have"	ò zróβì	"you don't have / you haven't"
à óβì	"s/he has"	à zróβì	"s/he doesn't have / s/he hasn't"
dʒǒβì	"we have"	ì zróβì	"we don't have / we haven't"
jǒβì	"you have"	è zróβì	"you don't have / you haven't"
βóóβì	"they have"	βá zróβì	"they don't have / they haven't"

Past / Past continous

Positive		Negative	
nà mòβá	"I had"	nà zróβè	"I didn't have / I hadn't"
ò mòβá	"you had"	ò zróβè	"you didn't have / you hadn't"
à mòβá	"s/he had"	à zróβè	"s/he didn't have / s/he hadn't"
ì mòβá	"we had"	ì zróβè	"we didn't have / we hadn't"
è mòβá	"you had"	è zróβè	"you didn't have / you hadn't"
βá mòβá	"they had"	βá zróβè	"they didn't have / they hadn't"

Future 1 (near)

Positive		Negative	
nǒβà	"I will have	nà ꜜzróβá	"I will not have"
ò óβà	"you will have	ò ꜜzróβá	"you will not have"
à óβà	"s/he will have"	à ꜜzróβá	"s/he will not have"
dʒǒβà	"we will have"	ì ꜜzróβá	"we will not have"
jǒβà	"you will have"	è ꜜzróβá	"you will not have"
βóóβà	"they will have"	βá zròβá	"they will not have"

Future 2 (far)

Positive		Negative	
nà βɛ́nɛ̀	"I will have"	nà zrá ꜜβꜜɛ́nɛ́	"I will not have"
ɔ̀ βɛ́nɛ̀	"you will have	ò zrá ꜜβɛ́nɛ́	"you w'll not have"
à βɛ́nɛ̀	"s/he will have"	à zrá ꜜβɛ́nɛ́	"s/he will not have"
ì βɛ́nɛ̀	"we will have"	ì zrá ꜜβɛ́nɛ́	"we will not have"
è βɛ́nɛ̀	"you will have"	è zrá ꜜβɛ́nɛ́	"you will not have"
βá βɛ́nɛ̀	"they will have"	βá zrà βɛ́nɛ́	"they will not have"

(3) Constructions with *-óβì* "have" (possesion)

These constructions represent "have" in Mokpe. The infinitive form is *lŏβà* to “have” from the noun class prefix *lì-* and the root *-óβà*. Negation: *zrà óβì → zróβì*.

Positive	Negative
nŏβì wàná	nà zróβì wàná
"I have a mouth"	"I don’t have a mouth"
ò óβì βàèní	ò zróβì βàèní
"you (sg) have guests"	"you don’t have guests"
à óβì βálánà	à zróβì βálánà
"he has women"	"he doesn’t have women"
dʒŏβì múɲánà	ì zróβì múɲánà
"we have a man"	"we don’t have a man"
jŏβì màlíwá	è zróβì màlíwa
"you (pl) have water"	"you (pl) don’t have water"
wóóβì èwòló	βá zróβì èwòló
"they have work"	"they don’t have work"
nŏβì βóndá	nà zróβì βóndá
"I have time"	"I don’t have time"
nŏβì mààlì	nà zróβì mààlì
"I have money"	"I don’t have money"
Kamarun à óβì ljŏmélá màmbówà	Kamarun à zróβì ljŏmélá màmbówà
"Cameroon has ten villages"	"Cameroon hasn’t ten villages"
ékòmɛ̀ jŏβì ljŏmélá màmbówà	ékòmɛ̀ è zróβì ljŏmélá màmbówà
"the country has ten villages"	"the country hasn’t ten villages"
lìnɔ̀ŋgɛ̀ à óβì mbàŋgɛ̀ à mèótówà	lìnɔ̀ŋgɛ̀ à zróβì mbàŋgɛ̀ à mèótówà
"Linonge has 20 cars"	"Linonge hasn’t 20 cars"

(4) Obligation: to have + infinitive

Obligation is rendered through the morpheme *-áŋgáménɛ́* followed by the infinitive form of the verb.

Present

Positive	Negative
nà áŋgáménɛ́ lĭɲà	nà zrá!á áŋgàmènɛ̀ lăβà
"I have to urinate"	"I don’t have to walk"
wàŋgáménɛ́ lìkùmbá	ò zrá!á áŋgàmènɛ̀ lĭɲà

"you have to beat (drum)"	"you don't have to urinate"
à áŋgáméné lìβáŋgà	à zrá!á áŋgàmènè lìtíndèlè
"s/he has to run"	"s/he don't have to push"
dʒàŋgáméné lăβà	ì zrá!á áŋgàmènè lìβáŋgà
"we have to walk"	"we don't have to run"
jàŋgáméné lìjɔ́ɔ́	è zrá!á áŋgàmènè lìjɔ́ɔ́
"you (pl) have to laugh"	"you (pl) don't have to laugh"
βá áŋgáméné lìtíndèlè	βá zrà áŋgàmènè lìkàwá
"they have to push"	"they don't have to divide"

Past

Positive	Negative
nà mà áŋgáméné lìlâ	nà zrá áŋgàmènè lìlâ
"I had to eat"	"I did not have to eat"
ò mà áŋgáméné lěmbà	ò zrá áŋgàmènè lìkánè
"you had to sing"	"you (sg) did not have to pray"
à mà áŋgáméné lìβélè	à zrá áŋgàmènè lìβélè
"he had to call"	"s/he did not have to call"
ì mà áŋgáméné lìzrâ	ì zrá áŋgàmènè lìlìβówá
"we had to dance"	"we did not have to open"
è mà áŋgáméné lìkánè	è zrá áŋgàmènè lìlìŋgáná
"you (pl) had to pray"	"you (pl) did not have to love"
βá mà áŋgáméné lìβáŋgà	βá zrá áŋgàmènè lìŋgbă
"they had to run"	"they did not have to give"

(5) Verb ending

The verbal ending in the infinitive form in Mokpe is generally the vowel [a]. However, some verbs end with [ɛ] and [ɔ].

a. Ending with /a/

lìlâ	"to eat"
lĭɓà	"to still"
lìdʒă	"to come"
lìpkâ	"to fall"
lěmbà	"to sing"
lìlùtéjá	"to think"
lŏkòwà	"to learn"

b. Ending with /ɛ/ and /ɔ/

lìmĕ	"to swallow"
lĕnè	"to see"
lɔ̌ŋgèlè	"to remember"
lìɓɔ́lènè	"to loose"
lŭŋwèlè	"to show"
lìjɔ̌	"to laugh"
lɔ̌kɔ̀	"to wash"

lìlìβówá	"to open"	lìkɔ̀kɔ́	"to pound"
lèlìŋgáná	"to like"	liβɔ̀zrɔ́	"to choose"
lìwùndúwà	"to untie"	lìnɔ̀ŋgɔ́	"to follow"

However, note that when the verb is conjugated the final is still [a], [ɛ] or [ɔ], but also the vowels [e] and [i] in certain moods or tenses for verbs whose final vowel is originally [a]. In fact there is the phenomenon of vowel mutation in the language. This is illustrated on the table below.

Table 7. The mutation of the vowel [a] to [e] and [i]

Infinitive	Imperative			Indicative	
	1sg	1pl	2pl	Past Neg.	Present Perfect Neg.
lìlâ	lâ	î lé	é lê	nà zrí lê	ò zrí lélí
"to eat"	eat!	let us eat!	you, eat!	I did not eat	you (sg) have not eaten
lìdʒǎ	dʒá	í dʒě	é dʒè	à zrí dʒè	ì zrá dʒèlì
"to come"	come!	let us come!	you, come!	he did not come	we have not come
lěmbà	ěmbâ	dʒé jěmbé	jěmbè	è zré mbè	βá zré mbí
"to sing"	sing!	let us sing!	you, sing!	you (pl) did not sing	they have not sung
lìkòówá	kòówà	í kòówé	é kòòwè	nà zrí kòòwè	ò zrí kòówí
"to fly"	fly!	let us fly!	you, fly!	I did not fly	you (pl) have not flown

(6) The tenses

The conjugated verb is departed from the infinitive marker. For example, the verb *lìkɛ̂* "to cut" will be conjugated in the present, the past and present perfect tenses of the indicative mood as:

Present		Past (preterit)		Present Perfect	
nà kɛ̂	I cut	nà mà kɛ́	I cut	ná ꜜmáá kɛ̂	I have cut
ò kɛ̂	you cut	ò mà kɛ́	you cut	ó ꜜmáá kɛ̂	you have cut
à kɛ̂	s/he cuts	à mà kɛ́	s/he cut	á ꜜmáá kɛ̂	s/he has cut
ì kɛ̂	we cut	ì mà kɛ́	we cut	í ꜜmáá kɛ̂	we have cut
è kɛ̂	you cut	è mà kɛ́	you cut	é ꜜmáá kɛ̂	you have cut
βá kɛ̂	they cut	βá mà kɛ́	they cut	βá ꜜmáá kɛ̂	they have cut

The morphemes that enter the composition of conjugated verbs are the subject pronoun (SP), the tense-aspect-mood (TAM), the infinitive marker (IM), the negative

marker (Neg) and the verbal root (VR). The structure of a conjugated verb in the indicative mood, as we shall see below when discussing tenses, aspect and mood is then as follows:

Table 8. The structure of a conjugated verb in the indicative mood

Structure		Tense
1.	SP + VR	Present, future
2.	SP + TAM + VR	Past tense, Present perfect
3.	SP + TAM + IM + VR	Present continuous, past continuous
4.	SP + Neg + VR	Present, future, Past tense, Present perfect (Negation)
5.	SP + Neg + TM + IM + VR	Present perfect continuous, past perfect continuous (Negation)

Note that the present and future tenses have zero markers. However, the future tense can be completed with a time adverb (underlined in the example below) in order to give the exact meaning.

nɛ̀ndɛ̀ ŋmɛ̂lɛ̂	"I will go tomorrow"
nɛ̀ndɛ̀ wózrí βàá	"I will go in two days"
nɛ̀ndɛ̀ ô ŋgbɛ̀ndɛ̀	"I will go in one month"

For the imperative mood, the structure for the affirmative is: (SP) + VR whereas the one for the negative form is: SP + NM + VR.

Table 9. The structure of a conjugated verb in the imperative mood

	Structure	
1.	SP + VR	Affimative
2.	SP + TM + VR	Negative

Example:

affirmative		negation	
lâ	"eat!"	ò zrì lá	"do not eat!"
îlé	"let us eat!"	ì zrì lá	"let us not eat!"
élê	"you (sg), eat!"	è zrì lá	"you (pl), do not eat! "

- Present simple

The affirmative form of the present tense is rendered with the zero morpheme. There is only the subject pronoun and the verbal root. The negative form of the present tense is done with the morphome *zrá*.

Positive		Negative	
nà jɔ̀	"I laugh"	nà zrá ꜜlá	"I don't eat"
ò dʒà	"you come"	ò zrá jɔ̌	"you don't laugh"
à ŋgbà	"s/he gives"	à zrá ꜜlá	"s/he doesn't eat"
ì lùtélì	"we think"	ì zrá lùtèlì	"we don't think"

- Present continuous

The positive form is done through the morpheme *βélì* followed by the verb at the infinitive mood. As for the negative form, it is done with *zrá* + the morpheme *èndʒé*, giving the contracted form *zréndʒé*, or with *zrà* + the morpheme *βélì*.

Positive		Negative	
ì βélì lìlâ	"we're eating"	ì zrêndʒé lìlâ	"we're not eating"
è βélì lìjɔ̌	"you're laughing"	ò zrêndʒé lìjɔ̌	"you're not laughing"
βá βélì lìdʒă	"they're coming"	βá zrà βélì lìdʒă	"they're not coming"

- Past simple

While the affirmative form is done with *mà*, the negative form uses *zrí*. Thus, zrémbè is a contracted form of *zrí* + *émbè*

Positive		Negative	
nà mèmbá	"I sang"	nà zrémbè	"I did not sing"
ò mà kɛ́	"you cut"	ò zrí kɛ̂	"you did not cut"
à mà kòówá	"s/he flew"	à zrí kòòwè	"s/he did not fly"

- Past continuous

The affirmative and negative forms are rendered by *mà* and *zrí* respectively, and the morpheme *βɛ́* marks continuity in the past.

Positive		Negative	
ì mà βɛ́ lěmbà	"we were singing"	ì zrí βɛ́ lěmbà	"we were not singing"
è mà βɛ́ lìkɛ̂	"you were cutting"	è zrí βɛ́ lìkɛ̂	"you were not cutting"
βá mà βɛ́ lìkòówá	"they were flying"	βá zrí βɛ́ lìkòówá	"they were not flying"

- Future

The future tense is not different from the present tense. Zero morpheme for the affirmative and *zrá* for the negative form.

Positive		Negative	
nà jɔ̀	"I will laugh"	nà zrá jɔ̌	"I will not laugh"
ò dʒà	"you will come"	ò zrá dʒǎ	"you will not come"
à émbà	"s/he will sing"	à zré mbá	"s/he will not sing"

Note however that the phrase can be completed with time adverbs to mark a more or less far future:

ò dʒà /	wózrí tâ /	ó wíkì /	ó ŋgbɛ̀ndɛ̀ /	ó ŋmâ
"you will come	in five days	in a week	in a month	in a year"

- Present Perfect

The present perfect is done with the morpheme *maa* whose tones vary according to the tonal shape of the verbal root and the tone of the subject pronoun. The negative form uses *zrí*.

Positive		Negative	
ná màá jɔ̀	"I have laughed"	nà zrí ꜜjɔ́	"I have not laughed"
ǒ mĕmbà	"you have sung"	ò zrémbí	"you have not sung"
á ꜜmáá kɛ̂	"s/he has cut"	à zrí kɛ́	"s/he has not cut"
í máá kòòwà	"we have flown"	ì zrí kòówí	"we have not flown"
é ꜜmáá lùtèjà	"you have thought"	è zrí ꜜlútélí	"you have not thought"

- Want (present) + Infinitive

To construct a sentence with “want” and a verb at the affirmative form (present tense), the verbal root *àzrà* is used with the verb at the infinitive form. In the past tense, it is either *àzréjɛ́* or *mà àzrá*. Note that *àzrà/àzrá* or *àzréjɛ́* are from *làzrá* “to want, to desire”.

a. Present: want + verb

nà àzrà lìjɔ̌	"I want to laugh"
wà àzrà lìdʒǎ	"you want to come"
à àzrà lĕmbà	"s/he wants to sing"
dʒà àzrà lìkɛ̂	"we want to cut"
jà àzrà lìkòówá	"you want to fly"
βá àzrà lìkɔ́kɔ̀	"they want to think"

nà àzrà lìlìŋgáná "I want to like"
βà àzrà lìlìβówá "you want to open"

b. Past: wanted+verb
nà àzréjɛ́ lìjɔ̌ "I wanted to laugh"
à àzréjɛ́ lěmbà "s/he wanted to sing"
dʒààzréjɛ́ lìkɛ̂ "we wanted to cut"

è mà àzrá lìkòówá "you wanted to fly"
βá mà àzrá lìkɔ́kɔ̀ "they wanted to think"
nà mà àzrá lìlìŋgá "I wanted to like"
ò mà àzrá lìlìβówá "you wanted to open"
à mà àzrá lìdʒǎ "s/he wanted to come"

- 'Impersonal' Verbal Forms

In the sense of Indo-European languages, impersonal verbal forms can be in two ways.

1) Using the word *mòtò* 'person' or *βàtò* 'people':

mòtò à lùtélì "one thinks…"
βàtò à óβà ɛ́mɛ́ "one says that…"
βàtò βóβà ɛ́mɛ́ "people say that…"
βàtò βálùtèjà "people think…"

2) Using *é ... ènèβè*. The structure is then:

Table 10. The structure of Impersonal verb form

	Structure	
1.	é + verbal root + ènèβè	affirmative
2.	é + zrá + verbal root + ènèβè	negative

Examples:

a. lìlùtéjá "to think"
é lùtàènèβè "it is thinkable"
é zrà lùtáɛ́néβɛ́ "it is unthinkable"
é zrèndʒé nà ézrà lùtáɛ́néβɛ́ "it is not unthinkable"

b. lěmèjà "to accept"

But:

é gbèjàɛ̀nɛ̀βɛ̀	"it is acceptable"
é zràgbèáɛ́nɛ́βɛ́	"it is unacceptable"
é zrèndʒé nà ézràgbèáɛ́nɛ́βɛ́	"it is not unacceptable"

c. lɛ̌nɛ̀ "to see"

ɛ́ zrɛ̀nɛ́βɛ́	"it is not visible"
é zrèndʒé nà ɛ́zrɛ̀nɛ́βɛ́	"it is not invisible"

However, note the morphemic sequence is not always present:

a. lɛ̌nɛ̀ "to see"

jɛ̌nèjà	"it is visible"
ɛ́ zrɛ̀néjá	"it is invisible"

b.

étánɛ̂	"it is possible"
ézràtánɛ̀	"it is not possible"
ézràtánɛ̀	"it is impossible"
ézrèndʒé nà ézràtánɛ̀	"it is not impossible"

Sometimes *é βélì* and *é zrèndʒé* are used:

Positive		Negative	
é βélì wòlìtó	"it is important"	é zrèndʒé wòlìtó	"it is not important"
é βélì díjà	"it is expensive"	é zrèndʒé díjà	"it is not expensive"

7. The Imperative form

The meaning of the imperative is not different from what obtains in other Bantu languages. It expresses a strict order. In singular, it is identical to the infinitive form of the verb without the verbal prefix *lì-*, and occurs without subject pronouns. The plural is marked by a systematic high tone on the subject pronouns. The tonal shape of the root is very unpredictable, depending on the structure of the verb.

Table 11. The structure of the Imperative verb

Infinitive	Imperative					
	affirmative			negative		
	1sg	1pl	2pl	1sg	1pl	2pl
lìlâ "to eat"	lâ	îlé	élê	ò zrì lá	ì zrì lá	è zrì lá
	Eat!	Let us eat!	you, eat!	Do not eat!	Let us not eat!	you, do not eat!
lìjɔ̀ɔ́ "to laugh"	jɔ̀ɔ̂	íjɔ̀ɔ́	éjɔ̀	ò zrì jɔ̌	ì zrì jɔ̌	è zrì jɔ̌
	Laugh!	Let us laugh!	you, laugh!	Do not laugh!	Let us not laugh!	you, do not laugh!
lěmbà "to sing"	ěmbâ	dʒé jěmbé	jěmbè	ò zrè mbá	ì zrè mbá	è zrè mbá
	Sing!	Let us sing!	you, sing!	Do not sing!	Let us not sing!	you, do not sing!
lìkɛ̂ "to cut"	kɛ̂	î kɛ́	é kɛ̂	ò zrì kɛ́	ì zrì kɛ́	è zrì kɛ́
	Cut!	Let us cut!	you, cut!	Do not cut!	Let us not cut!	you, do not cut!
lìlìβówá "to open"	lìβówà	í lìβówé	é lìβòwè	ò zrì lìβówá	ì zrì lìβówá	è zrì lìβówá
	Open!	Let us open!	you, open!	Do not open!	Let us not open!	you, do not open!

8. The Hortative/Optative mood

The meaning here is calling somebody to act. The structure is the following:

íŋá + subject pronoun (SP) + root (with vowel mutation for roots ending with /a/: i.e.: /a/ → [e]).

The examples comprise verbs of varied length and tone patterns. I also opposed the verbs ending with the vowel /a/ to those ending with the vowel /è/.

a. Roots ending with /a/		b. Roots ending with /è/	
lɛ̌mbà "to sing" [émbâ]		lèndɛ́ "to go" [ndê]	
íŋá némbè	"let me sing"	íŋá nɛ́ndɛ̀	"let me go"
íŋá dʒé ɛ̌mbé	"let us sing"	íŋá dʒɛ̂ndɛ́	"let us go"
íŋá βémbè	"let them sing"	íŋá βɛ́ndɛ̀	"let them go"
lìβáŋgà "to run" [βáŋgâ]		lìβɛ́lɛ̀ "to call" [βɛ́lɛ̂]	
íŋá ná βáŋgè	"let me run"	íŋá ná βɛ́lɛ̀	"let me call"
íŋá î βáŋgé	"let us run"	íŋá î βɛ́lɛ́	"let us call"
íŋá βá βáŋgè	"let them run"	íŋá βá βɛ́lɛ̀	"let them call"
lèèjá "to cry" [èèjâ]		lìtíndɛ̀lɛ̀ "to push" [tíndɛ́lɛ̂]	
íŋá néjè	"let me cry"	íŋá ná tíndɛ̀lɛ̀	"let me push"
íŋá dʒêjé	"let us cry"	íŋá î tíndɛ́lɛ́	"let us push"
íŋá βéjè	"let them cry"	íŋá βá tíndɛ̀lɛ̀	"let them push"

Note that there is an assimilation rule whereby the verbal pronoun is assimilated by the vowel of the preceding morpheme:

íŋá á ɛ̀ndɛ̀	→	íŋá ɛ̀ndɛ̀	"let him go"
íŋá á gbɛ̀ànɛ̀	→	íŋá gbɛ̀ànɛ̀	"let him use"
íŋá í gbɛ̀ánɛ́	→	íŋí gbɛ̀ánɛ́	"let us use"
íŋá î tíndɛ́lɛ́		íŋá tíndɛ́lɛ́	"let us push"

The negative form is done with either *òzrìβɛ̀mɛ́* or *òzrìŋɛ́*.

a. Roots ending with /a/	b. Roots ending with /è/
lɛ̌mbà "to sing" [émbâ]	lèndɛ́ "to go" [ndê]
òzrìβɛ̀mɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ némbè	òzrìβɛ̀mɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ nɛ́ndɛ̀
"don't let me sing"	"don't let me go"
òzrìβɛ̀mɛ́ dʒé / òzrìŋɛ́ dʒé ɛ̌mbé	òzrìβɛ̀mɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ dʒɛ̂ndɛ́
"don't let us sing"	"don't let us go"
òzrìβɛ̀mɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ βémbè	òzrìβɛ̀mɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ βɛ́ndɛ̀
"don't let them sing"	"don't let them go"

lìβáŋgà "to run" [βáŋgâ]	lìβélɛ̀ "to call" [βélɛ̂]
òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ ná βáŋgè	òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ ná βélɛ̀
"don't let me run"	"don't let me call"
òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ î βáŋgé	òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ î βɛ́lɛ́
"don't let us run"	"don't let us call"
òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ βá βáŋgè	òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ βá βélɛ̀
"don't let them run"	"don't let them call"
lèèjá "to cry" [èèjâ]	lìtíndèlɛ̀ "to push" [tíndélɛ̂]
òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ néjè	òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ ná tíndèlɛ̀
"don't let me cry"	"don't let me push"
òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ dʒêjé	òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ î tíndɛ́lɛ́
"don't let us cry"	"don't let us push"
òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ βéjè	òzrìβèmɛ́ / òzrìŋɛ́ βá tíndèlɛ̀
"don't let them cry"	"don't let them push"

9. Subjunctive mood

It expresses an order given in a relatively polite form, as a request, it occurs in final and intentional sentences. Just like in the hortative mood, the verb roots ending with /a/ change that vowel in /e/.[10]

- Simple structure, positive:

SP + root (/a/ → [e])

Examples:

a. Roots ending with /a/		b. Roots ending with /è/	
lěmbà "to sing" [émbâ]		lèndɛ́ "to go" [ndê]	
němbè[11]	"I should sing"	néndè[12]	"I should go"
lìdʒǎ "to come" [dʒá]		lìtíndèlɛ̀ "to push" [tíndélɛ̂]	
ná dʒè	"I should come"	î tíndélɛ́	"we should push"
lìβáŋgà "to run" [βáŋgâ]		lìβélɛ̀ "to call" [βélɛ̂]	
βá βáŋgè	"they should run"	βá βélɛ̀	"they should call"
lèèjá "to cry" [èèjâ]		lìtíndèlɛ̀ "to push" [tíndélɛ̂]	
Béjè[13]	"they should cry"	βá tíndèlɛ̀	"they should push"

- Simple structure, negative:

SP + *zrá/zrì* + root

Examples:

a. Roots ending with /a/		b. Roots ending with /è/	
lěmbà "to sing" [émbâ]		lèndé "to go" [ndê]	
nà zrém$^{!}$bá	"I should not sing"	nà zrêndé	"I shouldn't go"
lìdʒă "to come", dʒá "go"		lìtíndèlè "to push" [tíndélê]	
nà zrá dʒă	"I should not come"	ì zrì tíndɛ́lɛ́	"we should not push"
lìβáŋgà "to run" [βáŋgâ]		lìβɛ́lè "to call" [βɛ́lê]	
βá zrì βáŋgá	"they should not run"	βá zrì βɛ́lɛ́	"they should not call"
lèèjá "to cry" [èèjâ]		lìtíndèlè "to push" [tíndɛ́lê]	
βá zrèjá	"they should not cry"	βá zrì tíndèlè	"they should not push"

Complexe structure (i.e. with preclause), without the relative clause marker.

Present tense positive:

Preclause + SP + root (/a/ → [e])

Present tense negative:

Preclause + SP + *zrì* + root (no vowel change for roots ending with /a/)

The structure of the preclause is:

SP + *má* (say)	or	SP + *lùtélì* (think)

Examples:

Positive	Negative
à má ná lê	à má nà zrì lá
"s/he says I should eat"	"s/he says I should not eat"
à má ó lê	à má ò zrì lá
"s/he says you should eat"	"s/he says you should not eat"
à má á lê	à má à zrì lá
"s/he says he should eat"	"s/he says he should not eat"
à lùtélì î lé	à lùtélì ì zrì lá
"s/he thinks we should eat"	"s/he thinks we should not eat"
à lùtélì é lê	à lùtélì è zrì lá

"s/he thinks you should eat"	"s/he thinks you should not eat"
à lùtélì βá lê	à lùtélì βá zrì lá
"s/he thinks they should eat"	"s/he thinks they should not eat"
lŏɸà	"to say"
lìlâ	"to eat"

Complexe structure (i.e. with preclause), with the relative clause marker.

Present tense positive:

Preclause + *náɛ̆má* + SP + root (/a/ → [e])

Present tense negative:

preclause + *náɛ̆má* + SP + *zrì* + root (no vowel change for roots ending with /a/)

The structure of the preclause does not change.

Examples:

Positive	Negative
à má náɛ̆má ná lê	à má náɛ̆má nà zrì lá
"s/he says that I should eat"	"s/he says that I should not eat"
à má náɛ̆má ó lê	à má náɛ̆má ò zrì lá
"s/he says that you should eat"	"s/he says that you should not eat
à má náɛ̆má á lê	à má náɛ̆má à zrá ꜜlá
"s/he says that he should eat"	"s/he says that he should not eat
à lùtélì náɛ̆má î lé	à lùtélì náɛ̆má ì zrì lá
"s/he thinks that we should eat"	"s/he thinks that we should not eat
à lùtélì náɛ̆má é lê	à lùtélì náɛ̆má è zrì lá
"s/he thinks that you should eat"	"s/he thinks that you should not eat
à lùtélì náɛ̆má βá lê	à lùtélì náɛ̆má βá zrì lá
"s/he thinks that they should eat"	"s/he thinks that they should not eat
náɛ̆má	"that"

Note that the inflection of all the persons of the preclause does not change the structure of the subjunctive.

Positive	Negative
ì má ná lê	nà má nà zrì lá
"I say I should eat"	"I says I should not eat"
ò má ó lê	ò má ò zrì lá
"you say you should eat"	"you (sg) says you should not eat"

à má á lê	à má à zrì lá
"s/he says he should eat"	"s/he says he should not eat"
ì lùtélì î lé	ì lùtélì ì zrì lá
"we lùtélì we should eat"	"we think we should not eat"
è má é lê	è lùtélì è zrì lá
"you lùtélì you should eat"	"you (pl) think you should not eat"
βá má βá lê	βá lùtélì βá zrì lá
"they say they should eat"	"they think they should not eat"

The use of the preclause in the past adds the past morpheme to the structure. The subjunctive clause does not change. Also note that instead of the verb má (> *lĭmà* "say") which was heavily used in the present tense, it is the verb *-òɸá* (>*lŏɸà* "say") which is used in the past. The structure of the preclause in the past is therefore:

SP + *mà* +-*òɸá* (say)	or	SP + *mà* + *lùtélì* (think)

Examples:

Positive	Negative
nà mòɸá náɛ̆má némbè	à mòɸâ náɛ̆má nà zrì lá
"I said I should sing"	"s/he said I should not eat"
ò mòɸá náɛ̆má nɛ́ndè	à mòɸâ náɛ̆má ò zrì lá
"you said I should go"	"s/he said you should not eat"
à mòɸá náɛ̆má ná dʒè	à mòɸâ náɛ̆má à zrá ꜜlá
"s/he said I should come"	"s/he said he should not eat"
ì mà lùtéjá náɛ̆má î lé	à mà lùtéjá náɛ̆má ì zrì lá
"we thought we should eat"	"s/he thought we should not eat"
è mà lùtéjá náɛ̆má é lê	à mà lùtéjá náɛ̆má è zrì lá
"you thought you should eat"	"s/he thought you should not eat"
βá mà lùtéjá náɛ̆má βá lê	à mà lùtéjá náɛ̆má βá zrì lá
"they thought they should eat"	"s/he thought they should not eat"

10. Conditional mood

(1) Conditional 1

Conditional 1 or "real" conditional is formed with a will verb in the result clause and the present tense in the if-clause (*jêténá* "if").

Examples:

►Result clause positive + *jêténá*-clause positive

a.	à lâ jêténá ò dʒélì	"s/he will eat if you come"
	βá lâ jêténá βá dʒ!élì	"they will eat if they come"
b.	némbà jêténá à jémbì	"I will sing if she sings"
c.	ì lâ jêténá wɛ̀ndî	"we will eat if you go"
d.	nà lâ jêténá wìβê	"I will eat if you cook"
	ò lâ jêténá mólánà ámì à jìβê	"you will eat if my wife cooks"
	ò lâ jêténá nìβɛ̂	"you will eat if I cook"

Note the complete change of the morphological structure of the verb *lìdʒă* "to come", *dʒàâ* "come" which realized *dʒélì*, and the ending the verbs *lĕmbà* "to sing", *ĕmbâ* "sing" and *lɛ̀ndɛ́* "to go", *ɛ̀ndɛ̂* "go" which ends in a vowel /i/, i.e. *jémbì* and *wɛ̀ndî* respectively. The verb *lìβɛ́* "to cook", [*βɛ́*] "cook" would certainly also end with the vowel /i/. However, we don't have **wìβî* probably because the sequence /β/ + /i/ may not be a preferred sequence in the language. The appearance of the vowel /i/ at the end of certain forms is not strange. As rightly put by Deen (2001: 42):

> […]. Mood is marked as a suffix, and is always the final vowel in the verbal complex. This final vowel alternates three ways between the indicative [a], the subjunctive [e] and the negative [i].

Although the /i/ is not in the negative form in Mokpe, it confirms Deen's observation of a vowel /i/ being part of the vowel making mood in Bantu.

►Result clause negative + *jêténá*-clause positive

a.	à zrá ¡lá jêténá ò dʒélì	"s/he will not eat if you come"
	βá zrà lá jêténá βá dʒ¡élì	"they will not eat if they come"
	nà zrêndɛ̀ jêténá à dʒélì	"I will not go if she comes"
b.	nà zrém¡bá jêténá à jémbì	"I will not sing if she sings"
c.	ì zrá ¡lá jêténá wɛ̀ndî	"we will not eat if you go"
	nà zrá dʒă jêténá à ɛ̀ndî	"I will not come if she goes"
d.	ò zrá ¡lá jêténá nìβɛ̂	"you (pl) will not eat if I cook"
	nà zrá ¡lá jêténá wìβê	"I will not eat if you cook
	ò zrá ¡lá jêténá mólánà ámì à jìβê	"you (sg) will not eat if my wife cooks"

►Result clause positive + *jêténá*-clause negative

nà lâ jêténá nà zrá ǃwúzrèlì	"I will eat if I am not sound"
ò lâ jêténá βá zrí wŏŋgízrɛ́nɛ́	"you will eat if they are not ready"
à lâ jêténá βá zrà lìŋgànì	"s/he will eat if they don't want"
ì lâ jêténá ò zrá lìŋgànì	"we will eat if you don't want"
βá lâ jêténá ó zrèndʒé mààlì	"they will eat if there is no money"

►Result clause negative + *jêténá*-clause negative (i.e. with *jêténá*)

βá zrà βáŋgá jêténá nà zrá ǃwúzrèlì	"they will not run if I am not sound"
βá zrèmbá jêténá βá zrí wŏŋgízrɛ́nɛ́	"they will not sing if they are not ready"
βá zrèjá jêténá βá zrà lìŋgànì	"they will not cry if they don't want"
ì zrá làtá jêténá ò zrá lìŋgànì	"we will not unite if you don't want"
à zrîβɛ́ jêténá ó zrèndʒé mààlì	"s/he will not cook if there is no money"
nà zráàndá jêténá nà zróβì mààlì	"I will not buy if I don't have money"
è zráàgbá jêténá èzróβì ŋgíɲà	"you (pl) will not climb if you don't have power"

(2) Conditional 2 ("unreal" conditional)

The simple form or present conditional (positive) of Conditional 2 with or without the *jêténá*-clause is made of the subject pronoun followed by the morpheme *ô* and the verb root.

SP + *ô* +verb root + (*jêténá*-clause)

The negation is done with *zrí*.

SP + *zrí* + *ô* + verb root + (*jêténá*-clause)

Examples without *jêténá*-clause:

Positive		Negative	
nô lâ	"I would eat"	nà zrô lá	"I would not eat"
ò ô lâ	"you would eat"	ò zrô lá	"you would not eat"
à ô lâ	"he would eat"	à zrô lá	"s/he would not eat"
dʒò ô lâ	"we would eat"	ì zrô lá	"we would not eat"
jò ô lâ	"you would eat"	è zrô lá	"you would not eat"
βó ò lâ	"they would eat"	βá zrô lá	"they would not eat"

Examples with *jêténá*-clause:

►Result clause positive + *jêténá*-clause positive

nô lâ jêténá wìβê	"I would eat if you cook"
ò ô lâ jêténá mólànà ámì à ìβê	"you would eat if my wife cooks"
à ô lâ jêténá ò dʒélì	"s/he would eat if you come"
dʒò ô lâ jêténá wɛ̀ndí	"we would eat if you go"
jò ô lâ jêténá nìβê	"you would eat if I cook"
βó ò lâ jêténá βá ꜜdʒélì	"they would eat if they come"

►Result clause negative + *jêténá*-clause positive

nà zrô lá jêténá wìβê	"I would not eat if you cook"
ò zrô lá jêténá mólànà ámì à ìβê	"you would not eat if my wife cooks"
à zrô lá jêténá ò dʒélì	"s/he would not eat if you come"
ì zrô lá jêténá wɛ̀ndí	"we would not eat if you go"
è zrô lá jêténá nìβê	"you would not eat if I cook"
βá zrô lá jêténá βá ꜜdʒélì	"they would not eat if they come"

►Result clause positive + *jêténá*-clause negative

nô lâ jêténá nà zrá wŏzrèlì	"I would eat if I am not sound"
ò ô lâ jêténá βá zrí wŏŋgízrɛ́nɛ́	"you would eat if they are not ready"
à ô lâ jêténá βá zrà àzrá	"s/he would eat if they don't want"
dʒò ô lâ jêténá ò zrá àzrá	"we would eat if you don't want"
jò ô lâ jêténá ó zrèŋgétɛ́ mɔ̀ní	"you (pl) would eat if there is no money"
jò ô lâ jêténá é zrìβɛ́ mɔ̀ní	"you (pl) would eat if there is no money"
jò ô lâ tɔ̀ è zrìβɛ́ mɔ̀ní	"you (pl) would eat if there is no money"
βó ò lâ jêténá βá zrà tɔ́jí	"they would eat if they don't quarrel"

►Result clause negative + *jêténá*-clause negative (i.e. with *jêténá*)

nà zrô lá jêténá nà zrá wŏzrèlì	"I would not eat if I am not sound"
ò zrô lá jêténá βá zrí wŏŋgízrɛ́nɛ́	"you would not eat if they are not ready"
à zrô lá jêténá βá zrà àzrá	"s/he would not eat if they don't want"
ì zrô lá jêténá ò zrá àzrá	"we would not eat if you don't want"
è zrô lá jêténá é zrìβɛ́ mɔ̀ní	"you (pl) not would eat if there is no money"
βá zrô lá jêténá βá zrà tɔ́jí	"they not would eat if they don't quarrel"

Note that the *jêténá*-clause can equally be in the past.

nô lâ jêténá ò mìβɛ́	"I would eat if you cooked"
ò ô lâ jêténá mólànà ámì à mìβɛ́	"you would eat if my wife cooked"
à ô lâ jêténá ò mà dʒàá	"s/he would eat if you came"

As for the composed form or simple past conditional, without the if-clause, is done with the verbal morpheme *ò má* at the beginning of the utterance. The morpheme *mà* between the subject pronoun and the root is the past tense marker.

ò má + SP + *mà* + verb root + (*jêténá*-clause)

The meaning of the sequential morpheme *ò má* is not yet clear. What is certain for now is that it comes exclusively with the composed form. It can therefore be considered as the "real" conditional marker. While in the positive form there is no vowel change, the negation is done with *zrí* and a change of quality in the root vowel.

ò má + SP + *zrí* + verb root (/a/ → [e]) + *jêténá*-clause

Examples: simple past conditional without the *jêténá*-clause

	Positive	Negative
a.	ò má nà mà lá	ò má nà zrí lê
	"I would have eaten"	"I would not have eaten"
	ò má nà mà gbèáná	ò má nà zrí gbèànè
	"I would have used"	"I would not have used"
	ò má nà mèmbá	ò má nà zrémbè
	"I would have sung"	"I would not have sung"
b.	ò má ò mà kánɛ́	ò má ò zrí kánɛ̀
	"you would have prayed"	"you would not have prayed"
	ò má à mɛ̀ndɛ́	ò má à zrɛ́ndɛ̀
	"s/he would have gone "	"s/he would have gone "

Examples: simple past conditional with the *jêténá*-clause

►Result clause positive + *jêténá*-clause positive (i.e. with *jêténá*).

a.	ò má nà mà lá jêténá à mìβɛ́	"I would have eaten if she cooked"
	ò má nà mèmbá jêténá à mèmbá	"I would have sung if she sang"
	ò má à mà kàwá jêténá à mà lìŋgáná tɛ́	"s/he would have divided if she wanted"
b.	ò má nà màβɛ́lɛ́ jêténá à mà dʒǎ	"I would have called if she came"

ò má ò mà kánɛ́ jêténá à mà nùŋgbă èkáàtì jà màkánɛ̀	"you would have prayed if she gave me the prayer book"
ò má à mɛ̀ndɛ́ jêténá à mà dʒă	"s/he would have gone if she came"
ò má ì mà kɛ́ jêténá à mà lìŋgáná	"we would have cut if she wanted"

►Result clause negative + *jêténá*-clause positive

a.	ò má nà zrí lê jêténá à mìβɛ́	"I would not have eaten if she cooked"
	ò má nà zrémbè jêténá à mèmbá	"I would not have sung if she sang"
	ò má à zrí kàwè jêténá à mà lìŋgáná	"s/he would not have divided if she wanted"
b.	ò má nà zrá ǃβɛ́lɛ̀ jêténá à mà dʒă	"I would not have called if she came"
	ò má ò zrí kánɛ̀ jêténá à mà nùŋgbă èkáàtì jà màkánɛ̀	"you would not have prayed if she gave me the prayer book"
	ò má à zrɛ́ndɛ̀ jêténá à mà dʒă	"s/he would not have gone if she came"
	ò má ì zrí jêténá à mà lìŋgáná	"we would not have cut if she wanted"

(3) Conditional 3

Conditional 3, often called “past conditional” uses the same morphemes as the simple past of conditional 2. The difference between the two lies in the conditional 3 deals with past situations with hypothetical results.

►Result clause negative + *jêténá*-clause negative

a.	ò má nà zrí lê jêténá à zríβɛ̀	"I would not have eaten if she had not cooked"
	ò má nà zrémbè jêténá à zrémbè	"I would not have sung if she had not sung"
	ò má à zrí kàwè jêténá à zrí lìŋgànɛ̀	"s/he would not have divided if she had not wanted"
b.	ò má nà zrá βɛ̄lɛ̀ jêténá à zrí dʒè	"I would not have called if she had not come"
	ò má ò zrí kánɛ̀ jêténá à zrí nùŋgbè èkáàtì jà màkánɛ̀	"you would not have prayed if she had not given the prayer book"

ò má à zrɛ́ndɛ̀ jêténá à zrí dʒè	"s/he would not have gone if she had not come"
ò má ì zrí kɛ̂ jêténá à zrí lìŋgànɛ̀	"we would not have cut if she wanted"

►Result clause positive + *jêténá*-clause negative

a.	ò má nà mà lá jêténá à zríβɛ̀	"I would have eaten if she had not cooked"
	ò má nà mèmbá jêténá à zrémbè	"I would have sung if she had not sung
	ò má à mà kàwá jêténá à zrí lìŋgànɛ̀	"s/he would have divided if she had not wanted"
b.	ò má nà mà βɛ́lɛ́ jêténá à zrí dʒè	"I would have called if she had not come"
	ò má ò mà kánɛ́ jêténá à zrí nùŋgbè èkáàtì jà màkánɛ̀	"you would have prayed if she had not given the prayer book"
	ò má à mɛ̀ndɛ́ jêténá à zrí dʒè	"s/he would have gone if she had not come"
	ò má ì mà kɛ́ kɛ̂ jêténá à zrí lìŋgànɛ̀	"we would have cut if she wanted"

11. Infinitive phrases

Infinitive phrases are formed using the preposition *ó* preceding the infinitive form of the verb.

ó	l-ŏŋwà	mò-tò	ó	lì-làkízrɛ́	lŏβɛ̀
PREP	5-kill	1-man	PREP	5-forgive	God

"to kill is human, to forgive is from God."

ó	lì-kɛ̂	l-á	βè-èjé	lí-dʒànà	è-tùmbà-tùmbà
PREP	5-cut	5-Cd	8-tree	5-bring	7-heat

"to cut the trees will bring heat."

ó	lì-zrâ	dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	é-dʒànà	lìɔ̀tɛ̂
PREP	5-dance	too much	7-make	tired

"to dance too much makes tired."

12. Gerund

When in the middle of the utterance, the gerund is the form of the verb in isolation, without modification.

lìlâ "eat"

nà	zrá	lìŋgànì	lì-lâ	dʒɔ̀ɔ́ dʒɔ̀ɔ́
1sg	Neg	love	5-eat	much

"I don't like eating a lot."

lòká "play"

ì	lìŋgánì	lòká	football
1pl	love	5-play	9.football

"We enjoy playing football."

However, when at sentence-initial, the low tone of the prefix is replaced by a high tone.

lìkɛ̂ "to cut"

lí-kɛ̂	l-á	βè-èjé	lí-dʒànà	è-tùmbà-tùmbà
5-cut	5-Cd	8-tree	5-bring	7-heat

"Cutting the trees will bring heat."

lìzrâ "to dance"

lí-zrâ	l-á	dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	lí-βélì	lìɔ̀tɛ̂
5-dance	5-Cd	too much	5-COP	tired

"Dancing too much makes tired."

2. Verbal Derivation

In Mokpe, some of verb meanings can be obtained through derivations, i.e. the combination of the verb root with a morpheme to form new words. Suffixation is very productive.

1. Applicative/Benefactive

The applicative/benefactive is marked with the toneless suffix *-eja* or *-ea* (the variant *-ɛa* was recorded by Kagaya 1992a) which replaces the last vowel of the verb root and copies its tone.

a. *-èjà*: the last vowel of the root ends with a low tone

lìŋwâ	ŋwâ

lìŋwéèjà	"die for ..."
lìtémè	"to stand, fight"
lìtémèjà	"to stand, to fight for (sb)"
lìwówà	"to take"
lìwówèjà	"take for ..."
lěmbà	"to sing"
lěmbèjà	"sing for ..."
lǒŋgò	"to look at, watch"
lǒŋgèjà	"to watch over"

b. *-éjá*: the last vowel of the root ends with a high tone

lìgbèá	"to work"
lìgbèéjá	"work for ..."
làndá	"to buy"
làndéjá	"to buy (sth) for (sb)"
lɛ̀ndɛ́	"to go", "to walk"
lɛ̀ndéjá	"to go to" "to walk for"
lànná	"to fight"
lànnéjá	"to defend, fight for sb"
lòŋgá	"to grow"
lǒŋgéjá	"to look after" (a child)

2. Comitative / Associative

Comitative actions are expressed with the toneless suffix *-na* which copies the tone of the final vowel. The vowel /a/ of this suffix can be realised /ɔ/ if the final vowel of the verb root is /ɔ/ and as [ɛ] if the final vowel of the root is /ɛ/.

a. Verb roots ending in a low-toned vowel

lìŋwâ	"to die"
lìŋwânà	"to die with ..."
lìkákà	"to tie"
lìkákànà	"to tie with..."
lìŋɔ̂	"to drink"
lìŋɔ̂nɔ̀	"to drink with..."
lìkúlɛ̀	"to finish"
lìkúlɛ̀nɛ̀	"to finish with..."

b. Verb roots ending in a high-toned vowel

làgbá	"to climb"
làgbáná	"to climb with..."
lìnàŋgá	"to sleep"
lìnàŋgáná	"to sleep with..."
lìjɔ̌	"to laugh"
lìjɔ̌nɔ́	"to laugh with..."
lɛ̀ndɛ́	"to go"
lɛ̀ndɛ́nɛ́	"to go with..."

3. Associative reciprocal

Associative reciprocal is done with two morphemes: the infix *-àá-* and the suffix *-ɛ̌*. The infix *-àá-* replaces the vowel /ì/ of the verb prefix *lì-* whereas the suffix *-ɛ̌* replaces, in the unmarked case, the final vowel of the root. Furthermore, the infix *-àá-* is realised *-àɔ́-* when the root starts with the vowel /ɔ/, /o/ or /u/, by virtue of a height assimilation process. In other words, the infix *-àá-* is found exclusively in consonant-initial roots.

a. *-àá-* in consonant-initial roots + suffix *-ɛ̌*

lìtùná	"to cure, treat"
làátùnɛ̌	"to cure each other"
lìkákà	"to tie, to bind"
làákákɛ̌	"to tie each other"
lìlìŋgáná	"to like, to love"
làálìŋgànɛ̌	"to like, love each other"
lìkɔ́kɔ̀	"to stretch sth"
làákɔ́kɛ̌	"to stretch each other"
lìlíŋgɛ̀lɛ̀	"to coil"
làálìŋgɛ̌	"to coil each other"
lìkúmɛ̀nɛ̀	"to cover" (with a lid)
làákùmɛ̀nɛ̌	"to cover each other"

b. *-àá-* → *-àɔ́-* in vowel-initial roots + suffix *-ɛ̌*

lɔ̃kìzrɛ̀	"to injure (sb)"
làɔ́kìzrɛ̌	"to injure each other"
lɔ̃ŋgɔ̀	"to look at, to watch"
làɔ́ŋgɔ̀nɛ̌	"to look at each other"
lɔ̃kànèà	"to listen"

làɔ́kànèlɛ̌	"to listen to each other"
lùŋmá	"to meet"
làɔ́ŋ!mánɛ̌	"to meet each other"

In some cases, the last vowel does not delete and instead of a replacement, there is simply addition of the suffix *-ɛ̌* onto the root. Then, the epenthetic consonant /n/ is inserted to break the hiatus.

lɔ̌ŋgɔ̀	"to look at, to watch"
làɔ́ŋgɔ̀nɛ̌	"to look at each other"
lùŋmá	"to meet"
làɔ́!ŋmánɛ̌	"to meet each other"
lìtɛ̂	"to shout"
làátɛ̂nɛ̌	"to shout at each other"

Similarly, when the verb root ends with two vowels and the last is substituted with the suffix *-ɛ̌*, the epenthetic consonant /l/ is inserted to separate the two final vowels.

lìtɛ́mèà	"to defend sb"
làátɛ́mèlɛ̌	"to defend each other"
lɔ̌kànèà	"to listen"
làɔ́kànèlɛ̌	"to listen to each other"

4. Causative

The causative is marked through the suffixation of the toneless morpheme *-izrɛ* (the variant *-izre* was recorded by Kagaya 1992a). This morpheme replaces the last vowel of the verb root, and will take a low, a high or a falling contour tone on both vowels depending on the tone of the last vowel of the root.

a. *-ìzrɛ̀*: the last vowel of the root ends with a low tone

lɔ̌kòwà	"to learn"
lɔ̌kòwìzrɛ̀	"to teach (cause sb to learn)"
lìkákà	"to tie"
lìkákìzrɛ̀	"to make tie"
lìtɔ́wɔ̀	"to quarrel"
lìtɔ́wìzrɛ̀	"to cause sb to quarrel"
lìzráŋgà	"to clean"
lìzráŋgìzrɛ̀	"to make clean"

b. *-ízrɛ́*: the last vowel of the root ends with a high tone

lìzrɛ̀ɛ́á	"to repair, fix, arrange"
lìzrɛ̀ízrɛ́	"to make repair"
lìtìtá	"to wet"
lìtìtízrɛ́	"to make wet"
lìɲìŋgá	"to shake"
lìɲìŋgízrɛ́	"to make shake"
làndá	"to buy"
làndízrɛ́	"to cause sb to buy"

c. *-ízrɛ̀*: the last vowel of the root ends with a falling contour tone

lìlâ	"to eat"
lìlízrɛ̀	"to feed, give food"
lìkpâ	"to fall"
lìkpízrɛ̀	"to make fall"

Sometimes, the last vowel of the root does not get deleted, and the tone of the causative marker is the copy of the last tone of the undeleted vowel. Interestingly, the tonal melody of the last vowel is maintained in the causative form.

lìkô	"to become dirty"
lìkóìzrɛ̀	"to make dirty"
lìjɔ̌	"to laugh"
lìjɔ̀ízrɛ́	"to cause sb to laugh"

5. Reflexive verbs

Reflexivity on the verb is marked by the insertion of the high-toned morpheme /á/ between the TAM marker and the verb root. This insertion triggers the change of the final vowel /a/ to /ɛ/ for the verb roots ending with /a/, but there is no change when the verb root already ends with vowel /ɛ/. Tonally, the verb root must bear high melody irrespective of the original tone melody and the number of syllables. This high melody is systematically lowered by the presence of the high tone of the reflexive morpheme /á/ by virtue of Meeussen's rule. Finally, the meaning of verb can be completed with the addition of the reflexive pronoun in final position.

a. Consonant-initial roots

ò màá ꜜtíꜜjɛ́ (wítí)	lìtíjà / tíjâ	"you slapped yourself"
nà màá ꜜdʒáꜜnɛ́ (mbítí)	lìdʒànà / dʒànâ	"I brought myself"
à màá ꜜzróꜜrzɛ́ (mbítí)	lìzròzrá / zròzrâ	"I washed myself"

nà màá ˡkɛ́ˡɛ́ (mbítí)	lìkɛ̂ / lìkɛ̂	“I cut myself”
à màá ˡtɛ́ˡmbɛ́ (ŋmîtí)	lìtɛ̀mbɛ́ / tɛ̀mbɛ̂	“s/he leaked himself”
à màá tínˡdɛ́ˡlɛ́ (ŋmîtí)	lìtíndɛ̀lɛ̀ / tíndɛ́lɛ̂	"s/he pushed himself"

When the root starts with a vowel, the reflexive morpheme /á/ drops, but transfers its high tone to the first vowel of the root, and Meessen’s rule still applies.

b. Vowel-initial roots

nà mà óˡŋgóˡwáˡnɛ́ mbítí	lŏŋgwànà /óŋgwánâ	"I helped myself"
nà mà óˡŋwɛ́ mbítí	lŏŋwà / óŋwâ	"I killed myself"
ò mà óˡkíˡzrɛ́ wítí	lŏkà / ókâ	"you hurt yourself"
nà mà óˡkíˡzrɛ́ mbítí	lŏkà / ókâ	"I hurt myself"
nà mà áˡndɛ́ mbítí	làndá / àndâ	"I bought myself"
à mà áˡβáˡnɛ́ (ŋmîtí)	lăβànɛ̀ / áβánɛ̂	"s/he hung himself"
nà mà ɔ́kˡízrɛ́ mbítí	lɔ̃kìzrɛ̀ / ɔ́kízrɛ̂	"I washed myself"

When the sentence is in the present tense and consequently no overt TAM marker, the reflexive marker is placed between the subject marker and verb.

nàá ˡlúˡwɛ́ (mbítí)	lìlùwá / lùwâ	"I find myself"
wàá ˡlúˡwɛ́ (wítí)		"you find yourself"
àá ˡlúˡwɛ́ (ŋmîtí)		"s/he finds himself"
dʒàá ˡlíŋgánɛ̂ (ìzrɔ́ wítí)	lìlìŋgáná /lìŋgánâ	"we love ourselves"
jàá ˡlíŋgánɛ̂ (ìŋɔ́ wítí)		"you love yourselves"
βáá ˡlíŋgánɛ̂ (wɔ́ wítí)		"they love themselves"

6. Relationship

Relationship is expressed through the suffixation of the toneless morpheme -ɛlɛ which copies the tone of the last vowel of the root. Since there is no final vowel replacement, an epenthetic consonant, /l/ or /n/ is inserted between the final vowel and the suffix. The consonant /n/ is inserted when the vowel sequence is /àɛ̀/ (i.e. /àɛ̀/ → [ànɛ̀]) and /l/ is inserted when the sequence is /ɛ̀ɛ̀/ (i.e. ɛ̀ɛ̀ → ɛ̀lɛ̀).

a. Verb roots ending in a low-toned vowel

lìɸáŋgà	"to spoil"
lìɸáŋgànɛ̀lɛ̀	"to spoil around, to spoil people, to ferment"
lìzráɛ̀nɛ̀	"to sign"
lìzráɛ̀nɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀	"sign (something for somebody)"
lŭŋmà	"to come"
lŭŋmɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀	"to come from (somewhere)"

b. Verb roots ending in a high-toned vowel

lìɸìá	"to mix"
lìɸìánɛ́lɛ́	"to mix sth with sth, put together"
lùŋmá	"to meet"
lùŋmánɛ́lɛ́	"to meet with person, in a place"
lìrzàŋgá	"to assemble"
lìrzàŋgánɛ́lɛ́	"to bring together (people)"
làβízrɛ́	"to sell"
làβízrɛ́lɛ́lɛ́	"sell (something to somebody)"

7. Process through predicate past participle

The toneless suffix *-ɛa* marks process or inchoative state. Its replaces the final vowel and copies the tone of the latter.

a. Verb roots ending in a low-toned vowel

lìɸáŋgà	"to spoil"
lìɸáŋgɛ̀à	"to become spoiled"
lìwɔ́kà	"to dislocate"
lìwɔ́kɛ̀à	"to become dislocated"
lìkándà	"to crack"
lìkándɛ̀à	"to become cracked"
lŭŋmà	"to come"
lŭŋmɛ̀à	"to be from"
lìwɛ́ndɛ̀	"to snap"
lìwɛ́ndɛ̀à	"to become snapped"

b. Verb roots ending in a high-toned vowel

lɛ̀ndɛ́	"to go, walk"
lɛ̀ndɛ́á	"to go to"
làndá	"to buy"
làndɛ́á	"to be bought"
lìnàŋgá	"to sleep"
lìnàŋgɛ́á	"to sleep out, for"
lìβúndúwá	"to loosen"
lìβúndúwɛ́á	"to become loosen"

8. Neutro-passive

The neutro-passive or passive without agent is rendered by *-βá, -βέ* and *-βɔ́* depending on the last vowel of the verb root. When the last vowel of the verb root is any vowel except /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, the morpheme is *-βá*. When the last vowel is /ɛ/ or /ɔ/ the variants *-βέ* or *-βɔ́* are used respectively.

lŏɸà	"to kill"
lŏɸàβà	"to be killed"
lìjâ	"to bear" (a child)
lìjáàβà	"to be born"
lìŋgbă	"to give"
lìŋgbàáβá	"to be given"
lìkákà	"to tie"
lìkákàβà	"to be tied"
lìzrɛ̀ɛ́á	"to repair, fix, arrange"
lìzrɛ̀áβá	"to be repaired" (by sb)
liɸànɛ́	"to hang" (generic)
liɸànɛ́βɛ́	"to be suspended"
lìtɛ́nɛ̀nɛ̀	"to straighten"
lìtɛ́nɛ̀βɛ̀	"to be straightened"
lìlímìzrɛ̀	"to extinguish"
lìlímìzrɛ̀βɛ̀	"to be extinguished"
lɔ̀ndʒɔ́	"to deceive"
lɔ̀ndʒɔ́βɔ́	"to be deceived" (by sb)
lìnɔ̀tɔ́	"to twist"
lìnɔ̀tɔ́βɔ́	"to be twisted"

Examples:

a. *βá*

mó!lélí mò mà láβá	cl. 3	"the food was eaten"
mí!lélí mí mà láβá	cl. 4	"the foods were eaten"
lîβáŋgí lì mà wínáβá	cl. 5	"the race was won"
máăŋgòlà má mà láβá	cl. 6	"the mangoes were eaten"
étò é mà láβá	cl. 7	"the rat was eaten"
βéwòló βé mà gbèáβá	cl. 8	"the works were done"
ímbòó í mà ŋgbăβá	cl.10	"the bananas were given"

ínɔ̀ní í mòŋwáβá	cl. 13	"the bird was killed"
wɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ wó mà àndáβá	cl. 14	"the canoe was bought"

b. *βɛ́*

mɔ̌ŋɛ̀ mó mònáβɛ́	cl. 3	"the land was cultivated"
méɔ̀ŋɛ̀ mé mònáβɛ́	cl. 4	"the lands were cultivated"
líĭnà lí mà βɛ́lɛ́βɛ́	cl. 5	"the name was called"
ézrù é mà tíndɛ́lɛ́βɛ́	cl. 7	"the wall was pushed"
ɛ́ɛ̀jé é mà kɛ́ɛ́βɛ́	cl. 7	"the tree was cut"
ímbólì í mà βízrɛ́βɛ́	cl. 10	"the goats were cut"
wɔ̌ɔ̌mbɔ́ wó mà lìŋgáβɛ́	cl. 14	"the sugar was liked by us"

c. *βɔ́*

è mólánà à mɔ̀ŋgɔ́βɔ́	cl. 1	"the woman was seen"
βátò βá mà βɔ̀zrɔ́βɔ́	cl. 2	"the people were chosen"
è mòlí mó mɔ̀ndɔ́βɔ́	cl. 3	"the mountain was descended"
máìdʒá má mà ɲɔ́βɔ́	cl. 5	"the blood was drunk"
èbíà è mà ɲɔ́βɔ́	cl. 9	"the bier was drunk"
ínɔ̀ní í mɔ̀kɔ́βɔ́	cl. 13	"the bird was washed"
wɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ wó mà tɔ́zrɔ́βɔ́	cl. 14	"the canoe was touched"

9. Morpheme stacking

It is possible to stack morphemes.

Causative + relationship

lìtìmbá	"to return"
lìtìmb-ízrɛ́	"to return sth, (money)", "to change, to substitute"
tìmb-ízrɛ́-l-ɛ́lɛ́	"to reply, exchange"
lìɸáŋg-à	"to spoil"
lìɸáŋgà-l-èlɛ̀	"to ferment"
lìɸáŋg-ìzrɛ̀-l-èlɛ̀	"to make ferment"

Causative + comitative

lìɲìŋg-á	"to shake"
lìɲìŋg-ízrɛ́	"to make sth shake"
lìɲìŋg-ízrɛ́-nɛ́	"to shake strongly or to shake with ..."

10. Summary

Table 12. Mokpe verb derivational morphemes

Derivational event	Morpheme	Behaviour	Tone	Remarks
Applicative/Benefactive	-eja or -ea	Replaces FV of VR	Copies tone of FV of VR	-ɛa (Kagaya 1992a)
Applicative/comitative	-na	Adds to FV of VR	Copies tone of FV of VR	na → nɔ/ ɔ#— na → nɛ/ ɛ#—
Associative reciprocal	-àá- ... -ɛ̌	Infix: placed between VPr & VR. Suffix: replaces FV of VR	Fixed L-H tone sequence for both infix and suffix	-àá- → -àɔ́-/ l — ɔ́, o or u Insertion of epenthetic l, n between FV & suffix -ɛ̌
Causative	-izrɛ	Replaces or adds to FV of VR	Copies tone of FV of VR	-izre (Kagaya 1992a)
Reflexive verbs	-á-	Placed between TAM & VR	Fixed high tone	FV /-a/ changes to /ɛ́/ Optional use of RP (refl pron)
Relationship	-ɛlɛ	Adds to FV of VR	Copies tone of FV of VR	Insertion of epenthetic /l/, /n/ between FV & suffix
Predicative Past participle (Process)	-ɛa	Replaces FV of VR	Copies tone of FV of VR	
Neutro-passive	-βá (~-βɛ́~-βɔ́)	Adds to FV of VR	Fixed high tone	βá → βɔ́/ ɔ#— βá → βɛ́/ ɛ#—

3. The Verb Phrase

There exist in Mokpe some morpheme used to specify the verbal action with regard to its phases, manner or quantity.

1. Marking of phase of action

(1) Durative

- *téjà βóndá* or *ô βóndá* "meantime"

téjà βóndá / ô βóndá à mà lá	"In the meantime, he ate"
téjà βóndá / ô βóndá à mà dʒàá	"In the meantime, he came
téjà βóndá / ô βóndá à mà wówá	"In the meantime, he took"
téjà βóndá / ô βóndá à mɛ̀ndɛ́	"In the meantime, he went"
téjà βóndá / ô βóndá à mà tíndɛ́lɛ́	"In the meantime, he pushed"

- *ólămbɛ̀lɛ̀* or *ndí* "meanwhile"

ólămbɛ̀lɛ̀ / ndí à mà lá	"meanwhile, he ate"
ólămbɛ̀lɛ̀ / ndí à mà dʒàá	"meanwhile, he came"
ólămbɛ̀lɛ̀ / ndí à mɛ̀ndɛ́	"meanwhile, he went"
ólămbɛ̀lɛ̀ / ndí à mà tíndɛ́lɛ́	"meanwhile, he pushed"
ólămbɛ̀lɛ̀ / ndí à mà wówá	"meanwhile, he took"

- *náòmɛ́nɛ́* "keep on"

nà mà lá náòmɛ́nɛ́	"I keep on eating"
nà mà dʒă náòmɛ́nɛ́	"I keep on coming"
nà mɛ̀ndɛ́ náòmɛ́nɛ́	"you keep on going"
nà mà tíndɛ́lɛ́ náòmɛ́nɛ́	"you keep on pushing"
nà mà wówá náòmɛ́nɛ́	"we keep on taking"

(2) Ingressive

- *é* "still"

nà é βélì ndí mòlêlì[14]	"I'm still a teacher"
wè é βélì ndí mòlêlì	"you're still a teacher"
à é βélì ndí mòlêlì	"s/he is still a teacher"
ì é βélì ndí βàlêlì[15]	"we're still teachers"

è é βélì ndí βàlêlì	"you're still teachers"
βá é βélì ndí βàlêlì[16]	"they're still teachers"

- *òzríkùmbɔ̀* or *ô mbúzrá βóndá* "previously"

òzríkùmbɔ̀ nà mà βɛ́ mòléèlì	"previously, I was a teacher"
òzríkùmbɔ̀ ò mà βɛ́ ndí mòónèlì	"previously, you were a farmer"
òzríkùmbɔ̀ à mà βɛ́ ndí mòòkèlì	"previously, he was a player"
òzríkùmbɔ̀ ì mà βɛ́ ndí βàtò βá gbămù	"previously, we were nice people"
òzríkùmbɔ̀ è mà βɛ́ ndí βàléèlì	"previously you were teachers"
òzríkùmbɔ̀ βá mà βɛ́ ndí βàónèlì	"previously they were farmers"

(3) Resultative

- *βìúkèlì* or *óβèdʒèélí* "on arrival"

a.	à mèndɛ́ ó βìúkèlì	"s/he walked on arrival"
	à mà βáŋgá ó βìúkèlì	"s/he ran on arrival"
	à mà lá ó βìúkèlì	"s/he ate on arrival"
	à mà gbè éwòló ó βìúkèlì	"s/he worked on arrival"
	à mèmbá ó βìúkèlì	"s/he sang on arrival"

b.	à mèé lá ó βìúkèlì	"s/he ate it on arrival"
	à mèé ǃgbéǃá ó βìúkèlì	"s/he did it on arrival"
	à mà ŋwémbá ó βìúkèlì	"s/he sang it on arrival"
	nà mèé kɛ́ ó βìúkèlì	"I cut it on arrival"
	ò mèé tíndɛ́lɛ́ ó βìúkèlì	"you pushed it on arrival"

(4) Terminative

- *ô βóndá* "in/on time"

nà mà dʒă ô βóndá	"I came on time"
ò mèmbá ô βóndá	"you sang on time"
à mèndɛ́ ô βóndá	"s/he went on time"
wĕŋgà ìzrɔ̂ émê má gbèá ô βóndá	"that is we who worked in time"
wĕŋgà ìzrɔ̂ émê má dʒă ô βóndá	"that is we who came in time"

- *kpílílílí* "early"

ìzrɔ́ ndí mă dʒă éělélé kpílílílí	"that is we who came early in the morning"
ìzrɔ́ ndí ì mémbă éělélé kpílílílí	"that is we who sang early in the morning"
ìzrɔ́ ndí ì méndɛ̆ éělélé kpílílílí	"that is we who went early in the morning"
ìzrɔ́ ndí ì mágbèá éwòló éělélé kpílílílí	"that is we who worked early in the morning"
ìzrɔ́ ndí móŋgòáná éělélé kpílílílí	"that is we who helped early in the morning"

- *wúŭŋá wâzrɛ̂* "all day long"

à mèndɛ́ wúŭŋá wâzrɛ̂	"s/he walked the whole day/all day long"
à mà wáŋgá wúŭŋá wâzrɛ̂	"s/he ran the whole day/all day long"
à mà lá wúŭŋá wâzrɛ̂	"s/he ate the whole day/all day long"
à mà gbèá èwòló wúŭŋá wâzrɛ̂	"s/he worked the whole day/all day long"
à mèmbá wúŭŋá wâzrɛ̂	"s/he sang the whole day/all day long"

(5) Habitual

- *jɔ̀kí* and *mà βɛ́* "used to"

nà jɔ̀kí lìtíjà mólánà ámì	"I used to beat my wife"
ɔ̀ jɔ̀kí lìtíndɛ̀lɛ̀ mólánà àŋgɔ́	"you used to push your wife"
ɔ̀ jɔ̀kí lìβànɛ́ mólánà éní	"s/he used to carry his wife"
ì jɔ̀kí lŭmà βáàlánà βázrú	"we used to send our wives"
è jɔ̀kí lìlìŋgáná βáàlánà βáɲú	"you (pl) used to love your wives"
βă ꜜjɔ́kî làβízrɛ́ βáàlánà βáwú	"they used to sell their wives"
nà mà βɛ́ lŏnà	"I used to cultivate"
βá ónèlì βá mà βɛ́ lŏnà	"the farmers used to cultivate"

- *ŋgèlèŋgèlè* "always"

nŏŋgwànà mólánà ámì ŋgèlèŋgèlè	"I always help my wife"
ò βànè mólánà àŋgɔ́ ŋgèlèŋgèlè	"you always carry his wife"
à ànànà mólánè éní ŋgèlèŋgèlè	"s/he always beat his wife"
dʒŭmà βáàlánà βázrú ŋgèlèŋgèlè	"we always send our wives"
è βélè βáàlánà βáɲú ŋgèlèŋgèlè	"you (pl) always call your wives"
βá ꜜlíŋgánì βáàlánà βáɲú ŋgèlèŋgèlè	"they always love your wives"

- *jɔ̀kí / ŋgèlɛ̀ŋgèlɛ̀* "often"

à jɔ̀kí ìtjá mólánè éní	"s/he often beats his wife"
à jɔ̀kí lɔ̌ŋgwànà mólánè éní	"s/he often helps his wife"
à jɔ̀kí ìtíndɛ̀lɛ̀ mólánè éní	"s/he often pushes his wife"
à jɔ̀kí ìtjá mólánè éní lùmbɛ̀	"s/he often slaps his wife"
à jɔ̀kí lǐtɛ̀ mólánè éní	"s/he often fucks his wife"

(6) Simultaneity

- *émá* "while"

è mbèzrà à lâ émá à ɛ̀ndɛ̂	"the boy eats while walking"
è mólánà à émbà émá à ɛ̀ndɛ̂	"the woman sings while walking"
è múŋánà à gbè éwòló émá à émbā	"the man cultivates while singing"
è mbèzrà è lâ émá jémbā	"the boy eats while singing"
è mòlêlì à zrâ émá à ɛ̀ndɛ̂	"the teacher dances while going"

In the past, a different morpheme is used.

- *zrì* "while"

nà mà lá zrì ná ɛ̀ndɛ̀	"I ate while walking"
ò mèmbá zrì wáà lá	"you sang while eating"
à mèjá zráà ónà	"s/he cried while cultivating"
ì mà dʒă dʒáà zrâ	"we came while dancing"
è mà tíjá zrì jáà jɔ̀	"you slaped while laughing"
βá mà kɛ́ zrì βáà tíndɛ̀lɛ̀	"they cut while pushing"

- *nă* "as …"

è mbèzrà à lâ nă ɛ̀ndɛ̂	"the boy eats as he walks"
è mólánà à émbà nă gbè éwòló	"the woman sings as she works"
è múŋánà à βélì ò lìkpèà nà émbà	"the man cultivates as he sings"
è mbèzrà à lâ nà émbà	"the boy eats as he sings"
è mòlêlì à zrá ɛ̀ŋgɔ̀mɔ̀ nă ɛ̀ndɛ̂	"the teacher dances as he goes"

- Zero morpheme "and"

è mbèzrà à lâ à zrâ	"the boy eats and dances"
è mólánà à émbà à ɛ̀ndɛ̀	"the woman sings and walks"
è múŋánà à gbè éwòló à émbà	"the man cultivates and sings"

è mbèzrà è lâ émá í émbà (jémbà)	"the boy eats and sings"
è mòlêlì à zrâ à èndɛ̀	"the teacher dances and goes"
èmbèzrà è lâ jɛ̀ndɛ̀ or	"the boy eats and walks"
èmbèzrà jɛ̀ndɛ̀ ì lâ	"the boy walks and eats"

(7) Sudden action

- *kàzrìkàzrì* "quickly"

nà mà kɛ́ kàzrìkàzrì	"I cut quickly"
ò mà tíndɛ̀lɛ̀ kàzrìkàzrì	"you pushed quickly"
à mà àβízrɛ́ kàzrìkàzrì	"s/he sold quickly"
ì mèá kàzrìkàzrì	"we cried quickly"
è mà ŋgbàá kàzrìkàzrì	"you gave quickly"
βá mɔ̀ŋgá kàzrìkàzrì	"they built quickly"

- *màkpázrí* "rashly"

à mà gbèá nà mà kpázrí	"s/he worked rashly"
nà mà kɛ́ nà mà kpázrí	"I cut rashly"
ò mà tíndɛ́lɛ́ nà mà kpázrí	"you pushed rashly"
à mà àβízrɛ́ nà mà kpázrí	"s/he sold rashly"
è mà ŋgbàá ná ꜜmá kpázrí	"you gave rashly"
βá mɔ̀ŋgá ná ꜜmá kpázrí	"they built rashly"

à mèé lá kàzrìkàzrì	"s/he ate it quickly"
à mèémbá kàzrìkàzrì	"s/he sang it quickly"
ò mèé tíndɛ́lɛ́ kàzrìkàzrì	"you pushed it quickly"
nà mèé kɛ́ nà mà kpázrí	"I cut it rashly"
ì mèúmá nà mà kpázrí	"we sent it rashly"
βá mèɔ́ŋgá nà mà kpázrí	"they built it rashly"

(8) Repetition

To express repetition, Mokpe uses the adverb *βɛ̂* "again".

dʒà βɛ̂	"come again"
gbèá βɛ̂	"do again"
ómá βɛ̂	"send again"
émbá βɛ̂	"sing again"

lá βê	"eat again"
wówá βê	"take it again"
ímá ꜜβóndá ó ꜜdʒá βê	"when do you come again?"

(9) Cumulative

The cumulation adverb *βɛ́* "also" is used to indicate addition.

Mbá βɛ́ nààzrà lèégbèà

mbá	βɛ́	nà	àzrà	l-é-gbèà
1sg.Obj	also	1sg	want	INF-Obj-do

"I also want to do it"

Wà βɛ́ ɔ̀ mèɛ́ndá ŋgá

wà	βɛ́	ɔ̀	m-	èɛ́ndá	ŋgá
2sg.Obj	also	2sg	PAST	go	there

"Did you also go there?"

Mbá βɛ́ nèndɛ̀ ŋmɛ̂lɛ̂

mbá	βɛ́	n-	Ø	èndɛ̀	ŋmɛ̂lɛ̂
1sg.Obj	also	1sg	PRES	go	tomorrow

"I will also go tomorrow"

2. Quantification of action

(1) Intensive

- *dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́* "much, very very"

a. with lééjà "sharp"	
lúwɛ̀ndì lééjà	"the knife is sharp"
lééjà	"it is sharp"
lééjà	"it is very sharp"
lééjà dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"it is very, very sharp"
lééjà dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"it is very, very, very sharp"
à wóβì lùwɛ̀ndì lééjà	"s/he has a sharp knife"
à wóβì lùwɛ̀ndì léꜜéjà dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"s/he has a very sharp knife"
à wóβì lùwɛ̀ndì léꜜéjà dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"s/he has a very, very sharp knife"
à wóβì lùwɛ̀ndì léꜜéjà dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"s/he has a very, very, very sharp knife"

b. with lítúnì "blunt"	
lúwɛ̀ndì lítúnì	"the knife is blunt"
lítúnì	"it is blunt"
lítúnì	"it is very blunt"
lítúnì dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"it is very, very blunt"
lítúnì dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"it is very, very, very blunt"
à wóβì lùwɛ̀ndì lítúní	"s/he has a blunt knife"
à wóβì lùwɛ̀ndì lítúní dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"s/he has a very blunt knife"
à wóβì lùwɛ̀ndì lítúní dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"s/he has a very, very blunt knife"
à wóβì lùwɛ̀ndì lítúní dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"s/he has a very, very, very blunt knife"

- *dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́* and idiomatic expression "too much, excessively"

a.	dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́ as "too much"	
	à tɔ̀ dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"s/he speaks too much"
	à ɛ̀ndɛ̀ dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"s/he walks too much"
	à gbè éwòló dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"s/he works too much"
b.	Idiomatic expression "too much"	
	à βélì ì lóŋgó	"s/he speaks too much"
	à lìŋgánì mɔ̀tɔ̀wú	"s/he speaks too much"
	à tɔ̀jìzrɛ̀ zrájí	"s/he speaks too much"
	à βélì mɔ̀tɔ̀wú	"s/he speaks too much"

(2) Ability

- *lìtánɛ̀* "be able to" (Affirmative)

nà tánɛ́ lìtíjà mólánà ámì	"I am able to beat my wife"
ò tánɛ́ lìtíndɛ̀lɛ̀ mólánà àŋgɔ́	"you are able to push your wife"
à tánɛ́ liβànɛ́ mólánà éní	"s/he is able to carry his wife"
tánɛ̂ lŭmà βáàlánà βázrú	"we are able to send our wives"
tánɛ́ lìlìŋgáná βáàlánà βáɲú	"you (pl) are able to love your wives"
βá tánɛ̂ làβízrɛ́ βáàlánà βáwú	"they are able to sell their wives"

- *làɛ́mbɛ̀nɛ́* "not be able to" (Negative)

nà zrá ꜜtánɛ̀ lìtíjà mólánà ámì	"I am not able to beat my wife"
ò zrá ꜜtánɛ̀ lìtíndɛ̀lɛ̀ mólánà àŋgɔ́	"you are not able to push your wife"
à zrá ꜜtánɛ̀ làndʒìlɛ́ mólánà éní	"s/he is not able to carry his wife"

ì zrá ꜜtánɛ̀ lŭmà βáàlánà βázrú	"we are not able to send our "wives"
è zrá ꜜtánɛ̀ lìlìŋgáná βáàlánà βáɲú	"you (pl) are not able to love your wives"
βá zrà tánɛ̀ làβízrɛ́ βáàlánà βáwú	"they are not able to sell their wives"

(3) Negation of habitual

- *òzrì* "never"

The expression of "at no time", "not in any degree" as well as the permanent negation of habitual is done via the privative adverb *òzrì* "never".

òzrì lá	"never eat"
òzrì βélɛ́	"never call"
òzrì tíndɛ́lɛ́	"never push"
òzrì lìβówá	"never open"
ɔ̀zrɛ̀ndɛ́	"never go"
òzrèmbá	"never sing"
òzrì kàwá	"never divide"
òzrì ŋgbă	"never give"
òzrààndá	"never buy"
òzrèèjá	"never cry"

3. Manner of action

- *lăŋgòà* "carefully"

nà mà kɛ́ nà gb ăŋgò	"I cut carefully"
ò mà tíndɛ́lɛ́ nɛ́ gbăŋgò	"you pushed carefully"
à mà àβízrɛ́ nɛ́ gbăŋgò	"s/he sold carefully"
ì mèèjá nà gbăŋgò	"we cried carefully"
è mà ŋgbàá ná gbăŋgò	"you gave carefully"
βá mɔ̀ŋgá ná gbăŋgò	"they built carefully"

- *gbămù* or *lìlìá* "well"

nà mèé kɛ́ gbămù	"I cut it well"
ò mèé tíndɛ́lɛ́ gbămù	"you pushed it well"
à mèá ꜜβízrɛ́ gbămù	"s/he sold it well"
ì mèúmá gbămù	"we sent it well"
è mèé ŋ́ꜜgbá gbămù	"you gave it well"
βá mèɔ́ŋgá gbămù	"they built it well"

- *ndɛ̀mù* "nicely"

nà mèé kɛ́ ndɛ̀mù	"I cut it nicely"
ò mèé tíndɛ́lɛ́ ndɛ̀mù	"you pushed it nicely"
à mèá ꜜβízrɛ́ ndɛ̀mù	"s/he sold it nicely"
ì mèúmá ndɛ̀mù	"we sent it nicely"
è mèé ŋ́ꜜgbá ndɛ̀mù	"you gave it nicely"
βá mèɔ́ŋgá ndɛ̀mù	"they built it nicely"

- *íɲɔ́ŋgí* "restlessly"

a.	nà mà kɛ́ nà ɲɔ́ŋgí	"I cut restlessly"
	ò mà tíndɛ́lɛ́ nà ɲɔ́ŋgí	"you pushed restlessly"
	à mà àβízrɛ́ nà ɲɔ́ŋgí	"s/he sold restlessly"
	ì mèèjá nà ɲɔ́ŋgí	"we cried restlessly"
	è mà ŋgbàá nà ɲɔ́ŋgí	"you gave restlessly"
	βá mɔ̀ŋgá ná ɲɔ́ŋgì	"they built restlessly"

b.	nà mèé kɛ́ nà ɲɔ́ŋgí	"I cut it restlessly"
	ò mèé tíndɛ́lɛ́ nà ɲɔ́ŋgí	"you pushed it restlessly"
	à mèá ꜜβízrɛ́ nà ɲɔ́ŋgí	"s/he sold it restlessly"
	ì mèúmá nà ɲɔ́ŋgí	"we sent it restlessly"
	è mèé ŋ́ꜜgbá nà ɲɔ́ŋgí	"you gave it restlessly"
	βá mèɔ́ŋgá nà ɲɔ́ŋgí	"they built it restlessly"

4. Summary

Table 13. Morphemes for phase of actions, manner or quantity

téjà βóndá / ô βóndá	"meantime"
ólămbɛ̀lɛ̀ / ndí	"meanwhile"
náòmɛ́nɛ́	"Keep on"
é	"still"
òzríkùmbɔ̀ / ô mbúzrá ɸóndá / ó!ɸóndá mbúzrà / ó!ɸóndá jàkáí	"previously"
βìúkèlì / óβèdʒèélí	"on coming, arrival"
ô ɸóndá	"in / on time"
kpílílílí / lăkɛ̀lɛ̀	"early"
wúŭŋá wâzrɛ̂	"all day long"
jɔ̀kí and mà βɛ́	"used to"
í ó!ɸóndá dʒâzrɛ̂	"all the time"
ŋgɛ̀lɛ̀ŋgɛ̀lɛ̀	"always"
ŋgɛ̀lɛ̀ŋgɛ̀lɛ̀ / jɔ̀kí	"often"
émá (present tense)	"while"
zrì (past tense)	"while"
nă	"as …" / "like"
Zero morpheme	"and"
kàzrìkàzrì	"quickly"
màkpázrí	"rashly"
dʒɔ̀ɔ́dʒɔ̀ɔ́	"much, very very"
lìtánɛ̀	"be able to"
làɛ́mbɛ̀nɛ́	"not be able to"
lăŋgòà	"carefully"
gbămù / lìlìá	"well"
ndɛ̀mù	"nicely"
íŋɔ́ŋgí	"restlessly"
nă	"like"

5. Time and locative adverbs

Here are the time and locative adverbs commonly used in Mokpe.

(1) Time adverbs

éɛ̌lélé	"in the morning"
èŋgómbé	"in the evening"
èβóndá wòzrô	"ago", "sometimes ago"
ímá ˡβóndá	"when"
jàwónò	"today"
mɔ́ˡnɛ ŋmâ	"next year"
nâŋgê	"now"
ŋmɛ̂lɛ̂	"yesterday", "tomorrow"
ó ŋgbɛ̀ndɛ̀	"in one month"
ó ŋmâ	"in one year"
ó wíkì	"in one week"
ó wòzrô	"after"
òzrí kúmbɔ̀	"short ago or a while ago"
óˡmééɲá mé jáò	"in three days"
wózrí jáò	"in three days"
wózrí nèjí	"in four days"
wózrí tâ	"in five days"
wózrí wă	"the day before yesterday"
wózrí βàá	"in two days"
wúŭβû	"in the night"

(2) Locative adverbs

ánù	"here"
áŋgâ	"there"
bjáná	"before"
βâzrɛ̂ or jâzrɛ̂	"together"
nătɛ̀ɛ̀	"until"
ô mbúzrà	"behind"
ô ŋmáɲú	"on"
ó tŏŋgóŋgó	"nearby"
ô zré	"under"
ôténì	"in", "inside"
óˡné	"from"

V. SYNTAX

1. Simple Sencence Construction

Mokpe is an SVO language. In an affirmative indicative sentence, the verbal clause has the order of morphemes below:

Subject Pronoun - (Tense/Aspect) - (Object Pronoun) - Verb Root - Object

Examples:

a.	Nà	lìŋgánì	ɛ̀-ŋgɔ̀ndɔ̀	"I love a girl."
	1sg	love +PRES	7.DET-9.girl	

b.	Nà	mà	lá	mbǒ	"I ate a banana."
	1sg	PAST	eat	9.banana	

When the object pronoun is inserted into the verbal complex, the structure is then:

Subject Pronoun-(Tense/Aspect)-(Object Pronoun)-Infix vowel O-Verb Root

Examples:

lìzròzrá "to wash"

à	mà	n	ò	zròzrá	"he washed me"
à	m	ò	ò	zròzrá	"he washed you (sg)"
à	mà	m	ò	zròzrá	"he washed him/her"
à	mà	dʒ	ò	zròzrá	"he washed us"
à	m	è	è	zròzrá	"he washed you (pl)"
à	mà	βá		ꜜzrózrá	"he washed them"
3sg	PAST	ObjP	InfxV	wash	

lìŋgbǎ "to give"

à	mà	n	ò	ŋgbǎ	"he gave me"
à	m-	ò	ò	ŋgbǎ	"he gave you (sg)"
à	mà	m	ò	ŋgbǎ	"he gave him/her"
à	mà	dʒ	ò	ŋgbǎ	"he gave us"
à	m	è	è	ŋgbǎ	"he gave you (pl)"
à	mà	βá		ꜜŋgbá	"he gave them"
3sg	PAST	ObjP	InfxV	give	

lìβélɛ̀ "to call"

à	mà	n	ò	βélɛ́	"he called me"
à	m	ò	ò	βélɛ́	"he called you (sg)"
à	mà	m-	ò	βélɛ́	"he called him/her"
à	mà	dʒ	ò	βélɛ́	"he called us"
à	m	è	è	βélɛ́	"he called you (pl)"
à	mà	βá		βélɛ́	"he called them"
3sg	PAST	ObjP	InfxV	call	

lìtíndɛ̀lɛ̀ "to push"

à	mà	n	ò	tíndɛ́lɛ́	"he pushed me"
à	m	ò	ò	tíndɛ́lɛ́	"he pushed you (sg)"
à	mà	m	ò	tíndɛ́lɛ́	"he pushed him/her"
à	mà	dʒ	ò	tíndɛ́lɛ́	"he pushed us"
à	m	è	è	tíndɛ́lɛ́	"he pushed you (pl)"
à	mà	βá		tíndɛ́lɛ́	"he pushed them"
3sg	PAST	ObjP	InfxV	push	

That structure does not change when you use the imperative mood. The pronoun object is still intercalated in the verbal phrase.

lìŋgbă "to give" (Imperative)

ó	m	ò	ŋgbé	è-bɔ́l	"give him the ball"
ó	dʒ	ò	ŋgbě	è-bɔ́l	"give us the ball"
3sg	ObjP	InfxV	give	7.DET-9.ball	

As we can see in the examples above, the object pronoun is systematically followed by the infix vowel *ò*. If we admit that the object pronouns have the following shapes: *nà* "me", *ò* "you (sg)", *mɔ̀* "him/her", *ì* "us", *è* "you (pl)", *βá* "them", then the presence of the vowel *ò* triggers the phonological processes whereby the vowels of the object pronoun are either deleted or changed into consonant. This is illustrated as follows:

nà	→	n	"me"	(deletion of the vowel à)
mɔ̀	→	m	"him/her"	(deletion of the vowel ɔ̀)
ì	→	dʒ	"us"	(the vowel i become dʒ)

Also note the deletion of the vowel /a/ of the past tense marker at the 2sg and 2pl, i.e. *mà → m* in a sequence *mà + ò* (2sg) and *mà + è* (2pl).

As for the infix vowel /ò/, it assimilates to the vowel /e/ of the 2pl become, and deletes completely when its occurs in front of the 3pl *βá*.

It is equally very important to note that in vowel-initial verb root, the infix vowel /ò/ does show up and there are a series of phonological processes that are triggered by its absence depending on whether the verb root starts with the vowel /-i/, /-u/, /-o/ or /-a/.

- When the verb root starts with the vowel /-i/, the infix vowel /ò/ is absent and the following phonological processes occur, mostly on the object pronouns:

►the vowel of the 1sg deletes (*nà* → *n*), i.e. /a/ → [Ø]/__ i.
►a prothetic semivowel, /w/, is inserted between the 2sg and the vowel /i/ of the verb root, i.e. /Ø/ → [w]/ ò __ i.
►the vowel /ɔ̀/ of the 3sg *mɔ̀* deletes (i.e. *mɔ̀* → *m*) and the consonant /m/ becomes [ŋm] before the vowel /i/ of the verb root, i.e. /m/ → [ŋm]/__ i.
►the vowel /ì/, the object pronoun of 1pl, is realised [dʒ] before the vowel /i/ of the verb root, i.e. /i/ → [dʒ]/__ i.
►the vowel /è/, the object pronoun of 2pl, is realised [ì] before the vowel /i/ of the verb root by virtue of assimilation, i.e. /è/ → [ì] /__ i.
►the vowel /á/ of the 3pl *βá* deletes before the vowel /i/ of the verb root, i.e. /á/ → Ø /__ i.

All these rules are illustrated in the example below:

lĭdʒòwà "to ask"

à	mà	n	ìdʒówá	"he asked me"
à	m	ò	wídʒówá	"he asked you (sg)"
à	mà	ŋm	ìdʒówá	"he asked him/her"
à	mà	dʒ	ìdʒówá	"he asked us"
à	m	ì	ídʒówá	"he asked you (pl)"
à	mà	β	ídʒówá	"he asked them"
3sg	PAST	ObjP	ask	

- When the verb root starts with the vowel /-u/, the infix vowel /ò/ is absent and the following phonological processes occur on the object pronouns:

►the vowel of the 1sg deletes (*nà* → *n*), i.e. /a/ → [Ø]/__ u.
►the vowel /ò/, the object pronoun of 2sg, is realised [ù] before the vowel /u/ of the verb root by virtue of assimilation, i.e. /ò/ → [ù] /__ u.
►the vowel /ɔ̀/ of the 3sg *mɔ̀* is realised [ù] before the vowel /u/ of the verb root by virtue of assimilation, i.e. /ɔ̀/ → [ù] /__ u.
►the vowel /ì/, the object pronoun of 1pl, is realised [dʒ] before the vowel /u/ of the verb root, i.e. /ì/ → [dʒ]/__ u.

►the vowel /á/ of the 3pl *βá* deletes before the vowel /u/ of the verb root, i.e. /á/ → Ø /__ u (*βá* → *β*), and the consonant /β/ is realised [w] before the vowel /u/ of the verb root, i.e. /β/ → [w] /__ u.

All these rules are illustrated in the example below:

lŭŋmèlɛ̀ "to show"

à	mà	n	ùŋmɛ́lɛ́	"he showed me"
à	m	ù	úŋmɛ́lɛ́	"he showed you (sg)"
à	mà	mù	úŋmɛ́lɛ́	"he showed him/her"
à	mà	dʒ	ùŋmɛ́lɛ́	"he showed us"
à	m	è	úŋmɛ́lɛ́	"he showed you (pl)"
à	mà	w	úŋmɛ́lɛ́	"he showed them"
3sg	PAST	ObjP	show	

➢ When the verb root starts with the vowel /-o/, the infix vowel /ò/ is absent and the following phonological processes occur on the object pronouns:

►the vowel of the 1sg deletes (*nà* → *n*), i.e. /a/ → [Ø]/__ o.
►the vowel /ɔ̀/ of the 3sg *mɔ̀* is realised [ò] before the vowel /o/ of the verb root by virtue of assimilation, i.e. /ɔ̀/ → [ò] /__ o.
►the vowel /ì/, the object pronoun of 1pl, is realised [dʒ] before the vowel /o/ of the verb root, i.e. /ì/ → [dʒ]/__ o.
►the vowel /á/ of the 3pl *βá* deletes before the vowel /o/ of the verb root, i.e. /á/ → Ø /__ o (*βá* → *β*), and the consonant /β/ is realised [w] before the vowel /o/ of the verb root, i.e. /β/ → [w] /__ o.

All these rules are illustrated in the example below:

lŏŋgòwànà "to help"

à	mà	n	òŋgówáná	"he helped me"
à	m	ò	óŋgówáná	"he helped you (sg)"
à	mà	mò	óŋgówáná	"he helped him/her"
à	mà	dʒ	òŋgówáná	"he helped us"
à	m	è	óŋgówáná	"he helped you (pl)"
à	mà	w	óŋgówáná	"he helped them"
3sg	PAST	ObjP	help	

- When the verb root starts with the vowel /-a/, the infix vowel /ò/ is absent and the following phonological processes occur, mostly, on the object pronouns:

►the vowel of the 1sg deletes (*nà* → *n*), i.e. /a/ → [Ø]/__ a.
►a prothetic semivowel, /w/, is inserted between the 2sg and the vowel /a/ of the verb root, i.e. /Ø/ → [w]/ ò__ a.
►the vowel /ɔ̀/ of the 3sg *mɔ̀* deletes (i.e. *mɔ̀* → *m*) and the consonant /m/ becomes [ŋm] before the vowel /a/ of the verb root, i.e. /m/ → [ŋm]/__ a.
►the vowel /ì/, the object pronoun of 1pl, is realised [dʒ] before the vowel /a/ of the verb root, i.e. /ì/ → [dʒ]/__ a.

All these rules are illustrated in the example below:

làŋgbá "to shoot, to throw"

à	mà	n	àŋgbá	"he shot me"
à	m	ò	wàŋgbá	"he shot you (sg)"
à	mà	ŋm	àŋgbá	"he shot him/her"
à	mà	dʒ	àŋgbá	"he shot us"
à	m	è	àŋgbá	"he shot you (pl)"
à	mà	βá	ǎŋgbá	"he shot them"
3sg	PAST	ObjP	shoot	

Even when the imperative mood is used, the infix vowel /ò/ still doesn't show up at all in a verb root starting with a vowel, and four of the rules identified above are equally observed.

lǒŋgòwànà "to help"

ó	n	òŋgówánɛ́	"help me"
ó	mò	óŋgówánɛ́	"help him"
ó	dʒ	òŋgówánɛ́	"help us"
ó	w	óŋgówánɛ́	"help them"
2sg	ObjP	help	

Also, when the object is the pronoun 'it', the infix vowel /ò/ does not surface in vowel-initial verb root. Note the insertion of the prothetic glide /j/ between the object pronoun and the verb root.

làndá "to buy"

nà	m	è	án꜒dá	"I bought it"
à	m	è	án꜒dá	"s/he bought it"
nà	mà	βé	꜒jándá	"I bought them"

à	mà	βé	ǃjándá	"s/he bought them"
3sg	PAST	ObjP	buy	

Thus the infix vowel /ò/ does show up in vowel-initial verb root, because the root already has its vowel. Thus, the vowel /ò/ which is intercalated between the object pronoun and the verb root is no longer necessary. This suggests that the structure SVO must have a vowel before the verbal root when the object is a pronoun. Let us call this infix vowel /ò/, a prothetic vowel which must be present each time a verbal predicate is constructed with an object pronoun.

When the pronominal object is ‘it’, there is variation according to referent because it is only in the correct context that it has meaning. The morpheme-by-morpheme analysis will give:

lìkótá / màkótá "bread/s" (cl. 5/6)

A:	Ò	óβì	lĭ-ǃkótá		Do you have the bread?	(cl. 5)
	2sg	have	5-bread + int			
B:	Ɛ̀ɛ̀	nà	l-	-óβì	Yes, I have it (the bread).	(cl. 5)
	yes	1sg	5.ObjP	have		
A:	Ò	óβì	mâ-kótá		Do you have the breads?	(cl. 6)
	2sg	have	6-bread+ int			
B:	Ɛ̀ɛ̀	nà	m-	óβì	Yes, I have them (the breads).	(cl. 6)
	yes	1sg	6.ObjP	have		

èβùmá / βèβùmá "fruit/s" (cl. 7/8)

A:	Ò	óβì	é-βùmà		Do you have the fruit?	(cl. 7)
	2sg	have	7-fruit+ inter			
B:	Ɛ̀ɛ̀	n	è	óβì	Yes, I have it (the fruit).	(cl. 7)
	yes	1sg	7.ObjP	have		
A:	Ò	óβì	βé-βùmà		Do you have the fruits?	(cl. 8)
	2sg	have	8-fruit+ inter			
B:	Ɛ̀ɛ̀	nà	βé	óβì	Yes, I have them (the fruits).	(cl. 8)
	yes	1sg	8.ObjP	have		

ìŋàmà / íŋàmà "fish/es" (cl. 9/10)

A:	Ò	óβì	ì-ŋàmà		Do you have the fish?	(cl. 9)
	2sg	have	9-fish+ inter			
B:	Ɛ̀ɛ̀	n	dʒ	óβì	Yes, I have it (the fish).	(cl. 9)

	yes	1sg	9.ObjP	have	
A:	Ò	óβì	í-ɲàmà	Do you have the fishes?	(cl. 10)
	2sg	have	10-fish+ inter		
B:	Ɛ̀ɛ̀	nà	dʒ	óβì	Yes, I have them (the fishes). (cl. 10)
	yes	1sg	10.ObjP	have	

2. Complexe Sentence Constructions

Many other morphemes can enter the construction of sentence in Mokpe.

1. Qualification of the noun in the NP

À	mà	lá	ɲɔ̀βíɲà	j-à	kpáɲókpáɲó
3sg	PAST	eat	9.lemon	9-Cd	sour

"S/he ate a sour lemon."

Ò	m	-ìmá	ɛ̀-βɔ̀ndí	ndɛ́nɛ̀
2sg	PAST	dig	7-hole	9.big

"You dug a big hole."

Ò	mà	βátá	è-βùmá	j-	-é$^{!}$tí
2sg	PAST	harvest	7-fruit	7-Cd	strong

"You harvested a strong fruit."

Note: lìlâ "to eat"
lǐmà "to dig"
lìβátà "to harvest"

2. Copula +predicate sentence

À	βélì	ndí	mò-tà	wòòwê	ndǐ	à	gbè	é-wòló	gbámù
3sg	COP	CLIT	1-person	1.bad	but	3sg	do.PRES	7-work	9.well

"S/he is a bad person, but he works well"

Note: mòtò / βàtò "person"
wòòwê "bad"
lìgbèá éwòló "to (do) work"
lìgbèá "to do"
èwòló / βèwòló "work"
gbámù "well"

3. Juxtaposition of complements

À	m	ɔŋgɔ́	má-àtù,	à	mà	àndá	ndí	l-ínì	mɛ́nɛ́
3sg	PAST	look at	9-fabric	3sg	PAST	buy	CLIT	5-DEM	only

"S/he looked at the fabrics, she bought only this one"

Note: lɔ̌ŋgɔ̀ "to look at"
làndá "to buy"

À	zr	-ɛ́nɛ̀	zrɔ́ŋgɛ́	w-àŋgɔ́,	à	m	-ɛ̀nɛ́	ndí	wà-ámì
3sg	NEG	see	9-father	2sg-PosP	3sg	PAST	see	only	1sg-PosP

"S/he did not see your father, he saw only mine"

Note: zrí NEG past
lɛ̌nɛ̀ "to see"
zráŋgó / zráŋgó "guest"

4. Consequence

È-ndʒɔ̀ɔ́	è	mà	ŋwáá	ná	mé-ànò	lí-ănèlì	nà	lí-ĭbà
7.DET-9.tiger	Cd	PAST	die	because of	4-trick	5-violence	and	5-theth

"The tiger died because of tricks, violence and theth"

Note: ndʒɔ̀ɔ́ / ndʒɔ̀ɔ́ "tiger"
lìŋwâ "to die"
ŋmànò / mèànò "trick"
lìànèlì / lìànèlì "violence"
lĭbà / lĭbà "theth"

5. Circumstantial clause

È-wúɸà	é	mà	ɲɛ̂	mè-éŏ	mé-éní	è-ŋgbâ	è	mà	-áká
7.DET-9.fowl	7.Cd	PAST	lay	4-egg	4-POS	7.DET-9.dog	7.Cd	PAST	pass

"When the fowl layed her eggs, the dog passed"

Note: wúɸà "fowl"
lìɲɛ̂ "to lay"
ŋmèó / mèó "egg"
ŋgbá "dog"
lăkà "pass"

Ɛ̀ndálé	à	mà	ɲá	ŋmánà	mó-lánà	ó	ŋgbɛ̀ndɛ̀	j-à	mbúzrà
1. Endalle	1.Cd	PAST	give birth	1.child	1-male	LOC	9.month	9-Cd	behind

"Endalle gave birth to a baby girl last month"

Note: lìɲâ "give birth"
ŋgbɛ̀ndɛ̀ / íŋgbɛ̀ndɛ̀ "month"

6. Destination, location

Ò	mà	-ìká	mé-èó	óténá	kòòɸà	dʒ-âzrɛ̂
3sg	PAST	put	4-egg	PREP	10.calabash	10-all

"S/he put the eggs in all the calabashes"

Ò	mà	-ìká	mé-èó	óténá	tɔ́ímá	kòòɸà
3sg	PAST	put	4-egg	PREP	each	9.calabash

"S/he put the eggs in each calabash"

7. Embedded (relative) clause

Kúlù	à	m	òŋgá	ó	mɔ̀ɲɛ̀	à	mà	zràŋgó	áné	è-zráŋgó	ámì
1. Tortoise	1.Cd	PAST	built	LOC	9.land	3sg	PAST	inherit	from	7-father	1.POS

"Tortoise built on the land he inherited from my father"

Note: kúlù / kúlù "tortoise"
lŏŋgà "to build"
mɔ̀ɲɛ̀ / mɔ̀ɲɛ̀ "land"
lìzràŋgó "to inherit"

8. Conditional clause

N	ô	lâ	jêténá	w	ìβɛ̂
1sg	Mood	eat	COND	2sg	cook +PRES

"I would eat if you cook"

Ì	zr	ô	lá	jêténá	ò	zrá	àzrá
1sg	Neg	Mood	eat	COND	2sg	Neg	want +PRES

"We would not eat if you don’t want"

Òmá	nà	mà	βɛ́lɛ́	jêténá	à	zrí	dʒè
CLIT	1sg	PAST	call	COND	3sg	Neg	come

"I would have called if she had not come"

3. Relative Clauses

The relative forms use invariably the morpheme *émá* regardless of the noun class that the relative pronoun qualifies. It is placed just after the noun and precedes the verb concord.

è mólánà émá à jɔ̌	cl. 1	"the women who laughs"
βáănà émá βá jɔ̌	cl. 2	"the children who laugh"
mɔ̌βò émá móβí líβùmbú	cl. 3	"the head which has hair"
méɔ̌βò émá méóβí líβùmbú	cl. 4	"the heads which have hair"
íŋgbâ émá ílómă	cl. 10	"the dogs which barks"
wɔ̂ŋgɔ́ émá wó lùtèjá	cl. 14	"the brain which thinks"
íwɔ̃nì émá dʒóŋwă	cl. 13	"the cartridge which kills"

The relative pronoun *émá* can be omitted.

lĭzrɔ̀ŋgá émá líkɛ́ˡɛ́ í ɲàmà	cl. 5	"the tooth which cuts meat"
lĭzrɔ̀ŋgá líkɛ́ˡɛ́ í ɲàmà		
éwòló émá ékú	cl. 7	"the work which ends"
éwòló ékú		
èŋgbá émá èlómă	cl. 9	"the dog which barks"
èŋgbá èló		

An example of morpheme-by-morpheme gives:

Lĭ-zrɔ̀ŋgá	émá	líkɛ́ˡɛ́	í	ɲàmà
5.DEM-tooth	RelPro	cut + PRES	9.Cd	9.meat

"The tooth which cuts meat"

4. Questions

In Mokpe, apart from interrogative pronouns, there is no lexical device that indicates interrogation. In other words, the syntaxic structure of an interrogative sentence is similar to the one of a declarative sentence. Interrogations or questions are rendered by a rising intonation at the end of the utterance.

Ò óˡβí éβùmà

Ò	óˡβí	é-βùmà
2sg	have	7-fruit

"Do you have the fruit?"

Ò óβì mâkótá
Ò óβì mâ-kótá
2sg have 6-fruit
"Do you have the breads?"

Ímá ˡβóndá ó ˡdʒá βê
Ímá ˡβóndá ó Ø ˡdʒá βê
IntP 9.time 2sg PRES come again
"When do you come again?"

Wàá mbèlɛ̀ ánù nátɛ̀ɛ̀ èné èèjé ɛ́zrɔ̀mbɔ̀
W àá mbèlɛ̀ ánù nátɛ̀ɛ̀ è-né è-èjé ɛ́-zrɔ̀m-bɔ̀
2sg TAM wait here until 7-DemPro 7-tree 7-roten-PASS
"Are you waiting here so that this tree get roten?"

5. Copula and Existential Sentences

Non-verbal predicates are constructed with the copulative morpheme *βélì* which will take the meaning of quality, location and stabilisation depending on the particle that precedes or follows it. A concept like "origin" is equally presented under non-verbal predicates.

1. Quality: *βélì ndí* "be"

The morphemic sequence ... *βélì ndí* "be", positive form, generally expresses quality. The negation form is rendered with *zrá èndʒé → zrêndʒé*.

Positive	Negative
nà βélì ndí mòòkèlì	nà zrêndʒé mòòkèlì
"I am a player"	"I am not a player"
ò βélì ndí ŋgàŋgà	ò zrêndʒé ŋgàŋgà
"you are a doctor"	"you are not a doctor"
à βélì ndí mòónèlì	à zrêndʒé mòónèlì
"s/he is a farmer"	"he is not a farmer"
ì βélì ndí βàléèlì	ì zrêndʒé βàléèlì
"we are teachers"	"we are not teachers"
è βélì ndí βàòkèlì	è zrêndʒé βàòkèlì

"you are players"	"you are not players"
βá βélì ndí zráŋgó	βá zrèndʒé zráŋgó
"they are fathers"	"they are not fathers"

2. Location: *βélì ó* "be"

The morphemic sequence ... *βélì ó* "be", positive form, expresses location. The negation form is equally rendered with *zrá èndʒé → zrêndʒé*.

Positive	Negative
nà βélì wíwòŋgó[17]	nà zrêndʒé wíwòŋgó
"I am in the box"	"I am not in the box"
ò βélì wélùwà	ò zrêndʒé wélùwà
"you are in the market"	"you are not in the market"
à βélì ó mbóà	à zrêndʒé ó mbóà
"s/he is in the village"	"s/he is not in the village"
ì βélì ó ndáwù	ì zrêndʒé ó ndáwù
"we are in the house"	"we are not in the house"
è βélì ó wàŋgá	è zrêndʒé ó wàŋgá
"you are in the farm"	"you (pl) are not in the farm"
βá βélì ó tŭ	βá zrèndʒé ó tŭ
"they are in the room"	"they are not in the room"
nà βélì ánù[18]	nà zrêndʒé ánù
"I am here"	"I am not here"
ò βélì áŋgâ	ò zrêndʒé áŋgâ
"you (sg) are there"	"you (sg) are not there"

3. Stabilization with *éβélì ndí*: "it is"

The morpheme *éβélì ndí* is used as a stabilizer ("it is"), in nouns of all classes and independent pronouns. Negation here is rendered by *zrá èndʒé → zrèndʒé* for human and *zrá èkétɛ́ → zrèkétɛ́* for non-human and the independent pronouns. When *zrèkétɛ́* is used the particle *é* preceding *βélì* / *zrèndʒé* (*é βélì* / *zrèndʒé*) drops.

a.	In noun of all classes	
	Positive	Negative
	é βélì ndí lóβɛ̀	é zrèndʒé lóβɛ̀
	"it is God"	"it is not God"
	é βélì ndí zráŋgó	é zrèndʒé zráŋgó

"it is a father"	"it is not a father"
é βélì ndí lìnùŋgɛ̀	é zrèndʒé lìnùŋgɛ̀
"it is Linonge"	"it is not Linonge"
é βélì ndí mòléèlì	é zrèndʒé mòléèlì
"it is a teacher"	"it is not a teacher"
é βélì ndí ŋmánà	é zrèndʒé ŋmánà
"it is a child"	"it is not a child"
é βélì ndí èβùmá	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ èβùmá
"it is a fruit"	"it is not a fruit"
é βélì ndí èzrù	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ èzrù
"it is a wall"	"it is not a wall"
é βélì ndí mbólì	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ mbólì
"it is a goat"	"it is not a goat"
é βélì ndí tŭ	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ tŭ
"it is a room"	"it is not a room"
é βélì ndí lìzròŋgá	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ lìzròŋgá
"it is a tooth"	"it is not a tooth"

b. In independent pronouns

Positive		Negative	
ìmbâ	"it is me"	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ ìmbâ	"it is not me"
òwâ	"it is you"	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ òwâ	"it is not you"
mɔ̂	"it is him"	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ mɔ̂	"it is not him"
ízrɔ̂	"it is us"	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ ízrɔ̂	"it is not us"
íŋɔ̂	"it is us"	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ íŋɔ̂	"it is not you"
wɔ̂	"it is them"	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ wɔ̂	"it is not them"

Note that *zrèndʒé* (negation) can also be completed with *ndí*. Then, the opposition human vs non-human (i.e. *zrèndʒé* vs. *zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́*) is neutralised.

Negative	
é zrèndʒé ndí lĭnà	"it is not a name"
é zrèndʒé ndí èlèla	"it is not a duck"
é zrèndʒé ndí ŋàmà	"it is not an animal"
é zrèndʒé ndí ndʒìjá	"it is not a way"
é zrèndʒé ndí kémà	"it is not a monkey"
é zrèndʒé ndí wɔ̆lɔ̀	"it is not a canoe"

4. Stabilization with *ó βélì ndí*: "there is"

The morpheme *ó βélì ndí* is also used as a stabilizer ("there is"), but most of the time without *ndí*. Negation here is done with *zrá èndʒé → zrèndʒé*.

Positive	Negative
ó βélì ndʒɔ̀mì	ó zrèndʒé ndʒɔ̀mì
"there is a problem"	"there is no problem"
ó βélì wòòlì	ó zrèndʒé wòòlì
"there is money"	"there is no money"
ó βélì βóndá	ó zrèndʒé βóndá
"there is time"	"there is no time"
ó βélì èlùwà	ó zrèndʒé èlùwà
"there is a market"	"there is no market"
ó βélì mbówà	ó zrèndʒé mbówà
"there is a village"	"there is no village"
ó βélì wàŋgá	ó zrèndʒé wàŋgá
"there is a farm"	"there is no farm"
ó βélì tŭ	ó zrèndʒé tŭ
"there is a room"	"there is no room"
ó βélì mòzrô	ó zrèndʒé mòzrô
"there is a river"	"there is no river"
ó βélì èβózrí	ó zrèndʒé èβózrí
"there is a bottle"	"there is no bottle"
ó βélì lĭpkà	ó zrèndʒé lĭpkà
"there is a bag"	"there is no bag"

5. Stabilization with -ŋg-: "that is"

Apart from *éβélì ndí* and *ó βélì ndí*, stabilization is equally realised with *-ŋg-* where the hyphens are replaced by the class markers [ă], [ò], [mó], [lí], [é], [í], [wó]. The first vowel is identical to the second. The tone on the first vowel is always low, whereas the final tone is systematically falling.

a.	Positive (independent pronouns)		
	mbá òŋgô	"that is me"	(cl.1)
	wă òŋgô	"that is you"	(cl.1)
	mŏ òŋgô	"that is s/he"	(cl.1)
	ìzrɔ́ òŋgô	"that is we"	(cl.2)

	èɲɔ́ òŋgô	"that is you"	(cl.2)
	βá ǎŋgà	"that is they"	(cl.2)

b.	Positive (all noun classes)		
	ŋmèní òŋgô	"that is a guest"	(cl.1)
	ŋměmà móŋgô	"that is a heart"	(cl.3)
	lĭzrɔ̀ líŋgî	"that is an eye"	(cl.5)
	èwòló éŋgê	"that is a work"	(cl.7)
	ɲàmà èŋgê	"that is an animal"	(cl.9)
	ìnɔ̀ní íŋgî	"that is a bird"	(cl.13)
	wɔ̆lɔ̀ wóŋgô	"that is a canoe"	(cl.14)

The negative forms of those phrases are:

a.	Negative (independent pronouns)		
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ ìmbâ	"that is not me"	(cl.1)
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ òwâ	"that is not you"	(cl.1)
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ mɔ̂	"that is not him"	(cl.1)
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ ízrɔ̂	"that is not us"	(cl.2)
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ íɲɔ̂	"that is not you"	(cl.2)
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ wɔ̂	"that is not them"	(cl.2)

b.	Negative (all noun classes)		
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ ŋmèní òŋgô	"that is not a guest"	(cl.1)
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ ŋměmà móŋgô	"that is not a heart"	(cl.3)
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ lĭzrɔ̀ líŋgî	"that is not an eye"	(cl.5)
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ èwòló éŋgê	"that is not a work"	(cl.7)
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ ɲàmà èŋgê	"that is not an animal"	(cl.9)
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ ìnɔ̀ní íŋgî	"that is not a bird"	(cl.13)
	zrɛ̀kɛ́tɛ́ wɔ̆lɔ̀ wóŋgô	"that is not a canoe"	(cl.14)

6. Stabilization with *ndʒɛ̂ à βélí* "who is?"

Stabilization may also be realised with *ndʒɛ̂ à βélí* ("who is?"), as shown below. Negation: *ndʒɛ̂ à zrá èndʒé → ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé*.

Positive	Negative
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí ìmbâ	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé ìmbâ
"who is me?"	"who is not me?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí wɔ̂	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé wɔ̂

"who are they?"	"who are not they?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí mbèzrà	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé mbèzrà
"who is a boy?	"who is not a boy?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí móβò	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé mòóβò
"who is a head?"	"who is not a head?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí lĭzrɔ̀	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé lĭzrɔ̀
"who is an eye?"	"who is not an eye?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí èlèlà	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé èlèlà
"who is a duck?"	"who is not a duck?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí kémà	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé kémà
"who is a monkey?"	"who is not a monkey?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí ìwɔ́nì	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé ìwɔ́nì
"who is a cartridge?"	"who is not a cartridge?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí wózrô	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé wózrô
"who is a face?"	"who is not a face?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí lìnɔ̀ŋgɛ̀	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé lìnɔ̀ŋgɛ̀
"who is Linonge?"	"who is not Linonge?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí èsɛ̀mɛ̀	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé èsɛ̀mɛ̀
"who is Eseme?"	"who is not Eseme?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí mbèlà	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé mbèlà
"who is Mbella?"	"who is not Mbella?"
ndʒɛ̂ à βélí mɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɛ̀	ndʒɛ̂ à zrêndʒé mùsɔ̀ŋgɛ̀
"who is Munsonge?"	"who is not Munsonge?"

7. Origin: *-úwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́* (*ndí*)

The morpheme *-úwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́* (*ndí*) expresses origin. The negation is done with *zrà úwɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀ ndí → zrúwɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀ ndí*.

Positive	Negative
nùwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́[19] ó zrùkúlù	nà zrúwɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀ ndí ó wàŋgá
"I am from school"	"I am not from the farm"
òwúwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́ wélùwà	ò zrúwɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀ ndí ó tŭ
"you are from the market"	"you are not from the room"
àwúwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́ ndí ó mbówà	à zrúwɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀ ndí ó ǃmótówà
"s/he is from the village"	"s/he is not from the car"
dʒùwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́ ndí ánù	í zrúwɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀ ndí ó mōtówà
"we are here"	"we are not from the car"

jùwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́ ndí áŋgâ	è zrúwɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀ ndí é ŋgêkí
"you are there"	"you are not from the place"
βúwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́ ndí ó ndáwò	βá zrúwɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀ ndí ó mòzrô
"they are from the house"	"they are not from the river"
Paul àwúwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́ ndí ó ndʒìjá	Paul à zrúwɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀ ndí ó ndʒìjá
"Paul is from the street"	"Paul is not from the street"
Paul nà Peter βúwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́ ndó ndʒìjá	Paul nà Peter βá zrúwɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀ ndí ó ndʒìjá
"Paul and Peter are from the street"	"Paul and Peter are not from the street"

8. Passive with agent

Contrary to the passive without agent which is done with the suffix *βá* and its variants *βɛ́* and *βɔ́* (cf. section IV.2.*8*), the passive with agent is rendered by a sequential morpheme *βɛ́nɛ́ ndí*, irrespective of the vowel of the root, placed between the verb and the agent.

Èŋmánà à mà βɛ́lɛ́ βɛ́nɛ́ ndí nà ɲàŋgɛ̂ cl.1
"The child was called by the mother."

βáănà βá mà zròzrá βɛ́nɛ́ ndí nà í ɲàŋgó dʒáwó cl.2
"The children were bathed by their mothers."

Mɔ̆ŋɛ̀ mó mònά βɛ́nɛ́ ndí nà è mòkálá cl.3
"The land was cultivated by the white man."

Méɔ̀ŋɛ̀ mé mònά βɛ́nɛ́ ndí nà βàkálá cl.4
"The lands were cultivated by the white men."

Lí!βáŋgí lì mà βáŋgá βɛ́nɛ́ ndí nà ímbèzrà cl.5
"The race was ran by the boys."

Máìdʒá má mà ɲɔ́ βɛ́nɛ́ ndí nà mɔ́ cl.6
"the blood was drunk by him."

Étò é mà lá βɛ́nɛ́ ndí nà è pùzrí cl.7
"The rat was eaten by the cat."

βétò βé mà lá βɛ́nɛ́ ndí nà í pùzrí cl.8
"The rat were eaten by the cats."

Èŋgbâ è mà zròzrá βénɛ́ ndí nà mô "the dog was bathed by her."	cl.9
íŋgbâ í mà βòzrɔ́ βénɛ́ ndí nà mô "The dogs were chosen by her."	cl.10
Í!támbí í mà wɔ́tɔ́ βénɛ́ ndí nà èŋmánà "The shoe was put on by the child."	cl.13
Wɔ́ɔ̌lɔ̀ wó mà tɔ́zrɔ́ βénɛ́ ndí nà èzráŋgó "The canoe was touched by the father."	cl.14

6. Useful Expressions

hěì	"heh!"
ǎŋgówà	"attention!"
ǎŋgówà	"Take care!"
wǎŋgòwà	"be carefull!"
wǎŋgòwà	"watch out!"
ò gbé gbǎmù	"congratulations!"
!ɛ́!ɛ́	"yes!"
dʒá!ɛ́	"no!"
élélá gbǎmù	"good morning!"
ŋgómbá gbǎmù	"good evening!", "good night!"
ndéì	"go, go away!"

VI. WORD LISTS

Each word we know, especially when it is the right word, is a powerful tool to express what we want. It is generally admitted that for basic communication, knowledge of vocabulary is more important than knowledge of grammar, structure or syntax. Indeed, it is possible to achieve very elementary communication skills in a language without knowing the structure or syntax of the target language, but with some basic lexical items. That is why I found it important to complete this grammatical sketch with a list of vocabulary. Obviously, it cannot replace huge works like Kagaya's (1992a) *A Classified Vocabulary of the Bakueri Language*, or Connell's (1997) *Mokpe (Bakweri) - English Dictionary*. It is an adjunct to these works and a completion of or confirmation to previous works.

This list is an extended version of the standard word list proposed by Morris Swadesh. It is organized in two sections, English-Mokpe and Mokpe-English. In each section, the words are grouped within constellations of part of speech: nouns, verbs and adjectives for easy and quick reference. In the list of nouns, the nouns are followed by their class number.

1. English - Mokpe

1. Nouns

	Singular	Plural
animal	èjémbé 9	βèjémbé 8
arm	mɔ̀ 3	mɛ̀ɔ̀ 4
arrow	mòβàndʒá 3	mèβàndʒá 4
ashes	lìwû 5	lìwû 5
axe	jɔ̌ndò 19	βèóndò 8
back	mbúzrà 9	mbúzrà 10
bag	lĭkpà 5	măkpà 6
banana	ègbíé 7	βègbíé 8
banana	mbŏ 9	ímbŏ 10
bark (of tree)	mòòwò mó èèjé 3	mèòwò mé èèjé 4
basket	ŋgàtá 9	íŋgàtá 10
bat	ŋmɛ̆mɛ̀ 3	mèémɛ̀ 4
beans	bíndʒì 9	íbíndʒì 10
beard	wɔ̀kpɔ̀ 14	wɔ̀kpɔ̀ 14
bee	ɲáàwɛ̀ 9	íɲáàwɛ̀ 10
belly (external)	lùùŋgá 5	màùŋgá 6

bird	ìnɔ̀ní 19	βɛ̀nɔ̀ní 8
blood	màjìdʒá 6	màjìdʒá 6
boat/canoe	wɔ̃lɔ̀ 14	wɔ̃lɔ̀ 14
boat/canoe	lǎndʒì 5	màándʒì 6
body	ɲô 9	ɲô or í!ɲo 10
bone	èèzré 7	βɛ̀èzré 8
bow (weapon)	lìkɔ́zrí 5	màkɔ́zrí 6
breast (female)	lìβɛ̂ 5	màβɛ̂ 6
bush, farm	wàŋgá 9	íwàŋgá 10
buttocks	mbòndò 9	mbòndò 10
calabash	kòòɸà 9	kòòɸà 10
cassava	lìkpàmbà 5	màkpàmbà 6
cat	pùzrí (*loan, Eng.*) 9	pùzrí 10
charcoal	βíndí à líjɔ̀ 9	βíndí à líjɔ̀ 10
chicken	wǔβà 14	dʒǔβà 10
chief	kíŋgɛ̀ 9	íkíŋgɛ̀ 10
child	ŋmánà 1	βánà 2
chin	jǎzrù 7	βɛ̀ázrù 8
cloth (material)	lùàtù 5	mààtù 6
cock	mòmá wǔβà 9	wòmé βá wǔβà 10
compound	èwókà 7	βɛ̀wókà 8
cooking pot	dʒɔ̀ŋgɔ́ dʒá !mólélí 19	βɛ̀ɔ́ŋgɔ́ βé !mólélí 8
corpse	mwìmbà 3	mìimba 4
cow	ɲàkà 9	ɲàkà or íɲàkà 10
crab	ìzròzré 19	βɛ̀zròzré 8
crocodile	ŋgàndó 9	ŋgàndó 10
darkness	dʒìtítí 9	wìítítí 10
daughter	ŋgɔ̀ndɔ̀ 9	íŋgɔ̀ndɔ̀ 10
dawn	éélélé 7	βɛ̀élélé 8
day	wúɲá 9	wúɲá 10
doctor	ŋgàŋgà 9	βààŋgàŋgɛ̀ 2
dog	ŋgbâ 9	íŋgbâ 10
door	lìòβá 5	màòβá 6
door (with palm leaves)	mòkòɲá 3	mèkòɲá 4
dry season	jòkpè 7	βɛ̀òkpè 8
duck	èlèlà 7	βɛ̀lèlà 8
dust	zrɔ̀wɛ̀ 9	zrɔ̀wɛ̀ 10
eagle	dʒòŋgó 19	βɛ̀òŋgó 8
ear	lìtô 5	màtô 6
earth (soil)	mɔ̀ɲɛ̀ 3	mɛ̀ɲɛ̀ 4
egg	ŋmèó 3	mèó or mèjó 4
elephant	ndʒɔ̀kù 9	índʒɔ̀kù 10
encouragement	mbákì 9	mbákì 10
eye	lǐzrɔ̀ 5	mǐzrɔ̀ 6

fabric	lùwàtù 5	mààtù 6
fasces	lŏwá 5	mŏŋwá or mŏwá 6
fat	mànɔ̀nɔ́ 6	mànɔ̀nɔ́ 6
father	tátɛ̀ 9	βààtátɛ̀ 2
fear	wɔ́ŋgɔ́ 14	wɔ́ŋgɔ́ 14
feather	èzrái or èzrájí 7	βèzrái or βèzrájí 8
female	ŋmàlí 1	βàálí 2
fire	múɲá 3	míúɲá or míjúɲá 4
firewood	dʒòlí 19	βèòlí 8
fish	ɲàmà màlíwà 9	ɲàmà dʒá màlíwà 10
food	mòlélí 3	mèlélí 4
fowl	wúɸà 14	wúɸa14
friend	mbúndá 9	ímbúndá 10
goat	mbólì 9	mbólì 10
God	lŏβɛ̀ 9	lŏβɛ̀ 10
grass	èwùlé 7	βèwùlé 8
grinding stone	lìjɛ́ lí ndókó 5	màjɛ́ má ndókó 6
grinding stone	lìjɛ́ lá ˡlíˡzríkà 5	màjɛ́ má ˡlíˡzríkà 6
ground	mɔ̀ɔ̀nɛ̀ 3	mɛ̀ɔ̀nɛ̀ 4
groundnut	ŋgɔ̀ndɔ́ 9	ŋgɔ̀ndɔ́ 10
guest	ŋmèèní 1	βàèní 2
hair (head)	lìβùmbú 5	màβùmbú 6
hand	lìjá 5	màá 6
hat/cap	tàmbá 9	ítàmbá 10
head	mòóβò 3	mèóβò 4
heart	ŋmĕmà 3	mèémà 4
he-goat	jòkpá mbólì 7	jòkpá á mbólì 7
hoe	ŋmă 3	mèá 4
horn	mòzréwá 3	mèzréwá 4
horse	wɔ́zrì (*loan, Eng.*) 14	íwɔ́zrì 10
house	ndáwò 9	màndáwò 6
housefly	ɲìɲì 9	ɲìɲì 10
hunger	ndʒàwù 9	ndʒàwù 10
hunter	mɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ 1	βàzrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ 2
husband	múɲánà 1	wúɲánà 2
iron (metal)	èɛ̀kɛ̀ 7	βɛ̀ɛ̀kɛ̀ 8
jaw	ljămà 5	màámà 6
king	kíŋgɛ̀ 9	íkíŋgɛ̀ 10
kite	wŏmbé 14	wŏmbé 14
knee	ljŏŋgɔ́ŋgɔ́ 5	màɔ́ŋgɔ́ŋgɔ́ 6
knife	lìwɛ̀ndì 5	màwèndì 6
kola nut	lìβɛ̀lú 5	màβɛ̀lú 6
lap	lìβɛ̀βɛ̀ 5	màβɛ̀βɛ̀ 6
leaf	jàlí 7	βɛ̀álí 8

leg	ŋmèndé 3	mèéndé 4
lie	mòlàŋgà 3	mèlàŋgà 4
lizard	ndʒɔ́lɔ́ 9	ndʒɔ́lɔ́ 10
louse	ɲìɲá 9	ɲìɲá 10
macabo	lìkàwò 5	màkàwò 6
machete	βáò 9	βáò 10
maize	mbàzrì 9	ímbàzrì 10
male	mŏmɛ̀ 3	mèómɛ̀ 4
man	múɲánà 1	wúɲánà 2
market	èlùwà 7	βèlùwà 8
mat	ìzrázrí 19	βèzrázrí 8
meat, animal	ɲàmà 9	ɲàmà 10
money	mààlì 6	mààlì 6
money	ŋgèjɛ́tɛ́ 9	ŋgèjɛ́tɛ́ 10
money	wòlì 14	wòlì 14
monkey	kémà 9	íkémà 10
moon	élówàlòwà 7	élówàlòwà 7
mortar	mátà (*loan, Eng.*) 6	mátà 6
mosquito	dʒùŋgù 19	βjùŋgù 8
mother	ɲàŋgó 9	íɲàŋgó 10
mother's brother	mòláló 3	mèláló 4
mount Cameroon	ɸàkó 9	ɸàkó 10
mountain	mòlí 3	mèlí 4
mouth	wàná 14	wàná 14
mud	lìzrándʒá 5	màzrándʒá 6
nail	ŋgàndà 9	íŋgàndà 10
name	lĭnà 5	mĭnà 6
navel	ndʒúŋgù 9	ndʒúŋgù 10
neck	lìwɔ̀ 5	màwɔ̀ 6
needle	ndɔ̀ndɔ̀kì 9	ndɔ̀ndɔ̀kì 10
new-born	ŋmɛ̀ŋgɛ́ 3	mɛ̀ɛ́ŋgɛ́ 4
night	wû 14	màwŭ 6
nose	mòβémbé 3	mèβémbé 4
notable	mɔ̀ndɛ́nɛ̀ 1	βàndɛ́nɛ̀ 2
oil	màwúdʒà 6	màwúdʒà 6
old person	èkòká mòtò 7	βèkòkà βé βàtò 8
orange	ìlándʒò 19	màlándʒò 6
palm oil	lĭjà 5	mĭjà 6
palm wine	mímbá málìjà 9	mímbá málìjà 10
penis	jòkó 7	βèòkó 8
penis	tʃɔ́lɔ́lɔ́ 9	tʃɔ́lɔ́lɔ́ 10
pepper	ìndókó 9	βèndókó 8
permission	βòndʒà 9	βòndʒà 10
person	mòtò 1	βàtò 2

pig	ŋgòwá 9	íŋgòwá 10
plantain	lìkɔ̀ 5	mɛ̀kɔ̀ 4
porcepine	ŋgòmbá 9	ŋgòmbá 10
pot	dʒɔ̀ŋgɔ́ 19	βɛ̀ɔ́ŋgɔ́ 8
race	liβáŋgà 5	màβáŋgà 6
rain	mbúwà 9	mbúwà 10
rainy season	èβùβà 7	βɛ̀βùβà 8
rat	ètò 7	βɛ̀tò 8
read	lìláŋgà 5	lìláŋgà 6
river	mòzrô 3	mɛ̀zrô 4
room	tŭ 9	ítŭ 10
root	mwàŋgá 3	mɛ̀àŋgá 4
rope	mɔ̀ɔ̀lí 3	mɛ̀ɔ̀lí 4
rubbish heap	lùútù 5	màwútù 6
saliva	βɛ̀ɔ́lì 8	βɛ̀ɔ́lì 8
salt	ìkpá 9	ìkpá 9
sand	ɲáŋgá 9	ɲáŋgá 10
sea	ŋmándʒà 3	mɛ̀ándʒà 4
seed	mùàŋgá 3	mɛ̀àŋgá 4
seed	βɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ 9	íβɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ 10
senior/older	múlúˈlú 1	βàwúlúˈlú 2
sheep	mɔ̌lɛ̀ŋgù 3	mɛ̌lɛ̀ŋgù 4
shoe	ìtámbí 19	βɛ̀támbí 8
side	tóŋgóŋgó 9	tóŋgóŋgó 10
skin	mòòwò 3	mɛ̀òwò 4
sleep	línàŋgá 5	línàŋgá 5
smoke	lŭtùtù 5	βìútùtù 8
snail	kɔ́ 9	kɔ́ 10
snake	gbààβá 9	mààβá 6
son	mbèzrà 9	ímbèzrà 10
song	mɔ̀zrɔ̀kɔ̀ 3	mɛ̀zrɔ̀kɔ̀ 4
soup/sauce/stew	ŋgɔ̀ɲà 9	íŋgɔ̀ɲà 10
spear (war)	lìjɔ̀ŋgɔ́ 5	màɔ̀ŋgɔ́ 6
speech	dʒóβì 9	dʒóβì 19
star	zrómbé 9	íˈzrombé 10
stomach (internal)	ìwùŋgá 19	βɛ̀wùŋgá 8
stone	lìjɛ́ 5	màjɛ́ 6
story	gbìtó 14	màìtó or màjìtó 6
sun, sunshine	ìgbê 19	ìgbê 19
tablet	gbɛ̀é 9	màɛ́ 6
tail	mòòndó 3	mɛ̀òndó 4
theth	lĭbà 5	lĭbà 5
thief	mwĭbɛ̀ 1	βàíbɛ̀ or βàjíbɛ̀ 2
thigh	èzrózró 7	βɛ̀zrózró 8

thing	jŏmà 7	βĕmà 8
thirst	ɲìzrɛ̀ 9	ɲìzrɛ̀ 10
thorn	ndʒééndʒéé 9	índʒééndʒéé 10
thread	mŏzrìŋgà 3	mĕzrìŋgà 4
tobacco	táákù (*loan, Eng.*) 9	táákù 10
tongue	dʒɛ̆mɛ̀ 9	dʒɛ̆mɛ̀ 10
tooth	lìzròŋgá 5	màzròŋgá 6
tortoise	ìkúlɛ̀kùlɛ̀ 9	íkúlɛ̀kùlɛ̀ 10
tree, stick	èèjé 7	βèèjé 8
trick	ŋmànò 3	mèànò 4
urine	lĭŋàlì 5	mĭŋàlì 4
vagina	sùbélélé 9	sùbélélé 10
village, city	mbówà 9	màmbówà 6
violence	lìànèlì 5	lìànèlì 5
vulture	wŏmbé 14	wŏmbé 14
wall	èzrù 7	βèzrù 8
war	ndʒùmá 9	ndʒùmá 10
water	màlíβá 6	màlíβá 6
water pot	dʒɔ̀ŋgɔ́ dʒá ¦málíwá 19	βèɔ́ŋgɔ́ βé ¦málíwá 8
whisper	βèzràzrá 8	βèzràzrá 8
wife	mólánà 1	βálánà 2
wind	mbɛ̀βɛ̀nì 9	mbɛ̀βɛ̀nì 10
wine/beer (general word)	mímbá 9	mímbá 10
witch	mwìmbà 1	βàìmbà 2
woman	mólánà 1	βálánà 2
word	èèjà 7	βèèjà 8
work	èwòló 7	βèwòló 8
yam	jònò 7	βèònò 8
year	ŋmà 3	mèà 4

2. Adjectives

bad	wòβê
big	lŏlòwà, ndɛ́nɛ̀
cold	lìzrìmá
dry	lìzrɔ́ndʒɔ̀
full	lŭndà
good	gbămù
hard	lètá
heavy	lìlìtá
hot	lìtùmbáná
left	ŋmàlí
long	lìwàwá
new	βéŋá
old	mònùnì

right	mɔ̌mɛ̀
short	lǔtùwà
small	zràlì
strong	lǐmbàmà
wet	lìtìtá
white	mbɔ́mí

3. Verbs

	Isolation form	*Infinitive*
abuse	βɛ́ɲê	lìβɛ́ɲè
agree	ɛ́mɛ́â	lɛ̌mɛ̀à
answer	áláϕê	lǎlàϕè
arrive	úkâ	lǔkà
ask	ídʒówâ	lǐdʒòwà
bathe	ɔ́kɔ̂	lɔ̌kɔ̀
be born	jááβâ	lìjáàβà
be broken	òmɛ́â	lòmɛ̀á
be certain	ϕíjâ	lìϕíjà
be closed	úmbánâ	lǔmbànà
be deceived (by sb.)	ɔ̀ndʒɔ́βɔ̂	lɔ̀ndʒɔ́βɔ́
be dislocated	wɔ́kɛ́â	lìwɔ́kɛ̀à
be extinguished	límízrɛ́βê	lìlímìzrɛ̀βɛ̀
be fermented	ϕáŋgɛ́â	lìϕáŋgɛ̀à
be from	úŋmɛ́â	lǔŋmɛ̀à
be giddy, tired	òtô	lòtó
be given	ŋgbááβâ	lìŋgbàáβá
be gone	ɲóŋgô	lìɲóŋgò
be hard	ètâ	lètá
be heard	wɛ́ɛ́nê	lìwɛ́ɛ̀nè
be hot, boiled	túmbánâ	lìtùmbáná
be killed	óŋwáβâ	lǒŋwàβà
be long, tall	wàwâ	lìwàwá
be mad, crazy	kpáɲâ	lìkpáɲà
be painful, hot	òkô	lòkó
be quick	βámízrê	lìβámìzrè
be quiet, silent	ándámâ	lǎndàmà
be repaired (by sb.)	zrɛ́áβâ	lìzrɛ̀áβá
be rotten	ɲàmâ	lìɲàmá
be spoiled	ϕáŋgɛ́â	lìϕáŋgɛ̀à
be straightened	tɛ́nɛ́βê	lìtɛ́nɛ̀βɛ̀
be suspended	ϕánɛ́βê	lìϕànɛ́βɛ́
be tied	kákáβâ	lìkákàβà
be twisted	nɔ́tɔ́βɔ̂	lìnɔ̀tɔ́βɔ́
bear (a child)	jâ	lìjâ

beat	tíjâ (tíâ)	lìtíjà (lìtíà)
beat (drum)	kúmbâ	lìkúmbà
become cracked	kándéâ	lìkándèà
become lame	kpɛ́zróɸá	lìkpɛ́zròɸà
become loosen	βúndúwɛ́â	lìβúndúwɛ́á
become snapped	wɛ́ndɛ́â	lìwɛ́ndɛ̀à
begin	βótéjâ	lìβòtéjá
bite	kókâ	lìkókà
blow (mouth)	úŋgɛ́lɛ̂	lŭŋgɛ̀lɛ̀
blow (wind)	tóŋgâ	lìtóŋgà
boast	kùmbâ ŋgèŋgè	lìkùmbá ŋgèŋgè
bow	zrùmâ	lìzrùmá
break	βɛ́ndɛ̂	lìβɛ́ndɛ̀
break	gbâ	lìgbâ
bring	dʒànâ	lìdʒàná
build	óŋgâ	lŏŋgà
burn	zrɛ́lɛ̂	lìzrɛ́lɛ̀
burry	íméjâ	lĭmèjà
burst	úmúwâ	lŭmùwà
buy	àndâ	làndá
call	βɛ́lɛ̂	lìβɛ́lɛ̀
carry	àndʒílɛ̂	làndʒílɛ́
carve	wèkâ	lìwèká
catch	ɲàŋgâ	lìɲàŋgá
catch (animal)	lɛ̀mbɛ̂	lìlɛ̀mbɛ́
cause sb. to buy	àndízrɛ̂	làndízrɛ́
cause sb. to laugh	jɔ́ízrɛ̂	lìjɔ̀ízrɛ́
cause sb. to quarrel	tɔ́wízrɛ̂	lìtɔ́wìzrɛ̀
cause sb. to sell	àβízrɛ́lɛ́lɛ̂	làβízrɛ́lɛ́lɛ́
change	èŋgówâ	lèŋgówá
choose	βɔ̀zrɔ̂	lìβɔ̀zrɔ́
clear	ùɸâ	lùɸá
clear, cut grass	zrázrâ	lìzrázrà
climb	àgbâ	làgbá
close	úmbâ	lŭmbà
come	dʒá	lìdʒă
cook	ìβɛ̂	lìβɛ́
count	áŋgâ	lăŋgà
cover	ɸándâ	lìɸándà
crack	kándâ	lìkándà
cultivate	ónâ	lŏnà
cut	kɛ̂	lìkɛ̂
dance	zrâ	lìzrâ
deceive	ɔ̀ndʒɔ̂	lɔ̀ndʒɔ́

defecate	ɲâ	lìɲâ
deny, disclaim	zrɔ̀zrɔ̂	lìzrɔ̀zrɔ́
descend	ɔ́ndɔ̂	lɔ̌ndɔ̀
descend	zrìwâ	lìzrìwá
die	ŋwâ	lìŋwâ
dig	ímâ	lǐmà
discover	ɸíjâ	lìɸíjà
dislocate	wɔ́kâ	lìwɔ́kà
divide	kàwâ	lìkàwá
do	gbèjâ	lìgbèjá
drag, pull	kóówâ	lìkóòwà
dream	nàŋgâ ndɔ́tɔ́	lìnàŋgá ndɔ́tɔ́
dress	wɔ́tɔ̂	lìwɔ́tɔ̀
drink	ɲɔ́	lìɲɔ̂
dry	ɛ́mbɛ̂	lɛ̌mbɛ̀
dry (cloth)	támbɛ̂	lìtámbɛ̀
dry (fish)	zrɔ́ŋgízrɛ̂	lìzrɔ́ŋgìzrɛ̀
dwell	lìjâ	lìlìjá
eat	lâ	lìlâ
enter	kpééjâ	lìkpéèjà
expose	ɛ́ɲɛ́lɛ́lɛ̂	lɛ̌ɲɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀
extinguish	límízrɛ̂	lìlímìzrɛ̀
fall	pkâ	lìpkâ
fear	βéjâ	lìβéjà
fear	ókâ wɔ́ŋgɔ́	lǒká wɔ́ŋgɔ́
feed	líízrɛ̂	lìlìízrɛ́
fight	ànâ	làná
finish	kúlɛ̂	lìkúlɛ̀
fly	kòówâ	lìkòówá
follow	nɔ̀ŋgɔ̂	lìnɔ̀ŋgɔ́
follow	βálâ	lìβálà
fool	lúkɛ́lɛ̂	lìlùkɛ́lɛ́
forget	βóŋgâ	lìβóŋgà
forgive	làkízrɛ̂	lìlàkízrɛ́
fry	áŋgâ	lǎŋgà
gather	zràŋgâ	lìzràŋgá
get	lùwâ	lìlùwá
give	ŋgbâ	lìŋgbǎ
give birth	ɲâ	lìɲâ
go	ndê	lɛ̀ndɛ́
go to	ɛ̀ndɛ́â	lɛ̀ndɛ́á
greet	kɔ́mɔ̂	lìkɔ́mɔ̀
grind	zríkâ	lìzríkà
hang	áβánɛ̂	lǎβànɛ̀

hang (generic)	ɸànɛ̂	lìɸànɛ́
have	βɛ́nɛ̂	lìβɛ́nɛ̀
hear	βéjâ	lìβéjà
help	óŋgwánâ	lŏŋgwànà
hit	lìβâ	lìlìβá
hoe, beat	tíjâ (tíâ)	lìtíjà (lìtíà)
hold	lèmbɛ̂	lìlèmbɛ́
hunt	ízrɔ́ŋgɔ̂	lĭzrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀
hurt	ókâ	lŏkà
inform	βílɛ̂	lìβílɛ̀
inherit	zráŋgóɸâ	lìzràŋgóɸá
jump	βándʒâ	lìβándʒà
kill	óŋwâ	lŏŋwà
kneel	zrùmâ	lìzrùmá
know	βíjâ	lìβíjà
laugh	jɔ̀ɔ̂	lìjɔ̆
leak	tɔ̂	lìtɔ̂
learn	ókówâ	lŏkòwà
lick	tɛ̀mbɛ̂	lìtɛ̀mbɛ̀
lie down	kóŋgá môzré	lìkóŋgà môzré
like	lìŋgánâ	lìlìŋgáná
live, to grow	òŋgâ	lòŋgá
look	ɔ́ŋgɔ̂	lɔ̆ŋgɔ̀
look for	ɔ̂ŋgɔ́ or àzrâ	lɔ̆ŋgɔ̀ or làzrá
loose	wɔ́lɛ́nɛ́	lìwɔ́lɛ̀nɛ̀
loosen	βúndúwâ	lìβùndúwá
lose	wɔ́lɛ̂	lìwɔ́lɛ̀
lose (way)	tònâ	lìtòná
love	líŋgánâ	lìlìŋgáná
make	gbèjâ	lìgbèjá
meet	ùŋmâ	lùŋmá
mould (pot)	òŋgóówâ	lòŋgòówá
move quickly	ɸíndʒílɛ̂	lìɸíndʒìlɛ̀
open	lìβówâ	lìlìβówá
pass	ákâ	lăkà
pay	táŋgâ	lìtáŋgà
pierce	túwâ	lìtúwà
pierce	úŋmâ	lŭŋmà
plait	βìndâ	lìβìndá
plant	ónâ	lŏnà
play	òkâ	lòká
pound	kɔ̀kɔ̂	lìkɔ̀kɔ́
pour	zrɔ̀lɛ̂	lìzrɔ̀lɛ́
pour	kàmbówâ	lìkàmbówá

pour (drinks)	kómâ	lìkómà
promise	kákɛ́nɛ̂	lìkàkɛ́nɛ́
pull, drag	zríímâ	lìzríìmà
push	tíndɛ́lɛ̂	lìtíndɛ̀lɛ̀
put on	wɔ́tɔ̂	lìwɔ́tɔ̀
quarrel	tɔ́wɔ̂	lìtɔ́wɔ̀
read	láŋgâ	lìláŋgà
refuse	βáŋgâ	lìβáŋgà
refuse (s.o. sth)	wùnâ	lìwùná
remember	ɔ̀ŋgɛ́lɛ̂	lɔ̀ŋgɛ́lɛ́
repair	zrɛ́ɛ́jâ	lìzrɛ̀ɛ́já
reply	tìmbízrɛ́lɛ́lɛ̂	lìtìmbízrɛ́lɛ́lɛ́
return	tìmbá	lìtìmbá
roast	túmbɛ̂	lìtúmbɛ̀
rotten	zrɔ̀mbɔ̂	lìzrɔ̀mbɔ́
run	βáŋgâ	lìβáŋgà
say	óɸâ	lǒβà
see	énɛ̂	lɛ̌nɛ̀
sell	àβízrɛ̂	làβízrɛ́
send	ómâ	lǒmà
shoot	úŋmâ	lŭŋmà
show	úŋwɛ́lɛ̂	lŭŋwɛ̀lɛ̀
sing	émbâ	lɛ̌mbà
sit down	lìíˡózré	lìlìíˡózré
sit, remain, stay	lìjâ	lìlìjá
sleep	nàŋgâ	lìnàŋgá
snap	wɛ́ndɛ̂	lìwɛ́ndɛ̀
sow	kɔ́lɔ̂	lìkɔ́lɔ̀
speak	tɔ́ízrɛ̂	lìtɔ̀ízrɛ́
spit	zrɔ̂	lìzrɔ̂
split	kándâ	lìkándà
spoil	ɸáŋgâ	lìɸáŋgà
stand up	tɛ́mɛ̂	lìtɛ́mɛ̀
steal	íɓâ	lǐɓà
stick	kákúmɛ́nɛ̂	lìkákùmɛ̀nɛ̀
stink	úŋmâ	lŭŋmà
straighten	tɛ́nɛ́nɛ̂	lìtɛ́nɛ̀nɛ̀
summon	jówɛ̂	lìjówɛ̀
swallow	mɛ̀ɛ̂	lìmɛ̌
sweep	tútâ	lìtútà
swell	ítâ	lǐtà
take	wówâ	lìwówà
take off	úlɛ̂	lŭlɛ̀
talk	óβâ	lǒβà

taste	ókánéâ	lǒkànèà
teach	ɔ́kɔ́lɛ̂	lɔ̌kɔ̀lɛ̀
teach (cause sb. to learn)	ókówízrɛ̂	lǒkòwìzrɛ̀
tear	ɲááwâ	lìɲàáwá
think	lùtéjâ	lìlùtéjá
throw	βìmbâ	lìβìmbá
throw (mystic)	àŋgbâ	làŋgbá
tie	kákâ	lìkákà
touch	tɔ́zrɔ̂	lìtɔ́zrɔ̀
travel	ɛ̀ndɛ̂	lɛ̀ndɛ́
try	kèkâ	lìkèká
twist	nɔ̀tɔ̂	lìnɔ̀tɔ́
unite	dʒɔ́nɔ̂	lìdʒɔ́nɔ̀
untie	wùndúwâ	lìwùndúwá
urinate	íɲâ	lǐɲà
vomit	jówâ	lìjówà
wait	ámbɛ́lɛ̂	lǎmbɛ̀lɛ̀
wake up	ìmówâ	lìmówá
walk	ɛ̀ndɛ̂	lɛ̀ndɛ́
want, to desire	àzrâ	làzrá
wash	zròzrâ	lìzròzrá
wash (wish soap)	ɔ́kɔ̂	lɔ̌kɔ̀
light	βàálɛ̂	lìβàálɛ́

2. Mokpe - English

1. Nouns

Singular	Plural	
bíndʒì 9	íbíndʒì 10	beans
dʒɔ̀ŋgɔ́ 19	βèɔ́ŋgɔ́ 8	pot
dʒɔ̀ŋgɔ́ dʒá ¦málíwá 19	βèɔ́ŋgɔ́ βé ¦málíwá 8	water pot
dʒɔ̀ŋgɔ́ dʒá ¦mólélí 19	βèɔ́ŋgɔ́ βé ¦mólélí 8	cooking pot
dʒɛ̌mɛ̀ 9	dʒɛ̌mɛ̀ 10	tongue
dʒìtítí 9	wìítítí 10	darkness
dʒòlí 19	βèòlí 8	firewood
dʒòŋgó 19	βèòŋgó 8	eagle
dʒóβì 9	dʒóβì 19	speech
dʒùŋgù 19	βjùŋgù 8	mosquito
èèjà 7	βèèjà 8	word
èèjé 7	βèèjé 8	tree, stick
èɛ̀kɛ̀ 7	βɛ̀ɛ̀kɛ̀ 8	iron (metal)
éélélé 7	βèélélé 8	dawn
èèzré 7	βèèzré 8	bone
èɡbíé 7	βèɡbíé 8	banana

èjémbé 9	βèjémbé 8	animal
èkòká mòtò 7	βèkòkà βé βàtò 8	old person
èlèlà 7	βèlèlà 8	duck
élówàlòwà 7	élówàlòwà 7	moon
èlùwà 7	βèlùwà 8	market
ètò 7	βètò 8	rat
èwókà 7	βèwókà 8	compound
èwòló 7	βèwòló 8	work
èwùlé 7	βèwùlé 8	grass
èzrái or èzrájí 7	βèzrái or βèzrájí 8	feather
èzrózró 7	βèzrózró 8	thigh
èzrù 7	βèzrù 8	wall
èβùβà 7	βèβùβà 8	rainy season
gbààβá 9	mààβá 6	snake
gbèé 9	màɛ́ 6	tablet
gbìtó 14	màìtó or màjìtó 6	story
ìgbê 19	ìgbê 19	sun, sunshine
ìkpá 9	ìkpá 9	salt
ìkúlɛ̀kùlɛ̀ 9	íkúlɛ̀kùlɛ̀ 10	tortoise
ìlándʒò 19	màlándʒò 6	orange
ìnɔ̀ní 19	βɛnɔ̀ní 8	bird
ìndókó 9	βèndókó 8	pepper
ìtámbí 19	βètámbí 8	shoe
ìwùŋgá 19	βèwùŋgá 8	stomach (internal)
ìzrázrí 19	βèzrázrí 8	mat
ìzròzré 19	βèzròzré 8	crab
jàlí 7	βèálí 8	leaf
jăzrù 7	βèázrù 8	chin
jɔ̃ndò 19	βèóndò 8	axe
jòkó 7	βèòkó 8	penis
jòkpá mbólì 7	jòkpá á mbólì 7	he-goat
jòkpè 7	βèòkpè 8	dry season
jŏmà 7	βěmà 8	thing
jònò 7	βèònò 8	yam
kɔ́ 9	kɔ́ 10	snail
kémà 9	íkémà 10	monkey
kíŋgɛ̀ 9	íkíŋgɛ̀ 10	chief
kíŋgɛ̀ 9	íkíŋgɛ̀ 10	king
kòòɸà 9	kòòɸà 10	calabash
lăndʒì 5	màándʒì 6	boat/canoe
lìànèlì 5	lìànèlì 5	violence
lĭbà 5	lĭbà 5	theth
lìjá 5	màá 6	hand
lĭjà 5	mĭjà 6	palm oil

lìjɔ̀ŋgɔ́ 5	màɔ̀ŋgɔ́ 6	spear (war)
lìjɛ́ 5	màjɛ́ 6	stone
lìjɛ́ lá ˥lí˥zríkà 5	màjɛ́ má ˥lí˥zríkà 6	grinding stone
lìjɛ́ lí ndókó 5	màjɛ́ má ndókó 6	grinding stone
lìkàwò 5	màkàwò 6	macabo
lìkɔ̀ 5	mɛ̀kɔ̀ 4	plantain
lìkózrí 5	màkɔ́zrí 6	bow (weapon)
lĭkpà 5	măkpà 6	bag
lìkpàmbà 5	màkpàmbà 6	cassava
lìláŋgà 5	lìláŋgà 6	read
lĭnà 5	mĭnà 6	name
lĭɲàlì 5	mĭɲàlì 4	urine
línàŋgá 5	línàŋgá 5	sleep
lìòβá 5	màòβá 6	door
lìtô 5	màtô 6	ear
lìwɔ̀ 5	màwɔ̀ 6	neck
lìwɛ̀ndì 5	màwɛ̀ndì 6	knife
lìwû 5	lìwû 5	ashes
lìzrándʒá 5	màzrándʒá 6	mud
lĭzrɔ̀ 5	mĭzrɔ̀ 6	eye
lìzròŋgá 5	màzròŋgá 6	tooth
lìβáŋgà 5	màβáŋgà 6	race
lìβê 5	màβê 6	breast (female)
lìβɛ̀lú 5	màβɛ̀lú 6	kola nut
lìβɛ̀βɛ̀ 5	màβɛ̀βɛ̀ 6	lap
lìβùmbú 5	màβùmbú 6	hair (head)
ljămà 5	màámà 6	jaw
ljŏŋgóŋgɔ́ 5	màóŋgóŋgɔ́ 6	knee
lŏwá 5	mŏŋwá or mŏwá 6	fasces
lŏβɛ̀ 9	lŏβɛ̀ 10	God
lùàtù 5	mààtù 6	cloth (material)
lŭtùtù 5	βìútùtù 8	smoke
lùùŋgá 5	màùŋgá 6	belly (external)
lùútù 5	màwútù 6	rubbish heap
lùwàtù 5	mààtù 6	fabric
mààlì 6	mààlì 6	money
màjìdʒá 6	màjìdʒá 6	blood
màlíβá 6	màlíβá 6	water
mànɔ̀nɔ́ 6	mànɔ̀nɔ́ 6	fat
mátà (*loan, Eng.*) 6	mátà 6	mortar
màwúdʒà 6	màwúdʒà 6	oil
mbákì 9	mbákì 10	encouragement
mbàzrì 9	ímbàzrì 10	maize
mbèzrà 9	ímbèzrà 10	son

mbèβènì 9	mbèβènì 10	wind
mbŏ 9	ímbŏ 10	banana
mbólì 9	mbólì 10	goat
mbòndò 9	mbòndò 10	buttocks
mbówà 9	màmbówà 6	village, city
mbúndá 9	ímbúndá 10	friend
mbúwà 9	mbúwà 10	rain
mbúzrà 9	mbúzrà 10	back
mɔ̀ 3	mɛ̀ɔ̀ 4	arm
mɔ̀ɔ̀lí 3	mɛ̀ɔ̀lí 4	rope
mɔ̀ɔ̀ɲɛ̀ 3	mɛ̀ɔ̀ɲɛ̀ 4	ground
mɔ̆lɛ̀ŋgù 3	mɛ̆lɛ̀ŋgù 4	sheep
mɔ̀ndɛ́nɛ̀ 1	βàndɛ́nɛ̀ 2	notable
mɔ̀ɲɛ̀ 3	mɛ̀ɲɛ̀ 4	earth (soil)
mɔ̀zrɔ̀kɔ̀ 3	mɛ̀zrɔ̀kɔ̀ 4	song
mɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ 1	βàzrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀zrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ 2	hunter
mímbá 9	mímbá 10	wine/beer (general word)
mímbá málìjà 9	mímbá málìjà 10	palm wine
mòkɔ̀ŋá 3	mèkɔ̀ŋá 4	door (with palm leaves)
mòláló 3	mèláló 4	mother’s brother
mólánà 1	βálánà 2	wife
mólánà 1	βálánà 2	woman
mòlàŋgà 3	mèlàŋgà 4	lie
mòlélí 3	mèlélí 4	food
mòlí 3	mèlí 4	mountain
mòmá wŭβà 9	wòmé βá wŭβà 10	cock
mŏmɛ̀ 3	mèómɛ̀ 4	male
mòòndó 3	mèòndó 4	tail
mòòwò 3	mèòwò 4	skin
mòòwò mó èèjé 3	mèòwò mé èèjé 4	bark (of tree)
mòóβò 3	mèóβò 4	head
mòtò 1	βàtò 2	person
mòzréwá 3	mèzréwá 4	horn
mŏzrìŋgà 3	mĕzrìŋgà 4	thread
mòzrô 3	mèzrô 4	river
mòβàndʒá 3	mèβàndʒá 4	arrow
mòβémbé 3	mèβémbé 4	nose
mùàŋgá 3	mèàŋgá 4	seed
múlú!lú 1	βàwúlú!lú 2	senior/older
múɲá 3	míúɲá or míjúɲá 4	fire
múɲánà 1	wúɲánà 2	husband
múɲánà 1	wúɲánà 2	man
mwàŋgá 3	mèàŋgá 4	root
mwĭbɛ̀ 1	βàíbɛ̀ or βàjíbɛ̀ 2	thief

mwìmbà 1	βàìmbà 2	witch
mwìmbà 3	mìimba 4	corpse
ɲáàwɛ̀ 9	íɲáàwɛ̀ 10	bee
ɲàkà 9	ɲàkà or íɲàkà 10	cow
ɲàmà 9	ɲàmà 10	meat, animal
ɲàmà màlíwà 9	ɲàmà dʒá màlíwà 10	fish
ɲáŋgá 9	ɲáŋgá 10	sand
ɲàŋgó 9	íɲàŋgó 10	mother
ndáwò 9	màndáwò 6	house
ndɔ̀ndɔ̀kì 9	ndɔ̀ndɔ̀kì 10	needle
ndʒàwù 9	ndʒàwù 10	hunger
ndʒɔ̀kù 9	índʒɔ̀kù 10	elephant
ndʒɔ́lɔ́ 9	ndʒɔ́lɔ́ 10	lizard
ndʒééndʒéé 9	índʒééndʒéé 10	thorn
ndʒùmá 9	ndʒùmá 10	war
ndʒúŋgù 9	ndʒúŋgù 10	navel
ɲìɲá 9	ɲìɲá 10	louse
ɲìɲì 9	ɲìɲì 10	housefly
ɲìzrɛ̀ 9	ɲìzrɛ̀ 10	thirst
ɲô 9	ɲô or íˡɲo 10	body
ŋgàndà 9	íŋgàndà 10	nail
ŋgàndó 9	ŋgàndó 10	crocodile
ŋgàŋgà 9	βààŋgàŋgɛ̀ 2	doctor
ŋgàtá 9	íŋgàtá 10	basket
ŋgbâ 9	íŋgbâ 10	dog
ŋgɔ̀ndɔ́ 9	ŋgɔ̀ndɔ́ 10	groundnut
ŋgɔ̀ndɔ̀ 9	íŋgɔ̀ndɔ̀ 10	daughter
ŋgɛ̀jɛ́tɛ́ 9	ŋgɛ̀jɛ́tɛ́ 10	money
ŋgòmbá 9	ŋgòmbá 10	porcepine
ŋgòɲà 9	íŋgòɲà 10	soup/sauce/stew
ŋgòwá 9	íŋgòwá 10	pig
ŋmà 3	mèà 4	year
ŋmă 3	mèá 4	hoe
ŋmàlí 1	βàálí 2	female
ŋmánà 1	βánà 2	child
ŋmándʒà 3	mèándʒà 4	sea
ŋmànò 3	mèànò 4	trick
ŋmèèní 1	βàɛ̀ní 2	guest
ŋmĕmà 3	mèémà 4	heart
ŋmĕmɛ̀ 3	mèémɛ̀ 4	bat
ŋmèndé 3	mèéndé 4	leg
ŋmɛ̀ŋgɛ́ 3	mɛ̀ɛ́ŋgɛ́ 4	new-born
ŋmèó 3	mèó or mèjó 4	egg
ɸàkó 9	ɸàkó 10	mount Cameroon

pùzrí (*loan, Eng.*) 9	pùzrí 10	cat
sùbélélé 9	sùbélélé 10	vagina
táǎkù (*loan, Eng.*) 9	táǎkù 10	tobacco
tàmbá 9	ítàmbá 10	hat/cap
tátɛ̀ 9	βààtátɛ̀ 2	father
tóŋgóŋgó 9	tóŋgóŋgó 10	side
tʃɔ́lɔ́lɔ́ 9	tʃɔ́lɔ́lɔ́ 10	penis
tŭ 9	ítŭ 10	room
wàná 14	wàná 14	mouth
wàŋgá 9	íwàŋgá 10	bush, farm
wɔ̀kpɔ̀ 14	wɔ̀kpɔ̀ 14	beard
wɔ̆lɔ̀ 14	wɔ̆lɔ̀ 14	boat/canoe
wɔ́ŋgɔ́ 14	wɔ́ŋgɔ́ 14	fear
wɔ́zrì (*loan, Eng.*) 14	íwɔ́zrì 10	horse
wòlì 14	wòlì 14	money
wŏmbé 14	wŏmbé 14	kite
wŏmbé 14	wŏmbé 14	vulture
wû 14	màwŭ 6	night
wúɲá 9	wúɲá 10	day
wúɸà 14	wúɸa14	fowl
wŭβà 14	dʒŭβà 10	chicken
zrɔ̀wɛ̀ 9	zrɔ̀wɛ̀ 10	dust
zrómbé 9	íˈzrombé 10	star
βáò 9	βáò 10	machete
βɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ 9	íβɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ 10	seed
βɛ̀ɔ́lì 8	βɛ̀ɔ́lì 8	saliva
βɛ̀zràzrá 8	βɛ̀zràzrá 8	whisper
βíndí à líjɔ̀ 9	βíndí à líjɔ̀ 10	charcoal
βòndʒà 9	βòndʒà 10	permission

2. Adjectives

gbămù	good
lètá	hard
lìlìtá	heavy
lĭmbàmà	strong
lìtìtá	wet
lìtùmbáná	hot
lìwàwá	long
lìzrɔ́ndʒɔ̀	dry
lìzrìmá	cold
lŏlòwà, ndɛ́nɛ̀	big
lŭndà	full
lŭtùwà	short
mbɔ́mí	white

mŏmɛ̀	right
mònùnì	old
ŋmàlí	left
wòβê	bad
zràlì	small
βéɲá	new

3. Verbs

Isolation form	Infinitive	
àgbâ	làgbá	climb
ákâ	lăkà	pass
áláϕê	lălàϕè	answer
ámbɛ́lê	lămbɛ̀lɛ̀	wait
ànâ	làná	fight
àndâ	làndá	buy
ándámâ	lăndàmà	be quiet, silent
àndízrê	làndízrɛ́	cause sb. to buy
àndʒílê	làndʒílɛ́	carry
áŋgâ	lăŋgà	count
áŋgâ	lăŋgà	fry
àŋgbâ	làŋgbá	throw (mystic)
àzrâ	làzrá	want, to desire
áβánê	lăβànɛ̀	hang
àβízrê	làβízrɛ́	sell
àβízrɛ́lɛ́lê	làβízrɛ́lɛ́lɛ́	cause sb. to sell
ɔ́kɔ̂	lɔ̌kɔ̀	bathe
ɔ́kɔ̂	lɔ̌kɔ̀	wash (wish soap)
ɔ́kɔ́lê	lɔ̌kɔ̀lɛ̀	teach
ɔ́ndɔ̂	lɔ̌ndɔ̀	descend
ɔ̀ndʒɔ̂	lɔ̀ndʒɔ́	deceive
ɔ̀ndʒɔ́βɔ̂	lɔ̀ndʒɔ́βɔ́	be deceived (by sb.)
ɔ́ŋgɔ̂	lɔ̌ŋgɔ̀	look
ɔ̂ŋgɔ́ or àzrâ	lɔ̌ŋgɔ̀ or làzrá	look for
ɔ̀ŋgɛ́lê	lɔ̀ŋgɛ́lɛ́	remember
dʒá	lìdʒă	come
dʒànâ	lìdʒàná	bring
dʒɔ́nɔ̂	lìdʒɔ́nɔ̀	unite
ɛ́mbâ	lɛ̌mbà	sing
ɛ́mbɛ̂	lɛ̌mbɛ̀	dry
ɛ́mɛ́â	lɛ̌mɛ̀à	agree
ɛ̀ndɛ̂	lɛ̀ndɛ́	travel
ɛ̀ndɛ̂	lɛ̀ndɛ́	walk
ɛ̀ndɛ́â	lɛ̀ndɛ́á	go to
ɛ́nɛ̂	lɛ̌nɛ̀	see

ɛ́ɲɛ́lɛ́lɛ̂	lɛ̌ɲɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀	expose
ɛ̀ŋgówâ	lɛ̀ŋgówá	change
ɛ̀tâ	lɛ̀tá	be hard
gbâ	lìgbâ	break
gbɛ̀jâ	lìgbɛ̀já	do
gbɛ̀jâ	lìgbɛ̀já	make
íɓâ	lǐɓà	steal
ídʒówâ	lǐdʒòwà	ask
ímâ	lǐmà	dig
íméjâ	lǐmɛ̀jà	burry
ìmówâ	lìmówá	wake up
íɲâ	lǐɲà	urinate
ítâ	lǐtà	swell
ízrɔ́ŋgɔ̂	lǐzrɔ̀ŋgɔ̀	hunt
ìβɛ̂	lìβɛ́	cook
jâ	lìjâ	bear (a child)
jááβâ	lìjáàβà	be born
jɔ̀ɔ̂	lìjɔ̌	laugh
jɔ́ízrɛ̂	lìjɔ̀ízrɛ́	cause sb. to laugh
jówâ	lìjówà	vomit
jówɛ̂	lìjówɛ̀	summon
kákâ	lìkákà	tie
kákáβâ	lìkákàβà	be tied
kákɛ́nɛ̂	lìkàkɛ́nɛ́	promise
kákúmɛ́nɛ̂	lìkákùmɛ̀nɛ̀	stick
kàmbówâ	lìkàmbówá	pour
kándâ	lìkándà	crack
kándâ	lìkándà	split
kándɛ́â	lìkándɛ̀à	become cracked
kàwâ	lìkàwá	divide
kɔ̀kɔ̂	lìkɔ̀kɔ́	pound
kɔ́lɔ̂	lìkɔ́lɔ̀	sow
kɔ́mɔ̂	lìkɔ́mɔ̀	greet
kɛ̂	lìkɛ̂	cut
kɛ̀kâ	lìkɛ̀ká	try
kókâ	lìkókà	bite
kómâ	lìkómà	pour (drinks)
kóŋgá môzré	lìkóŋgà môzré	lie down
kóówâ	lìkóòwà	drag, pull
kòówâ	lìkòówá	fly
kpáɲâ	lìkpáɲà	be mad, crazy
kpééjâ	lìkpéɛ̀jà	enter
kpɛ́zróɸá	lìkpɛ́zròɸà	become lame
kúlɛ̂	lìkúlɛ̀	finish

kúmbâ	lìkúmbà	beat (drum)
kùmbâ ŋgèŋgè	lìkùmbá ŋgèŋgè	boast
lâ	lìlâ	eat
làkízrɛ̂	lìlàkízrɛ́	forgive
láŋgâ	lìláŋgà	read
lɛ̀mbɛ̂	lìlɛ̀mbɛ́	catch (animal)
lɛ̀mbɛ̂	lìlɛ̀mbɛ́	hold
líízrɛ̂	lìlìízrɛ́	feed
lìiꜜózré	lìlìiꜜózré	sit down
lìjâ	lìlìjá	dwell
lìjâ	lìlìjá	sit, remain, stay
límízrɛ̂	lìlímìzrɛ̀	extinguish
límízréβɛ̂	lìlímìzrɛ̀βɛ̀	be extinguished
líŋgánâ	lìlìŋgáná	love
lìŋgánâ	lìlìŋgáná	like
lìβâ	lìlìβá	hit
lìβówâ	lìlìβówá	open
lúkɛ́lɛ̂	lìlùkɛ́lɛ́	fool
lùtéjâ	lìlùtéjá	think
lùwâ	lìlùwá	get
mɛ̀ɛ̂	lìmɛ̌	swallow
ɲâ	lìɲâ	defecate
ɲâ	lìɲâ	give birth
ɲááwâ	lìɲàáwá	tear
ɲàmâ	lìɲàmá	be rotten
nàŋgâ	lìnàŋgá	sleep
ɲàŋgâ	lìɲàŋgá	catch
nàŋgâ ndɔ́tɔ́	lìnàŋgá ndɔ́tɔ́	dream
ɲɔ́	lìɲɔ̂	drink
nɔ̀ŋgɔ̂	lìnɔ̀ŋgɔ́	follow
nɔ̀tɔ̂	lìnɔ̀tɔ́	twist
nɔ́tɔ́βɔ̂	lìnɔ̀tɔ́βɔ́	be twisted
ndê	lɛ̀ndɛ́	go
ɲóŋgô	lìɲóŋgò	be gone
ŋgbâ	lìŋgbǎ	give
ŋgbááβâ	lìŋgbàáβá	be given
ŋwâ	lìŋwâ	die
ókâ	lǒkà	hurt
òkâ	lòká	play
ókâ wɔ́ŋgɔ́	lǒká wɔ́ŋgɔ́	fear
ókánéâ	lǒkànèà	taste
òkô	lòkó	be painful, hot
ókówâ	lǒkòwà	learn
ókówízrɛ̂	lǒkòwìzrɛ̀	teach (cause sb. to learn)

ómâ	lŏmà	send
òmɛ́â	lòmɛ̀á	be broken
ónâ	lŏnà	cultivate
ónâ	lŏnà	plant
óŋgâ	lŏŋgà	build
òŋgâ	lòŋgá	live, to grow
òŋgóówâ	lòŋgòówá	mould (pot)
óŋgwánâ	lŏŋgwànà	help
óŋwâ	lŏŋwà	kill
óŋwáβâ	lŏŋwàβà	be killed
óɸâ	lŏβà	say
òtô	lòtó	be giddy, tired
óβâ	lŏβà	talk
ɸándâ	lìɸándà	cover
ɸànɛ̂	lìɸànɛ́	hang (generic)
ɸánɛ́βɛ̂	lìɸànɛ́βɛ́	be suspended
ɸáŋgâ	lìɸáŋgà	spoil
ɸáŋgɛ́â	lìɸáŋgɛ̀à	be fermented
ɸáŋgɛ́â	lìɸáŋgɛ̀à	be spoiled
ɸíjâ	lìɸíjà	be certain
ɸíjâ	lìɸíjà	discover
ɸíndʒílɛ̂	lìɸíndʒìlɛ̀	move quickly
pkâ	lìpkâ	fall
támbɛ̂	lìtámbɛ̀	dry (cloth)
táŋgâ	lìtáŋgà	pay
tɔ̂	lìtɔ̂	leak
tɔ́ízrɛ̂	lìtɔ̀ízrɛ́	speak
tɔ́wɔ̂	lìtɔ́wɔ̀	quarrel
tɔ́wízrɛ̂	lìtɔ́wìzrɛ̀	cause sb. to quarrel
tɔ́zrɔ̂	lìtɔ́zrɔ̀	touch
tɛ̀mbɛ̂	lìtɛ̀mbɛ̀	lick
tɛ́mɛ̂	lìtɛ́mɛ̀	stand up
tɛ́nɛ́nɛ̂	lìtɛ́nɛ̀nɛ̀	straighten
tɛ́nɛ́βɛ̂	lìtɛ́nɛ̀βɛ̀	be straightened
tíjâ (tíâ)	lìtíjà (lìtíà)	beat
tíjâ (tíâ)	lìtíjà (lìtíà)	hoe, beat
tìmbá	lìtìmbá	return
tìmbízrɛ́lɛ́lɛ̂	lìtìmbízrɛ́lɛ́lɛ́	reply
tíndɛ́lɛ̂	lìtíndɛ̀lɛ̀	push
tònâ	lìtòná	lose (way)
tóŋgâ	lìtóŋgà	blow (wind)
túmbánâ	lìtùmbáná	be hot, boiled
túmbɛ̂	lìtúmbɛ̀	roast
útâ	lìútà	sweep

túwâ	lìtúwà	pierce
úkâ	lŭkà	arrive
úlɛ̂	lŭlɛ̀	take off
úmbâ	lŭmbà	close
úmbánâ	lŭmbànà	be closed
úmúwâ	lŭmùwà	burst
úŋgɛ́lɛ̂	lŭŋgɛ̀lɛ̀	blow (mouth)
úŋmâ	lŭŋmà	pierce
úŋmâ	lŭŋmà	shoot
úŋmâ	lŭŋmà	stink
ùŋmâ	lùŋmá	meet
úŋmɛ́â	lŭŋmɛ̀à	be from
úŋwɛ́lɛ̂	lŭŋwɛ̀lɛ̀	show
ùɸâ	lùɸá	clear
wàwâ	lìwàwá	be long, tall
wɔ́kâ	lìwɔ́kà	dislocate
wɔ́kɛ́â	lìwɔ́kɛ̀à	be dislocated
wɔ́lɛ̂	lìwɔ́lɛ̀	lose
wɔ́lɛ́nɛ́	lìwɔ́lɛ̀nɛ̀	loose
wɔ́tɔ̂	lìwɔ́tɔ̀	dress
wɔ́tɔ̂	lìwɔ́tɔ̀	put on
wɛ́ɛ́nê	lìwɛ́ɛ̀nè	be heard
wɛ̀kâ	lìwɛ̀ká	carve
wɛ́ndɛ̂	lìwɛ́ndɛ̀	snap
wɛ́ndɛ́â	lìwɛ́ndɛ̀à	become snapped
wówâ	lìwówà	take
wùnâ	lìwùná	refuse (s.o. sth)
wùndúwâ	lìwùndúwá	untie
zrâ	lìzrâ	dance
zràŋgâ	lìzràŋgá	gather
zráŋgóɸâ	lìzràŋgóɸá	inherit
zrázrâ	lìzrázrà	clear, cut grass
zrɔ̂	lìzrɔ̂	spit
zrɔ̀lɛ̂	lìzrɔ̀lɛ́	pour
zrɔ̀mbɔ̂	lìzrɔ̀mbɔ́	rotten
zrɔ́ŋgízrɛ̂	lìzrɔ́ŋgìzrɛ̀	dry (fish)
zrɔ̀zrɔ̂	lìzrɔ̀zrɔ́	deny, disclaim
zrɛ́áβâ	lìzrɛ̀áβá	be repaired (by sb.)
zrɛ́ɛ́jâ	lìzrɛ̀ɛ́já	repair
zrɛ́lɛ̂	lìzrɛ́lɛ̀	burn
zríímâ	lìzríìmà	pull, drag
zríkâ	lìzríkà	grind
zrìwá	lìzrìwá	descend
zròzrâ	lìzròzrá	wash

zrùmâ	lìzrùmá	bow
zrùmâ	lìzrùmá	kneel
βálâ	lìβálà	follow
βámízrê	lìβámìzrè	be quick
βándʒâ	lìβándʒà	jump
βáŋgâ	lìβáŋgà	refuse
βáŋgâ	lìβáŋgà	run
βɔ̀zrɔ̂	lìβɔ̀zrɔ́	choose
βéjâ	lìβéjà	fear
βéjâ	lìβéjà	hear
βɛ́lɛ̂	lìβɛ́lɛ̀	call
βɛ́ndɛ̂	lìβɛ́ndɛ̀	break
βɛ́nɛ̂	lìβɛ́nɛ̀	have
βɛ́ɲɛ̂	lìβɛ́ɲɛ̀	abuse
βíjâ	lìβíjà	know
βílɛ̂	lìβílɛ̀	inform
βìmbâ	lìβìmbá	throw
βìndâ	lìβìndá	plait
βóŋgâ	lìβóŋgà	forget
βótéjâ	lìβòtéjá	begin
βúndúwâ	lìβùndúwá	loosen
βúndúwɛ́â	lìβúndúwɛ́á	become loosen
βàálɛ̂	lìβàálɛ́	light

NOTES

(1) This information is taken from Lewis (2009).

(2) The symbols used are from the IPA chart.

(3) The term is borrowed from Urs (1996) but is assigned a slightly different meaning here.

(4) This grapheme, as well as R, r, and ʒ, ʒ will never appear alone and will never appear at word-initial position.

(5) This grapheme can appear alone and word-initially only in borrowed words.

(6) This grapheme, as well as Z, z, cannot appear alone, but can be seen at word- or syllable-initial.

(7) The second person singular is in fact [ò]. However, it is realised as [ɔ̀] when the following vowel (of the verb root) is either [ɔ] or [ɛ]. Note that this is the only instance where we find the vowel [ɔ] at word-initial position in the whole corpus.

(8) Kagaya (1992a) and Connell (1997) identified a nasal prefix for classes 9 and 10, i.e. N-/N-. As you have noticed, the plural forms either maintains the N- prefix or take high-toned vowel í- as prefix. The high-toned prefix í- may be seen as a remnant of the original augment which remained in plurals. There seems to be absolutely no principle governing the use of that vowel as prefix. However, the tendency seems to be the use of N- prefix for both classes 9 and 10.

(9) Some of these nouns do not have a plural counterpart because they are abstract words.

(10) This reminds us of the following statement of Batibo (2005: 2): “The most common modal forms in Bantu languages include the indicative, usually represented by the suffix -a and the subjunctive, represented by the suffix -e.

(11) Note that nèmbè is from nà + ěmbè.

(12) From nà + énd̀è.

(13) From βá + éjè.

(14) It is also possible to have: nè é βélì ndí mòlêlì.

(15) It is also possible to have: ì í βélì ndí βàlêlì.

(16) It is also possible to have: βé é βélì ndí βàlêlì.

(17) The morpheme ó of the locative abverb is realised w- when it occurs before vowels.

(18) "I am here" can also be said: nà βé ˡlánù. In fact, βélì ndí can be contracted to give βélì í or élì í. This happens mostly in rapid speech. For example we recorded ò élì í múɲánà "you are a man." On the other hand, note that the morpheme ó of the locative abverb is deleted before "here" and "there."

(19) The vowel [a] of the 1sg and 3pl is deleted before -úwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́. For the 2sg and 3sg, the glide [w] is inserted between the subject pronoun and -úwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́. As for 1pl and 2pl, their subject pronouns become [dʒ] and [j] respectively before -úwɛ́lɛ́lɛ́.

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