



Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
FACULTEIT LETTEREN
Subfaculteit Taalkunde

A Description of Eton

Phonology, morphology, basic syntax
and lexicon

Proefschrift aangeboden tot het behalen
van de graad van doctor in de Taalkunde
door

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Acknowledgements

ŋgǎŋ

dǎ évwāg dàátē bēd ílē

‘One hand cannot climb a tree.’

Mes remerciements vont tout d’abord à mes amis qui m’ont aidé à comprendre leur langue maternelle. Je suis très reconnaissant envers Désiré Essono Biyebe pour sa patience au début de la description, quand le travail avançait lentement. Depuis sept ans je peux compter sur son aide, qui a souvent été indispensable pour l’avancement du travail. Les dernières années j’ai surtout travaillé avec Pie-Claude Ondobo, qui a appris à utiliser l’orthographe pratique de l’éton. Je remercie cordialement les autres locuteurs de l’éton qui m’ont aidé avec la collection de données, à savoir Hyacinthe Elomo Tomo, papa Pierre Tomo, †grand-père Essono, Eliane Nga, Arsène Eyengue, Parfait Messi Tomo, Pacôme Elouna Eyenga, Judith Akini et Jacqueline Amos.

Deze beschrijving was niet mogelijk geweest zonder de steun van mijn promotoren Willy en Pierre, die mij de kans gegeven hebben om mijn descriptieve werk in uitstekende omstandigheden verder te zetten en die mij een aangename en leerzame werkomgeving geboden hebben.

Lors de mes voyages de terrain au Cameroun j’ai toujours été très bien accueilli chez maman Marie-Louise Tomo, ses enfants Parfait, Germaine, Rosine, Jean-Materne et Michel et ses petits-enfants Alexandra, Yann et Rick. Je remercie également les parents de maman Marie-Louise, qui m’ont accueilli chez eux au village de Ngwabo et toute la communauté Eton en Belgique qui m’a vite adopté.

Bij het maken, digitaliseren en kopiëren van opnames heb ik zeer geapprecieerde technische hulp gekregen van Hans Van de Velde, Piet Mertens en Ivo Jossart.

I also wish to thank Bartek Plichta for making available his vowel analysis program Akustyk.

I wish to thank Larry Hyman, Vladimir Plungian, Karel Van den Eynde, Jan Goossens, Bert Cornillie and Piet Mertens for commenting on parts of my description. I also profited from comments by

audiences of several congresses and seminars, such as CALL in Leiden, the seminar for African languages and cultures in Tervuren and BeST in Leiden.

Ik ben Dima (Dmitry Idiatov) heel dankbaar voor het grondig nalezen van de hele beschrijving en voor de lange, nuttige discussies over alle descriptieve problemen die ik tegengekomen ben.

Het is een gewoonte om het voorwoord van een doctoraat af te ronden met een summa van iedereen die het leven aangenaam maakt. Laat de liefde in mijn grammatica een morfotoneem zijn dat zich op veel manieren manifesteert, maar niet in de vorm van lettertjes in een academische tekst.

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Abbreviations and conventions

This description uses the glossing conventions set forth in the Leipzig Glossing Rules (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html>). Some abbreviations have been added or modified. For the sake of clarity, derivational morphemes are not separated from the stem and glossed separately, except in the morphological chapters. When dependent morphemes are introduced in these chapters, they are given in orthographic notation, augmented with the special symbols for morpheme boundaries and for morphophonemes and with the symbols V and C for vowels and consonants. The text contains many references to other sections. References within the chapter consist of arabic numbers only (e.g. *see 1.1.1*). A reference to a section in another chapter begins with the number of the chapter in roman numbers (e.g. *see II:1.1.1*).

<p># word boundary</p> <p>‡ boundary between an expansion and the rest of the stem</p> <p>(sp.) species</p> <p>* ungrammatical form</p> <p> x structural notation</p> <p>°/x/ notation of a morphophoneme in isolation</p> <p>~ unconditioned alternative</p> <p><i>or:</i></p> <p>boundary between two parts of a reduplicated stem</p> <p>= clitic boundary</p> <p>◆ discontinuity of speech / pause</p> <p>C1 onset position of an accentuated syllable</p> <p>- morpheme boundary</p>	<p>/x/ phonological notation</p> <p>/[˥]á/ downstepped high tone</p> <p><ā> downstepped high tone</p> <p><x> orthographical notation (in the phonology chapter)</p> <p><i>or:</i></p> <p>infix boundary (elsewhere)</p> <p>[x] phonetic notation</p> <p>ā nasalised vowel</p> <p><u>cvc</u> accentuated syllable (underlined)</p> <p>x orthographical notation (except in the phonology chapter)</p> <p>I agreement prefix of agreement pattern one</p> <p>1 nominal prefix of gender one</p> <p>1PL first person plural</p>
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1SG	first person singular	NEC	necessity (quasi-auxiliary)
AG	agentive noun derivational suffix	NEG	negative
ANA	anaphoric modifier	NF	suffix of the non-final form of the Hesternal and Hodiernal past perfective
AND	andative (quasi-auxiliary)	NPOS	impossibility (quasi-auxiliary)
AU	augment	NSUB	non-final form of the substitutive pronominal
AUG	augmentative	ONO	onomatopoea
CH	close to hearer <i>chez</i> at (somebody's place)	PCOP	past form of the copula (hodiernal and remote)
CMP	complementizer	PER	persisitive (quasi-auxiliary)
CO	connective of origin	PF	primofactive (quasi-auxiliary)
CON	connective morpheme	PL	plural
COP	copula	PN	pronominaliser
CR	contrastive resultative	PNL	positional suffix
CS	consecutive	POS	possibility (quasi-auxiliary)
DEM	demonstrative	PR	present
DIM	diminutive	PRO	prospective (quasi-auxiliary)
DP	discourse particle	PRP	perfect of recent past (quasi-auxiliary)
F	focus reduplicant	PST	past tense
FOC	focus particle	Q	interrogative particle
FSUB	final form of the substitutive	QP	quotative pronominal
G	suffix or infix of the G- form of the verb (see VII:2.2)	RCOP	relative form of the copula
HAB	habitual (quasi-auxiliary)	REL	relative verb form
HD	high distance	REP	repetitive (quasi-auxiliary)
ID	intermediate distance	RL	relativiser
IDE	ideophone	RP	remote past
IF	indefinite future		
IMP	imperative		
IMPF	imperfective		
INC	Inceptive		
INF	infinitive		
IPS	impositive suffix		
LC	locative connective		
LOC	locative		

RPOS	relative form of the quasi-auxiliary that expresses possibility
RS	resultative
SB	subjunctive
SCOP	persistive ('still') copula
SF	derivational suffix
SG	singular
SP	"southern" present
SPS	"southern" past
SUB	substitutive
TIMPF	hodiernal past form of the imperfective auxiliary
TMN	terminative (quasi-auxiliary)
TNP	too/neither pronominal
V	agreement prefix of agreement pattern five
VEN	venitive (quasi-auxiliary)
VIS	valency increasing suffix
VOL	volition (quasi-auxiliary)
VP	subject prefix
VRS	valency reducing suffix
Y	hesternal past form of the verb 'be' (same form as YCOP)
YCOP	hesternal past form of the copula
YIMPF	hesternal past form of the imperfective auxiliary

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. The Eton language

1.1. Situation

Eton (*itón*) is spoken in the Lékié department of the Centre province of Cameroon, a densely populated area just north of the capital Yaoundé. The Lékié department is bordered in the north by a curve in the Sanaga river.



Figure 1. The Eton-speaking area (approximate borders) (© 2006 Microsoft Corp.)

The number of Eton speakers is unknown. The Cameroonian government does not include ethnic/linguistic data in its censuses. Ethnologue (Gordon, Raymond 2005) cites 52.000 speakers (based on

a 1982 count/estimate by SIL). This is certainly a very important underestimation. The number cited by Bernard Delpech (1985:261), viz. 250.000 inhabitants of the Eton area in 1985, seems to be much closer to reality, although it is not entirely clear on which data these figures are based.¹ In rural areas people still raise their children in Eton, but in Yaoundé the youngest generation of Eton people often speaks only French.

Eton is a Bantu language, numbered A71 in Guthrie's classification. Together with Mengisa, Eton forms the northernmost tip of the Beti-Bulu-Fang language cluster, which reaches South into Gabon. With some effort on the part of their speakers, the languages of this cluster are mutually intelligible. However, the borders between them are clear. The mutual intelligibility with Ewondo seems to be the principal reason why Eton has never been studied before. On the one hand, Ewondo sufficed as a language of christianisation. On the other hand, the study of smaller, more endangered languages from lesser-known subfamilies in Cameroon has often been given priority.

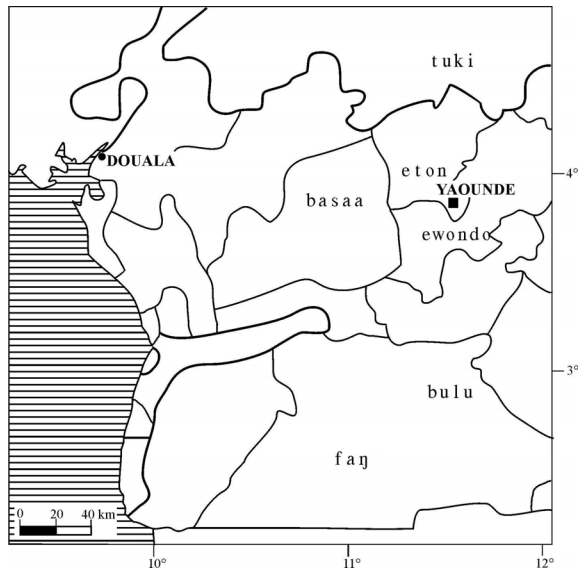


Figure 2. *Eton and its neighbouring languages*²

¹ This is perhaps an extrapolation of the average of 80 inhabitants per square kilometre, which Delpech cites in the same article, probably excluding the important Eton community in Yaoundé (12% of the inhabitants in 1985). Given a rate of 2,5% of annual population growth in Cameroon, the number of Etons might have reached about 400.000 today.

² I wish to thank Jacqueline Renard of the RMCA in Tervuren who drew this map on the basis of a map from the Atlas Linguistique de l'Afrique Centrale.

Little can be said about the dialectal variation within Eton as long as no dialectological study is available. Nevertheless, Ethnologue cites four dialects: Essele, Mvog-Namve, Mvo-Nangkok and Beyidzolo. However, these are the (Ewondo!) names of some lineages, which have nothing to do with dialect subgroupings. In fact, these lineages extend across language borders. Eton speakers themselves generally distinguish two dialects: a northern dialect *ìtón òkē* (lit. ‘upper Eton’ or, confusingly ‘southern Eton’) and a southern dialect, which is closer to Ewondo, named *ìtón ékwē* (lit. ‘lower eton’ or ‘northern Eton’). Although the dialect situation is definitely more complex than this, I find the distinction useful and I will call these (super)dialects Northern Eton and Southern Eton respectively. The main differences between the subgroupings are phonological. Where Northern Eton has /dʒ/, Southern Eton often has /j/, as in /dʒɛ̀m/ versus /jɛ̀m/ ‘know’. Some vocalic differences that seem spectacular at first sight are the result of different applications of the rule of glide formation as a strategy of vowel hiatus resolution. Thus, /mbóé/ ‘friend’ is represented as /mbwé/ in Northern Eton and as /mbój/ in the Southern dialects (see Section II:5.3.2). In the Northern dialects, a non-initial /l/ is often lenited to an /i/, which in turn causes raising and lengthening of the preceding vowel, giving rise to the opposition [swè:] (Northern) ~ [swàli] (Southern) ‘hide’. There are also some lexical differences and there is some dialectally conditioned allomorphy. The noun prefix of gender 5, for instance, is è- in Northern Eton and lə- in Southern Eton.

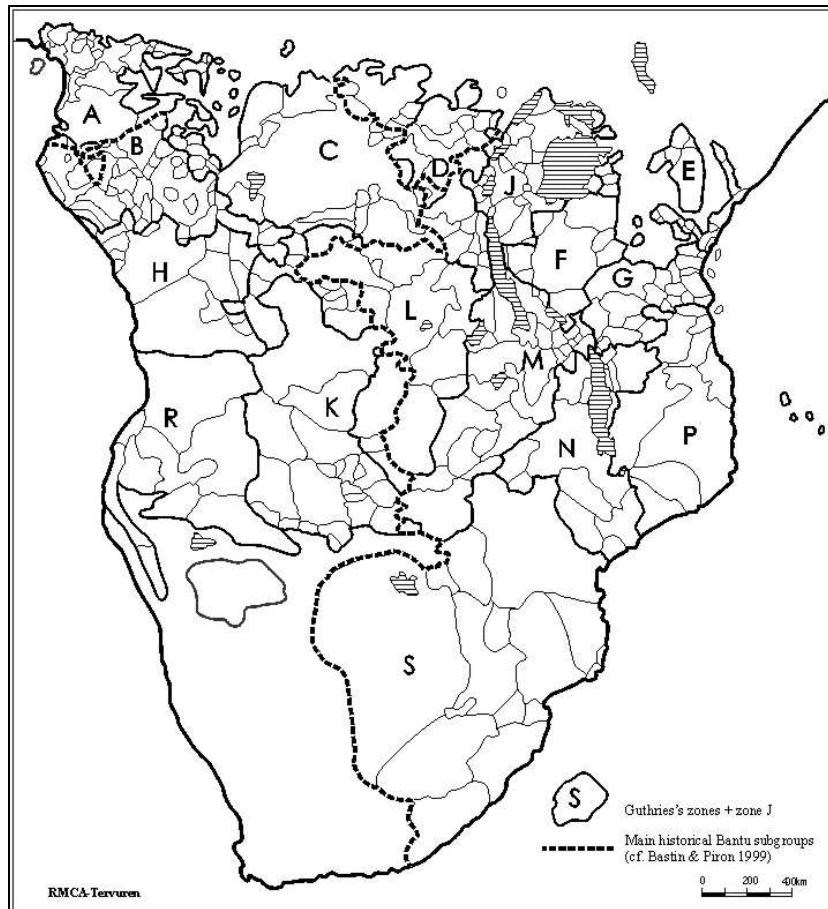


Figure 3. *The Bantu languages. Eton is situated in the northern extremity of zone A*

1.2. Brief typological sketch

Eton has in common with other North-Western Bantu languages that there are **maximality constraints** on stems, viz. three syllables in the case of Eton. This gave rise historically to a great number of **closed syllables**, which is untypical for Bantu languages. Moreover, it led to the merger of verbal derivational suffixes, which highly complicates the analysis of the verbal morphology. Erosion of segments in word-final position goes on today, giving rise to rules of **word-final elision and lenition**.

Eton has both **tone** and demarcative word **accent**. Every first syllable of the prosodic stem is accentuated.³ The phonetic correlate of

³ The prosodic stem coincides with the morphological stem, unless the latter begins in a vowel. In that case, any prefix is incorporated in the prosodic stem.

accent is **consonant length**. Onset consonants of accentuated syllables are longer than other consonants, all other things being equal. The recognition of accent is crucial for a successful description of the tone system of Eton. Accentuated syllables can carry two structural tones, unaccentuated syllables only one. There are **two tone levels** in Eton, low and high. These tones can combine in a falling pattern, a rising pattern and a downstepped high pattern. Structurally, three tones must be distinguished: low, high and dissimilating high. The opposition between structural low and high tones is equipollent. That is, a low tone cannot be analysed in terms of the absence of a high tone. Tone is the most robust part of the speech signal. When segmental material is deleted (either diachronically or synchronically) the tones that were initially linked to that material survive, giving rise to a very high number of **floating tones**. Nevertheless, the behaviour of tones often varies on the surface level between dialects, between idiolects but also within a single idiolect. The contrast between structural robustness and surface variability can be illustrated by means of the schematic example in (1), in which the following abbreviations are used: *v* vowel, *c* consonant, # word boundary, *c**v* accentuated syllable, *c**v* unaccentuated syllable, - affix boundary, *H* floating high tone. When the non-accentuated stem vowel in (1a) is deleted, its high tone obligatorily survives. The surface realisation of the resulting underlying pattern can take at least four different forms. In all cases, the high tone that became floating attaches to the left and then copies to the right. This is directly reflected in the first surface pattern in (1b). The rising high melody can be simplified to low high, as in the second surface pattern I (1b). The first two surface patterns obey the rule that exists in some idiolects that tone copy across a word boundary does not feed into tone spread. The latter two surface patterns do not conform to this rule, giving rise to high tone plateauing on the accentuated syllable of the second word (with or without simplification of the rising-high melody).

- (1) a. $[c\grave{v}-\underline{c\grave{v}}c\acute{v} \# c\grave{v}-\underline{c\check{v}}] \rightarrow [c\grave{v}-c\grave{v}cH \# c\grave{v}-\underline{c\check{v}}]$
 b. $[c\grave{v}c\check{v} \acute{c}c\check{v}] \sim [c\grave{v}c\grave{v} \acute{c}c\check{v}] \sim [c\grave{v}c\check{v} \acute{c}\acute{v}c\acute{v}] \sim [c\grave{v}c\grave{v} \acute{c}\acute{v}c\acute{v}]$

Some of these alternatives are not described in the phonological chapter, because they were not found in the idiolects on which this description is mainly based. For instance, the tendency that a high

in series. In that case, only the first is finite, the others being infinitival.

2. History, goals and methods

My descriptive work on Eton began when I was a student at the Université Libre de Bruxelles. When I made clear my intentions to make a language description, my teachers from the RMCA proposed Eton for two reasons. First, it was an undescribed language from a very interesting subgroup of the Bantu family. Second, there was a native speaker of Eton, Désiré Essono, who was then also a student at ULB and who was willing to invest time and effort in the description of his mother tongue as a language consultant. For my PhD research, I looked for a subject in the domain of word order typology. Still interested in Eton, I decided to make a study of word order (change) in the North-Western Bantu and Grassfields languages. Word order in these languages is interesting for several reasons. On clause level, the Cameroonian language Tunen is the only (described) Bantu language that has basic OV-order (see e.g. Mous 2003). On the level of the noun phrase, Grassfields languages present orders that are found nowhere else in the world (Rijkhoff 1990). However, it soon became clear that the languages of the region were not described well enough to allow for a thorough comparative study of their syntactic structures. Therefore, I decided that a continuation of my descriptive work on Eton was more relevant at this point.

To my knowledge, the only publication that contains data on the Eton language before my work is Klaus Piper's (1989) comparative study on the verbal morphology of the Beti-Bulu-Fang languages. This study is based on Piper's previous work on Bulu and on a fieldwork period of three months for data on the eleven other languages/dialects, including Eton. However, there are several descriptions of other Beti languages. For Mengisa (or *Njɔwi*), the closest relative of Eton, there is a doctoral dissertation by Geslin-Houdet (1984). There are also some published descriptions of Ewondo. I consulted Redden (1979) and Essono (2000).

The goal of this study is to provide a basically theory-neutral synchronic description of Eton that is useful for typologists and comparativists and that (hopefully) provides a solid base for any future research on the language. The term *theory-neutral* by no means

implies that the work was carried out in ignorance of theoretical achievements in linguistics, or that its results lack theoretical relevance. Rather, it refers to the fact that this description is not meant to prove or to test the totality of claims made by a given framework. Moreover, the results are presented in a way that should remain easily interpretable long after the current theories have evolved or disappeared together with their formalisms and specific terminologies. Relatively little time was spent on finding the best term for grammatical phenomena (although I hope to have avoided using terms wrongly!), directing all the attention to the description of their function and use and to their illustration by means of contextualised examples. It is sometimes tempting to consider a phenomenon to be described once it has been given a name. At the same time, it is frustrating to find extended terminologies in grammars of related languages, especially in the domain of tense and aspect, without any clues as to what the used terms refer to. Admittedly, the high number of tense-aspect categories and the absence of corpus material of languages without a written tradition make it very difficult to arrive at a reliable description. Another temptation for the descriptivist is to provide quasi-diachronic explanations for embarrassing facts. I tried to avoid this as much as possible.

The description of a language is hardly a goal in itself. As expected, the grammar of Eton contains elements that contribute to our understanding of human language and to our knowledge of the crosslinguistic variation in grammatical structures. The intricate interplay between tone and word accent and the phonetic correlate of word accent in Eton, for instance, are typologically exceptional. The description of the gender system and of the grammatical behaviour of proper names inspired a new analysis of gender in Bantu that challenges the traditional approach to gender in both linguistic typology and comparative Bantu studies (Van de Velde, to appear). However, in the current text these phenomena are discussed only to the extent that they are relevant for the synchronic description of Eton. A more elaborate discussion is or will be given in separate publications.

This chapter can be concluded with some comments on the way in which the language data were gathered and analysed. The description is based mainly on elicitation with two consultants, Désiré Essono and

Pie-Claude Ondobo, and on a number of transcribed recordings, including dialogues and monologues.⁴ These data are supplemented with elicited data from five more speakers. The recordings were made during two field trips to Cameroon and were transcribed with the help of Pie-Claude Ondobo, who learned to use the spelling. Usually, Pie-Claude first made a provisional transcription with a free translation and then we listened to the recording together. I compared Pie-Claude's transcription with what I heard and we made corrections where necessary. This method allowed me to immediately elicit systematic data on new or problematic constructions encountered in the text. Admittedly, I am not able to transcribe recordings without the help of a consultant even today. Hopefully, this is due to the morphological complexity of the language.⁵ Unfortunately, I had to decide not to insert texts in the current version of the description. The literary texts were collected and transcribed early and contain mistakes. All example sentences extracted from these texts were checked with a consultant. The non-literary texts are mostly dialogues on traditional medicine. I was not aware of the delicacy of this subject until transcribing the dialogues, where the reluctance of the speakers to discuss the subject became apparent. It would not be appropriate to make these transcriptions public. I have a recording of a long monologue on the origin of the Eton people, which still has to be transcribed. I will try to transcribe it and make it available as soon as possible.

Elicitation, observation and description can only be successful if they are steered by clear hypotheses. My pattern of expectations derives from a multitude of sources that often remain unacknowledged in the text. As a student at ULB, I was introduced to the structure of the Bantu languages by Yvonne Bastin and Baudouin Janssens and to the description of languages without a written tradition by Claire Grégoire. The most difficult and time-consuming part of this description was the (morpho-)phonology. Interest in the sound

⁴ Together almost 70 pages, including free translation in French, but excluding glossing.

⁵ One could joke about what is most threatening for the future of Eton: the prestige of French or the huge erosion of word-final segmental material. But it is interesting to compare this tendency in contemporary Zone A languages to the highly isolating, monosyllabic structure of West-African Niger-Congo language families such as Kwa.

structure of languages is definitely an acquired taste. I acquired that taste in the courses of Didier Demolin. My description of Eton (morpho-)phonology is inspired by Meeussen (1954), Hyman (1985), Creissels (1994) and by discussions with Karel Van den Eynde and Piet Mertens. The morphological description, and especially the description of tense-aspect-modality, is shaped to a high extent by lengthy discussions with Dmitry Idiatov and thus indirectly by the Russian linguistic tradition in which he was educated. I also profited from the many discussions with my supervisors Willy Van Langendonck and Pierre Swiggers in the framework of our research project on word order typology. The general organisation of the grammar is inspired by Carlson's (1994) description of Supyire. Getting the mass of data organised was a major challenge in which the lexical database Shoebox proved to be of great help.

Chapter 2

Phonology

1. Introduction

This chapter gives a theory-neutral account of the sound patterns of Eton. The description is mainly based on the idiolects of Désiré Essono and Pie-Claude Ondobo, which show considerable dialectal differences despite the fact that both speakers grew up in the same village. For convenience's sake, I will refer to Désiré's variety as Northern Eton and to Pie-Claude's as Southern Eton, without making any claims about precise dialectal subgroupings.

The descriptive model consists of three levels of analysis: a structural or morphophonological level (noted between vertical bars $|a|$), a phonological level (noted between slashes $/a/$) and a surface level (noted between square brackets $[a]$). Between the structural level and the phonological level there is a relation of representation: a structural form is represented by a phoneme, depending on its structural context. Between the phonological and the phonetic or surface level there is a relation of realisation: phonemes are realised by sounds, depending on the phonological context. This can be illustrated by means of the words *àbwĩ* 'a lot' and *m̀vwǎd* 'body hair'.

$ à\text{-}b\text{ũ} $	$ N\text{-}v\text{ũ}á\text{d} $	STRUCTURAL LEVEL
representation		
$/àbwĩ/$	$/m̀vwǎd/$	PHONOLOGICAL LEVEL
realisation		
$[àb\text{y}ĩ]$	$[m̀\text{v}wǎ\text{d}^{\text{~}}]$	PHONETIC LEVEL

Eton has in common with other Bantu languages of the region that it features some allophonic oppositions, the conditioning of which is difficult to formulate in terms of the phonological context, notably the opposition between $[d]$ and $[r]$ and that between $[g]$ and $[u]$. Descriptions of Ewondo (Redden 1979, Essono 2000) have used ill-defined notions such as *final position* to handle these oppositions, giving rise to vagueness and wrong predictions. Two auxiliary notions are needed in the phonological context specification: *word accent* and *pause/discontinuity of speech*. They will be defined and justified in Section 3.

Finally, I have to account for an unfortunate but rather inevitable discrepancy between the IPA notation used in the phonology chapter and the practical orthography used elsewhere. This is the result of two conflicting goals of the present work, which are fulfilled by two different parts of the description. The phonology will not be used by native speakers and has to be precise and easily interpretable by interested scholars. The lexicon, on the other hand, will mainly be used by native speakers and has to be written in a practical orthography that conforms to the general guidelines set forth for the spelling of the languages of Cameroon (Hartell 1993) - and ideally be not too different from French orthography either. Since the grammar and the lexicon will be often used together, I decided to use the practical orthography in the morphological and syntactic description as well. In cases where confusion is possible, angle brackets will mark the practical orthography < a >.

The most cumbersome difference are two cases in which the same symbol is used for different segments in the two notations (a classic problem in African linguistics):

IPA		Eton orthography
° j /j/ [j]	→	<y>
° dʒ /dʒ/ [dʒ]	→	<j>

Hence, /j/ alveolar approximant ≠ <j> voiced alveolar affricate. A further noteworthy difference concerns the notation of downstep. In this chapter a downstepped high tone is noted as a high tone preceded by a downward arrow in front of the syllable that carries the downstepped tone. This notation is used in order to avoid any confusion between downstepped high tones and mid tones, which do not exist in Eton, but Eton speakers found it too awkward for a practical orthography.

/á ↓sá/ <á s̄ā> ‘to work’

The practical orthography is presented in Section 7. Words are separated by a space in this chapter, as everywhere in this description. This space does not have any phonological relevance. It is only meant to provide the reader with a first acquaintance with the morpho-syntactic structure of the language. Whenever a word boundary is morphophonologically relevant, it will be made explicit by the symbol #. Finally, it must be pointed out that tone marking is phonological

where square brackets point to a phonetic notation of segments. Sections 5 and 6 give an explicit account of the structural representation of tones. Section 6 also contains phonetic information on tone.

2. Phoneme inventory and phonotactics

2.1. Consonants

Consonants differ from vowels in that they need not be syllabic; i.e. they do not have to form the nucleus of a syllable. They are best divided into obstruents and sonorants. The former contain plosives and fricatives and can never be syllabic, the latter are nasals and approximants and can be syllabic either structurally (only nasals) or as the result of syllabification rules (see the discussion of example (44)). Table 1 lists all consonant phonemes.

First, a phonotactic generalisation will be pointed out, and then the majority of phonemes will be discussed individually. The section closes with a list of (near-) minimal oppositions. Rules of allophony will be given in Section 3. Note that ideophones, particles and borrowings are likely to present exceptions to the phonological generalisations. For instance, the discourse particle *vó* (more or less translatable as ‘so’ in English) has a free variant *hó*. Yet, elsewhere [*h*] only exists as an allophone of /z/.

			labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	lab-velar
obstruent	stop	-voice	p	t	tʃ	k	kʷ
		+voice	b	d	dʒ	g	gʷ
	fricative	-voice		s			
		+voice	v	z			
son.	nasal		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋm
	appr.			l	j		w

Table 1. Consonant phonemes

2.1.1. Phonotactics

The most notable phonotactic generalisation is that almost half of the consonant phonemes are restricted to the onset of accentuated

syllables,¹ either as the only segment or as part of a branching onset. These are $/dʒ/$, $/g̃b/$, and $/v/$ and all voiceless consonants ($/p, t, tʃ, k̃p, k$ & $s/$). When $/ɲ/$ is not the onset of an accentuated syllable, it is a syllabic homorganic nasal prefix immediately preceding it. The only exceptions to this generalisation are found in loans. In the following examples accentuated syllables are underlined and the segment that does not conform is bold.

- (1) a. $/\underline{\text{à}}\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{à}}\underline{\text{p}}\underline{\text{á}}\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{á}}/$ ‘rabbit’ < French *lapin*?
 b. $/\underline{\text{í}}\underline{\text{-}}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{í}}\underline{\text{t}}\underline{\text{ê}}\underline{\text{n}}/$ ‘minute’ < German? *Minute*
 c. $/\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{í}}\underline{\text{t}}\underline{\text{à}}/$ ‘sister’ < English² *sister*
 d. $/\underline{\text{p}}\underline{\text{ù}}\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{à}}\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{í}}/$ ‘Frenchman’ < French? *français*
 e. $/\underline{\text{z}}\underline{\text{à}}\underline{\text{k}}\underline{\text{ú}}\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{î}}/$ ‘school’ < English? *School*
 f. $/\underline{\text{d}}\underline{\text{á}}\underline{\text{k}}\underline{\text{t}}\underline{\text{ê}}\underline{\text{n}}/$ ‘doctrine’ < French? *doctrine*
 g. $/\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{è}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{k}}\underline{\text{ó}}\underline{\text{d}}/$ ‘raincoat’ < English *raincoat*

A survey in a sample of 1500 words did not show a clear preference for either voiced or unvoiced stops in C₁ position ($/p/$ 31% versus $/b/$ 69%, but $/t/$ 61% versus $/d/$ 39%).

2.1.2. Discussion of some phonemes and oppositions

This section provides a brief discussion of some consonant phonemes. Examples and rules of allophony are provided in Section 3.

$/b/$

The phoneme $/b/$ is regularly found in prefixes, stems and suffixes. It has three allophones: $[b]$, $[\beta]$ and $[b̥] \sim [b̥^{\text{̣}}]$.

$/d/$

The voiced alveolar stop $/d/$ has three allophones as well: $[d]$, $[r]$ and $[d̥] \sim [d̥^{\text{̣}}]$. $/d/$ never shows up in suffixes.

¹ The first syllable of every prosodic stem is accentuated (see Section 3.1. for a discussion). The onset of this syllable will be called C₁.

² English loans most probably reached Eton via Pidgin English. For some loans, such as *zàkúli*, it is not clear from which European language they come, the source language might be German as well.

/tʃ/ & /dʒ/

Phonetically */tʃ/* and */dʒ/* are affricates. They contain a stop part and a fricative part. Phonologically, positing a separate class of affricates will lead to a proliferation of feature distinctions, so it is better to classify them as either fricatives or stops. The morphophoneme ^o/s/ is represented by */tʃ/* after ^o/N/ and by */s/* elsewhere. This alternation suggests that phonetic affricates are best categorised as fricatives phonologically (see Section 4.1.2).

- (2) a. |*ṅ-Sílá*| → |*jìtʃílá*| ‘question’
 b. |*mì-Sílá*| → |*mìsílá*| ‘questions’

However, since the number of fricatives is small in Eton, I chose to range the affricates with the stops. As for place of articulation, */tʃ/* and */dʒ/* belong phonetically to a class of their own as well. They are post-alveolar. For morphological reasons it is best to treat them as palatal consonants (see 4.1.1 & 4.1.2.3).

/k/ & /g/

The voiced velar stop */g/* has three allophones: [g], [uɣ] and [g̚], the latter being optionally unreleased [g̚]. The opposition between */k/* and */g/* carries a very low functional load. As has been said, the distribution of */k/* is restricted to C₁ position. In this position, */g/* is always preceded by a non-syllabic velar nasal */ŋ/*. If */k/* is preceded by a nasal, the latter is *structurally* always syllabic, but in one context this |*ṅ-*| is desyllabified on the phonological level.³ This gives rise, in theory, to minimal pairs. I found the following near-minimal opposition:

- (3) a. |*mà-ŋgúál*| → |*màŋgwál*| ‘pity (pl.)’
 b. |*mìN-kúál*| → |*mìŋkwál*| ‘ropes’

It is possible to describe these facts in terms of a phonological opposition between */k/* and a prenasalised stop */ŋg/*. There definitely is a strong phonological integration between a voiced stop and a preceding homorganic nasal, as illustrated by the rule of homorganic nasal branching onset formation and the resulting compensatory lengthening of any preceding accentuated vowel (see 5.2) and by the

³ Namely where the gender 3 prefix *ṅ-* is retained after the gender 4 prefix *mì-*.

retention of the segmental form of a gender 3 noun prefix after the prefix of gender 4 (see III:3.3.4).

/z/

The voiced fricative /z/ has three allophones: [z], [ʁ] and [s]. It was never found in prefixes.

/m/

The bilabial nasal /m/ is not often found at the onset of an accentuated syllable (C₁ position), and when it is, this syllable often has a nasal coda. /m/ has the allophones [m] and [ɱ].

/ɲ/ & /ŋ/

The phonotactic distribution of /ŋ/ and /ɲ/ is such that both phonemes are almost in complementary distribution. The palatal nasal can only be the onset of an accentuated syllable (where it is never followed by a stop) or the phonological representation of a homorganic nasal morphophoneme. The velar nasal, on the other hand, occurs in all positions, but at the onset of accentuated syllables it is always followed by the voiced velar stop /g/, except in the word *ɲɲál* ‘wife’, which is presented as an exception in 4.1.5.

/k͡p/, /g͡b/ & /ɲ͡m/

The labiovelar consonants are relatively rare in the Eton lexicon. The stops only occur in the onset of accentuated syllables, the nasal also elsewhere in at least one word (*zàɲ͡mál* ‘seven’).

2.1.3. Functional oppositions

The following list of forms illustrates that the occurrence of the consonant phonemes is not predictable from their context (v stands for *verb stem*):

/p/ vs. /t/

/pám/ ‘go out’ (v)

/tám/ ‘feather’

/p/ vs. /tʃ/

/pám/ ‘go out’ (v)

/tʃám/ ‘chase away’ (v)

/p/ vs. /k͡p/

/pám/ ‘go out’ (v)

/k͡pám/ ‘jump over’ (v)

/p/ vs. /k/

/pà/ ‘shine’ (v)

/kà/ ‘help’ (v)

/p/ vs. /b/*/pád/* ‘pick’ (v)*/bád/* ‘simulate’ (v)**/t/ vs. /tʃ/***/twàg/* ‘boil’ (v)*/tʃwág/* ‘misfire’ (v)**/t/ vs. /kʰ/***/tám/* ‘feather’*/kʰám/* ‘cross’ (v)**/t/ vs. /k/***/têg/* ‘weaken’ (v)*/kég/* ‘break’ (v)**/t/ vs. /d/***/dîŋ/* ‘love’ (v)*/tîŋ/* ‘weave’ (v)**/t/ vs. /s/***/tám/* ‘feather’*/sám/* ‘flower bud’**/tʃ/ vs. /kʰ/***/tʃâm/* ‘chase away’ (v)*/kʰâm/* ‘jump over’ (v)**/tʃ/ vs. /k/***/tʃàmni/* ‘spread out’ (v)*/kàmni/* ‘prohibit’ (v)**/tʃ/ vs. /dʒ/***/tʃwág/* ‘misfire’ (v)*/dʒwág/* ‘construct’ (v)**/kʰ/ vs. /k/***/ùkʰèŋ/* ‘hare’*/ùkèŋ/* ‘knife’**/kʰ/ vs. /gʱ/***/gʱà/* ‘throw’ (v)*/kʰā/* ‘be talkative’ (v)**/k/ vs. /g/***/mîŋkwǎ/* ‘ropes’*/màŋgwál/* ‘pity (pl.)’**/b/ vs. /d/***/bá/* ‘marry’ (v)*/dá/* ‘lose’ (v)**/b/ vs. /dʒ/***/báb/* ‘warm up’ (v)*/dʒàb/* ‘be long’ (v)**/b/ vs. /gʱ/***/bá/* ‘marry’ (v)*/gʱà/* ‘throw’ (v)**/b/ vs. /g/***/dʱbân/* ‘be edible’ (v)*/dʱgá/* ‘sting’ (v)**/b/ vs. /v/***/bòm/* ‘hit’ (v)*/vòm/* ‘lose oneself’ (v)**/b/ vs. /m/***/lób/* ‘bite’ (v)*/lóm/* ‘send’ (v)**/d/ vs. /dʒ/***/dá/* ‘lose’ (v)*/dʒá/* ‘be full’ (v)**/d/ vs. /gʱ/***/dá/* ‘to lose’ (v)*/gʱà/* ‘to throw’ (v)**/d/ vs. /g/***/á bɪ^lɔ/* ‘in the food’*/á^lɪgí/* ‘to stay’**/d/ vs. /z/***/dîŋ/* ‘love’ (v)*/zîŋbá/* ‘hate’ (v)

/d/ vs. /n/*/dàŋ/* ‘cross’ (v)*/náŋ/* ‘grow’ (v)**/d/ vs. /l/***/dàŋ/* ‘cross’ (v)*/láŋ/* ‘read’ (v)**/dʒ/ vs. /gb/***/dʒà/* ‘sing’ (v)*/gbà/* ‘lance’ (v)**/dʒ/ vs. /g/**

impossible

/dʒ/ vs. /j/*/dʒàb/* ‘be long’ (v)*/jàb/* ‘tear apart’ (v)**/dʒ/ vs. /j/***/dʒà/* ‘sing’ (v)*/àjà/* ‘pain’**/gb/ vs. /g/⁴***/ŋm̀gbé/* ‘witchcraft’*/ŋgéd/* ‘cruelty’**/gb/ vs. /ŋm/***/gbà/* ‘lance’ (v)*/ŋm̀ám/* ‘be acid’ (v)**/gb/ vs. /w/***/gbà/* ‘lance’ (v)*/wàz/* ‘comb’ (v)**/g/ vs. /ŋ/***/d̀gá/* ‘prick’ (v)*/m̀mp̀ŋá/* ‘cover’**/s/ vs. /z/***/sám/* ‘flower bud’*/zám/* ‘pleasure’**/v/ vs. /z/***/v́á/* ‘here’*/źá/* ‘who’**/z/ vs. /n/***/zà/* ‘hunger, famine’*/nâ/* ‘that’ (complementizer)**/m/ vs. /n/***/m̀úŋ/* ‘smile’ (v)*/ǹùm/* ‘stink’ (v)**/m/ vs. /j/***/m̀úŋ/* ‘smile’ (v)*/j̀úŋ/* ‘drink’ (v)**/m/ vs. /ŋm/***/m̀àn/* ‘finish’ (v)*/ŋm̀ám/* ‘be acid’ (v)**/m/ vs. /ŋ/***/s̀ùm/* ‘labour’ (v)*/s̀ùŋ/* ‘discuss st’ (v)**/n/ vs. /j/***/ńáŋ/* ‘grow’ (v)*/j́áŋ/* ‘suckle (intr.)’ (v)**/n/ vs. /ŋm/***/ǹàm/* ‘arm’*/ŋm̀âm/* ‘eight’**/n/ vs. /ŋ/***/s̀ùn/* ‘deteriorate’ (v)*/s̀ùŋ/* ‘discuss’ (v)**/n/ vs. /l/***/ńáŋ/* ‘to grow’ (v)*/ĺáŋ/* ‘to read’ (v)

⁴ A minimal pair is impossible, since /gb/ occurs only in the onset of accentuated syllables and in that position, both phonemes are always preceded by a homorganic nasal.

/ɲ/ vs. /ɲ̃/

/ɲámá/ ‘melt (tr.)’ (v)

/ɲ̃ámá/ ‘be acid’ (v)

/ɲ/ vs. /ɲ/

/ɲìɲám/ ‘preparation’

/ɲ̃ɲám/ ‘residue’

/ɲ/ vs. /j/

/ɲájá/ ‘suckle (tr.)’ (v)

/jájá/ ‘wait’ (v)

/ɲ̃/ vs. /ɲ/

/zàɲ̃ámá/ ‘seven’

/ndzàɲá/ ‘tontine’

/ɲ̃/ vs. /w/

/ɲ̃ámá/ ‘be acid’ (v)

/wág/ ‘swim’ (v)

/l/ vs. /j/

/láj/ ‘read’ (v)

/jáj/ ‘grill’ (v)

/l/ vs. /w/

/àlóg/ ‘fishing technique’

/á^hwóg/ ‘to hear’

/j/ vs. /w/

/jáj/ ‘grill’ (v)

/wáj/ ‘crawl’ (v)

2.2. Vowels

The vowel phonemes of Eton are summarised in table 2.

	front	mid	back	diphthong
1	i i:		u u:	
2	e e:	ə	o o:	^u a
3	ɛ ɛ:		ɔ ɔ:	
4	a a:			

Table 2. Vowel phonemes

It is possible to suppress the fourth degree of opening by treating /a/ as a mid vowel of the third degree. The analysis presented in Table 2 facilitates the expression of some generalisations concerning vowel collocations and coalescence. Moreover, it squares better with the phonetic facts. The opposition between the vowels of the second and the third degree carries a low functional load. In prefixes, /ɔ/ and /o/ do not occur. Elsewhere, their phonological status is lexically determined. There exist minimal pairs, but there are many other stems in which /ɔ/ and /o/ alternate freely, sometimes depending on the idiolect.⁵

(4) /tóg/ ~ /tóg/ ‘spoon’

⁵ Therefore, there will be “inconsistencies” throughout the grammar in the notation of words with a back vowel of the second or third degree.

The front vowels /e/ and /ɛ/ alternate freely in prefixes. Elsewhere, the relation between /e/, /ɛ/ and /a/ is intricate. Treating them as three different phonemes is the most insightful of a number of different analysis (see Section 4.2.2 for additional discussion). The front vowel of the third degree /ɛ/ has an allophone [ɛ̃] (see 3.3.1).

There is a structural opposition between long and short vowels and lengthening of structurally short vowels (see 5.2). Long vowels are relatively rare. All vowels except schwa have a nasal allophone. The opposition between oral and nasal vowels is never phonologically relevant. The front vowel of the first degree /i/ will henceforth be written without a dot, in order to enhance the readability of the tone marking. The diphthong /^ha/ is the result of a rule of vowel hiatus resolution (see 5.3.4).

As in many Bantu languages there are restrictions on the co-occurrence of vowels in a stem (i.e. a root plus any suffixes). These restrictions are often referred to as *vowel harmony*, but the term *vowel collocations* is more appropriate in the case of Eton.⁶ Prefixes are never subject to these restrictions. The only exceptionless restriction is that back vowels can never follow a front vowel in a stem. In other words if the second vowel of a stem is back, then the first will be back as well (see 4.2.3 & 5.3.3 for stems like *kwálɔ*).

$$V_2 = u, o \text{ or } ɔ \Rightarrow V_1 = u, o \text{ or } ɔ \text{ (exceptionless)}$$

There are also strong collocations based on height. Vowels in disyllabic stems tend to be either of the first and fourth degree or of the second and third degree.

$$V_1 \ \& \ V_2 \text{ either } \in \{i, u, a\} \text{ or } \in \{e, \varepsilon, o, ɔ\} \text{ (tendency)}$$

The only exceptions involve expansions and suffixes containing an /ɪ/ or an /a/ after vowels of the second/third degree, e.g., the expansion *ʔCàn* in IV:2.2. For phonotactic and morphophonological reasons schwa is mostly irrelevant and must be classified with the front

⁶ I prefer to restrict the term *vowel harmony* to a system in which there exist two or more groups of vowels which cannot cooccur in a given domain, most often the word. Typically, affixes are underspecified for one or more features in such a system, the features according to which vowels are separated into groups. Languages with vowel harmony include Akan, Finnish and Turkish. The cooccurrence restrictions in languages such as Eton are less “dynamic”. They are phonotactic, rather than (morpho)phonological, except when the harmonic vowel morphophoneme ^o/A/ is involved.

vowels. The majority of disyllabic stems has the same vowel in both syllables. Reduplicated forms must be considered as having two stems. This section is concluded with a list of minimal pairs.

/i/ vs. /e/

/élén d̥i/ ‘this palm tree’

/èlén ^ldé/ ‘his palm tree’

/i/ vs. /ɛ/

/mb̀id/ ‘filth’

/mb̀éd/ ‘traditional guitar’

/i/ vs. /a/

/z̥iŋ/ ‘hatred’

/z̥áŋ/ ‘dispute’

/i/ vs. /ə/

/d̥i/ ‘eat’ (v)

/d̥á/ ‘bury’ (v)

/i/ vs. /u/

/m̀p̥im/ ‘wall’

/m̀p̥úm/ ‘blond’

/i/ vs. /o/

/nd̥im/ ‘blindness’

/nd̥óm/ ‘brother’

/i/ vs. /ɔ/

/mb̥i/ ‘palm nut’

/mb̥ó/ ‘grain’

/e/ vs. /ɛ/

/wé/ ‘kill’ (v)

/wè/ ‘laugh’ (v)

/e/ vs. /u/

/wé/ ‘kill’

/wú/ ‘die’

/e/ vs. /o/

/i̯ ^ldé/ ‘his one’

/idò/ ‘member’

/e/ vs. /ɔ/

/wé/ ‘kill’ (v)

/wó/ ‘give birth’ (v)

/ɛ/ vs. /a/

/léd/ ‘be difficult’ (v)

/làd/ ‘sew’ (v)

/ə/ vs. /u/

/v̥á/ ‘to give’

/v̥ú/ ‘to resemble’

/ə/ vs. /o/

/v̥á/ ‘give’ (v)

/v̥ó/ ‘declare’ (v)

/ə/ vs. /ɔ/

/m̀p̥ám/ ‘I left’

/m̀p̥âm/ ‘boy’

/u/ vs. /o/

/v̥ú/ ‘resemble’ (v)

/v̥ó/ ‘declare’ (v)

/u/ vs. /ɔ/

/kú/ ‘chicken’

/kó/ ‘tuber’

/o/ vs. /ɔ/

/ŋkóŋ/ ‘rank’

/ŋkóŋ/ ‘pipe’

/i/ vs. /ɪ:/

/f̥m/ ‘push’ (v)

/f̥i:n̥i/ ‘detach itself’ (v)

/e/ vs. /e:/

no minimal pair found

/ɛ/ vs. /ɛ:/

/bèd̥i/ ‘put down!’

/bè:d̥i/ ‘bread’

/a/ vs. /a:/

/mâná/ ‘finish (tr.)’ (v)

/mà:nà/ ‘swear’ (v)

/u/ vs. /u:/

/bùlà/ ‘accumulate’ (v)

/bù:là/ ‘stir vigorously’ (v)

/o/ vs. /o:/

/bó:nì/ ‘purge oneself’

/bò:nì/ ‘create’ (v)

3. Realisation rules

Realisation rules specify the speech sounds by which phonemes are realised, depending on their phonological context. The context specification does not only contain other phonemes, but also two auxiliary phenomena: discontinuity of speech (or pause, symbolised as ♦) and accent. Since word accent in Eton does not feature any of the phonetic correlates typically associated with accent (vowel length, higher pitch or intensity), this section will start with a description of accent. This will be followed by a broad phonetic description of the allophones of consonant and vowel phonemes respectively. In the structural notation, accentuated syllables are underlined.

3.1. Accent

Accent in Eton meets Hyman’s (to appear) definitional criteria obligatoriness and culminativity, with the minor complication, perhaps, that reduplicated stems have two accentuated syllables (see III:2.3 for examples of reduplication). Every first and only the first syllable of a prosodic stem is accentuated. A prosodic stem is identical to a morphological stem, except if the latter begins in a vowel and if it is preceded by a C-prefix. In that case, the prefix consonant also belongs to the prosodic stem. For instance, the nominal prefix of gender 2 *|b(à)-|* belongs to the prosodic stem in (5a), but not in (5b).

- (5) a. *|b-ɪmjá|* → *|b̄ɪmjá/* ‘women’
 b. *|bà-dzôi|* → *|bàdzôj/* ‘commanders’

The phonetic correlate of accent in Eton is consonant length. All other things being equal, consonants in the onset of an accentuated syllable (C₁-position) are longer than consonants elsewhere. Table 3 presents measurements of the length of the consonants */b/*, */l/* and */n/* in intervocalic position (in seconds, mean value of at least ten tokens).

The left hand column gives the length of accentuated consonants, the right hand column that of unaccentuated consonants.⁷ The figures show that accentuated consonants are more than twice as long as unaccentuated consonants in the same conditions.

	<u>VCV</u>	VCV
b	.14	.06
l	.13	.05
n	.16	.07

Table 3. Consonant length in spontaneous speech (mean values in seconds).

By way of an experiment, I made a number of nonsense words with two occurrences of either /b/, /d/, /l/, /n/ or /m/, one of which is stem-initial. These nonsense words respect all phonotactic restrictions of Eton and are morphologically recognisable as nouns, consisting of an existing gender prefix and a non-existing stem, e.g. *è-nànà* (sg.), *mà-nànà* (pl.). In some of them, /m/ is a prefix that is integrated in the prosodic stem (6).

- (6) a. *d-ànà* (sg.)
 b. *m-ànà* (pl.)

These words were pronounced in isolation and in clauses where they agreed in gender with the verb, as predicted by their prefix, e.g. (7). Each word or clause was pronounced four times by one male speaker.

- (7) *ènànà* / *mànànà* ‘an *enana* / *enanas*’
màjén ènànà ‘I saw an *enana*.’
màjéngí mánànà ‘I saw *enanas*.’⁸
ènànà ékû ‘The *enana* fell.’
mànànà mákû ‘The *enanas* fell.’

⁷ The number of consonants of which the length in different environments can be compared is limited, since half of the consonants are restricted to the onset of accentuated syllables (see Section 2.1.1). Moreover, the other consonants are often subject to lenition if not in C₁-position. Note, however, that lenition is optional. The measurements for /l/ and /b/ in the right hand column of Table 3 are from non-lenited occurrences. There are different ways to measure the length of a consonant. Only the relative length differences are relevant here, all tokens of the same consonant have been measured in the same way.

⁸ In order to have all consonants of the nonsense words in intervocalic position, also the prefix consonants, I used different past tenses.

As I had expected, these nonsense words were all pronounced with a stem-initial accent. The voiced obstruents /d/ and /b/ were lenited in post-accentual position, but /l/ never was. This suggests that lenition of /l/ is no longer productive (see Section 4.1.3). The consonant lengths in the experiment, presented in Table 4, are comparable to those of spontaneous speech in Table 3. The mean value for accentuated /m/'s in the table is calculated on the basis of the cases where /m/ is the initial consonant of the morphological stem only. Interestingly, when /m/ is a prefix consonant integrated in the prosodic stem, as in (6b), it is considerably longer, viz. 0.22 seconds on average.

	<u>VCV</u>	VCV
b	.12	.06
l	.11	.06
n	.13	.06
m	.16	.08

Table 4. Consonant length in nonsense words.

The spectrogram of the nonsense noun /è-nàrà/ in Figure 1 shows the difference in length between an accentuated and an unaccentuated /n/. In this example, the length and intensity of both stem vowels are more or less equal. This is not always the case. The second stem vowel is often reduced in intensity, especially when it is not followed by a pause. In contrast, the clear difference in length of accentuated versus unaccentuated consonants is exceptionless. Any reduction of unaccentuated vowels must therefore be seen as a secondary phonetic correlate of accent in Eton.

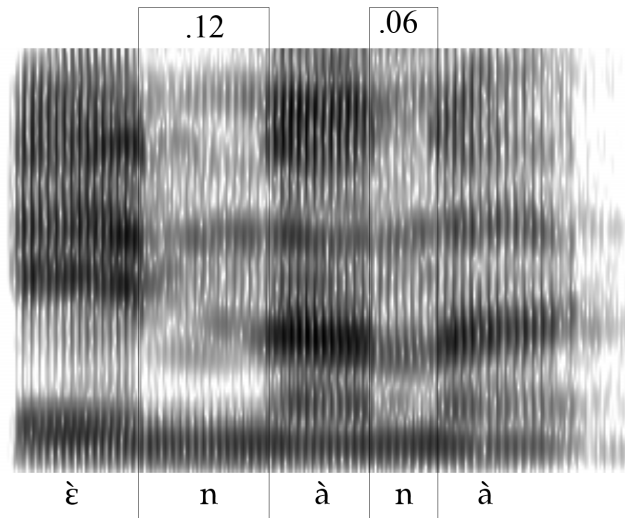


Figure 1. Consonant length in the nonsense word è-nà-nà.

The phonetic length of C_1 -consonants is so salient that it is recuperated on other levels of analysis, as is illustrated by the following data. The preposition that precedes infinitives in the citation form of verbs is either \acute{a} or \hat{a} , depending on the speaker (8a). One consultant, however, has \hat{a} before stem-initial obstruents but no segmental preposition before stem-initial sonorants. In the latter context, the preposition consists of a floating high tone. The low tone prefix before the stem behaves as it does with other speakers: it downsteps a following high tone or merges with a following low tone, but the high tone attaches to the stem initial consonant and splits it in two. The first part becomes syllabic and the second part remains the onset of the stem-initial syllable (8b).

- (8) a. $|\acute{a} \# L-lá\eta| \rightarrow |\acute{a} \downarrow lá\eta| \sim |\hat{a} \downarrow lá\eta|$ ‘to read’ (stem: $lá\eta$)
 $|\acute{a} \# L-wé| \rightarrow |\acute{a} \downarrow wé| \sim |\hat{a} \downarrow wé|$ ‘to kill’ (stem: $wé$)
 b. $|\acute{r} \downarrow lá\eta|$ ‘to read’
 $|\acute{r} \downarrow wé|$ ‘to kill’

So far, the discussion was mainly restricted to consonants in the prosodic stem. As for their length, prefix consonants that are not part of the prosodic stem are somewhere in between accentuated and non-accentuated stem consonants. They are clearly shorter than stem-initial consonants in intervocalic position, but a bit longer than unaccentuated stem consonants. The mean values of unaccentuated prefix consonants in the experiment are 0.10 s for $/m/$ and 0.08 s for $/b/$. In sum, prefix consonants are unaccentuated, but the difference

with accentuated consonants is less clear than within the prosodic stem.

The differences in length between consonants can be described by means of a realisation rule that weakens non-accentuated consonants in intervocalic position. This weakening always involves shortening, sometimes also one of the lenition rules listed in 3.2.2.⁹

Accent is very important in the description of the tonal and segmental phonology of Eton. Before closing this section, it is useful to forward some hypotheses as to why descriptions of closely related languages such as Ewondo and Mangisa have not recognised its existence.¹⁰ First, recognising the conditioning of the lenition rules is hampered by a rule of devoicing that operates on the same consonant phonemes, a rule for which the conditioning is often formulated as “word final” in other descriptions. However, this conditioning is wrong and confusing. The position in the word of a voiced obstruent has no relevance for the application of the devoicing rule, which always and only takes place before a pause. Of course, speakers will not usually pause in the middle of a word. This constitutes an indirect link between word final position and devoicing. Second, it is difficult to separate positional restrictions on the application of rules from phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of phonemes, which are also very recurrent in the Beti languages. Thus, /z/ never occurs in prefixes, /d/ rarely and /g/ only if preceded by a nasal. Third, there are differences in consonant length that are less easy to hear than other relevant oppositions. Finally, the difference between [b] and [β] is difficult to hear.

⁹ An alternative analysis could involve a rule that geminates the onset of accentuated syllables, with a rule that blocks lenition of geminates. The latter rule appears to be universal (see e.g., Kirchner 2000). This alternative is unattractive for several reasons. It does not explain why consonants followed or preceded by a pause are as long as accentuated intervocalic consonants. Moreover, there is no functional opposition between geminate consonant phonemes and non-geminates, so that geminates would have to be treated as successions of identical consonants. However, this would highly complicate syllable structure.

¹⁰ But an early account (similar to mine) of accent in a North-western Bantu language can be found in Paulian’s (1975) phonological description of the Congolese language Kukuya. If the initial consonant of accentuated syllables is nasal or lateral, it is geminated in Kukuya (Paulian 1975:142). Contrary to Eton, accentuated syllables are preceded by a brief pause. I thank Larry Hyman for bringing this description to my attention during the BeST conference in June 2005.

3.2. Consonants

3.2.1. Devoicing of voiced obstruents

Voiced stops are gradually devoiced before a discontinuity of speech. The voiced alveolar fricative $/z/$ is totally devoiced to $[s]$. Gradual devoicing is noted with a $[_.$] below the consonant symbol. In this context voiced stops are often unreleased, symbolised by the diacritic $[̚]$. Figure 2 shows two successive repetitions of the word *mbóg* ‘clan, lineage’ in isolation. In (a) the final $[g]$ is released, in (b) it is not.

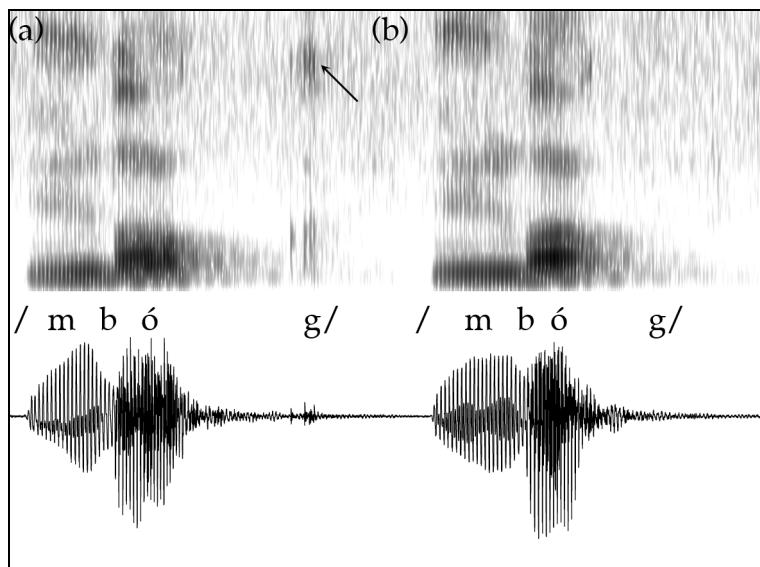


Figure 2. Released (a) and unreleased (b) final stop.

The following examples show stems with a final obstruent before a pause and in another context. *NSP* means normal speech rate and *SSP* slow speech rate (see 3.2.2).

- (9) a. $/á^l bɛb/$ ‘to be bad’ (citation form)
 $/_♦/ \rightarrow [á^l bɛb]$ ‘to be bad’
 $/_C/ \rightarrow [àbɛb̚gì]$ ‘He has been bad.’
- b. $/mòd/$ ‘man’
 $/_♦/ \rightarrow [mòd]$ ‘man’
 $/_C/ \rightarrow [bòrbá^l tákù]$ (NSP)
 $\rightarrow [bò**d**bá^l tákù]$ (SSP) ‘The men fall.’
 $/_V/ \rightarrow [mòràtákù]$ (NSP)
 $\rightarrow [mò**d**àtákù]$ (SSP) ‘The man falls.’

- c. /á^hbúg/ ‘to break’
 /__♦/ → [á^hbúg] ‘to break’
 /__V/C/ → [íbúbúgà] ‘broken’
- d. /á kùz/ ‘to buy’
 /__♦/ → [ákùs] ‘to buy’
 /__V/C/ → [àkífí^hkáŋ] (NSP)
 → [àkúzí^hkáŋ] (SSP)
 ‘He has bought a guinea-fowl.’

3.2.2. Lenition of voiced obstruents

Voiced obstruents optionally undergo lenition. However, lenition is blocked in two environments, viz. in the onset of an accentuated syllable and adjacent to a pause. Lenition is as follows: the voiced bilabial stop /b/ becomes a voiced bilabial fricative [β], the alveolar stop /d/ is realised as an alveolar trill [r], the voiced velar stop /g/ is semivocalised to [ɰ], and the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is realised by the voiced glottal fricative [ɦ] or simply not realised. In the latter case the preceding vowel tends to be lengthened (10e).

- /b/ → [β]
 /d/ → [r]
 /g/ → [ɰ]
 /z/ → [ɦ] ~ Ø

The lenition rules are optional, but their application not entirely unpredictable. Speech rate is an important factor. The slower the speech rate and the more careful the pronunciation, the less likely the application of lenition rules. There are probably also differences between the rules. I have the impression that lenition of /z/ is less likely to occur than lenition of /d/, but a statistical analysis is needed to validate this observation. Moreover, lenition of /g/ (and perhaps to a lesser extent also of the other consonants) takes place less often after vowels of the first degree (/ɪ, u/) than after other vowels. Other factors, such as word frequency, may play a role as well, but it falls outside the scope of this description to study these. Finally, lenition of /g/ does not occur immediately after a consonant.

- (10) a. /b̂ b̂^lt̂^lŝ/ → [b̂β̂^lt̂^lŝ] ‘It is them who are working.’
 b. /kádá/ → [kárá] ‘crab’
 c. /íbógí/ → [íbóyí] ‘chair’
 d. /k̂p̂àk̂p̂àẑ/ → [k̂p̂àk̂p̂àĥ] ‘toothbrush’
 e. /bìbáz bí^lkwáz/ → [bìbá: bí^lkwás] ~ [bìbáh bí^lkwás]
 ‘the scales of a fish’

Note that the rule /d/ → [r] is never found in prefixes, because /d/ is always part of the prosodic stem, i.e. as a prefix consonant it occurs only before vowel-initial morphological stems.

3.2.3. Palatalisation of /w/

The labiovelar approximant /w/ is realised as a labiopalatal approximant [ɥ] before /i/ and/or after the palatal nasal /ɲ/.

- (11) a. /èsuŵ/ → [èsɥí] ‘ash’
 b. /ɲwé/ → [ɲɥé] ‘snake’

3.2.4. Labio-dentalisation of /m/

The bilabial nasal /m/ is realised as [ɱ] before /v/.

- (12) /m̀v̀ò:b̀/ → [ɱ̀v̀ò:β̀] ‘breathing’

3.2.5. Labialisation

Some consonants are labialised before /o/.¹¹ I found examples of /k/ → [k^w], /v/ → [v^w] and /m/ → [m^w]. The rule is lexically conditioned and problematic. On the one hand, its application by Eton speakers appears to be optional. On the other hand, I was sometimes corrected when I did not labialise. Moreover, the range of consonants for which labialisation has been noted can hardly be called a natural class. Anyway, the opposition between labialised and unlabialised consonants is never differential.

- (13) a. /àkǎl/ → [àk^wǎl] ‘foot’
 b. /ùvón/ → [ùv^wón] ‘axe’
 c. /àmǒz/ → [àm^wǒs] ‘day’

¹¹ Perhaps also before /ɔ/.

3.2.6. Spirantisation

The alveolar stops /t/ and /d/ are slightly affricated before /i/.

(14) /t̥id̥/ → [t̥ʰiɖ̥] ‘animal’

Figure 3 shows the spectrogram and the waveform of the verb form /âŋgâ t̥il/ → [âŋgâ t̥ʰil] ‘she is writing’. A period of friction is clearly visible on the spectrogram.

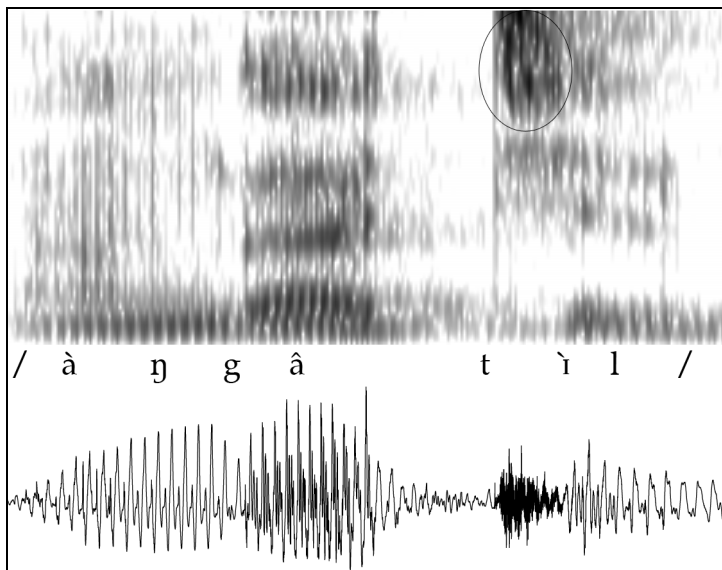


Figure 3. Affrication of /t/

3.3. Vowels

Before discussing rules of allophony, the realisation of the vowels of Eton is illustrated by means of two vowel plots. Figure 4 shows all vowel phonemes of Eton (plus the allophone [ɜ] of the phoneme /ɛ/) as pronounced by Désiré Essono. The measurements were taken in different phonological contexts, with between 15 and 20 tokens per vowel. The recordings were made on DAT tape (42.000 Hz) and downsampled to 16.000 Hz. Since the difference between the back vowels /o/ and /ɔ/ is less difficult to hear in Pie-Claude Ondobo's idiolect than in that of Désiré Essono, I made a vowel plot for the former's back vowels as well (Figure 5). Pie-Claude's voice was analogically recorded with a Nagra and then digitalised using the programme *SoundEdit*. Downsampling was also to 16.000 Herz. The vowels are also measured in different contexts, with at least 60 tokens

per vowel. The plots were made with the programme *Akustyk*,¹² which operates in *Praat*. Note the relatively high F2 value for /u/ in both analyses.

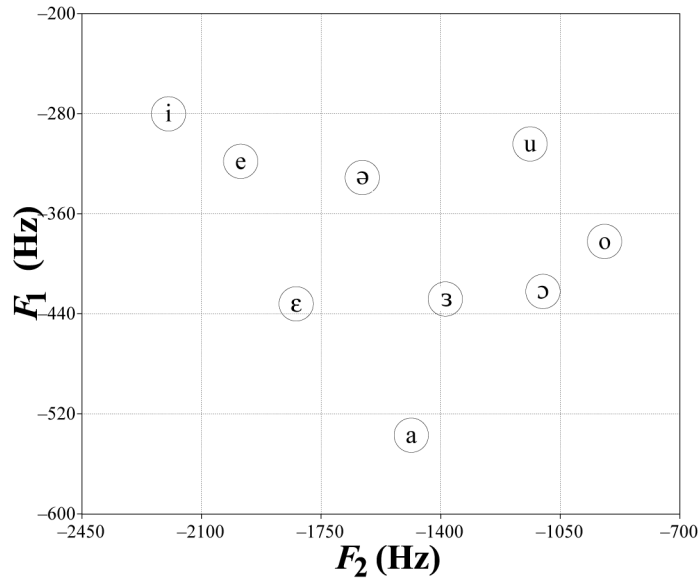


Figure 4. All vowels, *Désiré Essono-Biyébe*

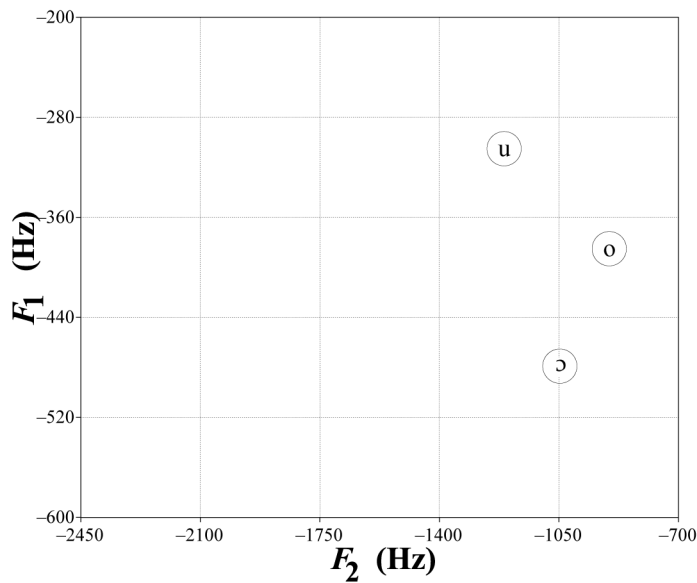


Figure 5. Back vowels, *Pie-Claude Ondobo*

¹² I wish to thank Bartek Plichta, the maker of *Akustyk*, for making his programme available, for inserting the Eton vowel chart in the programme and for his help.

3.3.1. Centralisation of /ɛ/

The front vowel of the third degree is centralised to [ɜ] before labial and velar consonants and before /j/ if it is the nucleus of an accentuated syllable.

- (15) a. |á # L-ɲɛ̀b| → /á ɲɛ̀b/ → [á ɲɜ̀b] ‘to be good’
 b. |á # L-pɛ̀m| → /á pɛ̀m/ → [ápɜ̀m] ‘to dislike’
 c. |ndɛ̀g| → /ndɛ̀g/ → [ndɜ̀g] ‘calabash’
 d. |ù-kɛ̀ŋ| → /ùkɛ̀ŋ/ → [ùkɜ̀ŋ] ‘knife’
 e. |pɛ̀j| → /pɛ̀j/ → [pɜ̀j] ‘viper’
 f. |à-vɛ̀j| → /àvɛ̀j/ → [àvɜ̀j] ‘red’

but:

- g. |è-bùm| → /èbùm/ → [èbùm] ‘belly’
 h. |è-máŋ| → /èmáŋ/ → [èmáŋ] ‘cheek’
 i. |è-kuàŋ| → /èkwǎŋ/ → [èkwǎŋ] ‘lance’
 j. |è-ŋgóz| → /èŋgóz/ → [èŋgós] ‘heap’

3.3.2. Nasalisation

Vowels are clearly nasalised if accentuated and immediately followed by the velar nasal /ŋ/. Nasalisation is symbolised by a diacritic [~] under the vowel in order to avoid interference with tone marking.

- (16) |ɾ-núŋá| → /núŋá/ → [núŋá] ‘dwarf’

Slight nasalisation of /ɔ/ occurs after the palatal nasal /ɲ/ and nasalisation of open vowels (3rd and 4th degree) between the labiovelar glide /w/ and any nasal consonant. This conditioning is not watertight and has to be refined.

- (17) a. /ɲɔ̃/ → [ɲɔ̃] ‘your mother’
 b. /ùɲwǎŋ/ → [ùɲwǎŋ] ‘bird’

3.3.3. Final aspiration

When followed by a pause, the close vowels /i/ and /u/ are sometimes followed by a considerable amount of friction. Figure 6 shows a spectrogram of the infinitive /á ⁴búgî/ → [á⁴búgî^χ] ‘to have a fracture’.

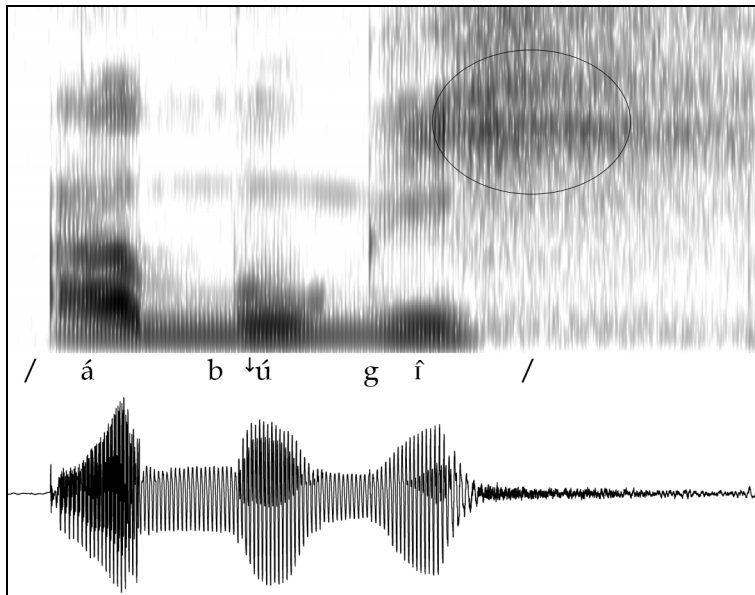


Figure 6. Final aspiration of /i/

3.3.4. Centralisation of /a/ after /w/

The front open vowel /a/ is centralised to [a] after the bilabial glide /w/ if the latter is not the non-branching onset of a syllable.

- (18) a. |N-Búán| → |m̀mwán| → [m̀mwáŋ]
 b. |è-wáki| → |èwáki| → [èwáki]

4. Morphophonology

Some structural items are always represented by the same phoneme, without having to take into consideration any morphophonological conditioning. Thus, ^o/t/ is always represented by /t/. This section lists all exceptions to such an automatic representation.

4.1. Consonants

4.1.1. The homorganic nasal ^o/N/ → /m, n, ɲ, ŋ, ŋ̃m/

The noun prefix of gender 1 and 3 is a syllabic homorganic nasal. Syllabicity is marked by the presence of tone marking (see 5.2 for a discussion of syllabicity). The following is a list of examples in which the prefix phoneme has the same place of articulation as the stem-initial consonant. If the stem begins in a vowel, the prefix is a bilabial nasal and loses its syllabicity (see the discussion of example 47).

- (19) a. $^{\circ}/N/ \rightarrow /m/ / _ V, C_{[labial]}$
 $|N\text{-}p\grave{u}\eta| \rightarrow /m\grave{p}\grave{u}\eta/$ ‘powder’
 $|N\text{-}B\grave{u}\eta| \rightarrow /m\grave{m}\grave{u}\eta/$ ‘cassava’
 $|N\text{-}V\acute{u}\acute{a}g| \rightarrow /m\grave{m}w\acute{a}g/$ ‘one’ (agreement pattern III)
 $|N\text{-}v\grave{o}:b\grave{o}| \rightarrow /m\grave{v}\grave{o}:b\grave{o}/$ ‘respiration’
 $|N\text{-}\grave{m}\eta g\acute{a}| \rightarrow /m\grave{m}\eta g\acute{a}/$ ‘woman’
- b. $^{\circ}/N/ \rightarrow /n/ / _ C_{[alveolar]}$
 $|N\text{-}t\acute{o}m| \rightarrow /n\grave{t}\acute{o}m/$ ‘hat’
 $|N\text{-}S\acute{o}m| \rightarrow /n\grave{t} s\acute{o}m/$ ‘hunt’
 $|N\text{-}\acute{L}\acute{o}| \rightarrow /n\grave{m}\acute{o}/$ ‘head’
 $|N\text{-}l\acute{u}\text{-}\grave{a}| \rightarrow /n\grave{l}^u\grave{a}/$ ‘smith’
- c. $^{\circ}/N/ \rightarrow /j/ / _ C_{[palatal]}$
 $|N\text{-}j\acute{e}g\acute{l}\acute{e}| \rightarrow /j\grave{è} j\acute{é}g\acute{l}\acute{è}/$ ‘teacher’
 $|N\text{-}j\acute{o}m| \rightarrow /j\grave{è} j\acute{o}m/$ ‘husband’
- d. $^{\circ}/N/ \rightarrow /ŋm/ / _ C_{[labiovelar]}$
 $|N\text{-}k\acute{p}\acute{é}l| \rightarrow /ŋm\grave{k}\acute{p}\acute{é}l/$ ‘grilled’
 $|N\text{-}w\acute{á}z| \rightarrow /ŋm\grave{w}\acute{á}z/$ ‘shrimp’
- e. $^{\circ}/N/ \rightarrow /ŋ/ / _ C_{[velar]}$
 $|N\text{-}k\acute{u}g| \rightarrow /ŋk\grave{u}g/$ ‘breast’
 $|N\text{-}\eta\acute{a}m| \rightarrow /ŋ\eta\acute{a}m/$ ‘residue’

4.1.2. Initial morphophonemes of stems often preceded by $^{\circ}/N/$ 4.1.2.1. $^{\circ}/B/$

- (20) a. $^{\circ}/B/ \rightarrow /m/ / N _$
 $|N\text{-}B\grave{u}\eta| \rightarrow /m\grave{m}\grave{u}\eta/$ ‘manioc tuber’
- b. $^{\circ}/B/ \rightarrow /b/ /$ elsewhere
 $|m\grave{i}\text{-}B\grave{u}\eta| \rightarrow /m\grave{i}b\grave{u}\eta/$ ‘manioc tubers’

4.1.2.2. $^{\circ}/V/$

- (21) a. $^{\circ}/V/ \rightarrow /m/ / N _$
 $|N\text{-}V\acute{u}\acute{a}g| \rightarrow /m\grave{m}w\acute{a}g/$ ‘one’ (III)¹³
- b. $^{\circ}/V/ \rightarrow /v/ /$ elsewhere
 $|m\grave{i}\text{-}V\acute{u}\acute{a}g| \rightarrow /m\grave{i}v\acute{w}\acute{a}g/$ ‘some’ (IV)

¹³ The roman number between brackets stands for the agreement pattern to which the prefix belongs.

4.1.2.3. °/ɣ/

- (22) a. °/ɣ/ → /j/ / N ___
 |N-ɣám| → /jɛ́ám/ ‘preparation’
 b. °/ɣ/ → /dʒ/ / elsewhere
 |mì-ɣám| → /mìdʒám/ ‘preparations’

4.1.2.4. °/ɬ/

- (23) a. °/ɬ/ → /n/ / N ___
 |N-ɬáŋ| → /námáŋ/ ‘story’
 b. °/ɬ/ → /l/ / elsewhere
 |mì-ɬáŋ| → /mìláŋ/ ‘stories’

4.1.2.5. °/S/

- (24) a. °/S/ → /tʃ/ / N ___
 |N-Sòŋ| → /ntʃòŋ/ ‘fish-trap’
 b. °/S/ → /s/ / elsewhere
 |mì-Sòŋ| → /mìsòŋ/ ‘fish-traps’

4.1.2.6. °/v̂j/

- (25) a. °/v̂j/ → /ŋm̂/ / N ___
 |N-v̂jǎn| → /ŋm̂jǎn/ ‘herb (sp.)’
 |N-v̂jǎm| → /ŋm̂jǎm/ ‘bird (sp.)’
 b. °/v̂j/ → /vj/ / elsewhere
 |mì-v̂jǎn| → /mìvjǎn/ ‘herbs (sp.)’

4.1.2.7. °/ĝb/

- (26) a. °/ĝb/ → /ŋm̂/ / N ___
 |m̂-ŋ-gbél-Ǻ| → /m̂ŋm̂élà/ ‘I already have’
 b. °/ĝb/ → /gb̂/ / elsewhere
 |m̂-gbél-Ǻ| → /m̂gb̂élà/ ‘I have’

4.1.2.8. °/j/

- (27) a. °/j/ → /j/ / N ___
 |N-ĵnú| → /ĵĵnú/ ‘plan, project’
 b. °/j/ → /j/ / elsewhere
 |mì-ĵnú| → /m̂ĵnú/ ‘plans, projects’

The morphophoneme $^{\circ}/\widehat{v}j/$ is the only one that is sometimes represented by two phonemes.¹⁴ For the time being, six examples of the morphological alternation in (25) have been found, all of them nouns of gender 3. These are:

(28)	singular (3)	plural (4) ¹⁵	
	$/\widehat{\eta m} \widehat{\eta m} \check{a} m/$	$m \grave{i} v j \check{a} m/$	‘toucan(s)’
	$/\widehat{\eta m} \widehat{\eta m} \check{a} n/$	$m \grave{i} v j \check{a} n/$	‘herb(s) (sp.)’
	$/\widehat{\eta m} \widehat{\eta m} \check{e} g/$	$m \grave{i} v j \check{e} g/$	‘dyke(s)’
	$/\widehat{\eta m} \widehat{\eta m} \acute{e} n/$	$m \grave{i} v j \acute{e} n/$	‘leg’
	$/\widehat{\eta m} \widehat{\eta m} \check{e} l/$	$m \grave{i} v j \check{e} l/$	‘moonlight’
	$/\widehat{\eta m} \widehat{\eta m} \acute{a} l/$	$m \grave{i} v \acute{o} l/$	‘running contest’

The last example ($\widehat{\eta m} \widehat{\eta m} \acute{a} l$) has a different vowel in the singular and in the plural. Moreover, a schwa does not normally occur in a closed accentuated syllable. A possible way to account for this exceptional stem is to represent it without a vowel on the structural level $|\widehat{v}j \acute{l}|$. In the singular an epenthetic schwa is inserted on the phonological level. Remember that a sonorant cannot be the nucleus of a syllable that has an onset. In the plural, the phoneme $/j/$ occupies the nucleus, surfacing as $[i]$.¹⁶

The five morphophonemes defined in Section 4.1.2.1-4.1.2.5 are necessary, because $^{\circ}/b/$, $^{\circ}/v/$, $^{\circ}/d\zeta/$, $^{\circ}/l/$ and $^{\circ}/s/$ are not always represented by $/m/$, $/j/$, $/n/$ and $/tʃ/$ respectively after $^{\circ}/N/$. There is a small number of lexical exceptions in the main idiolect on which this description is based, as well as some cases of free variation.

(29)	a. $ \grave{N}-\underline{d\zeta\acute{o}i} $	$\rightarrow /j \grave{i} d \zeta \acute{o} j/$	‘commander’
	b. $ \grave{N}-\underline{s\acute{a}-\acute{A}} \sim \grave{N}-\underline{S\acute{a}-\acute{A}} $	$\rightarrow / \grave{n} s \acute{a} / \sim / j \grave{i} t \acute{f} \acute{a} /$	‘worker’

¹⁴ This is not an ideal situation, but there are no reasons to exclude it a priori. A possible way of avoiding this situation is to define a labiovelar fricative phoneme $/\widehat{v}j/$, but this solution transfers the problem to a lower level of analysis instead of solving it. Moreover, $/\widehat{v}j/$ has no psychological validity, i.e. speakers do not perceive it as one sound.

¹⁵ The number between brackets indicates the gender of the nouns in question, see Section III:3.

¹⁶ This word could also be an argument to say that the morphophoneme $^{\circ}/\widehat{v}j/$ is represented by the phoneme sequence $/v\acute{o}l/$ when not preceded by $|\grave{N}-|$. The front vowel then becomes a glide in order to avoid vowel hiatus (see 5.3.2).

4.1.3. Representation of $^{\circ}l/$

The morphophoneme $^{\circ}l/$ is always represented by $/l/$ in prefixes and in the onset of accentuated syllables.¹⁷ Elsewhere, the morphophoneme $^{\circ}l/$ can be represented by either $/l/$ or $/ɪ/$ or it can be left unrepresented. Zero-representation and representation by $/ɪ/$ are clearly lenition rules. However, they cannot not be treated along with the other lenition rules in Section 3.2.2 due to their problematic conditioning. The choice seems to be sometimes free or dialectally conditioned and sometimes lexically conditioned. Compare the verb stem in (30b) to stems like *tɪl* ‘write’, *kpál* ‘be loquacious’ and *dʒòl* ‘be bitter’, in which the final $^{\circ}l/$ is obligatorily represented by $/l/$. Zero-representation gives rise to compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. Representation by $/ɪ/$ results in semivocalisation of this phoneme, or in coalescence with the preceding vowel, which is thereby closed by one degree (and sometimes also lengthened and/or followed by a palatal glide).

- (30) a. $|ɲgál|$ → $/ɲgál/$ → $[ɲgál]$ ‘gun’
 → $/ɲgáɪ/$ → $[ɲgɛ:]$
 → $/ɲgá/$ → $[ɲgá:]$
- b. $|tùl|$ → $/tùl/$ → $[tùl]$ ‘be sharp’
 → $/tùɪ/$ → $[tɥi:]$
- c. $|\hat{e}-wáɪ|$ → $|\hat{e}-wáɪ/$ → $[\hat{e}wáɪ]$ ‘birth’
 → $|\hat{e}-wáɪ/$ → $[\hat{e}wɛ́ɛj]$

4.1.4. Elision

In a succession of two identical obstruents separated by an affix boundary the first is not represented (see example (48) in Section 5.2 for compensatory lengthening).¹⁸

- (31) $|\acute{a} \# dʒáb-bàn|$ → $|\acute{a} dʒà:bàn|$ ‘to be lengthened’

¹⁷ $^{\circ}l/$ occurs in prefixes in Southern dialects only.

¹⁸ This rule will probably have to be revised, making it stronger than formulated here and transferring it to the level of realisation rules. See, for instance, the example in (26a), where the representation rules give rise to a succession of two labiovelar nasals, of which only one is realised. All successions of homorganic nasal consonants are reduced, except if the first one is syllabic. The orthography is still a bit inconsistent here.

4.1.5. Lexical exceptions

Some isolated words present idiosyncratic alternations. It is possible to define special morphophonemes for these exceptions as well, but I will not do it explicitly:

- (32) a. /j̄j̄á/ ‘wife’ /b̄àj̄á/ ‘wives’
 b. /p̄wà/ ‘one’ (IX, X) /-v̄wà/ ‘one’ (II, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII)

There is also a small series of verbs with a stem-initial voiceless stop and related nouns of gender 9 with a stem-initial voiced stop (see Section III:4.3.2.2).

- (33) a. /k̄à/ ‘share’ /j̄ḡà/ ‘sharing’
 b. /p̄ò.n̄/ ‘resemble’ /m̄b̄ò.n̄/ ‘resemblance’

4.2. Vowels

4.2.1. Representation of vowels by a glide

All structural vowels, except $^{\circ}/a/$ and $^{\circ}/ə/$, can be represented by a semivowel; back vowels by /w/ and front vowels by /j/, because of hiatus resolution (see 5.3.2).

4.2.2. Representation of $^{\circ}/\varepsilon/$

The phoneme / ε / does not occur before a word boundary, except after /w/, i.e. after a structural $^{\circ}/w/$ or a structural vowel. In contrast, when the phoneme / ε / occurs in a stem, it is always before a word boundary, except in a few borrowings such as /z̄àk̄ú/ ‘school’ and /b̄àz̄ím̄/ ‘police’. This distribution can be accounted for by means of the representation rules in (34) and (35). Note that the related word forms in the examples provide extra evidence for these representation rules.

- (34) $^{\circ}/\varepsilon/ \rightarrow /ə/$ / C__# (if C \neq $^{\circ}/w/$)
 |b̄é| \rightarrow /b̄ə/ ‘cook (intr.)’
 |k̄è| \rightarrow /k̄ə/ ‘go’ (stem)
- (35) $^{\circ}/\varepsilon/ \rightarrow /e/$ / elsewhere
 |b̄é-l̄| \rightarrow /b̄élə/ ‘cook (tr.)’
 |k̄è-r̄| \rightarrow /k̄èr̄/ ‘go!’ (imperative singular)

It must be pointed out that the distribution of / ε / and / ε / is complementary in prefixes as well, be it in a totally different, phonotactic way. Whereas / ε / occurs only in V-prefixes, / ε / is restricted to CV-prefixes.

4.2.3. The harmonic vowel °/A/

Certain suffixes consist of a vowel that has the same quality as the preceding stem vowel, except if the latter is close (first degree). Then °/A/ is represented by /a/.¹⁹ The following are examples of agentive nouns derived from verbs.

- (36) a. |N-jón-A| → /jìjónô/ ‘somebody who cries’ (jón ‘cry’)
 b. |N-sùm-A| → /ñsùmà/ ‘labourer’ (sùm ‘labour’)

If the preceding stem vowel is not close, the harmonic vowel is represented by the phoneme that would represent the preceding stem vowel if it were in the position of the harmonic vowel. For instance |CεCA #| is represented by /CεCə/, not by /CεCε/, because °/ε/ is represented by /ə/ before a word boundary. Similarly, when °/A/ is preceded by °/ua/ or °/uA/, it is represented by /ɔ/ (see the rule of vowel coalescence in 5.3.3).

- (37) |Ngùàg-A| → /ɲgɔwàgɔ/ ‘Stone’ (proper name)

4.2.4. Elision and reduction

Unaccentuated vowel morphophonemes that are followed by a word boundary are alternatively not represented or reduced. Reduction is variable and mostly involves centralisation and lowering. The following are examples of reduction and elision respectively.

- (38) a. |mà-H-jén-Lgì-H # ɲɛ| → /màjéngá ɲâ/ ‘I have seen him’
 b. |m-ìnygá # m-pè| → /m̀̀nygá mpà/ ‘which woman?’
 c. |jâɲà| → /jâɲà/ ‘wait’ (stem)
 d. |á # L-múáńú # mùàńú| → /á ̀̀mwán ̀̀mwáńú/ ‘to wait for money’

¹⁹ I initially thought that a rule that assimilates a post-accentual °/a/ to a preceding vowel (except if the latter is close) would be too strong, as illustrated by words like *kòglàn* ‘implore’. However, as Larry Hyman pointed out, this rule might work if it is restricted to open syllables. The final vowel in the very restricted number of possible counterexamples such as /bègá/ ‘type, kind’ is difficult to transcribe, because it is reduced (i.e. shortened and centralised), and might as well be transcribed as /ə/. It is therefore possible to get rid of the morphophoneme °/A/ and replace it by the abovementioned (rather complex) representation rule of the morphophoneme °/a/.

- e. |à-H-báŋi # H # ỳ-kúág| → /àbál ỳ⁴kwág/
 ‘he wounded the antelope’

5. Syllable structure

Sections 2-4 dealt with the segmental phonology of Eton and Section 6 will describe the tonal phonology. This section describes how elements of the tonal and the segmental tiers combine into syllables. It will be argued that there are no structural syllables, i.e. there is no syllabic skeleton consisting of an underlying succession of syllabic (V, o) and non-syllabic (C, <) elements. Apart from the segmental tier and the tonal tier, a rhythmical tier is defined that contains only one kind of elements, viz. weight units (following Hyman 1985). Every segment is structurally linked to a weight unit, some of which also have a tone linked to them. Syllables are the outcome of syllabification rules. The relation between tones and weight units is intricate and it is difficult to describe one tier without some knowledge of the other. Readers who are unfamiliar with tone might want to read Section 6 first. For others, it suffices to know that the complex tone patterns of Eton are described by means of three structural tones: low, high and dissimilating high. These can be structurally linked to a weight unit or not. In the latter case, we will speak of floating tones. No claims are made here as to the universal validity of the weight unit approach. I only see it as a relatively elegant way of visualising the tonal and syllabic facts of Eton.

5.1. Surface syllable structures

The syllable types in the following overview are the result of syllabification rules presented in Section 5.2. The number of tonemes a syllable can carry depends on whether it is accentuated or not. Syllables are separated by a full stop in the examples given. The syllable schemes contain the following symbols:

C	any surface consonant
G	surface glide (subclass of S)
N	nasal consonant (subclass of S)
P	voiced stop (subclass of C)
S	surface sonorant consonant (subclass of C)
V	surface vowel

S	ŋ.kǝn	‘tail’
	ń.tʃá	‘ripe plantain banana’
V ²⁰	è.lén	‘palm tree’
CV	mə.lén	‘palm trees’
NPV	ndá	‘house’
CVC	ì.věz	‘bone’
NPVC	ndúg.dâ	‘heat’
NPGV	ndwì	‘bad news’
	ŋgwě	‘centipede’
NPGVC	ndwág	‘deafness’
CGV	pwá.gɔ́	‘really’
CGVC	pwág	‘one’
CV:	ì.d̥i:gà	‘key’
NCV:	mbò:ńú	‘resemblance’
NPGV	mbwé	‘friend’

This list can be summarised as follows. Syllables minimally consist of a nucleus, either a vowel or a sonorant consonant. A syllable with a consonantal nucleus cannot have an onset nor a coda. If the nucleus is a vowel, any consonant can serve as an onset.

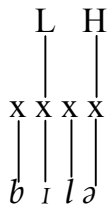
²⁰ This syllable type is not entirely unproblematic. It occurs only after a pause. However, after a pause, vowels often seem to be preceded by a glottal stop.

Branching onsets consist either of a voiced stop preceded by a homorganic nasal, or of any consonant followed by a glide. Double branching onsets have a voiced stop preceded by a homorganic nasal and followed by a glide. The rime of a syllable with a vocalic nucleus can be a short vowel, a long vowel or a short vowel followed by a consonant. Onsetless syllables never have a coda. As has been said, many consonants can appear in C_1 position only.

5.2. Weight units & basic syllabification

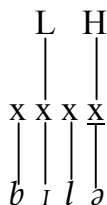
The minimal element on the rhythmical tier is the weight unit, symbolised as x. Tones and segments link to weight units, as in the following structural representation.

(39) $[b\grave{i}.l\acute{e}] \rightarrow /b\grave{i}l\acute{a}/$ ‘trees’



Weight units can be deleted during derivation, but not created. There is no perfect match between segmental timing slots and tonal attachment sites. Once again, the notion of accent appears to be useful. The weight unit of the first vowel of every stem is accentuated, unless it is immediately followed by another vowel. In that case the accent comes on the second vowel. (Remember that the major segmental manifestation of accent lies on the preceding onset consonant, though). Accentuated weight units have one segmental attachment site, but can link to two tones. Syllables can retain only one weight unit after derivation. Hence, the maximal number of tones that can be attached to a syllable is two. Accentuated weight units will be underlined. The correct representation for the word $b\grave{i}l\acute{a}$ is thus:

(40) $/b\grave{i}.l\acute{a}/$ ‘trees’

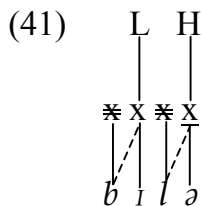


The first syllabification rule to be mentioned is the onset creation rule.

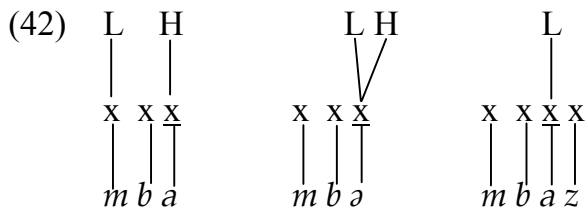
Onset Creation Rule

The weight unit of a consonant is deleted when that consonant is followed by a vocalic segment. The consonant segment is then associated to the weight unit of the following vowel.

All elements that are deleted during derivation are marked by double strikethrough.



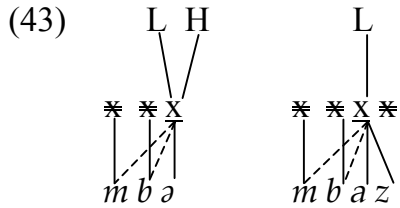
One of the advantages of a model based on weight units over models with a CV-tier, for instance, is that the syllabicity of a segment is not predetermined by its being linked to a basically syllabic or non-syllabic slot. Structurally syllabic sonorants and vowels can lose their syllabicity whereas non-syllabic sonorants can become syllabic during derivation. Structural syllabicity should be understood as the fact that a segment is structurally linked to a weight unit that is itself linked to a tone. The words $|\hat{N}\text{-}b\hat{a}| \rightarrow /m\hat{b}\hat{a}/$ ‘ripe’ versus $|\underline{m}b\check{e}| \rightarrow /mb\check{\partial}/$ ‘pot, saucepan’ and $|\underline{m}b\grave{a}z| \rightarrow /mb\grave{a}z/$ ‘maize’ illustrate the difference between a structurally syllabic and non-syllabic nasal.



The syllabification of the words $/mb\check{\partial}/$ ‘pot’ and $/mb\grave{a}z/$ ‘maize’ in isolation involves a second onset formation rule.

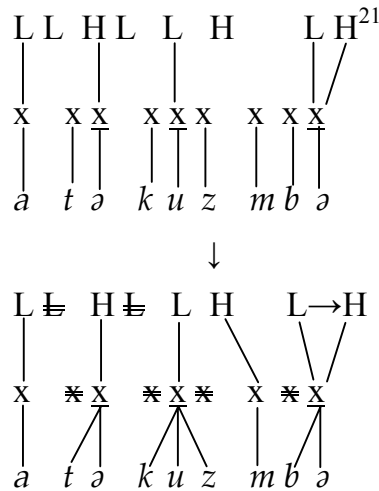
Homorganic Nasal Branching Onset Formation

A nasal segment that has the same place of articulation as a following voiced stop is associated to the weight unit of the vowel that follows the voiced stop, unless the nasal is linked to a tone.



The original weight unit of the nasal is deleted in this example. The situation is more complicated if a word like *mbǎ* ‘pot’ is preceded by a floating high tone, as in $|\grave{a}\text{-}L\grave{t}\acute{e} \# L\text{-}k\grave{u}z \# H \# m\grave{b}\acute{e}|$ ‘He buys a pot’. According to the tone rules the rising tone on *mbǎ* becomes a downstepped high tone (due to high tone plateauing, see 6.2.5). This downstepped high tone saturates the weight unit of the stem, so that the preceding floating *H* has to attach to the left. In slow and deliberate speech this results in a rising tone on *kùz*: *àté kùz ˩mbá*. In normal speech, however, the floating high tone attaches to the initial nasal consonant: *átá kùz m˩bá*. Consequently, the structurally non-syllabic nasal will become syllabic.

(44) $/\grave{a}\acute{t}\acute{e} k\grave{u}z m\grave{b}\acute{a}/$ ‘He buys a pot.’ (NSP)



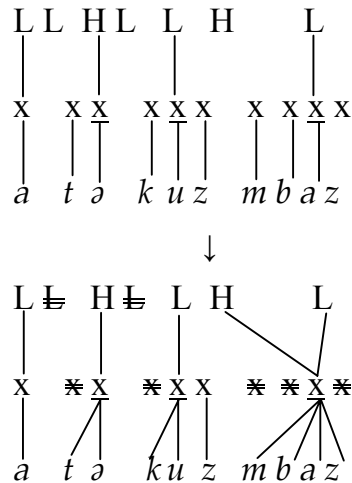
²¹ The unattached L’s on the tonal tier are floating low tone morphemes, which are irrelevant for the current discussion.

Interestingly, something similar can happen on a sonorant onset of an accentuated syllable. This consonant is then split in a syllabic and a non-syllabic part. The latter forms the onset of the following syllable.

- (45) |à-Ltḗ # L-kùàn # H # ù-ǎŋ| → /àtá kwàn ʷʷǎŋ/ (NSP)
 → /àtá kwǎn ʷǎŋ/ (SSP)

Syllabification of an initial non-syllabic nasal as in (44) can take place only if all weight units to the right are saturated with tones. Otherwise, the floating high tone does not trigger syllable formation, but simply attaches to the existing syllable, as is the case when *mbâz* is inserted in the same phrase.

- (46) |à-tḗ # L-kùz # H # mbâz| → /àtḗ kùz mbâz/ ‘He buys maize.’

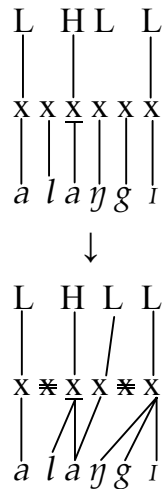


Homorganic nasal branching onset creation applies also when a syllabic nasal is preceded by a vowel. The nasal then loses its syllabicity. Its tone is delinked and its weight unit canceled.

- (47) |ábò # ñ-d̄m̄d̄m̄| → /ábò ñd̄m̄d̄m̄/ ‘at the blind person’s place’

In examples (43, 46 & 47), homorganic nasal branching onset formation deletes the weight unit of the nasal consonant. This does not happen, however, if the latter is immediately preceded by an accentuated weight unit, as illustrated in the Hesternal past perfective of the verb *láy* ‘read’, which is formed by means of the suffix *-Lgì*. Consequently, the vowel that precedes the homorganic nasal spreads to the liberated weight unit, resulting in compensatory lengthening.

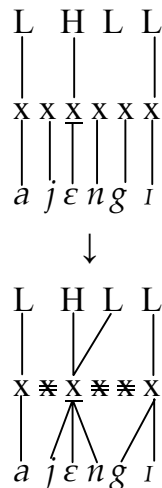
(48) |à-H-láŋ-Lgì| → /à.lâ:.ŋgì/ 'he read'



Homorganic nasal branching onset creation does not give rise to compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel in unaccentuated syllables, e.g. in prefixes. Thus, the gender 4 noun prefix *mì-* in *mìjɔdzǔg* 'difficulties' has a short vowel.

Note that this kind of branching onset creation does not occur when a nasal has a different place of articulation than the following consonant, as in the Hesternal past perfective of the verb *jén* 'see'.

(49) |à-jén-Lgì| → /à.jên.gì/ 'he saw'

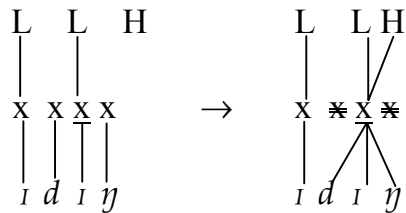


If a consonant is preceded by a vowel and it is not subject to an onset formation rule, it automatically regroups with that vowel. This is called *coda formation*.

Coda Formation

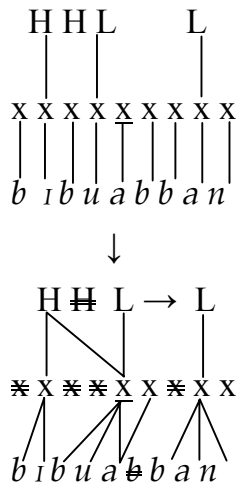
A consonant that follows a vowel and that is not subject to an onset formation rule attaches to the weight unit of the preceding vowel and loses its own weight unit.

(50) $|\underline{i-d\eta\eta}-H| \rightarrow |\underline{i}d\eta\eta|$ 'love'



That all segments are structurally linked to a weight unit, also obstruents, is added by another instance of compensatory vowel lengthening. When the first segment of a succession of two identical obstruents is deleted (see 4.1.4), its weight unit survives if preceded by an accentuated weight unit. The preceding vowel then spreads to the liberated weight unit, as in the verb form *bibwâ:bân* 'we were beaten', where the verb stem is *bwâb* 'beat' and the passive suffix is $|-bân|$ ($|b\bar{i}-|$ being the first person plural subject prefix and *H* the past tense prefix).

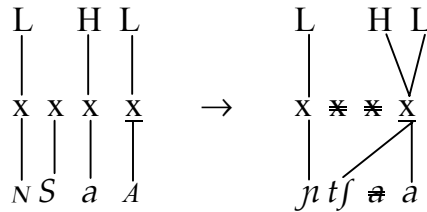
(51) $|\underline{b\bar{i}}-H-\underline{bwâb}-bân| \rightarrow |\underline{b\bar{i}}bwâ:bân|$



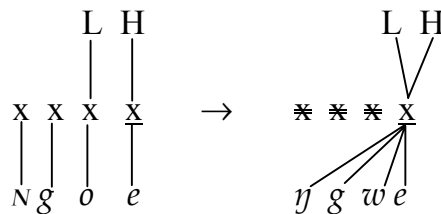
The fact that stems have two attachment sites for tones must be respected throughout the derivation, also when segmental material is deleted. Therefore, when a succession of two weight units in a monosyllabic stem is reduced to one weight unit because of vowel

hiatus resolution, the remaining weight unit carries the tones of both underlying vowels.

(52) |N-Sá-A| → /jítfâ/ ‘worker’



(53) |Ngòé| → /ɲgwě/ ‘pig’



5.3. Hiatus resolution

As in many languages, successions of vowels are avoided in Eton. This section discusses the strategies of hiatus resolution, including vowel elision, glide formation (also called semivocalisation), vowel coalescence and diphthong formation (see Casali 1997 for this terminology). It is confined to offering general tendencies rather than a detailed description, because apparently too many parameters play a role to envisage them all: vowel quality, speech rate, word frequency, morpho-syntactic boundaries, number of syllables per word and probably also lexical collocations. Hiatus resolution never gives rise to compensatory lengthening of the surviving vowel. Not only the segment is deleted, but also its weight unit. Therefore, the original tone of the deleted vowel has to find an alternative attachment site.

5.3.1. V₁ elision

When the strategy of vowel elision is used to avoid a succession of two vowels, it is always the first vowel that drops. V₁ elision is the most important strategy when two underlying vowels are separated by a word boundary (#). I found no restrictions as to the quality of one of the vowels.

- (54) a. |zəkúli # à-Ltɛ́ # L-pɛ̀d| → /zəkúl àtá pɛ̀d/
‘the school is closed’
b. |á # è-pàn| → /épàn/ ‘in the forest’
c. |à-kúmá # ú-Ltɛ́ # L-ɲɛ̀b| → /àkúm ú^ʔtá ɲɛ̀b/
‘wealth is nice’
d. |ɪ-nɛ́ # ɪ-vóǺ| → /m ɪvóǺ/ ‘it is empty’
e. |dɛ́ # ù-H-dǺ| → /d ùdǺ/ ‘have you eaten?’
f. |ndógò # á # dǺ-ǎd| → /ndóg ʔá ʔdǺd/
‘the mango on the basket’

Note that examples (54a, c & f) are likewise explained by the representation rule in Section 4.2.4 (elision and reduction of final, non-accentuated stem vowels).

5.3.2. Glide formation

Glide formation is the most common hiatus resolution strategy within stems and between prefix and stem. However, a succession of two identical vowels within a word is subject to V₁ elision. The first of the adjacent vowels semivocalises, except when both vowels are of the second or third degree. In that case it depends mainly on the dialect. In “Northern Eton” it is mostly the second vowel, in “Southern Eton” mostly the first.

- (55) a. |ù-ěj|²² → /wěj/ ‘honey’
“Northern” “Southern”
b. |mbóé| → /mbój/ /mbwé/ ‘friend’
c. |m-òé| → /mǒj/ /mwě/ ‘names’
d. |ɲgòé| → /ɲgǒj/ /ɲgwě/ ‘pig’
e. |ɲgǒé| → /ɲgǒj/ /ɲgwě/ ‘centipede’

Sometimes glide formation resolves hiatus across a word boundary. This appears to be most often the case when the first vowel is |u|.

- (56) |ású # H= ɪ-sáH # w-ě| → /ásw ɪsá ʔwé/ ‘for his work’

A very common application of the rule of glide formation is °/ua/ → /wa/ in stems (but not before a word boundary, see 5.3.3). In many cases it is impossible to know whether /wa/ represents °/ua/ or °/wa/. Sometimes it is possible, as in the case of ù-kwǎn ‘disease’. A noun

²² The final segment of this word might also be /ɪ/. I see no arguments in favor of one of the two underlying representations for the moment.

meaning ‘ill person’ can be derived from *ùkwǎn* by means of reduplication, according to the following rule, where the asterisk stands for anything following the initial CV-sequence of the stem.

$$-C_x V_x^* \rightarrow \grave{N}- C_x V_x N C_x V_x^* (\text{if } V_x = \text{1st degree})$$

The result is *ỳkú^lỳkwǎn*, not *ỳkwǎ^lỳkwǎn*, which proves that *|kùàn-H|* is the correct underlying representation of the stem. Another way to know the difference on the structural level is when */wa/* occurs in initial position of a noun stem. Some gender prefixes have different allomorphs depending on whether they precede a vowel-initial or a consonant-initial stem. The prefix of gender 5, for instance, is *è-* before consonants and *d-* before vowels.

- (57) a. *|è-tǎ|* → *|ètǎ|* ‘knot’
 b. *|d-ǒb|* → *|dǒb|* ‘sky’
 c. *|d-ùlâ|* → *|dùlâ|* ‘a walk’

When the stem begins in */wa/*, there are two possibilities:

- (58) a. *|d-ùád|* → *|dwǎd|* ‘furuncle’
 b. *|è-wǎli|* → *|èwǎli|* ‘birth’

The noun *èwǎli* is derived from the verb *wǎli*. The initial syllable of a verb stem always has an onset, probably in order to avoid onsetless accentuated syllables. Therefore, */wa/* will be interpreted as the representation of *°/ua/*, except where */w/* is the onset of the first syllable of a verb or deverbal noun stem. In the latter case */wa/* represents *°/wa/*. See rule 5.3.3 for an alternative possibility.

5.3.3. Vowel coalescence

The third hiatus resolution strategy to be mentioned is vowel coalescence, the merger of two vowels into one. *°/u/* and *°/a/* merger to */ɔ/* before a word boundary.

$$|ua \#| \rightarrow /ɔ/$$

- (59) *|bùâ|* → *|bɔ|* ‘rot’

The correct structural representation of the verb stem in (59) becomes apparent when it takes the valency increasing suffix *|-lâ|*, where *°/ua/* becomes */wa/* due to glide formation (see rule 5.3.2 above).

- (60) *|bùâ-lâ|* → *|bwâlɔ|* ‘destroy, make rot’

There is a large number of CVC- and CVCV-stems in which /wa/ alternates with /ɔ/ (61). In the case of CVCV-stems the alternation only exists in the first syllable. It seems to be largely dialectally conditioned, but many speakers use and accept both alternatives freely. On the other hand, there are stems in which /wa/ never alternates with /ɔ/ (62) and, vice versa, stems that have always /ɔ/, never /wa/ (63). The stems that allow the alternation (across or within dialects) can be noted with underlying $^{\circ}/uA/$.²³

- (61) a. |N-SúAbÁ| → |jítʃóbó/ ~ |ítʃwábó/ ‘mortar’
 b. |ĩ-mùÁŋ| → |mǎŋ/ ~ |mwǎŋ/ ‘bed’
- (62) a. |N-kùá!| → |jkwǎ!/ ‘rope’
 b. |súád| → |swád/ ‘go bankrupt’
 c. |ŋgùàg| → |ŋgwàg/ ‘stone’
- (63) a. |ĩ-tòŋ| → |tòŋ/ ‘palm nut’
 b. |ĩ-bòg| → |bòg/ ‘hip’

Between words, coalescence is attested only when the second vowel is the front close vowel $^{\circ}/i/$ and the first a front or central vowel. Front vowels are closed by one degree and central vowels are fronted. In both cases vowel coalescence is in free alternation with another hiatus resolution strategy: glide formation in the word (except before a word boundary #) and elision before a word boundary.

- (64) a. |mbě # ì=tàgà| → |mbě tàgà/ ~ |mb ĭ tàgà/
 ‘pipe, lit. tobacco pot’
 b. |ndá # ĭ-bù!| → |ndé bù!/ ‘nine houses’

There is considerable variation in the phonetic detail of phrases such as the last one. Sometimes the second vowel does not entirely merge with the first, but influences it (assimilation) and forms a diphthong with it [ndé^ɨ bù:].

5.3.4. Diphthong formation

The structural succession $^{\circ}/uA/$ is represented by the diphthong /^ua/ or by /u/ before a word boundary, depending on whether the word boundary is utterance final or not.

²³ Probably these stems have in common that their second consonant is non-coronal. This needs to be checked. Anyway, even if this proves to be a necessary condition for the alternation to be possible, it is definitely not a sufficient condition.

- (65) a. | \dot{N} - $\underline{lú}$ - \dot{A} | → | $\dot{n}l^u\hat{a}$ | ‘blacksmith’
 b. | \dot{N} - $\underline{lú}$ - \dot{A} # $m\grave{m}$ - $\underline{t\acute{o}\eta}$ | → | $\dot{n}l^u\ m\grave{m}t\acute{o}\eta$ | ‘dibble maker’

The diphthong / $^u a$ / is a succession of two vowels, the second of which is more prominent than the first, that co-occur in the same syllable nucleus. Apart from $\dot{n}l^u\hat{a}$ it was found in two more words: $\grave{b}^u\hat{a}$ ‘dew’ and $m\grave{a}b^u\hat{a}$ ‘poverty’.

6. Tone

6.1. Introduction

The tone patterns of Eton will be described by means of three structural tones: a low tone (L), a high tone (H) and a dissimilating high tone (D). At the end of the derivation every syllable must carry at least one tone. No special rules are needed to fulfil this requirement. Quite the contrary, sometimes Eton tonology seems to be a struggle to get every distinctive tone attached before the end of the derivation is reached. Tonal information is generally more robust than segmental information. Tones can only be deleted when they are identical to adjacent tones, i.e. when they do not contribute to a certain melody. A syllable can be associated to one of five different tone patterns: low (\grave{a}), high (\acute{a}), low-high ($\grave{a}\acute{a}$), high-low ($\acute{a}\grave{a}$) and downstepped high ($^{\downarrow}\acute{a}$).²⁴ Downstepped high tones are tones that are slightly lower than a preceding high tone. This lowering is functional. High tones following a downstep within the same intonation unit²⁵ are never higher than that downstepped high tone. Moreover, downstepped high tones can never follow a low tone (whether isolated or in a high-low combination).²⁶ The following words and phrases illustrate the differential function of tone.

- (66) | $z\acute{a}m$ | ‘pleasure’
 | $z\grave{a}m$ | ‘raffia’
 | $z\grave{a}m$ | ‘leprosy’

²⁴ Perhaps a sixth pattern has to be added, viz. downstepped falling ($^{\downarrow}\hat{a}$). The possibility exists in theory, but at present I fail to hear a clear difference between a downstepped high tone and a downstepped falling pattern, provided that the latter exists.

²⁵ This is a notion that needs further investigation. I have not yet studied the relation between intonation units and syntactic units.

²⁶ The term *downstep* refers to non-automatic downstep in this description, not to downdrift.

/pám/ ‘go away!’
 /pâm/ ‘man’
 /ndá ì mímǵá/ ‘the house of the woman’
 /ndá í ↓mímǵá/ ‘the houses of the woman’²⁷
 /ílá/ ‘a/the glass’
 /ílá/ ‘1) ‘this glass’, 2) three’²⁸
 /í↓lá/ ‘in the glass’

Contrary to segmental phonemes, tonemes cannot be described as relatively discrete regions in a continuum. Tonal differences are always relative. A high tone at the end of an utterance with falling intonation can be acoustically lower than a low tone at the beginning of that utterance. As long as it is distinctly higher than the low tones in its immediate environment, it functions as a high tone.

A final introductory remark concerns borrowings from European languages. I have not found any link between stress in the source word and tone in Eton, but this might be because it is often impossible to know whether a certain word is borrowed from French or from (Pidgin) English.

6.2. Tone rules

The tone rules describe how floating tones attach to the available segmental material. Possible outcomes of these rules are the formation of complex tones (rising or falling), downstep of high tones, high tone plateauing and delinking of underlyingly attached tones, sometimes involving their elision. It is impossible to formulate the tone rules without reference to accent and morphosyntactic boundaries. Suffixed floating tones attach to the left and prefixed floating tones to the right, i.e. attachment within the word is always in the direction of the accentuated syllable. Attachment of floating tones across words is normally to the right. Accentuated syllables have two attachment sites for tones. Unaccentuated syllables can carry one tone only, except in some cases where tonal material risks to be lost due to an insufficient

²⁷ These phrases are in a phonological notation of slow and deliberate speech, with pauses between the words, in which hiatus resolution strategies do not apply.

²⁸ These forms do not appear in isolation. In the first translation it is the noun *ílá* preceded by the augment, which marks a noun as an antecedent of a relative clause, among other things. In the second translation, *ílá* is the form of agreement pattern X of the adnominal numeral ‘three’.

number of available attachment sites. Before describing the tone rules proper, we must discuss a rule that creates floating tones: the rule of high tone copy.

6.2.1. High tone copy

A word final high tone is copied to the right, i.e. every word with a final high tone is followed by a floating high tone.

$$c\acute{o} \# \rightarrow c\acute{o}H \#^{29}$$

Examples (67-71) illustrate this rule in a variety of syntactic structures. Examples (67c) and (68b) are meant to prove that no floating high tone morphemes are at stake. The floating high tone that results from high tone copy is not represented in the structural notation. In example (67b) the prefix of the anaphoric modifier has an underlying high tone, so that high tone copy has no audible effect. The underlying high tone causes high tone spread onto the stem of the modifier. Example (67a) illustrates that floating high tone attachment across a word or clitic boundary does not feed into high tone spread (see 6.2.4).

- (67) a. $|\underline{f}id \# \dot{\iota}\text{-}t\acute{e}| \rightarrow |f\acute{id} \acute{\iota}t\grave{\alpha}|$ ‘that animal’
 b. $|\underline{f}id \# \acute{\iota}\text{-}t\acute{e}| \rightarrow |f\acute{id} \acute{\iota}t\acute{\alpha}|$ ‘those animals’
 c. $|\underline{z}w\grave{a}g \# \dot{\iota}\text{-}t\acute{e}| \rightarrow |zw\grave{a}g \acute{\iota}t\grave{\alpha}|$ ‘this elephant’
- (68) a. $|\underline{m}\text{-}\dot{\iota}m\grave{y}g\acute{a} \# \dot{\iota}\text{-}m\acute{u}\acute{a}g| \rightarrow |m\grave{\iota}m\grave{y}g\acute{a} \acute{m}m\acute{w}\acute{a}g|$ ‘one woman’
 b. $|\underline{p}\acute{\iota}\acute{a} \# \dot{\iota}\text{-}m\acute{u}\acute{a}g| \rightarrow |p\grave{j}\acute{a} m\acute{m}\acute{w}\acute{a}g|$ ‘one avocado’
- (69) $|\grave{a}n\acute{e} \# \underline{k}\acute{o}p\acute{\iota}| \rightarrow |\grave{a}n\acute{a} k\acute{o}p\acute{\iota}|$ ‘like coffee; coffee, for instance’
- (70) $|\grave{a}\text{-}H\text{-}\underline{v}\acute{e}\text{-}H \# \underline{m}b\acute{a}n \# \underline{p}\acute{a}| \rightarrow |\grave{a}v\acute{o} mb\acute{a}n p\acute{a}|$
 ‘She gave her co-wife a machete.’
- (71) $|\underline{f}id \# \dot{\iota}\text{-}\underline{n}\acute{a}g| \rightarrow |f\acute{id} \acute{\iota} n\acute{a}g|$ ‘cow meat’

I distinguish between high tone copy and high tone spread, which takes place within the word (see 6.2.4). The main difference is that a high tone can spread onto a following unaccentuated syllable without

²⁹ Syllable structure is irrelevant for the application of tone rules. For the sake of simplicity all syllable schemes that illustrate the tone rules are made up of CV-syllables. In these schemes the nature of morphological boundaries is explicated only where relevant. Elsewhere boundaries are marked by a space. The rule $H \underline{c}\acute{o}c\acute{o} \rightarrow \acute{c}\acute{o}c\acute{o}$, for instance, applies whether the floating high tone is prefixed, cliticised or separated by a word boundary. Conversely, the word boundary between H and the following syllable is part of the following rule: $H \# c\grave{o} \rightarrow c\acute{o} L$.

delinking the original tone of that syllable, whereas high tone copy always results in the delinking of the tone of an unaccentuated syllable. Additional descriptive work is needed in order to decide whether this distinction should be maintained.

High tone copy is blocked in case of a following floating low tone, as illustrated by the citation form of the verb in (72a) and the Remote past imperfective in (72b).

- (72) a. |á # L-pàm| → /á pàm/ ‘to be furious’
 b. |mà-ŋgá-bé # L-sòm-Lgì| → /màŋgábá sòmgi/ ‘I was hunting.’

This also applies to the situation where a low syllabic nasal loses its syllabicity because of a preceding vowel (73).

- (73) |á # N-těn| → /á ntěn/ ‘precisely’ (*/á ˩ntěn/)

Moreover, high tone copy is not obligatory between a word and certain following verb forms. This word can be (part of) the subject of the verb (74), the antecedent of a relative clause (75), or a subordinator (76), among others. The verb forms include the Present, the Present resultative and the Consecutive. Note that tone copy is always possible in these cases.³⁰

- (74) a. /mìŋgá àbógô ɾ˩bógí/ (no high tone copy)
 b. /mìŋgá á˩bógô ɾ˩bógí/ (high tone copy)
 ‘The woman is sitting on a chair.’
- (75) a. /fɪd mətá ˩jén/ (no high tone copy)
 b. /fɪd má˩tá ˩jén/ (high tone copy)
 ‘the animal that I see.’
 c. /ɪ byém mətá dǎŋ ˩jág èj bjó ɾ˩tá bí-nâ nâ/
 (no high tone copy)
 ‘The things that I need most there are...’
- (76) /ŋgá ànà ùjǎb/ (no high tone copy)
 ‘when she is far away’

³⁰ I found some examples that suggest that there is optional tone spread instead of tone copy in this context. In the phrase *ŋgǎnîtá ˩pám á má˩ndim* ‘The crocodile gets out of the water’ I noted a falling tone on the subject prefix ɾ-, which is an unaccentuated syllable. Tone copy would have resulted in the form *ɾ˩tá ˩pám*. If this is correct, tone spread is not restricted to the domain of the word.

Example (77) proves that the optional floating high tone before the subject prefix is not a tonal morpheme, but the result of tone copy. When the preceding word ends in a low tone, the variant with a low subject prefix is the only option.

(77) /môd màtá ˩jén/ ‘the person I see’ (*/môd má˩tá ˩jén/)

When a word with a final high tone precedes other verb forms, such as a Hesternal past perfective, tone copy is obligatory (78). Without high tone copy the clause has a different reading. In (79) two readings are possible. Either the verb form is interpreted as a (dependent) Consecutive (79a), or the subject is extraposed (79b).

(78) /mìnjgá á˩džám bí˩dɪ/
‘The woman prepared a meal.’

(79) /mìnjgá àdžám bí˩dɪ/
a. ‘... and the woman prepared a meal.’
b. ‘The woman, she prepared a meal.’

One of the complexities of the Eton tonal system is that a single surface melody can be the outcome of different underlying representations and tone rules. The following list of second person singular possessives illustrates how the rule of tone copy can neutralise underlying tonal oppositions, in this case between ɪ-, the prefix of agreement pattern IX (singular) in (80c) and ɪ-, the prefix of agreement pattern X (plural) in (80d).

(80) a. |kùàb # ɪ-ɔ̄| → /kɔ̀àb jɔ̄/ ‘your hook’
b. |kùàb # ɪ-ɔ̄| → /kɔ̀àb jɔ̄/ ‘your hooks’
c. |mbéd # ɪ-ɔ̄| → /mbéd jɔ̄/ ‘your guitar’
d. |Nbéd # ɪ-ɔ̄| → /mbéd jɔ̄/ ‘your guitars’

6.2.2. Floating high tone attachment

Floating high tone suffixes attach to the left. If the preceding syllable carries a low tone there are two possibilities. If it is accentuated, the floating high tone suffix adds to the low tone in order to form a rising tone (81). In case of a non-accentuated preceding syllable, the suffix deletes the preceding low tone and takes its place (82). This is because accentuated syllables can carry two tones and unaccentuated syllables only one. Examples can be found in deverbal nominal derivation (81a, 82a) and in some verb forms such as the Consecutive (81b, 82b).

$(c\grave{o}-)\underline{c\grave{o}}-H \rightarrow (c\grave{o}-)\underline{c\check{o}}$
 $(c\grave{o}-)\underline{c\grave{o}}c\grave{o}-H \rightarrow (c\grave{o}-)\underline{c\grave{o}}c\acute{o}$

- (81) a. /sòm/ ‘hunt’
 |N-Sòm-H| → /jít sòm/ ‘hunting’
 b. |à-jòŋ-H pá kò là-lén| → /... à jòŋ pá kò làlén/
 ‘... and he also takes a palm nervure’

- (82) a. /bjànì/ ‘despise’
 |bjànì-H| → /bjànú/ ‘contempt’
 b. /bèglè/ ‘carry’
 |à-Ltè L-jòŋ N-újá à-bèglè-H jé| →
 /àtá jòŋ mújá àbèglá jâ/
 ‘He takes the child and carries her.’

If the preceding syllable carries a high tone, the floating high tone suffix is simply deleted. The presence of a floating high tone suffix can only be established by analogy.

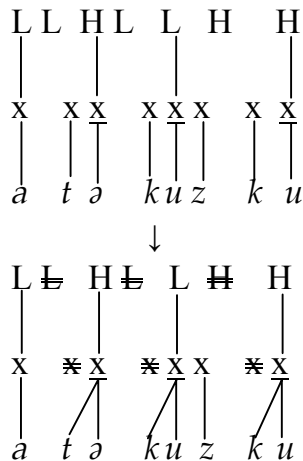
$\underline{c\acute{o}}c\acute{o}-H \rightarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}c\acute{o}$
 $\underline{c\acute{o}}-H \rightarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}$

- (83) |à-wú-H| → /àwú/ ‘death’

Floating high tones that are not suffixed to a stem attach to the right. If the following syllable carries a high tone, the floating high tone is deleted.

$H \underline{c\acute{o}} \rightarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}$
 $H \underline{c\acute{o}} \rightarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}$

- (84) |à-Ltè # L-kùz # H # kú| → /àtá kùz kú/ ‘He buys a chicken.’



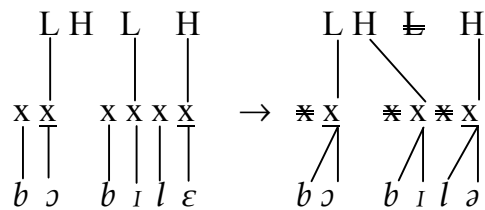
If the following syllable carries a low tone there are several possibilities. I will first discuss attachment to an unaccentuated syllable (i.e. a prefix). In this case the boundary between the floating *H* and the following prefix is an important factor. If this is a clitic or affix boundary, the low tone of the prefix is deleted (85-86). In case of a word boundary the low tone of the prefix is delinked, but not deleted (87-88). The difference can be seen when the first syllable of the following stem carries a high tone. If the original low tone of the prefix is delinked without being deleted, it downsteps the following high tone.

$H \# c\grave{o} \rightarrow c\acute{o} L$

$H=c\grave{o} \rightarrow c\acute{o}$

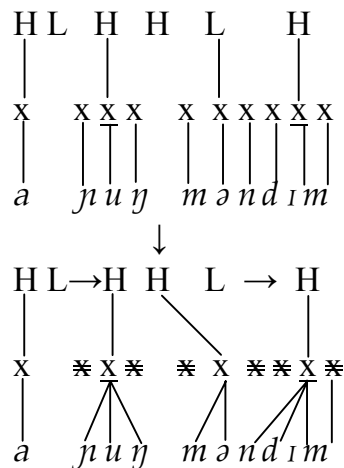
$H-c\grave{o} \rightarrow c\acute{o}$

(85) $|\underline{b}\text{-}\grave{a}H=b\grave{i}\text{-}l\grave{\epsilon}| \rightarrow /b\grave{a} \text{ b}\acute{i}l\acute{a}/$ 'small trees'



(86) $|\acute{r}\text{-}b\grave{i}\text{-}l\grave{\epsilon} \# \text{b}\acute{r}| \rightarrow /b\acute{i}l\acute{a} \text{ b}\acute{i}/$ 'these trees'

(87) $|\acute{a} \# L\text{-}j\acute{u}i\eta \# H \# m\grave{a}\text{-}n\acute{d}\acute{i}m| \rightarrow /a^{\downarrow} j\acute{u}i\eta \text{ m}\acute{a}^{\downarrow} n\acute{d}\acute{i}m/$
 'to drink water'



(88) $|\acute{a} \# b\grave{i}\text{-}l\grave{\epsilon}| \rightarrow /a^{\downarrow} \text{ b}\acute{r}\acute{l}\acute{a}/$ 'in the trees'

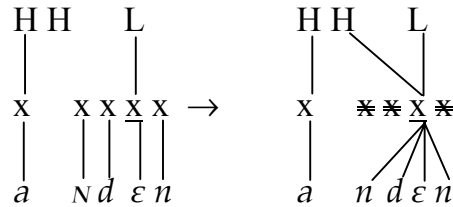
The last situation to be described is when a floating *H* attaches to the right to an accentuated syllable which carries a low or rising tone.³¹ The rules of high tone plateauing apply if the stem has a low-high tone pattern or when it is followed by a floating high tone (see 6.2.5). I will here only discuss the situation in which the stem is entirely low and not followed by a floating high tone. In that case the floating *H* attaches to the low tone of the accentuated syllable in order to form a falling tone.

$$H \# \underline{c\grave{v}}(c\grave{v}) \rightarrow \underline{c\hat{v}}(c\grave{v})$$

$$H=\underline{c\grave{v}}(c\grave{v}) \rightarrow \underline{c\hat{v}}(c\grave{v})$$

$$H-\underline{c\grave{v}}(c\grave{v}) \rightarrow \underline{c\hat{v}}(c\grave{v})$$

(89) $|\underline{á} \# \underline{nd\hat{e}n}| \rightarrow |\acute{a} nd\hat{e}n|$ ‘in the cobweb’



(90) $|m\grave{\lambda}-H-\underline{k\grave{p}\hat{e}l}| \rightarrow |m\grave{\lambda}k\grave{p}\hat{e}l|$ ‘I hurt myself’

6.2.3. Floating low tone attachment

Floating low tone suffixes and infixes behave as floating *H* suffixes. If preceded by an identical tone, they are deleted, as illustrated by the verbal infix $|Lg|$ in (91).

$$\underline{c\grave{v}}c\grave{v}-L \rightarrow \underline{c\grave{v}}c\grave{v}$$

$$\underline{c\grave{v}}-L \rightarrow \underline{c\grave{v}}$$

(91) $|m\grave{\lambda}-H-\underline{b\hat{e}b}<Lg>\hat{e}| \rightarrow |m\grave{\lambda}b\hat{e}bg\grave{\lambda}|$ ‘I looked at it.’

The *-L* suffix attaches to a preceding high accentuated syllable forming a falling tone. I found no examples of a floating low tone suffix that attaches to a high bi- or polysyllabic stem.

$$\underline{c\hat{v}}-L \rightarrow \underline{c\hat{v}}$$

(92) $|m\grave{\lambda}-\underline{k\acute{o}d}<Lg>\grave{o}| \rightarrow |m\grave{\lambda}k\acute{o}dg\grave{o}|$ ‘I left’

³¹ The term *rising tone* is used for short to mean a succession of a low and a high tone.

Prefixed³² floating low tones attach to the right. If followed by a low tone they are deleted.

$$\begin{aligned} L-c\grave{v} &\rightarrow c\grave{v} \\ L-\underline{c\grave{v}} &\rightarrow c\grave{v} \end{aligned}$$

As with floating high tones the most complex situation arises when a floating low tone has to attach to the right to a syllable that carries the opposite tone, in this case a high tone. The left context is important here. When the floating *L* is preceded by a low syllable, it is deleted. If preceded by a high tone, the floating low tone prefix downsteps the following high tone (93).

$$\begin{aligned} c\grave{v} L-\underline{c\acute{v}} &\rightarrow c\grave{v} \underline{c\acute{v}}^{33} \\ c\acute{v} L-\underline{c\acute{v}} &\rightarrow c\acute{v} \downarrow \underline{c\acute{v}} \end{aligned}$$

(93) |à-Ltḗ # L-d̄l| → |àt̄ḗ ↓d̄l| ‘She is eating.’

6.2.4. High tone spread

Within the word a high tone spreads over to a following syllable if the latter is low. The outcome is always a falling tone, also if the receiving syllable is not accentuated. This is a major difference between high tone copy and high tone spread.

$$\begin{aligned} c\acute{v}-\underline{c\grave{v}}(c\grave{v}) &\rightarrow c\acute{v}-\underline{c\hat{v}}(c\grave{v}) \\ \underline{c\acute{v}}c\grave{v} &\rightarrow \underline{c\acute{v}}c\hat{v} \\ \underline{c\acute{v}}-c\grave{v} &\rightarrow \underline{c\acute{v}}-c\hat{v} \end{aligned}$$

(94) |b̄á-n̄ḗ # j̄á| → |b̄án̄ḗ j̄á| ‘How are they?’

(95) |nd̄ɔ́ḡɔ́| → |nd̄ɔ́ḡɔ́| ‘mango’

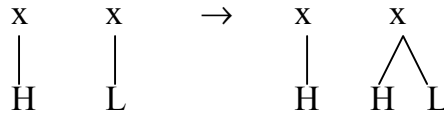
The preference of unaccentuated syllables to carry maximally one tone is not violated by tone spread if one assumes that it is the preceding syllable that carries the high tone and that the latter simply influences the pronunciation of the following low tone. Tone copy, in contrast, involves the creation of a new tone. An unaccentuated syllable can be pronounced with a falling tone only if the preceding syllable is high.

³² Floating low tones are always either affixed or the result of delinking or vowel elision. There are no independent morphemes that consist of a low tone only, nor is there a rule of low tone copy. In this sense one could say that low tones are less marked than high tones.

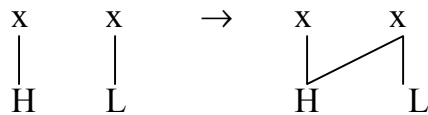
³³ Accent is irrelevant for this rule.

This restriction does not hold for accentuated syllables. The difference between copy and spread can be schematised as follows:

High tone copy



High tone spread



Floating high tone assignment across an affix boundary feeds into high tone spread (96), assignment across a word or clitic boundary does not (97).

(96) $[H-\hat{a}-k\hat{u}\hat{a}m \# \acute{v}\acute{I}] \rightarrow /ákwâm \acute{v}\acute{I}/$ ‘this akwam tree’

(97) a. $[\acute{e}-t\acute{o} \# H=m\grave{a}-n\grave{d}\acute{m}] \rightarrow /étó mând\acute{m}/$ ‘a drop of water’

b. $[H \# \acute{e}-p\grave{a}n] \rightarrow /épàn/$ ‘in the forest’

There are some environments in which high tone spread does not apply, viz. between a stem and a so-called impermeable suffix or expansion.

(98) a. $/m\acute{o}ŋn\grave{o} \sim m\hat{o}ŋn\grave{o}/$ ‘banana sprout’

b. $/d\acute{z}\acute{e}m\grave{u} \sim d\hat{z}\acute{e}m\grave{u}/$ ‘be rare’

c. $/\acute{I}l\acute{o}gz\grave{o} \sim \acute{I}l\hat{o}gz\grave{o}/$ ‘container to evacuate water’

Note that the first syllable of these words is always closed or has a long vowel. A rule that blocks high tone spread from such syllables is mistaken, however:

(99) a. $/\acute{r}\acute{o}úŋl\hat{a}/$ ‘wind’

b. $/s\acute{I}lb\hat{a}/$ ‘pot’

c. $/\acute{r}\acute{o}:\acute{l}\hat{o}/$ ‘gather’

Hyman (2003:261) describes a similar situation in the Cameroonian Bantu language Basaá and argues that high tone spread “provides a window into the underlying syllable structure of a form” in these cases. The argument is that the stems with impermeable expansions or suffixes have three underlying syllables, the latter two of which are low. High tone spread is from the first to the second syllable. The nucleus of the second syllable is then deleted by the following rule of syncope: $v \rightarrow \emptyset / VC _ CV$

$c\acute{u}c\grave{u}c\grave{u} \rightarrow c\acute{u}c\hat{u}c\grave{u} \rightarrow c\acute{u}cc\grave{u}$

This works well for Eton also, where CVCVCV-stems are avoided in basic stems.³⁴ Evidence for this can be found in words like *jìtjélìgì* ‘sand’, *dzòngí* ‘toad’ and participles such as *nêngì* ‘being big’. These have an alternative pronunciation in which the final *ì* is absent and there is a harmonic vowel before the final *g*. In one case the second syllable of the alternative form is a syllabic nasal (100d).

- (100) a. /jìtjélêg/ ‘sand’
 b. /dzòng/ ‘toad’
 c. /nénêg/ ‘being big’
 d. /mùmú ~ mùmín/ ‘raw’

Usually the low tone of the deleted vowel attaches to the left, but there is some variability (see the examples in 98). This explains the tonality of the so called G-form of verbs (see Section VII:2.2).

6.2.5. High tone plateauing

High tone plateauing occurs when a stem with a rising tone pattern is preceded by a floating high tone. This floating high tone can be the result of high tone copy or spread. The high part of the rising tone pattern on the stem can be caused by a –H suffix. In this situation, the final high tone of the stem copies to the left, until it reaches the first low tone of the stem. This low tone is pushed to the left (delinked) and then downsteps the following high tone.

$H \underline{c\grave{u}c\acute{u}} \rightarrow \downarrow \underline{c\acute{u}c\acute{u}}$
 $H \underline{c\check{u}} \rightarrow \downarrow \underline{c\acute{u}}$
 $c\acute{u}-\underline{c\grave{u}c\acute{u}} \rightarrow c\acute{u}-\downarrow \underline{c\acute{u}c\acute{u}}$
 $c\acute{u}-\underline{c\check{u}} \rightarrow c\acute{u}-\downarrow \underline{c\acute{u}}$

- (101) a. | \grave{N} -kùáb # H=m̀wàrú| → /*ɲkwǎb* \downarrow *m̀wárú*/ ‘cashbox’
 b. | \grave{N} -pág-rú # H=vjǒg| → /*m̀pág-rú* \downarrow *vjǒg*/ ‘the extraction of clay’
 c. |á # d-ǒ| → /*á* \downarrow *dǒ*/ ‘in the hand’
 d. | \grave{N} -kú~Nkúán| → /*ɲkú* \downarrow *ɲkwán*/ ‘ill person’
 cf. /*ùkwǎn*/ ‘disease’
 e. | \grave{N} -zâ~Nzám| → /*ɲzâ* \downarrow *nzám*/ ‘leprosy sufferer’
 cf. /*zám*/ ‘leprosy’

³⁴ The term *basic stems* is meant to exclude borrowings (e.g. *kálâdà* ‘book’) and reduplications (e.g. *ì-kù-kùà* ‘rubbish dump’).

f. $|H-\grave{a}-d\grave{u}m \# \grave{v}i| \rightarrow /á^{\downarrow}d\acute{u}m \acute{o}i/$ ‘this adum tree’

As has been said, a downstepped high tone cannot follow a low tone. Therefore the floating high tone that triggered high tone plateauing must attach to the left in case it is preceded by a low syllable.

$c\grave{v} H c\grave{v}c\acute{o} \rightarrow c\check{v}^{\downarrow}c\acute{v}c\acute{o}$

(102) a. $|d\grave{e} \# \grave{u}-L\acute{t}\acute{e} \# L-d\grave{z}\acute{e}m \# H \# m\check{d}\grave{z}\acute{a}\eta| \rightarrow$

$/d \grave{u}t\acute{a} d\grave{z}\acute{e}m^{\downarrow} m\check{d}^{\downarrow} d\grave{z}\acute{a}\eta/$ ‘Do you know my brother?’

b. $|\grave{n}-k\grave{a} \# H=d\grave{z}-\acute{a}d| \rightarrow /j\check{k}\acute{a}^{\downarrow} d\grave{z}\acute{a}d/$ ‘The handle of the basket’

A complication arises when the previous syllable is a low prefix. One would expect that the floating high tone that triggers high tone plateauing replaces the tone of the prefix, as in the following scheme.

$c\grave{v}-H-c\check{v}c \rightarrow *c\check{v}^{\downarrow}-c\check{v}c$

However, depending on the construction, something else happens. In the non-final form of the Hodiernal past perfective and the Hesternal past perfective, the delinked low tone of the verb stem is simply deleted when the subject prefix is low, as in (103).

$c\grave{v}-H-c\grave{v}c-H \rightarrow c\grave{v}-c\acute{v}c$ (Hodiernal past perfective)

(103) $|m\grave{a}-H-\grave{m}\grave{a}\eta-H \# \eta\grave{g}\acute{u}\grave{a}g| \rightarrow /m\grave{e} j\acute{o}\eta \eta\grave{g}w\acute{a}g/$ ‘I took a stone.’

With a high subject prefix, everything goes according to rule (104).

(104) $|b\acute{a}-H-\grave{m}\grave{a}\eta-H \# \eta\grave{g}\acute{u}\grave{a}g| \rightarrow /b\acute{a}^{\downarrow} j\acute{o}\eta \eta\grave{g}w\acute{a}g/$ ‘They took a stone.’

The tonality of Contrastive resultative verb forms is even more surprising, in that it violates the preference of unaccentuated syllables to carry maximally one toneme. Examples (105a) and (106a) contain a Resultative verb form with a low root, a low subject prefix and a high suffix. The Contrastive resultative forms in (105b) and (106b) are derived from that by means of the prefix $|NH-|$. The floating high tone of this prefix triggers high tone plateauing and then attaches to the left where it forms a rising tone on the preceding subject prefix.

(106) a. $|nd\acute{o}g\grave{o} \# \grave{i}-b\grave{e}d-\acute{A} \# \acute{a} \# d\grave{z}-\acute{a}d| \rightarrow /nd\acute{o}g\grave{o} \grave{i}b\grave{e}d \acute{a}^{\downarrow} d\grave{z}\acute{a}d/$
‘The mango lies on the basket.’

b. $|nd\acute{o}g\grave{o} \# \grave{i}-NH-b\grave{e}d-\acute{A} \# \grave{a}j\check{a} \# \acute{a} \# d\grave{z}-\acute{a}d| \rightarrow$
 $/nd\acute{o}g\grave{o} \check{r}^{\downarrow} m\acute{e}d \grave{a}j \check{a}^{\downarrow} d\grave{z}\acute{a}d/$
‘The mango already lies on the basket.’

(107) a. $|nd\acute{o}g\grave{o} \# \grave{i}-p\grave{u}d-\acute{A} \# \acute{a} \# d\grave{z}-\acute{a}d| \rightarrow /nd\acute{o}g\grave{o} \grave{i}p\grave{u}d\acute{a} \acute{a} d\grave{z}\acute{a}d/$
‘The mango is in the basket.’

- b. |ndóǵò # ì-NH-pùd-ǎ # àǰǎ # á # dz-ǎd| →
 |ndóǵò ǎmpùd àǰ ǎ ǎdzǎd|
 ‘The mango is already in the basket.’

As has been said, floating high tone attachment across a word or clitic boundary does not feed into high tone spread. This explains the absence of high tone plateauing on *ítǵŋ* and *bétǰǎ* in the following examples.

- (108) |N-búán # H=ì-tǵŋ| → |mìmwán ítǵŋ| ‘palm oil’
 (109) |à-ŋǵá-vé # bǎ-tǰǎ # b-ě # b-úán # bá=kâbdì| →
 |àŋǵává bǎtǰǎ ǎbé bwán bá kâbdì|
 ‘He has given young goats to his in-laws.’

6.2.6. Representation of a dissimilating high tone

The dissimilating high tone (or *morphotoneme D*, marked with a double high tone accent on the vowel: *ǎ*) is represented by a low tone when it follows a structural high tone. Elsewhere, it is represented by a high toneme.

- có cǎ* → *có cò*
H cǎ → *H cò*
cò cǎ → *cò có*
cǎ → *có*

- (110) |H-mà-lú # mǎ| → |mǎlú mǎ| ‘these days (lit. these nights)’³⁵
 (111) a. |N-kúl # wǎmò| → |ŋkúl wǎmò| ‘my log drum’
 c. |N-pàn # wǎmò| → |m̀pàn wǎmò| ‘my arrow’
 (112) |à-Ltǎ # L-bèŋ # H # ǰǎ| → |àtǎ bèŋ ǰǎ| ‘She chases him.’

6.2.7. Tonetics: simplification and inertia

We have seen a number of rules that delete a floating tone in the presence of an adjacent identical tone, e.g. *cò L-cǎ* → *cò cǎ*. These rules are exceptionless. There is also an amount of optional simplification, that is not applied in slow and deliberate speech. When a syllable with a falling tone is followed by a syllable with a low tone, the final low part of the falling tone is often deleted, so that the pattern falling-low is simplified to high-low. In addition, a rising tone can be pronounced low before a syllable that carries a high tone. Conversely,

³⁵ Note that these examples also involve tone copy.

simplification never applies to the left. A rising tone will never be pronounced high because it is preceded by a low tone. The example in (113) shows that simplification occurs on surface level, after the application of all other rules. The morphotoneme D on the possessive modifier *mãmà* is represented by a low tone, which becomes falling due to high tone copy. Finally the rising tone of the head noun is simplified to low.

(113) $|m\text{-}\grave{y}z \# m\grave{a}m\grave{a}| \rightarrow |m\grave{y}z m\grave{a}m\grave{a}| \rightarrow [m\grave{i}f\grave{i}m\grave{a}m\grave{a}]$ ‘my eyes’

Another surface rule that can be mentioned here is inertia. In a succession of a low tone and two high tones, e.g. $|m\grave{y}z\acute{a}z\grave{i}y|$ ‘enemies’, the first high tone tends to be somewhere in between the low tone and the second high tone. Although the F0 difference between the first and the second high tone can be bigger than that between a high tone and a following downstepped high tone, the former difference is far more difficult to hear once one is acquainted with Eton phonology, obviously because it is functionally irrelevant.

6.2.8. Successions of floating tones

In case of a succession of floating high tones that attach to the right the rightmost *H* decides the outcome. The others are deleted. Example (114a) is a simple connective construction. The floating high tone connective morpheme attaches to the prefix of the modifying noun, thereby deleting the original low tone of the prefix. Since this connective morpheme is a proclitic, not a prefix, high tone attachment does not feed into tone spread. In (114b) the connective is followed by the augment, a floating high tone prefix. The augment attaches to the gender prefix of the modifying noun, deleting its low tone and feeding into high tone copy. The connective *H* is then deleted because it precedes an attached high tone.

(114) a. $|i\text{-}d\grave{i}:g\grave{a} \# H=l\grave{a}\text{-}y\grave{g}\grave{o}y| \rightarrow |i\grave{d}\grave{i}:g\grave{a} l\acute{a}y\grave{g}\grave{o}y|$
 ‘the key of the padlock’

b. $|i\text{-}d\grave{i}:g\grave{a} \# H=H\text{-}l\grave{a}\text{-}y\grave{g}\grave{o}y \# \acute{d}\acute{i}\text{-}l\grave{i}| \rightarrow |i\grave{d}\grave{i}g\grave{a} l\acute{a}y\grave{g}\grave{o}y \acute{d}\acute{i}l\grave{i}|$
 ‘the key of that padlock’

Remember also the rule that high tone copy is blocked before a floating low tone.

6.2.9. Optional tone patterns as a sign of lexicalisation

The dictionary is full of connective constructions that have acquired a specialised meaning. A certain amount of lexicalisation of connective constructions is equally visible in the tonology, also when the semantics of the construction is perfectly compositional. Examples (a) and (b) are equally acceptable in (115-116). The (a)-examples are the forms as predicted by the rules: the attachment of the connective floating high tone does not feed into high tone spread. In the (b)-examples the connective morpheme behaves as if it were a prefix, rather than a proclitic. In example (116c) there are no options, since the stem of the first modifying noun (*àmùŋ* ‘mouth’) is tonally saturated due to the following H.

- (115) a. |*ì-bwáǵzì* # *H=à-kǒl*| → |*ìbwáǵzì ákǒl*| ‘ankle’
 b. |*ì-bwáǵzì* (#) *H=à-kǒl*| → |*ìbwáǵzì á⁴kǒl*| ‘ankle’
- (116) a. |*ì-dzǎ* # *H=à-mùŋ*| → |*ìdzǎ á mùŋ*| ‘lip’
 b. |*ì-dzǎ* (#) *H=à-mùŋ*| → |*ìdzǎ á mùŋ*| ‘lip’
 c. |*ì-dzǎ* # *H=à-mùŋ* # *H=mbě̀l*| → |*ìdzǎ á mùŋ* ⁴*mbě̀l*|
 ‘labium’

6.2.10. Summary

It has been shown, I hope, that the rather complex tonology of Eton can be described by means of a minimal set of structural tones (*L*, *H* and *D*) and some simple rules that may refer to three types of morphological boundary in their context specification: affix, proclitic and word. The rules require a minimal amount of mutual ordering, summarised as follows:

1. High tone copy and High tone dissimilation

- có* # → *cóH* #
có # *cǎ-* → *có* # *cǎ-*
cǎ # *cǎ-* → *cǎ* # *cǎ-*

2. Floating tone attachment within the word

- có**có*-*H* → *có**có*
cǎ-*H* → *cǎ*
*(cǎ-)**cǎ*-*H* → *(cǎ-)**cǎ*
*(cǎ-)**cǎ**cǎ*-*H* → *(cǎ-)**cǎ**cǎ*
H-có → *có*

$H-\underline{c\acute{o}} \rightarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}$
 $H-c\grave{o} \rightarrow c\acute{o}$
 $H-\underline{c\grave{o}}(c\grave{o}) \rightarrow \underline{c\hat{o}}(c\grave{o})$
 $\underline{c\grave{o}c\grave{o}}-L \rightarrow \underline{c\grave{o}c\grave{o}}$
 $\underline{c\grave{o}}-L \rightarrow \underline{c\grave{o}}$
 $\underline{c\acute{o}}-L \rightarrow \underline{c\hat{o}}$
 $L-c\grave{o} \rightarrow c\grave{o}$
 $L-\underline{c\grave{o}} \rightarrow c\grave{o}$
 $(c)\grave{o}-\acute{o}(c) \rightarrow (c)G\check{o}(c)$
 $c\grave{o} L-\underline{c\acute{o}} \rightarrow c\grave{o} \underline{c\acute{o}}$
 $c\acute{o} L-\underline{c\acute{o}} \rightarrow c\acute{o} \downarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}$
 $H-\underline{c\grave{o}c\acute{o}} \rightarrow \downarrow \underline{c\acute{o}c\acute{o}}$
 $H-\underline{c\check{o}} \rightarrow \downarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}$
 $\underline{c\acute{o}}-\underline{c\grave{o}c\acute{o}} \rightarrow c\acute{o}-\downarrow \underline{c\acute{o}c\acute{o}}$
 $\underline{c\acute{o}}-\underline{c\check{o}} \rightarrow c\acute{o}-\downarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}$

3. High tone spread

$\underline{c\acute{o}}-\underline{c\grave{o}}(c\grave{o}) \rightarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}-\underline{c\hat{o}}(c\grave{o})$
 $\underline{c\acute{o}c\grave{o}} \rightarrow \underline{c\acute{o}c\hat{o}}$
 $\underline{c\acute{o}}-c\grave{o} \rightarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}-c\hat{o}$

4. Floating tone attachment across clitic and word boundaries

$H c\acute{o} \rightarrow c\acute{o}$
 $H \underline{c\acute{o}} \rightarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}$
 $H=c\grave{o} \rightarrow c\acute{o}$
 $H \# c\grave{o} \rightarrow c\acute{o}L$
 $H \underline{c\grave{o}}(c\grave{o}) \rightarrow \underline{c\hat{o}}(c\grave{o})$
 $H \underline{c\grave{o}c\acute{o}} \rightarrow \downarrow \underline{c\acute{o}c\acute{o}}$
 $H \underline{c\check{o}} \rightarrow \downarrow \underline{c\acute{o}}$
 $\underline{c\grave{o}} H \underline{c\grave{o}c\acute{o}} \rightarrow \underline{c\check{o}} \downarrow \underline{c\acute{o}c\acute{o}}$
 $c\grave{o} H \underline{c\grave{o}c\acute{o}} \rightarrow c\check{o} \downarrow \underline{c\acute{o}c\acute{o}}$
 $H-c\acute{o}(c\acute{o}) \# H \# \rightarrow c\acute{o}(c\acute{o})$

5. Simplification (optional)

$c\check{o} c\acute{o} \rightarrow c\grave{o} c\acute{o}$
 $c\hat{o} c\grave{o} \rightarrow c\acute{o} c\grave{o}$

7. Practical orthography

The practical orthography used in this grammar and in the lexicon is entirely phonological for the notation of tones and consonants. Some vocalic oppositions with low functionality are neutralised. The phonemes /e/ and /ə/ are both written as <e>, as is the [ɜ] allophone of /ɛ/, because of its phonetic resemblance with [ə]. The [ɛ] allophone of /ɛ/ is written <ɛ>. One of the advantages of this convention is that it neutralises some dialectal differences.

- (117) /èlén[˩]dé/ → <èlén dē> ‘his palm tree’
/bá[˩]tá[˩]jén/ → <bétē yēn> ‘they see’
/m̀pég/ → [m̀ṕ̣g] → <m̀pég> ‘bag’

All other vowels are written with the same symbols as their phonological notation. Long vowels are doubled.

- (118) /i/ → <ɪ>
/a/ → <a>
/u/ → <u>
/o/ → <o>
/ɔ/ → <ɔ>
/aː/ → <aa>

The diphthong /^ua/ is written as <wa>.

- (119) /^ua/ → <wa>

Some consonants are written with a different symbol in orthography than in phonological notation.

- (120) /j/ → <y>
/dʒ/ → <j>
/tʃ/ → <c>

This convention harmonises the spelling of Eton with that of the other Cameroonian languages. Ligatures are never written in practical orthography.

- (121) /k͡p/ → <kp>
/g͡b/ → <gb>
/v͡j/ → <vy>
/ɲ͡m/ → <ɲm>

The same combination of letters <gb> can refer to the phoneme /g̃b/ and to the combination of phonemes /gb/.

- (122) /á g̃bè/ → [á g̃bè] → <á gbè> ‘to grasp’
 /á tègbà/ → [á t̃ɛɣbà] → <á tègbè> ‘to be lazy’

The position in the word always disambiguates the spelling. Labiovelar stops only occur in accentuated position, where the succession of /g/ and /b/ is impossible. In case of doubt, the reader can refer to the lexicon. All consonants not mentioned before are spelled with their phonological symbols.

- (123) /p/ → <p>
 /t/ → <t>
 /b/ →
 /ɲ/ → <ɲ>
 /ŋ/ → <ŋ>
 etcetera

Consultants found the notation of downstep by means of an arrow too cumbersome for a practical spelling (perhaps partly because it presupposes knowledge of syllable borders). It has been replaced by the horizontal accent normally used for noting mid tone in phonology.

- (124) /á ↓d̃ɪ/ → <á d̄ɪ> ‘to eat’

Finally, unaccentuated structural stem vowels that are subject to elision (see 4.2.4) are normally written in the practical orthography. This principle is a source of uncertainty and inconsistency that will have to be remedied by means of a number of more explicit rules.

Chapter 3

Nouns

1. Introduction

As in other Bantu languages the core of the category of nouns is easy to recognise. Every noun belongs to one of a limited set of morphological classes, identifiable through a prefix (or the absence of one). They typically control agreement. Since their primary pragmatic function is reference and not predication, they cannot combine with affixes that mark tense and/or aspect. As in most languages the borders of the category of nouns are less easy to recognise than the core. I made no effort to define necessary and sufficient conditions to identify a word as a noun. Rather, words will be discussed in the places where users of the grammar are most likely to look for them. For instance, all question words are listed in Chapter 5, even though *zá* ‘who’ and *jé* ‘what’ can formally hardly be distinguished from nouns. The same is true for numbers. Numbers from 1 to 6 agree in gender with their head noun, but numbers higher than 6 are formally identical to nouns, in that they are invariable, they belong to one of the nominal morphological classes and they have a gender of their own, e.g.

- (1) *è-wóm* ‘ten’ (5)
mè-wóm ‘tens’ (6)

Because of their semantics, all numbers are discussed together in Section V:1.3. Some of the words discussed in this chapter are not prototypical nouns, since their primary pragmatic function is modification rather than reference. The noun *ì-číčígà*, for instance, which is derived from the verb *číg* ‘cut’ (see 4.3.1), can be used to refer to something that was cut, but usually it modifies the meaning of another noun (2a) or of a finite verb (2b). Note that although *ìčíčígà* semantically modifies *jǎ* ‘fingernail’ in (2a), it is the head of the nominal constituent syntactically (see VI:3.1.1.2).

- (2) a. *ìčíčíg í jǎ* ‘a cut fingernail’
b. *á cíg íčíčígà* ‘to cut in a disorderly way’

2. The structure of the underived noun

2.1. Introduction

Nouns minimally consist of a stem. In addition, most nouns have an obligatory gender prefix. In some syntactic contexts the gender prefix (or, in its absence, the stem) is preceded by the prefix \hat{i} -, called the *augment* (see 3.5). Derived stems sometimes have a derivational suffix (see Section 4). The term *root* will be used to refer to the stem without any derivational suffixes. In underived words root and stem are identical. Some roots can be formally divided in a first syllable, which belongs to an open set, and a second syllable taken from a limited number of possibilities. In the Bantuist terminology on verbal morphology the latter is called an *expansion* (or *formal suffix*), whereas the former is referred to as the *radical* (Meeussen 1967:85-90, Schadeberg 2003:71). I will adopt this terminology and extend its use to the nominal morphology. Note that expansions are a phonotactic reality, rather than a morphological one. The expansion is separated from the radical by means of the symbol †.

$$[[\text{RADICAL}(\dagger\text{EXPANSION})]_{\text{root}} (-\text{SUFFIX})]_{\text{stem}}$$

This section describes the form of underived noun stems, excluding borrowings, at least those of which the origin is known. It consists of two parts: Section 2.2 discusses non-reduplicated stems and Section 2.3 presents reduplicated stems.

2.2. Non-reduplicated noun stems

The following description is based on a collection of 720 nouns with an underived, non-reduplicated stem, which have not been identified as borrowings (henceforth *basic stems*). The tone scheme of basic stems is either high (43%), low (30%), high-low (9%) or low-high (18%), irrespective of the number of syllables. More complicated tone patterns, such as high-low-high, are not permitted. Table 1 shows that there is no clear correlation between the initial consonant of noun stems and their first tone. Only 584 of the 720 basic noun stems are inserted in the table, because stems with an initial vowel or CG-sequence have not been counted and historically related stems count as one token.

	p	t	c	k	kp	b	d	j	g	gb	
H	14	40	6	49	4	37	18	13	10	7	
L	14	20	10	42	5	51	13	23	21	0	
	s	v	z	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋm	l	j	w
H	27	16	6	3	3	10	3	0	22	10	8
L	26	6	12	2	12	7	0	2	8	1	3

Table 1. Initial tone versus initial consonant in basic noun stems (N=584)

2.2.1. Canonical forms

Based on frequency, basic noun stems can be subdivided into canonical and non-canonical types. The former account for 86 percent of the basic nouns and consist of three types: CV, CVC and CVCV. The vowels are always short. The initial C of every scheme may be a branching onset: NC (4%) or CG (13%).¹ Of the canonical stems, 68 percent is CVC, 17 percent CV and 15 percent CVCV.

- (3) a. *sí* ‘ground’
 ɲgá ‘wife’
 ɛ-swè ‘chigoe’
 b. *ì-lád* ‘type of haircut’
 ù-ɲgòn ‘breastbone’
 zwàg ‘elephant’
 c. *ì-kóđí* ‘thirst’
 ì-lwábí ‘swamp’
 ndàmà ‘catapult’

According to the phonotactic distribution of consonant phonemes laid out in Section II:2.1.1, the second position of CVC and CVCV stems can be one of 10 consonants, three of which are nasals. In 59 percent of the CVC stems the second consonant is a nasal against 35 percent in CVCV stems. This means that the number of nasal consonants in second position of CVC stems is disproportionately high.²

¹ Where N is a nasal consonant, G a glide and C any consonant, except a nasal if preceded by a nasal. The percentages refer to the canonical basic noun stems (total: 616).

² I asked my colleague Gert De Sutter whether this skewing is significant. On the basis of the chi-square test for goodness of fit he concluded that it is highly significant. I wish to thank Gert for his help.

2.2.2. Non-canonical forms

2.2.2.1. CVC.CV

Fourteen percent of the basic stems have a non-canonical syllable structure. Of these, 42% can be described as CVC#CV. This group can be further subdivided into six subsets according to the form of the expansion. The first subset contains seven nouns. Its expansion is #*lA*, the tone of which is identical to the tone of the radical (4a), except in one case (4b).

- (4) a. *ì-kòg#lò* ‘peelings, skin of a fruit’
 ìj-kóy#lɔ́ ‘very long’
 sàŋ#lâ ‘maize dish’
 ì-ndég#lé ‘punishment’
 ì-ɛ́b#lá ‘suffering’
 jà-cèm#lè ‘big fruit’ or ‘bunch’³
 b. *bò kòg#ló* ‘stools of a baby’

The second group of CVC.CV stems is the largest with 20 members. They have a #*gV* expansion, the vowel of which is either *ɪ* or *a*, without any apparent conditioning. Two examples with *wa* in the radical have a final #*gɔ* (5b). Nothing can be said about the tone of the expansion, except that it blocks tone spread (see the end of Section II:6.2.4). The expansion of the nouns in (5c) can optionally be pronounced as #*Vg*, where *V* is the same vowel as that of the radical, but often reduced (i.e. centralised). The syllable structure of the alternative form is CV.CVC instead of CVC.CV, with tone spread between the first and the second syllable.

³ Postaccentual vowels are reduced (see Section II:4.2.4). When the first stem vowel is *ɛ*, this reduction often involves some lowering, so that the final vowel of the expansion comes close to [*a*].

- (5) a. *ì-kòd†gì* ‘bush on an old field’
ì-kùd†gà ‘sieve’
ì-vùd†gá ‘rancour’
ì-kún†gà ‘package of stalks’
kún†gí ‘toucan (sp.)’
è-ndúm†gí ‘corner’
zè†gà ‘beard on an ear of maize’
è-†gè†gí ‘waist’
†gè†gí ‘organic waste’
è-kwád†gí ‘small fruit or brunch’
†gí ‘river bank’
mè-léb†gá ‘advice’
- b. *ì-swà†gè* ‘grimace’
ì-wà†gè ‘flattery’
- c. *mè-†gí* ‘urine’ ~ *mè-†gè*
mbàd†gí ‘mud’ ~ *mbàd†gè*
†gè†gí ‘sand’ ~ *†gè†gè*
†gí ‘toad’ ~ *†gè*
†gí ‘dish’ ~ *†gè*

One English borrowing is adapted by analogy to these examples.

- (6) *míl†gí* ‘milk’ (< Eng.) ~ *míl†gí*

Finally, there is one word in which *-gV* should be considered a suffix rather than an expansion, because it is opposed to a floating high tone suffix in a cognate word.

- (7) *ì-sàm†gà* ‘blossom’
sám ‘flower bud’

The other groups are much smaller, containing five instances or less. The third type involves a *†nú* expansion, formally identical to the deverbial derivational suffix described in Section 4.3.6. There are only four instances, two of which are of gender 3, also the target gender of deverbial derivation by *-nú*. However, there is no verb stem from which these nouns could be derived.

- (8) a. *†gè†nú* ‘success’
†gè†nú ‘new’
- b. *mím†nú* ‘raw’
ndóm†nú ‘adolescent’

One basic noun stem looks very similar, with a final *#mí* instead of *#ú*.

(9) *ɣm̀-gbél#mí* ‘type of basket’

A fourth type consists of stems with a *#dâ* expansion, which does not block tone spread.

(10) *ì-bíg#dâ* ‘vehicle’
ndúg#dâ ‘heat’
mè-kém#dâ ‘sap’

Fifth, there is an expansion *#ba*, without a specific tone and that does not block tone spread. The database contains three tokens:

(11) *síl#bâ* ‘pot’
zwàg#bò ‘plantain banana (sp.)’
mè-wág#bó ‘pretext’

Finally, there is a group of noun stems that contain a totally idiosyncratic expansion. At best one can recognize a *#zV* and a *#nV* expansion.

(12) *ì-bwág#zì* ‘joint’
̀n-twàg#zò ‘fresh leaf’
̀y-èg#zà ‘chin’
swâm#nò ‘complaint’
mè-bád#ná ‘byname’
̀tón#dó ‘eggplant leaf’

Note that *̀y-ègzà* can also be pronounced *̀y-ègèz*.

2.2.2.2. Basic stems with an initial vowel

Some basic noun stems begin in a vowel. If they are not the stem of genderless nouns, they are preceded by a C- or CG- prefix. This prefix is integrated in the prosodic stem, forming one of the basic noun stem schemes discussed in this section, canonical (13) or non-canonical (14).

(13) a. *d-ǎ* ‘hand’; pl. *m-ǎ*

- b. *j-ǒm* ‘thing’; pl. *l-ǒm*
d-àm ‘thing’; pl. *m-àm*
w-ǒŋ ‘fear’
j-ǎd ‘basket’; pl. *by-ǎd*
d-âg ‘charcoal’; pl. *m-âg*
m-âl ‘proa’
d-ǒy ‘nose’
- c. *m-ǎŋǒ* ‘child’; pl. *b-ǎŋǒ*
d-úmá ‘baobab’; *m-úmá*
d-ùmá ‘nest’; pl. *m-ùmá*
- (14) a. *d-òngò* ‘whitlow’
m-ǒŋnò ‘banana sprout’; pl. *b-ǒŋnò*
m-áŋù ‘agreement’
m-ìŋŋá ‘woman’; pl. *b-ìŋŋá*

In the following word, the consonant prefix is also morphologically integrated in the stem. The gender 5 prefix is *d-* before a vowel and *é-* before a consonant. That of gender 6 is *m-* and *mè-* respectively. One would therefore expect either *èdáz/mèdáz* or *dáz/máz*.

- (15) *dáz* ‘present, compensation’; pl. *mè-dáz*

Section 2.2.2.6 discusses some other stems with an initial vowel, which are all genderless.

2.2.2.3. Basic stems containing a long vowel

There is a very small list of basic noun stems that contain a long vowel. They are all of gender 7 (plural: 8) and all but one are disyllabic. Given that gender 7 is a typical target gender for deverbal nouns (see 4.3) and that suffixation results in compensatory lengthening if the stem-final consonant is identical to the suffix initial one (see II:5.2), some of these stems might be (historically) derived. No possible source verb has been recorded, though.

- (16) a. *ì-sùù* ‘tontine’ (7)
ì-wóòdè ‘caterpillar (sp.)’ (7)
 b. *ì-biù* ‘nine’ (7)

type with a #CV expansion (21d). The example in (21e) is most probably a borrowing. For the word in (22) I have no explanation.

- (21) a. *újô* ‘sweet banana’
 ńcô ‘lizard’
 ńtŵí ‘diarrhoea’
 b. *úkâl* ‘plant (sp.), *Euphorbia hirta*’
 c. *úsâŋà* ‘lemon grass, *Cymbopogon citratus*’
 òwòndò ‘groundnut’
 òpùmá ‘citrus fruit’
 âzâŋà ‘wild mango tree’
 ńjàŋá ‘tontine’
 ńkâlà ‘tempest’
 d. *lésómlô* ‘bronchitis’
 àtwàdnò ‘sweet banana (sp.)’
 e. *àlàpágá* ‘rabbit’
 (22) *ńđimzàná* ‘meaning’ (9)

3.2.3. Reduplicated noun stems

Four percent of the underived noun stems (excluding borrowings) is reduplicated. The base of reduplicated stems has the form of a basic noun stem (canonical or not). The reduplicant precedes the base. It is a copy of the initial CV-cluster of the base. However, when the first structural vowel of the base is non-high (i.e. if it is not *i* or *u*), the vowel of the reduplicant is schwa. The gender prefix -if there is one- precedes the reduplicant, but if the prefix is a nasal, it is also repeated before the base. The base is as much affected as the reduplicant by any morphonological changes triggered by the prefix, as is illustrated by (23).

- (23) *ɲì-čí~ɲicīm* ‘shadow, silhouette’ (3); pl. *mìm-sí~mīm* (4)

The set of reduplicated stems has many members that refer to animals (25) and plants (26). Most of the animals are (flying) insects. The large number of underived reduplications of gender 7 is noteworthy. Gender 7 is the target gender of deverbal derivation with reduplication. This might be an indication that many of the words in (24-26) are historically derived.

- (24) ì-*vé*~*vô* ‘shadow’
 tì-*ḥmâ* ‘boat’
 ò-*nú*~*nūm* ‘rainbow’
 ù-*té*~*tê* ‘star’
 b̀-*tè*~*tâ* ‘shoulders’
 ì-*bè*~*bòm* ‘a cold’
 ì-*bù*~*bú* ‘easy’
 ì-*bù*~*bwà* ‘stupidity’
 ì-*vè*~*vèz* ‘light, not heavy’
 ì-*zè*~*zè* ‘idiot, nil, useless’
 ì-*ké*~*kóngí* ‘bump’
 ì-*kù*~*kùà* ‘rubbish dump’
 ì-*té*~*tóg* ‘blister’
 ì-*vú*~*vúmnú* ‘family member’
ké~*kirâ* ‘morning’; var. *kir*~*kirâ*
ḡgú~*ḡgúgô* ‘evening’
kpè~*kpàzà* ‘toothbrush’
mbú~*mbwâ* ‘delay’
- (25) *mbú*~*mbûḡ* ‘bee’; var. *mbém*~*bóḡ*?
pé~*pé* ‘cockroach’
m̀n-té~*ntológ* ‘ant (sp.)’
 (var. *m̀ntológ*, *m̀ntólǵí*)
 ì-*ḡé*~*ḡóḡ* ‘mosquito’
bè~*bâ* ‘frog (sp.)’
c̀~*c̀ilá* ‘wasp (sp.)’
ḡgè~*ḡgē* ‘firefly’
- (26) ì-*zé*~*záḡ* ‘tree (sp.)’
 ì-*té*~*tám* ‘okra, *Abelmoschus Esculentus*’
 ì-*té*~*tób* ‘tree (sp.)’
 ì-*tù*~*tùgà* ‘vegetable’
kù~*kùmà* ‘plant (sp.), *Amaranthus*’

3. Morphological classes & genders

3.1. Introduction

The nouns of Eton are divided over twelve morphological classes, according to their prefix.⁴ Either they have no prefix, or one of the following eleven prefixes: *à-*, *bè-*, *bì-*, *d-*, *è-*, *ì-*, *j-*, *mè-*, *mì-*, *ṅ-*, *ù-*. The morphological class of a noun is a fairly good indication for the gender (or noun class) to which a noun belongs. Genders are defined by a set of nouns that trigger the same agreement pattern. Eton has ten different agreement patterns (numbered from I to X), defining ten genders (numbered from 1 to 10).⁵ Tables with agreement prefixes can be found in Sections V:2 (pronominal) and VIII:2 (verbal). For reasons outlined in Van de Velde (to appear), some nouns are analysed as genderless. Genderless nouns lack a prefix and trigger agreement pattern I. Nouns of gender 9 and 10 do not have a prefix either. If a noun has a syllabic homorganic nasal prefix, it can be either of gender 1 or of gender 3. Nouns of gender 5 take either *è-* or *d-*, those of gender 7 either *ì-* or *j-*, depending on the initial segment of their stem. In all other cases there is a straightforward relation between gender and morphological class. This is summarised in Table 2.

⁴ The analysis presented here differs in some respects from the traditional descriptions of gender and nominal morphology in Bantu. See Van de Velde (to appear) for a comparison and a more elaborate theoretical discussion.

⁵ By definition, the number of genders can never exceed the number of agreement patterns in a language.

Example	Morphological class	Gender	Agreement pattern
kálâda	∅	genderless	I
ndógô (pl.)	∅	10	X
ndógô (sg.)	∅	9	IX
à-púb	à	3	III
bè-yéglé	bè	2	II
bì-bwàn	bì	8	VIII
d-ǎ	d	5	V
è-kòŋ	è	5	V
ì-bwàn	ì	7	VII
j-ǎd	j	7	VII
mè-púb	mè	6	VI
mì-bùŋ	mì	4	IV
m̄-mùŋ	m̄	3	III
j̄-jéglé	m̄	1	I
ù-vwón	ù	3	III

Table 2. Genders, morphological classes and agreement patterns

Gender and number are intimately linked. If one knows the gender of a noun, one knows whether the noun is singular or plural.

- (27) ì-kwáŋǎ ‘ladle’ (7)
 bì-kwáŋǎ ‘ladles’ (8)

There is one major exception: gender 5 contains both singular nouns and plural nouns.

- (28) è-bóg ‘party’ (5)
 è-mǎŋ ‘fingers’ (5)

Non-count nouns tend to be of gender 6 in the case of liquids and of gender 3 (morphological class ù-) in the case of abstract nouns.

- (29) mè-nd̄m ‘water’ (6)
 ù-lún ‘anger’ (3)

Genderless nouns are pluralized by means of a preposed plural word *b̀̀*, which triggers agreement pattern II (see v:3.7.2.1).

- (30) *kwábd̀̀* ‘cupboard’ (<Eng.) (genderless)
b̀̀ kwábd̀̀ ‘cupboards’ (genderless)

There are typical gender combinations, such as 3/4 and 7/8, in which the odd gender contains the singular forms of the even gender. An overview of these gender combinations is given in Section 3.4. An alternative for this analysis would be to treat singular-plural pairings like 3/4 and 7/8 as genders. See Van de Velde (to appear) for arguments against this alternative analysis.

The gender assignment of a noun cannot be predicted from its semantics. Singular nouns with human reference, for instance, are found in gender 1 (29,5%), gender 3 (32,5%), gender 5 (1,5%), gender 7 (20%) and gender 9 (10%). The remaining 6,5% are genderless or ethnic names of gender 2. Similarly, nouns for body parts are spread over all genders, except gender 1, with no gender clearly being preferred to the others. Conversely, the genders show no semantic coherence, except the small gender 1, in which seventeen out of the eighteen nouns have human reference.

3.2. Genderless nouns

As has been said, nouns that have no gender prefix, that trigger agreement pattern I in the singular and that form their plural by means of the plural word *b̀̀* are genderless in Eton.⁶ All proper names, most deictic kinship terms, the question word *zá* ‘who’, as well as half of the borrowings from European languages belong to this category. Deictic kinship terms are kinship terms the stem of which contains a specification for person, e.g.,

- (31) a. *nà, màŋá* ‘my mother’
 b. *ŋǎ* ‘your mother’
b̀̀ ŋǎ ‘your (pl.) mothers’
 c. *ŋǎ* ‘his/her mother’
 d. *tàdà* ‘my father’
 e. *í^lsó* ‘your father’
 f. *í^lsá* ‘his/her father’

⁶ Traditionally these nouns are attributed to a subgender of gender 1, called *class Ia* in Bantu studies.

The deictic kinship terms that refer to same-sex siblings are slightly more complex. Their form obligatorily contains the diminutive proclitic *mɔ̃H=*, plural *bɔ̃H=*. The diminutive is the head of the construction and decides on the gender assignment of the whole, viz. gender 1 in the singular and 2 in the plural (see Section V:2.2.3).

Names for nationalities or ethnic groups are also genderless. Due to their collective meaning they trigger agreement pattern II, rather than I.⁷ To designate a member of an ethnic group, the group name is preceded by the diminutive proclitic *mɔ̃H=*.

- (32) *pùlàsí* ‘the French, Frenchmen’
pùlàsí bésó ‘The French have come.’
pùlàsí bébā ‘two Frenchmen’
mɔ̃ pùlàsí ‘a Frenchman’
**bɔ̃ pùlàsí*
- (33) *kwáló* ‘the Ewondo’
mɔ̃ kwáló ‘Ewondo person’

There is also a group of genderless nouns that does not at first sight belong to one of the categories mentioned above. Some of these might be borrowings, but their origin could not be established. They sometimes denote imported concepts, such as *sáyǵélézi* ‘underwear’, *kwáló* ‘tie’, *wún* ‘breakdown lorry’, *cábâ* ‘home made rifle’ and *lélê* ‘nail varnish’. Others have a deviant form in that the first syllable of their stem is a syllabic nasal, which is normally reserved for prefixes, e.g. *ñjàñjá* ‘tontine’. Even more exceptionally, most of the time this syllabic nasal carries a high tone, as in *ýkúlà* ‘tempest’, *ítwí* ‘diarrhoea’, *ýcô* ‘lizard’ and *ýcâ* ‘ripe plantain banana’. The initial high tone of these nouns is also found in proper names based on a phrasal lemma, such as *ímó dóbô* ‘the moon’ (see 4.4.1). Since the list contains words for natural elements and (possibly personified) species, a proper name origin is not unlikely.

Almost all words for species of banana are genderless, some of them are clearly borrowings (e.g. *nòmàwán* < Eng. *number one*), others are based on a phrase (e.g. *èsàñ mwágô*), the origin of others is still obscure (e.g. *újô*, *mpídámým*, *àtwàdn*). An interesting case is the word for ‘enclosure’ *ù-ýgólô* (gender 3; plural *mè-ýgólô*, gender 6),

⁷ These nouns could also be analysed as nouns of gender 2 without a nominal prefix.

which, by metonymy, is the Eton name for the Cameroonian capital Yaoundé. This word, in both senses, has a genderless variant *ɲgólô*, plural *b̀ ɲgólô*. Finally, there is a group of nouns, mostly borrowings and kinship terms, that are genderless in the plural, but that belong to a gender in the singular. Examples are: *màkíd* ‘market’ (6, plural *b̀ màkíd*), *tɔŋ* ‘tuna’ (9, plural *b̀ tɔŋ*), *à-dũm* ‘tree (sp.)’ (3, plural *b̀ dũm*) and *ndóm* ‘brother of a girl’ (9, plural *b̀ ndóm*).

The possibility of genderless nouns in a gender language is controversial. A detailed justification for the analysis proposed here falls outside of the scope of a descriptive grammar, but can be found in Van de Velde (to appear). In a nutshell, the argument consists of two equally important parts. The first part shows how the existence of genderless nouns is theoretically possible. In this case it answers the question “If genders are defined by the sets of nouns that trigger the same agreement pattern, then how is it possible that a set of nouns that trigger agreement pattern I does not belong to gender 1?”. A description of the multifunctionality of agreement patterns in Bantu provides the answer. A given agreement pattern can be selected for several reasons, not only for agreement in gender. Throughout the Bantu family agreement pattern I can be selected for agreement with a controller that is not in need of referential disambiguation, as is illustrated in the following examples from Mongo and Luba. In (34) agreement pattern I is selected for agreement with an interjection, a word that is by definition genderless, because it is not a noun. The Mongo example in (35) shows that agreement pattern I (35b) provides an alternative to gender agreement (35a) when the controller is not in need of referential disambiguation, in this case due to its generic meaning.

- (34) a. *'aaa' a-na-mv-eka* (Luba, Corbett 1991:208)
 ‘aaa’ I-PST-hear-PASSIVE
 ‘An ‘aaa’ was heard.’
 b. *a-na-mu-mva 'mayo'* (Luba, Corbett 1991:208)
 I-PST-I.OBJ-hear crying-sound
 ‘He heard a crying sound.’
- (35) a. *mpulú é-tóngá júmbu* (Mongo, Hulstaert 1966:17)
 [9]bird IX-build nest
 ‘The bird is building a nest.’

- b. *mpulú á-tóngá júmbu* (Mongo, Hulstaert 1966:17)
 [9]bird I-build nest
 ‘Birds build nests (general truth).’

The second part of the argument is to identify a group of nouns in Eton as genderless. The deviant plural formation of the nouns traditionally called *class 1a* is an important indication of their exceptional status.⁸ One of the major arguments is provided by proper names, which form the prototypical core of the genderless nouns. Their assignment to “class 1a” is exceptionless, irrespective of whether they are ancient toponyms or improvised nicknames derived from a common noun. This is in very sharp contrast to the assignment of nouns to genders, which is arbitrary in the Bantu languages. See Van de Velde (to appear) for more arguments.

3.3. The genders

This section discusses the ten genders individually. In many cases there is a one-to-one relation between gender and morphological class (viz. in gender 2, 4, 6 and 8). For the sake of brevity I will say that a certain gender is marked by a prefix *x-* in these cases. This is short for “nouns of the morphological class marked by the prefix *x-* belong to gender *y*”.

3.3.1. Gender 1

Gender 1 contains about 1,5 percent of all singular nouns. All gender 1 words belong to the morphological class marked by *Ń-*. Their plural is always of gender 2. Nouns of gender 1 are never plural. This is the only gender that can be satisfactorily defined semantically. Almost all gender 1 nouns have human reference (but only a small percentage of the nouns with human reference is of gender 1). There are roughly three subtypes. The first could be called basic level terms for humans, such as *m-ĩmjá* ‘woman’, *m-òŋó* ‘child’ and *m-òd* ‘person’. Remarkably, all nouns of this type have a vowel-initial stem. The

⁸ The absence of overt gender marking (i.e. of a noun prefix) cannot be used as an argument for genderless status, because overt gender marking is by no means a prerequisite for the existence of gender distinctions. Nevertheless, it is useful to point out that the so-called class 1a nouns differ from other nouns without overt gender marking (e.g. those of gender 9 & 10 in Eton) in that they already lacked a nominal prefix in Proto-Bantu.

second type are words for family members by alliance (three nouns): *jì-cĩ* ‘parent in law’, *jì-jíom* ‘husband’ and *ỳ-ỳál* ‘wife’. The largest group is formed by deverbal nouns, e.g. *m̀-̀m̀ǹ* ‘ancestor’ (> *b̀ǹ* ‘found’), *̀ǹ-̀lẁ* ‘smith’ (> *lú* ‘bend’) and *j̀-̀j̀égl̀* ‘teacher’ (> *yégl̀* ‘teach’). One noun does not have human reference, but might be related to *m̀-̀d̀ỳ* ‘child’, viz. *m̀-̀d̀ỳǹ* ‘sprout of a banana plant’.

3.3.2. Gender 2

Gender 2 is as small a class as gender 1. It contains the plurals of the words of gender 1. The prefix of gender 2 is *b̀-* before stems that start in a consonant and *b-* before vowel-initial stems.

- (36) *b̀-̀b̀ǹ* ‘ancestors’
b̀-̀m̀ỳg̀ ‘women’
b̀-̀d̀ỳ ‘children’
b̀-̀ẁán ‘children’
b̀-̀d̀ ‘people’

3.3.3. Gender 3

After gender 7, gender 3 is the biggest singular gender, which might be due partly to the fact that it is the target gender for deverbal derivation by means of the suffix *-̀ǹ* (see 4.3.5). Nouns of gender 3 are always singular. They are distributed over three morphological classes. One set of gender 3 nouns belongs to the same morphological class as the nouns of gender 1 (prefix: *̀-*). These nouns have a plural of gender 4.

- (37) *m̀-̀m̀d̀g̀* ‘prison’ pl. *m̀-̀b̀d̀g̀* (4)
m̀-̀p̀án ‘arrow’ pl. *m̀m̀-̀p̀án* (4)
̀ǹ-̀t̀ól ‘first born’ pl. *m̀ǹ-̀t̀ól* (4)
̀ǹ-̀ǹàỳ ‘albino’ pl. *m̀-̀ǹàỳ* (4)

All nouns of the morphological class marked by the prefix *̀-* are assigned to gender 3. This morphological class contains many nouns that refer to properties or abstract notions, which have no plural (38). The others have a plural of gender 6 (39).

- (38) *̀-̀b̀ẁád* ‘slimness’
̀-̀t̀égg̀ ‘laziness’
̀-̀f̀ ‘honesty’
̀-̀ỳá ‘pain’

- (39) à-mùŋ ‘mouth’ pl. m̀è-mùŋ (6)
 à-lú ‘night’ pl. m̀è-lú (6)
 à-kvàm ‘tree (sp.)’ pl. m̀è-kvàm (6)

Gender 3 also contains the nouns that belong to the morphological class marked by *ù-*. These nouns have a plural of gender 5 (41). This relatively small group equally contains some nouns with abstract reference that do not have a plural (40).

- (40) ù-lún ‘anger’
 ù-jó ‘sleep’
 (41) ù-kpāl ‘partridge’ pl. è-kpāl (5)
 ù-mŋ ‘finger’ pl. è-mŋ (5)

One gender 3 noun, *gbéb* ‘theft’, is exceptional because it does not have a prefix and its plural belongs to gender 10 (*gbéb*) or 6 (*m̀è-gbéb*). Finally, gender 3 contains three nouns without a prefix, of which the stem begins in *vy*, viz. *vyàn* ‘sun’, *vyǎg* ‘clay’ and *vyûg* ‘dark black’.

3.3.4. Gender 4

All gender 4 nouns have the prefix *m̀-*, or, if they begin in a vowel *my-*. They are always the plural of gender 3 nouns with a nasal prefix, except in the case of the single-gender words in (42). Note the initial *vy* in the stem of *m̀vyáz*.

- (42) *m̀-ntá* ‘pain’
m̀-ntàg ‘joy, happiness’
m̀-sàŋ ‘sissongo sprouts’
m̀-vyáz ‘twins’

The nasal prefix of gender 3 nouns is incorporated into the stem of the nouns of gender 4 (43a), except before $^{\circ}/B/$, $^{\circ}/V/$, $^{\circ}/\#/$, $^{\circ}/L/$, $^{\circ}/S/$ and $^{\circ}/\widehat{v}j/$ (43b). For the sake of uniformity in the notation of stems this nasal is systematically written before the hyphen that marks the border between prefix and stem, also in the dictionary.

- (43) a. *m̀-pàn* ‘arrow’ (3)
 m̀m-pàn ‘arrows’ (4)
 b. *m̀-mǎg* ‘prison’ (3)
 m̀-bǎg ‘prisons’ (4)

3.3.5. Gender 5

Gender 5 nouns with a vowel-initial stem belong to the morphological class marked by *d-*. Those with an initial consonant take the prefix *è-* (*lè-* in the southern dialects). The *è-* variant is taken as the norm for dictionary entries. In example sentences all variants are used. Gender 5 words have a plural of gender 6. One exception is *d-wálô* ‘piece of five francs’ that is genderless in the plural: *bò dwálô*.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| (44) | <i>d-ùmá</i> ‘nest’ | pl. <i>m-ùmá</i> (6) |
| | <i>d-ǔ</i> ‘hand’ | pl. <i>m-ǔ</i> (6) |
| | <i>d-àm</i> ‘thing’ | pl. <i>m-àm</i> (6) |
| | <i>è-bùdà</i> ‘sweet potato’ | pl. <i>mè-bùdà</i> (6) |
| | <i>è-kùŋ</i> ‘owl’ | pl. <i>mè-kùŋ</i> (6) |

Gender 5 also contains plural nouns that have their singular in gender 3 (morphological class *ù-*).

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| (45) | <i>è-kvǎn</i> ‘diseases’ | sg. <i>ù-kvǎn</i> (3) |
| | <i>è-tàn</i> ‘bats (sp.)’ | sg. <i>ù-tàn</i> (3) |

One gender 5 noun, a borrowing from (Pidgin) English, has no prefix in the singular.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| (46) | <i>jwáz</i> ‘judgement’ | pl. <i>mè-jwáz</i> |
|------|-------------------------|--------------------|

There are two gender 5 nouns that begin in *l-*. In one case this initial liquid can be clearly identified as a prefix (48). It might be the Southern form of the prefix *lè-*, the vowel of which dropped according to the rules of vowel hiatus resolution. Note, however, that the normal gender 5 prefix for stems with an initial vowel is *d-* in all dialects.

- | | |
|------|----------------------------------|
| (47) | <i>l(-)òŋ</i> ‘hair’ (mass noun) |
| (48) | <i>l-ǔm</i> ‘things’ (5) |
| | <i>j-ǔm</i> ‘thing’ (7) |

3.3.6. Gender 6

The prefix of gender 6 nouns is *mè-* (*m-* before vowels). Most nouns of gender 6 are the plural of a gender 5 noun, but there is also a considerable number of mass nouns. The first example in (49), *m-ál*, is ambiguous as to number. It can mean ‘canoe’ or ‘canoes’.⁹ Finally,

⁹ Note that canoes are not or rarely used by the Eton.

some gender 6 nouns have their singular counterparts in gender 3 (morphological class à-) (50).

- (49) *m-ál* ‘canoe’
mè-ndám ‘water’
mè-tíŋ ‘promise’
mè-ŋmgbém ‘child disease’
- (50) *mè-bè* ‘thighs’ sg. à-bè (3)
mè-jòz ‘edible caterpillars (sp.)’ sg. à-jòz (3)
mè-tán ‘village’ sg. à-tán (3)

3.3.7. Gender 7

Gender 7 is the largest set of singular nouns. This is partly due to some derivational processes that have 7 as their target gender. The gender 7 prefix is *ɿ-* before consonants and *j-* before vowels. The plural of gender 7 nouns is of gender 8, but some gender 7 nouns do not have a plural due to their semantics. Examples include mass nouns such as *ɿ-vúvúz* ‘foam’, *ɿ-kwán* ‘white clay’ and words like *ɿ-kóđi* ‘thirst’, *ɿ-jwǎn* ‘mist’ and *ɿ-lěz* ‘slovenliness’. One gender 7 word has a plural of gender 5: *j-ǒm* ‘thing’, *l-ǒm* ‘things’.

- (51) *ɿ-nàm* ‘arm’ pl. *bì-nàm* (8)
ɿ-kpèbè ‘sweet pepper’ pl. *bì-kpèbè* (8)
j-ǎd ‘basket’ pl. *by-ǎd* (8)
j-ǒ ‘yam’ pl. *by-ǒ* (8)

3.3.8. Gender 8

All nouns of gender 8 have the prefix *bì-* (prevocalic allomorph *by-*). Gender 8 nouns are always the plural of gender 7 nouns, except in three cases: *bì-đi* ‘food’, *bì-đim* ‘mystery’ and *bì-jém* ‘miserliness’.

3.3.9. Gender 9

Gender 9 contains singular nouns without a prefix. These nouns have two alternating plural forms: one of gender 10 and one of gender 6.

- (52) a. *mbél* ‘mushroom’ pl. *mbél* (10) ~ *mè-mbél* (6)
 b. *ɲmgbélmí* ‘corn loft’ pl. *ɲmgbélmí* (10) ~ *mè-ɲmgbélmí* (6)
 c. *ndwân* ‘fire’ pl. *ndwân* (10) ~ *mè-ndwân* (6)
 d. *pyàŋà* ‘joke’ pl. *pyàŋà* (10) ~ *mè-pyàŋà* (6)
 e. *tóg* ‘spoon’ pl. *tóg* (10) ~ *mè-tóg* (6)

Gender 9 nouns rarely begin in a voiced stop, since initial voiced stops are almost always preceded by a homorganic nasal (53). On a total of eighty gender 9 words with an initial stop, there are only six counterexamples (54), two of which are clearly borrowings and one of which contains an affricate.

- (53) *mbél* ‘mushroom’
mbí ‘palm nut’
ndómú ‘young man’
ndég ‘calabash’
ɲgwì ‘bat (sp.)’
ɲgùn ‘filth’
ɲmgbél ‘witchcraft’
- (54) *byàŋ* ‘magic’
dwáb ‘navel’
bùnù ‘amoebiasis’
j̀̀ngí ‘toad’
bèèđí ‘bread’
bándád ‘band(age)’

The initial nasal is the reflex of a Proto-Bantu prefix that was preserved only before voiced stops in Eton. Synchronically it cannot be analysed as a morphological class prefix, because it never commutes with such a prefix. The plural of gender 9 words either has the same form as the singular, or it is formed by adding the prefix *mè-* to the gender 9 form (including the initial nasal), see the examples in (52). As for *N-* as a possible derivational prefix, things are a bit more complicated. In denominal derivation by means of motion, the initial nasal of gender 9 words never commutes with another prefix. Nouns derived from gender 9 words have their prefix before the entire gender 9 word, including the nasal. See examples (100a) and (101a) in Section 4.2.3. In deverbal derivation, however, there are examples in which the derived (or cognate) noun of gender 9 has an initial homorganic nasal that the verb stem lacks. In two cases the mapping

between verb stem and noun stem is irregular, in that the voiceless initial consonant of the verb is voiced in the noun (see example (112) in Section 4.3.2.2). This derivation type is synchronically not productive and therefore nothing can be concluded from it as to the status of the initial nasal in the gender 9 nouns. Another pair of examples involves gender 9 nouns with an initial nasal that are cognate to verb stems that also have this initial nasal (see example (116)). Finally, the dictionary contains three deverbal nouns of gender 9 for which the initial nasal is unquestionably a derivational prefix (55). However, this does not mean that it is a gender prefix (or more accurately, a prefix that defines morphological class), and it will not be analysed as such. Gender 9 words are presented without a hyphen between N and C in the dictionary, because this hyphen marks prefixes.

- (55) *bèglè* ‘carry’ *m-bèglè* ‘luggage’
bàgnù ‘be provocative’ *m-bàgnù* ‘provocation’
bémí ‘warn’ *m-bémí* ‘warning’

Since gender 9 does not have a prefix, it is not surprising that many borrowings are inserted in that gender (56), although many more remain genderless. Many of the loans in gender 9 are optionally genderless in the plural (57).¹⁰ One gender 9 borrowing from (Pidgin) English acquired an initial nasal by analogy (58).

- (56) *cwáz* ‘church’
kód ‘coat’
kòpí ‘coffee’
kírú ‘quinine’
lám ‘blade’ (< Fr. *lame*)
cén ‘chain’
- (57) *fikêd* ‘ticket’ pl. *mè-fikêd* (6) ~ *bò fikêd*
sêm ‘same thing’ pl. *sêm* (10) ~ *bò sêm*
tóŋ ‘tuna’ pl. *bò tóŋ*
- (58) *ŋgádnà* ‘garden’

Especially gender 9 nouns with human reference tend to have a genderless plural (optional).

¹⁰ Only the plural forms that have been recorded are given here. Probably these words all have three possible plural forms: one of gender 10, one of gender 6 and one genderless.

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| (59) | <i>kál</i> ‘sister’ | pl. <i>b̀ kál</i> |
| | <i>mbóy</i> ‘friend’ | pl. <i>b̀ mbóy</i> |
| | <i>ndóm</i> ‘brother’ | pl. <i>b̀ ndóm</i> |
| | <i>ndómíú</i> ‘adolescent’ | pl. <i>b̀ ndómíú</i> |

3.3.10. Gender 10

Apart from some words such as *ɲɲɔy* ‘scissors’, words of gender 10 are always the plural of gender 9 nouns. Gender 10 nouns have no prefix.

3.4. Gender combinations

When one knows the gender and morphological class of a noun with singular reference, one can usually predict the gender to which the plural belongs and vice versa. This section provides an overview of the gender combinations, classified according to their relative frequency. Genders that contain mass nouns, pluralia tantum and/or singularia tantum are listed as well. Note that thirteen percent of the nouns is genderless (excluding the open category of proper names). The following overview differentiates according to gender *and* morphological class. The latter is marked by means of an undercase letter.

Major combinations (each more than 5% of all nouns):

7/8 (22%); 3n/4 (18%); 9/10,6 (15%); 5/6 (9%)

- (60) *ì-bǎŋ* ‘pebble’ (7)
b̀ì-bǎŋ ‘pebbles’ (8)
- (61) *̀n-tě̀n* ‘line’ (3n)
m̀̀n-tě̀n ‘lines’ (4)
- (62) *ɖwáb* ‘navel’ (9)
ɖwáb (10) ~ *m̀è-ɖwáb* (6) ‘navels’
- (63) *è-bɔŋ* ‘knee’ (5)
m̀è-bɔŋ ‘knees’ (6)

Minor combinations (each between 1 and 5% of all nouns):

6 (4%); 3u/5 (3%); 9 (3%); 5 (2%); 3u (2%); 3a (2%); 1/2 (2%); 3a/6 (1,5%); 7 (1%)

- (64) *m̀è-jèb* ‘anguish’ (6)
- (65) *̀ù-kpǎl* ‘partridge’ (3u)
è-kpǎl ‘partridges’ (5)

- (66) *kpèm* ‘cassava leaves dish’ (9)
 (67) *è-swĩ* ‘ashes’ (5)
 (68) *ù-lùgá* ‘respect’ (3u)
 (69) *à-vól* ‘speed’ (3a)
 (70) *jì-jóm* ‘husband’ (1)
 bè-jóm ‘husbands’ (2)
 (71) *à-mǒz* ‘day’ (3a)
 mè-mǒz ‘days’ (6)
 (72) *ì-jwǎn* ‘mist’ (7)

Marginal combinations (each less than 1% of all nouns):

3n; 4; 3u/6; 8; 5/genderless; 7/5; 9/10,genderless; 9/genderless;
 3a/genderless; 2; 3/10,6; 9/6,genderless

- (73) *mè-vòbò* ‘respiration’ (3n)
 (74) *mì-vyáz* ‘twins’ (4)
 (75) *ù-lám* ‘trap’ (3u)
 mè-lám ‘traps’ (6)
 (76) *bì-jém* ‘miserliness’ (8)
 (77) *dwálô* ‘coin of five francs’ (5)
 bò dwálô ‘five francs coins’ (genderless)
 (78) *j-ǒm* ‘thing’ (7)
 l-ǒm ‘things’ (5)
 (79) *sêm* ‘the same thing’ (9)
 sêm (10) ~ *bò sêm* (genderless) ‘the same things’
 (80) *ndóm* ‘brother (of a girl)’ (9)
 bò ndóm ‘brothers (of a girl)’ (genderless)
 (81) *à-dǔm* ‘tree (sp.)’ (3a)
 bò dǔm ‘trees (sp.)’ (genderless)
 (82) *bè-kwè* ‘pygmies’ (2)
 (83) *gbéb* ‘theft’ (3)
 gbéb (10) ~ *mè-gbéb* (6) ‘thefts’
 (84) *fikêd* ‘ticket’ (9)
 mè-fikêd (6) ~ *bò fikêd* (genderless) ‘tickets’

3.5. The augment

In some syntactic environments nouns have an obligatory prefix *í-*, called the *augment*. This prefix does not agree in gender. See Chapter VI for its use. The augment precedes any prefix marking

morphological class. It copies its high tone onto the following syllable. Since it is a prefix, the resulting high tone feeds into high tone spread. If a noun has a vocalic gender prefix the preceding augment does not have segmental form and is represented by a floating high tone only.

- (85) $\acute{\text{ɪ}}\text{-m-}\bar{\text{ɪ}}\text{m}j\text{g}\acute{\text{á}} \text{ j}\hat{\text{ɪ}}$
 $[\acute{\text{ɪ}}\text{-N-}\bar{\text{ɪ}}\text{m}j\text{g}\acute{\text{á}} \quad \text{j}\hat{\text{ɪ}}]$
 AU-1-woman III.DEM
 ‘this woman’
- (86) $\acute{\text{ɪ}}\text{-m-}\hat{\text{o}}\text{d} \text{ à}\acute{\text{t}}\acute{\text{e}} \text{ s}\hat{\text{o}}\text{m}$
 $[\acute{\text{ɪ}}\text{-N-}\hat{\text{o}}\text{d} \quad \hat{\text{à}}\text{-L}\acute{\text{t}}\acute{\text{e}} \quad \text{L-s}\hat{\text{o}}\text{m}]$
 AU-1-person I-PR INF-hunt
 ‘a hunter’

4. Nominal derivation

4.1. Introduction

Many derivational processes described in this section involve a target gender. I only discuss singular nouns explicitly. It is assumed that the plural of the derived word can be retrieved according to the canonical gender combinations, unless specified otherwise. Where there is no one-to-one relation between gender and morphological class, both will be specified: 3a, 3u, 3n. Most of the time it is possible to know which noun is derived from which between two related nouns, because one of the two has an extra morpheme. However, in the case of motion, i.e. when the only formal difference between related nouns is their morphological class and/or gender, this cannot be done on an objective basis.

4.2. Denominal derivation

4.2.1. Denominal derivation with reduplication

From a noun denoting a property, action or object a noun can be derived for a person related to this property, object or action. The derivation involves reduplication and change of gender (if the source noun is not of gender 3n). The source noun can be of any gender, the target noun is always of gender 3n. The prefix of the source word is replaced by the prefix of gender 3n. No suffix is added. The reduplicated form conforms to the following scheme:

source stem reduplicated noun (including gender 3 prefix)
 $-C_xV_y^*$ \rightarrow $\dot{N}-C_xV_yN C_xV_y^*$

The asterisk stands for anything following the initial CV-sequence of the stem. The subscript characters $_x, _y$ indicate identity of segments. This scheme is not entirely accurate in that the vowel of the reduplicant is reduced (centralised). Reduction is less strong in close vowels. If the stem has a non-close vowel, the vowel of the reduplicant will be written as $\langle e \rangle$. Note that the gender 3 prefix attaches to the reduplicant, but is also retained before the base, where it loses its syllabicity due to the preceding vowel. This nasal is equally retained in gender 4 (88). Little can be said about the tones of this schema because no example has an entirely low pattern in the source noun. Nevertheless, the examples with a rising tone on the source stem suggest that the reduplicant is obligatorily high. The base retains the tones of the stem. If the stem has a rising tone, there will be high tone plateauing with initial downstep due to tone spread from the reduplicant, as in (87).

- (87) a. $\dot{u}-kw\check{a}n$ ‘disease’ (3u)
 $\eta\dot{y}-k\acute{u}\sim\eta kw\bar{a}n$ ‘ill person’ (3n)
 b. $z\check{a}m$ ‘leprosy’ (9)
 $\dot{n}\dot{z}\acute{e}\sim n\bar{z}\bar{a}m$ ‘leprosy sufferer’ (3n)

The vowel of the reduplicant is the first *structural* vowel of the stem, which on the surface might be glided due to hiatus resolution, as in (87a, 88g-h). The vowel of the reduplicant, whether reduced or not, is often nasalized, especially when the form of the gender 3 prefix is a velar nasal. Especially in the case of /u/ followed by /ŋ/ I found it difficult to hear whether a nasal consonant is really present, or whether the vowel is simply strongly nasalized. It must be noted that the first consonant of both the reduplicant and the base undergoes any morphological change triggered by the syllabic nasal prefix of gender 3 (88d-g).

- (88) a. $\grave{a}-k\acute{u}m\acute{a}$ ‘wealth’ (3a)
 $\eta\dot{y}-k\acute{u}\sim\eta k\acute{u}m\acute{a}$ ‘chief’
 pl. $m\grave{\eta}\eta-k\acute{u}\sim\eta k\acute{u}m\acute{a}$
 b. $n-\acute{d}\dot{m}$ ‘blindness’ (9)
 $\dot{n}\dot{d}\dot{r}\sim n\acute{d}\dot{m}$ ‘blind person’
 pl. $m\grave{\eta}n-\acute{d}\dot{r}\sim n\acute{d}\dot{m}$

- c. *zɪŋ* ‘hatred’ (9)
ɲ-zɪ-ɲzɪŋ ‘enemy’
 pl. *mɪn-zɪ-ɲzɪŋ*
- d. *ɲmgbél* ‘witchcraft’ (9)
ɲɲɪ-ɲmɛ-ɲmél or *ɲɲɪ-gbé-ɲmgbél* ‘sorcerer’
 pl. *mɪɲm-gbé-ɲmgbél*
- e. *ɪ-bɔ́g* ‘paralysis’ (7)
mɪ-mɛ-mɔ́g ‘paralytic’
 pl. *mɪ-mɛ-mɔ́g*
- f. *gbéb* ‘theft’ (3)
ɲm-ɲmɛ-ɲméb ‘thief’ [ɲmɲmáɲmɔ́b]
 pl. *mɪ-ɲmɛ-ɲméb*
- g. *mè-búâ* ‘poverty’ (6)
mɪ-mú-mwá ‘poor person’
 pl. *mɪ-bú-bwá*
- h. *ndwág* ‘deafness’ (9)
ɲ-dú-ndwág ‘deaf person’
 pl. *mɪn-dú-ndwág*

There are some rare examples of denominal derivation involving reduplication that do not denote humans. Their target gender is not necessarily 3, but they follow the same scheme of reduplication. The source word and the target word are near synonyms. Note that both nouns are associated with repetitive actions in (89).

- (89) a. *ɛ-pǎb* ‘wing’ (5)
ɪ-pɛ-pǎb ‘wing’ (7)
 b. *ɪ-bɔ́g* ‘board’¹¹ (7)
ɪ-bɛ-bɔ́g ‘board’ (7)
- (90) *à-jwág* ‘ferocity, fierce’ (3)
ɲì-juú-jwág ‘ferocity, fierce’ (3)

The reduplicated noun in (91) is derived from the noun *à-těg* ‘laziness’, which in turn is derived from the verb *tɛg* ‘become tired’ (or *tɛgbè* ‘be lazy’) by means of a floating high tone suffix (see Section 4.3.3).

¹¹ This is a carved out wooden board that is used for mashing or crushing food.

(91) $\grave{u}\text{-t}\check{\text{e}}\sim\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{g} \sim \grave{u}\text{-t}\acute{\text{e}}\sim\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\text{g}$ ‘slowly’ (3)

It is not entirely sure whether the reduplicated words in (92) are derived from the proposed source nouns, but in both cases the analysis fits formally and makes sense semantically.

(92) a. $\grave{u}\text{-b}\acute{\text{a}}\text{z}$ ‘scale’ (7)
 $\grave{u}\text{-b}\acute{\text{e}}\sim\text{b}\acute{\text{a}}\text{z}$ ‘shoulder bone’ (7)
 b. $\eta\text{g}\text{w}\acute{\text{a}}\text{l}$ ‘pity’ (9)
 $\grave{u}\text{-}\eta\text{g}\acute{\text{u}}\sim\eta\text{g}\text{w}\acute{\text{a}}\text{l}$ ‘unfortunate’ (7)

Finally, there is one example that differs formally from the others, in that it takes a suffix, which is more typical (but not obligatory) for deverbal derivation with reduplication (see Section 4.3.1). Probably the derived noun has emphatic connotations.

(93) $\grave{u}\text{-t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{m}$ ‘solitude, lonely’ (7)
 $\grave{u}\text{-t}\acute{\text{e}}\sim\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{m}\acute{\text{a}}$ ‘solitude, lonely’ (7)

4.2.2. Proper name formation

Proper names can be derived from any common noun by means of the suffix *-A*. The tone of the suffix is low, except when it attaches to a monosyllabic stem with a rising tone. In that case the suffix carries the high part and the stem the low part of the rising tone.¹²

(94) $\acute{\text{e}}\text{-}\pi\text{w}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}$ ‘birds’
 $|\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}\text{-A}| \rightarrow \acute{\text{e}}\pi\text{w}\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}\acute{\text{o}}$ ‘Birds’

Moreover, the source noun loses its gender specification in the process of derivation and becomes genderless. Its original prefix is incorporated in the stem of the proper name. As all other genderless nouns, proper names form their (associative) plural by means of the plural word *b\grave{a}*.

(95) $b\grave{\text{a}} \acute{\text{e}}\pi\text{w}\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}\acute{\text{o}}$ ‘Birds and his friends’

In some fairy tales the animal characters are named by proper names derived from the name of their species by means of the derivational suffix.

¹² This peculiar tonal behaviour is historically explainable. Final stem vowels eroded in Eton and the surrounding languages, except in proper names, which tend to be conservative. The final vowel of proper names has been morphologically reinterpreted as a suffix. Rising tones on monosyllabic stems are the result of the historical loss of the final vowel of CVCV-stems with a low-high tone pattern.

(96) *ù-bàm* ‘sparrow hawk’ → *ùbàmà* ‘Sparrowhawk’

The addition of the *-A* suffix and the extraction from the gender system are both necessary parts of the derivation. In one fairy tale where no proper name suffix was added to the words for animal species, the agreement of the latter remained that of normal common nouns (i.e. not necessarily agreement pattern I).

Note that not all proper names are derived from a common noun, e.g. the ancestral names *ìsónô*, *twàmó*, *ùńómô*. See Section 4.4 for the derivation of names from phrases.

4.2.3. Motion

There are many groups of nouns that have the same stem, but that belong to a different morphological class and gender. The most regular examples are singular-plural pairs, but it is not clear whether these can be called instances of derivation. Anyway, the difference between plural formation (or singular formation) and uncontroversial examples of motion¹³ is not clear-cut. An intermediate case is that of the derivation of gender 5 partitives from gender 6 mass nouns.

- (97) a. *mè-ńđm* ‘water’
 è-ńđm ‘drop of water’
 b. *mè-ći* ‘blood’
 è-ći ‘drop of blood’
 c. *mè-té* ‘saliva’
 è-té ‘drop of saliva’
 d. *mè-kàlà* ‘doughnut batter’
 è-kàlà ‘doughnut’

Similarly, there is one example of a singulative gender 5 noun derived from a collective gender 6 noun.

- (98) *mè-ńjáy* ‘marimba’
 è-ńjáy ‘bar, wooden piece of a marimba’

Note that the plurals of these partitives and singulatives are of gender 6.

- (99) a. *mè-ńđm* ‘drops of water’

¹³ *Motion* refers to derivation by means of a change in gender (see Greenberg 1978:53).

b. *mè-kàlà* ‘doughnuts’

Many of the examples that do not involve number or nominal aspect oppositions, such as *à-úm* ‘(the colour) black’, *ì-úmî* ‘black person, African’, *ì-úvîmî* ‘(the property) black’, are also related to a verb, in this case *úm* ‘be black’. They will be treated as deverbal nouns in Section 4.3. The few cases where no related verb is involved have a metonymical relation between the source word and the target word, e.g.

- (100) a. *ɣgwàn* ‘girl’ (9)
 è-ɣgwàn ‘coquetry, girlish manners’ (5)
 b. *ɣ-kúz* ‘widow’ (3n)
 è-kúz ‘ritual imposed on a widow’ (5)

Furthermore, there are two instances of words for trees that are derived from the word for their fruits by being put in gender 3a.

- (101) a. *ndógô* ‘mango’ (9)
 à-ndógô ‘mango tree’ (3a)
 b. *sá* ‘plum’¹⁴ (9)
 à-sá ‘plum tree’ (3a)

There are some other gender 3a words for (unidentified) tree species, but it is not clear whether these are derived, i.e. no possible source word has been recorded: *à-dǔm*, *à-kvàm* and *à-tú*.¹⁵

4.3. Deverbal derivation

4.3.1. Deverbal derivation with reduplication

Deverbal derivation with reduplication is rather common in Eton. The target gender is mostly gender 7. Reduplicated nouns derived from CVC-verb stems are formed according to the following scheme.

$$C_x V_y C_z \rightarrow \grave{C}_x V_y \sim H-C_x V_y C_z -\grave{A}$$

The tone on the reduplicant is identical to the tone on the verb stem. The base always receives a low tone, but is preceded by a floating

¹⁴ This is the fruit of the *Pachylobus Edulis*; an oval, purple-black piece of fruit that has to be cooked before consumption.

¹⁵ Also, one pair of nouns was found in which one seems to be derived from the other by means of a suffix, with retention of the original gender, viz. *ì-tǔɣ* ‘long’ (3) / *ì-tǔɣlǔ* ‘very long’ (3). The suffix is formally and semantically identical to the verbal suffix *-lA* (see IV:3.1.2).

high tone prefix. The derived noun usually denotes a property or anything that has this property. In the former case it often occurs as the first noun in connective constructions of the type described in Section VI:3.1.1.2.

- (102) a. *sàl* ‘split’
 ì-sè~sâlà ‘(something) split’
 b. *búg* ‘break’
 ì-bú~bûgà ‘(something) broken’
 c. *číg* ‘cut’
 ì-čí~čígà ‘(something) cut’
 see also *ìcîngà* ‘incision’ in Section 4.3.6
 d. *jòl* ‘be bitter’
 ì-jè~jòlò ‘(something) bitter’
 see also *àjòl* ‘bitterness’ in Section 4.3.3
 e. *sàŋ* ‘be acid’
 ì-sè~sâŋà ‘(something) acid’
 f. *óm* ‘be black’
 ì-ó~ómà ‘(something) black’
 g. *wól* ‘curdle’
 ì-wé~wòlò ‘curds’
 h. *pám* ‘come out’
 ì-pé~pâmà ‘new, novelty, skin swelling’

In one case the derivation does not involve a suffix *-à* and the derived noun does not denote a property.

- (103) *vúz* ‘swell’
 ì-vú~vúz ‘foam’

When the verb stem has more than one syllable, the reduplicated noun does not have the suffix *-à* either. Apart from that, the derived nouns follow the same scheme as those derived from a CVC-verb (104).

- (104) a. *júglânà* ‘make turbid’
 ì-jé~júglânà ‘(something) turbid’
 b. *đígá* ‘burn’
 ì-đí~đígà ‘(something) burnt’
 c. *kwálò* ‘talk’
 ì-kú~kwâlò ‘rumour’

Only one example was found in which the base is a CV-verb. The derived noun does not have a suffix and the base is not preceded by a floating high tone.

- (105) *kù* ‘fall’
 ì-kù~kù ‘(something) fallen’

There are also some pairs of words in which the noun is reduplicated and formally related to the verb, but not directly derived from it, e.g. because a verbal suffix is missing in the noun.

- (106) a. *zègbàn* ‘be sweet’¹⁶
 ì-zè~zèg ‘sweet’
 b. *bwàdbàn* ‘dawdle’
 ù-bù~bwàd ‘indolence’

4.3.2. Deverbal derivation without suffixation

4.3.2.1. Resultative nouns of gender 5

Resultative nouns of gender 5 can be derived from verbs denoting accomplishments or achievements. These nouns are used in only one construction, in which they are the antecedent of a relative clause. The stem of the main verb of this relative clause is the source from which they are derived.

- (107) *wó* ‘give birth’ → *è-wó*
 léwó mèté wó jê,...
 |*H-là-wó* *mà-Lté* *L-wó* *jé*|
 AU-5-birth 1SG-PR INF-give.birth I.SUB
 ‘Once I had given birth to him,...’

¹⁶ This verb might be related to *zèg* ‘pineapple’.

- (108) *kpàgì* ‘clear’ → *è-kpàgì*
dô vó mwàn újàm àngákpâgè zĕn. lékpâgè mwàn újàm àngámâ
kpâgè zĕn vâ, bé-ŋgénâ á lèjòmí
 |*dô vó m-ùànH=ù-dzàm à-ŋgá-kpàgì zĕn*||
 DP *donc* 1-DIM=3-squirrel I-RP-clear [9]path
 |*H-lè-kpàgì m-ùànH=ù-dzàm à-ŋgá-mâ L-kpàgì H*||
 AU-5-clearing 1-DIM=3-squirrel I-RP-TMN INF-clear LT
 |*zĕn vâ bé-ŋgénâ á lè-jòmì*||
 [9]path here II-be.already LOC 5-foliage¹⁷
 ‘Then the little squirrel cleared the path. As soon as the
 little squirrel had finished clearing this path, they were under
 the foliage.’
- (109) *dàŋ* ‘cross’ → *è-dàŋ* ‘crossing’
lédâŋ béŋgámâ dàŋ úsô, dô bápám á mǎbgán
 |*H-lè-dàŋ bé-ŋgá-mâ L-dàŋ H ù-sô*||
 AU-5-crossing II-RP-TMN INF-cross LT 3-river
 |*dô b-á-H-pám á mǎbgán*||
 DP II-SP-PST-go.out LOC [9]crossroads
 ‘Once they crossed the river, they arrived at a crossroads.’

4.3.2.2. Cognate words

Numerous stems are both verb stems and noun stems. When they function as noun stems, they have a nominal prefix, otherwise they take verbal inflectional morphology. In contrast with clear cases of derivation, there is no target gender. Nouns that share their stem with verbs can be of any gender. Any generalisations about gender assignment are obviously also valid for these nouns. It is no surprise that the word for ‘a drink’ is of gender 6.

- (110) *júŋ* ‘drink’
mè-júŋ ‘drink’

The precise meaning of a related noun cannot be predicted on the basis of the meaning of the verb, but the semantic relations are always transparent. Examples abound. The following is a small selection. More examples can be found in the dictionary, where cross-references are provided.

¹⁷ *lèjòmì* (~ *lèjwǎm*) is a kind of tree.

- (111) a. *dī* ‘eat’
 bī-dī ‘food’ (8)
 è-dī ‘meal’ (5)
 ì-dī ‘bait’ (7)
- b. *bóló* ‘ask’
 mì-móló ‘question’ (3)
- c. *jòg* ‘damn’
 ì-jòg ‘cursing, curse’ (7)
- d. *yén* ‘see’
 ì-yén ‘mirror’ (7)
- e. *bá* ‘marry’
 è-bá ‘marriage’ (5)
 (see also example (133b) *mì-bááńú* (3))
- f. *kwàm* ‘to do’
 è-kwàm ‘manner’ (5)
- g. *kàb* ‘distribute’
 à-kàb ‘distribution, generous’ (3a)
 (see also *η-gàb* (9) below)
- h. *céńú* ‘change (money)’
 céńú ‘change (money)’ (9)

In some nouns of gender 9 the initial consonant of the noun stem is voiced, whereas the initial consonant of the cognate verb stem is voiceless. The noun stem might have undergone voicing under the influence of the preceding homorganic nasal, or the consonant in question might have been originally voiced and lost its voice, except after a nasal.

- (112) a. *kàb* ‘distribute’
 η-gàb ‘distribution’ (9)
- b. *pòòńú* ‘resemble’
 m-bòòńú ‘resemblance’ (9)

An interesting case of a stem initial opposition is that of ‘to walk’ versus ‘a journey’. The noun stem begins in a vowel, which is split into glide + vowel in order to fill the onset position in the verb stem.

- (113) *wùlà* ‘walk’
 d-ùlà ‘journey, stroll’

A less straightforward example of a consonant alternation can be found in (114):

- (114) *yég* ‘bar’
ymì-yměg ‘dyke’(3) pl. *mì-vyěg* (4)

There is one pair of cognates in which the nasal prefix of the noun is incorporated in the verb stem (115).

- (115) *ymgbèg* ‘belch’
ymì-gbèg ‘belch’ (3)

The noun might be derived from the verb with morphological reinterpretation of the initial consonant cluster, but this is very unlikely, if only because of the rarity of verb stems with an initial NC-cluster. Almost certainly the verb is historically derived from the noun, with the usual strong phonological link between oral consonant and preceding homorganic nasal preventing the latter from being dropped. In example (116a) the initial nasal was a nominal prefix historically, but it no longer is today, as in (116b), where the verb is derived from the noun by means of the Positional suffix *-bà* (see Section IV:3.5).

- (116) a. *mbóónò* ‘purge’
mbóónò ‘enema syringe (made of a calabash)’ (9)
 b. *ndwàgbò* ‘be greedy’
ndwàg ‘greed’ (9)

4.3.3. Deverbal derivation with a floating high tone suffix

An important number of nouns is derived from a verb by means of a floating high tone suffix. The behaviour of the floating high tone suffix after a low tone depends on the syllable structure of the stem (see Section II:6.2.2).

- (117) a. *sòm* ‘hunt’
jì-còm ‘hunting’ (3)
 b. *tìg* ‘be thick (of a liquid)’
è-tìg (5) ‘sediment, leftover in a recipient’
- (118) a. *kèlbà* ‘cling, clutch’
mè-kèlbá ‘pretext’ (6)
 b. *byànì* ‘despise’
ì-byànú ‘contempt’ (7)

- (119) *tóbrù* ‘meet’
ndóbrū ‘meeting’ (9)
 var. *lètóbrú*, *ndóbrō*

When the final syllable of the stem carries a high tone, it is impossible to know whether the suffix is present. The following examples might have been inserted equally well in Section 4.3.2.2.

- (120) a. *wú* ‘to die’
à-wú ‘death’
 b. *vól* ‘be quick’
à-vól ‘speediness’

Many of these nouns derived by *-H* are of gender 3u or 3a.

- (121) a. *jàb* ‘be long’
à-jǎb ‘length, height’ (3a)
ù-jǎb ‘far, long distance’ (3u)
 b. *jòl* ‘be bitter’
à-jǒl ‘bitterness’ (3a)
 c. *pùm* ‘be white’
à-pǔm ‘(the colour) white’ (3a)
 d. *vyè* ‘redden’
à-vyě ‘(the colour) red’ (3a)
 e. *sàŋ* ‘be acid’
à-sǎŋ ‘acidity’ (3a)
 f. *kvàn* ‘be ill’
ù-kvǎn ‘illness’ (3u)
 g. *lùgà* ‘respect’
ù-lùgá ‘respect’ (3u)

For the abstract gender 3a word *àjǒm* ‘age’, no source verb was found, only a verb form related to the probable source verb (viz. *jòmbò* ‘grow old’). The word for ‘laziness’ is semantically closer to the derived verb *tègbè* ‘be lazy’ than to the apparent source verb *tèg* ‘get tired’. As for example (122c), there is no verb *nàl* in present day Eton. In all these cases the nominal suffix *-H* is opposed to the verbal Positional suffix *-bλ*.

- (122) a. *jòm-bò* ‘grow old’¹⁸
à-jǒm ‘old age’ (3a)

¹⁸ This verb does not have a resultative form meaning ‘be old’.

- b. *tèg-bè* ‘be lazy’
 à-těg ‘laziness’ (3a)
 c. *nàl-bà* ‘lie’
 òn-ńàl ‘lie’ (3n)

Another interesting example is *mèpěd* ‘doubt’. Formally it seems to be derived from the verb *pèd* ‘close’, but semantically it relates better to *pèdnù* ‘close oneself, doubt’.

- (123) *pèdnù* ‘doubt’
 mè-pěd ‘doubt’ (3)

Example (124) is noteworthy because the initial consonant of the source verb was reinterpreted as the nominal prefix.

- (124) *jà* ‘sing’
 j-ǎ ‘song’ (7) pl. *by-ǎ* (8)

Finally, there is one exceptional form, unexplainable by means of the tone rules of Eton:

- (125) *pùm* ‘be white’
 mè-pùm ‘(the colour) white’ (synonym of *à-pǔm*)

4.3.4. Deverbal derivation with the suffix *-à* (agentive nouns)

Agentive nouns can be derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-à*. This derivation type is very productive. The target gender is usually gender 1. Sometimes there are two alternative derivations, one of gender 1 and one of gender 3.

- (126) a. *kòm* ‘make’
 ńj-kòmò ‘creator, repairer’
 b. *sùm* ‘labour’
 òn-sùmà ‘labourer’
 c. *sòm* ‘hunt’
 òn-sòmò ‘hunter’
 d. *lú* ‘to bend’
 òn-lwâ ‘smith’

After non-close final vowels, the agentive suffix has a floating low tone allomorph *-L*. Example (127a) was found in a recorded dialogue. The falling tone on the last syllable is the result of high tone spread.

- (127) a. *śílá* ‘ask’
 ńj-śílâ ‘asker’

- b. *vé* ‘give’
nè-vê ‘giver, donor’

The structural form of the derived noun stem can vary. In the following example the stem-initial morphophoneme is alternatively °/ɣ/ and °/l/.

- (128) *lòd* ‘pass’
nè-nòdò ~ *nè-lòdò* ‘passer-by’

4.3.5. Derivation by means of the suffix *-nú* or *-éyǵáná*

Another productive derivation type is that of the formation of nouns by suffixing *-nú* to a verb stem. The form of the suffix alternates freely between *-nú* and *-én* (see II:6.2.4). Gender 3 is the target gender of this derivation, without exceptions. Depending on the meaning of the source verb, the derived noun can denote an action (129), a state (130), manner (131), or something else (132). These nouns are used after verbs like ‘learn’ or ‘teach’ or after a copula, where European languages tend to use an infinitive or a participle.

- (129) a. *ácòg* ‘to think’
ncògrú ‘thought, thinking’
 b. *dù* ‘baptise’
nè-dùùnú ‘baptism’
 c. *kwàm* ‘do’
mèy-kwàmú ‘action, act’
 d. *pág* ‘dig’
mè-pàgrú ‘excavation, extraction of clay’
 e. *láy* ‘read’
nè-láyú ‘reading’
àté yēgî ñlāyú
 |à-Ltḗ L-jégì H Nè-láyú|
 I-PR INF-learn LT 3-reading
 ‘He learns to read.’
 f. *lám* ‘set a trap’
nè-lámú ‘trapping’
àté jē yéglè ñlāmú
 |à-Ltḗ jḗ L-jéglè H Nè-lámú|
 I-PR I.SUB INF-teach LT 3-trapping
 ‘He teaches him to set a trap.’

- (130) *vàŋ* ‘roll up, pack’
nì-vàŋrú ‘rolled up’
lèká lé újò lé nê nìv àŋrú
 |lâ-kâ lá=úd zò lâ-nè n-vàŋrú|
 5-leaf V.CON=banana V-COP 3-rolled.up
 ‘The banana leaves are rolled up.’
- (131) a. *bwád* ‘dress’
nì-bwádrú ‘way of being dressed’
 see also *nì-mwád* ‘garment’
 b. *bímî* ‘hit, kick’
nì-bímrú ‘kicking technique (soccer)’
- (132) a. *kàŋ* ‘be grateful’
ŋ-kàŋrú ‘praise’
 b. *dùgà* ‘deceive’
n-dùgrú ‘deception, trickery’

When the source verb has a CV-stem, the vowel tends to be lengthened in the derived noun.

- (133) a. *tú* ‘to pierce, to drill’
n-túúrú ‘the fact of being pierced’
 b. *bá* ‘marry’
nì-báárú ‘married person, marrying’
 c. *bwí* ‘singe’
nì-búúrú ‘singed leaf’
 d. *ló* ‘call’
n-lóórú ‘designation’
 see also: *nì-ɲvânó* ‘call’ (3)
 e. *té* ‘uproot’
n-téérú ‘uprooting’
 f. *yì* ‘want’
ŋì-ŋìrú ‘wish, project, intention’

The word for ‘European, white person’ *nì-tàŋrú* conforms formally to the target nouns under consideration, but in present day Eton there is no verb from which it can be derived, except perhaps *tàŋá* ‘to worry’. According to Baudouin Janssens (p.c.) this noun must be derived from a verb meaning ‘count’. The noun *tàŋ* means ‘calculation’ in Eton, but ‘count’ is translated by *lâŋ*, which also means ‘read’. However, in nearby Ewondo, *tàŋ* means ‘count’. The

case of *è-néńú* ‘volume, corpulence’, derived from *nén* ‘be fat’ should also be mentioned. This derivation is not of the type under consideration, because the target gender is 5 instead of 3. But *è-néńú* does not conform to any other derivational mechanism either.

Nominalisations on *-ńú* from source verbs with expansions or suffixes have not been recorded. In constructions where CV- and CVC-verbs use the nominalisations on *-ńú*, these verbs are represented by an infinitive form marked by the prefix *L-*.

- (134) a. *bèglè* ‘carry’
àté yēgí bèglè
 |à-Lté L-jégì H L-Bèglè|
 I-PR INF-learn LT INF-carry
 ‘He learns to carry.’
- b. *yóńlò* ‘warm up (food)’
àté yēgí yóńlò
 |à-Lté L-jégì H L-jóńlò|
 I-PR INF-learn LT INF-warm.up
 ‘He learns to warm it up.’

In some cases there is an alternative form with the suffix *-éńgáná* instead of *-ńú*. This alternative seems to exist irrespective of the form of the source verb. Speakers find it difficult to perceive a difference in meaning.¹⁹

- (135) *àté yēgí ńlāńnéńgáná*
 |à-Lté L-jégì H ń-lāńnéńgáná|
 I-PR INF-learn LT 3-reading
 ‘He learns (the way) to read.’

4.3.6. Derivations involving the suffix *-Lgá*

A small number of nouns is derived from a verb by means of the suffix *-Lgá*. The target gender is most often gender 7. In CVCV- verb stems, *-Lg* is inserted before the final stem vowel, and might therefore better be called an infix. The form of these nouns is remarkably similar to that of the G-form of verbs (see Section VII:2.2). Note also that when a verb has an expansion or suffix, its G-form is made by

¹⁹ A hypothesis that is in need of further research is that the difference is aspectual, the variant with *-éńgáná* being imperfective. This can be translated by means of emphasis on manner.

means of the suffix *-èŋgàná*, which is at least segmentally identical to one of the suffixes described in the previous section.

- (136) a. *búdâ* ‘be covered’
 ì-bûdgà ‘lid’ (7)
 b. *sâl* ‘split’
 ì-sâlgà ‘split’ (7)
 c. *číg* ‘cut’
 ìcîgà ‘incision’

The tone on the noun stem in (137) is surprising.

- (137) *náy* ‘grow’
 ì-nââygà ‘youngster’ (7)

One example has a high tone on the suffix and the same vowel lengthening as described in the previous subsection.

- (138) *jù* ‘forgive’
 bì-jùùgá ‘excuses’ (8)

It is not clear whether (139) belongs in this derivation type, since both the target gender and the tonality are deviant.

- (139) *kómô* ‘admire’
 mè-kómgó ‘admiration’ (6)

Finally, the word *ì-sâmgà* ‘flower bud’ formally resembles a deverbal noun of this type, but there is no verb stem in present day Eton from which it can be derived. However, there is a synonym *săm* that might also be deverbal, judging from its rising tone.

4.3.7. Isolated cases

There is a very small number of nouns that are derived from a verb by means of an idiosyncratic suffix. These suffixes formally resemble expansions and/or suffixes found in the verbal morphology.

- (140) a. *lóg* ‘fish’
 ì-lógzò ‘fishing instrument’²⁰ (7)
 b. *jèm* ‘know’
 ù-jèmlà ‘knowledge’ (3)

²⁰ The verb *lóg* means to fish by isolating part of a small brook by means of a dam and then removing all the water from it. The recipient with which the water is removed, is called *ìlógzò*.

- c. *vò* ‘play’
 ì-vǒy ‘game’ (7)
 d. *lǒ* ‘call’
 ̀̀-̀̀vǎnǒ ‘call’ (3)

In one pair the element that is added to the noun stem does not resemble any existing suffix or expansion.

- (141) *vyé* ‘sweep’
 ̀̀-vyág ‘broom’

4.3.8. Deverbal nouns with a complement

Deverbal nouns can have a complement. The meaning of these noun-complement combinations is often specialised. In the dictionary they are treated as idioms. Note with respect to the agentive nouns in (142) that postaccentual vowels are usually deleted if not followed by a pause.

- (142) a. *̀̀-̀̀cǐg jǎg* ‘butcher’
 ̀̀cǐg ‘cut’, *jǎg* ‘bullock’
 b. *̀̀-̀̀cǎ m̀̀púb* ‘farmer’
 sá ‘work’, *m̀̀-púb* ‘fields’
 (143) *̀̀cǎm èkàg* ‘breakfast’ (7)
 cǎm ‘chase away’, *èkàg* ‘bad breath’

4.4. Phrasal compound formation: Names for species and other kinds

The word combinations in this section are analysed as compounds, because in certain respects they behave as single words, e.g. because a phrase as a whole takes a suffix and a pluralizer. See Section v:2.2.3 for nouns for same-sex siblings, which consist of a proclitic and a full noun.

Many names for species, especially plants, are proper names derived from phrases. The last word of these phrasal names has the proper name suffix *-ǎ*.²¹ Compare the phrasal compound ‘Whiteskin’ in (144) to the phrase *m̀̀púm ǐkòb* ‘a white skin’.

²¹ The proper name suffix unambiguously carries a low tone in these phrasal compounds.

- (144) *ǹpúm ̀kòbò*
 |Ǹ-*púm* H=*̀kòb-à* |
 3-white III.CON=7-skin-SF
 ‘European, white person’

Exocentric phrasal compounds of this type often name kinds metonymically after one of their characteristics. The name in (145b), for instance, denotes a species of plantain bananas the bunches of which carry only one or maximally two hands of very long bananas.

- (145) a. *àlò mbwâ*
 |à-*lò* H=*mbú-à* |
 3-ear III.CON=[9]dog-SF
 ‘herb (sp.)’
 b. *èsàḡ mwáḡ-ḡ*
 |è-*sàḡ* *múáḡ-à*|²²
 5-hand.of.bananas one-SF
 ‘Horn plantain (sp.)’

Some examples have an initial high tone, reminiscent of non-compounded genderless nouns such as *́jícô* ‘lizard’. The name in (146a) refers to a type of pointed chilli pepper. A poetic name for the moon, *́mó dóbò*, is another example. In (146c) the low part of the falling tone on *̀j̀k̀èḡ* might be an agentive suffix, the vowel of which has disappeared.

- (146) a. *̀ntwáḡ zúdá*
 |H-Ǹ-*túáḡ* H=*zúd-à* |
 ?-3-long III.CON=[9]buttock-SF
 ‘chilli pepper (sp.), *Capsicum Frutescens*’
 b. *́mó dóbò* ‘moon’ lit. ‘head of the sky’
 from *ǹ-*nó** ‘head’ (3n); *d-*òb** ‘sky’ (5)
 c. *̀j̀k̀èḡ mèbò*
 |H-Ǹ-*k̀èḡ* *m̀-*bò** |
 ?-3-breaker 6-ebo.grain
 ‘bird (sp.)’ lit. ‘breaker of *èbò* grains’

The name of a herb in (147) also has an initial high tone and a proper name suffix, but the latter exceptionally appears on the first

²² Perhaps the numeral in this phrasal compound is better analysed as *m̀-*múáḡ** 1-one.

component of the phrasal compound. Surprisingly, the initial high tone replaces the low tone of the source noun *jàd* ‘buffalo’. This example differs from the others also in the sense that it is the only one in which the second component denotes the category of the whole.

- (147) *jádâ ìlwág*
 ‘herb (sp.), *Ageratum Conyzoides*’ lit. ‘Buffalo herb’
 from *jád* ‘buffalo’ (9) and *ìlwág* ‘herb’ (7)

The proper name suffix can also be attached to a verb phrase, as in the beautiful name for mimosa in (148).

- (148) *wú úswānô*
 |*wú-H ù-súán-À*|
 die-IMP 3-shame-SF
 ‘plant (sp.), *Mimosa Pudica*’

The name for a species of plantain bananas in (149) contains a verb stem. This name is exceptional because the suffix is attached to a word group that does not constitute a grammatical phrase.

- (149) *àlú úm-â*
 |*â-lú úm-À*|
 3-night be.black-SF
 ‘plantain banana (sp.)’

There are also instances of phrasal compounds derived from a verb phrase without a suffix. The initial *â* in the examples in (150) is probably the subject prefix of agreement pattern I followed by the Southern present tense prefix *â-* (see VII:2.5). The structural forms given below are tentative.

- (150) a. *âbwàl zwàg*
 |*â-â-bùàl zùàg*|
 I-SP-destroy [9]elephant
 ‘plant (sp.), (*Mamea africana*?)’
 b. *âvwàd mbèglè*
 |*â-â-vùàd mbèglà*|
 I-SP-stop [9]transportation
 ‘plantain banana (sp.)’

Since these phrasal compounds are all genderless, their plural is formed by means of the plural word *b̀̀*. Pluralization usually shows that the phrases from which phrasal names are derived are not or only

partly fossilised. In the plural of the name for chilli pepper given in (146a), the first component *ntwáy* is pluralized (and loses its initial high tone) and the following connective morpheme agrees with it (151). Nevertheless, the plural word precedes the entire construction. Similarly, the first component of the phrasal compound in (145b) is pluralized *and* preceded by the plural word (152). Note, however, that the number ‘one’ does not agree with the preceding noun, neither in the singular nor in the plural. The number always has a prefix of agreement pattern I.

- (151) *b̀̀ m̀̀ntwáy mí z̀̀údà*
 |*b̀̀ m̀̀m-t̀̀ù`à̀y mí=z̀̀ùd-A*|
 PL 4-long IV.CON=[9/10]buttock-SF
 ‘chilli peppers (sp.)’
- (152) *b̀̀ m̀̀èsà̀y mwá̀g̀̀*
 |*b̀̀ m̀̀à-sà̀y m̀̀ú`á̀g-A*|
 PL 6-hand.of.bananas one-SF
 ‘horn plantains (sp.)’

Chapter 4

Verbs

1. Introduction

The number of underived verbs in the lexicon is about two thirds of the number of basic nouns.¹ Given that the lexicon was partly gathered by means of questionnaires, which most probably favours the collection of nouns, this is an important percentage. It is therefore no surprise that Eton borrowed very few verbs from European languages, against rather many nouns. Only four borrowed verbs were found: *jwáz* ‘judge’, *pén* ‘paint’, *póm* ‘pump’ and *sán* ‘sign’. Examples cited in this chapter are semantically characterised by means of one English translation equivalent. For some of them, a more elaborate description can be found in the dictionary (in French). Auxiliaries and inflectional morphemes are treated in Chapter 7. See also Section VIII:5.2 for quasi-auxiliaries. Note, finally, that the morphological analysis provided in this chapter will usually be omitted in the glosses in later chapters.

2. The structure of the underived verb

Verb stems follow the same template as noun stems (see III:2.1).

[[RADICAL(‡EXPANSION)]_{root} (-SUFFIX)]_{stem}

In comparative Bantu studies (e.g., Meeussen 1967:85-90, Schadeberg 2003:71) the combination of a root and suffix(es) is called *base*. The base forms a stem together with an obligatory final vowel morpheme. Since Eton lacks this morpheme, the distinction between base and stem is immaterial here. Example (1) shows the structure of the verb stem *cìŋlànà*, which is derived from the verb *cìŋlàn* ‘rotate (intr.)’ by means of the suffix *-à*. The underived stem can be formally divided in the radical *cìŋ* and the expansion *#làn*.

(1) *cìŋ#làn-à* ‘rotate (tr.)’

The citation form of verbs is *á* plus the infinitive form of the verb, which is *L-STEM*. As in English, this citation form originates in a locative construction.

¹ At the time of writing, my lexicon contained 441 underived verbs.

- (2) a. *á cìŋlànà*
 |á L-tfɪŋ#làn-à|
 LOC INF-rotate-VIS
 ‘to rotate (tr.)’
- b. *á bēmî*
 |á L-bémî|
 LOC INF-warn
 ‘to warn’

2.1. Stems without an expansion

Eighty percent of the underived Eton verb stems do not have an expansion. These stems fall apart in three syllabic types: CV (16%), CVC (59%) and CVCV (25%).² As for the last type, some arguments could be adduced to treat it as CVC#V, i.e. as a type with an expansion. This is because only two elements can occur in V₂ position: °/i/ (55%) or °/à/. Moreover, some suffixes replace the final vowel of CVCV stems instead of adding to them (see 3.1.2).

Only the first structural tone of a verb stem can be high. Hence, there are no verb stems with a rising tone pattern and only monosyllabic stems can be entirely high. Contrary to noun stems, monosyllabic verb stems do not carry compound tones. The few exceptions that were found have a structural final ì, which is glided due to hiatus resolution, e.g. *lây* ~ *lèè* ‘tell’ and *tèy* ‘leave a place’. Among the monosyllabic stems, the numbers of high and low stems are roughly equivalent. An example of each underived stem type without an expansion is given in (3).

- (3) *jâ* ‘sing’
vé ‘give’
tùg ‘rub’
pún ‘be afraid’
cìlà ‘forbid’
kómô ‘admire’

Four of the CVC verbs begin with an NC cluster (4) and 14% has a CG-onset (5).

² N=352

- (4) *ndèm* ‘fly’
ɲmgbèg ‘belch’
ɲgéb ‘indulge’
ndéɲ ‘balance’
- (5) *bwàb* ‘hit’
jwág ‘construct’

Finally, there are ten monosyllabic verb stems that do not fit in any of the three schemes outlined above.³ Some have a long vowel (6); some have a CVV structure with two different vowels (7). Which one of the two vowels is diphthongised in order to avoid vowel hiatus depends on the dialect. If the first vowel is an /a/ and the second an /i/, then the first is usually raised.

- (6) *vàà* ‘remove’
tèè ‘glide’
sî ‘oil’ (French: ‘se oindre’)
- (7) *này* ‘keep’ [nɛj]
lây ‘tell’
nyà ‘rescue’
tèèy ‘leave’

2.2. Stems with an expansion

Underived stems with an expansion come in four syllabic types: CVC.CV, CVV.CV,⁴ CVC.CVC and CVC.CV.CV.

Stems with a CVC.CV structure can have one of six different expansions: #l̩, #d̩, #b̩, #z̩, #n̩ or #ɲ̩. Examples are given in (8-13). There are only two stems with an expansion #z̩, which are formally and semantically almost identical. The stem *sùgzà* ‘shake’ is used when bigger objects are shaken, i.e. a tree in order to make its fruit fall. Note that there is no high tone spread from the first stem syllable onto expansions that begin in *n*, i.e. #n̩ and #ɲ̩.

- (8) *bàg#l̩à* ‘conserve’
kòg#l̩ò ‘bite’
vúɲ#l̩â ‘blow’

³ Note that stems for which there are cognate forms are not counted here, e.g. *tìi* ‘detach’, because of *tɲdà* ‘attach’.

⁴ Where VV stands for a long vowel.

- ɲwàm#lò* ‘tickle’
ndég#lê ‘disturb’
 (9) *sùg#zà* ‘shake’
 sèg#zè ‘shake’
 (10) *déŋ#bê* ‘watch’
 vòd#bà ‘sag, cave in’
 (11) *lɪm#dâ* ‘pull’
 sóŋ#dô ‘sharpen’⁵
 báy#dâ ‘convoke’
 (12) *bèl#nù* ‘use’
 jém#nù ‘be rare, be lacking’⁶
 yâb#nù ‘hurt (intr.)’
 (13) *kèd#nè* ‘adjust’
 ndám#nà ‘spoil’
 pèl#nè ‘explain’
 ƒid#nà ‘expel’

Some of these expansions are formally identical to an existing suffix, but the syllable that precedes the expansion is not a morpheme, i.e. there are no stems with the same initial syllable and a related meaning. The verb stems in (14) illustrate this. In (14a) *pèm#nù* is derived from the stem *pèm* by means of the reciprocal suffix *-nù*. The stem in *sáy#nù* (14b) is formally similar to *pèm#nù*, but the initial syllable *sáy* is not an existing stem, nor is there any other stem that begins in *sáy*. This was checked with an informant whom I presented a number of possible verb stems beginning in *sáy*. The situation is slightly different in (14c) where the initial syllable of the form *kàm#nù* is an independent verb stem. Nonetheless, there is no obvious semantic relation between both verb stems, so that the formal identity of the initial syllable of both stems is likely to be homonymic.

- (14) a. *pèm-nù* ‘detest each other’
 pèm ‘detest sb.’
 b. *sáy#nù* ‘be worried’
 c. *kàm#nù* ‘prohibit’
 kàm ‘capture’

⁵ This verb might be related to the noun *è-sǎŋ* ‘tooth’.

⁶ This verb resembles the verb *jéŋ* ‘look for’, semantically and formally, except for the final consonant. It is not excluded that *jém#nù* is historically derived from *jéŋ*.

Although suffixes and expansions must be distinguished, the difference between both is evidently not very clear-cut, in the sense that the analysis of individual verbs may depend on coincidence. One can ignore the existence of cognate verbs and a more thorough lexical-semantic analysis can bring to the fore semantic ties that are not immediately obvious. The only criterion used here to decide whether a form is a suffix or an expansion is whether there is a known cognate stem.

No syntactic-semantic generalisations can be made concerning the CVC.CV stems discussed above, except perhaps that stems with an expansion $\#l\lambda$, $\#d\lambda$ or $\#n\lambda$ tend to be transitive.

The expansion $\#n\grave{u}$ is remarkably prominent in stems with a CVV.CV structure (in 13 out of 17 CVV.CV stems, i.e. 75%). Keeping in mind the rules of compensatory vowel lengthening outlined in Section II:5.2, this suggests that these stems evolved from derived verbs of the form CV n - $n\grave{u}$.

- (15) *sáá#nù* ‘bicker’
yáà#nù ‘yawn’
ɲòò#nù ‘straighten up’

The expansions $\#b\lambda$ and $\#l\lambda$ are found after a long vowel as well.

- (16) *bùù#l\grave{a}* ‘stir strongly’
vòò#b\grave{o} ‘breathe’

Stems with a CVC.CVC structure have one of four different expansions: $\#g\grave{a}n$, $\#l\grave{a}n$, $\#b\grave{a}n$ or $\#z\grave{a}n$. These can be further subdivided in C+ $\grave{a}n$. In three of the four $\#CVC$ expansions the initial consonant is identical to the initial consonant of one of the $\#C\lambda$ forms discussed above. The expansion $\#b\grave{a}n$ is formally identical to the suffix $-b\grave{a}n$ (see 3.2.2).

- (17) *sìl#g\grave{a}n* ‘shiver’
bùl#g\grave{a}n ‘lose one’s temper’
kòg#l\grave{a}n ‘implore’
pùb#l\grave{a}n ‘gesticulate’
ɲ\grave{a}n#b\grave{a}n ‘jolt’
ség#z\grave{a}n ‘breathe with difficulty’

The CVC.CV.CV-stems, finally, have one of the previous $\#C\grave{a}n$ expansions followed by $\#à$. All examples available at the moment of writing are listed in (17).

- (18) *jég#lânà* ‘imitate’⁷
jèz#lânà ‘reprimand’
júg#lânà ‘make unclear’
mán#gânà ‘quibble’
tím#zânà ‘explain’

3. Verbal derivation

The difference between the formally complex verbs treated in the previous section and those treated in this section is that the latter are related to morphologically less complex verbs. Whether a verb is described as derived or underived depends partly on historical and descriptive accident. The pair of verbs in (19) can illustrate this.

- (19) a. *búl#gân* ‘lose one’s temper’ (repeated from (17))
 b. *búl#gân-à* ‘make turbid’

Since *-à* is a valency increasing suffix (see 3.1.1), *búlgânà* a transitive verb and *búlgân* an intransitive verb, it is likely that *búlgânà* is derived from *búlgân*, on the condition that there is a semantic correspondence between both. This is a matter of interpretation. In this case a semantic correspondence is imaginable, e.g. via uses such as that in (20):

- (20) *mèjwàg métē jû búlgânà ímō*
 |*mà-dzùàg má-Lté jǐ L-búl#gân-à H N-łó*|
 6-wine VI-PR I.SUB INF-make.turbid-VIS LT 3-head
 ‘The wine made his head unclear.’

The meaning of the underived stem must have specialised, unlike the meaning of the derived stem. This illustrates that the meaning of suffixes is not always transparent. The valency changing value of individual suffixes is more straightforward. This example also illustrates the amount of arbitrariness in the distinction between expansions and suffixes. The verb *júg#lânà* (cited in (18)) is a synonym of *búl#gân-à* and has the same ending *ânà*. Nevertheless, the final *à* is interpreted as part of the expansion, because there is no verb *júg#lân*. This section discusses every derivational suffix separately.

⁷ These and the previous examples might also have been written with additional formal boundaries, e.g. *jég#l#ân#à*.

The suffixes are categorised according to their valency changing function.

3.1. Valency increasing derivation

3.1.1. The suffix *-à*

The suffix *-à* is a general valency increasing suffix. Usually it attaches to CVC-stems, as in (21b). The only exceptions are examples (19b) and (22b), which both have a †CVC-expansion.

(21) a. *jáy* ‘suck at (mother’s breast)’

b. *jáy-â* ‘breast-feed, suckle’

(22) a. *c̣ɛ̀làn* ‘turn (intr.)’

b. *c̣ɛ̀làn-à* ‘turn (tr.)’

The subject of the source verb is the object of the derived verb. The meaning of the derived verb is causative proper. I found no clear examples of a permissive causative reading.

(23) a. *ḍig* ‘burn (int.)’

ḍig-â ‘burn (tr.)’

b. *sùz* ‘diminish (int.)’

sùz-à ‘diminish (tr.)’

c. *jàb* ‘be long’

jàb-à ‘lengthen’

(24) a. *à júŋ*

|à-H- júŋ|

I-PST-drink

‘He drank.’

b. *mè júŋá jê*

|mà-H- júŋ-à-H jê|

1SG-PST-drink-VIS-NF I.SUB

‘I gave him to drink.’

(25) a. *mèjwàg métē jòl*

|mà-dzùàg m̄-Lt̄ L-dzòl|

6-wine VI-PR INF-be.bitter

‘The wine is bitter.’

- b. *ìbàg ítē jòlò méjwàg*
 |ì-bàg í-Ltē L-dzòl-à H mà-dzùàg|
 7-ibag VII-PR INF-be.bitter-VIS LT 6-wine
 ‘Ibag⁸ makes the wine bitter.’

I found only one exception to the generalisation that the subject of the source verb is the object of the derived verb. In (26b) a benefactive object is added to the valency of the source verb. Note that the suffix vowel is usually not represented, except before a pause, so that *bég* and *bégê* both surface as *bég* in the examples in (26) (see II:4.2.4). The orthography reflects the underlying forms (see II:7).

- (26) a. *bég* ‘cut off’
àbég bēédī yē
 |à-H-bég-H bēédī j-ě|
 I-PST-cut-NF [9]bread IX-his
 ‘He cut his bread.’
- b. *bég-ê* ‘cut off for sb.’
à-bégé mà bēédī yē
 |à-H-bég-à-H mà bēédī j-ě|
 I-PST-cut-VIS-NF 1SG.NSUB [9]bread IX-his
 ‘He cut his bread for me.’

The number of verb stems that can serve as a source verb for this derivation is rather restricted. A periphrastic causative can always be formed by means of the verb *kwàm* ‘do’, followed by the complementizer *nâ* and a subjunctive verb form (27, 28a). This usually expresses mediated causation. The causation is more direct if *kwàm* is followed by an object pronominal (28b).

- (27) *àkwám nâ kál íyôn*
 |à-H-kwám-H nâ kál H-ì-jón-L|
 I-PST-do-NF CMP [9]sister SB-IX-cry-SB
 ‘He made his sister cry.’
- (28) a. *mèkwám nâ á jùŋ*
 |mà-H-kwám-H nâ H-à-jùŋ-L|
 1SG-PST-do-NF CMP SB-I-drink-SB
 ‘I made him drink.’

⁸ *Ibag* is the bark of a tree that is added to palm wine in order to make it ferment.

- b. *mèkwám jê nâ á jùŋ*
 |*mà-H-kùàm-H jɛ̃ nâ H-à- jùŋ-L*|
 1SG-PST-do-NF I.SUB CMP SB-I-drink-SB
 ‘I made him drink.’

3.1.2. The suffix *-lâ*

Most of the time the derivational suffix *-lâ* has the same function as the suffix *-à* in the examples in (23-25), i.e. to derive a transitive verb from an intransitive verb. The typically non-volitional subject of the intransitive source verb is a complement of the derived verb. The root of the derived verb in (29e) has a slightly exceptional form.

- (29) a. *bé* ‘cook (intr.)’
 bé-lê ‘cook (tr.)’
 b. *bò* ‘rot’
 bwà-lò ‘make rot, destroy’
 c. *nùm* ‘stink, smell (intr.)’
 nùm-lâ ‘smell (tr.)’
 d. *jóŋ* ‘be hot’
 jóŋ-lò ‘heat’
 e. *já* ‘be full, fill up (intr.)’
 jáá-lâ ‘fill (tr.)’

There are two examples of a ditransitive verb derived from a monotransitive one with an agentive subject by means of *-lâ* (30, 31). The form of the derived verb in (30) is exceptional. The subject of the source verb becomes the first complement of the target verb. As already noted in Section 2.1 the derivational suffix replaces the final vowel of a CVCV-stem (31).

- (30) *jù* ‘enter’
 jùŋlâ ‘insert’
 (31) *yégô* ‘learn’
 yéglê ‘teach’

Whether *-à* is used or *-lâ* for valency increasing derivation appears to be determined mainly by the form of the source verb. If it ends in a vowel *-lâ* is always used, if it ends in a consonant it is mostly *-à*.⁹

⁹ The few examples with CVC-*lâ* might be instances of verbs that lost the final vowel of their stem after the rule of suffix selection lost its productivity.

When *-là* is suffixed to a transitive source verb, it yields a meaning of intensity and/or repetition (see 3.2.3 for an interesting parallel).

- (32) a. *pùmì* ‘uproot (tubers)’
 pùm-là ‘uproot vigorously’
 b. *bòm* ‘beat, hit’
 bòm-lò ‘hammer, hit strongly’
 c. *sàŋ* ‘cut, groove’
 sàŋ-là ‘cut in pieces’

Note that the suffix *-là* with an intensive meaning is also found in a noun.

- (33) a. *̀̀-tɔ́ŋ* ‘long’ (3)
 b. *̀̀-tɔ́ŋ-lɔ́* ‘very long’ (3)

One stem that ends in *là* has an intensive meaning, but is not related to a stem without *là*, so that *là* can better be analysed as an expansion here.

- (34) *vúm#lâ* ‘throw violently’

In one case the meaning of *-lâ* is idiosyncratic and apparently valency reducing.

- (35) *óib* ‘suck’
 óib-lâ ‘(of a swelling) fill with pus’

3.2. Valency reducing derivation

3.2.1. The suffix *-ì*

The valency reducing suffix *-ì* is not to be confounded with the homophonous impositive suffix described in Section 3.5. The object of the source verb is the subject of the derived verb, which tends to be non-volitional.

- (36) a. *ɲàb* ‘tear apart (tr.)’
 ɲàb-ì ‘tear apart (intr.)’
 b. *lɪg* ‘abandon’
 lɪg-ì ‘stay’
 c. *búg* ‘break (tr.)’
 búg-ì ‘break (intr.), have a fracture’
 d. *tú* ‘pierce’
 tw-ì ‘burst, break through’

- e. *yén* ‘see’
yén-î ‘show oneself, be apparent’

The following examples involve an /l/ in post-accentuated position that does not show up in the underived verb. Where /l/ is absent, the preceding vowel is raised (cf. II:4.1.3). The presence or absence of /l/ is lexically determined. Note that /l/ shows up also in the Resultative form of the source verb in (37b): *mègbélê* ‘I have’ (see VII:2.4.1).

- (37) a. *wé* / *wó* ‘give birth’
wál-î ‘be born’
 b. *gbè* ‘catch, grasp, get hold of’
gbél-î ‘be caught, surrender’

There is a rather large group of transitive verbs with a *CVCnA* structure, that have an intransitive counterpart marked by the suffix *-î*, which replaces the final *A*. The transitive verbs can be analysed as *CVC#nA* or as *CVC#n-À*.

- (38) a. *càmnà* ‘scatter (tr.)’
càmn-î ‘scatter (intr.)’¹⁰
 b. *wàdnò* ‘administer an enema’
wàdn-î ‘undergo an enema’
 c. *kàlnà* ‘transmit’
kàln-î ‘spread, change (e.g. trains or buses)’
 d. *bóónò* ‘purge somebody’
bóón-î ‘purge oneself’

In one pair of examples the meaning of the derived verb is idiosyncratic, but the valency change is regular.

- (39) *dúgnà* ‘pay back’
dúgn-î ‘come back, do again’

The following example resembles the previous ones formally, but semantically the suffix is reciprocal. Perhaps the final syllable of the source stem is replaced by the reciprocal suffix *-nù* here (see 3.2.3).

- (40) *tóbnò* ‘meet sb.’
tóbnù ‘meet each other’

Finally, there is one totally irregular pair.

¹⁰ These verbs are probably related to *càm* ‘chase away’.

- (41) *túbna* ‘make a breakthrough, go further than foreseen’
túbni ‘break through, come unexpectedly’

3.2.2. The suffix *-(b)àn*

The form of the suffix *-(b)àn* depends on the stem to which it is attached. After canonical stems (i.e. stems without an expansion) *-bàn* is used (42), after non-canonical verb stems the suffix is *-àn* (43). This suffix usually derives passive verb forms.

- (42) a. *bwàb* ‘beat’
bwàà-bàn ‘be beaten’
 b. *tág* ‘arrange’
tág-bân ‘be arranged’
 b. *wé* ‘kill’
wé-bân ‘be killed’
 (43) a. *sóndô* ‘sharpen’
sónd-ân ‘be sharpened’
 b. *bàglà* ‘conserve’
bàgl-àn ‘be conserved’

Due to the maximality constraint on verb stems, the passive suffix is reduced to *-b* in certain tense-aspect forms, such as the Hesternal past perfective (see VII:2.3.3) (44a-c). In non-canonical stems, the passive suffix is not represented (44d).

- (44) a. *dú* ‘baptise’
àdúùbèngàn ‘He was baptised.’
 b. *pèn* ‘plait’
àpènbèngàn ‘She got herself plaited.’
 c. *kódô* ‘leave’
àtán úkódbèngàn ‘The village was left.’
 d. *júglâna* ‘make turbid’
itàm íjúglèngàn ‘The well has been made turbid.’

The use of the passive appears to be very restricted in Eton, judging after the small corpus available. The usual strategy when the agent is unknown or less relevant, is to use an impersonal construction marked by the third person plural subject prefix (see VIII:2). Only one passive verb form was found in the text corpus (45), viz. the passive

form of the verb *yòlò* ‘name’. The subject prefix in the example agrees with the noun *mètàmná* (6), which is a kind of proper name.

- (45) *ímá mé jî ndóm (...) yí méngáyôlbàn jé yá?*
 |í-má m̄=jîH ndóm j̄i m̄-ŋgá-jòl-bàn|
 AU-VI.DEM VI.CON=your brother Q VI-RP-attribute-VRS
 |jě já|
 I.SUB how
 ‘The one of your brother (...), how was it attributed to him?’

The agent is left unexpressed (46b) or is expressed as an oblique object introduced by the preposition *èy* (46c).

- (46) a. *bám* ‘scold’
bám-bân ‘be scolded’
 b. *àté bāmbân àné m̄ múyá*
 |à-Lté L-bám-bàn àné m-ðH=N-úyá|
 I-PR INF-scold-VRS like 1-DIM=1-child
 ‘He gets told off like a child.’
 c. *àbāmbéngán èy isá wē*
 |à-H-bám-b-àngàn-H èy isá w-ě|
 I-PST-scold-VRS-G-NF with father I-his
 ‘He was scolded by his father.’

I found one passive verb form in which the agentive object is not oblique:

- (47) *jéŋ* ‘search’
jéŋ-bân ‘be searched’, ‘lack’, ‘be rare’ or ‘be missed’
 (48) a. *ŋyál wām̄ àté m̄ jéyân*
 |N-ŋyál wām̄ à-Lté m̄ L-dzéŋ-bàn|
 1-wife I.my I-PR 1SG-NSUB INF-search-VRS
 ‘I miss my wife.’
 b. *àngábé jēybéngàn jì jéglê*
 |à-ŋgá-bé L-dzéŋ-b-àngàn N-jéglê|
 I-RP-IMPF INF-search-VRS-G 1-teacher
 ‘The teacher missed her.’

The suffix *-(b)ân* can be used to derive a middle, expressing the possibility or difficulty/facility to perform an action on the patientive subject (49). Note that some verbs take the valency reducing suffix *-n̄* for this (50).

- (49) a. *àté đ̄bân*
 |à-Lté L-đ̄i-bân|
 I-PR INF-eat-VRS
 ‘It is edible. (lit. It is eaten.)’
- b. *ùwònò àté pùmbàn ávól*
 |ùwònò à-Lté L-pùm-bàn H à-vól|
 groundnut I-PR INF-uproot-VRS LT 3-quick
 ‘Groundnuts harvest easily.’
- c. *mèjwàg méléń máátē bàglàn mímèŋ*
 |mà-dzùàg H=mà-lén má-áá-Lté L-bàglà-àn|
 6-wine VI.CON=6-palm VI-NEG-PR INF-keep-VRS
 |H Ì-Bèŋ|
 LT 3-good
 ‘Palm wine does not preserve well.’
- (50) *mèjwàg méléń máátē nèńnì mímèŋ*
 |mà-dzùàg H=mà-lén má-áá-Lté L-nâi-nì H Ì-Bèŋ|
 6-wine VI.CON=6-palm VI-NEG-PR INF-keep LT 3-good
 ‘Palm wine does not preserve well.’

With the verb *kwàm* ‘do’ the passive can have an existential meaning (51).

- (51) *t̄mđ̄ŋ àkwámbán á jwāŋ*
 |t̄mđ̄ŋ à-H-kwám-bân-H á Ì-jwāŋ|
 multiple.crash I-PST-do-VRS-NF LOC 3-street
 ‘There has been a multiple crash in the street.’

There seem to be little or no restrictions on the possible subjects of passive verbs (e.g. 52c), but this needs additional description (preferably by means of a bigger corpus). The passive form of verbs can be used in all tenses.

- (52) a. *àkúb mēnd̄m á sí*
 |à-H-kúb-H mē-nd̄m á sí|
 I-PST-pour-NF 6-water LOC [9]ground
 ‘He poured water on the ground.’
- b. *mēnd̄m mēkúúbán á sí*
 |mē-nd̄m mē-H-kúb-bân-H á sí|
 6-water VI-PST-pour-VRS-NF LOC [9]ground
 ‘Water was poured on the ground.’

- c. *sí ikūúbán mēndīm*
 |sí ì-H-kííb-bàn-H mǎ-ndīm|
 [9]ground IX-PST-pour-VRS-NF 6-water
 ‘The ground was poured water on.’

3.2.3. The suffix *-nì*

Probably the most productive suffix of Eton (i.e. the suffix that is most likely to yield a possible/existing verb if added to a stem) is the suffix *-nì*. Typically this suffix derives a reciprocal verb. The derived verb in (53d) can be used, for instance, when two machetes are rubbing over each other (e.g., because they are in the same bag) and thereby sharpening each other.

- (53) a. *dīŋ* ‘love sb.’
 dīŋ-nì ‘love each other’
 b. *jèm* ‘know sb.’
 jèm-nì ‘know each other’
 c. *jàm* ‘cover (zool.)’
 jàm-nì ‘mate’
 d. *jèb* ‘sharpen’
 jèb-nì ‘sharpen each other’

The following examples illustrate the rule of compensatory lengthening of an accentuated vowel followed by a deleted consonant. The final consonant of the stem is deleted because of its identity with the suffix consonant (see II:4.1.4). Note that the tone of the second stem vowel is retained after the elision of this vowel and that it surfaces on the lengthened first stem vowel.

- (54) a. *kóŋû* ‘greet sb.’
 kòd-nì ‘greet each other’
 b. *céŋû* ‘change’
 céè-nì ‘exchange’

Sometimes the valency rearrangement induced by the suffix is more complex than in the above examples. In the following pairs the patient of the source verb is not part of the subject of the derived verb.¹¹

¹¹ In all available examples the source verb is ambitransitive. It is equally possible to say that the reciprocal forms are derived from the intransitive use of the source verb.

- (55) a. *núŋ* ‘drink’
núŋ-nù ‘be in a relationship of exchanging drinks with somebody’
 b. *đí* ‘eat’
đí-nù ‘be in a relationship of exchanging food with somebody’
 c. *lây* ‘tell’
lây-nù ‘chat, talk’

There are also some cases in which the suffix *-nù* adds an additional meaning. The derived verb in (56) has either a reciprocal meaning or a habitual (deobjective) one. Note that the derived verbs in (55a-b) have a habitual meaning as well, but in combination with a reciprocal meaning.

- (56) *dùgà* ‘deceive’
dùg-nù ‘1) deceive each other, 2) be deceitful’

In (57) the valency reducing suffix *-nù* is added to an intransitive source verb, yielding a meaning of intensity and/or repetition. Note the similarity with the valency increasing suffix *-lA* when suffixed to a transitive verb.¹²

- (57) *yàgì* ‘scratch oneself’
yàg-nù ‘scratch oneself everywhere’

I found one transitive verb, viz. *číg* ‘cut’, for which both *-ì* and *-nù* can be used as a valency reducing suffix. In the examples in (58), the form in *-ì* (58a) would be used when the rope breaks while being charged with the clothes, whereas the *-nù* form is more appropriate when the rope suddenly breaks afterwards. In other words, the subject is construed rather as the source of the action in (58b) and rather as a pure undergoer in (58a).

- (58) a. *ŋkwǎl útē cīgì èèy àđìd bíjé*
 |*N-kùál ú-Ltē L-tfīg-ì èèj à-đìd H=bì-dzē*|
 3-rope III-PR INF-cut-VRS with 3-heavy III.CON=8-dress
 ‘The rope breaks under the weight of the clothes.’

¹² I wish to thank Dmitry Idiatov for pointing this out to me.

- b. *ɲkwǎl útē cīgnì èèy àd̄id bījé*
 |*ŋ-kùál ú-Lt̄é L-t̄fīg-ì èèj à-d̄id H=b̄i-dz̄é*|
 3-rope III-PR INF-cut-VRS with 3-heavy III.CON=8-dress
 ‘The rope breaks under the weight of the clothes.’

Often, verbs that have the suffix *-nì* can be used with a prepositional complement introduced by *èèy*, in which case they have a different meaning. For instance, the verb *d̄im̄nì* in (55b) means ‘swindle’ when followed by *èèy mòd* ‘with somebody’. *d̄im̄nì* ‘love each other’ acquires the inverse meaning ‘dislike’ before *èèy mòd* and *tòbn̄nì* ‘meet each other’ becomes ‘happen to somebody’ (59).¹³

- (59) *útē jèm ídâm itòbn̄néngáná èèy mǎ ààngògí?*
 |*ù-Lt̄é L-d̄z̄èm H í-d-àm ì-H-tòbn-n-àngànà-H*|
 2SG-PR INF-know LTAU-5-thing IX-PST-meet-VRS-G-NF
 |*èèj mǎ ààngògí*|
 with 1SG.FSUB yesterday
 ‘You know what happened to me yesterday?’

3.4. Other suffixes

Some suffixes were found in only one or two verbs. As most other suffixes they are formally identical to an existing expansion, which again illustrates the coincidental character of the distinction between suffixes and expansions. Three unique suffixes, two of which with a *Càn*-form, have a valency reducing function (60-62).

- (60) a. *pógó* ‘move (tr.)’
 póg-zân ‘move (intr.)’
 b. *jèm* ‘know’
 jèm-zân ‘get used, adapt oneself to a situation’
- (61) *sám* ‘stretch (tr.)’
 sám-lân ‘stretch oneself, lie down’
- (62) a. *dà* ‘make cross, help to cross’
 pèpá mbámá àté dà múḡá úsō
 |*pèpá mbámá à-Lt̄é L-dà H N-úḡá ù-só*|
 dad grandparent I-PR INF-cross LT 1-child 3-river
 ‘Grandfather makes the child cross the river.’

¹³ But this example could also be analysed by means of the valency reducing suffix *-ì*, i.e. as *tòbn̄n-ì*.

b. *dà-ŋ* ‘cross’

bèbònì bèèrú bédāŋgí úsǎnāŋá

|*bà-bònì b-èèrú bá-H-dà-ŋ-Lgì-H úsǎnǎŋá*|

2-ancestor II-our II-PST-cross-VRS-G-NF Sanaga

‘Our ancestors crossed the river Sanaga.’

The suffixes *-dà* and *-dànà* have no clear effect on the valency of the source verb.

- (63) a. *dùd* ‘pull, smoke’
 dùù-dà ‘pull back’
 b. *wóg* ‘hear, understand’
 wóg-dânà ‘feel’

3.5. Positional *-bà* and Impositive *-ì*

There are some groups of related verb stems in which one stem, with a suffix *-bà*, has a meaning ‘be in a position or state’ or ‘have a property’, e.g. the (a)-forms in the following examples. Following Schadeberg (2003:74), this suffix can be called *Positional*. Most of the verbs in *-bà* have a Resultative form (see Section VII:2.4.1).

- (64) a. *tègbè* ‘be lazy’
 b. *tèg* ‘weaken (intr.), become tired’
 c. *tègrù* ‘weaken (tr.), be tiring’
 (65) a. *yémbè* ‘be stuck, be solid’
 b. *yémê* ‘be solid’ (resultative)
 c. *yém* ‘jam, block’
 d. *yémlâ* ‘stay’
 (66) a. *tìbà* ‘be attached’
 b. *tyǎ* ‘be attached’ (resultative)
 c. *tìŋdà* ‘attach’
 d. *tìŋ* ‘weave’
 e. *tì* ‘untie (tr.), detach (tr.)’
 f. *tìmù* ‘get loose, come untied’
 (67) a. *vyèèbè* ‘be awake’
 b. *vyǎ* ‘be awake’ (resultative)
 c. *vèbè* ‘wake up (intr.)’
 d. *vèlè* ‘wake up (tr.)’

The verbs in (68) do not have related verbs, but there is a related noun that lacks the Positional suffix. The positional suffix *-bà* can be analysed as a denominal suffix in these examples.

- (68) a. *nàl-bà* ‘lie’ (French: ‘mentir’)
 ṅ-nǎl ‘lie’ (3)
 b. *ndwàg-bò* ‘be greedy’
 ndwàg ‘greed’ (9)
 c. *tóŋ-bò* ‘be slow’
 à-tóŋ ‘slowness’ (3)
 d. *bún-bâ* ‘be sulky’
 mè-bún ‘sulkiness’ (6)
 e. *jòm-bò* ‘grow old’
 jì-jóm ‘old person, old age’ (3)
 f. *zín-bâ* ‘be hateful’
 zín ‘hate’
 g. *tógbò* ‘be small’
 ṅ-tógò ‘small’

Another group of verbs ending in *-bà* have the meaning ‘assume a position’. These verbs all have a transitive counterpart, meaning ‘put in a position’, which is derived by means of the Impositive suffix *-ì*. These verbs always have a Resultative form, which means ‘be in a position’. Examples of the three forms are provided in (70): Positional (70a), Impositive (70b) and Resultative (70c). Note that the Resultative form is not a verb stem.

- (69) *swàl-bò* ‘hide oneself’
 swàl-ì ‘hide sth./sb.’
- (70) a. *àté mâ swàlbò*
 |*à-Lté* *mà* *L-sùàl-bà*|
 I-PR 1SG.SUB INF-hide-PNL
 ‘She hides herself from me.’
- b. *mèté swàlì mwáru wàmò*
 |*mò-Lté* *L-sùàl-ì* *H* *múáru* *wàmò*|
 1SG-PR INF-hide-IPS LT money I.my
 ‘I hide my money.’

- c. *ìpáǵì íswāló*
 |ì-páǵì í-sùàl-Ǻ|
 7-present VII-hide-RS
 ‘The present is hidden.’

All Positional-Impositive pairs found so far are listed below. The stem of the intransitive form is given after (a), the transitive stem after (b) and an example with the Resultative form after (c). Since the list is rather long, not all examples will be glossed.

- (71) a. *kèl-bè* ‘hang (intr.)’
ndóǵò ìkèlbé á ntèm ílé
 |ndóǵò ì-H-kèl-bà-H á N-tèm|
 [9]mangue IX-PST-hang-PNL-NF LOC 3-branch
 |H=ì-lé|
 III.COP=7-tree
 ‘The mango got stuck behind a branch.’
- b. *kèl-ì* ‘hang (tr.)’
mèté kèlì íjē yámâ ílē
 |mà-Lté L-kèl-ì H ì-dzé jǎmâ á ì-lé|
 1SG-PR INF-hang-IPS LT 7-dress VII.myLOC 7-tree
 ‘I hang my dress on a tree.’
- c. *ndóǵò ìkèlé á ntèm ílé*
 |ndóǵò ì-kèl-Ǻ á N-tèm H=ì-lé|
 [9]mango IX-hang-RS LOC 3-branch III.CON=7-tree
 ‘The mango is stuck behind a branch.’
- (72) a. *bóg-bô* ‘sit down’
mèté bōgbô vâ
 |mà-Lté L-bóg-bà vâ|
 1SG-PR INF-sit-PNL here
 ‘I sit down here.’
- b. *bóg-î* ‘seat, make sb. sit’
á bōǵî múŋá ásí
 |á L-bóg-ì N-úŋá ásí|
 LOC INF-sit-IPS 1-child down
 ‘to make a child sit down’

- c. *mèbógô*
 |*mà-bóg-Á*|
 1SG-sit-RS
 ‘I am sitting.’
- (73) a. *bàg-bà* ‘press oneself against, stick oneself onto st.’
ɲgùì ìtè bàgbà élēn
 |*ɲgùì ì-Ltè L-bàg-bà á è-lén*|
 [9]bat IX-PR INF-stick-PNL LOC 5-palm.tree
 ‘The bat sticks itself to the palm tree.’
- b. *bàg-ì* ‘affix, glue, stick’
àɲgábàgì zítám á lépēb á yó
 |*à-ɲgá-bàg-ì zítám á là-péb á jó*|
 I-RP-put-IPS stamp LOC 5-paper LOC [5]sky
 ‘He put a stamp on the paper.’
- c. *ɲgùì ìbàgá élēn*
 |*ɲgùì ì-bàg-Á á è-lén*|
 [9]bat IX-stick-RS LOC 5-palm.tree
 ‘The bat is on the palm tree.’
- (74) a. *búd-bâ* ‘cover oneself, lie down’
àtè bũdbâ èyèy lèbùm ‘He lies down on his belly.’
- b. *búd-î* ‘cover’
àtè bũđí míz mē ‘She closes her eyes.’
- c. *búdâ* ‘be covered, lie’
mèbúdâ èyèy lèbùm ‘I am lying on my belly.’
- (75) a. *jòg-bò* ‘lie down’
 b. *jòg-ì* ‘leave lying about, put down’
 c. *ndógô ìjògò évêl é jād* ‘The mango lies next to the basket.’
- (76) a. *síg-bâ* ‘assume a leaning position’
 b. *síg-î* ‘put in a leaning position’
 c. *mèsígâ á mpìm* ‘I am leaning against the wall.’
- (77) a. *lúú-bâ* ‘bow, bend’
 b. *lw-î* ‘tilt’
 c. *mèlwâ* ‘I’m bending over.’
- (78) a. *són-bô* ‘squat, crouch’
 b. *són-î* ‘make sb. squat’
 c. *mèsónô* ‘I’m squatting.’

- (79) a. *bèd-bè* ‘settle, put oneself onto st.’
 b. *bèd-ì* ‘load sb. or st. with st.’
 c. *ndógô ìbèdé á jād* ‘The mango lies on the basket.’

In one case the Resultative form and the transitive stem have a postaccentual /l/, which does not appear before the Positional suffix (80). These verbs might be related to *té* ‘lift’. See example (70) for evidence that deletion of an unaccentuated /l/ is not a productive rule in these verbs.

- (80) a. *té-bè* ‘stand up, get up’
 b. *tél-ì* ‘put in an upright position’
 c. *àtélê á jōy* ‘He is (standing) on the street.’

4. Discussion

The preceding description of suffixes and expansions has tried to avoid making diachronic claims or relying on comparative information. Moreover, suffixes have never been established based on either semantic or formal criteria alone. The resulting description is one of a structured lexicon rather than of a productive verbal morphology. Nevertheless, it is useful to point out some generalisations and discuss how the current situation may have come into existence.

Note that only three structural vowels can occur in non-accentuated position, i.e. after the first CV-sequence, viz. $^{\circ}/i/$, $^{\circ}/a/$ and $^{\circ}/A/$. Verbs with an extension¹⁴ containing $^{\circ}/A/$ are almost always transitive, and verbs with an extension that contains $^{\circ}/i/$ are usually intransitive. Notable exceptions are the Impositive suffix *-ì* and the Positional suffix *-bλ*, where the situation is the inverse. Just as the Positional suffix *-bλ*, the expansion *#bλ* is found in intransitive verbs. Given that the Passive suffix is *-bàn*, we can conclude that all verbs with an extension that begins in $^{\circ}/b/$ are intransitive. The expansions that end in *àn*, viz. *#gàn*, *#làn*, *#bàn* and *#zàn*, are found likewise in intransitive verbs, whereas those in *#Cànà* occur in transitive verbs. So the final /a/ in these expansions can be identified as the representation of $^{\circ}/A/$. Abstracting away from the fact that expansions cannot be separated from the rest of the stem on morphological grounds, the following elements can be recognised:

¹⁴ The term extension covers both suffixes and expansions (Meeussen 1967:85).

Impositive (transitive):	ì
transitive:	à
intransitive:	ì, <i>b</i> , <i>àn</i> ¹⁵

In a series of these elements, the last one establishes the valency of the verb stem, except if the second last element is *b*. The other consonants that are found in expansions and/or suffixes have no influence on the valency of the verb. On these grounds, some suffixes and expansions could be further analysed as follows:

$\#l\lambda$, $\#d\lambda$, $\#z\lambda$, $\#n\lambda$, $-l\lambda = ? + \lambda$
$\#g\grave{a}n$, $\#l\grave{a}n$, $\#z\grave{a}n = ? + \grave{a}n$
$\#b\lambda = b + \lambda$
$\#b\grave{a}n$, $-b\grave{a}n = b + \grave{a}n$
$\#l\grave{a}n\grave{a}$, $\#g\grave{a}n\grave{a}$, $\#z\grave{a}n\grave{a} = ? + \grave{a}n + \lambda$

A question mark stands for an element that apparently never contributes anything to the valency of the verb in which it occurs. It is never clear what the individual contribution of the elements is in combinations such as *b + àn*. That is why they are not described as separate suffixes. Nevertheless, many contemporary suffixes apparently reflect historical suffix combinations. The reason why verbal suffixes have merged must be sought in maximality constraints on the prosodic stem (Hyman 2005). Verb stems have maximally three syllables in Eton. Note that the prosodic stem also includes the “inflectional” suffix that forms certain past tenses and participles (see VII:2.2). Therefore, in verb forms like the Hesternal past perfective a derived verb stem can only retain the first consonant of its suffix. Otherwise the maximality constraint would be violated.

5. Transitivity

Verbs can be classified into intransitive (81), transitive (82), ditransitive (83) and ambitransitive (84) verbs depending on their most typical use.

¹⁵ Note also that many denominal verbal suffixes begin in *b*, e.g. in *zègbàn* ‘be sweet’, from *izèzèg* ‘sweet(ness)’, *zèg* ‘pineapple’.

- (81) a. *dáy* ‘get lost’
mèdáy
 |*mà-H-dáy*|
 1SG-PST-get.lost
 ‘I got lost.’
- b. *pà* ‘shine’
ɲgwàn ité pà
 |*ɲgùàn ì-Lté L-pà*|
 [9]moon IX-PR INF-shine
 ‘The moon shines.’
- (82) a. *ɲòɲ* ‘take’
àté ɲòɲ mébālá
 |*à-Lté L-ɲòɲ H mà-bālá*|
 I-PR INF-take LT 6-medicine
 ‘She takes the medicine.’
- b. *swàm* ‘find’
múnjá áswām léswě ‘The child has found the hiding place.’
- (83) *vé* ‘give’
mbwé yē wēgé jê ìyé
 |*mbóé j-ě ì-H-vé-gà-H jě ì-jé*|
 [9]friend IX-her IX-PST-give-G-NF I.SUB 7-dress
 ‘Her friend gave her a dress.’
- (84) a. *mèté dī*
 |*mà-Lté L-dī*|
 1SG-PR INF-eat
 ‘I am eating.’
- b. *mèté dī kpêm*
 |*mà-Lté L-dī H kpêm*|
 1SG-PR INF-eat LT [10]cassava.leaf
 ‘I am eating cassava leaves.’

However, most verbs can have different argument structures, depending on their meaning or on the construction in which they occur. The verb *yòlò* in the elaborate question in (85), for instance, has slightly different meanings reflected by different argument structures. In (85a), there are two complements ‘person’ and ‘ndan’ (a type of name) and *yòlò* can best be translated as ‘give’. The meaning of *yòlò* is ‘give a name to’ in (85b), where there is only one complement. In (85c) the complement is followed by a proper name that functions as

secondary predicate. *Yòlò* can be translated as ‘call’ here. Finally, in (85d) there is an object and an oblique introduced by the preposition *á* and the verb is translatable as ‘provide sb. with a name’.

- (85) a. *yì bēngábé yòlgò mòd ndán*
 |jì bā-ŋgá-bé L-jòl<g>ò N-òd ndán|
 Q II-RP-IMPF INF-name<G> 1-person [9]ndan
 ‘Did they give somebody a ndan’
- b. *àné pé bá yòlò mòd m̀pébè,*
 |àné pé bā-à-jòlò N-òd m̀-épébè|
 like also II-SP-name 1-person I-other
 ‘the way they also name somebody else,’
- c. *àné bēngáyòlò wò lèkírú,*
 |àné bā-ŋgá-jòlò wò lèkírú|
 like II-RP-name 2SG.NSUB Akini
 ‘the way they named you Akini’
- d. *yì bēnè jām yòlò mòd á ndán nālá?*
 |jì bā-nè dzām L-jòlò H N-òd á ndán|
 Q II-POS possibly INF-name LT 1-person LOC [9]ndan
 |nǎ-lá|
 thus-ID
 ‘Is it possible to attribute somebody a ndan like this?’

The variation in argument structures illustrated by means of the verb *yòlò* is purely lexical and is to be described in the dictionary.¹⁶ The following two sections describe more systematic variation in the argument structure of verbs. Section 5.1 discusses some types of objects that can be added to a wide range of verbs and Section 5.2 points out that objects can often be left out instead of being expressed by a pronominal.

5.1. Extra complement

5.1.1. Internal object

Many verbs can take an internal object. Thus, a usually intransitive verb can be used transitively (86) and a usually transitive verb ditransitively (87). According to Essono (2000:381) all regular verbs

¹⁶ In its current state the dictionary does not yet achieve the necessary descriptive detail.

can take such an internal object in Ewondo, but efforts to elicit evidence for this generalisation in Eton were unsuccessful.

- (86) a. *mèkú mmèg*
 |*mà-H-kí-H* *Ñ-Bèg*|
 1SG-PST-fall-NF 3-fall
 ‘I fell.’
- b. *mèvyé mé jɔlgí*
 |*mà-H-vjé-H* *mà- jɔlgí*|
 1SG-PST-urinate-NF 6-urine
 ‘I urinated.’
- (87) *àbáli ñkwāg lévēŋ á bídò á mbúz*
 |*à-H-báli-H* *Ñ-kíág* *là-véŋ* *á* *bì-dò*|
 I-PST-wound-NF 3-antelope 5-wound LOC 8-limb
 |*á* *mbúz*|
 LOC [9]back
 ‘He wounded the antelope at its posterior limbs.’

The internal object is not always the result of the action expressed by the verb. In example (86) it is rather an instrument that is intimately linked to the action.

- (86) a. *ìsíŋá ʔwòdɪ wò byá*
 |*ì-síŋá* *ʔ-H-wòdɪ-H* *wò* *bj-á*|
 7-cat VII-PST-scratch-NF 2SG.NSUB 8-nail
 ‘The cat scratched you.’
- b. *ìsíŋá ʔwòdɪ wò byá ákǒl*
 |*ì-síŋá* *ʔ-H-wòdɪ-H* *wò* *bj-á* *á* *à-kǒl*|
 7-cat VII-PST-scratch-NF 2SG.NSUB 8-nail LOC 3-leg
 ‘The cat scratched your leg.’

Note that in all these examples the internal object can be left out without a clear difference in meaning.

5.1.2. Experiencer & Benefactive

When a person is indirectly affected by a process, e.g. because this process affects their body part or family member, that person is very often construed as a complement of the verb that expresses the process. This phenomenon is often called *possessor ascension* or *external possession* and the complement in question the *ethical dative*. Since I do not distinguish between the non-subject participants in the

clause (e.g. indirect versus direct object, see Section VIII:5.1), I prefer to refer to this element in terms of the semantic role it fulfills, viz. that of experiencer. The possessed element can be a subject (87), a nominal complement (88) or a prepositional complement (89).

- (87) a. *íjôŋ vó bwǎn béŋgábé wūgâ jé, ...*
 |í-ì-dzòŋ vó b-ùán bǎ-ŋgá-bé L-wú-gà jé|
 AU-7-time DP 2-child II-RP-IMPF INF-die-G I.SUB
 ‘When his children were dying, ...’
- b. *ímâm yě íbúúgì ítē jê yábrù*
 |í-ì-nám jě í-búúg<g>ì í-Lté jě L-jábrù|
 AU-7-arm VII.his VII-break<G> VII-PR I.SUB INF-hurt
 ‘His broken arm hurts.’
- c. *ímó úbéb mā*
 |N-ó ú-H-béb-H mǎ|
 3-head III-PST-be.bad-NF 1SG.FSUB
 ‘I have had a bad dream.’
- (88) *pùdī jê mèkòl á bô háŋkwâb*
 |pùdī-H jě mǎ-kòl á bô háŋkùàb|
 put-IMP I.SUB 6-foot LOC PL handcuff
 ‘Put his feet in handcuffs.’
- (89) a. *dô mètē bùmŋgàná wùlǎ jōy á jól*
 |dô mǎ-Lté L-bùmŋgàná H L-wùlǎ H|
 DP 1SG-PR INF-do.suddenly LT INF-walk LT
 |jóě á jól|
 [9]snake LOC [9]body
 ‘Then all of a sudden I stepped on a snake.’
- b. *ísŋâ íjūŋlǎ mâ byǎ ákòl*
 |í-síŋâ í-H-jūŋlǎ-H mâ bj-ǎ á à-kòl|
 7-CAT VII-PST-plant-NF 1SG-NSUB 8-nail LOC 3-leg
 ‘The cat planted its nails in my leg.’
- c. *íyôŋ ìbǎb ímā lòd môd á jól*
 |í-ì-jôŋ ì-bǎb í-mǎ-H L-lòd H|
 AU-7-time 7-asthma VII-TMN-CS INF-surpass LT
 |N-òd á jól|
 1-person LOC [9]body
 ‘When “asthma” exceeds in a person’s body, ...’

However, possessor ascension can also be found, be it more rarely, when the possessor is not at all affected, i.e. where possession is clearly alienable, as in (90).

- (90) *mèjéy íbūg íkálâdâ àně m̄́tùn í ndá*
 |mè-H-dzɛy-H ì-búg á í-kálâdâ à-ně|
 1SG-PST-search-NF 7-word LOC AU-book I-REL.be
 |mǎ á ì-tùn í=ndá|
 1SG.NSUB LOC 7-part VII.CON=[9]house
 ‘I looked up a word in the dictionary in my room.’

Both the ethical dative and the patient can be the subject of a passivised verb.

- (91) a. *àngápûdbàn mèkõl á b̄́ háykwâb*
 |à-ɲgá-pùdî-bàn m̄-kõl á b̄́ háykwâb|
 I-RP-put-VRS 6-foot LOC PL handcuff
 ‘His feet were put in handcuffs.’
 b. *b̄́ háykwâb béɲgápûdbàn jé á mèkõl*
 |b̄́ háykwâb b̄́-ɲgá-pùdî-bàn jé á m̄-kõl|
 PL handcuff II-RP-put-VRS I.SUB LOC 6-foot
 ‘The handcuffs were put at his feet.’

There is another object with human reference that can occur with verbs regardless of their argument structure. Almost every verb can take a benefactive object without extra morphological marking.

- (92) *índóy j̄́ ìtè mâ b̄́b*
 |í-ndóy j̄́ ì-Lté mâ L-b̄́b|
 AU-[9]news IX.DEM IX-PR 1SG.NSUB INF-be.bad
 ‘This news is bad for me.’
- (93) *mètè t̄́l w̄́ kálâdâ*
 |m̄-Lté L-t̄́l H w̄́ kálâdâ|
 1SG-PR INF-write LT 2SG.NSUB book
 ‘I am writing you a letter.’
- (94) *mètè kwàm w̄́ mèbālâ mâ*
 |m̄-Lté L-kùàm H w̄́ H-m̄-bálâ mǎ|
 1SG-PR INF-make LT 2SG.NSUB AU-6-medicine VI.DEM
 ‘I am making you this medicine.’

- (95) *íyòḡ íjì ñtèéú íbògbó mà ùyǎb*
 |í-ì-jòḡ í-dzì H=N-tèéú í-Bòg-bà-H|
 AU-7-time AU-VII.DEM VII.CON=3-uprooting VII-stay-PNL-CS
 |mà ù-jǎb|
 1SG-NSUB 3-far
 ‘When the one (i.e. the herb) that I uproot is far from/for me, ...’

The benefactive can also be expressed by means of an oblique introduced by the preposition *ású* ‘for’ (96c, 97b).

- (96) a. *àjám tíd*
 |à-H-dzám-H tíd|
 I-PST-prepare-NF [9]meat
 ‘She prepared meat.’
- b. *àjám mà tíd*
 |à-H-dzám-H mà tíd|
 I-PST-prepare-NF 1SG.NSUB [9]meat
 ‘She prepared meat for me.’
- c. *àjám tíd ású wámò*
 |à-H-dzám-H tíd ású H=wámò|
 I-PST-prepare-NF [9]meat for III.CON=I.my
 ‘She prepared meat for me.’
- (97) a. *mèkúz sóḡó wámò yó*
 |mò-H-kúz-H sóḡó wámò jǒ|
 1SG-PST-buy-NF aunt I.my VII.SUB
 ‘I bought it (e.g. the chair) for my aunt.’
- b. *mèkúz yò ású sóḡó wámò*
 |mò-H-kúz-H jǒ ású H=sóḡó wámò|
 1SG-PST-buy-NF VII.SUB for III.CON=aunt I.my
 ‘I bought it (e.g. the chair) for my aunt.’

Whether an object with human reference is interpreted as a benefactive or a patient can depend on the semantics of the verb.

- (98) a. *àjám*
 |à-H-dzám|
 I-PST-cook
 ‘She cooked.’

- b. *àjám m̄*
 |à-H-dzám-H m̄|
 I-PST-cook-NF 1SG-FSUB
 ‘She cooked for me.’
- c. *àjám ású wám̄*
 |à-H-dzám-H ású H=wám̄|
 I-PST-cook-NF for III.CON=I.my
 ‘She cooked for me.’

- (99) a. *àté bèbè byā*
 |à-Lté L-bèbè H bíǎ|
 I-PR INF-look LT 1PL.FSUB
 ‘He is looking at us.’
- b. *àté bèbè ású byā*
 |à-Lté L-bèbè H ású H=bíǎ|
 I-PR INF-look LT for III.CON=1PL.FSUB
 ‘He is looking for/on behalf of us.’

It also depends on the potential possessee in the case of external possession. The first complement *w̄* in (100b) cannot be interpreted as the possessor of the second complement. Likewise, the (a) and (b) sentences in (101) have a different interpretation. Only in (102), where the possessee in the complement of the (a)-sentence is a body part, do the sentences in (a) and (b) express the same situation.

- (100) a. *mèyén ndá ȳ*
 |m̄-H-jén-H ndá ỳ-ỳ|
 1SG-PST-see-NF [9]house IX-your
 ‘I saw your house.’
- b. *mèyén w̄ ndá*
 |m̄-H-jén-H w̄ ndá|
 I-PST-see-NF 2SG.NSUB [9]house
 ‘I saw a house for you.’
- (101) a. *mèyén s̄ȳj̄ w̄*
 |m̄-H-jén-H s̄ȳj̄ ù-ỳ|
 1SG-PST-see-NF aunt I-your
 ‘I saw your aunt.’

- b. ? *mèyén wô sôjô*
 |*mà-H-jén-H wô sôjô*||
 1SG-PST-see-NF 2SG.NSUB aunt
 ‘I saw (your/our) aunt for you.’
- (102) a. *mèyén mèkăn mē*
 |*mà-H-jén-H mà-kăn m-ě*||
 1SG-PST-see-NF 6-buttock VI-his
 ‘I saw his buttocks.’
- b. *mèyén jê mèkăn*
 |*mà-H-jén-H jě mà-kăn*||
 1SG-PST-see-NF I.SUB 6-buttock
 ‘I saw his buttocks.’

5.1.3. Cause

Intransitive verbs with an experiencer subject can have a complement that specifies who or what caused the process expressed by the verb. In (103) Judith Akini explains how she treats a disease with the root of a plant called *wogzo-wogzo*. When digging for this type of root, one has to be careful to pick out one single root, follow it and dig it out entirely. If you mix up two roots, somebody will die because of your lack of care. The example in (104) with the same verb *wú* ‘die’ can have a variety of interpretations. The subject might have died after eating dog, or due to an accident caused by a dog, etcetera. If he or she was killed by a dog, a passive construction would be more appropriate (100b). Note that the causer-complement does not have to be animate (105).

- (103) *ɣgé ú jɔŋ ɣkăŋ n̄pēbē, ùyèmɡì nâ ʔzā mōd àwú wō*
 |*ɣgé H-ù-jɔŋ-H n̄-kăŋ m̄-pēbē ù-jēm-Lɡì*||
 if 2SG-take-CS 3-root III-other 2SG-know-G
 |*nâ ʔzā N-òd à-à-wú wō*||
 CMP sb.else’s 1-person I-SP-die 2SG.FSUB
 ‘If you take another root, you must know that somebody else’s child will die because of you.’
- (104) a. *àwú mbú*
 |*à-H-wú-H mbú*||
 I-PST-die-NF [9]dog
 ‘He was killed due to a dog.’

- b. àŋgáwébân èèy mbú
 |à-ŋgá-wé-bàn èèj mbú|
 I-RP-kill-VRS with [9]dog
 ‘He was killed by a dog.’

- (105) àwú úkèŋ
 |à-H-wú-H ù-kèŋ|
 I-PST-die-NF 3-knife
 ‘He was killed with a knife (or: due to a knife).’

5.2. Zero anaphora

Pronominal objects tend to be omitted when readily retrievable from the context, especially, but not exclusively, when they refer to inanimates. See (107) for an animate example. A corpus study would be needed to find out exactly which contexts favour the absence of an overt object.

- (106) vé m̄
 |vé-H m̄|
 give-IMP 1SG.FSUB
 ‘Give it to me.’
- (107) [m̄ n̄ “bon”, m̄n̄ m̄úŋá. d̄ô m̄eté w̄ô kvàn v̄â.wàáyì tá k̄àd n̄â m̄étâ k̄è èèy m̄úŋá áb̄ô ísmkàlà j̄ólì, áb̄ēb̄á mà j̄é.
 ‘Let’s say I am your child, okay? And I am ill. You’re not going to say: Let me first take him to mister X there, so that he examines him for me.’]
 w̄ô ù j̄ŋ p̄wágó, ùk̄è èèy j̄é á dwábd̄ô
 |w̄ô ù-j̄ŋ-H p̄wágó ù-k̄è-H èèj j̄é|
 2SG.SUB 2SG-take-CS really 2SG-go-CS with I.SUB
 |á dúábd̄ô|
 LOC hospital
 ‘You really take him and bring him to hospital.’

Chapter 5

Other word classes

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses most of the word types that were not discussed in the two previous chapters. More than elsewhere, the classification proposed here is one of several possible classifications. The main distinction among the “other” word classes is between inflectional forms (Section 2) and uninflected words (Section 3). In the first category there is another important distinction, viz. that between pronominals and adnominals. This distinction is not very clear-cut in that most adnominals can also function as pronominals (but not vice versa). A lot of information that was initially reserved for the syntactic chapters was transferred to this chapter when it became clear that the syntactic description was not going to achieve the depth it was meant to achieve. Note that all forms in the tables in this chapter are structural forms.

2. Inflectional forms

Pronominals and adnominal modifiers are multigender words. They always agree with a noun endo- or exophorically. Although inflectional forms consist of a more or less uniform final part and an initial segment that varies according to gender, it is often cumbersome to describe them in terms of a stem and a prefix. The analysis is generally easier for adnominal forms than for the pronominals. Still, five series of agreement prefixes are needed for the adnominal forms (see Table 1). Although these series are clearly related, they cannot be reduced without running into descriptive problems.

	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
I	ù	w	Ṁ	á	ì	II	bḥ	b	bà	bḥ	bḥ
III	ú	w	Ṁ	ú	ú	IV	mí	mj	mì	mí	mí
V	dH	d	è	é	é	VI	mḥ	m	mà	mḥ	mḥ
VII	î	j	î	î	î	VIII	bí	bj	bì	bí	bí
IX	ì	j		î	î	X	î	j		î	î

Table 1. Agreement prefixes of adnominal modifiers

Series 1 is used in the formation of the possessive modifiers of the second person singular. The other possessive modifiers (except those of the first person singular) and the promodifier *áη* ‘how many’ are formed by means of Series 2. The essential difference between both series is that the prefixes of Series 1 have a tone of their own, whereas those of Series 2 do not. The prefixes of Series 3 are used in the formation of the interrogative promodifier *pè* ‘which’ and in the quantifiers ‘1’ and ‘single’. These words have in common that their stem begins in *p*, at least in the form of agreement patterns IX and X. Note that the prefixes of Series 3 are formally identical to the nominal prefixes. Series 4 is used in the formation of the modifier *sè* ‘all’. Series 5, finally, intervenes in the formation of the anaphoric modifier *tè* ‘this, the one in question’. Note that the number of series can be reduced to three in the “plural” agreement patterns (i.e. II, IV, VI, VIII & X), one high, one toneless and one low. The high series is used with cardinal numbers from 2 to 6. Note also that the most irregular agreement pattern is I.

The other inflectional forms can be analysed in terms of prefix and stem only if one accepts that the first vowel of their stem is structurally toneless. The form of the prefixes of the substitutive pronominals and the first person singular possessives would then be as in Table 2. Another series of such prefixes would be needed for the too/neither pronominals. Since toneless vowels do not occur elsewhere in the grammar I decided to analyse these modifiers as suppletive forms without morphological structure, a solution that imposed itself for the demonstrative modifiers anyway.

I	ù	II	bǎ
III	ũ	IV	mĩ
V	dD	VI	mǎ
VII	ĩ	VIII	bĩ
IX	ì	X	ĩ

Table 2. Possible agreement prefixes for substitutives and first person singular possessive modifiers (structural forms)

2.1. Pronominals

This section describes pronominals, i.e. multigender words that can take the place of nominals in a clause and that agree in gender with the

head of the nominal they represent. The default forms of pronominals are those of agreement pattern V and VII, most probably because the word for ‘thing’ *d-àm* is of gender 5, with a synonym *j-òm* of gender 7 (see also Section VIII:1). The default form of pronominals is used in case the pronominal represents a non-prototypical agreement controller, such as a complement clause, or when the represented nominal is not retrievable.

- (1) *dɔ̃ mākād*
 |H-dʒ̃ mɔ̃-à-H-kàd|
 AU-V.SUB 1SG-SP-REL-say
 ‘That’s what I’m saying!’

2.1.1. Substitutives

The term *substitutives*¹ refers to the default pronominals in Eton, i.e. the morphemes that simply substitute a nominal without any additional semantics. Substitutives can function as complements of verbs (2), as complements of prepositions² (3) and, in focus constructions, as subjects (4). Eton has no object prefixes. Complements are expressed *either* by a nominal or complement clause, *or* by a substitutive. As has been said, the substitutives of agreement patterns II-X might have been described in terms of a toneless stem *ɔ̃*, preceded by a prefix from Table 2. Instead, they will be glossed as a simplex suppletive morpheme in this description. The substitutive of agreement pattern I is *jé*, sometimes realised as *jí*.

I	<i>jé</i>	II	<i>bʒ̃</i>
III	<i>wʒ̃</i>	IV	<i>mjʒ̃</i>
V	<i>dʒ̃</i>	VI	<i>mʒ̃</i>
VII	<i>jʒ̃</i>	VIII	<i>bjʒ̃</i>
IX	<i>jɔ̃</i>	X	<i>jʒ̃</i>

Table 3. Substitutives: genders (structural forms)

First and second person substitutives have two forms, one that appears before a (pro)nominal (2a, 2b, 3b) and one that appears

¹ This is the usual term in Bantu linguistics, also for the first and second person pronouns, see e.g. Meeussen (1967:105).

² But see Section 3.4.2 for an exception.

elsewhere (2c, 3a). These will be called the *non-final form* (NSUB) and the *final form* (FSUB) respectively (see Section VIII:5.1 for remarks on the conditioning).

	non-final		final	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>mà</i>	<i>bî</i>	<i>mă</i>	<i>bîă</i>
2	<i>wò</i>	<i>mîm</i>	<i>wǒ</i>	<i>mîmă</i>

Table 4. *Substitutives: participants (structural forms)*

- (2) a. *èèy mà vé ípāgí*
 |à-èèj mà L-vé H ì-pāgí|
 I-FUT 1SG.SUB INF-give LT 7-present
 ‘He will give me a present.’
- b. *èèy vé mâ yó*
 |à-èèj L-vé H mà jǒ|
 I-FUT INF-give LT 1SG.SUB VII.SUB
 ‘He will give it to me.’
- c. *èèy vé m̄*
 |à-èèj L-vé H mǎ|
 I-FUT INF-give LT 1SG.SUB
 ‘He will give it to me.’
- (3) a. *èèy sá èèy mǎ*
 |à-èèj L-sá èèj mǎ|
 I-FUT INF-work with 1SG.SUB
 ‘He will work with me.’
- b. *èèy sá èèy mà kíđí*
 |à-èèj L-sá èèj mà kíđí|
 I-FUT INF-work with 1SG.SUB tomorrow
 ‘He will work with me tomorrow.’
- (4) [Asked somebody who makes a medicine out of lianas.]
wò ùté kvàm èèy mìvyǎy yá?
 |wò ù-Lté L-kvàm èèj mì-vjǎy já|
 2SG.SUB 2SG-PR INF-do with 4-liana what
 ‘What do you do with the lianas?’

Substitutives represent fully specified nominals and therefore cannot receive any further specification. This is an important difference between substitutives (5a) and pronominalised adnominal

demonstratives in their endophoric function (5b). Both examples are formally relative constructions. Example (5a) is a focus construction, in which the relative clause does not restrict the reference of its antecedent.³ In (5b) on the other hand, the relative clause is restrictive.

- (5) [about a hook *kwàb* (9)]
- a. *yô ité yàb*
 |H-jǒ ì-Ltɛ̃ L-jàb|
 AU-IX.SUB IX-PR INF-be.long
 ‘This is the long one.’
- b. *íjú ité yàb*
 |í-jú ì-Ltɛ̃ L-jàb|
 AU-IX.DEM IX-PR INF-be.long
 ‘a/the long one’

2.1.2. Too/neither pronominals

There is a series of pronominals that occur only in subject position and that are translated in Cameroonian French by a personal pronominal followed by *aussi* ‘too’. Therefore, it can provisionally be called *too/neither-pronominal* (TNP). However, most of the time when this too/neither-pronominal is used, the use of *aussi* is inappropriate in European French. Note also that this pronominal cannot be used as an independent utterance. The forms of the too/neither-pronominal are given in Table 5.⁴

³ The form of substitutive pronominals in this construction is in need of further analysis (in fact, there may be arguments to analyse them as a separate class of pronominals, e.g. *contrastive focus pronominals* rather than *substitutives*). Analysing them as regular substitutives preceded by the augment accounts for their falling tonality. However, the augment normally occurs only before antecedents of *restrictive* relative clauses. Moreover, it is not clear why the augment vowel *i-* is absent before substitutives, whereas it appears before other consonant-initial inflected forms.

⁴ The final vowel of these pronominals could also have been noted as *ɔ̃*. In that case, all *w*’s had to be noted as an *u* that carries a tone that is identical to that of the following vowel, i.e. low in 2SG and high in II, III, V and VI.

1SG	<i>màgà</i>	1PL	<i>byágâ</i>
2SG	<i>wàgò</i>	2PL	<i>myágâ</i>
I	<i>ɲágâ</i>	II	<i>bwágò</i>
III	<i>wágò</i>	IV	<i>myágâ</i>
V	<i>ɖwágò</i>	VI	<i>mwágò</i>
VII	<i>ɣògò</i>	VIII	<i>byágâ</i>
IX	<i>ɣògò</i>	X	<i>ɣògò</i>

Table 5: Too/neither pronominals (structural forms)

The number of available examples is too restricted for a satisfying description of their function. It can be pointed out that they tend to be used when the subject of a clause does not have the same reference as the subject of a preceding clause. Hence, a possible translation equivalent for the pronominal *ɲágâ* could be ‘(s)he, in turn’.

- (6) a. *bētē sīlâ, ɲágâ àyēblé*
 |*bâ-Ltē L-sílâ ɲágâ à-jéblâ-H*|
 II-PR INF-ask I-TNP I-answer-CS
 ‘They ask a question and she answers.’
- b. *ɲ̀ỳɔ̀ɲ̀ àyég̀l̀ɲ̀g̀à̀nà̀ ɲ̀k̀ú̀ɲ̀k̀ú̀m̀á̀, ɲ̀ág̀ầ à̀b̀è̀b̀g̀è̀ ɲ̀é̀*
 |*H ɲ̀-j̀ɔ̀ɲ̀ à-H-jég̀l̀-à̀ɲ̀g̀à̀nà̀ ɲ̀-k̀ú̀ɲ̀k̀ú̀m̀á̀*|
 AU 7-time I-PI-imitate-G 3-chief
 |*ɲ̀ág̀ầ à̀-b̀è̀b̀<g>̀à̀ ɲ̀é̀*|
 I-TNP I-watch<G> I.SUB
 ‘While he was imitating the chief, the latter watched him.’
- (7) [*ɲ̀à̀ m̀b̀ám̀á̀ ẁám̀d̀ à̀ɲ̀g̀á̀b̀é̀ ɲ̀g̀ẁā̀ǹ ɲ̀ m̀b̀ó̀g̀ ɲ̀b̀d̀dé̀. d̀d̀ ɲ̀é̀, à̀ɲ̀g̀ás̀ó̀ á̀ l̀é̀b̀ā̀ á̀ m̀b̀ó̀g̀ b̀é̀c̀í̀, d̀d̀ à̀ɲ̀g̀á̀ẁó̀ ǹā̀,*
 ‘My grandmother was a girl from the Ebodé lineage. She, she came to marry in Mbog Beti and she gave birth to mother.’]
d̀d̀, ǹā̀, ɲ̀ág̀ầ à̀ɲ̀g̀á̀k̀ề ẁó̀ bỳā̀ ɲ̀s̀ò̀g̀ò̀ á̀ ɲ̀k̀ǒ̀l̀ ɲ̀g̀ẁā̀ǹ
 |*d̀d̀ ǹā̀ ɲ̀ág̀ầ à̀-ɲ̀g̀á̀-̀k̀ề L-ẁó̀ H b̀í̀ǎ̀*|
 DP mother I.TNP I-RP-go INF-give.birth LT 1PL.SUB
 |*á̀ ɲ̀s̀ò̀g̀ò̀ á̀ ɲ̀k̀ǒ̀l̀ɲ̀g̀ù̀á̀ǹ*|
 LOC Isogo LOC Nkolngwan
 ‘Then, mother, in turn, went to Isogo in Nkolngwan to give birth to us.’

2.1.3. Quotative pronominals

Direct speech can be introduced by means of a special pronominal followed by the complementizer *nâ*, the vowel of which is usually lengthened with a final rising tone: *nâââ*.⁵ This pronominal is called here the quotative pronominal. There are six forms, viz. first, second and third person singular and plural.

1SG	<i>mân</i>	1PL	<i>bjân</i>
2SG	<i>wân</i>	2PL	<i>mjân</i>
I	<i>jîn</i>	II	<i>bwân</i>

Table 6: Quotative pronominals (structural forms)

- (8) *dó bákè pá m átān, bwân nâ: “yî mòd àtān ànè vé? zá áyî bì lédè mòd àtān?”*
 |*dó bā-à-kè L-pám H á à-tān bwân nâ*|
 then II-SP-come INF-arrive LT LOC 3-village II.QP CMP
 |*jî N-òd à=à-tān à-nè vɛ̃*|
 Q 1-person I.CON=3-village I-be where
 |*zá à-à-jî bì L-lédè N-òd à=à-tān*|
 who I-SP-want 1PL.SUB INF-show 1-person I.CON=3-village
 ‘So they arrive in a village and say: “Where is the village chief? Who will show us the village chief?”’⁶

Often, the quotative pronominal follows a coreferential nominal.

- (9) *mbwām íbā bwân nâ: “mòd àbé wū jǐǐg.”*
 |*mbùàm í-bǎ bwân nâ N-òd à-bě L-wú N-dzǐǐg*|
 [10]boa X-two II.QP CMP 1-person I-NEG INF-die 3-trouble
 ‘The two boas said: “Nobody should worry about it.”’

The quotative pronominal can also be used with the question word *yá* ‘how’ in order to question direct speech (10) or to report that somebody asked for an explanation (11).

⁵ Another way to introduce direct speech is by means of a speech verb followed by the complementiser *nâ*, e.g. *àkād nâ* ‘he said that...’.

⁶ Note that the speaker who uttered this sentence (viz. grand-père Essono Biyebe) does not have a rule that blocks high tone spread across a floating low tone, hence *bákè* instead of *bákè* and *áyî* instead of *áyî*.

- (10) *jîn yá*
 |*jîn já*|
 I.QP how
 ‘What did/does he say?’
- (11) *byân yá?*
 |*bjân já*|
 1PL.QP how
 ‘(We asked:) what’s the problem?’

The construction with the quotative pronominal is usually restricted to introducing direct speech. An utterance like (12a) can only occur in a narrative where the speaker reports on his own words, whereas (12b) can be an isolated emphatic declaration.

- (12) a. *mwán nâ: ànè itùḡà*
 |*mwán nâ à-nè ì-tùḡà*|
 ISG.QP CMP I-COP 7-fool
 ‘I say/said: “He’s a fool”.’
- b. *mèté kàd nâ: ànè itùḡà*
 |*mè-Lté L-kàd nâ à-nè ì-tùḡà*|
 1SG-PR INF-tell CMP I-COP 7-fool
 ‘I am telling (you), he’s a fool.’

The quotative pronominal can be omitted if the identity of the speaker is clear from the context. Only the complementiser remains as a marker of direct speech in that case. However, the complementiser cannot immediately follow a nominal that refers to the speaker without the mediation of a quotative pronominal.

- (13) *mǎjāḡ wǒbrú áḡgākê bǒ jǒḡ nâ: mìnúdyā ínâm jú*
mìnúâgà jwág á cǐḡí jwǎḡ mú. mìnútē sǒ kwàm jé?
 |*mǎHdzǎḡ wǒbrú à-ḡgá-kê bǒ jǒḡ nâ*|
 brother I-their I-RP-and II.SUB take CMP
 |*mìnú-dǎá á H-N-àm jú mìnú-zá-gà júág*|
 2.PL-being LOC AU-3-land III-DEM 2PL-come-G build
 |*á tǫḡí L=dzwǎm mú mìnú-Lté L-sǒ*|
 LOC [9]bank IX.CON=Sanaga here 2PL-PR INF-VEN
 |*L-kùàm dzé*|
 INF-do what

‘Their brother went to take them and said: “Being in this country and coming to install you here on the bank of the Sanaga, what are you doing here?”

When the addressee is specified, a substitutive is used for the speaker, rather than a quotative. The addressee is then introduced by the preposition *èèy*.

- (14) *jé èèy wò nâ: mèsé kvàm dǎ.*
 |*jě èèj wò nâ mǎ-sé kùàm dǎ*|
 I.SUB with 2SG.NSUB CMP 1SG-NPOS do V.SUB
 ‘He told you: “I can’t do that.”’
- (15) *jé èèy mbán nâ: zùgá!*
 |*jě èèj mbán nâ zùgá*|
 I.SUB with [9]co-wife CMP come.IMP
 ‘She says to her co-wife: “Come.”’

2.1.4. Indefinites, reflexives and reciprocals

There are no indefinite, reflexive or reciprocal pronominals in Eton. The English indefinite pronominals *somebody/nobody*, *somewhere/nowhere* and *something/nothing* are expressed by the nouns *m-òd* ‘person’, *vòm* ‘place’ and *d-àm/j-òm* ‘thing’ respectively.

- (16) *mòd àsé vâ*
 |*N-òd à-sé vǎ*|
 1-person I-not.be here
 ‘There is nobody here.’
- (17) *mìnúvê mòd ásê ídâm àđí*
 |*mìnú-vé-L N-òd á-sè í-d-àm à-à-đí*|
 2PL-give-SB 1-person I-all AU-5-thing I-SP-eat
 ‘You should give everybody something to eat’
- (18) *mèjéy vòm ásê púúúúm, màáyén dâm*
 |*mǎ-H-dzég-H vòm á-sè púúm*|
 1SG-PST-see-NF place I-all IDE
 |*mǎ-àá-jén d-àm*|
 1SG-NEG-see 5-thing
 ‘I sought everywhere, but I did not find anything.’

- (19) *vôm m̀pébê*
 |*vôm m̀-ḡébê*|
 place I-other
 ‘somewhere else’

The meaning ‘among each other’ can be expressed explicitly by the construction substitutive - preposition *èèy* - substitutive, literally ‘them with them’.

- (20) a. *bétē d̀ùgǹ*
 |*bá-Lt́ L-d̀ùgǹ*|
 II-PR INF-fight
 ‘They are fighting.’
 b. *bétē d̀ùgǹ b́ èèy b́*
 |*bá-Lt́ L-d̀ùgǹ b́ èèj b́*|
 II-PR INF-fight II.SUB with II.SUB
 ‘They are fighting among each other.’

- (21) *bétē b́àà̀ǹ b́ èèy b́*
 |*bá-Lt́ L-b́àà̀ǹ b́ èèj b́*|
 II-PR INF-marry II.SUB with II.SUB
 ‘They marry among each other (e.g. expatriates).’

In some cases the verb acquires a habitual meaning then.

- (22) a. *bétē ỳéè̀ǹ*
 |*bá-Lt́ L-j́éè̀ǹ*|
 II-PR INF-see
 ‘They see each other’
 b. *bétē ỳéè̀ǹ b́ èèy b́*
 |*bá-Lt́ L-j́éè̀ǹ b́ èèj b́*|
 II-PR INF-see II.SUB with II.SUB
 ‘They often meet.’

2.2. Adnominals

Adnominal inflectional forms modify a noun. Some can never be used pronominally, others only when they receive extra morphological marking, viz. an augment.

2.2.1. The anaphoric modifier *-tè*

The stem of the anaphoric modifier *-tè* is preceded by a prefix from Series 5 (see Table 1). This is the only inflected form for which agreement pattern I has a prefix *ì-*.

I	<i>ì-tè</i>	II	<i>bâ-tè</i>
III	<i>ú-tè</i>	IV	<i>mí-tè</i>
V	<i>é-tè</i>	VI	<i>mâ-tè</i>
VII	<i>í-tè</i>	VIII	<i>bí-tè</i>
IX	<i>í-tè</i>	X	<i>í-tè</i>

Table 7. The anaphoric modifier *-tè* (structural forms)

- (23) a. *mòd ìtè*
 |*N-òd ì-tè*|
 1-person I-ANA
 ‘this person’
- b. *ɲkàd útè*
 |*Ñ-kàd ú-tè*|
 3-exam III-ANA
 ‘this exam’
- c. *mèlén métè*
 |*mâ-lén mâ-tè*|
 6-palm.tree VI-ANA
 ‘these palm trees’

This word is called *anaphoric demonstrative* in Essono’s (2000:286) description of Ewondo. I avoid the term *demonstrative* here, since the anaphoric modifier cannot normally be used deictically (see Dixon 2003). The French translation equivalent of the anaphoric modifier is *en question*. I did not find any examples of cataphoric use in the small corpus. Demonstratives, described in Section 2.2.2, can be used anaphorically as well, and speakers see little difference between anaphoric modifiers and demonstratives in their anaphorical function. Since the anaphoric modifier is often a dependent of a proper name, its function might be to ensure the topical cohesion of discourse, rather than referential disambiguation, as in the dialogue in (24).

- (24) a. *dô pèpá pí ánygābé gbēlé kál púpúwágó òò?*
 |*dô pèpá pí à-nygá-bé L-gbēlá kál*|
 DP papa Pius I-RP-IMPF INF-have [9]sister
 |*púpúágá=áá*|
 single=Q
 ‘So father Pius had only one sister?’
- b. *mímì, íbá máyèm b̀ kál bébā bèkónò k̀isóy bèkónò itè vó*
béngáyòlò mímā
 |*mímì í-bǎ m̀-à-jèm b̀ kál bá-bǎ*|
 no AU-II.DEM 1SG-SP-know PL [9]sister II-two
 |*b̀kónò k̀isóy b̀kónò ì-tè vó bá-nygá-jòlò mímǎ*|
 Bekono Créence Bekono I-ANA *donc* II-RP-name 2PL.SUB
 ‘No, those that I know of..., two sisters Bekono
 Créence ... It’s this Bekono after whom they named
 you.’
- c. *máyèm mèmá bèkónò itè*
 |*m̀-à-jèm mèmá b̀kónò ì-tè*|
 1SG-SP-know mother Bekono I-ANA
 ‘I know this mother Bekono.’

More than half of the occurrences of the anaphoric determiner in texts are in the nominal *nỳnỳ itè*, which means ‘then, at that time’.

- (25) *mènygáwó kóléd. dô àwó únygáyì tébè mǎ. nỳnỳ itè j̀cì wámò à pám*
àtè kòdò ásí j̀m nà àyì kùd mbóg nàm j̀è
 |*m̀-nygá-wó kóléd dô à-wó ú-nygá-j̀*
 1SG-RP-deliver Colette DP 3-childbirth III-RP-VOL
 |*L-tébè mǎ ì-j̀nỳ ì-tè N-tf̀*|
 INF-stand 1SG.SUB 7-time VII-ANA 3-parent.in.law
 |*wámò à=pám à-Ltè L-kòdò ásí*|
 1SG.my I.CON=[9]man 1SG-PR INF-leave up
 |*j̀m nà à-à-j̀ L-kùd mbóg nàm j̀è*|
 I.QP CMPT I-SP-VOL INF-convene [9]lineage Namnye
 ‘I had given birth to Colette. Then it seemed as if
 childbirth had finished for me. At that time my father-in-
 law stands up and says he will convene the Namnye
 lineage.’

Another recurrent combination is with *jóm* ‘thing’ or *byém* ‘things’, referring to what has been said in preceding discourse. The

utterance in (26), for instance, was preceded by a description of the effects of a medicine.

- (26) *jóm ítê bétê kād nâ tē wò nèmñè*
 |dʒ-óm í-tê bə-Ltê L-kád nâ tē wò
 7-thing VII-ANA II-PR INF-say CMP NEG 2SG.SUB
 |nèmñè|
 exaggerate
 ‘That’s why they say: “Don’t exaggerate”.’

2.2.2. Demonstratives

The demonstrative modifiers are described here in terms of suppletion.⁷ The demonstrative of agreement pattern III has two free allomorphs: *juí* and *ǎí*. Example (27) shows how these allomorphs are used in the same clause, one adnominally, the other pronominally.

- (27) *ítóm vî úñê íjuí wámð*
 |H-ñ-tóm ǎí ú-ñê í-juí wámð|
 AU-3-hat III.DEM III-COP AU-III.DEM III.my
 ‘This hat is mine.’

The form of pattern I surfaces as */ɲwa/* before a suffix, otherwise as */ɲw/* (see II:4.2.3 & II:5.3.3). As for their tone, all demonstratives have a dissimilating high tone, also those of agreement pattern 1 and 9.⁸ Therefore the form of agreement pattern IX is identical to that of pattern X. The forms are presented in Table 8.

⁷ An analysis in terms of prefix and stem is not impossible, but at the cost of a high number of allomorphs. It can be formulated as follows: the stem of the demonstrative determiner is *-i* in the agreement patterns that have a front vowel in their prefix (IV, V & VII-X). If the prefix has a central vowel, the stem of the demonstrative is *-a* (II & VI). If the prefix contains a back vowel, the stem of the demonstrative is *-u* and the demonstrative of agreement pattern I has a suffix *-a*, which merges with the stem vowel according to the rules of hiatus resolution.

⁸ Compare with the tonality of the first person singular possessive modifier in 2.2.3.1.

I	<i>jǎ</i>	II	<i>bǎ</i>
III	<i>juí / ví</i>	IV	<i>mí</i>
V	<i>ǎí</i>	VI	<i>mǎ</i>
VII	<i>ǎí</i>	VIII	<i>bí</i>
IX	<i>juí</i>	X	<i>juí</i>

Table 8. Demonstrative modifiers (structural forms)

The examples in (28) illustrate the form of the demonstrative after head nouns with different genders and tone patterns. When the word that precedes the demonstrative has a final high tone, the dissimilating high tone of the demonstrative stem is represented by a low tone. The final high tone of the preceding word copies to the right (see II:6.2.1). Note that nouns that are modified by a demonstrative obligatorily take the augment (see Section VI:3.2).

- (28) a. *ímīmgá jǎ* ‘this woman’ (1)
 b. *ímwâɣnǎ jǎ* ‘this banana sprout’ (1)
 c. *íbīmgá bǎ* ‘these women’ (2)
 d. *íbwâɣnǎ bǎ* ‘these banana sprouts’ (2)
 e. *népég juí / nǎpég ví* ‘this bag’ (3)
 f. *nímèglè juí* ‘this charge’ (3)
 g. *ídúm ǎí* ‘this nest’ (5)
 h. *ésâɣ ǎí* ‘this bunch of bananas’ (5)
 i. *íkâbdí juí* ‘this goat’ (9)
 j. *íɣgáz juí* ‘this wire’ (9)

Differences in distance are expressed by means of suffixes. The suffix *-lí* marks intermediate distance from the speaker and can be followed by *-jà* in order to mark high distance. The far suffix *-jà* cannot be used without preceding *-lí*. When a referent is situated far from the speaker, but close to the addressee, the demonstrative modifier takes the suffix *-lǎ*. Note that these suffixes also attach to demonstrative pro-adverbials (see Section 3.5). Note also that distal demonstratives with the suffix combination *-líjà* clearly have three syllables, notwithstanding the dispreference for CVCVCV-stems that is apparent in the nominal morphology of Eton.

- (29) a. *íbimygá bālī*
 |í-b-ìmygá bǎ-í|
 AU-2-woman II.DEM-IM
 ‘those women’
- b. *íbimygá bālīyâ*
 |í-b-ìmygá bǎ-í-jâ|
 AU-2-woman II.DEM-IM-HD
 ‘those women (far away)’
- c. *ímimygá jwālō*
 |í-N-ìmygá jwǎ-lá|
 AU-1-woman I.DEM-CH
 ‘that woman (close to you)’

Demonstratives can also be used predicatively (see VIII:3.1) and, when preceded by the augment, pronominally (see VI:3.2). When they are used predicatively and their subject is a first or second person, they are of agreement pattern I in the singular and II in the plural, e.g. *mà jí* ‘here I am’.

Demonstrative modifiers are used either as deictics, or as endophoric markers. The fragment in (30) illustrates the latter use.

- (30) *ygá ísā àngásá úwòndò. d̂ úwòndò jí, d̂ ímírúygá jí àngátú. d̂ àngákê á léwālō, àlig jíjóm àjògō á dwábd̂. íyòy àngákê á léwālō, d̂ úwòndò jí àngāmâ ligì àvèy.*
- |ygá L=ísā à-ygá-sá ùwòndò d̂ H-ùwòndò|
 wife I.CON=father I-RP-work peanut DP AU-peanut
- |ĵ d̂ í-N-ìmygá ĵ à-ygá-tú d̂ à-ygá-kè|
 I.DEM so AU-1-woman I.DEM I-RP-flee DP I-RP-go
- |á l̂wālō à-H-lig-H ñ-jóm à-dzòg-ǎ á dúábd̂|
 LOC Duala I-PST-leave-NF 3-husband I-lie-RS LOC hospital
- |(...) d̂ H-ùwòndò jí à-ngá-mà L-ligì à-vèy|
 ... DP AU-peanut I.DEM I-RP-TMN INF-stay 3-red
- ‘Her father’s wife cultivated groundnuts. So, these groundnuts..., this woman fled. She went to Douala, leaving her husband in hospital. When she had gone to Douala, these groundnuts stayed to ripen.’

The suffixed distance markers can have several meanings in endophoric use. A far demonstrative, for instance, can be used to refer

to an event that took place a long time ago, or to something the speaker wishes to distantiate himself from, etcetera.

2.2.3. Possessives

Before describing the possessive modifiers of Eton, it is useful to point out the existence of deictic kinship terms. These are kinship terms that contain information on both participants involved in the kinship relation. One participant is defined by means of a concept (e.g. ‘father’), the other is deictically identified in terms of discourse participants (31). The forms used for the third person, i.e. *ɲǎ* and *ísā* are also the default forms. They can be used for the other persons as well, when combined with the appropriate possessive modifier (32). Deictic kinship terms are genderless in Eton.

- (31) a. *tàdǎ* ‘my father’⁹
 ísō ‘your father’
 ísā ‘(his/her) father’
 b. *ɲǎ* ‘your mother’
 ɲǎ ‘(his/her) mother’
- (32) a. *ísā wâmò* ‘my father’
 ísā wô ‘your father’
 ísā wē ‘her/his father’
 b. *ɲǎ wâmò* ‘my mother’
 ɲǎ wô ‘your mother’
 ɲǎ wē ‘her/his mother’

The words for same-sex siblings are slightly more complicated, since they are obligatorily preceded by the gender 1 diminutive proclitic *mòH=* (33). Their plurals behave as gender 2 nouns preceded by the diminutive proclitic (34). These nouns cannot be used without the diminutive morpheme, but if the latter were left out, their forms would be *ǎŋ*, *ŋ-ǎŋ* and *ŋ-ǎŋ* in the singular and *bò-ǎŋ*, *bò-ǎŋ* and *bè-ǎŋ* in the plural. Note that the form of the first person without the diminutive would be genderless in the singular and gender 2 in the plural.

⁹ But this might be a vocative.

- (33) a. *mǎ jāŋ* ‘my same-sex sibling’¹⁰
 b. *mǎ jɔŋ* ‘your same-sex sibling’
 c. *mǎ jāŋ* ‘his/her same-sex sibling’
- (34) a. *b̀̀ b̀̀jāŋ* ‘my same-sex siblings’
 b. *b̀̀ b̀̀jɔŋ* ‘your same-sex siblings’
 c. *b̀̀ b̀̀jāŋ* ‘his/her same-sex siblings’

Some kinship terms consist of a deictic term combined with a non-deictic one, which takes the suffix *-ɔ̀*. For instance the nouns for ‘uncle’, which consist of ‘father/mother’ plus ‘brother’ plus *-ɔ̀*. The nouns for ‘mother’ have a low tone instead of a rising one in this construction.

- (35) *ndóm* ‘brother’
- (36) a. *j̀̀ ndóm̀̀* ‘your maternal uncle’
 b. *j̀̀à ndóm̀̀* ‘maternal uncle’
- (37) a. *ís̄ ndóm̀̀* ‘your paternal uncle’
 b. *ís̄à ndóm̀̀* ‘paternal uncle’
 c. *ís̄à ndóm̀̀ wàm̀̀* ‘my paternal uncle’
- (38) *mbámá* ‘grandparent’
- (39) a. *j̀̀ mbámá* ‘your grandmother’
 b. *j̀̀à mbámá* ‘grandmother’
- (40) a. *ís̄ mbámá* ‘your grandfather’
 b. *ís̄à mbámá* ‘grandfather’

As expected, the plural of these combinations is formed by means of the plural word *b̀̀*, since their head (the first noun) is genderless.

- (41) *b̀̀ ís̄ mbámá* ‘your paternal uncles’

Interestingly, a morpheme that is formally identical to the deictic kinship term *j̀̀* ‘your mother’ functions as a possessive marker in combination with relational nouns with human reference (42-43b), its function being identical to that of the second person possessive modifiers (42-43c). However, this possessive marker triggers agreement pattern IX, which makes it very improbable that it is derived from the noun *j̀̀* ‘mother’ (42d).

¹⁰ For siblings of the opposite sex, male speakers use the word *kál* ‘sister’ and female speakers *ndóm* ‘brother’. These are not deictic kinship terms.

- (42) a. *ì-bwàn* ‘lover’ (7)
 b. *ɲò íbwàn* ‘your lover’
 c. *ìbwàn yô* ‘your lover’
 d. *ɲò íbwàn ìsô*
 |*ɲòH ì-bùàn ì-H-sô*|
 your 7-lover IX-PST-come
 ‘Your lover came.’
- (43) a. *mbán* ‘co-wife’ (genderless)
 b. *ɲò mbán* ‘your co-wife’
 c. *mbán yô* ‘your co-wife’

Since it can be used only with relational nouns, this construction permits to distinguish relational from non-relational nouns, e.g. the difference between *mwán* ‘child, somebody’s offspring’ and *mùḡà* ‘child, very young person’.

- (44) a. *ɲò mwán* ‘your child’ (1)
 b. *mwàn wô* ‘your child’
- (45) a. **ɲò mùḡà* ‘your child’
 b. *mùḡá wô* ‘your child’ (1)
- (46) a. *ì-bèbwàg* ‘newly born’ (7)
 b. **ɲò íbèbwàg* ‘your newly born’
- (47) a. *ɲì-ɲéglê* ‘teacher’ (1)
 b. **ɲò ɲ.ɲéglê* ‘your teacher’

Since I did not find a relational noun with human reference with a low prefix and a high first stem syllable, it is impossible to know whether *ɲô* behaves as a proclitic from a tonal point of view. The noun *ìwúwúmú* ‘family member’ appeared to be non-relational.

Usually, the third person form *ɲô* cannot be used in this construction (48). Nevertheless, there are some examples, like the vocative in (49).

- (48) **ɲà mbán* ‘her co-wife’
 (49) *à ɲâ mbwé* ‘Hey, my friend’

The following subsections describe adnominal possessive modifiers.

2.2.3.1. First person singular

In order to avoid structurally toneless vowels, the first person singular possessive modifiers are treated as suppletive forms here (See Table

9). Evidently, other solutions are possible. For instance, a stem *-àmà* preceded by a prefix that carries a low tone in agreement pattern I and IX and a dissimilating high tone elsewhere. A special rule would then be needed that deletes a tone after a dissimilating high tone across a morpheme boundary and with no intervening consonants. Another possibility would be to define a number of allomorphs for the stem, which are preceded by a prefix of Series 2.

The forms with a dissimilating high tone on the first syllable have a (dialectal?) variant with a high tone on the first syllable.¹¹ My main consultant, Pie-Claude Ondobo, uses both variants.

I	<i>wàmà</i>	II	<i>bǎmà</i>
III	<i>wǎmà</i>	IV	<i>mǎmà</i>
V	<i>dǎmà</i>	VI	<i>mǎmà</i>
VII	<i>jǎmà</i>	VIII	<i>bjǎmà</i>
IX	<i>jàmà</i>	X	<i>jǎmà</i>

Table 9. Possessive modifiers: 1st person singular (structural forms)

- (50) a. *ɲkúl wàmà*
 |*ɲ-kúl wǎmà*|
 3-drum III.my
 ‘my log drum’
- b. *mìpàn wámà*
 |*ɲ-pàn wǎmà*|
 3-arrow III.my
 ‘my arrow’
- c. *kálâdà wàmà*
 |*kálâdà wàmà*|
 book I.my
 ‘my book’

¹¹ This cannot be explained in terms of variability in the representation of D, since speakers who accept the high variant of the first person singular possessive modifier do not accept an entirely high variant of substitutes, for instance. Unless, of course, D can always be represented by a high toneme in the first syllable of disyllabic words, which should be investigated.

2.2.3.2. Second person singular

The second person singular possessive modifier has a stem *-ð*, which is preceded by a prefix of Series 1.

I	<i>ù-ð</i>	II	<i>bâ-ð</i>
III	<i>ú-ð</i>	IV	<i>mí-ð</i>
V	<i>dH-ð</i>	VI	<i>mô-ð</i>
VII	<i>í-ð</i>	VIII	<i>bí-ð</i>
IX	<i>ì-ð</i>	X	<i>í-ð</i>

Table 10. Possessive modifiers: 2nd person singular (structural forms)

- (51) a. *bð kálâdâ bð*
 |*bð kálâdâ bâ-ð*|
 PL book II.your
 ‘your books’
- b. *ìsíŋâ yð*
 |*ì-síŋâ í-ð*|
 7-cat VII.your
 ‘your cat’
- c. *kál yð*
 |*kál ì-ð*|
 [9]sister IX-your
 ‘your sister’
- d. *kwâb yð*
 |*kùâb ì-ð*|
 [9]hook IX-your
 ‘your hook’

2.2.3.3. Third person singular

The third person singular possessive modifier is formed by the stem *-ě*, preceded by a prefix of series 2. There is no formal difference between the forms of pattern IX and X, or between those of pattern I and III.

I	<i>w-ě</i>	II	<i>b-ě</i>
III	<i>w-ě</i>	IV	<i>mj-ě</i>
V	<i>d-ě</i>	VI	<i>m-ě</i>
VII	<i>j-ě</i>	VIII	<i>bj-ě</i>
IX	<i>j-ě</i>	X	<i>j-ě</i>

Table 11. Possessive modifiers: 3rd person singular (structural forms)

- (52) *múŋá wē*
 |*N-úŋá w-ě*|
 1-child 1-her
 ‘her child’

2.2.3.4. First and second person plural

The possessive modifier of the first person plural is formally identical to that of the second person plural. It can be described as a stem *-èèńú*, preceded by a prefix of Series 2. Alternatively, it can be analysed as the third person singular possessive pronominal plus a suffix *-ni*, with lengthening of the stem vowel and retention of the tone pattern. The second analysis is corroborated by the form of the third person plural possessive, which also ends in *ńú*.

I	<i>w-èèńú</i>	II	<i>b-èèńú</i>
III	<i>w-èèńú</i>	IV	<i>mj-èèńú</i>
V	<i>d-èèńú</i>	VI	<i>m-èèńú</i>
VII	<i>j-èèńú</i>	VIII	<i>bj-èèńú</i>
IX	<i>j-èèńú</i>	X	<i>j-èèńú</i>

Table 12. Possessive modifiers: 1st and 2nd person plural (structural forms)

Pie-Claude Ondobo (a speaker of “Southern Eton”) does not accept the form *wèèńú* for agreement pattern I and III, but pronounces it as *wòòńú*.¹²

¹² Essono (2000:295) describes the stem *-áán* in Ewondo and notes: “la quantité vocalique résulte de la chute du segment /s/ de la forme complète *-ásán* encore attestée en eton et mengisa, dialectes de l’ewondo.” I did not record any forms with an intervocalic /z/ (note that /s/ occurs only in the onset of accentuated syllables), but their existence in certain dialects or idiolects would not surprise me. In non-accentuated position, /z/ is very unstable.

- (53) a. *kálâdà wèèrú*
 |*kálâdà w-èèrú*|
 book I-our
 ‘our book’
- b. *ɲkúl wēérú*
 |*ɲ-kúl w-èèrú*|
 3-drum III-our
 ‘our log drum’

In order to disambiguate between first and second person, a connective construction is used including the substitutives *byâ* and *mínā*, which can be translated as ‘of us’ and ‘of you’ respectively.

- (54) a. *b̀ kálâdà bé byā*
 |*b̀ kálâdà b̂=b̂iǎ*|
 PL book II.CON=1PL.SUB
 ‘our books’
- b. *b̀ kálâdà bé mínā*
 |*b̀ kálâdà b̂=m̂inǎ*|
 PL book II.CON=2PL.SUB
 ‘your (pl.) books’
- c. *ɲgál í byā*
 |*ɲgál í=b̂iǎ*|
 [10]gun X.CON=1PL.SUB
 ‘our guns’

2.2.3.5. Third person plural

The third person plural possessive modifier is formed by means of a prefix of Series 2 and the stem *-èbrú*. This might be further analysed into a stem *-èb* and a suffix *-rú*. In agreement pattern I and III the stem is *-ɔ̀b*. Alternatively, both stems could have been described with the same underlying representation *-àb* and a toneless vocalic or CV-prefix. The forms of pattern I and III are then the result of the representation of $^{\circ}/ua/$ by $/ɔ/$. The $/e/$ of the other stems would be explained by umlaut triggered by the final *-I*.

I	<i>w-ɔbrú</i>	II	<i>b-ɛbrú</i>
III	<i>w-ɔbrú</i>	IV	<i>mj-ɛbrú</i>
V	<i>d-ɛbrú</i>	VI	<i>m-ɛbrú</i>
VI	<i>j-ɛbrú</i>	VIII	<i>bj-ɛbrú</i>
IX	<i>j-ɛbrú</i>	X	<i>j-ɛbrú</i>

Table 13. Possessive modifiers: 3rd person plural (structural form)

- (55) *àtán wɔbrú*
 |à-tán w-ɔbrú|
 3-village III-their
 ‘their village’

2.2.4. Interrogative promodifiers

This section presents the two inflected adnominal question words that exist in Eton, viz. ‘which’ and ‘how many’. Eton does not have a special word that questions ordinal numbers, such as *quantième* in French.

2.2.4.1. ‘Which’

The stem of the interrogative promodifiers meaning ‘which’ is *-pè*. It is preceded by a prefix of series 3. In Southern dialects the tone of this promodifier is high: *-pé*.

- (56) a. *dàm èpè?* ‘which thing?’ (“Northern”)
 b. *dàm lèpé?* ‘which thing?’ (“Southern”)

I	<i>mì-pè</i>	II	<i>bà-pè</i>
III	<i>mì-pè</i>	IV	<i>mì-pè</i>
V	<i>è-pè</i>	VI	<i>mà-pè</i>
VI	<i>ì-pè</i>	VIII	<i>bì-pè</i>
IX	<i>pè</i>	X	<i>pè</i>

Table 14. The interrogative promodifier *-pè* ‘which’ (structural forms)

- (57) *àtán mípè*
 |à-tán mì-pè|
 3-village III-which
 ‘which village?’

- (58) *ùté kwàl òkwā́l m̀pè?*
 |ù-Lt́é L-kùàl H Ì-kúáal m̀-pè|
 2SG-PR INF-speak LT 3-language III-which
 ‘Which language do you speak?’
- (59) *àbógô á ndá pè?*
 |à-Bóg-Á á ndá pè|
 I-stay-RS LOC [9]house IX.which
 ‘In which house does she live?’

This form can be used independently (i.e. pronominally) as well, without taking the augment (60b). The stem vowel tends to be lengthened in this use.

- (60) a. *lèbóg lèpè?*
 |lè-bóg lè-pé|
 5-party V-which
 ‘which party?’
- b. *lèpé lédáŋgí jèb?*
 |lè-pé lá-H-dàŋ-Lgì-H L-jèb|
 V-which V-PST-cross-G-NF INF-be.good
 ‘Which one was the nicest?’

2.2.4.2. ‘How many’

The interrogative pronomeral *-áŋ* always has a high tone. It takes a prefix of Series 2.

II	<i>b-áŋ</i>	IV	<i>mj-áŋ</i>
V	<i>d-áŋ</i>	VI	<i>m-áŋ</i>
VIII	<i>bj-áŋ</i>	X	<i>j-áŋ</i>

Table 15. The interrogative promodifier *-áŋ* ‘how many’ (structural forms)

- (61) *b̀ kálâdà báŋ* ‘how many books?’
b̀m̀ŋgá báŋ ‘how many women?’
m̀ŋkwàl m̀yáŋ ‘how many ropes?’
m̀lén máŋ ‘how many palm trees?’
b̀ilé byáŋ ‘how many trees?’
kú yáŋ ‘how many chickens?’
l̀èkwàn dáŋ ‘how many birds?’

- (62) *ùgbélê m̀mbú myáŋ?*
 |ù-ḡbél-ǻ m̀-mbú mj-áŋ|
 2.SG-grasp-RS 4-year IV-how.many
 ‘How old are you?’

This interrogative word can also be used predicatively (64).

- (63) *bóŋó bènê báŋ á zèkúli?*
 |b-óŋó bá-nè b-áŋ á zèkúli|
 2-child II-COP II-how.many LOC school
 ‘How many children are there at school?’

2.2.5. The modifier ‘other’

The modifier meaning ‘other’ has a stem *-pébè*, preceded by a prefix of Series 3.

I	<i>m̀-épèbè</i>	II	<i>bà-épèbè</i>
III	<i>m̀-épèbè</i>	IV	<i>m̀-épèbè</i>
V	<i>è-épèbè</i>	VI	<i>mà-épèbè</i>
VII	<i>ì-épèbè</i>	VIII	<i>bì-épèbè</i>
IX	<i>pébè</i>	X	<i>pébè</i>

Table 16. The modifier *-pébè* ‘other’ (structural forms)

- (64) *mòd m̀pébè*
 |N-òd m̀-pébè|
 1-person I-other
 ‘somebody else’

2.3. Quantifiers

The quantifiers discussed in this section are all inflected for gender. They can be used adnominally and pronominally without any additional marking.

2.3.1. The cardinal number ‘one’

The adnominal cardinal numbers from one to six are inflected. The numbers from seven to ten, hundred and thousand are uninflected. All other numbers (i.e. eleven to ninety nine and 101 to 999) are phrasal. This section first discusses the number ‘one’ and a quantifier derived from it; and then describes the numbers from two to six.

The stem of the number ‘one’ has three allomorphs: *púág* in agreement patterns IX and X, *múág* in pattern I and III and *vúág* elsewhere (65). This stem selects the prefixes of Series 3.

I	<i>m̄-múág</i>	II	<i>b̄-vúág</i>
III	<i>m̄-múág</i>	IV	<i>m̄-vúág</i>
V	<i>è-vúág</i>	VI	<i>m̄-vúág</i>
VII	<i>ì-vúág</i>	VIII	<i>b̄-vúág</i>
IX	<i>púág</i>	X	<i>púág</i>

Table 17. The cardinal number ‘one’ (structural forms)

- (65) a. *kálâdà m̄mwág*¹³
 |*kálâdà m̄-múág*|
 book I-one
 ‘one book’
- b. *m̄m̄gá m̄mwāg*
 |*m̄-m̄gá m̄-múág*|
 1-woman I-one
 ‘one woman’
- c. *èlén ésvāg*
 |*è-lén è-vúág*|
 5-palm.tree V-one
 ‘one palm tree’
- d. *fid p wág*
 |*fid púág*|
 [9]animal IX.one
 ‘one animal’

When modifying a noun with plural semantics, this quantifier means ‘some’.

¹³ The reader is reminded that the practical orthography ignores some phonological and phonetic rules in order to show the underlying structures and to ensure a homogeneous written image. The nominal ‘one book’ is never pronounced the way it is written here. In normal speech the final /a/ is dropped, giving [*kálâr m̄mwák*]. In slow and careful speech the final /a/ can be retained, but then the pronominal prefix loses its syllabicity [*kálârà m̄mwák*].

- (66) a. *bòd bèvwág*
 |*b-òd* *bà-vúág*|
 2-person II-one
 ‘some people’
- b. *fid pwág*
 |*fid* *púág*|
 [10]animal X.one
 ‘some animals’

2.3.2. The quantifier ‘single’

A quantifier that means ‘a single, one and only one’ in the singular and ‘the only’ in the plural is derived from the number ‘one’ by means of reduplication and addition of the suffix *-Á*. The reduplication is based on the three different allomorphs of the number ‘one’, viz. *pwág* in agreement pattern IX and X, *mwág* in agreement pattern I and III and *vwág* elsewhere. The reduplicated quantifier takes the same pronominal prefixes as its source number, viz. those of Series 3.

I	<i>mè-múmúágÁ</i>	II	<i>bè-vúvúágÁ</i>
III	<i>mè-múmúágÁ</i>	IV	<i>mì-vúvúágÁ</i>
V	<i>è-vúvúágÁ</i>	VI	<i>mè-vúvúágÁ</i>
VII	<i>ì-vúvúágÁ</i>	VIII	<i>bì-vúvúágÁ</i>
IX	<i>púpúágÁ</i>	X	<i>púpúágÁ</i>

Table 18. The quantifier ‘single’

- (67) a. *mèđi íkōg nímūmwágó*
 |*mè-H-đi-H* *N-kōg* *mè-múmúágÁ*|
 1SG-PST-eat-NF 3-cane III-single
 ‘I ate a single sugar cane.’
- b. *mòd nímúmwágó ásō*
 |*N-òd* *mè-múmúágÁ* *à-H-só*|
 1-person I-single I-PST-come
 ‘Only one person has come.’
- c. *àkwám íkàd nímúmwágô*
 |*à-H-kúám-H* *N-kàd* *mè-múmúágÁ*|
 I-PST-do-NF 3-exam III-single
 ‘She passed only one exam.’

- d. *mègbélâ kál púpwágó*
 |*mà-gbél-Ā kál púpúágÁ*|
 1SG-grasp-RS [9]sister IX.single
 ‘I have one single sister.’

This quantifier can be used pronominally without extra morphological marking, i.e. without the augment.

- (68) *nímúmwágó ákábá á ñkàd*
 |*Ñ-múmwágÁ à-H-kàbà-H á Ñ-kàd*|
 I-single I-PST-pass-NF LOC 3-exam
 ‘Only one passed the exam.’

2.3.3. Cardinal numbers from ‘2’ to ‘6’

The numbers *-bǎ* ‘two’, *-lá* ‘three’, *-nà* ‘four’, *-tán* ‘five’ and *-sàm(n)ì* ‘six’ are inflected by means of a high pronominal prefix (i.e. of Series 1, 4 or 5). Surprisingly, there is high tone spread between the agreement prefix and *-sàm(n)ì* ‘six’, but not between the prefix and *-nà* ‘four’.

- (69) a. *b̄m̄yá bésâmì* ‘two women’ (2)
 b. *ɲgwàg íbā* ‘two stones’ (10)
 c. *íd ílá* ‘three animals’ (10)
 d. *èkèy éná* ‘four knives’ (5) (**èkèy éná*)
 e. *bò káládà bétán* ‘five books’ (genderless)
 f. *m̄ntóm m̄isâmì* ‘six hats’

Numbers from one to six are also inflected in phrasal numbers involving the preposition *èèy* ‘with’. Interestingly, the number ‘one’ in complex numbers such as 11 and 21 agrees in gender with the singular counterpart of the head noun.¹⁴

¹⁴ During elicitation, the intuitions of Désiré Essono were not very firm on this issue. For the translation of ‘11 kola nuts’, for instance, he doubted between *mèbél éwôm èèy pwág* and *mèbél éwôm èèy èvwág*. Both are singular forms (pattern IX and V respectively), but only the second form is expected on the basis of regular gender combinations. Since the form of ‘one’ in isolation is variable, it cannot be entirely excluded that the number ‘one’ is not conjugated at all in these complex structures, but that it is simply the enumerative form.

- (70) a. *ƙɪd léwòm èy íbā*
 |ƙɪd lə-wòm èj í-bǎ|
 [10]animal 5-ten with X-two
 ‘twelve animals’
- b. *bɪmɟá léwòm èy nɪmwág*
 |b-mɟá lə-wòm èj nɪ-múág|
 2-woman 5-ten with I-one
 ‘eleven women’
- c. *mbú éwòm èy pwág*
 |mbú è-wóm èj púág|
 [10]dog 5-ten with IX.one
 ‘eleven dogs’

2.3.4. Numbers from 1 to 6 in counting and mathematical use

There is some variability in the form of numbers in counting and calculating, perhaps due to the marginal status of these procedures in Eton society.¹⁵ Sometimes a form without prefix is given. In that case the stem vowel of the numbers is usually lengthened. The stem of ‘one’ is that of agreement pattern IX in this case. Note the low tone on the number ‘two’. Most numbers have alternative forms.

- (71) 1 *pwág*
 2 *bàà / bèè*
 3 *láá / léé*
 4 *nèènè / jùmnà*
 5 *táán*
 6 *sàmnà / sàmì*

Sometimes, speakers use pronominals for counting. These have the prefix of the default agreement patterns VII (singular) and VIII (plural).

- (72) 1 *ɪwág*
 2 *bɪbá*
 3 *bílá*
 4 *bɪmà*
 5 *bítán*
 6 *bísàmì*

¹⁵ Note that these are typically scholarly activities and that all education is in French, starting from the first year.

The same alternatives exist in calculations.

- (73) *ìbùù é-nè ãmàm ù-bág'rwāg*
 |ìbùù é-nè ãmàm ù-bág-H p'wāg|
 nine V-COP eight 2SG-add-CS one
 'Nine is eight plus one.'
- (74) *mèwóm bā é-nè è-wóm ù-bùlā b'jòj b'ibā*
 |mè-wóm bā é-nè è-wóm ù-bùlā-H|
 6-ten two V-COP 5-ten 2SG-multiply-CS
 |b'ì-dzòj b'ì-bā|
 8-time VIII-two
 'Twenty is two times ten.'
- (75) *p'wāg ù-bùlā b'jòj b'ibā é-ãgâ p'am b'ibā*
 |p'wāg ù-bùlā-H b'ì-dzòj b'ì-bā|
 XI.one 2SG-multiply-CS 8-time VIII-two
 |é-ãgâ L-p'am b'ì-bā|
 V-INC INF-come.out VIII-two
 'Two times one is two.'

I found no correspondence between the items that are counted and the form of the numbers. When, for instance, children are counted, one would never use forms of agreement pattern I or II.

2.3.5. The quantifier -sè 'all, entire, every, each'

The quantifier -sè can be used with count and uncounted nouns. With count nouns it means 'entire' in the singular and 'all' or 'every' in the plural. It takes the agreement prefixes of Series 4. There is tone spread between the prefix and the stem.

I	á-sè	II	bá-sè
III	ú-sè	IV	mí-sè
V	é-sè	VI	má-sè
VII	í-sè	VIII	b'í-sè
IX	í-sè	X	í-sè

Table 19. The quantifier -sè 'all' (structural forms)

- (76) a. *pùpó ásê*
 |*pùpó á-sè*|
 papaya I-all
 ‘the entire papaya’ or ‘every kind of papaya’
- b. *b̀̀ p̀̀p̀̀p̀̀ b̀̀s̀̀ê*
 |*b̀̀ p̀̀p̀̀p̀̀ b̀̀s̀̀ê*|
 PL papaya II-all
 ‘all papayas’
- c. *b̀̀s̀̀ìn ásê*
 |*b̀̀s̀̀ìn á-s̀̀ê*|
 basin I-all
 ‘the entire basin’
- d. *m̀̀m̀̀è̀̀gl̀̀è ús̀̀ê*
 |*Ǹ̀-B̀̀è̀̀gl̀̀è ú-s̀̀ê*|
 3-luggage III-all
 ‘all the luggage/the entire charge’
- e. *b̀̀t̀̀ē v̄ē m̀̀ú̀yá ásê kálàdà*
 |*b̀̀á-Lt̄é L-v̄é N-úyá ásè kálàdà*|
 II-PR INF-give 1-child I-all book
 ‘They give each child a book.’

The quantifier *-s̀̀è* can be used pronominally without any additional morphological marking.

- (77) [Talking about arrows (*m̀̀m̀̀-p̀̀àn* (4))] (Which should I take?)
ɲɔŋ m̀̀s̀̀ê
 |*ɲɔŋ-H m̀̀s̀̀ê*|
 take-IMP IV-all
 ‘Take all.’

2.4. The connective proclitic

The connective proclitic is a morpheme that relates two nominals to each other. See VI:3.1.1 for a more elaborate description of its function. Table 17 gives the segmental forms of the connective morpheme in all agreement patterns. The connective of agreement pattern III does not have a segmental form. It appears only as a floating high tone. Note that the segmental forms of the connective are identical to the forms of the subject prefix. The examples in (78)

illustrate that the difference between the connectives of pattern IX and X is purely tonal.

- (78) a. $\eta g \acute{\epsilon} \eta \acute{u} \omega \delta \eta \delta$
 $| \eta g \acute{\epsilon} \eta \quad L = \acute{u} \omega \delta \eta \delta |$
 [9]bean IX.CON=peanut
 ‘a peanut’
- b. $\eta g \acute{\epsilon} \eta \acute{u} \omega \delta \eta \delta$
 $| \eta g \acute{\epsilon} \eta \quad H = \acute{u} \omega \delta \eta \delta |$
 [10]bean X.CON=peanut
 ‘peanuts’

I	\grave{a}	II	$b\acute{a}$
III	H	IV	$m\acute{i}$
V	$\acute{\epsilon}$	VI	$m\acute{a}$
VII	\acute{i}	VIII	$b\acute{i}$
IX	\grave{i}	X	\acute{i}

Table 20. Connective proclitics (structural forms)

The segmental form of connectives is very unstable. Depending on the form of the noun to which they cliticise, they retain their V- or CV- form or they are reduced to a floating tone. A clitic obligatorily retains its segmental form before a noun without a prefix or with a C-prefix, i.e. before an accentuated syllable (79). CV-clitics retain their segmental form before nouns with a V-prefix, but due to the general rules of hiatus resolution the clitic vowel is deleted (80). Before nouns with a CV-prefix the CV-clitic is normally reduced to a floating high tone (81). However, it can optionally retain its CV-form, for instance in order to disambiguate a phrase, as can be seen in (82b). A vocalic connective proclitic drops its vowel before a V-prefix. This might be attributed to hiatus resolution, but syllabic nasal prefixes behave as V-prefixes in this respect, although they do not trigger vowel hiatus resolution (83). Finally, a vocalic proclitic is optionally dropped before a CV-prefix (84). See Section II:6.2 for a description of the behaviour of clitic tones.

- (79) a. *èbèŋ é lôŋ*
 |è-bèŋ é=lôŋ|
 5-beauty V.CON=[5]hair
 ‘beautiful hair’
 *èbèŋ l-ôŋ
- b. *ḍɪz é mbâz*
 |ḍ-ɪz é=mbâz|
 5-eye V.CON=[9]maize
 ‘maize grain’
 *ḍɪz mbâz
- c. *mènḍim mé zóŋ*
 |mà-ḍim má=zóŋ|
 6-water VI.CON=[9]eggplant
 ‘eggplant soup’
 *mè-ḍim zóŋ
- (80) a. *mèpó mé áwú*
 |mà-pó má=à-wú|
 6-message VI.CON=3-death
 ‘obituaries’
 *mèpó áwú
- b. *mèpàb mé únwǎn*
 |mà-pàb má=ù-nwǎn|
 6-wing VI.CON=3-bird
 ‘the wings of a bird’
 *mè-pàb ú-nwǎn
- (81) a. *mìŋkwád mébóŋ*
 |mìŋ-kúád H=mà-bóŋ|
 4-crooked IV.CON=6-knee
 ‘crooked knees’
 *mìŋ-kwád mí mé-bóŋ
- b. *bìjèjólò méjwàg*
 |bì-dzàdzóló H=mà-dzùàg|
 8-bitter VIII.CON=6-wine
 ‘bitter wine’
 *bì-jèjólò bí mé-jwàg

- c. *mèjwàg méléń*
 |*mà-dzùàg H=mà-lén*|
 6-wine VI.CON=6-palm.tree
 ‘palm wine’
 **mè-jwàg mé mē-lén*
- (82) a. *mìntàg mí ĩkúĳkúmá*
 |*mì-ntàg mí=N-kúĳkúmá*|
 4-joy IV.CON=3-chief
 ‘the joy of the chief’
 b. *mìntàg mí mĩĳkúĳkúmá*
 |*mì-ntàg mí=mĩĳ-kúĳkúmá*|
 4-joy IV.CON=4-chief
 ‘the joy of the chiefs’
- (83) *ĩ-vèvèz nípég*
 |*ĩ-vèvèz H=N-pég*|
 7-light VII.CON=3-bag
 ‘a light bag’
- (84) *è-bĩm mé-jwàg*
 |*è-bĩm H=mà-dzùàg*|
 5-quantity V.CON=6-wine
 ‘a quantity of wine’
 ~ *è-bĩm é mé-jwàg*

A connective proclitic forms a prosodic unit with the second noun of the connective construction. There can be a pause between the first noun and the connective, but not between the connective and the second noun. Also syntactically proclitics form a tight bond with the following noun. Nothing can be put between them. Nevertheless, proclitics are accentuated, as can be seen in (85), where high tone spread from the preceding noun on the connective morpheme results in a falling tone, instead of a high tone.

- (85) a. *tám ĩ kú*
 |*tám ĩ=kú*|
 [9]feather IX.CON=[9]chicken
 ‘a chicken feather’

- b. *tɪd̂ i ɲàg*
 |*tɪd̂* *i=ɲàg*|
 [9]meat IX.CON=[9]cow
 ‘beef’

3. Uninflected words

3.1. Quantifiers

3.1.1. Cardinal numbers from 7 upward

The Eton data confirm the typological generalisation that the higher a number is, the more it is like a noun (see, for instance, Corbett 1991:135). Numbers lower than 7 can be excluded from the category of nouns on purely morphological grounds. For the sake of cohesion, all cardinal numbers starting from 7 will be treated in this section, although they show considerable differences in behaviour.

The numbers 7 (*zàɲmál*), 8 (*ɲmàm*) and 9 (*ibùl*) are always uninflected. They do not have a plural form. The word for 10 *è-wóm* (*lè-wóm* in Southern dialects) has a prefix of gender 5. In the plural its prefix is of gender 6 (*mè-wóm*). However, *èwóm* does not trigger gender agreement on a modifier, as a genuine noun would do. This is shown in (86):

- (86) *mèwóm bā* ‘20’
 **mèwóm mēbā*

Moreover, the non-phrasal cardinal numbers lower than and including 10 never have agreement on the verb. The copula in (87) does not agree in gender with the number. Rather it has the default subject prefix that appears when no subject is present, as for instance in presentational clauses.

- (87) *mèwóm bā é-nè èwóm ùbùlá bíjòɲ bíbā*
 |*mè-wóm bā é-nè è-wóm ù-bùlá-H*|
 6-ten two V-COP 5-ten 2SG-multiply-CS
 |*bì-dzòɲ bí-bā*|
 8-time VIII-two
 ‘Twenty is ten times two.’

Subject agreement can also be exophoric. The number in (88) refers to children, and agreement is as if the word *bòɲó* ‘children’ were in subject position.

- (88) *zàjymál bésó èèy mǎ*
 |zàjymál bǎ-H-sǎ-H èèj mǎ|
 seven II-PST-come-NF with 1SG.SUB
 ‘Seven came with me.’

In this respect, the word for 10 differs from those for 100 (*ṅ-tèd*) and 1000 (*twágsìn*). The former has a gender 3 prefix in the singular. The plural is regularly of gender 4 (*mìn-tèd*). *twágsìn* is obviously a borrowing (either from German or from Pidgin English). It belongs to gender 9. Contrary to *èwóm*, the numbers *ṅ-tèd* and *twágsìn* do trigger agreement on a following dependent number and on the verb.

- (89) a. *mìntèd míbā*
 |mìn-tèd mí-bǎ|
 4-hundred IV-two
 ‘two hundred’
 b. *twágsìn íbā*
 |túágsìn í-bǎ|
 [10]thousand X-two
 ‘two thousand’
- (90) *ṅ-tèd tóg únê twágsìn*
 |ṅ-tèd H=tóg ú-nè túágsìn|
 3-hundred III.CON=spoon III-COP thousand
 ‘One hundred spoons cost a thousand.’

Another nominal characteristic of *ṅ-tèd* and *twágsìn* is that they can be the head of a connective construction.

- (91) a. *mìntèd mí bôd*
 |mì-ntèd mí=b-òd|
 4-hundred IV.CON=2-person
 ‘hundreds of people’
 b. *ṅ-tèd bôd*
 |ṅ-tèd H=b-òd|
 3-hundred III.CON=2-person
 ‘a hundred people’

3.1.2. Ordinal numbers

There appears to be some variability in the form and use of ordinal numbers. Sometimes they are simply postposed to the noun they modify, sometimes they are linked to it by means of a connective

morpheme (see 2.4). In addition, there is some variability in the form of the head noun modified by an ordinal number, in that it is sometimes preceded by an augment, sometimes not.

- (92) a. *lèwòl lé bāà*
 |lè-wòl lā=bāà|
 5-ten V.CON=second
 ‘the second hour’
- b. *lèwòl òmàmà*
 |lè-wòl òmàmà|
 5-ten eighth
 ‘the eighth hour’

As for their form, some ordinal numbers are derived from the respective cardinal number by means of the suffix *-A*.

	Cardinal	Ordinal
2	<i>-bǎ</i>	<i>bǎà</i>
3	<i>-lā</i>	<i>lālā</i>
5	<i>-tān</i>	<i>tānā</i>
7	<i>zàòmál</i>	<i>zàòmálā</i>
8	<i>òmàm</i>	<i>òmàmà</i>
9	<i>ìbùù/ìbùl</i>	<i>ìbùlā</i>
10	<i>èwóm</i>	<i>èwómô</i>

For ‘6’ the form of the ordinal number is identical to that of the adnominal cardinal one: *sàmmù*. The ordinal number ‘4th’ is formally identical to the cardinal number ‘4’ in isolation: *nèèrè/jùmà*. ‘First’ *ùsù/ùsùswā* and ‘last’ *mùmbúzā* are nouns derived from the word for *àsú* ‘face’ and *mbúz* ‘back’ respectively.

3.1.3. *béj* & *ìtétámá* ‘only’

The quantifier *béj* ‘only’ follows the noun it modifies. It can also function as an adverb (see Section 3.3.1.3) and in one example it functions as a genderless noun, in that it is the head of a connective construction and determines agreement with the demonstrative predicate (95). *ìtétámá*, which is a reduplication of the noun *ìtám* ‘solitude’, has the same meaning and morphosyntactic behaviour.

- (93) *bóyó bēbā bēy bēkābā á ykàd*
 |b-óyó bá-bǎ bēy bá-H-kābā-H á N-kád|
 2-child II-two only II-PST-succeed-NF LOC 3-exam
 ‘Only two children passed the exam.’
- (94) a. *jé bēy àgbélê mètwa átān*
 |jě bēy à-gbél-Ā mètúà á à-tān|
 I.SUB only I-grasp-RS car LOC 3-village
 b. *jé ítētámá àgbélê mètwa átān*
 |jě ì-tátámá à-gbél-Ā mètúà á à-tān|
 I.SUB 7-only I-grasp-RS car LOC 3-village
 ‘He is the only one who has a car in the village.’
- (95) *bēy à ygòb ùně kùz mú jóló*
 |H-bēy à=ygòb ù-ně L-kùz mú jǒ-lá|
 AU-only I.CON=[10]shoe 2SG-RCOP INF-buy here I.DEM-CH
 ‘These are the only shoes you can buy here.’

3.2. Indefinite modifiers

There are two uninflected adnominal modifiers that might be called indefinite, viz. *zìy* ‘any’ and *ízā* ‘of somebody else’. Surprisingly, *ízā* precedes the noun it modifies. These modifiers are in need of more thorough description. A hypothesis for the analysis of *ízā* is that it is the interrogative *zā* ‘who’ preceded by the series of prefixes *í-L-* (in which *í-* is the augment) that is used to pronominalise possessive modifiers. The entire construction of *ízā* plus noun could be analysed in terms of apposition.

- (96) *ízā ntóm* ‘somebody else’s hat’
 (97) *vôm zìy* ‘anywhere’
kán zìy ‘any kind’

3.3. Adverbs

The parts-of-speech category of adverbs has very few members. Adverbs can be defined as invariable modifiers of predicates that are not specified for gender. Clear examples of such words always have a modal-discursive function (see Section 3.3.1). Manner, temporal and locative notions are normally expressed by means of quasi-auxiliaries (see VIII:5.2) or by means of a noun in object position (98). Nouns with an adverbial meaning are mostly of gender 3 (prefix *à-* or *ù-*).

- (98) *àbé tìlgì ùtétég*
 |à-bé L-tìl-Lgì ù-tótég|
 I-TIMPF INF-write-G 3-slow
 ‘He wrote slowly.’

3.3.1. Modal adverbs

This section gives a very basic description of the functions of two of the most frequent modal adverbs in Eton. Some others are simply listed in 3.3.1.3.

3.3.1.1. *vó* / *hó*

The adverb *vó* has a free variant *hó*. Its French translation equivalent is *donc*. In one of its functions *vó* could be translated as ‘as planned’ or ‘as expected’ (in negative utterances: ‘contrary to what was planned/expected’).

- (99) [A planned to see B’s brother. B asks]

- a. *dè ùtòbrnéngáná vó èèy mǎjāŋ?*
 |dà ù-H-tóbn-àŋgàná-H hó èèj mǎdzǎŋ|
 Q 2SG-PST-meet-G-NF *donc* with my.brother
 ‘So, did you meet my brother?’
- b. *mètòbrnéngáná vó èèy jé.*
 |mà-H-tóbn-àŋgàná-H hó èèj jé|
 1SG-PST-meet-G-NF *donc* with I.SUB
 ‘(Yes,) I met him.’
- c. *màájé vó tóbnù èèy jé*
 |mà-àá-dzé hó tóbnù èèj jé|
 1SG-NEG-IMPF *donc* meet with I.SUB
 (No,) I didn’t meet him.’

In (100) the vowel of the adverb is lengthened in the same way as final vowels in questions are (see VIII:8.1.1). This phrase is uttered at the end of an interview on traditional medicine after the interviewer tells the interviewee that he does not intend to become a healer himself, but that he is simply interested in the history and culture of the Eton.

- (100) *wò tɛ ɣáŋ vó ðó!*
 |wò tɛ jáy ñó=áá|
 2SG NEG heal *donc*=Q
 ‘So you don’t heal!?’

A second use of *vó*, probably related to the first one, is in combination with an utterance-initial temporal marker such as *dɔ́*, *ɪ̀yɔ́ŋ ɪ̀tɛ̀* or *ɪ̀yɔ́ŋ*. The first, *dɔ́*, is a discourse particle that links events in a narrative succession. The second literally means ‘at that (*itɛ̀*) time (*ɪ̀yɔ́ŋ*)’, and the third is the noun for ‘time’ in the antecedent position of a relative clause, i.e. ‘the time that...’. Here, the function of *vó* is most probably that of marking focus on the temporal marker. The clause following the one that is introduced by the combination temporal marker plus *vó* often contains the adverb *vó* as well.

- (101) [*ɪ̀yɔ́ŋ ɪ̀kɛ̀ wū àyǎ nâ ìmàm úyêṁ nâ ùbwò ásí*
 ‘When you already died, and the village knows that you are dead,]

ɪ̀yɔ́ŋ ɪ̀tɛ̀ vó bɛ̀tɛ̀ lɔ́ŋɔ́

|ɪ̀-ɔ́ŋ ɪ̀-ɛ̀ vó bǎ-Ltɛ̀ L-lɔ́ŋɔ́|

7-time VII-ANA *donc* II-PR INF-call

‘it is then that they will call (i.e. spread the news of your death by means of a two-tone log drum)’

- (102) *ɪ̀yɔ́ŋ ɪ̀tɛ̀ vó mǎtɛ̀bɛ̀ á ɲkòm sí á yó vǎlá, mɛ̀ŋgá vó lɔ́ŋɔ́ wɔ́.*

|ɪ̀-ɔ́ŋ ɪ̀-ɛ̀ vó mǎ-à-tɛ̀bɛ̀ á ñ-kòm|

7-time VII-ANA *donc* 1SG-SP-stand LOC 3-side

|H=sí á jó vǎ-lá mǎ-ŋgá vó|

III.CON=[9]earth LOC [9]sky there-ID 1SG-INC *donc*

|L-lɔ́ŋɔ́ H wɔ́|

INF-call LT 2SG.SUB

‘So then I will stand on the bank there, and I will call you.’

Sometimes *vó* follows another focus marker, which it seems to reinforce. The examples in (103) come from an interview in which the meaning of names is explained. These formulas come at the end of the discussion of a name.

- (103) a. *ɲí vó dwɛ̀ lé tɔ́ntɔ́n léñɛ̀ nǎlá*

|ɲí vó d-óé lǎ=tɔ́ntɔ́n lǎ-nɛ̀ nǎ-lá|

FOC *donc* 5-name V.CON=Tonton V-COP thus-ID

‘This is how the name Tonton can be explained.’

- b. *yî vó mènùŋ mètē tîmzànà nālá.*
 |jî vó m̀-̀nùŋ má-Lt́é L-tîmzànà nǎ-lá|
 FOC *donc* 6-mouth VI-PR INF-mean thus-ID
 ‘This is what Mouths means.’
- c. *yî h́ó àně nālá*
 |jî vó à-ně nǎ-lá|
 FOC *donc* I-RCOP thus-ID
 ‘This is how it is.’

Sometimes, still another type of element is focused by means of *vó*, such as the discourse particle in (104) and the nominal complement in (105). Example (104) was uttered by an old woman who talks about the far past, i.e. before she was born.

- (104) *sè vó úsúsúâ m̀m̀ m̀nùŋgâ bì lô itètègà j́ó nâ ùsúsúâ.*
 |s̀ vó úsúsúâ m̀m̀ m̀nù-ŋgâ bì L-ĺó|
 DP *donc* before 2PL.NSUB 2PL-INC 1PL.SUB INF-call
 |it̀t̀ègà j́ó nâ úsúsúâ|
 now CMP before
 ‘It is not the *before* that you use now when you refer to us as *before*.’
- (105) *m̀pàŋ íbúg vó mètē ẁ kǎd j́ulá*¹⁶
 |̀-̀pàŋ H=ì-búg vó m̀-Lt́é ẁ|
 3-important III.CON=7-word *donc* 1SG-PR 2SG.SUB
 |L-kǎd H j́ulá|
 INF-say LT III.DEM-ID
 ‘This is an important thing (lit. word), what I am telling you.’

Finally, in several examples, *vó* seems to express irritation. In example (106), a woman complains that all she asks in return for helping people is two bottles of beer, which are never given.

¹⁶ or: *kàd jí j́ulá.*

(106) *mân nâ: zùgá tò èèj b̀̀ byâ bébā. békààngà! mímá àyǎ njǔg v́́ òò!*

|*mân nâ zùgá tò èèj b̀̀ bíà b́́-bǎ́*
1SG.QP CMP come.IMP *même*¹⁷ with PL beer II-two
|*b́́-káj<Lg>à Ì-má àjǎ Ì-dzǔg v́́=ÁÁ*
II-stay<G> 3-terrible already 3-pain *donc*=Q

‘I say: “Come, perhaps, with two beers.” They stay away (i.e. the beers)! A real pain!’

(107) *zá íbègá íbógí h́́ m̀̀bógó nâ?*

|*zá Ì-bègá Í=Ì-bógí v́́ m̀̀-Bóg-Á nǎ́*
who 7-kind VII.CON=7-dwelling *donc* 1SG-stay-REL.RS thus

‘What kind of damned place am I living in!’

(108) *wàg̀̀ ùnè v́́ t̀̀ wóg wóm m̀̀tè ẁ̀ kàd.*

|*wàg̀̀ ù-nè v́́ t̀̀ wóg Í-vóm*
2SG.TNP 2SG-be *donc* NEG hear AU-place
|*m̀̀-Ltè ẁ̀ L-kàd*
1SG-PR 2SG.SUB INF-say

‘You too, you don’t understand what I am telling you.’

According to one speaker, it can depend on the position of *v́́* in the clause whether or not it expresses irritation.

(109) a. *m̀̀tè ẁ̀ ĺ́ v́́*

|*m̀̀-Ltè ẁ̀ L-ĺ́ v́́*
1SG-PR 2SG.SUB INF-call *donc*

‘So I call you.’

b. *m̀̀tè v́́ ĺ́g v́́*¹⁸

|*m̀̀-Ltè v́́ L-ĺ́g v́́*
1SG-PR *donc* INF-call 2SG.SUB

‘I am calling you! (irritated)’

3.3.1.2. *pwágó*

The adverb *pwágó* usually expresses positiveness and/or insistence and can often be translated as ‘really’ in English.

¹⁷ The use of *même* as a discourse marker in Cameroonian French seems to differ very much from its use in varieties of European French. For lack of a suitable translation, the glosses give the French translation (in italics) of a discourse marker.

¹⁸ The tonality of this phrase does not reflect the proposed underlying structure. The downstepped high tone that appears on the adverb *v́́* was expected to appear on the first syllable of the verb *ĺ́g*. I have no explanation for this at present.

- (110) *bébōm p̄wágó wô mètàmna á jól vālá*
 |b̄-H-bòm-H p̄wágó wô mètàmna á jól|
 II-PST-tap-NF really 2SG.SUB 6-metamna LOC [9]body
 |vǎ-lá|
 there-ID
 ‘They really imposed you a metamna (i.e. you couldn’t choose one yourself).’
- (111) *yì ású p̄wágó nâ mà mègbégbêlè ìmó*
 |jì ású p̄wágó nâ mà mè-gbél-ǎ Ì-íó|
 Q for really CMP 1SG.SUB 1SG-grasp-RS 3-head
 ‘Is it really because I have a good memory (that you ask me all these things)!?’
- (112) *wò ù j̄ñ p̄wágó, ùkě èèy jé á dwábdò.*
 |wò ù-j̄ñ-H p̄wágó ù-kè-H èèy jé|
 2SG.SUB 2SG-take-CS really 3SG-go-CS with I.SUB
 |á dúábdò|
 LOC hospital
 ‘You really take him and you bring him to hospital.’
- (113) *àné mēkād p̄wágó wō*
 |ànó mà-H-kād-H p̄wágó wō|
 like 1SG-PST-say-NF really 2SG.SUB
 ‘Exactly as I told you.’

p̄wágó can also be used as a quantity adverb meaning ‘just, only’, which makes it very likely that this adverb is derived from the number *p̄wág* ‘1’. The example in (114) is the answer to a question about the traditional name of somebody’s husband. The woman answers that she only knows his Christian name. *p̄wágó* is often used in combination with the adverb *vè*, which can also be translated as ‘only’ and which it probably reinforces (114, 116).

- (114) *mà màyèm p̄wágó vè nâ màgà mēngákwb àdyǎ dwé nâ: ábdòn càlà*
 |mà mà-à-jèm p̄wágó vè nâ màgà|
 1SG.SUB 1SG-SP-know really simply CMP 1SG.TNP
 |mè-ŋgá-kíáb à-dìá d-óé nâ ábdòn tǎlálá|
 1SG-RP-find I-COP 5-name CMP Abdon Tsala
 ‘I only know that me too I found him being called Abdon Tsala.’

- (115) *wàpùdì pwáǵó ʔtùn ʔ tóg ñtáŋú*
 |ù-à-pùdì púáǵó ʔ-tùn ʔ=tóg|
 2SG-SP-put really 7-part VII.CON=[9]spoon
 |L=ñ-táŋú|
 IX.CON=3-European
 ‘You put in just half a tea spoon.’
- (116) *ʔnê pwáǵó vè nâ ...*
 |ʔ-nê púáǵó vè nâ|
 VII-be really simply CMP
 ‘It’s just that...’

3.3.1.3. *tédé*, *jǎm*, *kǵ*, *vè*, *béŋ*, and *pê*

This subsection lists some other modal adverbs. A study of the function of these adverbs would be very useful, since they are relatively frequent and they can have a considerable influence on the meaning of an utterance. Due to a lack of time and sufficient corpus data, this subsection will be limited to a list of examples.

The modal adverb *tédé* has a short form *té*. It is difficult to find a suitable translation equivalent for *tédé*. In (118) the adverb *tédé* somewhat weakens the imperative.

- (117) *mèèy té s̄*
 |mè-èèj t̄ L-s̄|
 1SG-FUT anyway INF-come
 ‘I will come anyway.’
- (118) *vé tédé mâ ìlá ménđim*
 |vé-H t̄d̄á mà ʔ-lá H=mè-nd̄im|
 give-IMP please 1SG.SUB 7-glass VII.CON=6-water
 ‘Please give me a glass of water.’

The modal adverb *jǎm* usually co-occurs with a modal quasi-auxiliary of possibility. It can express low probability. This adverb is only used in Southern dialects of Eton. Speakers of Northern dialects would use *vó* instead (see 3.3.1.1).

- (119) a. *bénê d̄ó ʔb*
 |b̄á-nè d̄ó L-d̄z̄ib|
 II-POS V.SUB INF-steal
 ‘They can steal it.’

b. *bénê jám jīb dō*
 |bā-nè dzǎm L-dzīb dō|
 II-POS possibly INF-steal V.SUB
 ‘They could steal it.’

- (120) *yì ndán nè ìyòlò; ìyòlò béngábé jám kálnà?*
 |jì ndán ì-nè ì-jòlò í-ì-jòlò|
 Q [9]ndan IX-COP 7-name AU-7-name
 |bā-ŋgá-bé dzǎm L-kálnà|
 II-RP-POS possibly INF-transmit
 ‘Is the ndan a name, a name that one could pass on?’

Possible translation equivalents for the adverb *kíg* (variant: *číg*) are *even*, *rather* and *really*. It could be described as an emphatic adverb.

- (121) *dō bōd bē bááyè m cīg jé ndán*
 |dō b-òd b-ě bā-àá-à-jè m tfig jé ndán|
 DP 2-person II-his II-NEG-SP-know even I.SUB [9]ndan
 ‘Even his people don’t know his ndan.’
- (122) *àné ìyòŋ mèlóm wō: kèrú úsō, kèrú kíg vòm zìŋ!*
 |ànā í-ì-jòŋ mð-H-lóm-H wō kèrú|
 like AU-7-time 1SG-PST-send-NF 2SG.SUB go.IMP
 |ā ù-sō kèrú kíg vòm zìŋ|
 LOC 3-river go.IMP rather place any
 ‘When, for instance, I sent you: go to the river, or rather go somewhere else.’

Other modal adverbs are *vè*, usually translatable as *only* (123) and *béŋ* *just*, *simply* (124). The commonest translation equivalent of *pê* is *also*, or, in clauses with negative polarity, *anymore* (125).

- (123) *mèŋgáwó jé? vè bō ŋgwàn bō ŋgwàn!*
 |mð-ŋgá-wó dz-é vè bō ŋgùàn bō ŋgùàn|
 1SG-RP-give.birth 7-what only PL girl PL girl
 ‘What have I given birth to? Only girls!’
- (124) *àágbélè zám bìđí, àté béŋ māngànà*
 |à-àá-gbél-Ā zám L=bì-đí|
 I-NEG-grasp-RS [9]appetite IX.CON=8-food
 |à-Lté béŋ L-māngànà|
 I-PR simply INF-nibble
 ‘He isn’t hungry, he’s just nibbling at his food.’

- (125) *bóyǎ̀ mēlú mǎ báátē pē lùgà bēbò̀nì*
 |b-óyǎ̀ H=mǎ-lú mǎ bǎ-àá-Ltē pē|
 2-child VI.CON=6-night VI.DEM II-NEG-PR anymore
 |L-lùgà H bǎ-bò̀nì|
 INF-respect LT 2-parent
 ‘Children do not respect their parents anymore.’

3.3.2. Place adverbs

I found only one word that could be analysed as a locative adverb, viz. *bèbè* ‘close’. Subsection 3.3.2.2. describes two prepositional constructions that function as locative adverbs. Demonstrative pro-adverbials such as ‘there’ are discussed in Section 3.5.

3.3.2.1. *bèbè* ‘close’

The following examples show *bèbè* as a modifier of a verb (126) and as a predicate (127-128).

- (126) *síbâ bèbè èèy táblê*
 |síb<H>à bǎbǎ èèj táblǎ|
 approach<IMP> close with table
 ‘Come near to the table.’
- (127) *mòd àsè bēbē*
 |N-òd à-sě bǎbǎ|
 1-person I-NEG.be close
 ‘There is nobody around.’
- (128) *mènè bèbè nâ mǎkè újǎ̀*
 |mǎ-nǎ bǎbǎ nâ mǎ-à-kè á ù-dzǎ̀|
 1SG-be close CMP 1SG-SP-go LOC 3-sleep
 ‘I am about to go to sleep.’

3.3.2.2. Location in vertical space

Eton does not have adpositions that translate *on*, *above* or *under*. Instead, the noun of which the referent has to be situated in vertical space is followed by the locative preposition *á* and a noun for the environmental landmarks ‘sky’ or ‘earth’. For instance, ‘above X’ is termed as ‘at X, in the sky’. Surprisingly, the prepositional construction *á sí* can be replaced by a form *àsí*, which can best be analysed as a noun of gender 3 (132). No conditioning for the choice

between *á sí* and *à-sí* has been found at present. The difference is probably dialectal.

- (129) *dô ñcàŋ úŋgápám únŋŋ á yó*
 |*dô ñ-tfàŋ ú-ŋgá-pám á ù-núŋ á jô*|
 DP 3-swelling III-RP-come.out LOC 3-toe LOC [5]sky¹⁹
 ‘So, the swelling came out on the toe.’
- (130) *ílē á dōb*
 |*á ì-lé á d-ōb*|
 LOC 7-tree LOC 5-sky
 ‘above the tree’
- (131) *ílē á sí*
 |*á ì-lé á sí*|
 LOC 7-tree LOC [9]ground
 ‘under the tree’
- (132) *pùdī dōm á tēbl àsí*
 |*pùdī-H d-ōm á tēblè à-sí*|
 put-IMP 5-package LOC table 3-ground
 ‘Put the package under the table.’

These prepositional/nominal constructions can also modify a predicate, as in (133-135). Note that *à-sí* is used for movement in vertical space, both up (135) and down (134).

- (133) *béédê dš á dōb*
 |*bééd<H>è d-š á d-ōb*|
 lift<IMP> 5-hand LOC 5-sky
 ‘Put your hand in the air.’
- (134) *bógbô àsí*
 |*bógb<H>ò à-sí*|
 sit<IMP> 3-ground
 ‘(Please,) Sit down.’
- (135) *àté tēbê ásí*
 |*à-Lté L-tēbè H à-sí*|
 I-PR INF-stand LT 3-ground
 ‘He stands up.’

¹⁹ The noun *yó* ‘sky’ is exceptional because it is a gender 5 noun without overt gender marking.

3.3.3. Time adverbs

The situation with time adverbs is very similar to that of place adverbs. True adverbs are very rare if not non-existent. For the sake of completeness, some constructions that provide temporal information are briefly described here.

3.3.3.1. *ítètègè jí*

The form *ítètègè* is always followed by a demonstrative modifier of agreement pattern I. The initial high *í-* can therefore be recognised as (the trace of) an augment. However, there is no noun *ì-tètègè* (7) or *tètègè* (1, 9 or genderless). The demonstrative can have the distal suffix *-lÁ*.

- (136) *bwán bē yì mè vò pē tìmnù yèm bó ítètègè jí!?*
 |*b-úán b-ě jì mà-vò pē L-tìmnù H L-jèm*|
 2-child II-his Q 1SG-POS also INF-do.again LT INF-know
 |*bɔ́ ítətəgə jí*|
 II.SUB now I.DEM
 ‘His children, would I still recognise them now!?’

- (137) *ítètègè jíwáló*
 |*ítətəgə jíwá-lÁ*|
 ‘in a minute’

3.3.3.2. Nouns with temporal reference

Most time-adverbial notions are expressed by means of nouns that function as complements of the verb. The noun *kídí* means ‘(this) morning’ or ‘tomorrow’, depending on the context. *újān* can mean ‘the day after tomorrow’ or ‘the day before yesterday’. Only the noun for ‘evening’ *àḡgògí* has a special form when used adverbially, viz. with a long initial *à*: *ààḡgògí*.

3.4. Prepositions

Eton has a relatively small set of prepositions. There are no postpositions.

3.4.1. The locative preposition *á*

Contrary to many other Bantu languages, but rather typically for the North-western area, Eton does not have locative genders. There are

morphotonological and morphosyntactic reasons to analyse *á* as a preposition rather than as a (gender) prefix. The high tone of *á* is copied to the right, where it delinks the low tone of any following unaccentuated syllable. This behaviour is typical of floating high tone attachment across a word boundary (see II:6.2.2).

- (138) *á bílē*
 |*á* *bì-lé*|
 LOC 8-tree
 ‘in the trees’

A phrase introduced by the locative preposition *á* can be the subject of some verbs. Locatives trigger agreement pattern I or III, in free variation.

- (139) a. *á físwân únê mmèŋ*
 |*á* *físwân* *ú-nè* *ŋ-Bèŋ*|
 LOC town III-COP 3-good
 ‘It is nice in town.’
 b. *á físwân ànè nìmèŋ*
 |*á* *físwân* *à-nè* *ŋ-Bèŋ*|
 LOC town I-COP 3-good
 ‘It is nice in town.’

With most verbs, however, nominals preceded by *á* cannot normally be subjects. Moreover, *á* is never a controller of agreement on nominal modifiers. In the nominal in (145), for instance, the connective morpheme agrees in gender with the first noun, not with the initial locative element.

- (140) *á lévèl lé jād*
 |*á* *lè-vél* *lá=dz-ǎd*|
 LOC 5-side V.CON=7-basket
 ‘next to the basket’

The preposition *á* is the default locative preposition. Its exact meaning is determined by the semantics of the nominal of which it is the head and/or of the verb on which it depends. This can be location in, at or on something (141), goal or direction (142). Elsewhere, *á* can be translated as ‘through’ (143), ‘via’ (144) or ‘between’ (145). A noun with human reference cannot be a complement of *á* (see 3.4.4).

- (141) *ànè á ndá*
 |à-nè á ndá|
 I-be LOC [9]house
 ‘She is at home.’
- (142) a. *àkè á lèpàn*
 |à-H-kè-H á lè-pàn|
 I-PST-go-NF LOC 5-forest
 ‘He went into the forest.’
- b. *dô bápám á mābgán*
 |dô bâ-à-pám á mābgán|
 DP II-SPS-come.out LOC [9]crossroads
 ‘Then they arrive at a crossroads.’
- c. *bémā kè á jicòm*
 |bâ-H-mâ-H L-kè á N-tjòm|
 II-PST-TMN-NF INF-go LOC 3-hunt
 ‘They went to the hunt.’
- (143) *mùnyá ábē déyibēyngànà mǎ éjōy*
 |N-ùnyá à-bé L-déyib-ànygànà mǎ á è-dzōy|
 1-child I-IMPF INF-watch-G 1SG.SUB LOC 5-hole
 ‘The child watched me through the hole.’
- (144) *yìnyōy bélógô mòd àné á tèlefōn...*²⁰
 |jì H-ì-jōy bâ-H-ló-Lgà N-òd àné á tèlefōn|
 Q AU-7-time II-PST-call-G 1-person like LOC phone
 ‘like when they called somebody by phone...’
- (145) *á mō*
 |á m-ō|
 LOC 6-hand
 ‘in/between the hands’

There are some extensions of the spatial domain that are also commonly found in English, e.g. the use of the preposition *on* with the meaning ‘concerning’, which in Eton can likewise be expressed by means of the locative preposition *á* (146).

²⁰ The verb form in this example is the so-called Past imperfective. See Section VII:2.3.7.

- (146) a. *á bûnì, ìtétób ìtê yô ùtè mǎ kē sàŋ ʔŋgâ páam*
 |á bûnì ìtétób ʔ-tè H-jǔ ù-Ltɛ̃|
 LOC [9]amoebiasis 7-itetob VII-ANA AU-VII.SUB 2SG-PR
 |L-mà H L-ké H L-sàŋ ʔ-ŋgâ L-pám|
 INF-TMN LT INF-AND LT INF-carve VII-INC INF-come
 ‘Concerning amoebiasis, it is this itetob (a plant) that
 you go and carve, it (the sap)²¹ comes out.’
- b. *mèkád wô nâ mèté yì nâ màtìl bô kálâdâ ʔnŋy ʔtón.*
 |mà-H-kád-H wǔ nâ mà-Ltɛ̃ L-jǔ|
 1SG-PST-dire-NF 2SG.SUB CMP 1SG-PR INF-want
 |nâ mà-à-tìl bô kálâdâ á ʔ-nŋy H=ʔ-tón|
 CMP 1SG-SP-write PL book LOC 7-life VII.CON=7-Eton
 ‘I told you that I want to write books on the Eton life.’

The preposition *á* can introduce temporal adverbials as well (147).
 And it is found in several idioms, such as (148).

- (147) a. *àsó á tólbé*
 |à-H-só-H á tólbá|
 I-PST-come-NF LOC noon
 ‘He came at noon.’
- b. *á mēwòlò mēsâmì*
 |á mà-wòlò má-sâmì|
 LOC 6-hour VI-six
 ‘at six o’clock’
- (148) *á dōy dē*
 |á d-ǒi d-ě|
 LOC 5-name V-his
 ‘due to him’ (lit. in his name)’

For expressing precise, non-vertical location Eton makes use of nouns for body parts, which are preceded by the locative preposition and followed by a connective proclitic and the noun that is situated in space (see Section 2.4 for connectives). Thus, ‘behind X’ is literally expressed as ‘at the back of X’. The preposition *ású*, described in

²¹ Although ‘it’ clearly refers to sap here, there is, to my knowledge, no word for ‘sap’ that is of gender 7. The prefix of agreement pattern VII on the verb is most probably selected because of its default value rather than for its agreement with *itetob*.

Section 3.4.2, originated in this construction, deriving from *á* + *à-sú* ‘face’. See Section 3.3.2.2 for the expression of vertical location.

(149) *á mbúz òköl*

|*á mbúz L=ñ-köl*|
 LOC [9]back IX.CON=3-hill
 ‘behind the hill’

(150) *á mbúz ò cwáz*

|*á mbúz ò=t fúáz*|
 LOC [9]back IX.CON=[9]church
 ‘behind the church’ or ‘after mass’

(151) *á lévèl lé jād*

|*á lè-vèl lá=dz-äd*|
 LOC 5-side V.CON=7-basket
 ‘next to the basket’

(152) *ké màyì tébê á zùd ò ndá á vâ.*

|*ké mà-à-jì L-tébê á zùd*|
 DP 1SG-SP-want INF-stand LOC [9]buttocks
 |*ò=ndá á vâ*|
 IX.CON=[9]house LOC there
 ‘I will certainly go and stand there at the back of the house.’

(153) *á mēm jād*

|*á ò-kém H=dz-äd*|
 LOC 3-heart III.CON=7-basket
 ‘inside the basket’

Another common combination with *á* that could be considered a complex preposition is *átáy*, which has the variants *átá* and *átáyí*. The noun *táy* means ‘calculation’, or ‘number, amount’. The combination *átáy* often introduces adverbials that contain a quantifier or a quantity noun.

(154) *àkvázgí átá òyūmâ éwòlò.*

|*à-H-kúáz-Lgì-H átá ò-wúmâ H=è-wòlò*|
 I-PST-cough-G-NF during 3-entire III.CON=5-hour
 ‘He coughed for an hour.’

(155) *àjám átá bòd bènà*

|*à-H-dzám-H átá b-òd b-ò-nà*|
 I-PST-cook-NF for 2-person II-four
 ‘She cooked for four persons.’

The two following examples are taken from a recorded conversation on traditional medicines.

- (156) *ùtè kvàm jê átáy mèlú máy?*
 |ù-Ltè L-kùàm H jě átáy mà-lú m-áy|
 2.SG-PR INF-make LT I.SUB during 6-night VI-how.many
 ‘You make them for him in how many days?’
- (157) *tè pùdì átáy j̄j̄úmá tóg*
 |tèH pùdì átáy ñ-wúmá H=tóg|
 NEG put as.much.as 3-entire III.CON=[9]spoon
 ‘Don’t put as much as an entire spoon.’

3.4.2. The preposition *ású*

As has been said, the preposition *ású* comes from the noun *à-sú* ‘face’, preceded by the locative preposition *á*. It is treated as a separate preposition, because if it were a succession of preposition and noun today, it should have had a downstepped high tone on the second syllable, instead of a high one. However, *ású* preserved a formal characteristic of the construction from which it derives, viz. the agreement pattern III connective proclitic *H=* before its complement.

- (158) *ású míj̄kúj̄kúma*
 |ású H=m̄j̄-kúj̄kúmá|
 for III.CON=4-chief
 ‘for the chiefs’

This preposition can mark a beneficiary (159) or a purpose (160).

- (159) *àkóm d̄s̄ ású j̄ê*
 |à-H-kùàm-H d̄s̄ ású H=j̄ê|
 I-PST-do-NF 5.SUB for III.CON=I.SUB
 ‘He did it for her.’
- (160) a. *bēmā jām ábù méjwàg ású ébóg*
 |b̄á-H-mà-H L-dzám H à-bũ|
 II-PST-TMN-NF INF-prepare LT 3-much
 |H=m̄-dzùàg ású H=è-bóg|
 III.CON=6-wine for III.CON=5-party
 ‘They made a lot of wine for the party.’

- b. *úkêŋ jú útē bèl̀ǹ àsú jícígrú jâg*
 |í-ù-kêŋ jũ ú-Lt́é L-bèl̀ǹ|
 AU-3-knife III.DEM III-PR INF-be.used
 |ású H=N-tfígrú jàg|
 for III.CON=3-cutting [9]beef
 ‘This knife is used for cutting meat.’

When the complement of *ású* is of the first person singular, it is not expressed by means of a substitutive pronominal, but by a pronominal that is formally identical to the adnominal possessive modifier. However, this possessive is not preceded by the augment, in contrast to other contexts where it is pronominalised (see Section VI.2.2).

- (161) *èèy sá ású wám̀ òŋgègògò jú*
 |à-èèj L-sá ású H=wám̀ òŋgègògò jũ|
 I-FUT INF-work for III.CON=I.my AU-[9]evening IX.DEM
 ‘He will work for me this evening.’

The combination of the preposition *ású* and the question word *jé* (*yá* in Southern dialects) means ‘why’ (see 3.6.1).

- (162) *ású jé?* ‘why’

Note that *ású* is not followed by a connective morpheme when it functions as a subordinator.

- (163) a. *ású m̀ékííd*
 |ású H=m̀-ékííd|
 for III.CON=6-lunatic
 ‘for the lunatics.’
 b. *ású m̀ékííd*
 |ású m̀-ékííd|
 because 1SGPST-bend
 ‘because I bent’

3.4.3. The preposition *èèy*

The preposition *èèy* usually translates as ‘with’, expressing accompaniment (164) or introducing instruments (165) or ingredients (166).

- (164) *àđĩ pyâ èèy òmùŋ*
 |à-H-đĩ-H píà èèj Ì-Bùŋ|
 I-PST-eat-NF avocado with 3-cassava
 ‘She ate the avocado with cassava.’
- (165) a. *àsó èèy mèkǒl*
 |à-H-só-H èèj mà-kǒl|
 I-PST-come-NF with 6-foot
 ‘He came on foot.’
- b. *àté wùlà èèy òtúm*
 |à-Lté L-wùlà èèj Ì-túm|
 I-PR INF-walk with 3-stick
 ‘He walks with a stick.’
- (166) *mìsòŋ mìnê jì juámú èèy òmwán bíđŋ*
 |mì-sòŋ mí-nê Ì-dzámú èèj Ì-búán|
 4-sissongo IV-COP 3-preparation with 3-oil
 |H=bì-tòŋ|
 III.CON=8-palm.nut
 ‘The sissongo has been prepared with palm oil.’

Some verbs have an obligatory object introduced by *èèy*, e.g. *bèlù* ‘use’ and *yág* ‘need’.

- (167) *mèté bèlù èèy kwàb*
 |mè-Lté L-bèlù èèj kùàb|
 1SG-PR INF-use with [9]hook
 ‘I use a hook.’
- (168) *á yág èèy jòm*
 |á L-jág èèj dz-òm|
 LOC INF-need with 7-thing
 ‘to need something’

After passive verb forms the agent is likewise introduced by *èèy*.

- (169) *àbámbéŋgán èèy ìsá wē*
 |à-H-bám-b-àŋgán-H èèj ìsá w-ě|
 I-PST-rebuke-PASS-G-NF with father I-his
 ‘He was rebuked by his father.’

Nominals are never coordinated in Eton.²² When they are linked, it is by means of the preposition *èèy*. See Section VIII:1 for more examples.

(170) *bí èèy wó*

|bí èèj wó|

1PL with 2.SG

‘you and I (lit. we with you)’

(171) *àngáwó bô ñgwàn bébā: ñkwòlò bó èèy nèmí.*

|à-àngá-wó bô ñgwàn bá-bă ñkwòlò|

I-RP-give.birth PL girl II-two Nkolo

|bó èèj nèmí|

II.SUB with Nemi

‘She gave birth to two girls: Nkolo and Nemi. (lit. Nkolo, they with Nemi)’

Non-verbal predicates can be optionally preceded by the preposition *èèy* when they express a property, as in (172-174).

(172) a. *ùsò únè ìdúág*

|ù-só ú-nè ì-dúág|

3-river III-COP 7-depth

b. *ùsò únè èèy ìdúág*

|ù-só ú-nè èèj ì-dúág|

3-river III-COP with 7-depth

‘The river is deep.’

(173) a. *ànè lèbùm*

|à-nè lè-bùm|

I-COP 5-belly

b. *ànè èèy lèbùm*

|à-nè èèj lè-bùm|

I-COP with 5-belly

‘She is pregnant.’

²² Except in the case of disjunctive coordination meaning ‘either ... or’, as illustrated in example (264).

- (174) a. *ìvúŋlâ í-nè è-vé̂b*
 |ì-vúŋlâ í-nè è-vé̂b|
 7-wind VII-COP 5-cold
- b. *ìvúŋlâ í-nè èèy è-vé̂b*
 |ì-vúŋlâ í-nè èèy è-vé̂b|
 7-wind VII-COP with 5-cold
 ‘The wind is cold.’

The complement of some nouns is introduced by *èèy*.

- (175) *múŋá à-nè m̀ntàg èèy òm̀kpámgí káàyê wě*
 |N-úŋá à-nè m̀ntàg èèy|
 1-child I-COP 4-satisfied with
 |N-̀kpámgí H=káàjê w-ě|
 3-new III.CON=notebook III-her
 ‘The child is proud of her new notebook.’

The preposition *èèy* preceded by the negative particle *tè* translates as ‘without’.

- (176) *tè èèy ndúáŋ*
 |tè èèy ndúáŋ|
 NEG with [9]success
 ‘without success’
- (177) *àké m̀edyă tè èèy jé*
 |à-H-kê-H m̀-đíá tè èèy jé|
 I-PST-go-NF 1SG-being NEG with I.SUB
 ‘He left without me. (lit. me being without him)’

3.4.4. The preposition *ábô*

When a location, source (178) or destination (179) is human, the preposition *ábô* is used rather than *á*. This preposition translates in French as ‘chez’.

- (178) *òkúŋkúímá á⁴kúz kálâdà ábô m̀mòm m̀èŋgàŋ.*
 |N-kúŋkúímá à-H-kú-z-H kálâdà ábô|
 3-chief I-PST-buy-NF book from
 |N-Bòm L=mà-ŋgàŋ|
 1-maker I.CON=6-magic
 ‘The chief bought a book from the witch doctor.’

- (179) *màkè ábô òkúyíkímá*
 |*mà-à-kè ábô ò-kúyíkímá*|
 1SG-SP-go to 3-chief
 ‘I am going to the chief.’

ábô developed from the combination of the locative preposition *á* with the plural word *bô*. This is still reflected in the fact that nouns that are genderless in the plural are not preceded by the plural word if they follow the preposition *ábô*.²³

- (180) a. *mbóy* ‘friend’ (9)
 b. *bô mbóy* ‘friends’ (genderless)
- (181) a. *mèté kè ábô mbóy yâmà*
 |*mà-Lté L-kè ábô mbóí jǎmà*|
 1SG-PR INF-go to [9]friend IX.my
 ‘I’m going to my friend.’
 b. *mèté kè ábô mbóy bâmà*
 |*mà-Lté L-kè ábô mbóí bǎmà*|
 1SG-PR INF-go to friend II.my
 ‘I’m going to my friends.’

The complement of some nouns, such as *è-pìdí* ‘confidence’, is introduced by *á* if it is non-human and by *ábô* when it has human reference.

- (182) a. *mègbélé lèpìdí á zèkúli*
 |*mà-gbéì-Á lè-pìdí á zàkúli*|
 1SG-grasp-RS 5-confidence LOC school
 ‘I have confidence in the school.’
 b. *mègbélé lèpìdí ábô òtí.*
 |*mà-gbéì-Á lè-pìdí ábô ò-tí*|
 1SG-grasp-RS 5-confidence in 1-lord
 ‘I have confidence in the Lord.’

The same complementarity between *á* and *ábô* exists for their use of introducing a new topic, translatable as ‘concerning’.

²³ This is also reflected in Cameroonian French, where proper names are pluralized after the preposition *chez*, e.g. *chez les Désirés* ‘at Désiré’s place’.

- (189) *ábê twàmó, ...*
 |*ábê twàmó*|
 on Tomo
 ‘Concerning Tomo, ...’

3.4.5. The preposition *vwàz* ‘until, as far as, up to’

When it has a spatial directional meaning, the preposition *vwàz* ‘as far as’ precedes a locative, i.e. either a prepositional phrase introduced by *á* or *ábê*, or a locative adverb or interrogative prolocative. In my notes, this preposition never receives tone copy. Therefore it may have an initial structural floating low tone *Lvùàz*. This needs to be checked.

- (190) *bébé bèngì ìmèyéméb vwàz á ndá yē*
 |*bá-bé L-bèy-Lgì N-ìmáìyéméb*|
 II-TIMPF INF-follow-G 3-thief
 |*Lvùàz á ndá j-ě*|
 until LOC [9]house IX-his
 ‘They followed the thief up to his house.’
- (191) *màkè vwàz ùyǵóló*
 |*mà-à-kè Lvùàz á ùyǵóló*|
 1SG-SP-go until LOC Yaoundé
 ‘I’m going as far as Yaoundé.’
- (192) *vwàz mú*
 |*Lvùàz mú*|
 until here
 ‘up to here’
- (193) *vwàz á vê?*
 |*Lvùàz á vế*|
 until LOC where
 ‘up to where’

With a temporal meaning *vwàz* is simply followed by a temporal adverb or noun.

- (194) *vwàz àná*
 |*Lvùàz à-ná*|
 until today
 ‘until now’

- (195) *v̀wàz ìdén'íí?*
 |*Lv̀wàz ìdén=íí*|
 until when=Q
 ‘until when?’

For expressing the meaning ‘until X, X included’, *v̀wàz* is followed by the preposition *èèy*.

- (196) *mèté Ìgì v̀wàz èèy kíđí*
 |*mà-Ltè L-Ìgì Lv̀wàz èèj kíđí*|
 1SG-PR INF-stay until with tomorrow
 ‘I stay until tomorrow, tomorrow included.’
- (197) (Everything was destroyed,)
v̀wàz èèy ndá
 |*Lv̀wàz èèj ndá*|
 until with [9]house
 ‘up to and including the house.’

Finally, *v̀wàz* can be used as an adverb meaning ‘endlessly, towards infinity’.

- (198) *àkâzgì á m̄bgán v̀wàz*
 |*à-káz<Lg>ì á màbgán Lv̀wàz*|
 I-start<G> LOC [9]crossroads on
 ‘starting from the crossroads, endlessly’

3.4.6. The preposition *àné* ‘like’

The preposition *àné* ‘like, as’ is used in the expression of comparison of equality.

- (199) *ànè ìgùl àné ìjmgbēm*
 |*à-nè ìgùl àné ì-jmgbēm*|
 I-COP [9]strong like 7-lion
 ‘He’s strong as a lion.’
- (200) *àgbélè sēm ì mètwa àné m̄*
 |*à-gbél-Ā sēm ì=màtúà àné m̄*|
 I-grasp-RS [9]same IX.CON=6-car as 1SG.FSUB
 ‘He has the same car as I have.’

3.5. Demonstrative and endophoric pro-adverbials

There are three demonstrative pro-adverbials, two for place *vǎ* and *mǐ* and one for manner *nǎ* ~ *nâ*. These words have in common with the adnominal demonstratives discussed in 2.2.2 that they carry a dissimilating high tone and that they can take the suffixes *-lǐ*, *-lǎ* and *-jà* for marking greater distance from the speaker.²⁴

- (201) a. *ɲkòm ɲgòb àbógô bèbè vǎ*
 |*ɲ-kòm ɲgòb à-Bóg-ǎ bǎbǎ vǎ*|
 3-maker [9]shoe I-stay-RS close here
 ‘The shoemaker lives nearby.’
- b. *zùgá vǎ*
 |*zùgá vǎ*|
 come here
 ‘Come here!’
- (202) *úsúsúá ìnâ jì jéblè kàtòliká wǒ ázù mǐ*²⁵
 |*úsúsúá ìnâ ɲ-jéblè kàtòlikà wǒ à-zù mǐ*|
 before 1-religion catholic I.SUB I-came here
 ‘Before the catholic religion arrived here.’
- (203) a. *mèté kwàm nâ*
 |*mè-Lté kùàm nâ*|
 1SG-PR INF-do thus
 ‘I do it this way.’

²⁴ But there seem to be restrictions on which suffixes they can take. With *vǎ* and *nǎ* I found only the suffix *-lǎ*, which does not occur with *mǐ* in my data. This has to be checked. The tonality of the manner pro-adverbial is very often falling, also in the long form *nala*, which means that the suffix must be structurally low. The description of this pro-adverbial must be reconsidered. Perhaps the suffix *-la* is not the same as the intermediate distance suffix *-lǎ* found in demonstrative modifiers.

²⁵ I do not know which verb form is used in this sentence. It might be a subjunctive, but then a falling tone would be expected on *-zu*, i.e. *ázù*.

- b. *tòytóŋ áŋgābé mòd â múŋá nâ: ànēngì. dō íyōŋ vó*
mēŋgāwó jè ànēngì nālá
 |*tòytóŋ à-ŋgá-bé m-òdH à=m-úŋá nā*|
 Tonton I-RP-COP 1-AUG I.CON=1-child thus
 |*à-nēn-Lgì dō í-ì-jōŋ vó m-ŋgá-wó jē*|
 I-be.big-G DP AU-7-time *donc* 1SG-RP-give.birth I.SUB
 |*à-nēn-Lgì nā-LÁ*|
 I-be.big-G thus-ID
 ‘Tonton was a big child, very big. So, when I gave birth to him, being big like this, ...’

The locative demonstrative pro-adverbials have in common with the interrogative prolocative *vě* (see 3.6.3) that the locative preposition *á* can optionally precede them, without apparently adding anything to their meaning.²⁶ Exact location is expressed by *vā* and approximate location by *mū*.

- (204) a. *vā* / *á vā* ‘here’
 b. *vālá* / *á vālá* ‘there (intermediate)’
 c. *vālŋyâ* / *á vālŋyâ* ‘there (far)’
 (205) a. *mú* / *á mú* ‘about here’
 b. *mūlī* / *á mūlī* ‘about there’
 c. *mūlŋyâ* / *á mūlŋyâ* ‘there’

Demonstrative pro-adverbials have some nominal characteristics, viz. they can occur in subject position, and hence they are agreement controllers. Just as other locatives they can freely trigger either agreement pattern I or III.

- (206) a. *á mūlī útē jèb*
 |*á mū-lī ú-Ltē L-jèb*|
 LOC there-ID III-PR INF-be.good

²⁶ A brief historical note can be illuminating here. The locative demonstrative pro-adverbials were once demonstrative adnominal modifiers of gender 16 (*vā*) and 18 (*mū*), which no longer exist in contemporary Eton. From a historical perspective, the function of the locative preposition before the pro-adverbials is the same as that of the augment before the demonstrative modifiers, turning adnominals into pronominals.

- b. *á mǔlǐ àtè jèb*
 |á mǔlǐ à-Ltè L-jèb|
 LOC there-ID I-PR INF-be.good
 ‘Around there it is nice.’
- (207) a. *vá útē jèb*
 |vǎ ú-Ltè L-jèb|
 here III-PR INF-be.good
- b. *vá àtè jèb*
 |vǎ à-Ltè L-jèb|
 here I-PR INF-be.good
 ‘Here it is nice.’
- (208) *nálâ wátìnì nâ...*
 |nǎ-là ú-à-tìnì nâ|
 thus-ID III-SP-mean CMP
 ‘This means that...’
- (209) *nálá ànè nâ bòd béngákwaló àbwǐ mām*
 |nǎ-lá à-nè nâ b-òd bá-ŋgá-kúáló à-bǔ|
 thus-ID I-be CMP 2-person II-RP-say 3-many
 |H=m-àm|
 III.CON=6-thing
 ‘This (i.e. what I said before) means that the people had said many things (i.e. gossiped a lot).’

However, the demonstrative pro-adverbials are rather low on the scale of possible subjects. For instance, ‘it is cold here’ will usually not be translated by means of the verb *s̄m* ‘be cold’ with ‘here’ as its subject, as in (210). More often a copular construction is used in which the noun *è-vé̄b* ‘cold’ is the subject.

- (210) a. *vá àtè s̄m*
 |vǎ à-Ltǎ L-s̄m|
 here I-PR INF-be.cold
 ‘It is cold here.’
- b. *èvé̄b é-nè vá*
 |è-vé̄b é-nè vǎ|
 5-cold V-be here
 ‘It is cold here.’

Locative demonstrative pro-adverbials are often in apposition to another locative.

- (211) a. *múli átán jūliyâ*
 b. *átán jūliyâ á múli*
 c. *átán jūliyâ múli*

‘There, in that village.’

- (212) *í swánò àmé lòdgi èbá émé átán vâ*

|í súánò à-mé L-lòd-Lgi è-bá é-mé|

AU Sunday I-YIMPF INF-pass-G 5-marriage V-be

|á à-tán vǎ|

LOC3-village here

‘Last Sunday there was a marriage in the village.’

- (213) *wàábógò vâ. ùnè á úyòmábàŋ á yād vālá*²⁷

|ù-àá-Bóg-ǎ vǎ ù-nè á ùjòmábàŋ|

2SG-NEG-stay-RS here 2SG-be LOC Uyomabang

|á jád vǎ-lá|

LOC [9]side there-ID

‘You don’t live here. You’re at the other side of Uyomabang.’

- (214) *á ñkòm sí á yó vālá*

|á ñ-kòm H=sí á jó vǎ-lá|

LOC 3-side III.CON=[9]earth LOC [9]sky there-ID

‘There, on top of the bank.’

- (215) *ùtéli múŋá á méköl mú*

|ù-téli-H N-úŋá á mǎ-köl mú|

2SG-put-CS 1-child LOC 6-foot here

‘You put it here, on the child’s feet.’

The demonstrative manner pro-adverbial *nǎ* is mostly used with the suffix expressing proximity to the hearer, i.e. as *nǎlá*. It can usually be translated as ‘thus’ or ‘this way’, either accompanying a demonstration of how something is done or referring back to a chunk of discourse in which something is explained. It can also mean ‘correct’, in sentences like (216-217).

²⁷ I do not know where the downstep on *yād* comes from. This examples comes from an interview with a speaker of a Southern dialect. It is possible that *yād* has an underlying rising tone in her dialect. There are many nouns with a high tone in one dialect and a rising in another.

- (216) *m̀̀m̀ d̀̀̀m̀ l̀̀̀v̀̀ẁá̀g̀ l̀̀̀ǹề v̀̀á̀l̀á̀. ́̀j̀ó̀m̀ ù̀t̀é̀ k̀à̀d̀ ́̀ǹề ǹá̀l̀á̀.*
 |m̀̀m̀ d̀̀̀-à̀m̀ l̀̀̀-ú̀ú̀á̀g̀ l̀̀̀-ñ̀è̀ v̀̀á̀-ł̀á̀ ́̀-d̀z̀-ó̀m̀|
 yes 5-thing V-one V-be there-ID AU-7-thing
 |ù̀-L̀t̀é̀ L̀-k̀à̀d̀ ́̀-ñ̀è̀ ǹá̀-ł̀á̀|
 2SG-PR INF-say VII-COP thus-ID
 ‘Yes, there is something there. What you say is correct.’
- (217) *̀̀ỳı̀ ɦ̀ı̀ á̀n̄̀ ǹá̀l̀á̀*
 |ɦ̀ı̀ v̀ı̀ á̀-ñ̄̀ ǹá̀-ł̀á̀|
 FOC *donc* I-RCOP thus-ID
 ‘That’s how it is.’

As a discourse deictic, *n̄́lá* does not have to refer to procedural discourse, it can be used instead of any other discourse deictic, e.g. *v̄́lá* in (209). In the following example *n̄́* occurs twice, once as a demonstrative (218b) and once as a discourse deictic (218c).

- (218) a. *k̀ề ǹá̀ ñ̀c̀à̀ỳ ú̀ỳg̀á̀p̀á̀m̀ m̀á̀, à̀n̄̀é̀ ñ̀c̀à̀ỳ ú̀t̀ḕ p̀á̀m̀ b̄̀ỳı̀.*
 |k̀ề ǹá̀ ñ̀-t̀f̀à̀ỳ ú̀-ỳg̀á̀-p̀á̀m̀ m̀á̀ à̀n̄̀é̀|
 DP 3-swelling III-RP-come.out 1SG.SUB like
 |ñ̀-t̀f̀à̀ỳ ú̀-L̀t̀é̀ L̀-p̀á̀m̀ H̀ b̀-ı̀ỳı̀|
 3-swelling III-PR INF-come.out LT 2-child
 ‘Truly a swelling appeared on me, like swellings appear on children’
- b. *d̄̀đ̀ ñ̀c̀à̀ỳ ú̀ỳg̀á̀p̀á̀m̀ ú̀n̄̀ı̀ỳ á̀ ỳó̀, ǹá̀*
 |d̄̀đ̀ ñ̀-t̀f̀à̀ỳ ú̀-ỳg̀á̀-p̀á̀m̀ á̀ ù̀-n̄̀ı̀ỳ|
 DP 3-swelling III-RP-come.out LOC 3-toe
 |á̀ j̀ó̀ ǹá̀|
 LOC [9]sky thus
 ‘So this swelling came out right on top of my toe, like this’
- c. *m̀è̀ỳg̀é̀ǹá̀ c̀è̀c̀à̀d̀, ́̀ı̀ỳı̀ ú̀ỳg̀á̀p̀á̀m̀ ǹá̀l̀á̀*
 |m̀-ı̀ỳg̀é̀ǹá̀ t̀f̀à̀t̀f̀à̀d̀ ́̀-ı̀-j̀ı̀ỳ ú̀-ỳg̀á̀-p̀á̀m̀ ǹá̀-ł̀á̀|
 1SG-SCOP small AU-7-time III-RP-come.out thus-ID
 ‘I was still very small, when it came out like this.’

There are also two endophoric markers, *w̄́* and *ı̀t̄́*, that are used with reference to locatives. Demonstrative *v̄́* and *m̄́* relate to endophoric *w̄́* and *ı̀t̄́* as the adnominal demonstratives discussed in Section 2.2.2 relate to the anaphoric modifier *-t̄́* discussed in 2.2.1. That is, *v̄́* and *m̄́* can be used endophorically, but *w̄́* and *ı̀t̄́* cannot

be used exophorically. *wě* is used as a modifier of a locative (219), or, when preceded by the locative preposition *á*, independently as a pro-adverbial (220).

- (219) a. *ápūb átān wē*
 |*á à-púb á à-tán wě*|
 LOC 3-field LOC 3-village that
 ‘in a field, in the village in question’
- b. *á fīswān wě*
 |*á fīswān wě*|
 LOC town that
 ‘there in town’
- (220) a. *á wē útē jèb*
 |*á wě ú-Lté L-jèb*|
 LOC that III-PR INF-be.good
 ‘It is nice there (i.e. in the aforementioned place).’
- b. *àŋgákê wé bô ŋgwàn bébā á wē, sè nālā.*
 |*à-ŋgá-kè L-wé bô ŋgwàn bô-bă*|
 I-RP-go INF-give.birth PL girl II-two
 |*á wě sè nă-lá*|
 LOC that DP thus-ID
 ‘She went to give birth to two girls there, didn’t she.’

The endophoric marker *ítē* has a long variant *ítēdé*, which has the same meaning and use as the short form. When used adverbially, *ítē* has the same meaning as *á wē*, viz. ‘in/at the place in question’. Location is not restricted to the spatial domain. In (222) *ítē* refers to the *mètāmná*, a phrasal name that is given to a child immediately after birth and that often consists of a comment on the conditions of pregnancy.

- (221) *lōŋ ndá ítē*
 |*lōŋ-H ndá ítē*|
 build-IMP [9]house there
 ‘Build the house there.’

- (222) *ɲgé jóm zìŋ yándègèlè wǎ, wǎyì pɔwágó twāb íjóm wɔpùdì*
ítē
 |ɲgé dz-óm zìŋ í-à-ndèglè wǎ ù-à-jì|
 if 7-thing any VII-SP-bother 2SG.SUB 2SG-SP-want
 |púágó L-túáb H í-dz-óm ù-à-pùdì ítǎ|
 really INF-choose LT AU-7-thing 2SG-SP-put there
 ‘If there is anything that bothers you, you will really choose
 what you put into it.’

In examples like (223-224) *ítē* fulfils the same role as stranded prepositions in English and in (225) it is used with an existential meaning.

- (223) *bítē yì ilā nâ bîèèy júŋ ítē*
 |bì-Ltè L-jì H ì-lá|
 1PL-PR INF-want LT 7-glass
 |nâ bî-èèj L-júŋ ítǎ|
 CMP 1PL-FUT INF-drink there
 ‘We want a glass to drink from.’
- (224) *vé mâ ndég nâ mépūđì mécī mé kú mâ ítē*²⁸
 |vé-H mà ndég nâ H-mà-L-pùd<H>ì|
 give-IMP 1SG.SUB [9]calabash CMP SB-1SG-SB-put<SB>
 |mà-tfĩ mǎ=kú mǎ ítǎ|
 6-egg VI.CON=[9]chicken VI.DEM there
 ‘Give me a calabash to put these eggs in.’
- (225) *mèbálá méŋgábé dyǎ ítē*
 |mà-bálá má-ŋgá-bé L-díá ítǎ|
 6-medicine VI-RP-IMPF INF-be there
 ‘There were medicines.’

When used as a modifier of a locative phrase, the meaning of *ítē* is different. If the locative phrase refers to a container, *ítē* means ‘inside’ (226-227), synonymous with the complex preposition *á mēm* + connective morpheme ‘at the heart of’ (228). If the locative phrase is not a container, *ítē* offers a precision of the location. The phrase in (229), for instance, could mean ‘alongside the road’ if there were only the locative preposition *á*. *ítē* specifies that it is *on* the road.

²⁸ I had expected a falling tone on the last syllable of the subjunctive verb form, i.e. *mépūđì*.

- (226) *jé ínē á méndēg ítē*
 |dʒ-é ínē á mǎ-ndég ítǎ|
 7-what VII-REL.be LOC 6-calabash there
 ‘What is in the calabashes?’
- (227) *á ndá ìtè ítēdē*
 |á ndá ì-tè ítǎdǎ|
 LOC [9]house IX-ANA there
 ‘in the house in question’
- (228) *á ndá ìtè á mēm*
 |á ndá ì-tè á N-ǎém|
 LOC [9]house 9-ANA LOC 3-heart
 ‘in the house in question’
- (229) *á zēn ítē*
 |á zēn ítǎ|
 LOC [9]road there
 ‘on the road’
- Finally, *ítē* can modify a nominal, in which case it usually means ‘the inside of’. In (232) *ítē* means ‘among them’. The noun *ndimzàná* ‘meaning’ is typically accompanied by *ítē*.
- (230) *dó ítē*
 |d-ó ítǎ|
 5-hand there
 ‘hand palm’
- (231) *ndá ítēdē ìtē jèb*
 |ndá ítǎdǎ ì-Lté L-jèb|
 [9]house there IX-PR INF-be.good
 ‘The inside of the house is nice.’
- (232) *ngé mímwāg ítē àkè wú*
 |ngé N-múág ítǎ à-à-kè L-wú|
 if I-one there I-SP-go INF-die
 ‘if one of them were to die...’
- (233) *ndimzàná ítē wàgò wò tē yēm?*
 |ndimzànà ítǎ wàgò wò tēH jèm|
 [9]meaning there 2SG.TNP 2SG.SUB NEG know
 ‘Its meaning, don’t you know it?’

3.6. Question words

Typically, question words can hardly be called a part-of-speech category on morphosyntactic grounds, since their distribution depends on the elements they question. Because of their functional resemblance, they are discussed together here, except for the interrogative promodifiers, which were treated in Section 2.2.4. See VIII:8 for more information on the use of question words.

3.6.1. Interrogative pronominals

The interrogative pronominals *zá* ‘who’ and *jé* ‘what’ are nouns from a morphosyntactic point of view. They can occur in subject position and they are agreement controllers. *zá* ‘who’ is genderless. *jé* ‘what’ belongs to gender 7 and could be analysed as *j-é* (nominal gender 7 prefix *j-* + stem *é*). Dialectal variants are *jè* and *yá*.²⁹

- (234) *jé áŋgābé sāgā*
 |dz-é à-ŋgā-bé L-sā-gā|
 7-what I-RP-IMPF INF-work-G
 ‘What was he doing?’

Contrary to *jé*, *zá* can be pluralized, viz. by means of the plural word *bà*.

- (235) a. *zá àté zù*
 |zá à-Lté L-zù|
 who I-PR INF-come
 ‘Who is coming?’
 b. *bà zá bētē zù*
 |bà zá bē-Lté L-zù|
 PL who II-PR INF-come
 ‘Who are coming?’

Interrogative pronominals can be complements of prepositions, for instance in order to translate ‘why?’, lit. ‘for what’.

- (236) *ùsò ású jé?*
 |ù-H-sò-H ású H=dz-é|
 2SG-PST-come-PST for III.CON=7-what
 ‘Why did you come?’

²⁹ *yá* could be analysed as *y + á*, but then the prefix is pronominal, rather than nominal.

- (237) *ású zá áyām ífíd jî?*
 |ású H=zá à-H-jám-H í-ííd jî|
 for III.CON=who I-PST-cook-PST AU-[9]meat IX.DEM
 ‘For whom did she prepare this meat?’
- (238) *èèy jé ákwāmgí ísā jî?*
 |èèj dz-é à-H-kùàm-Lgì-H ì-sá dzî|
 with 7-what I-PST-do-G-NF 7-work VII.DEM
 ‘With what did she do this job?’
- (239) *ùbé ábò zá?*
 |ù-bé ábò zá|
 2SG-be chez who
 ‘With whom were you?’

As in English, the choice between ‘who’ and ‘what’ is not merely a matter of human versus non-human reference. For instance, the question word *jé* ‘what’ is used for asking for the gender of a newly born, not *zá* ‘who’ (240). This is because one asks for a categorisation, rather than an identification. Conversely, the use of *zá* in (107) (here repeated as 241) might be explained by the fact that the dwelling referred to by the interrogative pronominal is already fully identified, but the choice might also be lexically determined. Anyway, the use of *jé* is excluded in (240). More data are needed to describe the choice between *zá* and *jé*.

- (240) *ànè jé? dè pām dè mìnɔgá*
 |à-nè dz-é dè pām dè N-ɔgá|
 I-COP 7-what Q [9]man Q 1-woman
 ‘What is it, a boy or a girl?’
- (241) *zá íbègá íbógí hó mèbógó nâ?*
 |zá ì-bègá í-ì-bógí vó mð-Bóg-Á nâ|
 who 7-kind VII.CON=7-dwelling donc 1SG-stay-REL.RS thus
 ‘What kind of damned place am I living in!’

3.6.2. General question markers

The general question markers *dè* and *yì*, which are most probably dialectal variants, introduce polarity questions.

- (242) a. *dè ùwágò?*
 |dè ù-H-wágò|
 Q 2SG-PST-wash
 ‘Did you wash yourself?’
- b. *dè ùté wóg zâ?*
 |dè ù-Lté L-wóg H zâ|
 Q 2SG-PR INF-feel LT hunger
 ‘Are you hungry?’

3.6.3. The interrogative pro-locative *vě*

The interrogative prolocative *vě* is formally similar to the demonstrative pro-adverbials (see Section 3.5). It carries a dissimilating high tone and it is optionally preceded by the locative preposition *á*, without an apparent change in meaning or function. *vě* can question location, origin and destination. There is also a variant *vé*.

- (243) a. *ànè vé*
 |à-nè vě|
 I-be where
 ‘Where is she?’
- b. *àké vè*
 |à-H-kè-H vě|
 I-PST-go-NF where
 ‘Where did she go?’

Sometimes (*á*) *vě* combines with a question marker. No clear conditioning has been found at present.

- (244) *yí mènè kǔz bēédí á vè?*
 |jí mènè L-kǔz H bēédí á vě|
 Q 1SG-POS INF-buy LT bread LOC where
 ‘Where can I buy bread?’

3.6.4. The interrogative *yá* ‘how’

The interrogative *yá* ‘how’ is always in final position in questions. Sometimes it co-occurs with the general question marker *yí*, which introduces the question.

- (245) *yí í mēn béngábé kǎ̀àgì vé bóyó dwé lé métàmná yá?*
 |jǐ ímēn bǎ-ŋgá-bé L-káz<Lg>ì L-vé H b-óyó|
 Q self II-RP-IMPF INF-begin<G> INF-give LT 2-child
 |d-óé lǎ=mà-tàmná já|
 5-name V.CON=6-metamna how
 ‘How exactly did they attribute a metamna to children?’
- (246) *pèpá wô àngábé dwé yá?*
 |pǎpá ú-ò à-ŋgá-bé d-òé já|
 father I-your I-RP-COP 5-name how
 ‘How was your father called?’
- (247) *àně íyòŋ ùtè yāŋ íbǎb, mébálá ùtè kwàm èèy mó ménè yá?*
 |àně í-ì-jòŋ ù-Lté L-jáŋ H ì-bǎb|
 like AU-7-time 2SG-PR INF-heal LT 7-ibab
 |H-mà-bálá ù-Lté L-kuàm èèj mó má-nè já|
 AU-6-medicine 2SG-PR INF-do with 6.SUB VI-COP how
 ‘For instance, when you heal *ibab*, the medicines with which you do it, how are they?’
- yá* is also used in indirect questions (248) and in utterances that express surprise or disbelief (249).
- (248) *kǎd bíā yí bò tàdá béngábé nùŋgì yá?*
 |kǎd-H bíǎ jǐ bò tàdá bǎ-ŋgá-bé L-nùŋ-Lgì já|
 say-IMP 1PL.SUB FOC PL father II-RP-IMPF INF-live-G how
 ‘Tell us how our elders lived.’
- (249) *yí ùtè sǐlǎ ípàá áǎ ndán yá?*
 |jǐ ù-Lté L-sǐlǎ H ì-pàá áǎ ndán já|
 FOC 2SG-PR INF-ask LT 7-side LC [9]ndan how
 ‘How is it possible that you ask (me) questions about *ndans*!?’

3.6.5. The interrogative *ídén* ‘when’

The question word *ídén* comes at the end of an interrogative clause. It is not related to an existing noun.

- (250) *wèèy sǒ ídén?*
 |ù-èèj L-sǒ ídén|
 2SG-FUT INF-come when
 ‘When will you come?’

3.7. Grammatical words

3.7.1. The link tone *H*

The link tone is a floating high tone that stands between an infinitive (L-stem) and an immediately following nominal, irrespective of whether there is a syntactic relation between both. Formally this link tone behaves as a word. If it were a suffix of the infinitive, it would attach to the left (i.e. to the infinitive), which it does not. If it were a prefix or proclitic on the nominal, it would delete any following unaccentuated low tone instead of pushing it to the right. The link tone might be called a pseudo-word, since it has no function.

- (251) *àngâ tîl bə kálâdà*
 |à-ŋgâ L-tîl H bə kálâdà|
 I-INC INF-write LT PL letter
 ‘He is writing letters.’

Example (252b) proves that link tone occurs only if a nominal *immediately* follows an infinitive and example (254) shows that there is link tone between an infinitive and a nominal even if the two are not syntactically related.

- (252) a. *àté kùl bíkòb bí tíd*
 |à-Lté L-kùl H bí-kòb bí=tíd|
 I-PR INF-clean LT 8-skin VIII.CON=[9]animal
 ‘He cleans the skins.’
- b. *àté kùl vè bíkòb*
 |à-Lté L-kùl vè bí-kòb|
 I-PR INF-clean only 8-skin
 ‘He cleans only the skins.’
- (253) *àté pàd ímôd àté sòm bíbùmá*
 |à-Lté L-pàd í-N-òd à-Lté L-sòm H bí-bùmá|
 I-PR INF-pick AU-1-person I-PR INF-hunt LT 8-fruit
 ‘She picks fruit for the hunter.’

3.7.2. Number words

The plural word *bə*, the diminutive proclitic *məH* and the augmentative *mòdH* are here treated together because they share some morphosyntactic and semantic similarities. Moreover, from a typological point of view, it is not rare that these words together form a minor part-of-speech category (see Dryer 1989). From a syntactic

point of view, number words are the head of the noun they quantify. It is the number word that defines external agreement.

3.7.2.1. The plural word *b̀̀*

Genderless nouns are pluralized by means of the plural word *b̀̀*. The plural word is always immediately followed by a genderless noun, which may be a phrasal name. It cannot be used in isolation, e.g. deictically or anaphorically. Nothing can be inserted between the plural word and the noun it pluralizes.³⁰ From a syntactic point of view the plural word is the head of the noun it pluralizes. It is the gender 2 plural word that determines gender agreement, not the following noun, which is genderless. Moreover, any augment is prefixed to the plural word, not to the following noun.

- (254) *ɪ̀b̀̀ kálàdà bá*
 [ɪ̀-*b̀̀* kálàdà bá]
 AU-PL book II.DEM
 ‘these books’

Since *b-* is the prefix of gender 2 before vowel initial stems, *b̀̀* could be analysed as *b-̀̀* (2-PL).

3.7.2.2. The diminutive proclitic *m̀̀H*

The diminutive proclitic *N-̀̀H=* (plural *b-̀̀H=*) can be put in front of any full noun in order to form a diminutive or singulative. It has a variant *N-̀̀à̀nH=*.

- (255) a. *ìlè* ‘a tree’
 m̀̀ìlè ‘a small tree’
 b. *b̀̀ìlè* ‘trees’
 b̀̀ b̀̀ìlè ‘small trees’

A combination of diminutive proclitic and noun triggers agreement pattern I in the singular and II in the plural. This is explained by the origin of the diminutive proclitic, viz. the gender 1 noun *m-̀̀ɣ̀̀ɔ̀̀* ‘child’, which also explains the tonality of the proclitic.³¹

³⁰ The plural word might be a proclitic, but the difference between words and proclitics is only visible in Eton if they carry a final high tone.

³¹ Note that H cannot be a connective morpheme here, since the connective of agreement pattern I has a low tone. Nevertheless, it is very likely that the diminutive proclitic originates in a connective construction.

- (256) a. *mò élén àté kù*
 |_{N-òH=è-lén} *à-Lté L-kù*|
 1-DIM=5-palm.tree I-PR INF-fall
 ‘The small palm tree falls.’
- b. *bò mélén bētē kù*
 |_{b-òH=mà-lén} *bá-Lté L-kù*|
 2-DIM=6-palm.tree II-PR INF-fall
 ‘The small palm trees fall.’
- c. *bò méjwág*
 |_{b-òH=mà-júág}|
 2-DIM=6-wine
 ‘some wine’

Before genderless words for ethnic groups the diminutive has a singulative function.

- (257) a. *pùlàsí* ‘the French’
mò pùlàsí ‘a Frenchman’
- b. *háydên* ‘pagans, heathens’
mò háydên ‘a pagan’
- c. *kwálô* ‘the Ewondos’
mò kwálô ‘an Ewondo’

In the plural, the diminutive word can also be used as a quantifier, meaning ‘few, little’, as in:

- (258) *fid* ‘animal(s)’
bò fid ‘small animals / few animals’

3.7.2.3. The augmentative noun *mòdH*

The augmentative is expressed by a gender 1 noun *m-òdH*, that is formally identical to the noun for ‘person’, except for its final floating high tone. Its plural is *b-òdH* (gender 2). A connective proclitic links the augmentative noun to the following (modified) noun.

- (259) a. *mòd â mòd*
 |_{N-òdH} *â=N-òd*|
 1-AUG I.CON=1-person
 ‘a big person’

- b. *bǒd bé bôd*
 |*b-òdH bǎ=b-òd*|
 2-AUG II.CON=2-person
 ‘big people’

3.7.4. The locative connective

A special, uninflected linking morpheme can be used instead of the connective when a modifying element denotes the location or the origin of the modified nominal. The form of this locative connective is hard to analyse and even hard to transcribe, since its tone and its vowel quality are variable. The basic form seems to be *áā*.

- (260) *bòd áā físwân*
 |*b-òd áǎ fíwù`àn*|
 2-person LC city
 ‘city dwellers’
- (261) *bòd áā mú*
 |*b-òd áǎ mú*|
 2-person LC here
 ‘the people from here’
- (262) *mà jǒŋ mènđim éè`ítě, tǎ jǒŋ ménđim éè úsō*
 |*mà-à- jǒŋ mǎ-ndim éè`ítě tǎH L- jǒŋ*|
 1SG-SP-take 6-water LC there NEG INF-take
 |*H mǎ-ndim éè á ù-só*|
 LT 6-water LC LOC 3-river
 ‘I take the water from there. Don’t take river water!’
- (263) *ùtē cīg ŋgē úmǎŋ, ŋgē jóm àā jól`ì kú*
 |*ù-Ltē L-tfīg ŋgē ù-mǎŋ ŋgē dz-óm*|
 2SG-PR INF-cut if 3-toe if 7-thing
 |*àā jól`ì=kú*|
 LC [9]body IX.CON=[9]chicken
 ‘You cut either a toe, or something (else) from the body of the chicken.’

3.7.5. The vocative particle

The particle *a* can be preposed to a proper name or a noun with human reference in order to make an address form. As it seems from the few examples available, this particle has a dissimilating high tone, the

representation of which depends on the tone of the *following* syllable, rather than the preceding one.

- (264) a. *mádkûz* ‘Mark’
 à mádkûz ‘hey, Mark!’
 b. *wǎ* ‘you’
 á wǎ ‘hey, you!’
 c. *jìjéglê* ‘teacher’
 á jìjéglê ‘Sir/Miss (to a teacher)’
 d. *twàmó* ‘Tomo’
 á twāmó ‘hey, Tomo’

Often the final vowel of a proper name drops in vocative use, whether the name is preceded by the particle *a* or not.

- (265) a. *ùndwábô* ‘Ondobo’
 úndwāb ‘hey, Ondobo’
 b. *ìsónô* ‘Essono’
 ìsón ~ ísōn ‘hey, Essono’

3.8. Other minor word classes

A larger corpus is needed for a good description of discourse markers and interjections.

Chapter 6

Nominals

1. Introduction

Following Creissels (1991:40) I will use the term nominals for words or fragments of an utterance that are syntactically equivalent to a personal proper name. This chapter first presents the words that can function as nominals in themselves (the simple nominals) and then discusses the combinations of words that can function as a nominal. Many of the data that are relevant here have already been described in Chapter 5 and will not be repeated. The chapter concludes with a section on word order and a section on agreement within complex nominals.

2. Simple nominals

Simple nominals can be divided into words that do not need extra marking in order to function as a nominal and words that do. The latter are adnominal modifiers that are made independent (i.e. that can be pronominalised) by means of the augment \acute{r} . The augment cannot be used with an unmodified noun, e.g. to make it definite or specific.

2.1. Non-augmented simple nominals

Evidently, nouns and pronominals can constitute a nominal by themselves. In addition, the following word classes can be pronominalised without any further marking: the interrogative promodifiers $|-p\acute{e}\grave{e}|$ ‘which’ (V:(61b)) and $|-á\eta|$ ‘how many’ (1); the modifier $|-p\acute{e}b\grave{e}|$ ‘other’ (2) and quantifiers (3-5). However, ordinal numbers cannot be used independently (e.g. to translate English nominals such as *the fifth*).

- (1) $yá\eta \acute{r}\acute{r}\acute{b}\grave{a}n?$
 $|j-\acute{a}\eta \quad \acute{r}H-d\acute{z}\acute{r}b-\grave{b}\grave{a}n|$
X-how.many X-PST-steal-VRS
‘How many have been stolen.’ (e.g. goats)
- (2) $m\grave{e}gb\acute{e}l\acute{e} \grave{b}\acute{r}p\acute{e}b\grave{e}$
 $|m\grave{a}-\acute{g}\acute{b}\acute{e}l-\acute{A} \quad \acute{b}\acute{r}-p\acute{e}b\grave{e}|$
1SG-grasp-RS VIII-other
‘I have others.’ (e.g. forks)

- (3) a. [Which arrows (*mìm-pàn* (4)) should I take?]
ɲòŋ mísê
 |ɲòŋ-H mí-sɛ̀|
 take-IMP IV-all
 ‘Take all.’
 **ɲòŋ ʼmísê*
- b. [Is there still some cassava (*mòmùŋ* (3))]? (No,)
mèmá dī úsê
 |mà-H-mà-H L-dī ú-sɛ̀|
 1SG-PST-TMN-NF INF-eat III-all
 ‘I ate it all.’
- (4) [Do you have brothers (genderless)?]
 a. *mìmwág* ‘one’
 b. *mègbélê mwág*
 |mà-gbél-À m̀- múág|
 1SG-grasp-RS I-one
 ‘I have one.’
 c. *mègbélê bébā*
 |mà-gbél-À bá-bǎ|
 1SG-grasp-RS II-two
 ‘I have two.’
- (5) [Watch out for green mambas (*mè-jáy* (6)) here.]
 a. *twàmó áyēngí évwāg ààngògè*
 |tùàmó à-H-jén-Lgì-H è-vúág ààngògɛ̀|
 Tomo I-PST-see-G-NF V-one yesterday
 ‘Tomo saw one yesterday.’
 b. *twàmó áyēngí mélé ʼswánò ɲó*
 |tùàmó à-H-jén-Lgì-H má-lá ʼ-súánò ɲó|
 Tomo I-PST-see-G-NF VI-three AU-week I.DEM
 ‘Tomo saw three this week.’

2.2. Augmented simple nominals

Possessive adnominal modifiers can be pronominalised by means of the augment ʼ- followed by a floating low tone prefix, which is here glossed as PN *pronominaliser* (6).

- (6) [*kâbdî yàmà àtú*
 ‘My goat escaped.’]
íyàmà ìtyǎ mmèŋ
 |r-L-jàmà ì-tì-ǎ Ñ-Bèŋ|
 AU-PN-IX.my IX-attach-RS 3-good
 ‘Mine is well attached.’
- (7) *íwāmâ* ‘mine’ (III)
ímyāmâ ‘mine’ (IV)
íwâ ‘yours’ (I)
íwâ ‘yours’ (III)
íwě ‘his’ (I, III)

3. Complex nominals

The head of a complex nominal is either a noun or an augmented (i.e. pronominalised) demonstrative modifier. Pronominals such as the substitutive cannot be modified.

3.1. Non-augmented complex nominals

This section discusses complex nominals, the head of which is not augmented, i.e. all complex nominals with a nominal head, except those that contain a demonstrative determiner and/or a relative clause. Determination by means of a possessive determiner, a quantifier, an interrogative promodifier or a connective phrase does not entail the appearance of the augment before a noun or pronominal. Much of the information that is relevant here was given in Chapter 5 and will not be repeated. This includes modification by an anaphoric (v:2.2.1) or possessive (v:2.2.3) modifier, quantifiers (v:2.3 & v:3.1),¹ interrogatives (v:2.2.4), locative connectives (v:3.7.4), and indefinite modifiers (v:3.2).

3.1.1. Connectives

A connective construction establishes a relation between two nominals by means of a connective morpheme. The form of the connective proclitic is described in Section v:2.4. The meaning of this relation depends on the meaning of the two nominals. This section provides a

¹ Nouns modified by an ordinal number might require an augment for some speakers. This needs to be checked.

non-exhaustive typology of connective relations. External agreement of a connective construction is always determined by the first nominal, i.e. the noun *ɪvèvèz* in example (8).

- (8) *ɪvèvèz m̀pég ɪtē kù*
 |ɪ-vəvèz H=N-pég ɪ-Ltē L-kù|
 7-light VII.CON=3-bag VII-PR INF-fall
 ‘The light bag falls.’

3.1.1.1. “Genitive” relations

The first type of relation expressed by connectives is what might be called *genitive*. This includes ownership, part-whole relations (9), family relations (10), partitive relations (11), classifying relations (12) and others (13).

- (9) *mèkòl mé twàlàsí wē*
 |mà-kòl m̀a=tuàlàsí w-ě|
 6-leg VI.CON=trousers I-his
 ‘the legs of his trousers’
- (10) a. *ɪjòlò ɪ c̀âlà ɪsê*
 |ɪ-jòlò ɪ=tfàlà ɪ-sê|
 7-namesake VII.CON=Tsala VII-every
 ‘every namesake of Tsala’
- b. *ɪgwàn ɪ p̀úz ɪlúná*
 |ɪgwàn ɪ=p̀uz ɪlúná|
 [9]girl IX.CON=Pius Eloundou
 ‘Pius Eloundou’s daughter’
- (11) a. *běɲ vè ɪtùn ɪkwál ɪtê*
 |bèɲ-H vè ɪ-tùn H=N-kùál ɪ-tê|
 pursue-IMP only 7-piece VII.CON=3-rope VII-ANA
 ‘Only pursue this piece of root.’
- b. *ɟɪz lé mbâz*
 |ɟ-ɪz lé=mbâz|
 5-eye V.CON=[9]maize
 ‘a grain of maize’
- c. *àbũ b̀òd*
 |à-bũ H=b-òd|
 3-many III.CON=2-person
 ‘many people’

- (12) *èkǎŋ é kèká*
 |è-kǎŋ é=kèká|
 5-drying.shed V.CON=cocoa
 ‘drying shed for cocoa’
- (13) *lèbòrú lé bôd bô*
 |lâ-bòrú lá=b-òd bô-ò|
 5-origin V.CON=2-person II-your
 ‘the origin of your family (lit. people)’

3.1.1.2. Modification: the first nominal denotes a property

In the second major type of connective the first nominal denotes a property of the second nominal. This kind of relation is typically expressed by adjectives in languages that have such a word class.

- (14) *ìzèzèg í pùpó*
 |ì-zèzèg í=pùpó|
 7-sweet VII.CON=papaya
 ‘a sweet papaya’

The dependency relations in such connectives are a bit ambivalent. Semantically, the second noun is clearly the head, which is reflected in the fact that the first noun can be replaced by an interrogative promodifier, not the second (except perhaps in echo questions). In contrast, there are many arguments to call the first nominal the head from a syntactic point of view. As has been said in the introduction of Section 3.1.1, the agreement that a connective construction triggers depends on its first noun. Although agreement marking within a dependency cluster provides no clues for the recognition of the head (Hudson 1993:290), agreement between the dependency cluster as a whole and its head does. On the paradigmatic axis, the entire connective construction can be replaced by a pronominal of the same gender as the first noun. Referring to the light bag of example (8) one can say:

- (14) *mèté yēn yô*
 |mâ-Lté L-jén jǒ|
 1SG-PR INF-see VII.SUB
 ‘I see it.’

There are several types of property denoting nouns, which will be listed below. I found no correlation between the form of a property noun and the kind of property it expresses. As is the case with quasi-

auxiliaries (see VIII:4.5), some of these nouns are found in a modifying construction only, whereas others can be used independently as well. In view of the typological interest in the expression of “adjectival” notions cross-linguistically, this section provides many examples. See Section V:3.7.2.3 for the augmentative number word $|mòdH|$, which is also the head of a property denoting connective construction.

Property denoting nouns are very often gender 3 nouns with the nominal prefix \hat{a} -. Most (if not all) of these nouns are derived from, or at least related to, an intransitive verb (15-20).

- (15) *lèd* ‘be hard’
àlèd ñgâlà
 $|à-lèd H=ñgâlà|$
 3-hard III.CON=[9]wood
 ‘hard wood’
- (16) *ďìd* ‘be heavy’
àďìd ñpég
 $|à-ďìd H=ñ-pég|$
 3-heavy III.CON=3-bag
 ‘a heavy bag’
- (17) *yóŋ* ‘be warm’
àyǒŋ bíďì
 $|à-jǒŋ H=bì-ďì|$
 3-hot III.CON=8-food
 ‘hot food’
- (18) *yòl* ‘be bitter’
àyǒl ká
 $|à-jǒl H=ká|$
 3-bitter III.CON=[10]leaf
 ‘bitter leaves’
- (19) *yàb* ‘be long’
àyǎb zēn
 $|à-jǎb H=zēn|$
 3-long III.CON=[9]road
 ‘a long road’

Note that the existence of a gender 3a property-denoting noun does not entail that it can be used in this kind of connective

construction. The nominal in (20c), for instance, cannot mean ‘big belly’.

- (20) a. *lèbùm léñê ànéñ*
 |lè-bùm lè-ñê à-ñéñ|
 5-belly V-COP 3-big
 ‘His belly is big.’
- b. *mòd â lèbùm*
 |N-òdH à=lè-bùm|
 1-AUG I.CON=5-belly
 ‘a big belly’
- c. [?]*ànéñ lébùm*
 |à-ñéñ H=lè-bùm|
 3-big III.CON=5-belly
 ‘the big size of the belly’

Another frequent type of property-denoting nouns is gender 3 nouns derived from a verb by means of the suffix *-nú*, or *-éngán* (see III:4.3.5, see also VII:2.4.1 for the use of these nouns in resultative constructions).

- (21) *tègbè* ‘be weak’, *tèg* ‘weaken’
ètègrú ñgâlâ
 |N-tègrú H=ñgâlâ|
 3-weak III.CON=wood
 ‘soft wood’ or ‘a small piece of wood’
- (22) *tìg* ‘be thick’
ètìgrú ñjám
 |N-tìgrú H-N-jám|
 3-thick III.CON=3-sauce
 ‘a thick sauce’
- (23) *púb* ‘be clean’
mpúbú swád
 |N-púbú H=súád|
 3-clean III.CON=shirt
 ‘a clean shirt’
- (24) *kwán* ‘be smooth’
ñkwáánú jól
ñkwánbéngán jól
 ‘a smooth body’

A third common type of property-denoting nouns is nouns that are derived by means of reduplication, either from a noun (25-27) or from a verb (28-31). Most of these derived nouns are of gender 7.

- (25) *ɲgɔwál* (9) ‘pity’
ɲgúɲgɔwál í mōd
 |ɲ-ɲgúɲgɔwál í=N-òd|
 7-miserable VII.CON=1-person
 ‘a miserable person’
- (26) *wɔɲ* (3) ‘fear’
ɲwúwɔɲ mōd
 |N-wúwɔɲ H=N-òd|
 3-timorous III.CON=1-person
 ‘a timorous person’
- (27) *à-sǎɲ* ‘acid, acidity’
sàɲ ‘be acid’
ìsésǎɲ òpùmá
 |ɲ-sǎsǎɲ H=òpùmá|
 7-unripe VII.CON=orange
 ‘an unripe orange’
- (28) *tèlè* ‘stand’ (resultative form)
tètèlè à zěɲ
 |tátèlè à=zěɲ|
 straight I.CON=[9]road
 ‘a straight road’
- (29) *wú* ‘die’
ɲwúwúô ‘withered’
- (30) *śín* ‘be cold’
ìsísín bíđí
 |ɲ-sísín H=bì-đí|
 7-cold VII.CON=8-food
 ‘cold food’
- (31) *đígâ* ‘burn (tr.)’
ìđíđígâ í mbē
 |ɲ-đíđígâ í=mbě|
 7-burnt VII.CON=[9]pot
 ‘a burnt pot’

Note that derived nouns such as *ìdíđíḡâ* can usually be used independently as well. *ìdíđíḡâ* then means ‘a burnt thing, something burnt’.

Finally, there are some other property denoting nouns that do not differ formally from other nouns. Gender 3 (morphological class |*Ñ-*|) is very well represented in this group.

- (32) *ỳỳúmâ éwòlò*
 |*Ñ-wúmâ H=è-wòlò*||
 3-entire III.CON=5-hour
 ‘an entire hour’
- (33) *̀̀púm ndá*
 |*Ñ-púm H=ndá*||
 3-white III.CON=[9]house
 ‘a white house’
- (34) *ímê ñtòl ndómrú wâmò*
 |*í-nè Ñ-tól H=ndómrú wãmò*||
 VII-be 3-old III.CON=[9]young.man III.my
 ‘It’s my oldest son.’
- (35) *ỳ̀̀kpámḡí ndá*
 |*Ñ-̀̀kpámḡí H=ndá*||
 3-new III.CON=[9]house
 ‘a new house’
- (36) *̀̀tù ndá*
 |*Ñ-tù H=ndá*||
 3-old III.CON=[9]house
 ‘an old house’
- (37) *̀̀jóm mbú*
 |*Ñ-̀̀jóm H=mbú*||
 3-husband III.CON=[9]dog
 ‘male dog’
- (38) *ìkàḡá íkóm í kpêm*
 |*í-kàḡá í=ì-kóm í=̀̀kpêm*||
 7-withered VII.CON=7-package VII.CON=[9]cassava.leaves
 ‘a package of cassava leaves that passed the night’
- (39) *̀̀bwàl í ḡḡâlà*
 |*í-bwàl í=ḡḡâlà*||
 7-rotten VII.CON=[9]wood
 ‘rotten wood’

- (40) *cìŋlàn* ‘circle around’
ñŋlàná à táblâ
|ñdžìŋlàná à=táblâ|
 round I.CON=table
 ‘a round table’

Sometimes related words of the different types outlined above exist next to each other.

- (41) *ìsòlú jì jám*
ìsèsòl jì jám
 ‘a thin sauce’

There are no special words for most colours and shapes. Instead, complex descriptions have to be used, e.g. ‘oval’ in (42) and the complex colour terms in Section 3.1.2.

- (42) *í táblê àné lébím àné lécì lé kú*
|í-táblê à-ně lâ-bím àné lâ-tfì lá=kú|
 AU-table I-RCOP 5-volume like 5-egg V.CON=[9]chicken
 ‘an oval table’

3.1.1.3. Modification: the second nominal denotes a property

Very rarely is the order in modifying connective constructions the inverse of the previous type, i.e. entity-property. The property denoting nouns express either human propensity (43-45) or colour (46).

- (43) *ìnàŋ míntàg*
|N-nàŋ H=mì-ntàg|
 3-albino III.CON=4-satisfaction
 ‘a happy albino’

- (44) *mòd ìdŋŋ*
|N-òd L=ì-dŋŋ|
 1-person I.CON=7-love
 ‘a friendly person’
 but: **àné ìdŋŋ* ‘He’s friendly’

- (45) *mòd làvúmù*
|N-òd L=lâ-vúmù|
 1-person I.CON=5-friendly
 ‘a friendly person’
 = *mòd làwáŋ*

As always, the modifying noun can itself be modified by a connective construction, as in the complex colour term in (46). Some other complex colour terms are listed in (47).

- (46) *m̀pég jól ɿ dɔ̀b*
 |*N-pég jól ɿ=d-ɔ̀b*|
 3-bag [9]colour IX.CON=5-sky
 ‘a blue bag’
- (47) a. *jól ɿ sí*
 |*jól ɿ=sí*|
 [9]colour IX.CON=[9]earth
 ‘brown’
- b. *jól ɿ sùg*
 |*jól ɿ=ì-sùg*|
 [9]colour IX.CON=7-palm.nut.pulp
 ‘brownish yellow’
- c. *jól ɿ ká bílé*
 |*jól ɿ=ká H=bì-lé*|
 [9]colour IX.CON=[10]leaf X.CON=8-tree
 ‘green’

3.1.1.4. Hyperonymic relations

A noteworthy use of the connective construction could be compared to a (very restricted) system of nominal classifiers. Frequently, nouns are followed by a hyperonymic term preceded by the connective proclitic. This is always optional.

- (48) *èyáŋ é jɔ̀y*
 |*è-jáŋ é=jɔ̀é*|
 5-green.mamba V.CON=[9]snake
 ‘green mamba’
- (49) *àté sùzà sàná ɿjé ásí*
 |*à-Lté L-sùzà H sàná à=ì-dzé ásí*|
 I-PR INF-lower LT loincloth I.CON=7-clothing down
 ‘He lowers his loincloth.’
- (50) *bétē wô yòlò mèbādná mé mwé*
 |*bá-Lté wò L-jòlò H mà-bàdná má=m-óé*|
 II-PR 2SG.SUB INF-give LT 6-nickname VI.CON=6-name
 ‘They give you a nickname.’

- (51) *ìsòm í múyá*
 |ì-sòm í=N-úyá|
 7-toddler VII.CON=1-child
 ‘a toddler’

3.1.2. Modification by means of a postposed noun

There are some examples of postposed modifying words, which may be analysed as nouns. Two of these, *ntógô* and *ndêngì* might have a participial origin (from the verbs *tógbô* ‘be small’ and *nén* ‘be big’ respectively). However, they do not have a verbal prefix. *ntógô* has a nominal prefix and *ndêngì* is invariable.

- (52) a. *pàdà ntógô*
 |pàdà N-tógô|
 priest 1-little
 ‘seminarian’
 b. *bò pàdà bàtógô*
 |bò pàdà bà-tógô|
 PL priest 2-little
 ‘seminarians’
- (53) a. *mòd ndêngì*
 |N-òd ndêngì|
 1-person great
 ‘a great person’
 b. *bòd ndêngì*
 |b-òd ndêngì|
 2-person great
 ‘great persons’

The word *nìmèy* ‘good’ is used only in a limited set of idiomatic expressions (54-56).

- (54) *ìjkúyíkúímá èè mélú mâ ànè dàm nìmèy*
 |N-kúyíkúímá áǎ H-mà-lú má|
 3-chief LC AU-6-night VI.DEM
 |à-nè d-àm N-Bèy|
 I-COP 5-thing 3-good
 ‘The current chief is good.’

- (55) *bénê dàm nìmèŋ*
 |bâ-nè d-àm Ñ-Bèŋ|
 II-COP 5-thing 3-good
 ‘They are nice’
- (56) a. *nìmèmà kíđí*
 |Ñ-màmà H=kíđí|
 3-good III.CON=[9]morning
 ‘good morning’
- b. *kíđí nìmèŋ*
 |kíđí Ñ-Bèŋ|
 morning 3-good
 ‘good morning’ (answer to (a))

The word *cècàd* ‘small’ can be used as a nonverbal predicate, as an adverb, and as a postmodifier of a very limited set of nouns. Probably it is a noun of gender 9.

- (57) *bò bójó cècàd*
 |bòH=b-òjój tʃàtʃàd|
 AUG=2-child [9]very.small
 ‘very small children’

The noun *ntèd* ‘hundred’, finally, can be either the head of a connective construction (58a) or a postposed modifying noun (58b), with no difference in meaning.

- (58) a. *ntèd bòd*
 |Ñ-tèd H=b-òd|
 3-hundred III.CON=2-person
 ‘one hundred people’
- b. *bòd ntèd*
 |b-òd Ñ-tèd|
 2-person 3-hundred
 ‘one hundred people’

3.1.3. Modification by means of a preposed non-agreeing word

I found two modifying words that precede their head noun: *ízá* and *bèbé*. See Section V:3.2 for a discussion of *ízá*.

- (59) *ʼizā bíđī bíṭē dǎŋ jèb kwám ʼisê*
 |ʼizǎ bì-đī bí-LtÉ L-dâŋ H L-jèb|
 others' 8-food VIII-PR INF-cross LT INF-be.good
 |kúám ʼi-sè|
 [10]time X-all
 'Somebody else's food is always better.'
- (60) *ànè bèbé míntàg*
 |à-nè bàbá mìn-tàg|
 I-COP very 4-happy
 'He is very happy.'

3.1.4. Apposition

The appositive construction exemplified in this section does not differ formally from the one presented in Section 3.1.2, except that the second noun has to be a proper name. The most important difference is that there is no modifying relation between both nouns here.

- (61) *jì jéglè tò mó*
 |N-jéglè tò mó|
 3-teacher Tomo
 'master Tomo'
- (62) *mǎjāŋ tò mó*
 |mǎdzǎŋ tò mó|
 my.brother Tomo
 'my brother Tomo'

Compare (62) to (63).

- (63) *mǎ jāŋ à tò mó*
 |mǎ jāŋ à=tò mó|
 his.brother I.CON=Tomo
 'Tomo's brother'

3.2. Augmented complex nominals

Nouns and pronominals determined by an adnominal demonstrative (64) and/or a relative clause (65) are obligatorily preceded by the augment.

- (64) *màyèm íjā fî*
 |*mà-à-jèm* *í-dz-ǎ* *dʒí*|
 1SG-SP-know AU-7-song VII.DEM
 ‘I know this song.’
- (65) *íjā mèté yèm, ínê dwe nâ məkòrû*
 |*í-dz-ǎ* *mà-Lté* *L-jèm* *í-nè* *d-òè*|
 AU-7-song 1SG-PR INF-know VII-COP 5-name
 |*nâ məkòrû*|
 CMP Mekoni
 ‘The song that I know is called Mekoni.’

Substitutives cannot be modified. Instead, a demonstrative, pronominalised by means of the augment, is used. Interestingly, pronominalised demonstratives have a structural high tone, rather than a dissimilating high.² The phrase in (66) introduces the second question (*jìcílá* (3)) at the beginning of an interview. Instead of an augmented possessive modifier (67a), as described in Section 2.2, one can also use an augmented demonstrative modified by a possessive (67b). The anaphoric modifier *-tè* cannot be used pronominally, but it may modify a pronominalised demonstrative (68).

- (66) *íjú bâ*
 |*í-jú* *bâ*|
 AU-III.DEM second
 ‘the second one’
- (67) a. *íwàmò*
 |*í-L-wàmò*|
 AU-PN-I.my
 ‘mine’
- b. *íjò wàmò*
 |*í-jò* *wàmò*|
 AU-I.DEM I.my
 ‘mine’

² It is as if the same floating low tone prefix that pronominalises the possessive modifiers triggers the high tone representation of the morphotoneme D and then disappears. See Section VIII:7.2.1 for a form of the substitutive that might be described as augmented.

- (68) $\acute{\imath}jw\acute{a}l\acute{o} \acute{\imath}t\grave{e} \acute{a}s\acute{o}$
 $|\acute{\imath}-jw\acute{a}-l\acute{a} \quad \acute{\imath}-t\grave{e} \quad \acute{a}-H-s\acute{o}|$
 AU-I.DEM-CH I-ANA I-PST-come
 ‘The one in question came.’
 * $\acute{\imath}t\grave{e} \acute{a}s\acute{o}$
- (69) $\acute{\imath}b\acute{\imath} b\acute{\imath}w\acute{a}g$
 $|\acute{\imath}-b\acute{\imath} \quad b\acute{\imath}-v\acute{u}\acute{a}g|$
 AU-VIII.DEM VIII-other
 ‘the others (about trees *bilé* (8))’

4. Word order in complex nominals

The order in nominals is head-modifier, with only one or two examples of premodifiers (see 3.1.3). The only strict rule for the internal ordering of postmodifiers is that the demonstrative modifier has to come at the right extremity of the nominal, immediately preceded by the relative clause. In other words, nothing can come after the relative clause, except the demonstrative, which *must* follow it (70-71). It is undoubtedly no coincidence that the two rightmost modifiers are the ones that trigger the augment on the head noun.

- (70) $b\acute{\imath}b\acute{a}z b\acute{\imath} y\acute{o} b\acute{\imath}t\bar{e} v\bar{m} b\acute{\imath}$
 $|H-b\acute{\imath}-b\acute{a}z \quad b\acute{\imath}=j\acute{o} \quad b\acute{\imath}-L\acute{t}\acute{e} \quad L-\acute{v}m \quad b\acute{\imath}|$
 AU-8-scale VIII.CON=[5]sky VIII-PR INF-be.black VIII.DEM
 ‘these black clouds’
- (71) $\acute{u}n\acute{u}\eta \acute{\imath}m\bar{e}n \acute{u}\eta g\acute{a}c\acute{\imath}g\acute{\imath} m\check{a} \acute{a}k\check{o}l j\acute{u}\acute{\imath}$
 $|H-\acute{u}-n\acute{u}\eta \acute{\imath}m\bar{e}n \quad \acute{u}-\eta g\acute{a}-t\acute{s}i g\acute{\imath} \quad m\check{a} \quad \acute{a} \quad \acute{a}-k\check{o}l \quad j\acute{u}\acute{\imath}|$
 AU-3-toe itself III-RP-cut 1SG.FSUB LOC 3-foot III.DEM
 ‘this toe, really, that was cut off my foot’

Among the other postmodifiers, the order is less strict. A larger corpus is needed in order to establish which ordering is preferred. Numerals are the most free in their placement. They can precede or follow connectives (72), possessive modifiers (73) and the anaphoric modifier (74).

- (72) a. $m\grave{e}p\acute{u}b m\acute{e} \eta k\acute{u}\eta k\acute{u}m\acute{a} m\acute{e}b\bar{a}$
 $|m\grave{e}-p\acute{u}b \quad m\acute{a}=\acute{n}-k\acute{u}\eta k\acute{u}m\acute{a} \quad m\acute{e}-b\check{a}|$
 6-field VI.CON=3-chief VI-two

- b. *mèpúb mébā mé ɣkúɣkúmá*
 |*mà-púb má-bǎ má=N-kúɣkúmá*|
 6-field VI-two VI.CON=3-chief
 ‘the two fields of the chief’
- (73) a. *mèpúb māmâ mébā*
 |*mà-púb māmâ má-bǎ*|
 6-field VI.my VI-two
 b. *mèpúb mébā māmâ*
 |*mà-púb má-bǎ māmâ*|
 6-field VI-two VI.my
 ‘my two fields’
- (74) a. *mèpúb mébā métê*
 |*mà-púb má-bǎ má-tê*|
 6-field VI-two VI-ANA
 b. *mèpúb métê mébā*
 |*mà-púb má-tê má-bǎ*|
 6-field VI-ANA VI-two
 ‘the two aforementioned fields’

However, the anaphoric modifier *|-tê|* can neither precede a connective, nor a possessive modifier. Complex nominals in which a possessive modifier precedes a connective were rejected when elicited (75), but I found one example in spontaneous speech (76). All consultants agreed that this was a mistake or a hesitation.

- (75) **àpúb wámâ mbâz*
 |*à-púb wámâ H=mbâz*|
 3-field III.my III.CON=[9]corn
 ‘my corn field’
- (76) **ɣĩ wámâ à pâm*
 |*N-tfĩ wámâ à=pâm*|
 1-in-law I.my I.CON=[9]man
 ‘my father-in-law’

5. Agreement in complex nominals

Gender agreement is not always predictable in complex nominals. This Section discusses some of the problems, without, however, offering a complete description. The first problem is found in the connective constructions described in 3.1.1.2, the head of which is a

property denoting noun. There are two types. In the first, the two nouns involved must agree in number in order to have a property-denoting interpretation of the first noun (if agreement is the appropriate term here). If the second noun is plural and the first, property denoting noun singular, the connective expresses a genitive relation (77c).

- (77) a. *ìḡgúḡwál í mòd* (repeated from (25))
 |ì-ḡgúḡwál í=N=òd|
 7-miserable VII.CON=1-person
 ‘a miserable person’
- b. *bìḡgúḡwál bí bòd*
 |bì-ḡgúḡwál bí=b-òd|
 8-miserable VIII.CON=2-person
 ‘miserable people’
- c. *ìḡgúḡgwál í bòd*
 |ì-ḡgúḡwál í=b-òd|
 7-miserable VII.CON=2-person
 ‘the misery of the people’

In one example of this construction (78), the property denoting noun can be singular (78a) or plural (78b). This is most probably because the second noun is a mass noun. According to one informant, when explicitly asked about it, there is a difference in meaning between (78a) and (78b), in that (78b) would have an augmentative reading, i.e. ‘lots of turbid water’. This intuition needs to be double-checked.

- (78) a. *ìjéjùglànà ménđim*
 |ì-dzádžùglànà H=mà-ndim|
 7-turbid VII.CON=6-water
- b. *bìjéjùglànà ménđim*
 |bì-dzádžùglànà H=mà-ndim|
 8-turbid VIII.CON=6-water
 ‘turbid water’

In the second type, the property denoting noun is always singular, irrespective of the number of the second noun.

- (79) a. *àđđid nípég*
 |à-đđid H=ḡ-pég|
 3-heavy III.CON=3-bag
 ‘a heavy bag’

b. àďíd nímpég
 |à-ďíd H=mìm-pég|
 3-heavy III.CON=4-bag
 ‘heavy bags’
 *mèďíd nímpég

(80) àbwád méjwàg
 |à-búád H=mà-dzùàg|
 3-little III.CON=6-wine
 ‘a small quantity of wine’
 *mèbwád méjwàg

The second problem concerning agreement in complex nominals also involves connective constructions. When a noun is modified by a connective and another agreeing postmodifier, the latter can sometimes agree with the head noun (81a) and sometimes with the second noun in the connective construction (81b).

(81) a. àátē wōg ímímēmè méndōy mî
 |à-àá-Lté L-wōg í-mì-mēmè H=mà-ndōy mî|
 I-NEG-PR INF-hear AU-4-good IV.CON=6-message IV.DEM
 b. àátē wōg ímímēmè méndōy mâ
 |à-àá-Lté L-wōg í-mì-mēmè H=mà-ndōy mâ|
 I-NEG-PR INF-hear AU-4-good IV.CON=6-message VI.DEM
 ‘She doesn’t hear these good messages.’

Usually, however, only agreement with the head noun is accepted.

(82) áyāb zēn vî
 |H-à-jáb H=zēn vî|
 AU-3-long III.CON=road III.DEM
 ‘this long road’
 *áyāb zēn jî

(83) nìpúbíú ndá wámô
 |N-púbíú H=ndá wámô|
 3-clean III.CON=[9]house III.my
 ‘my clean house’
 *nìpúbíú ndá yâmà

Perhaps it depends on the first noun whether agreement with the second noun is possible. But more probably, rejection of agreement with the second noun is an artefact of elicitation.

A final interesting agreement phenomenon in nominals involves agreement with complex numerals. The form of the numeral *v̄wág* ‘one’ in complex numerals such as ‘eleven’ is always of a singular agreement pattern. One possible way to account for this, is that gender combinations such as 5/6 form one gender and that numerals agree in gender and in number with the noun they modify. Another possibility would be to say that the numeral ‘one’ agrees exophorically with the singular counterpart of the head noun.

- (84) a. *mèkàlà èwóm èy mébā*
 |*mà-kàlà è-wóm èj mǎ-bǎ*|
 6-doughnut 5-ten with VI-two
 ‘twelve doughnuts’
- b. *mèkàlà èwóm èy ṽwág ~ èv̄wág*
 |*mà-kàlà è-wóm èj ṽvúág ~ è-vúág*|
 6-doughnut 5-ten with VII-one ~ V-one
 ‘eleven doughnuts’
- c. *b̄m̄gá éwóm èy m̄mwág*
 |*b-ṽm̄gá è-wóm èj m̄múág*|
 2-woman 5-ten with I.one
 ‘eleven women’

Chapter 7

Tense, aspect, mood & negation

1. Introduction

In his crosslinguistic study on tense and aspect Dahl (1985) remarks that the Bantu languages have the most complex TAM (tense-aspect-mood) systems in his sample. Not only are there remoteness distinctions, many categories that tend to be expressed by means of adverbs in the languages of the world, have a special “tense” prefix or auxiliary in the Bantu languages. Therefore it is “difficult to fit the Bantu languages into a universal scheme. The different dimensions of the system interact in rather complex ways, and the large number of possibilities results in small numbers of examples for each category” (Dahl 1985:175). Eton is no exception and has the additional difficulty of dialectal differences and a complex tonology. However, the overwhelming list of TAM-forms becomes a well structured and relatively simple system if one distinguishes between auxiliaries (obligatory) and quasi-auxiliaries (optional) and between absolute tense and relative tense. The basic forms, i.e. those involving TA-prefixes and auxiliaries, are treated in this chapter, whereas the optional distinctions, which involve a quasi-auxiliary, are treated in Section VIII:5.2. This chapter discusses indicative forms (Section 2), non-indicative forms (Section 3) and negation (Section 4).

Tense-aspect-mood distinctions in Eton can be formally expressed by means of affixes (both prefixes and suffixes) and auxiliaries. The conjugation of the verb ‘be’ involves a high degree of suppletion. Dahl (1985:176) notes that the distinction between what counts as a prefix and what as an auxiliary is often mainly one of orthography in Bantu studies. In this grammar, the two will be strictly distinguished. Prefixes can be distinguished from auxiliaries on phonological and syntactical grounds. The phonological criterion is based on accent. TAM-morphemes that consist of (or begin with) an accentuated syllable cannot be prefixes. See Section 2.3.8 (the Present) for a slightly problematic case. From a syntactic point of view, a TAM-morpheme must be considered to be an auxiliary rather than a prefix if it can be separated from the following lexical verb by means of one or

more pronominals and/or an adverb. Note that pronominals consist of an accentuated syllable. There are no object affixes in Eton.

The TAM-system is the only part of the grammar of Eton that received attention in a published source, viz. Piper (1989), which is a comparative study of aspect in the Beti-Bulu-Fang language cluster. Unfortunately, this study proved to be of little use, mainly because of its comparative character. On the one hand, Piper made little effort to give a functional characterisation of the verb forms he found in the different languages. On the other hand, the formal description of the constructions he discusses suffers from lack of general insight in the phonology and morphology of Eton, which sometimes results in a proliferation of (successions of) floating tones.

Some examples in this chapter are elicited by means of the questionnaires in Dahl (1985) and Dahl (1992). These are marked by the code TMAQ (Dahl 1985) and FTRQ (Dahl 1992), followed by the number of the item in Dahl's questionnaire. These examples, and some others, are provided with a context that was presented to a native speaker, but that is not translated. This context is given between square brackets; any irrelevant aspects of the context in the questionnaire, such as the visibility of the object under discussion, are left out. Not all sections in this chapter are organised in the same way. When I found that different functions or meanings of the same category or construction are more or less strictly separable from each other, I enumerated them by means of four-digit subtitles (as in Section 2.6.1). Functions or meanings that are not clearly separable are introduced in running text and are marked by means of small caps (as in Section 2.1.2). Names of (usually polysemic) verbal constructions (sometimes called *tiroirs* in French) are chosen on the basis of their most salient meaning and are capitalised, e.g. Hodiernal past perfective. Some tense-aspect prefixes occur in more than one verbal construction. They always receive the same gloss.

2. Indicative forms

This Section starts with a discussion of the basic tense and aspect distinctions that shape the Eton verbal system (2.1), followed by the description of the G-form, a form of the verb that occurs in several verbal constructions (2.2). Then comes an overview of the nine basic constructions with absolute tense (2.3). Constructions that are not

basic in the sense that they involve defective verb forms, viz. the Resultative and the Contrastive resultative form, are treated in Section 2.4. Section 2.5 provides a description of a verbal form that is found only in the Southern dialects, close to the Ewondo area. Finally, relative tense constructions are treated in 2.6.

2.1. Basic distinctions

Every finite predication with absolute time reference must be specified with respect to the basic tense-aspect distinctions outlined in this section.

2.1.1. Tense

The category tense could be argued to be more prominent than aspect in Eton, because no aspectual distinction is relevant in all tenses. The primary temporal distinction is between past and non-past. The past is further subdivided in three parts, in ascending order of remoteness from the reference point: the hodiernal past (or today's past), the hesternal past (or yesterday's past) and the remote past. It must be stressed that these are basically temporal distinctions. Contrary to what Essono (2000:512) claims for the Ewondo language, present relevance or continuation into the present is not a defining characteristic of the hodiernal past (at least not in Eton). However, this does not exclude that a verb in the hodiernal past can have a perfect reading.¹

- (1) (TMAQ 59) [Looking from the window, we see that the ground is wet.]
mbèŋ ɪnwáŋ
 |*mbèŋ ɪ-H-níáŋ*|
 [9]rain IX-PST-rain
 'It has rained.'

Similarly, completion of an action is not a condition for the use of the remote past (against Essono 2000:508 for Ewondo). The following phrase, which has imperfective aspect, is in the remote past, because the speaker experienced the temperature of the water a long time ago. Nothing is implied as to the current temperature of the water.

¹ This is because the verb form called *Hodiernal past perfective* (see 2.3.5) is polysemic: it can express the perfect and the perfective of the hodiernal past tense.

- (2) (TMAQ 33) [Speaking of a lake.] (The first time I swam in this lake, years ago)
mèndim méngábé sngì
 |mà-ndim má-ŋgá-bé L-sim-Lgì|
 6-water VI-RP-IMPF INF-be.cold-G
 ‘The water was cold.’

Note, however, that speakers of Eton translate the remote past by means of the *plus-que-parfait* (pluperfect) in French. Moreover, when I translate it by means of an *imparfait* form, I am usually corrected. The reason for this is that the *plus-que-parfait* has a remote past meaning in Cameroonian French, not a past-in-the-past meaning. Apparently the French tense-aspect system has been adapted to that of the original Cameroonian languages in this respect. The link between the French *plus-que-parfait* and the remote past in Eton is due to an implication linked to the pluperfect, “which requires a situation to be located prior to a reference point which is itself in the past, thus giving the impression of a more distant past” (Comrie 1985:84).

Now that it is clear that hodiernal past, hesternal past and remote past are purely temporal categories, it must be established how exactly they divide the timeline. The difference between hodiernal and hesternal past is rigid and is based on objective grounds, i.e. on actual time rather than perceived temporal distance. The hodiernal past is used only for situations that occurred on the same day as the temporal reference point. The choice between hesternal past and remote past is more subjective. No temporal cut-off point between both can be established. This might be why Redden (1979: 84) uses the term *recent past* for Ewondo, rather than *hesternal past*. It is true that the hesternal past reaches further back than ‘yesterday’. Yet, in characterising hesternal and remote past, one should shift attention from the limits of these temporal categories to their focal points, which are ‘yesterday’ and ‘long ago’ respectively. Note that it is not impossible to use the remote past for an action that took place the day before the temporal reference point. It seems, on the basis of elicited material, that the relevant temporal reference point for the choice of a past tense is always the time of speaking. For instance, if a person A arrived in town long ago and B asks A today what had happened on the day of A’s arrival, A cannot use the hodiernal past in his answer. In other words, the temporal reference point that is relevant for the

choice of a past tense cannot be the time of A's arrival in town, but must be the time of speaking. The following examples illustrate the three past tenses, respectively hodiernal (3), hesternal (4) and remote (5).

- (3) *àné byábé kwâlgò àná...*
 |àné bíá-bé L-kíál<Lg>ò|
 like 1PL-TIMPF INF-talk<G>
 'For instance, what we were discussing today ...'
- (4) (TMAQ 32) [Talking about a lake in which the speaker swam yesterday] (Today the water is warm, but yesterday)
mèndím mémé sîngì
 |mà-ndím má-mé L-sím-Lgì|
 6-water VI-YIMPF INF-be.cold-G
 'The water was cold.'
- (5) (TMAQ 20) (What did your brother usually do after breakfast last year?)
àngábé dîngì tîl bô kálâdà
 |à-ngá-bé L-dîng-Lgì L-tîl H bô kálâdà|
 I-RP-IMPF INF-HAB-G INF-write LT PL letter
 'He usually wrote letters.'

A subdivision of non-past tenses is typically more delicate than a temporal subdivision of the past, since it is not clear whether the category referred to as *future* can be qualified as a tense, i.e. as a purely temporal category. Speaking about the future inevitably involves some speculation, which brings things into the domain of modality. Ewondo is claimed to have a symmetric tense system, centred around the present tense, where three future tenses mirror the three past tenses (Essono 2000:478; Redden 1979:95).² There is no clear evidence for this in Eton. The Ewondo forms that Redden calls *definite future* and *indefinite future* also exist in Eton (see Sections 2.3.9 and 2.3.10 respectively), but as far as I know the form that he calls *probable future*, which involves a nasal tense prefix in Ewondo,

² But Redden remarks that the future verb forms are not tenses, "since they do not refer to time, except in a general way" (Redden 1979:95).

does not. I distinguish present tense from future tense in this description, since some forms always have future time reference.³

2.1.2. Aspect

The only aspectual opposition that cuts across a number of tenses is the opposition perfective-imperfective in the past and relative tenses. Contrary to the perfective forms, the imperfective forms present an action or state as unbounded. This general characterisation is further elaborated here. Some readers might first want to read Sections 2.2-2.6, which give an overview of the forms used to express the basic tense-aspect distinctions.

The perfective-imperfective opposition is a matter of viewpoint aspect. As has been said, an imperfective form construes a situation as unbounded, or at least does not highlight the beginning or the end of a situation. An imperfective verb in an isolated clause such as (6) receives a PROGRESSIVE reading, where the focus is on the process of eating. The perfective form in (7) rather states that the action took place in the past.

- (6) *àbé dīgâ ndógò*
 |à-bé L-dī-gà ndógò|
 I-TIMPF INF-eat-G [9]mango
 ‘She was eating a mango.’
- (7) *àdīgá ndógò*
 |à-H-dī-gà-H ndógò|
 I-PST-eat-G-NF [9]mango
 ‘She ate a mango.’

When more context is provided, the differences between perfective and imperfective become clearer, and one has to rely less on translation equivalents.

- (8) *íyòy mē jííú á ndá, àbé dīgâ ndógò.*
 |H-ì-jòy mē-H- jíì-ù-H á ndá|
 AU-7-time 1SG-PST-enter-NF LOC [9]house
 |à-bé L-dī-gà ndógò|
 I-TIMPF INF-eat-G [9]mango
 ‘When I entered the house, she was eating a mango.’

³ This criterion is not watertight, however, since present tense forms can be used with future time reference.

- (9) *íyðŋ mè jírú á ndá, àđí ndógð*
 |H-ì-jðŋ m-à-H-jírú-H á ndá|
 AU-7-time 1SG-PST-enter-NF LOC [9]house
 |à-H-đí-H ndógð|
 I-PST-eat-NF [9]mango
 ‘When I entered the house, she ate a mango.’

The focus on the process of eating established by the imperfective verb in the second clause of (8) implies SIMULTANEITY with the action of entering the house. The perfective form *àđí* in (9) construes the action of eating as bounded. The sentence can have two possible interpretations, depending on whether the action of eating is bounded in the beginning (10a) or at the end (10b). The perfective then has a CONSECUTIVE reading or implies ANTECEDENCE respectively. The consecutive interpretation (10a) seems to be the most likely one when this sentence is uttered in isolation.

- (10) a. I entered the house and then she ate a mango.
 b. When I entered the house, she had eaten a mango.

A very recurrent difference between perfective and imperfective forms, both in texts and in questionnaires, is that imperfective forms have a HABITUAL reading. This is the difference between (11), where a perfective past is used and (12), where the verbs have an imperfective form.

- (11) (TMAQ 101) [Last year, the boy’s father sent him a sum of money.]
íjðŋ mð pâm àŋgágbè mwàrí, dð àŋgákùz mð nīmŋgá étóm
 |H-ì-dzðŋ m-ðH=pâm à-ŋgá-gbè mùàrí|
 AU=7-time 1-DIM=[9]man I-RP-take money
 |dð à-ŋgá-kùz m-ðH=N-ìŋgá è-tóm|
 DP I-RP-buy 1-DIM=1-woman 5-present
 ‘When the boy got the money, he bought a present for the girl.’

- (12) (TMAQ 102) [The boy used to receive a sum of money now and then.]

íjòṣ m̀ p̀ám àṅgábé gbègè mwàńú, d̀ àṅgábé kùzgì m̀ m̀m̀ṣgá étóm.

|H-ì-dzòṣ m-òH=pám à-ṅgá-bé gbè-gà mùàńú
AU-7-time 1-DIM=[9]man I-RP-IMPF take-PTCP money

|d̀ à-ṅgá-bé L-kùz-Lgì m-òH-m-ṣṣgá è-tóm|

then I-RP-IMPF INF-buy-G 1-DIM=1-woman 5-present

‘Each time the boy got the money, he bought a present for the girl.’

The following fragment of a conversation shows a similar opposition. The interviewer asks miss Judith Akini about the “telephone name” *ndán*, which has almost disappeared in modern society. The way in which people usually gave a *ndán* to somebody (13) is compared to the way in which they gave the name *Akini* to the interviewee (14). The main verb in (13) is in the Remote past imperfective, the one in (14) in the Remote past perfective.

- (13) *yì béṅgábé yòlgò mòd ndán àné pé báyòlò mòd ǹpébè?*

|yì b̀-ṅgá-bé L-jòl<Lg>ò m-òd ndán|

Q II-RP-IMPF INF-name<G> 1-person [9]ndan

|àné pé b̀-à-jòlò N-òd ǹ-épébè|

like also II-SP-name 1-person I-other

‘Did they give somebody a ndan the same way as they name somebody else?’

- (14) *àné béṅgáyòlò ẁd̀ l̀kírú?*

|àné b̀-ṅgá-jòlò ẁd̀ l̀kírú|

like 2V-RP-name you Akini

‘like they named you Akini?’

An isolated sentence in an imperfective past, such as the one in (15), can receive either a habitual interpretation (16a) or a progressive one (16b). For an unambiguously habitual formulation one can use the habitual quasi-auxiliary *d̀ṣṣ*, as in (17), see Section VIII:5.2.2.1.

- (15) *mèngábé lòdgi vá*
 |*mà-ɲgá-bé L-lòd-Lgì vǎ*
 1SG-RP-IMPF INF-pass-G here
 ‘I (Remote past imperfective) PASS by here.’
- (16) a. ‘I used to pass here.’
 b. ‘I was passing by here.’
- (17) *mèngábé ðɲgì lòd vá*
 |*mà-ɲgá-bé L-ðɲ-Lgì L-lòd H vǎ*
 1SG-RP-IMPF INF-HAB-G INF-pass LT here
 ‘I used to pass here.’

Note that habitual must be distinguished from ITERATIVE. Iterative actions in the past appear to be expressed preferably by means of a perfective verb form, at least in the presence of an iterative adverbial (18-20). In the absence of an adverbial, however, the *imperfective* can add an iterative meaning (21a).

- (18) (TMAQ 91) [What was your brother’s reaction when you gave him the medicine (yesterday)?]
àkwázgí ɲɲòɲ ɲwág
 |*à-H-kwáz-Lgì-H ɲ-dzòɲ ɲ-wág*
 I-PST-cough-G-NF 7-time VII-one
 ‘He coughed once.’
- (19) (TMAQ 92) [same context as TMAQ 91]
àkwázgí bíjòɲ bíbā
 |*à-H-kwáz-Lgì-H bí-dzòɲ bí-bǎ*
 I-PST-cough-G-NF 8-time VIII-two
 ‘He coughed twice.’
- (20) (TMAQ 94) [same context as TMAQ 91]
àkwázgí bíjòɲ àbwi
 |*à-kwáz-Lgì-H bí-dzòɲ à-bwi*
 I-PST-cough-G-NF 8-time 3-lot
 ‘He coughed many times.’
- (21) *mèngábé tóbnèngànà èèy jí*
 |*mà-ɲgá-bé L-tóbn-Làngànà èèj jí*
 1SG-RP-IMPF INF-meet-G with I.SUB
 a. ‘I met him many times.’
 b. ‘I used to meet him.’

The presence of an iterative adverbial does not exclude the use of an imperfective form (22), although it is very unlikely to find such a combination outside of a fieldwork setting.

- (22) *mèŋgábé tòbnèŋgàn èèy jé bíjòŋ àbwi*
 |*mà-ŋgá-bé L-tòbn-àŋgànà èèj jé bí-dzòŋ à-biĩ*|
 1SG-RP-IMPF INF-meet-G with I.SUB 8-time 3-many
 ‘I used to meet him many times.’

Similarly, a time adverbial provides boundedness and consequently naturally goes together with a perfective verb form (23), but again the less preferred form is not impossible (24).

- (23) (TMAQ 95) [same context as TMAQ 91, example (18)]
àkwázgí átá ŋŋūmâ éwòlò
 |*à-H-kwáz-Lgì-H átá ñ-wúmà H=è-wòlò*|
 I-PST-cough-G-NF for 3-whole III.CON=5-hour
 ‘He coughed for an hour.’
- (24) *àbé kwázgì átá ŋŋūmâ éwòlò*
 |*à-bé L-kúáz-Lgì átá ñ-wúmà H=è-wòlò*|
 I-TIMPF INF-cough-G for 3-whole III.CON=5-hour
 ‘He was coughing for an hour.’

DURATIVITY also plays a role in the choice of aspect. Activities and accomplishments with a certain duration are more likely to be in the imperfective (25), while non-durative situations are usually in the perfective aspect (26).

- (25) (TMAQ 28)
mèŋgábé yààŋgà á jicèŋ mǎ jǎŋ wāmò àtìlgì bò kálàdà
 |*mà-ŋgá-bé L-jàŋ<Lg>à á ñ-tfèŋ*|
 1SG-RP-IMPF INF-wait<G> LOC 3-court
 |*mǎ jǎŋ wāmò à-tìl-Lgì bò kálàdà*|
 my.brother I.my I-write-G PL letter
 ‘I was waiting outside while my brother was writing letters.’
- (26) *jóŋ mèŋgákwázî dô àŋgákû*
 |*dzóŋ mà-ŋgá-kúázî dô à-ŋgá-kû*|
 when 1SG-RP-cough DP I-RP-fall
 ‘Just when I coughed, he fell.’

Consequently, the presence of an adverbial like *ùtétég* ‘slowly’ makes the use of the imperfective more likely (27).

- (27) (TMAQ 29) [Did your brother finish the letter quickly?
“No,”]

àbé fìlgì ùtétég
|à-bé fìl-Lgì ù-tátég|
I-TIMPF write-G 3-slow
‘He wrote it slowly.’

The terminative quasi-auxiliary *mà* in (28) focuses on the result of the accomplishment ‘write letters’, which explains the use of the perfective, notwithstanding the presence of the adverbial *ùtétég*.

- (28) *àmá fìl bô kálâdà ùtétég*
|à-H-mà-H L-fìl H bô kálâdà ù-tátég|
I-PST-TMN-NF INF-write LT PL book 3-slow
‘He has written the letters progressively.’

The use of an imperfective verb form in combination with the terminative quasi-auxiliary in turn highlights the process of arriving at a result. Depending on the context, example (30) can mean that the speaker had difficulties to read the book entirely (e.g., due to lack of time, or because it was difficult or boring) or that she is not much of a reader.

- (29) *àngábé màgà fìl kálâdà*
|à-àngá-bé L-mà-gà L-fìl kálâdà|
I-RP-IMPF INF-TMN-G INF-write letter
‘He was finishing the letter.’

- (30) *mémé màgà láy kálâdà*
|mè-mé mà-gà L-láy kálâdà|
1SG-YIMPF TMN-G INF-read book
‘I read the book reluctantly/with difficulty.’

Similarly, the imperfective can impose durativity or a progressive reading on verbs expressing achievements, which are usually conjugated in the perfective.

- (31) *àđìb mwānú á jɔ́ɔ*
|à-H-đìb-H mùànú á Ñ-jɔ́ɔ|
I-PST-find-NF money LOC 3-street
‘She has found money in the street.’

- (32) *àbé swàmgi mwàní á jìŋ*
 |à-bé L-sùàm-Lgì mùàní á Ì-jìŋ|
 I-TIMPF INF-find-G money LOC 3-street
 ‘She found money in the street.’

Achievement verbs sometimes become activity verbs in the imperfective, as illustrated by means of *kàbà* ‘pass, succeed’ in (33-34). Note that an imperfective form of *lód* ‘pass’ could also be used in (33). In order to arrive at a resultative meaning of *kwàm* ‘do’ the terminative quasi-auxiliary *mà* is needed.

- (33) *àkábá á òkàd*
 |à-H-kàbà-H á Ì-kàd|
 I-PST-pass-NF LOC 3-exam
 ‘She passed the exam.’
 = *àlód á òkàd*
 |à-H-lód-H á Ì-kàd|
 I-PST-pass-NF LOC 3-exam
- (34) *àbé kàbgà á òkàd*
 |à-bé L-kàb<Lg>à á Ì-kàd|
 I-TIMPF INF-pass<G> LOC 3-exam
 ‘She was taking the exam.’
 = *àbé kwàmgi òkàd*
 |à-bé L-kwàm-Lgì á Ì-kàd|
 I-TIMPF INF-do<G> LOC 3-exam

With stative verbs expressing qualities the distinction between perfective and imperfective is a bit more delicate. For many verbs that predicate properties, both perfective and imperfective forms are possible. By analogy of the cases discussed so far, one could expect that perfective forms have an inchoative/change-of-state or a cancelled result meaning, as in (35a-b), and that the imperfective is the default case in which no such meanings are implied (36).

- (35) *àngánén*
 |à-àngá-nén|
 I-RP-be.fat
 a. ?‘He has gained weight.’
 b. ?‘He used to be fat.’

- (36) *àḡgábé nêngì*
 |à-ḡgá-bé L-nén-Lgì|
 I-RP-IMPF INF-be.fat-G
 ‘He was fat.’

However, the first is at most a very weak implication, as the perfect acceptability of (37a) shows. Note that (37b) is equally acceptable. In order to have a clear change-of-state meaning, the terminative quasi-auxiliary *má* is needed (38).

- (37) a. *àḡgánén, àḡgénâ nêngì*
 |à-ḡgá-nén à-ḡgénâ L-nén-Lgì|
 I-RP-be.fat I-PER INF-be.fat-G
 ‘He was fat, and he still is.’
 b. *àḡgábé nêngì, àḡgénâ nêngì*
 |à-ḡgá-bé L-nén-Lgì à-ḡgénâ L-nén-Lgì|
 I-RP-IMPF INF-be.fat-G I-PER INF-be.fat-G
 ‘He was fat, and he still is.’
- (38) *àḡgámâ nén*
 |à-ḡgá-mâ L-nén|
 I-RP-TMN INF-be.fat
 ‘He has become fat.’

Conversely, the context in (TMAQ 32) spontaneously triggered an imperfective form, notwithstanding the cancelled result meaning (39). The perfective alternative was accepted as well (40).

- (39) (TMAQ 32) [Of a lake in which the speaker swam yesterday. “Today the water is warm, but yesterday”]
mèndím mémé sîngì
 |mà-ndím má-mé L-sîm-Lgì|
 6-water VI-YIMPF INF-be.cold-G
 ‘The water was cold.’
- (40) *mèndím mēsîngì*
 |mà-ndím má-H-sîm-Lgì|
 6-water VI-PST-be.cold-G
 ‘The water was cold.’

When qualities are permanent, perfective aspect becomes much less acceptable. The available examples suggest that a “permanent quality” is either a quality that can never be changed (43), or one that only an

external agent can change (41, 42). Somebody can paint a house or expand it, but it will never change colour or expand by itself.

(41) (TMAQ 3) [Talking about the house in which the speaker used to live but which has now been torn down.]

a. *ɪŋábé nɛŋì*
 |ì-ɪŋá-bé L-nɛn-Lgì|
 IX-RP-IMPF INF-be.big-G
 ‘It was big.’

b. **ɪŋáɛn*
 |ì-ɪŋá-nɛn|
 IX-RP-be.big
 ‘It was big.’

(42) *ndá ɪŋábé pùmǵì*
 |ndá ì-ɪŋá-bé L-pùm-Lgì|
 [9]house IX-RP-IMPF INF-be.white-G
 ‘The house was white’

(43) [About a person you met.]
àŋgábé vǵngì
 |à-ɪŋá-bé L-ʋm-Lgì|
 I-RP-IMPF INF-be.black-G
 ‘He was black.’

Note that the normal way of saying (43) would be as in (44). Sentence (45) can be used, for instance, with reference to an African plum tree, when it is full of ripe plums, because the ripening (blackening) of the plums does not involve an external agent.

(44) *àŋgábé ʔvǵnǵ*
 |à-ɪŋá-bé ì-ʋm-A|
 I-RP-COP 7-be.black-AG
 ‘He was African.’

(45) *úŋgáʋm*
 |ú-ɪŋá-ʋm|
 III-RP-be.black
 ‘It was black.’

The form in (41b) is hardly acceptable in the context of (TMAQ 3), but in (46b) the perfective is used in a comparable situation. The difference is that the permanent quality of the stone in (46b) is relevant with respect to a situation that can be easily construed as

bounded. This could be a metonymical use of the perfective, where the boundedness of an action is transposed onto a permanent state with direct relevance to that action.

(46) [Of a notoriously strong person.] (I saw him lift a stone,)

- a. *ɲwàg ɲgábé dɪdɪ àbɔ̃*
 |ɲgùàg ɪ-ɲgá-bé L-dɪd-Lgɪ à-bɔ̃|
 [9]stone IX-RP-IMPF INF-be.heavy-G 3-a.lot
 ‘The stone was awfully heavy.’
- b. *ɲwàg ɲgádɪd àbɔ̃*
 |ɲgùàg ɪ-ɲgá-dɪd à-bɔ̃|
 [9]stone IX-RP-be.heavy 3-a.lot
 ‘The stone was awfully heavy.’

This brings us to the discursive function of the opposition perfective-imperfective. In narratives and other types of discourse, the imperfective can BACKGROUND situations, while the perfective can FOREGROUND them. In other words, when a situation is reported in order to provide a setting for other reported situations, it is more likely to be in the imperfective aspect. An example in case is the imperfective form *mémé wùlgà épàn* ‘I was walking in the forest’ in (83) below, which provides the background for an encounter with a snake in the following sentences.

It can be concluded that the relation between Aktionsart (or inherent aspect) and viewpoint aspect is very loose in Eton. Depending on the imagination of a speaker, almost every proposed combination is accepted or can be elicited in a fieldwork session. The likeliness of occurrence of utterances as (32) in spontaneous discourse is another question, and one that is at present impossible to answer with certainty, due to the small size of the corpus and the high amount of different forms. Nevertheless it is safe to assume that verbs expressing properties are more often in the imperfective, whereas activities, achievements and accomplishments are more often in the perfective. Perhaps the opposition is not privative, with imperfectivity being the default for states and perfectivity elsewhere.

2.2. The G-form

The *G-form* of the verb⁴ is used in the Hesternal past perfective and in participles. The formation of the G-form depends on the syllable structure of the stem. CV-stems take a *-gà* suffix (47). Stems with a CVC-structure take the suffix *-Lgì* (48). In CVCV-stems the infix <Lg> is inserted between the second consonant and the stem-final vowel, irrespective of whether the latter is a root vowel or a derivational suffix (49). In accordance with the general tone rules of Eton, the floating low tone part of the suffix/infix attaches to the left. Verbs with a more complex syllable structure, finally, have a suffix of the form *-èngàn(à)*, which replaces any material after the first CVCC-sequence (50). Speakers tend to be uncertain about the presence or absence of the final *-à*, and no conditioning, not even a lexical one, could be found at present.⁵ Note that the same holds for the Imperative and Subjunctive plural suffix *-éngàn(à)* (see Sections 3.1 & 3.2). There are some tonal complications in stems with an impermeable expansion. In the Hesternal past perfective, high tone spread from the stem onto the suffix is optional. In the other forms it is always absent. When high tone spread is absent, a high tone on the stem becomes falling. At present I see no other solution than to propose two allomorphs: *-èngànà* and *-Lèngànà* (51).

	basic form	G-form
(47)	<i>bá</i>	<i>bágà</i> ‘marry’
	<i>bà</i>	<i>bàgà</i> ‘cut in pieces’
	<i>bé</i>	<i>bégè</i> ‘fry (intr.)’
	<i>jó</i>	<i>jógò</i> ‘vomit’
	<i>dù</i>	<i>dùgà</i> ‘baptise’
(48)	<i>dùd</i>	<i>dùdgi</i> ‘drive; smoke’
	<i>cóg</i>	<i>cògì</i> ‘think’
	<i>kód</i>	<i>kòdgi</i> ‘dry (intr.)’
	<i>kàb</i>	<i>kàbgi</i> ‘divide’
	<i>yém</i>	<i>yémgi</i> ‘block’

⁴ The *G-form* is named after the only stable segment in the suffix that marks this form of the verb. In earlier versions of this description I have used the terms *participial form* and *suffixed form*, both of which were potentially misleading.

⁵ Perhaps the underlying form of the suffix is always *-èngànà*, but the final *-à* usually drops due to the maximality constraint on verb stems.

- (49) *báfi* *bálgì* ‘hurt oneself’
sùz-à *sùzgà* ‘diminish’
bèbè *bèbgè* ‘look at’
wáǵô *wáàǵò* ‘wash’
káyâ *káàǵgà* ‘stay’
kódô *kôdǵò* ‘leave’
- (50) *bèglè* *bèglèǵgà(à)* ‘carry’
kòglò *kòglèǵgà* ‘bite’
vúmlâ *vúmlèǵgà* ‘throw violently’
sóǵdô *sóǵdèǵgà* ‘sharpen’
sùgzà *sùgzèǵgà* ‘shake’
vòdò *vòdò-èǵgà* ‘breathe’
sègzàn *sègzèǵgà* ‘breathe heavily’
yéglânâ *yéglèǵgà* ‘imitate’
- (51) *ndámni* ‘deteriorate’
Hesternal past perfective:
í-ndâmn-èǵgà ~ *í-ndâmn-èǵgà* ‘it deteriorated’
Relative imperfective:
í-ndâmn-èǵgà ‘deteriorating’

The difference between certain verbs is neutralised in the G-forms.

- (52) *jǵgì* ‘put down’ G-form: *jǵǵgì*
jǵg ‘damn’ G-form: *jǵǵgì*

The G-form of some CV-verbs shows that the form of their stem is the result of umlaut. Sometimes this is still audible in the form of the stem, which can have a closing diphthong, the final part of this diphthong being a trace of the segment that triggered umlaut.

- (53) basic form G-form
nè [*nèⁱ*] *nàgà* ‘keep’
gbè [*gbèⁱ*] *gbègè* [*gbèⁱɛyà*] ‘grasp’
lây ~ *léè* *lágâ* ~ *léégì* ‘tell’
wé *wógô* ‘kill’
wé *wáǵô* ‘give birth’
wè *wàǵò* ‘laugh’

The G-form of stems that have a succession of structural vowels might provide insight in the way they evolved. In some cases, they behave as simple CV-stems, i.e. the suffix *-gà* is added after the initial CV-sequence (54a). The verb *|búì|* in (54b) has two alternative G-forms,

one as if it were based on the stem *bú* and the other as if derived from the stem *búgì*. A similar situation occurs with the near-homonyms in (54c).

- (54) a. *nyà* *nìgà* ‘save’
 twî *túgâ* ‘burst’
 b. *bwî* *búgâ* ~ *búùgì* ‘singe’
 c. *kwè* ~ *kòy* *kògò* ‘light’
 kòy *kòògì* ‘shell, pod’

The verb *nè* ‘be’ does not have a G-form. The form of its participle is *dyă*, in the Hesternal past perfective it takes the form *mé*.

2.3. Absolute tense constructions

2.3.1. The Remote past perfective

The Remote past perfective is formed by means of the subject prefix, followed by the prefix *ɲgá-* and the verb stem.⁶ The stem of the verb *né* ‘be’ is *bé* in the Remote past perfective. The morpheme *ɲgá* must be analysed as a prefix, i.e. not as an auxiliary, for several reasons. First, nothing can stand between *ɲgá* and the following verb stem. Second, if it had been an auxiliary, it would have been followed by an infinitive form of the lexical verb, implying a *L-* prefix before the stem and link tone, both of which are absent in the Remote past perfective (56).

VP-*ɲgá*-STEM

- (55) *dô àɲgábéd. dô vó mwàn újàm àɲgákpàgì zěn.*
 |*dô à-ɲgá-béd dô vó N-ùànH=ù-dzàm*|
 DP I-RP-climb DP *donc* 1-DIM=3-squirrel
 |*à-ɲgá-kpàgì zěn*|
 I-RP-clear [9]path
 ‘Then he climbed. Then the little squirrel cleared the path.’

⁶ There is tone spread from the prefix onto the verb stem, which makes it in principle impossible to know whether the Remote past perfective has a *H-* prefix, as the other past perfectives do. However, since the Remote past perfective behaves differently from the other past perfectives from a tonal point of view (it lacks the non-final suffix *-H*), it is reasonable to assume that there is no floating high tone prefix in the Remote past perfective. All forms discussed in this section take a subject prefix. This will not always be explicitly repeated. The subject prefixes are discussed in Section VIII:1.

- (56) a. *àŋgáláŋ b̀ kálâdà*
 |à-ŋgá-láŋ b̀ kálâdà|
 I-RP-read PL book
 ‘He has read the letters.’
- b. *àŋgáfìl b̀ kálâdà*
 |à-ŋgá-tìl b̀ kálâdà|
 I-RP-write PL book
 ‘He wrote the letters.’
- c. *àŋgáđí ébàŋà*
 |à-ŋgá-đí è-bàŋà|
 I-RP-eat 5-macabo
 ‘He has eaten the macabo.’
- d. *àŋgábê èbàŋà*
 |à-ŋgá-bê è-bàŋà|
 I-RP-plant 5-macabo
 ‘He has planted the macabo.’

2.3.2. The Remote past imperfective

Like all past imperfectives, the Remote past imperfective is formed by means of a past form of the imperfective auxiliary *né* (in this case the remote past form) and a participle formed by the infinitive prefix *L-* and the G-form of the main verb stem.

VP-ŋgá-bé L-GFORM

- (57) *àŋgábé đìgâ ndógò*
 |à-ŋgá-bé L-đì-gà ndógò|
 I-RP-IMPF INF-eat-G [9]mango
 ‘He was eating a mango.’

2.3.3. The Hesternal past perfective

In the Hesternal past perfective the G-form of the verb stem is preceded by a floating high tone prefix. When this verb form is not in clause-final position, it has a floating high tone suffix (the non-final form). The hesternal past form of the verb *né* ‘be’ is *mé*. The examples in (58-59) show the difference between clause-final Hesternal past perfective forms (58a, 59a) and clause-internal forms (58b, 59b). The presence of the floating high tone suffix does not say anything about the syntactic status of the following element within the clause.

VP-H-GFORM-H (non-final)

VP-H-GFORM (clause-final)

- (58) a. *àkêngì*
 |à-H-kèn-Lgì|⁷
 I-PST-go-G
 ‘He went.’
- b. *àkêngí á mákíd*
 |à-H-kèn-Lgì-H á mákíd|
 I-PST-go-G-NF LOC market
 ‘He went to the market.’
- (59) a. *àkǒl úyábnêngàn*
 |à-kǒl ú-H-jábn-èngànà|
 3-foot III-PST-hurt-G
 ‘The foot hurt.’
- b. *àkǒl úyábnéngán mā*
 |à-kǒl ú-H-jábn-èngànà-H mā|
 3-foot III-PST-hurt-G-NF 1SG.FSUB
 ‘My foot hurt.’

There is high tone plateauing between the *H*-affixes in the non-final form of the Hesternal past perfective, as is illustrated in (60) and in the previous examples (see Section II:6.2.5).

- (60) *àkódgí múyá á ménđim*
 |à-H-kòd<Lg>ì-H N-úyá á mén-đim|
 I-PST-save<G>-NF 1-child LOC 6-water
 ‘He saved the child from the water.’

Note that the difference between low and high stems is neutralised in clause-final Hesternal past perfective forms (61). In non-final position the difference is audible only if the subject prefix carries a high tone, in which case a low stem surfaces with a downstepped high tone and a high stem with a high tone (62).

⁷ This is one of the few irregular verb forms in Eton. The stem for ‘go’ has different allomorphs depending on the TA-form. In the Present, for instance, it is *kè*.

- (61) a. *pám* ‘go out’
 àpâmgì
 |à-H-pám-Lgì|
 I-PST-go.out-G
 ‘He went out’
- b. *pàm* ‘be furious’
 àpâmgì
 |à-H-pàm-Lgì|
 I-PST-be.furious-G
 ‘He was furious.’
- (62) a. *àpámgí ààngògé*
 |à-H-pám-Lgì-H ààngògé|
 I-PST-go.out-G-NF yesterday
 ‘He went out yesterday.’
- b. *bépámgí ààngògé*
 |bâ-H-pám-Lgì-H ààngògé|
 II-PST-go.out-G-NF yesterday
 ‘They went out yesterday.’
- c. *àpámgí ààngògé*
 |à-H-pàm-Lgì-H ààngògé|
 I-PST-be.furious-G-NF yesterday
 ‘He was furious yesterday.’
- d. *bépámgí ààngògé*
 |bâ-H-pàm-Lgì-H ààngògé|
 II-PST-be.furious-G-NF yesterday
 ‘They were furious yesterday.’

The clause-internal *-H* suffix should not be confounded with link tone. High tone copy from the verb creates the illusion of link tone, but contrary to the *-H* suffix, link tone does not appear before prepositional phrases (63). Moreover, link tone attaches to the right, instead of to the left, and consequently never triggers high tone plateauing on a preceding stem. Thus the clause-internal form of the Hesternal past perfective does not contradict the generalisation that link tone occurs only before the first complement of an infinitive.

- (63) a. *mèwùlgá èèy jíé*
 |*mà-H-wùl<Lg>-à-H èèj jíé*|
 1SG-PST-walk<G>-NF with I.SUB
 ‘I walked with her.’
- b. *mèté wùlà èèy jíé*
 |*mà-Lté L-wùlà èèj jíé*|
 1SG-PR INF-walk with I.SUB
 ‘I’m walking with her.’

2.3.4. The Hesternal past imperfective

The Hesternal past imperfective is formed by means of the hesternal past form of the past imperfective auxiliary (i.e. the verb ‘be’), viz. *mé*, followed by the participle of the main verb.

VP-*mé* L-GFORM

- (64) *àmé ðígá ndógò*
 |*à-mé L-ðí-gà ndógò*|
 I-YIMPF INF-eat-G [9]mango
 ‘He was eating a mango.’

2.3.5. The Hodiernal past perfective

The Hodiernal past perfective is formed as the Hesternal past perfective, except that the simple stem is used instead of the G-form of the stem. As its Hesternal counterpart, the Hodiernal past perfective has a *H-* past prefix and in non-final position also a *-H* suffix. The stem of the verb *né* ‘be’ is *bé* in the Hodiernal past perfective (67).

VP-H-STEM-H (non-final)

VP-H-STEM (clause-final)

- (65) *mètúà àbómló múyá á jíjìy*
 |*mètúà à-H-bòmlò-H N-úyá á N-jìy*|
 car I-PST-hit-NF 1-child LOC 3-street
 ‘The car hit the child in the street.’
- (66) *mèkpé élén*
 |*mà-H-kpè-H è-lén*|
 1SG-PST-fell-NF 5-palm.tree
 ‘I felled a palm tree.’

- (67) *àbé míntàg*
 |à-bé m̀i-ntàg|
 I-COP 4-satisfaction
 ‘He was satisfied.’

The Hodiernal past perfective construction is polysemic. One use is to report a situation that held before the moment of speaking, but during the same day, with perfective viewpoint aspect, i.e. a HODIERNAL PAST PERFECTIVE use (68).

- (68) *àjà*
 |à-H-dzà|
 I-PST-sing
 ‘She sang (today).’

Secondly, the Hodiernal past perfective can be used to express the PERFECT. The perfect expresses the present relevance of a past situation. It must be strictly distinguished from the past forms, in which temporal remoteness is obligatorily specified. For instance, the situation predicated in (69) can be the same as the one in (70). In other words, the perfect can be used in order to say that somebody is dead when that person died a long time ago. The Hodiernal past perfective in its hodiernal past perfective use would be unacceptable here.

- (69) *àwú*
 |à-H-wú|
 I-PST-die
 ‘He has died.’ / ‘He died. (recently)’
- (70) *àngáwú*
 |à-ŋgá-wú|
 I-RP-die
 ‘He died.’
- (71) *dè ùbá àyǎ?*
 |dè ù-H-bá-H àjǎ|
 Q 2SG-PST-marry-NF already
 ‘Are you married already?’
- (72) *dè ùnè mbáání?*
 |dè ù-nè Ñ-báání|
 Q 2SG-COP 3-married.state
 ‘Are you married?’

2.3.6. The Hodiernal past imperfective

The Hodiernal past imperfective is formed by means of the hodiernal past form of the imperfective auxiliary followed by the participial form of the main verb that is used in the other past imperfectives.⁸

VP-*bé* L-GFORM

- (73) *à-bé dīgâ ndógò*
 |*à-bé L-dī-gà ndógò*|
 I-TIMPF INF-eat-G [9]mango
 ‘He was eating a mango.’

2.3.7. The Past imperfective

There is a construction that seems to neutralise the remoteness distinctions between the three past imperfective constructions, although it is most commonly used for predicating a remote past. For lack of a better term (or rather: lack of understanding of its function) this form will be simply called Past imperfective for the time being. It is formed by means of the past prefix *H-* and the G-form of the stem.

VP-H-GFORM

The formal difference between the Past imperfective and the Hesternal past perfective is visible only in clause-internal position, where the Past imperfective lacks a *-H* suffix. Compare the Past imperfective in (74a) with the Hesternal past perfective in (74b). Also compare these forms with the Relative imperfective in (74c), see Section 2.6.3.

- (74) a. *mèkêngì èèy jíé*
 |*mà-H-kèn-Lgì èèj jíé*|
 1SG-PST-go-G with I.SUB
 ‘I was going/used to go with her.’
 b. *mèkêngí èèy jíé*
 |*mà-H-kèn-Lgì-H èèj jíé*|
 1SG-PST-go-G-NF with I.SUB
 ‘I went with her.’

⁸ According to Redden (1976:94) the high tone on the auxiliary is downstepped in Ewondo. This is not the case in Eton.

- c. *mèkèngì èèy jí*
 |*mà-kèn-Lgì èèj jí*|
 1SG-go-G with I.SUB
 ‘(me) going with her’

2.3.8. The Present

The Present is formed by means of the auxiliary *Ltê* and the infinitive of the main verb.

VP-*Ltê* L-STEM

- (75) *àté dī ndógô*
 |*à-Ltê L-dī H ndógô*|
 I-PR INF-eat LT [9]mango
 ‘She is eating a mango.’

Object pronominals and adverbs can be placed between *Ltê* and the main verb, which is evidence for calling |*Ltê*| an auxiliary rather than a prefix (76-77). The initial /t/ of the Present marker provides further evidence for this analysis, because this phoneme is restricted to the onset of accentuated syllables. The origin of this auxiliary is most probably the verb *tébê* ‘stand’.

- (76) *mèté wô yén*
 |*mà-Ltê wô L-jén*|
 1SG-PR 2SG.NSUB INF-see
 ‘I see you.’

- (77) *àté púágó jàb*
 |*à-Ltê púágó L-dzàb*|
 I-PR really INF-be.tall
 ‘He is really tall.’

Interestingly, I heard some instances of the Present auxiliary being pronounced with an initial [r], i.e. where it is not an accentuated syllable, so that its onset consonant is subject to the lenition rules. When I repeated these cases, they were accepted by all speakers (sometimes with the label *dialectal*), but never with an object pronominal or an adverb preceding the main verb. This can be interpreted as an ongoing morphologization from auxiliary to tense prefix. Note that the same speakers never produce or allow lenition of the initial /t/ or /d/ of a lexical verb.

The Present is the default construction for expressing present time reference, for all verbs, irrespective of their inherent aspect (78-80), but the Resultative and Contrastive resultative verb forms cannot combine with the Present auxiliary (see 2.4.1). Speakers generally use the Present when asked to translate present tense phrases in isolation. In spontaneous discourse the Inceptive is often selected instead of the Present (see 2.6.2) and in Southern dialects there is an alternative present tense construction (see 2.5).

- (78) *mèndim métē sīm*
 |*mà-ndim má-Lté L-sim*|
 6-water VI-PR INF-be.cold
 ‘The water is cold.’
- (79) *mètē yàṅà á ncèy, àtìlgì b̀ kálàdà*
 |*mà-Lté L-jàṅà á N-tfèy*|
 1SG-PR INF-wait LOC 3-court
 |*à-tìl-Lgì b̀ kálàdà*|
 I-write-G PL letter
 ‘I am waiting in the garden, while he is writing letters.’
- (80) *twàmó àté b̄m̄i ndàmà*
 |*tùàmó à-Lté L-b̄m̄i H ndàmà*|
 Tomo I-PR INF-hit LT ball
 ‘Tomo hits the ball.’

Present time is a time frame that includes the moment of speech, but can go well beyond. Therefore the Present is also used to predicate permanent qualities.

- (81) *àté bàgn̄i*
 |*à-Lté L-bàgn̄i*|
 I-PR INF-provoke
 ‘He’s an agitator.’

The Present is typically used in performative speech acts.

- (82) *mètē w̄ jù*
 |*mè-Lté w̄ L-dzù*|
 1SG-PR 2SG.NSUB INF-forgive
 ‘I forgive you.’

The Present can have past time reference when it is used as a narrative present, as in (83b) in the following short narrative. The narrative is

set in the hesternal past in (83a). Once the action starts, the speaker switches to the narrative present and then continues with Consecutive forms (83c) (see 2.6.1 for the Consecutive).

(83) (TMAQ B1)

- a. *ùtè jèm ídâm ìtóbneṅgáná èyè má ààṅgògí ìì? mèmé wùlgà épàn*

|ù-Lté L-dzèṁ í-d-àm è-H-tóbn-éṅgáná-H|

2SG-PR INF-know AU-5-thing V-PST-meet-G-NF

|èyè má ààṅgògí ìì màmé L-wùl<g>à|

with 1SG.SUB yesterday Q 1SG-YIMPF INF-walk<G>

|á è-pàn|

LOC 5-forest

‘Do you know what happened to me yesterday? I was walking in the forest.’

- b. *dô métè bùmṅgànǎ wùlǎ jṳy á jól. dṳ ítè mâ lób á ṅmēn.*

|dô màm-Lté L-bùmṅgànǎ H L-wùlǎ H jṳí|

DP 1SG-PR INF-do.suddenly LT INF-walk LT [9]snake

|á jól dṳ ì-Lté mà L-lób á ñ-ṳjēn|

LOC [9]body DP IX-PR 1SG.SUB INF-bite LOC 3-leg

‘Suddenly, I stepped on a snake. It bit me in the leg.’

- c. *dṳ mé jṳy ṅgwâg, dô mèlúm jṳy. dṳ íwū.*

|dṳ màm-jṳy-H ṅgùàg dô màm-lúm-H jṳí|

DP 1SG-take-CS [9]stone DP 1SG-throw-CS [9]snake

|dṳ ì-wú-H|

DP IX-die-CS

‘I took a stone and threw it at the snake. It died.’

The Present can also be used with reference to situations that will hold in the future. In this case the Present expresses a present intention (84), prediction or certainty (85), or a present directive for future behaviour (86). The example in (85) is a so-called timetable future.

(84) (FTRQ 91)

mṳjāṅ àtè kàd nâ àtè kè á fṳwân kṳí

|m-ṳH=dzǎṅ à-Lté L-kàd nâ à-Lté L-kè|

my.brother I-PR INF-say CMP I-PR INF-go

|á fṳwân kṳí|

LOC town [9]tomorrow

‘My brother says he goes to town tomorrow.’

- (85) (FTRQ 90) [According to the timetable,]
jìcmâ àté kè á tólbé
 |jìtʃmâ à-Lté L-kè á tólbé|
 train I-PR INF-go LOC noon
 ‘The train leaves at noon.’
- (86) (FTRQ 88) [To go to my brother’s place,]
ùté cìɲlàn á méyāl á mǎbgán.
 |ù-Lté L-tʃɲlàn á mǎ-jál á mǎbgán|
 2SG-PR INF-turn LOC 6-left LOC [9]crossing
 ‘You turn left at the crossing.’

2.3.9. The Future

The Future is formed by means of the auxiliary *èèy* and the infinitive of the main verb.

VP-*èèy* L-STEM

- (87) *èèy mà dɔ̄ yāgnà dyâ*
 |à-èèj mà dɔ̄ L-jāgnà H dīà|
 I-FUT 1SG.SUB V.SUB INF-pay LT expensive
 ‘He will pay it dearly to me.’
- (88) [Of a house in construction.]
ndá yèèy nén
 |ndá ì-èèj L-nén|
 [9]house IX-FUT INF-be.big
 ‘The house will be big.’
- (89) *bèèy dāɲ épàn*
 |bā-èèj L-dāɲ H è-pàn|
 II-FUT INF-cross LT 5-forest
 ‘They will cross the forest.’

The future is not subdivided into temporal domains the same way as the past is (90-92). When asked to translate a French phrase in the future into Eton, a native speaker will never ask further temporal precisions, but will simply use the Present or the Future. There is a construction that can imply that a situation holds in the far future, but its use is not obligatory in clauses that are set in the far future (see 2.3.10).

- (90) a. *byéèy kè úngòló ítétègè jíó*
 |bì-èèj L-kè H á ùngòlò ítátègè jíó|
 1PL-FUT INF-go LT LOC Yaoundé now I.DEM
 b. *bítē kè úngòló ítétègè jíó*
 |bì-Lté L-kè H á ùngòlò ítátègè jíó|
 1PL-PR INF-go LT LOC Yaoundé now I.DEM
 ‘We will go to Yaoundé in a moment.’
- (91) a. *byéèy kè úngòló kíđí*
 b. *bítē kè úngòló kíđí*
 ‘We will go to Yaoundé tomorrow.’
- (92) a. *byéèy kè úngòló á mbúz í ngwàn íbā*
 |bì-èèj L-kè á ùngóló á mbúz|
 1PL-FUT INF-go LOC Yaoundé LOC back
 |íngwàn í-bǎ|
 IX.CON=[10]month X-two
 b. *bítē kè úngòló á mbúz í ngwàn íbā*
 |bì-Lté L-kè á ùngóló á mbúz|
 1PL-PR INF-go LOC Yaoundé LOC back
 |íngwàn í-bǎ|
 IX.CON=[10]month X-two
 ‘We will go to Yaoundé in two months.’

The future auxiliary developed out of the lexical verb *yì* ‘want’ preceded by the present tense prefix *à-*, which still exists in Southern variants of Eton (see Section 2.5). In these dialects the form VP-*à-yì* STEM exists as well. The same construction with *a*-umlaut (VP-*èè-yì* STEM) can be heard in all dialects. This less grammaticalised form can have both a predictive (93a) and an intentional reading (93b).

- (93) *màyì đí* (Southern dialects) ~ *mèèyì đí*
 a. ‘I will eat.’
 b. ‘I would like to eat.’

In the Southern construction *màyì đí*, *yì* functions as a quasi-auxiliary (see VIII:5.2.2.15).

The reason for discussing the origin of the Future auxiliary is that the difference between a genuine future tense and intentional modality or prospective aspect is notoriously difficult to make. An argument in favour of analysing the Future as a construction marking future tense (as its main function) is that the Future can be used where both a

volitional or intentional reading and a prospective aspect reading are excluded, as in (94).

- (94) (TMAQ 36) [You should not try to bathe in the lake tomorrow.]
mèndĩm mèèy pwágó s̄m
 |*mà-ndĩm má-èèj púágó L-s̄m*||
 6-water VI-FUT really INF-be.cold
 ‘The water will be really cold.’

When a clearly intentional utterance is elicited, the Future is only one of many possible constructions (95c). In (95d) Future *èèy* is used as a quasi-auxiliary. This is the only example I have of this use. Therefore, it is not treated in Section VIII:5.2 on quasi-auxiliaries.

- (95) (FTRQ 31) [What are your plans for tonight?]
 a. *mèté yĩ tĩl kálâdà*
 |*mà-Lté L-jĩ H L-tĩl H kálâdà*||
 1SG-PR INF-VOL LT INF-write LT letter
 b. *màyì tĩl kálâdà*
 |*mà-à-jĩ L-tĩl kálâdà*||
 1SG-SP-VOL INF-write letter
 c. *mèèy tĩl bò kálâdà*
 |*mà-èèj L-tĩl H bò kálâdà*||
 1SG-FUT INF-write LT PL letter
 d. *mèté èèy tĩl bò kálâdà*
 |*mà-Lté L-èèj H L-tĩl H bò kálâdà*||
 1SG-PR INF-VOL LT INF-write LT PL letter
 ‘I am going to write a letter.’

In contrast, some facts might be interpreted as arguments against analysing the Future as a future tense marker. For instance, the copula and Resultative forms cannot be conjugated in the Future (96b).

- (96) a. *mèbógò á mbóg yâmà*
 |*mà-Bóg-Á á mbóg jãmÀ*||
 1SG-stay-RS LOC [9]home IX.my
 ‘I stay at my place.’
 b. *mèté yĩ bōgbò á mbóg yâmà*
 |*mà-Lté L-jĩ H L-Bōgbà á mbóg jãmÀ*||
 1SG-PR INF-want LT INF-stay LOC [9]home IX.my
 ‘I will stay at my place.’

- (97) a. *à-nè m̀ntàg*
 |à-nè m̀ntàg|
 I-COP satisfaction
 ‘He is satisfied.’
- b. *èèy bógbò m̀ntàg*
 |à-èèj L-Bógbò H m̀ntàg|
 I-FUT INF-stay LT satisfaction
 ‘He will be satisfied.’

The Future differs in this respect from the present and past tenses and resembles non-indicative forms such as the Imperative (98) and the Subjunctive (99).

- (98) *bógbò m̀ntàg èèy ìtìlgà yô*
 |Bógb<H>À m̀ntàg èèj ì-tìlgà ʔ-ɔ̄|
 stay<IMP> satisfaction with 7-life VII-your
 ‘Be satisfied with your life!’
- (99) *ábōgbò m̀ntàg èèy ìtìlgà yě*
 |H-à-L-Bógb<H>À m̀ntàg èèj ì-tìlgà j-ě|
 SB-I-SB-stay<SB> satisfaction with 7-life VII-his|
 ‘May he be happy with his life.’

In a sequence of events, the Future is interchangeable with the Subjunctive (see 3.1), rather than with the Consecutive relative tense form (see 2.6.1).

- (100) [Somebody is preparing to go and visit a friend and says:]
- a. *á mbúz vālá m̀èy ké ápūb*
 |á mbúz vālá m̀-èèj L-kè á à-púb|
 LOC [9]back that 1SG-FUT INF-go LOC 3-field
- b. *á mbúz vālá m̀ékè ápūb*
 |á mbúz vālá H-m̀-èèj-L á à-púb|
 LOC [9]back that SB-1SG-go-SB LOC 3-field
 ‘After that I will go to the field.’

Finally, in some uses of the Future, future time reference (or future in the past) seems to be a derived meaning, rather than a basic one, as when the Future is used in a purpose clause.

- (101) *bētē yàṅà nâ bḕy m̄m yén*
 |bâ-Lté L-jàṅà nâ b̄-è̀j m̄m L-jén|
 II-PR INF-wait CMP II-FUT 2PL.NSUB INF-see
 ‘They are waiting in order to see you.’
- (102) *béyáṅ(á) nâ bḕy m̄m yén*
 |bâ-H-jàṅà-H nâ b̄-è̀j m̄m L-jén|
 II-PST-wait-NF CMP II-FUT 2PL.NSUB INF-see
 ‘They waited in order to see you.’

2.3.10. The Indefinite future

The Indefinite future is formed by means of the prefix *LṅgáL-*, preceded by the subject prefix and followed by the stem, which takes a *-H* suffix. The floating low tones surrounding the segmental form of the Indefinite future prefix are reminiscent of the form of auxiliaries (where the second *L* would be the infinitival prefix of the following main verb). Nevertheless, *LṅgáL-* must be analysed as a prefix, since nothing can stand between this marker and the following verb stem. Furthermore, the main verb cannot be analysed as an infinitive, because it is never followed by a link tone.

VP-*LṅgáL*-STEM-*H*

- (103) *àṅgáwē ȳ*
 |à-*LṅgáL-wé-H* j̄|
 I-IF-kill-IF IX.SUB
 ‘He will slaughter it (i.e. the animal).’
 **àṅgá ȳ wé*

So far, the Indefinite future showed up only in elicited phrases, never in texts, which makes it hard to provide a reliable description of its function. It is sometimes used to report on situations that will take place in a future far away from the moment of speech and cannot be combined with time adverbials referring to a near future (105).

- (104) *àṅgá wē j̄nâg, ábâ.*
 |à-*LṅgáL-wé-H* j̄nâg H-à-bâ-L|
 I-IF-kill-IF [9]cow SB-I-cut.up-SB
 ‘He will slaughter the cow and cut it up.’

- (105) *àŋgá wē jâg kíđi.
 |à-LŋgáL-wé-H jâg kíđi|
 I-IF-kill-IF [9]cow tomorrow
 ‘He will slaughter the cow tomorrow.’

Most probably, the main function of the Remote future is to express low probability that an event will occur or hearsay evidentiality. It can be translated by means of a *conditionnel* in French, or *would*-periphrasis in English.

- (106) [What if I climbed in this tree?]
 mēŋgábēd pē ílē
 |mà-LŋgáL-béd-H pē á ì-lé|
 1SG-IF-climb-IF also LOC 7-tree
 ‘I would also climb in the tree.’

2.4. Constructions involving defective verb forms

2.4.1. The Resultative form

Verbs with a positional suffix $|-b\lambda|$ (see IV:3.5) and the verbs *gbè* ‘grasp, catch’, *pèd* ‘close’, *pùdì* ‘put’ have a Resultative form.⁹ The Resultative form suffix $|-\tilde{A}|$ replaces the positional suffix and the final vowel of *pùdì*. To the other verbs it is simply attached without replacing anything. The Resultative form of *gbè* ‘grasp’ is exceptional in that the stem tone becomes high. The majority of resultative forms are subject resultatives; only *tyǎ* ‘attached’ and *pèdé* ‘closed’ are object resultatives. The Resultative form is used in the present and the past, never in future tenses. Possession, for instance, is expressed by means of the resultative form of the verb *gbè* ‘grasp, catch’ in the present (107a) and past (107b). In the future, the stem *gbè* is used, so that ‘I will have’ is literally rendered as ‘I will acquire’ (108).

- (107) a. mēgbélê mál
 |mà-gbél-Ā m-ál|
 1SG-grasp-RS 6-canoe
 ‘I have a canoe.’

⁹ The list is probably not exhaustive. Another candidate is the verb *tál* ‘perceive’, but this needs to be checked.

b. *mèyḡábé gbēlé mál*
 |*mà-yḡá-bé L-gbél-ǻ m-ál*|
 1SG-RP-IMPF INF-grasp-RS 6-canoe
 ‘I had a canoe.’

(108) *mèèy gbè mál*
 |*mà-èèj L-gbè H m-ál*|
 1SG-FUT INF-grasp LT 6-canoe
 ‘I will have a canoe.’

Other verbs use a nominal strategy in order to express a resultative meaning, involving a copula and a deverbal noun, very often derived by means of the suffix *-nú* (see III:4.3.5). Deverbal nouns derived by *|-nú|* usually have a synonym on *|-ḡḡán|*, as in (109).

(109) *bòd* ‘draw (water)’
 a. *mèndím ménê mbòdnú*
 |*mà-ndím má-nè ñ-bòdnú*|
 6-water VI-COP 3-drawn
 b. *mèndím ménê mbòdnéyḡán*
 |*mà-ndím má-nè ñ-bòdnéyḡán*|
 6-water VI-COP 3-drawn
 ‘The water is drawn.’

(110) *bàl* ‘weed (tr.)’
àpúb únê mbàlnú
 |*à-púb ú-nè ñ-bàlnú*|
 3-field III-COP 3-weeded
 ‘The field is weeded.’

(111) *vàḡ* ‘roll up’
 a. *àté vḡḡ lékā lé újô.*
 |*à-Lté L-vḡḡ H là-ká lá=údzò*|
 I-PR INF-roll.up LT 5-leaf V.CON=banana
 ‘He rolls up the banana leaves.’
 b. *lèkā lé újô léñê ñvḡḡnú*
 |*là-ká lá=údzò là-nè ñ-vḡḡnú*|
 5-leaf V.CON=banana V-COP 3-rolled.up
 ‘The banana leaves are rolled up.’

- (112) *bɔ̃* ‘rot’
ndɔ̃gɔ̃ ìnè ìbwǎl
 |*ndɔ̃gɔ̃ ì-nè ì-bùàlH*|
 [9]mango IX-COP 7-rotten
 ‘The mango is rotten.’

2.4.1.1. The Present resultative

In the Present resultative the Resultative form of the verb is preceded by a subject prefix (113-116). See Section IV:3.5 for more examples.

- (113) *wàtélì àpèdè*
 |*wàtélì à-pèd-ǎ*|
 market I-close-RS
 ‘The market is closed.’
- (114) *kábèdì yàmà ìtyǎ ìmèy*
 |*kábdì jàmà ì-tì-ǎ N-Bèy*|
 [9]goat IX-my IX-attach-RS 3-good
 ‘My goat is well attached.’
- (115) *àbógò bèbè vǎ*
 |*à-Bóg-ǎ bèbè vǎ*|
 I-stay-RS close here
 ‘She lives nearby.’
- (116) *ndɔ̃gɔ̃ ìpùdá á jǎd*
 |*ndɔ̃gɔ̃ ì-pùd-ǎ á dz-ǎd*|
 [9]mango IX-put-RS LOC 7-basket
 ‘The mango lies in the basket.’

Just as the Present, the Present resultative can have future time reference (117a).

- (117) a. *zèkúlì àpèdè kíđì*
 |*zəkúlì à-pèd-ǎ kíđì*|
 school I-close-RS tomorrow
 ‘The school will be closed tomorrow.’
- b. *zèkúlì àtè pèd kíđì*
 |*zəkúlì à-Lté L-pèd kíđì*|
 school I-PR INF-close tomorrow
 ‘The school will close down tomorrow.’

2.4.1.2. The Past resultatives

The Past resultatives are formed by means of a form of the auxiliary *né*, either in the hodiernal (118a), hesternal (118b) or remote (118c, 119) past, and the Resultative form.

- (118) a. *àbé bōgô ásí*
 |à-bé L-Bóg-Ā ásĩ|
 I-TIMPF INF-sit-RS down
 b. *àmé bōgô ásí*
 |à-mé L-Bóg-Ā ásĩ|
 I-YIMPF INF-sit-RS down
 c. *àḡgábé bōgô ásí*
 |à-ḡgá-bé L-Bóg-Ā ásĩ|
 I-RP-IMPF INF-sit-RS down
 ‘He was sitting down.’
- (119) *ḡgé ísō áḡgābé gbélê ndán, ...*
 |ḡgé ísō à-ḡgá-bé gbél-Ā ndán|
 if your.father I-RP-IMPF have-RS [9]ndan
 ‘If your father had a ndan, ...’

2.4.2. Contrastive resultative forms

Some Resultative forms have a related Contrastive resultative form, which is often used in combination with the adverb *àyǎ* ‘already’. It expresses contrastivity with a previous situation or with the speaker’s expectations. The form of the Contrastive resultative is derived from the Resultative form by means of the prefix *ń-*. A very frequent and important Contrastive resultative form is the Contrastive resultative of *bógbô* ‘stay’, viz. *mógô* (see Section VIII:4). When a contrastive resultative form follows the auxiliary of the past imperfective it takes a subject prefix, rather than the infinitive prefix *L-* (see example (41) in Chapter VIII).

- (120) a. *ndógò ìbèdé á jād*
 |ndógò ì-Bèd-Ā á dǝ-ǎd|
 [9]mango IX-put-RS LOC 7-basket
 ‘The mango lies on the basket.’

- b. *ndógò ʔmmēdá àyǎ á jād*
 |ndógò ʔ-ń-Béd-Ǻ àǎ á dz-ǎd|
 [9]mango IX-CR-put-RS already LOC 7-basket
 ‘The mango lies already on the basket.’
- (121) a. *ndógò ʔpùdá á jād*
 |ndógò ʔ-pùd-Ǻ á dz-ǎd|
 [9]mango IX-put-RS LOC 7-basket
 ‘The mango lies in the basket.’
- b. *ndógò ʔmpūdá àyǎ á jād*
 |ndógò ʔ-ń-pùd-Ǻ àǎ á dz-ǎd|
 [9]mango IX-CR-put-RS already LOC 7-basket
 ‘The mango lies already in the basket.’
- (122) a. *mègbélê mètŵà*
 |mà-gbél-Ǻ mətúà|
 1SG-have-RS car
 ‘I have a car.’
- b. *mèymélâ àyǎ mètŵā*
 |mà-ń-gbél-Ǻ àǎ mətúà|
 1SG-CR-have-RS already car
 ‘I already have a car.’
- c. *àymélâ àyǎ lòŋ lépûmgì*
 |à-ń-gbél-Ǻ àǎ lòŋ lá-pùm-Lgì|
 1SG-CR-have-RS already [5]hair V-grey-G
 ‘He already has grey hairs.’
- (123) a. *mètélê*
 |mà-tél-Ǻ|
 1SG-stand-RS
 ‘I am standing.’
- b. *mèntélê àyǎ*
 |mà-ń-tél-Ǻ àǎ|
 1SG-CR-stand-RS already
 ‘I am standing already.’

2.5. Southern forms

The Southern dialects have a TA-prefix *à-*, used in a present tense construction (VP-*à*-STEM), henceforth the Southern present; and a past tense construction (VP-*à-H*-STEM), the Southern past. This prefix is the normal present tense marker in Ewondo (see e.g. Essono 2000:517). In

the Southern dialects of Eton the constructions with *à-* exist next to the other TA-constructions. Hence, ‘I am eating’ can be translated as *màđĩ* or as *mèté đĩ*. A Present and a Southern present form can be used in the same chunk of discourse, as in the following example.

- (124) *válá ísā àbèglé jìè; dō àté lō, jîn nâ: “pèpáà” jé èy jé nâ: “ń” jîn nâ: “màkàd wǒ nâ: ndán yâmà ìnè nâ: ...”*
 |*vǎ-lá ísǎ à-bèglà-H jě dō à-Lté L-lǒ*|
 there father I-carry-CS I.SUB then I-PR INF-call
 |*jîn nâ pàpá jě èj jě nâ ń jîn nâ*|
 I.QP CMP dad I.SUB with I.SUB CMP yes I.QP CMP
 |*m-à-kàd wǒ nâ: ndán jǎmà ì-nè nâ*|
 1SG-SP-tell 2SG.FSUBCMP [9]ndan IX.my IX.be CMP
 While her father is carrying her, she calls him and says:
 “dad!”, he says: “yes”. She says: “I tell you that my ndan
 is: ...”

The choice between the Present and the Southern present is free, in the sense that one is never excluded if the other is possible. Whether there is any functional difference between both forms remains uncertain for the moment. The most promising research hypothesis that I can suggest at present is that the difference between Southern present and Present (and between Southern past and the other past constructions) is one of non-situational versus situational respectively (see Idiatov, to appear). Non-situational forms present the predicate as a fact rather than a situation with a beginning, an end and/or an internal structure. That the Southern forms prefix *à-* is formally identical to the gender 3 nominal prefix, typically found before abstract nouns, might not be a coincidence in this respect. By way of example, one consultant remembered an old man who could not work any more complaining about his condition as follows:

- (125) *mèlìgì àyǎ vè nâ màđĩ, mà júy*
 |*mè-lìgì àjǎ vè nâ mè-à-đĩ, mè-à-júy*|
 1SG-stay already simply CMP 1SG-SP-eat 1SG-SP-drink
 ‘*Il ne me reste qu’à manger et boire.*’

The preference for the Southern form is very strong here. The Southern present forms *màđĩ* and *mà júy* do not predicate actions going on at the time of speaking, i.e. they are non-situational, and are typically translated by an infinitive (nominal-verbal) form in English

or French. The distinction is clearest in questions. An appropriate context for question (126a) would be that two people prepared a text to be read in public and that one of them suggests that the other should read it, or informs if the other is willing to read it. It is less appropriate for asking somebody whether he is engaged in the activity of reading. For such a question the Present is preferred. Another probable interpretation of (126a) is a habitual one, i.e. ‘can you read’ or ‘do you like to read’.

- (126) a. *wàláy ìì?*
 |ù-à-láy ìì|
 2SG-SP-read Q
 ‘Do you read?’
 b. *ùtè lāy ìì?*
 |ù-Ltè L-láy ìì|
 2SG-PR INF-read Q
 ‘Are you reading?’

The fact that the Southern past makes no temporal distinctions in the past squares well with its possibly non-situational meaning.

2.6. Relative tense constructions

The constructions discussed in this section have in common that they have no inherent tense specification. They derive their temporal interpretation from previous verb forms. Nevertheless, the Inceptive (2.6.2) and Relative imperfective (2.6.3) can be used in isolation. Then they have a present time reading. The opposition between both constructions in their relative tense use is aspectual, the Inceptive being the perfective counterpart of the Relative imperfective. The Inceptive and the Relative imperfective can be used after verbs in the past, present and future tenses. The Consecutive only after past and present tenses. Neither relative tense form needs to have the same subject as the preceding verb form.

2.6.1. Consecutive

The Consecutive consists of a subject prefix and a verb stem followed by a floating high tone suffix.

VP-STEM-*H*

In line with the general tone rules described in Chapter 2, the floating high tone suffix attaches to the left. When preceded by a high tone it is deleted (127a). A preceding low tone is deleted if it is not attached to an accentuated syllable (127b). The floating high tone suffix forms a rising tone with a preceding low tone on an accentuated syllable (127c). The examples in (127a-b) are elicited. Example (127c) is taken from a piece of recorded procedural discourse. The three dots before the example point out that (127c) is not logically independent.

- (127) a. *àté jòŋ ndógò àdí*
 |à-Ltɛ̃ L-jòŋ ndógò, à-dí-H|
 I-PR INF-take [9]mango I-eat-CS
 ‘They ask and I answer.’
- b. *àté jòŋ múŋá àbèglé jê*
 |à-Ltɛ̃ L-jòŋ H N-úŋá à-bèglà-H jɛ̃|
 I-PR INF-take LT 1-child I-carry-CS him
 ‘She takes the child and carries him.’
- c. ... *à jòŋ pé kô lèlén*
 à-jòŋ-H pé kô L=lè-lén
 I-take-CS also [9]nervure IX.CON=5-palm.tree
 ‘... and he also takes a palm nervure’

2.6.1.1. Subsequent events

The Consecutive is often used in narratives (128) and procedural discourse (129), for sequences of actions. In the fragment in (129), Judith Akini explains how she treats a child that suffers from *ìbǎb* ‘asthma’. The general time frame is set in (a) by a verb in the Present and reasserted in (e), with a Southern present, and in (m). All other verb forms that are part of the procedural sequence are in the Consecutive (14 instances). The Hodiernal pasts and non-indicative verb forms all occur in relative clauses (i, m, o), in reported speech (c, i, j), or in an interruption in which the speaker addresses a second person (e, f).

(128) *mbú ité gbè kú ìkògló yô*|*mbú* |*ì-Lté* |*L-gbè* |*H kú* |*ì-kòglò-H*

[9]dog IX-PR INF-catch LT [9]chicken IX-devour-CS

|*jǝ*|

IX.SUB

‘The dog catches a chicken and devours it.’

(129) a. *jìná métē tādī wúd; mē jǝ; mēngâ ké pāg*|*jìná* |*mà-Lté* |*L-tādī* |*H L-wúd*|

as.soon.as 1SG-PR INF-begin LT INF-massage

|*mà-jǝ-H* |*mà-ngâ* |*L-ké* |*H L-pāg*|

1SG-enter-CS 1SG-INC INF-go LT INF-dig

‘As soon as I begin to massage, and I enter, I go and dig’

b. *í-má mé ñkwāl, í má mé ká; mēmǎ pāg.*|*í-má* |*má=N-kùál,* |*í-má*|

AU-VI.dem VI.CON=3-rope AU-VI.dem

|*má=ká* |*mà-mà-H* |*L-pāg*

VI.CON=[10]leaf 1SG-TMN-CS INF-dig

‘that (i.e. the medicine: *mè-bálá*) of the liana, that of the leaves, I dig.’c. *mà èèy wò nâ: zùgá èèy mújǎ.*|*mà* |*èèj* |*wò* |*nâ* |*zùgá* |*èèj* |*N-újǎ*|

1SG.SUB with 2SG.SUB CMP come.IMP with 1-child

‘and I say to you: come with the child.’

d. *mètādī bōónò jǝ mēbálá mâ,*|*mà-tādī-H* |*L-bōónò* |*H jǝ* |*H=mà-bálá* |*mǎ*|

1SG-begin-CS INF-purge LT I.SUB AU-6-medicine VI.DEM

I begin to administer him these medicines,

e. *mà jǝng lèbǝg létê... tē jǝng ná ngé àné cècàd*|*mà-à-jǝng* |*là-bǝg* |*lá-tē* |*tēH jǝng ná*|

1SG-SP-take 5-time V-ANA NEG take thus

|*ngé* |*à-né* |*cècàd*|

if I-COP small

‘at that moment I take... don’t take as much as this in case he is still very small’

- f. *tè pùdì á táy òyúmâ tóg. mèpùdì á jóm,*
 |tèH pùdì á táy ò-wúmâ tóg|
 NEG put as.much.as 3-entire [9]spoon
 |mà-pùdì-H á dz-óm|
 1SG-put-CS LOC 7-thing
 ‘Don’t put the quantity of an entire spoon! I put it in the thing’
- g. *mèbóónó jê. mè jòy ímá mévwāg*
 |mà-bóónò-H jě mà-jòy-H í-má mà-vúág|
 1SG-purge-CS I.SUB 1SG-take-CS AU-VI.DEM VI-other
 ‘and I purge him. (Then) I take the others,’
- h. *mèvé wō. mè èèy wò nâ:*
 |mà-vé-H wō mà èèj wò nâ|
 1SG-give-CS 2SG.FSUB 1SG.NSUB with 2SG.NSUB CMP
 ‘and I give them to you. And I tell you.’
- i. *ké ùyén lébim mēpùdì á jōm ì?*
 |ké ù-H-jén-H là-bim mà-H-pùdì-H|
 DP 2SG-PST-see-NF 5-quantity 1SG-PST-put-NF
 |á dz-óm=ì|
 LOC 7-thing=QS
 ‘You have seen the dose that I put in the thing, haven’t you?’
- j. *wàgò ùkèngì kwàm jê. múyá àmă vwaḃì.*
 |wàgò ù-kèn-Lgì L-kuàm jě|
 2SG.TNP 2SG-go-G INF-do I.SUB
 |N-úyá à-mà-H L-vúábì|
 1-child I-TMN-CS INF-cool.down
 ‘You too, you go and do it for him.’ The child calms down.’
- k. *mēmă pē òmú kpèlì*
 |mà-mà-H pē L-òmú H kpèlì|
 1SG-TMN-CS also INF-do.again LT injure
 ‘I injure (the child) again.’

1. *jìná úkē gbè ñcô, ùsô. ùsô èèy jíé*
 |jìná ù-kê-H L-gbè ñtʃô ù-sô-H
 as.soon.as 2SG-go-CS INF-catch lizard 2SG-come-CS
 |ù-sô-H èèj jíé|
 2SG-come-CS with I.SUB
 ‘As soon as you go and catch a lizard, you come. You come with him.’
- m. *í vòm mèmá jíé kpèlì. òyòy ítê mèté jíyòy*
 |í-vòm mà-H-mà-H jíé L-kpèlì
 AU-place 1SG-PST-TMN-NF I.SUB INF-injure
 ò-jòy í-tê mà-Lté L-jíyòy H ñtʃô
 7-time VII-ANA 1SG-PR INF-take LT lizard
 ‘to the place where I injured him. At that moment I take the lizard.’
- n. *àmă mìn, àmă vīb*
 |à-mà-H L-mìn à-mà-H L-vīb|
 I-TMN-CS INF-swallow I-TMN-CS INF-suck
 ‘It swallows. It sucks’
- o. *íbwán méčí bépám ítē*
 |í-b-úánH=mà-tʃí bá-H-pám-H ítē|
 AU-2-DIM=6-blood II-PST-come.out-NF there
 ‘the little bit of blood that came out of there.’

2.6.1.2. Conditional

In one type of conditional clause, the verb of both the protasis and the apodosis can be in the Consecutive. The result is a correlative structure with two deranked clauses.

- (130) *àmă lāy kálâdâ, àyēm léyēglé*
 |à-mà-H L-lāy kálâdâ à-jēm-H lā-jéglá|
 I-TMN-CS INF-read book I-know-CS 5-subject
 ‘If he reads the book, he will know the subject.’

Elsewhere, the Consecutive is used in the protasis only.

- (131) a. *ɲgé ábāglá mâ bìďí, mēy gbè ídâm màďí kíďí*
 |ɲgé à-bāglà-H mà bì-ďí mà-èèj L-gbè|
 if I-keep-CS 1SG.NSUB 8-food 1SG-FUT INF-grasp
 |í-d-àm mà-à-ďí kíďí|
 AU-5-thing 1SG-SP-eat [9]tomorrow

- b. àbàglá mà bìđí, mégbê ídâm màđí kíđí
 |à-bàglà-H mà bì-đí H-mà-gbè|
 I-keep-CS 1SG.NSUB 8-food SB-1SG-grasp
 |í-d-àm mà-à-đí kíđí|
 AU-5-thing 1SG-SP-eat [9]tomorrow
 ‘If he keeps some food for me, I will have something to eat tomorrow.’

2.6.1.3. Simultaneity

The Consecutive form has also been found instead of the Relative imperfective in adverbial clauses introduced by *válá*, which here means ‘while’.

- (132) *válá àbèglé múyá á zēn í zèkúí, m̀ múyá áyḡābé yōngì*¹⁰
 |válá à-bèglà-H N-úyá á zēn ì=zàkúí|
 while I-carry-CS 1-child LOC [9]road IX.CON=school
 |m̀H=N-úyá à-yḡá-bé L-jón-Lḡí|
 DIM=1-child I-RP-IMPF INF-cry-G
 ‘While he was carrying the child to school, the small child was crying.’

2.6.2. Inceptive

The Inceptive is formed by means of the auxiliary *yḡá* and the infinitive of the main verb. As usual, adverbs and object pronominals can stand between the auxiliary and the main verb.

VP-*yḡá* L-STEM

- (133) a. *m̀yḡá ẁ yén*
 |m̀-ḡá ẁ L-jén|
 1SG-INC 2SG.NSUB INF-see
 b. *m̀yḡá yén w̄*
 |m̀-ḡá L-jén w̄|
 1SG-INC INF-see 2SG.FSUB
 ‘I see you.’

¹⁰ The tone on this verb is downstepped-falling, i.e. ⁴*yōngì*, rather than simply falling. Cases such as these must be transcribed again and an orthographic convention must be sought for downstepped-falling tones.

- (134) *mèŋgâ àyǎ zù*
 |*mà-ŋgâ àǎ L-zù*|
 1SG-INC already INF-come
 ‘I am already coming.’

There is no Inceptive form of the copula. Instead, the form *mógô* ‘become’ is used.¹¹

- (135) *àmógô àyǎ n jēglê*
 |*à-ŋ-Bóg-ǎ àǎ ñ-jēglê*|
 I-CR-stay-RS already 3-teacher
 ‘He is already a teacher.’

The name *Inceptive* was chosen because Redden (1979: 112) uses this term for the related verb form in Ewondo. Note, however, that Redden’s Inceptive also includes the forms that are here called *Resultative*. The use of the Inceptive excludes any tense marking so that its temporal interpretation depends on the context, i.e. usually on the tense marking of preceding verb forms. The default temporal interpretation in the case of total absence of context is the present.

The Inceptive encodes a number of meanings, the most central of which is probably INCHOATIVE. In the following elicited example, the Inceptive form highlights the beginning of the action of writing. Nothing is implied as to the achievement of the action.

- (136) (TMAQ 13) [When you visited your brother, what he DO after you had dinner?]
íjǎŋ àŋgámâ dī, àŋgâ tìl bô kálâdâ
 |*H=ì-dzǎŋ à-ŋgâ-mâ L-dī*|
 AU=7-time I-RP-TMN INF-eat
 |*à-ŋgâ L-tìl H bô kálâdâ*|
 I-INC INF-write LT PL letter
 ‘When he had finished eating, he started writing letters.’

Example (137) is from a recorded conversation, in which Pie-Claude Ondobo asks his aunt whether a child could choose his own *mètâmná* (a name). Since the *mètâmná* is given shortly after birth, a child cannot choose it himself. The villagers give one to the child and begin to use it to call him. The temporal interpretation of the Inchoative in (137b) is an immediate future in the past, and it was

¹¹ This is the Contrastive resultative form of the verb *bôgbô* ‘stay’.

translated for me by means of a future tense in French. The sense is clearly inchoative.

- (137) a. *bébōm pwágó wê mètàmna á jól vālá,*
 |bá-H-bòm-H púágó wê mètàmna|
 II-PST-hit-NF really 2SG.SUB 6-metamna
 |á jól vālá|
 LOC [9]body there
 ‘They really imposed a *mètàmna* on you.’
- b. *mó béngâ wê ló*
 |mó béngâ wê L-ló|
 VI.SUB II-INC 2SG.SUB INF-call
 ‘the one by which they will call you.’

The Inceptive is often used where one might expect a Consecutive verb form and the two tend to be interchangeable as non-initial verb form in a series of subsequent actions, although I never encountered series of Inceptives in texts,¹² in contrast to the abundance of sequences of Consecutives. It is hard to find translation equivalents that capture the difference in meaning between the Inceptive and the Consecutive in such cases. Most probably the Inceptive is selected for its inchoative meaning here (138c).

- (138) a. *ùté pwágó jòŋ, ùmă pōzì àné níŋkōg,*
 |ù-Lté púágó L-jòŋ|
 2SG-PR really INF-take
 |ù-mà-H L-pōzì àné mī-ŋkōg|
 2SG-TMN-CS INF-peel like 4-sugar.cane
 ‘You really take (the lianas), you peel (them) like sugar canes.’
- b. *ùté mǎ cāg còb còb còb.*
 |ù-Lté L-mà H L-tfág tfòb tfòb tfòb|
 2SG-PR INF-TMN LT INF-pound ONO
 ‘you pound.’

¹² Series of Inceptives are possible, though, as in the following elicited example: *bétē cīg jūg, béngâ bà, béngâ jām, béngâ dī* ‘They kill the cow, they cut it in pieces, they prepare it and they eat it’.

- c. *ùŋgâ jòŋ míŋām èé ítē*
 |ù-ŋgâ L-jòŋ H mî-ŋám èé ítē|
 SG-INC INF-take LT 4-peel LC there
 ‘you take out the remaining peels’
- d. *ùmyàdgì mènđm.*
 |ù-mjàd-Lgì mèn-ndm|
 2SG-press-G 6n-water
 ‘while pressing out the water.’

In isolation the focus of attention of the Inceptive form in (139) will rather be on the result of the subject having started writing and the Inceptive functions as a progressive. Since she started writing, she is writing now. This might be called the INCHOATIVE-RESULTATIVE or the PROGRESSIVE use.¹³

- (139) *àŋgâ fìl b̂ kálâdà*
 |à-ŋgâ L-fìl H b̂ kálâdà|
 I-INC INF-write LT PL letter
 ‘She is writing letters.’

The following *ndan* of a Mbog Namnye chief illustrates an interesting extension of the progressive use.

- (140) *bìtùtùgà bíŋgâ bwâg á lèbùm*
 |bì-tùtùgà bí-ŋgâ búág á lè-bùm|
 8-vegetable VIII-INC coil LOC 5-belly
 ‘The vegetables hurt in the belly.’

When I tried to figure out with Pie-Claude Ondobo why the Inceptive is used here, rather than the Present, he said that the use of the Present would (potentially) give this phrase a general-truth reading, i.e. ‘vegetables give belly-ache’. The Inceptive, on the contrary, grounds the verb in an anecdote that must have been at the origin of this *ndan*. Therefore, the Inceptive, in its present progressive use, can have a more unambiguously present time reference than the Present, even though it is a relative tense form. The number of examples of each use of the Inceptive is rather small, however, and does not permit to be very sure of this interpretation.

The inchoative-resultative function of the Inceptive makes verbs expressing a quality or a state acquire a change-of-state meaning, as in

¹³ The Inceptive functionally resembles the Contrastive resultative in this use.

the following examples involving the verbs *úm* ‘be black’ and *kwàn* ‘be ill’.

- (141) *ɲgũɲgúgô ìɲgâ úm*
 |ɲgũɲgúgô ì-ɲgâ L-úm|
 [9]evening IX-INC INF-be.black
 ‘The evening falls. (lit. becomes black)’
- (142) *íyðɲ ùtú, úmā vèɲzàn lévèɲ, úɲgâ kwàn*
 |H-ì-jðɲ ù-tú-H ú-mā-H L-vèɲzàn|
 AU-7-time 2SG-pierce-CS III-TMN-CS INF-transform
 |H là-véɲ ú-ɲgâ L-kiàn|
 LT 5-wound III-INC INF-be.ill
 ‘When you pierce it, it (i.e. a sore) transforms into a wound, it gets worse. (lit. becomes sick)’

Similarly, experiencer verbs such as *yèm* ‘know’ and *wóg* ‘hear, understand’ mean ‘come to know or understand something, thanks to relevant information that was presented’. The example in (143) follows an elaborate explanation of how the disease *ìbǎb* can heap up in the body of a child and transform in a more threatening variant called *ìbǎb í kwé*, announced by shivering and other symptoms. Probably the sentence in (143) must be interpreted as ‘now that I told you how *ìbǎb* can heap up in the body, you have begun to understand why somebody can get an epileptic fit’.

- (143) *sè pè yǎ ùɲgâ wóg nâ sɪmkálá àtè pāz káná*
 |sè pè jǎ ù-ɲgâ L-wóg nâ|
 DP also how 2SG-INC INF-hear CMP
 |sɪmkálá à-Lté L-páz H káná|
 somebody I-PR INF-fall LT [9]epilepsy
 ‘So now you understand that somebody can have an epileptic fit.’
- (144) *àmá lāɲ kálâdà, àɲgâ yèm léyēglê*
 |à-H-mà-H L-lāɲ H kálâdà|
 1SG-PST-TMN-NF INF-read LT book
 |à-ɲgâ L-jèm H là-jéglè|
 I-INC INF-know LT 5-subject
 ‘He read the book, he knows the subject.’

Change-of-state verbs are often in the Inceptive, in order to focus on the beginning of the process, but the Present can also be used.

- (145) a. *ɲkùlâ àɲgâ sùz*
 |ɲkùlâ à-ɲgâ L-sùz|
 tempest I-INC INF-diminish
- b. *ɲkùlâ àtɛ̀ sùz*
 |ɲkùlâ à-Ltɛ̀ L-sùz|
 tempest I-PR INF-diminish
 ‘The tempest is calming down.’
- (146) *wàtɛ̀lì àɲgâ màn*
 |wàtɛ̀lì à-ɲgâ L-màn|
 market I-INC INF-end
 ‘The market is coming to an end.’

Another meaning related to the inchoative and resultative is that of contrast with a preceding situation. The following phrase uttered in isolation can imply that a while ago the water was not cold, e.g. that somebody recently put it in the fridge.

- (147) *mèndɪm méɲgâ sìm*
 |mè-ndɪm mɛ̀-ɲgâ L-sìm|
 6-water VI-INC INF-be.cold
 ‘The water is cold.’

This contrastivity can be reinforced by means of the adverb *àyǎ*, which is translated as *déjà* ‘already’ in Cameroonian French.¹⁴ Whether in combination with this adverb or not, the Inceptive frequently has a counterexpectational value.

- (148) [To a visitor who has just arrived and already prepares to leave again.]
ùɲgâ kè àyǎ àà!?
 |ù-ɲgâ L-kè àjǎ=àà|
 2SG-INC INF-go already=Q
 ‘You are already leaving!?’
- (149) [To somebody who is ill and claimed to have no appetite:]
ùɲgâ dɪ̃ ɲi!?
 |ù-ɲgâ L-dɪ̃=ɲi|
 2SG-INC INF-eat=Q
 ‘You are eating!?’

¹⁴ Note that the use of *déjà* in Cameroonian French differs from its use in European French. This difference is in need of a thorough description.

Note that the adverb *àyǎ* can be used also with other verb forms, for instance with a Hodiernal past perfective in order to express an experiential perfect.

- (150) a. *dè ùtè jěm mǔjāŋ?*
 |*dè ù-Lté L-dzém H mǔdzǎŋ*|
 Q 2SG-PR INF-know LT my.brother
 ‘Do you know my brother?’
- b. *mètóbnó áyǎ èèy jé.*
mà-H-tóbnò-H àǎ èèj jě
 1SG-PST-meet-NF already with him
 ‘(Yes,) I already met him.’

2.6.3. The Relative imperfective

The Relative imperfective is a participial form that consists of a subject prefix followed by the G-form of the verb.

VP-GFORM

The relative imperfective is used in participial complement clauses, the subject of which is the object of the main clause (151). Note that the Relative imperfective does not need to have an overt head nominal. It can also agree exophorically (152b) (see also Section IV:5.2).

- (151) a. *békwáb mǎ mètìlgì bò kálàdà*
 |*bǎ-H-kúáb-H mǎ mǎ-tìl-Lgì bò kálàdà*|
 II-PST-find-NF 1SG.SUB 1SG-write-G PL letter
 ‘They found me writing letters.’
- b. *lèèy kwáb jé àtìlgì bò kálàdà*
 |*lǎ-èèj L-kúáb H jě à-tìl-Lgì bò kálàdà*|
 1PL-FUT INF-find LT I.SUB I-write-G PL letter
 ‘We will find him writing letters.’
- (152) a. *mèyénǎ jé àságâ*
 |*mǎ-H-jén-Lgì-H jě à-sá-gà*|
 1SG-PST-see-NF I.SUB I-work-G
 ‘I saw him working.’
- b. *mèté yēn àságâ*
 |*mǎ-Lté L-jén à-sá-gà*|
 1SG-PR INF-see I-work-G
 ‘I see him working.’

Another use of the Relative imperfective is in adverbial clauses expressing simultaneity (25, repeated as 155).

- (153) *mèngábé yààngà á jicèy, mǎjāy wāmò àtìlgì bò kálàdà*
 |*mà-ŋgá-bé L-jàŋ<Lg>à á N-tfèy mǎjǎy wǎmò*|
 1SG-RP-IMPF INF-wait<G> LOC 3-court brother I.my
 |*à-tìl-Lgì bò kálàdà*|
 I-write-G PL letter
 ‘I was waiting outside while my brother was writing letters.’

Related to these cases is the use of the Relative imperfective in secondary predicates. The clause in (155) is the introductory utterance of an interview on proper names in Eton. The interviewer says he wants information on the *ndan* and on the *metamna*.

- (154) *ámá lāy kálàdà, àyèmgì lèyégì*
 |*à-H-mà-H L-láy H kálàdà à-jèm-gì lè-jéglè*|
 I-PST-TMN-NF INF-read LT book I-know-G 5-matter
 ‘He has read the book, knowing the matter.’
- (155) *mèté yì méndān, mèyìgà mètàmná.*
 |*mè-Lté L-jì H mà-ndān mà-jì-gà mà-tàmná*|
 1SG-PR INF-want LT 6-ndan 1SG-want-G 6-nickname
 ‘I want the *ndan*, I also want the nicknames. (lit. wanting the nicknames)’
- (156) a. *àjúy mē jūy mē médyǎ bīsīn*
 |*à-H-nūy-H mà-nūy mē mǎ-dīá bī-sīm*|
 I-PST-drink-NF 6-drink VI.his VI-being 8-cold
 ‘He drank his drink cold.’
- b. *àdyǎ múyá ànūngì úbālá*
 |*à-dīá N-úyá à-H-nūy-Lgì á úbālá*|
 I-being 1-child I-PST-live-G LOC Obala
 ‘As a child he lived in Obala.’

As could be expected, the Relative imperfective can be used as an adnominal modifier. The Relative imperfective can have an object in this use as much as in all its other uses (158).

- (157) *ndá ìnēngì*
 |*ndá ì-nén-Lgì*|
 [9]house IX-be.big-G
 ‘a big house’

- (158) *múŋá àyàgà byǎ àtè s̄*
 |N-úŋá à-jà-gà b̄r-ǎ à-Lt̄é L-s̄ó|
 1-child I-sing-G 8-song I-PR INF-come
 ‘A child singing songs arrives.’

3. Non-Indicative moods

3.1. Subjunctive

The formation of the Subjunctive does not involve any segmental affix, except the obligatory subject prefix, but is tonally rather complex. The subject prefix is always high in the Subjunctive. The tone pattern on the stem depends on its syllable structure. The Subjunctive of monosyllabic verb stems can be described by means of a floating low tone suffix.

H-VP-STEM-L¹⁵

The high tone of the subject prefix spreads onto the stem, forming a falling tone, illustrated in (160) with the verb *yèm* ‘know, understand’. Consequently, the difference between high and low monosyllabic stems is neutralised in the Subjunctive, compare (159) to (160).

- (159) *lētē s̄lâ nâ údî ású nâ únâŋ*
 |l̄á-Lt̄é L-s̄lâ nâ H-ù-đr-L|
 V-PR INF-ask CMP SB-2SG-eat-SB
 |ású nâ H-ù-náŋ-L|
 for CMP SB-2SG-grow-SB
 ‘You should eat in order to grow.’
- (160) *mêtâ wò vúl v̄ mbūlná, úyêm*
 |H-má-tá-L wò L-vúl H L-v̄é|
 SB-1SG-PF-SB 2SG.NSUB INF-do.quickly LT INF-give
 |H mbūlná H-ù-j̄èm-L|
 LT [9]example SB-2SG-know-SB
 ‘I first give you an example quickly, so that you understand (it).’

The difference between high and low stems is neutralised in stem types with more than one syllable as well. All syllables between the subject prefix and the final syllable are high, with a downstep on the

¹⁵ The *H-* prefix before the subject marker is apparently absent before the subject marker of the second person plural *m̄má-*.

first stem syllable. Three floating tones are needed in order to arrive at the correct surface tonality in all instances: a high tone before the subject prefix, a low tone after the subject prefix and an infixed H after the first CVC(C)-sequence of the stem.

H-VP-L-CVC(C)<H>V...

- (161) *ʔtē sīlā nā úbāṅdē bǔ*
 |ʔ-Ltē L-sīlā nā H-ù-L-bāṅd<H>à bǔ|
 VII-PR INF-ask CMP SB-2SG-SB-invite<SB> II.SUB
 ‘You should invite them.’
- (162) *ʔtē sīlā nā úbāṅlê fíd*
 |ʔ-Ltē L-sīlā nā H-ù-L-bāṅl<H>à fíd|
 VII-PR INF-ask CMP SB-2SG-SB-conserve<SB> [9]meat
 ‘You should conserve the meat.’

Most often the Subjunctive is used as a dependent verb form, e.g. in certain types of complement clause. For lack of time and data, complex clauses are not discussed in this description. When used independently, the Subjunctive often conveys a wish. With a first person plural subject prefix the Subjunctive is used as a so-called cohortative or optative, which can be translated in English by means of *let’s*-periphrasis (163a). This form can take a plural suffix *-(é)ṅán(à)*, which replaces any material after the first CVCC-sequence of the stem (163b). The initial *é* of the suffix appears after consonants only. The difference between the form with and without the suffix has nothing to do with clusivity,¹⁶ or with a number opposition between dual and plural. As its use in the Imperative shows, the suffix *-éṅánà* simply pluralizes the implied second person participant. There is no way to know whether this suffix is preceded by a floating high tone morpheme.

- (163) a. *éḏī bībùmá*
 |H-é-ḏī-L bī-bùmá|
 SB-1PL-eat-SB 8-fruit
 ‘Let’s eat some fruit.’

¹⁶ The term *clusivity* is a recently coined cover term for the inclusive-exclusive distinction in the typological literature.

- b. $\acute{e}\acute{d}\acute{i}\eta\acute{g}\acute{a}n\ b\grave{i}b\grave{u}m\acute{a}$
 $|H\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-}L\text{-}\acute{d}\acute{i}\eta\acute{g}\acute{a}n\grave{a}\ b\grave{i}\text{-}b\grave{u}m\acute{a}|$
 SB-1PL-SB-eat-PL 8-fruit
 ‘Let’s eat some fruit (all of us).’

3.2. Imperative

The Imperative is the only independent verb form that can lack a subject prefix. It is formed by means of a floating high tone, which is a suffix after monosyllabic stems (164a) and an infix elsewhere (164b).

CV(C)-H
 CVC(C)<H>v...

In violation of the rules observed elsewhere, the high tone infix seems to attach to the right, creating a falling tone on the following unaccentuated syllable. A possible way to account for this otherwise embarrassing tonality is to say that the H infix attaches to the left, thereby creating a rising tone on the first stem syllable. Subsequently the high part of this rising tone spreads to the right and the entire tone pattern is then regularly simplified.

$c\grave{o}c\text{<}H\text{>}\grave{o} \rightarrow c\check{o}c\grave{o} \rightarrow c\check{o}c\hat{o} \rightarrow c\grave{o}c\hat{o}$

- (164) a. $s\check{o}$
 $|s\check{o}\text{-}H|$
 clean-IMP
 ‘Clean it!’
- b. $b\grave{e}b\hat{e}$
 $|b\grave{e}b\text{<}H\text{>}\grave{a}|$
 look<IMP>
 ‘Look!’

As in the Subjunctive the suffix $-(\acute{e})\eta\acute{g}\acute{a}n(\grave{a})$ marks the plural (165b).

- (165) a. $b\grave{e}g\acute{l}\hat{e}\ m\grave{e}b\grave{a}\eta\grave{a}$
 $|b\grave{e}g\acute{l}\text{<}H\text{>}\acute{e}\ m\grave{a}\text{-}b\grave{a}\eta\grave{a}|$
 carry<IMP> 6-macabo
 ‘Carry the macabos!’
- b. $b\grave{e}g\acute{l}\acute{e}\eta\acute{g}\acute{a}n\ m\grave{e}b\grave{a}\eta\grave{a}$
 $|b\grave{e}g\acute{l}\text{<}H\text{>}\acute{a}\eta\acute{g}\acute{a}n\grave{a}\ m\grave{a}\text{-}b\grave{a}\eta\grave{a}|$
 carry<IMP>PL 6-macabo
 ‘Carry (pl.) the macabos!’

The verbs *kè* ‘go’ and *zù* ‘come’ have an irregular imperative, viz. *kèrú* and *zùgá* respectively.

4. Negation

4.1. The negative prefix *àá*

The Inceptive and all indicative absolute tense constructions can form their negative counterpart by means of the prefix *àá-*, which comes immediately after the subject prefix. The present tense negative copula is a suppletive form *sé*. Below, the use of the negative prefix is illustrated for the Present (166a), the present tense form of *nè* ‘be’ (166b), different past perfective (167) and past imperfective forms (168), the Past imperfective (169) and the Indefinite future (170). Resultative and Contrastive resultative forms are also negated by means of *àá-* (171).

- (166) a. *àátē sā*
 |à-àá-Ltē L-sá|
 I-NEG-PR INF-work
 ‘He’s not working.’
- b. *àsé vâ*
 |à-sé vâ|
 I-NEG.be here
 ‘She isn’t here.’
- (167) a. *màánygápám*
 |mà-àá-ɣgá-pám|
 1SG-NEG-RP-leave
 ‘I didn’t leave.’
- b. *àámé vâ*
 |à-àá-mé vâ|
 I-NEG-Y.be here
 ‘She wasn’t here.’
- (168) *báánygábé vògò*
 |bá-àá-ɣgá-bé L-vògò|
 II-NEG-RP-IMPF INF-play
 ‘They were not playing.’

- (169) *màápâmgì*
 |*mà-àá-pám-Lgì*|
 1SG-NEG-leave-G
 ‘I didn’t (usually) go out.’
- (170) *àáŋgājwāg ndá*
 |*à-àá-LŋgáL-júág-H ndá*|
 I-NEG-IF-build-IF [9]house
 ‘He will never build a house.’
- (171) a. *àágbélê mètúâ*
 |*à-àá-gbél-Ā mètúâ*|
 I-NEG-grasp-RS car
 ‘He doesn’t have a car.’
- b. *àáŋmêl ndá yē*
 |*à-àá-ŋ-gbél-Ā ndá j-ě*|
 I-NEG-CR-grasp-RS [9]house IX-his
 ‘He doesn’t have his own house yet.’

The negative form of the Future is problematic. For the time being, I will describe it using an allomorph *à* of the Future auxiliary *èèy* (172).

- (172) a. *ndá yââ nēn*
 |*ndá ì-àá-à L-nēn*|
 [9]house IX-NEG-FUT INF-be.big
 ‘The house will not be big.’
- b. *ndá yââ pŵágó nēn*
 |*ndá ì-àá-à púágó L-nēn*|
 [9]house IX-NEG-FUT really INF-be.big
 ‘The house will really not be big.’

In the past imperfective the negative prefix *àá* can be followed by the special negative imperfective auxiliary *jé*, instead of one of the past forms of the auxiliary *né* (see example VIII(37b)). This construction does not distinguish between hodiernal, hesternal and remote past. Possibly the use of this auxiliary is restricted to Southern dialects.

4.2. Negation in non-indicative moods: the negative auxiliary *bé*

Negation of non-indicative verb forms involves the auxiliary *bé* followed by the infinitive form of the main verb. In the subjunctive,

the negative auxiliary takes a subject prefix (173). The subject prefix is optional in the imperative singular and obligatory in the plural (174).

- (173) a. *lētē sīlā nâ úđī ású nâ ùbé kwàn*
 |lá-Lté L-sílá nâ H-ù-đī-L ású nâ|
 V-PR INF-ask CMP SB-2SG-eat-SB for CMP
 |ù-bé L-kùàn|
 2SG-NEG INF-be.ill
 ‘You have to eat in order not to be ill.’
- b. *àyá ùté kwàm nâ àbé đī*
 |à-já ù-Lté L-kùàm nâ à-bé L-đī|
 3-pain III-PR INF-do CMP I-NEG INF-eat
 ‘Due to the pain, she doesn’t eat.’
- (174) a. *bé pām*
 |bé L-pám|
 NEG INF-leave
 ‘Don’t leave!’
 or: *ùbé pām*
- b. *mìnúbé pē wú nâ mìnálóyò jíe ndán pēbē*
 |mìnú-bé pē L-wú nâ mìnú-à-lóyò jíe|
 2PL-NEG also INF-die CMP 2PL-SP-call I.SUB
 |ndán pēbē|
 ndán IX.other
 ‘Don’t make an effort to give him another *ndan*.’

4.3. The negative adverb *tè*

Negation can also be expressed by means of the negative adverb *tè*. It is not entirely clear yet in which conditions *tè* can be used and how it differs semantically from the other negative constructions. Therefore, this subsection is limited to some examples of its use. In Southern dialects I found examples of *tè* followed by an indicative verb form in order to express a prohibitive or a negative subjunctive (175). Compare (173a) with (175a). The negative adverb *tè* is also used in combination with *nè* ‘be’ and *ngénà* ‘still be’ (176). Since I am not sure yet about the correct underlying representation for the examples in (176), I do not provide glosses for them.

- (175) a. *lētē sīlá nâ úđī ású nâ tē wàkwàn*
 |lā-Ltē L-sílá nâ H-ù-đī-L ású nâ|
 V-PR INF-ask CMP SB-2SG-eat-SB for CMP
 |tē ù-à-kùàn|
 NEG 2SG-SP-be.ill
 ‘You have to eat in order not be ill.’
- b. *jē íkwâmgi nâ tē àsó lébōg*
 |dž-é í-H-kùàm-Lgi nâ tē à-H-só-H|
 7-what VII-PST-do-G CMP NEG I-PST-come-NF
 |H là-bōg|
 LOC 5-party
 ‘How come she didn’t come to the party?’
- c. *tē wàyà ijā yīlá*
 |tē ù-à-jà í-dž-ǎ jī-LÁ|
 NEG 2SG-SP-sing AU-7-song VII.DEM-CH
 ‘Don’t sing that song!’
- (176) a. *mèngénê tē pám*
 ‘I’m not leaving yet.’
- b. *mènè tē pám*
 ‘I’m not leaving.’

Chapter 8

Simple clauses

1. Introduction

The syntactic description came out much more modest than initially planned. This is mostly due to the morphonological complexity of Eton. A lot of time was also spent on the description of the TAM-system. I gathered a considerable amount of data on complex clauses, but most of these are based on elicitation with only one consultant and many uncertainties remained. Therefore, I decided to leave them out for the time being. Some syntactic information has been transferred to the morphological chapters, which do not only describe the form and meaning of words, but to a certain extent also their distribution. This chapter starts with an analysis of subjects in Eton (Section 2), followed by a brief typology of clause types, viz. non-verbal clauses (Section 3), copular clauses (Section 4) and clauses with a verbal predicate (Section 5). The latter section has two subsections, one on non-subject nominals (5.1) and one on quasi-auxiliaries (5.2). The chapter closes with short sections on relative clauses (Section 6), on focus (Section 7) and on questions (Section 8).

2. Subjects

Defining the subject is uncontroversial in Eton. The only formal characteristics of subjects are their preverbal position and the agreement they trigger on the verb. Nothing can stand between a finite verb and its overt subject. There is no difference in marking between subjects of intransitive verbs and subjects of transitive verbs. Very often the subject is an animate agent or experiencer (1), but many other kinds of subjects are also possible (2).

- (1) *mòd àtán àŋgāpám ítùn í ndá*
|*N-òd à=à-tán à-ŋgā-pám ì-tùn í=ndá*|
1-person I.CON=3-village I-RP-come.out 7-part VII.CON=[9]house
'The chief came out of the room.'
- (2) a. *nálá útē tìmù nâ, ...*
|*nálá ú-Ltē L-tìmù nâ*|
thus III-PR INF-mean CMP
'This means that, ...'

b. (What happened to your hand?)

pà ɪ́ɔ́g mǎ ùmǎy

|*pà* *ɪ-H-tʃɪg-H* *mǎ* *ù-mǎy*|

[9]machete IX-PST-cut-NF 1SG.NSUB 3-finger

‘A machete cut my finger.’

Apart from imperatives, every finite verb obligatorily has a subject prefix, whether a nominal subject is present (3a) or not (3b).

(3) a. *jì jéglê àté pàm*

|*ɲ-jéglê* *à-Lté* *L-pàm*|

1-teacher I-PR INF-be.furious

‘The teacher is furious.’

b. *àté pàm*

|*à-Lté* *L-pàm*|

I-PR INF-be.furious

‘He is furious.’

This prefix agrees with the subject in gender (4a), or, if the subject is a first or second person, in person and number (4b).

(4) a. *dô mwàn újàm àyǵátébê, jîm nâ:*

|*dô* *N-ùànH=ù-dzàm* *à-yǵá-tébê* *jîm nâ*|

DP 1-DIM=3-squirrel I-RP-stand I.QP CMP

‘Then the little squirrel stood up and said:’

b. “*mǎ mákpâgì mîm zǎn.*”

|*mǎ* *mà-à-kpâgì* *mîm* *zǎn*|

1SG.FSUB 1SG-SP-clear 2PL.SUB [9]path

‘I will clear the path for you.’

Tables 1 and 2 present the subject prefixes. The first person plural prefix has several variants. On the one hand, there are two free allomorphs *è-* and *bɪ-*. On the other hand these allomorphs have dialectal and idiolectal variants. The prefix *è-* is pronounced as *lè-* in Southern dialects and *bɪ-* is sometimes pronounced with a low or a rising tone, depending on the speaker. There is no semantic difference between these variants, no opposition between dual and plural, for instance.

I	à	II	bá
III	ú	IV	mí
V	é	VI	má
VII	í	VIII	bí
IX	ì	X	í

Table 1. Subject prefixes (structural forms)

1SG	mà	1PL	è, bí
2SG	ù	2PL	mùú

Table 2. Subject prefixes: first and second person (structural forms)

I use the term *agreement* in its broadest sense, including local and non-local agreement. Sometimes the term *anaphoric agreement* is used for the latter (e.g., in Bearth 2003:122, citing Bresnan and Mchombo 1987:741), but non-local agreement can be exophoric as well. Thus, the subject prefix can index a referent that is retrieved from the context by agreeing in gender with a noun that can refer to that referent. In case no nominal controller can be retrieved, agreement pattern V or VII is selected. The subject prefix of the second verb in (5a), for instance, is of agreement pattern VII. The speaker had asked somebody for delicate information and understands that his interlocutor will not provide it without a compensation (“something should be thrown on the ground”). The prefix *í-* in *ítē sīlâ* refers to the entire situation. In example (5b) from the same recorded conversation a subject prefix of pattern V is used.

- (5) a. *ùté kàd nâ ítē sīlâ nâ métâ gbà dâm ásí*
 |ù-Ltè L-kàd nâ í-Ltè L-sílâ nâ|
 2SG-PR INF-say CMP VII-PR INF-ask CMP
 |H-mà-tá-L L-gbà H d-àm á sí|
 SB-1SG-PF-SB INF-throw LT 5-thing LOC [9]ground
 ‘You say that this demands that I first throw something on the ground.’
- b. *tò léñè òcù, tò léñè òvú ímēn pwágó, ...*
 |tò lá-nè ò-tfù tò lá-nè ò-vú ímēn púágó|
 DP V-COP 3-poison DP V-COP 7-ivu itself really
 ‘Even if it is poison, even if it is really *ivu* itself, ...’

Likewise, in verbal presentative clauses and in questions like (6b), the subject prefix of the copula is of agreement pattern V or VII, also when the predicate is a plural nominal.

- (6) a. *ínê / é-nê bì bēbā*
 |í-nè / é-nè bì bā-bǎ|
 VII-COP / V-COP 1PL.SUB II-two
 ‘It’s the two of us.’
- b. *ínê m̀m̀ngá mpè?*
 |í-nè N-m̀ngá N-pè|
 VII-COP 1-woman I-which
 ‘Which woman is it?’

In constructions with an impersonal subject, the subject prefix is that of agreement pattern II.

- (7) *bémā bō bō báyàsálê*
 |bá-H-mà-H L-bó H bō báyàsálê|
 II-PST-TMN-NF INF-chase LT PL retailer
 ‘They chased away the retailers.’

Contrary to Bantu languages such as Swahili, there is no rule of semantic agreement that overrules gender agreement, i.e. nouns with animate (or human) reference have no specific agreement rules, but simply agree in gender as all other nouns do.¹ See, for instance, the agreement triggered by the gender 3 noun *ɲ̀m̀m̀m̀éɲ̀m̀éɲ̀m̀éɲ̀* ‘thief’ in (8).

- (8) *ɲ̀m̀m̀m̀éɲ̀m̀éɲ̀m̀éɲ̀ ú j̄ú á ndá íwúnâ j̄ó*
 |N-m̀m̀m̀éɲ̀m̀éɲ̀m̀éɲ̀ ú-H- j̄ú-H á ndá|
 3-thief III-PST-enter-NF LOC [9]house
 |á í-wúnâ j̄ó|
 LOC AU-window I.DEM
 ‘The thief entered the house through that window.’

However, there are some lexical exceptions to this generalisation. When the subject is the gender 3 noun *ɲ̀kúɲ̀kúímá* ‘chief’ the verb usually has a prefix of agreement pattern I instead of III, as if *ɲ̀kúɲ̀kúímá* were a noun of gender 1.

¹ In Swahili, subjects with animate reference trigger agreement pattern I in the singular and II in the plural, irrespective of their gender.

- (9) *ɲkúɲkúmá àtē kvàn*
 |*Ń-kúɲkúmá à-Ltē L-kùàn*||
 3-chief I-PR INF-be.ill
 ‘The chief is ill.’

Note that within nominals, *ɲkúɲkúmá* always triggers gender 3 agreement.

- (10) *ɲkúɲkúmá jù*
 |*H-Ń-kúɲkúmá jù*||
 AU-3-chief III.DEM
 ‘this chief’

The gender 4 plural *m̀ɲkúɲkúmá* ‘chiefs’ agrees normally in gender 4.

- (11) *m̀ɲkúɲkúmá mítē kvàn*
 |*m̀-ɲkúɲkúmá mí-Ltē L-kùàn*||
 4-chief IV-PR INF-be.ill
 ‘The chiefs are ill.’

The reason for this exception can be sought in the fact that there is usually only one chief in a given community, which drastically restricts the number of possible referents. Thus, unique reference might be the semantic reason for the choice of agreement pattern I, not animacy (see the discussion of genderless nouns in III:3.2). This explains why the word for ‘chief’ does not trigger agreement pattern II in the plural.

There is no coordinating conjunction that translates ‘and’ in Eton. Complex subjects are formed by means of the comitative preposition *èèy*. Speaker intuitions about agreement with complex subjects are not very stable. Contrary to what could be expected, there is never simply agreement with the head noun. The verb agrees with both subject nominals. Semantic agreement seems to be always possible and is as follows. If the two conjuncts are human, agreement pattern II is selected (12a), otherwise it is agreement pattern VIII (12b-d).

- (12) a. *mbóy yâmà èèy mǎjāɲ bémā bā*
 |*mbôé jâmà èèj mǎdzǎɲ bá-H-mà-H L-bá*||
 [9]friend IX.my with my.sibling II-PST-TMN-NF INF-marry
 ‘My friend and my cousin married each other.’

- b. *mbé èèy bìlá bímā kù*
 |*mbô èèj bì-lá bí-H-mà-H L-kù*|
 [9]pot with 8-glass VIII-PST-TMN-NF INF-fall
 ‘The pot and the glasses fell.’
- c. *mbé èèy ìlá bíkù*
 |*mbé èèj ì-lá bí-H-kù*|
 [9]pot with 7-glass VIII-PST-fall
 ‘The pot and the glass fell.’
- d. *ìlá èèy mbé bíkù*
 |*ì-lá èèj mbé bí-H-kù*|
 7-glass with [9]pot VIII-PST-fall
 ‘The glass and the pot fell.’

However, when the two subject nouns belong to the same gender, they can trigger gender agreement if they are both plural, or agreement with the corresponding plural gender if they are both singular (13).

- (13) *èbò èèy dúmá mé⁴té jò épàn*
 |*è-bò èèj d-úmá má-Lté L-dzò á è-pàn*|
 5-ebo with 5-baobab VI-PR INF-grow LOC 5-bush
 ‘Ebo and baobab grow in the bush.’

In complex subjects, first person substitutives precede second person pronominals, which in turn precede third persons. In such a comitative construction, the first person singular is never used, but rather the first person associative, which is called *first person plural* in this description, following traditional terminology.

- (14) *bì èèy wǎ bìsǒ bōgbô vǎ*
 |*bì èèj wǎ bì-H-sǒ-H L-Bógbà vǎ*|
 1PL.NSUB with 2SG.FSUB 1PL-PST-come-NF INF-stay here
 ‘You and I, we came to stay here.’

3. Non-Verbal Clauses

3.1. Clauses with a demonstrative predicate

Presentative clauses with a demonstrative predicate consist of a subject and a demonstrative, in that order. Since the demonstrative is predicative, i.e. it does not modify the noun, the subject noun does not have an augment. Any nominal can be the subject of a demonstrative

predicate. Predicative demonstratives² have the same form as adnominal demonstratives. They agree in gender with their subject (15). There is some (possibly dialectal) variation in the form of the subject pronominals in this construction, as shown in (15a). One variant, viz. *dɔ̂* in (15a), can be analysed as the form of the substitutive pronominal. The other variant, which has a falling tone in all agreement patterns except pattern IX, apparently forms a separate paradigm of subject pronominals (not discussed in Chapter 5), which are segmentally identical to the substitutives. They can be described by means of a pronominal stem *ɔ̂* preceded by an agreement prefix of Series 1 (see V:2), except in agreement pattern I, where the form of the pronominal is *ɲɛ̂*.

- (15) a. *dɔ̂ d̄ɪ ~ dɔ̂ d̄ɪ*
 |*dɔ̂ d̄ɪ* ~ |*dɔ̂ d̄ɪ*
 V.SUB V.DEM ~ V.SUB V.DEM
 ‘Here it is. (e.g., the palm tree (5))’
- b. *ɣɔ̂ ɲɪ*
 |*ɣɔ̂ ɲɪ*
 IX.SUB IX.DEM
 ‘Here it is. (e.g., the animal (9))’
- c. *ɣɔ̂ ɲɪ*
 |*ɣɔ̂ ɲɪ*
 X.SUB X.DEM
 ‘Here they are. (e.g., the animals (10))’
- d. *ɲɛ̂pɛg ɲɪ ~ ɲɛ̂pɛg ɔ̄ɪ*
 |*ɲɛ̂pɛg ɲɪ* ~ |*ɲɛ̂pɛg ɔ̄ɪ*
 3-bag III.DEM ~ 3-bag III.DEM
 ‘Here’s the bag.’
- e. *ɪpàdà àbálgá b̄ɪ ɲɔ̂*
 |*ɪpàdà à-H-bál<Lg>à-H b̄ɪ ɲɔ̂*
 AU-priest I-PST-marry<G>-NF 1PL.NSUB I.DEM
 ‘This is the priest who married us.’

² See Diessel (1999:10) for this term. Alternative terms are *demonstrative identifiers* and *deictic predicators*.

- f. *tóg yâ mà jí*
 |tóg jâ mà jí|
 [9]spoon IX.my IX.DEM
 ‘Here’s my spoon.’
- g. *jí cí lá úsú v̄l̄á*
 |H-N-tfílá úsú v̄l̄á|
 AU-3-question first III.DEM-CH
 ‘That is the first question.’³

First and second person pronominal subjects trigger agreement pattern I in the singular (16a-b) and II in the plural (16c-d). The non-final forms of these substitutes are selected.

- (16) a. *mà jí*
 |mà jí|
 1SG.NSUB I.DEM
 ‘Here I am’
- b. *wò jí*
 |wò jí|
 2SG.NSUB I.DEM
 ‘Here you are’
- c. *b̄i bá*
 |b̄i bá|
 1PL.NSUB II.DEM
 ‘Here we are.’
- d. *m̄m bá*
 |m̄m bá|
 2PL.NSUB II.DEM
 ‘Here you (pl.) are.’

The suffixes that express remoteness distinctions on adnominal demonstratives can also attach to predicative demonstratives (17).

- (17) b. *wò jí wá lí(yâ)*
 |wò jí wá lí(-jâ)|
 2SG.SUB I.DEM-ID(-HD)
 ‘There you are.’

³ The presence of the augment was not expected here. Elicitation made clear that it is optional. Anyway, the (optional) presence of the augment is due to the modifier *úsú*, not to the demonstrative predicate.

- c. *jê jwáŋ(yâ)*
 |*jê jwá-ŋ(-jâ)*|
 I.SUB I.DEM-ID(-HD)
 ‘There he is. (e.g. my brother)’
- d. *yô jŋŋ(yâ)*
 |*jŋ jŋ(-jâ)*|
 VII.SUB VII.DEM-ID(-HD)
 ‘There it is. (e.g., the chair)’

Note that this construction can only be used in presentational utterances, i.e. in utterances that are demonstrative in the strict sense of the word (Dixon 2003). Identificational and existential utterances are expressed by means of verbal clauses (see Section 4).

3.2. Identity statements involving a proper name

Personal proper names can act as predicates in identity statements without the mediation of a copula.

- (18) *ʼisá wámð lúkáz ùŋgéná*
 |*ʼisá wámð lúkáz ùŋgéná*|
 father I.my Lucas Ongena
 ‘My father is Lucas Ongena.’

This construction cannot be used with place names or for identity statements that do not involve a proper name. In both cases the use of a copula is obligatory (19).

- (19) *ʼisá wámð ànè jìjéglè wě*
 |*ʼisá wámð à-nè ñ-jéglè w-ě*|
 father I.my I-COP 3-teacher III-his
 ‘My father is his teacher.’

Note that the use of a copula is never unacceptable.

- (20) *ʼisá wámð ànè lúkáz ùŋgéná*
 |*ʼisá wámð à-nè lúkáz ùŋgéná*|
 father I.my I-COP Lucas Ongena
 ‘My father is Lucas Ongena.’

4. Copular clauses

In copular clauses a subject is linked to a nonverbal predicate by means of a copula. There is number agreement between the subject and the predicate.

- (21) a. *ànè jì jéglè*
 |à-nè Ñ-jéglè|
 I-COP 3-teacher
 ‘She is a teacher.’
 b. *bénè bèyégèlè*
 |bá-nè bà-jéglè|
 II-COP 2-teacher
 ‘They are teachers.’

Note that the term *copula* is used here not with reference to certain verbs, but only with reference to a function of certain verbs, viz. to link a subject to a non-verbal predicate. For instance, there are two forms of the verb *nè* ‘be’ in (22), but neither function as a copula. The first form *bé* is a past imperfective auxiliary and the second form *dyǎ* an intransitive verb meaning ‘exist’, or in this case rather ‘live’. In (23) *nè* is a modal quasi-auxiliary. In example (24), the verb *nè* links the subject *jǎd* ‘basket’ to the nominal predicate *ìvóy* ‘empty’, and therefore functions as a copula.

- (22) *íyôy nà àngábé dyǎ, ...*
 |í-ì-jòy nà à-ŋgá-bé dǎá|
 AU-7-time mother I-RP-be being
 ‘When mother was still alive, ...’
 (23) *ànè jǎm yēgnè métàmná mē yá!?*
 |à-nè dzǎm L-jégnè H mǎ-tàmná m-ě já|
 I-POS possibly INF-ignore LT 6-metamna VI-his how
 ‘How can somebody not know her own metamna!?’
 (24) *jǎd mē ìvóy*
 |dz-ǎd í-nè ì-vóy|
 7-basket VII-COP 7-empty
 ‘The basket is empty.’⁴

⁴ Note that there is no gender agreement between *ìvóy* ‘empty(ness)’ and *jǎd* ‘basket’ in this example. Both are gender 7 nouns.

Admittedly, the distinction between lexical verb and copula is to a certain extent intuitive. The semantics of the verb decides whether it will be analysed as a copula or not. If the verb has an existential or related locative meaning, it is not treated as a copula (25-28).

- (25) *màyèm nâ nà yú ànè ìbòd.*
 |mà-à-jèm nâ nà jú à-nè á ìbòd|
 1SG-SP-know CMP mother Judy I-be LOC Ibod
 ‘I know that Mother Judy is in Ebod.’
- (26) *mècì mészé jîê á jól*
 |mà-tfî mâ-sé jě á jól|
 6-blood VI-NEG.be I.SUB LOC [9]body
 ‘He is anaemic. (lit. Blood isn’t him in the body.)’
- (27) *bójó bènê báŋ á zèkúfí?*
 |b-ójó bâ-nè b-âŋ á zèkúfí|
 2-child II-be II-how.many LOC school
 ‘How many children are there at school?’
- (28) *mòd àsé vâ*
 |N-òd à-sé vâ|
 1-person I-NEG.be here
 ‘There is nobody here.’

According to this criterion, the prepositional phrases *ìbòd* and *á jól* are adjuncts of the intransitive verb *nè* in (25-26), whereas the prepositional phrase *á mbúz* is a nonverbal predicate in (29).

- (29) *mǎjāŋ ànè á mbúz ású dīnâ*
 |mǎdžǎŋ à-nè á mbúz ású H=dīnâ|
 my.brother I-COP LOC [9]back for III.CON=dinner
 ‘My brother is late for dinner.’

In some copular clauses the copula links its subject to a fully referential element. These may be called equational or identifying clauses. The two nominals linked by the copula in an equational clause are typically interchangeable, i.e. both can assume the function of subject. Since definiteness is not expressed in the grammar of Eton, this interchangeability is the only formal characteristic of equational clauses.

- (30) *càlá ànè òkúyókúmá átán*
 |tʃàlá à-nè ò-kúyókúmá H=à-tán|
 Tsala I-COP 3-chief III.CON=3-village
 a. ‘Tsala is a village chief.’
 b. ‘Tsala is the village chief.’
- (31) *òkúyókúmá átán ànè càlá*
 |ò-kúyókúmá H=à-tán à-nè tʃàlá|
 3-chief III.CON=3-village I-COP Tsala
 ‘The village chief is Tsala.’

Both types of copular clauses, identificational/equational and classifying, should in turn be distinguished from presentational ones, which have a dummy subject. For lack of an agreement controller, the copula takes a default subject prefix, i.e. one of pattern V or VII (32-33).

- (32) *ímè ímɔ̄jāŋ àně má úsū*
 |í-nè í-mɔ̄dʒǎŋ à-ně má ù-sú|
 VII-COP AU-my.brother I-RCOP 1SG.SUB 3-front
 ‘It’s my oldest brother’
- (33) a. *éne újò*
 |é-nè údʒò|
 V-COP sweet.banana
 ‘It’s a sweet banana.’
- b. *ímè òyúmâ zèkúfí*
 |í-nè ò-wúmâ H=zèkúfí|
 VII-COP 3-entire III.CON=school
 ‘It’s an entire school (i.e. very complicated).’

Copular clauses can be further classified according to their copula and according to the type of their predicate.

Three verbs can serve as a copula in Eton: *nè*, *ògénéâ* and *bógbò*. The difference between these copulas is aspectual. The use of *ògénéâ* is easiest to characterise semantically. It expresses persistive aspect and can be translated as ‘still be’.

- (34) a. *lébɔ̄g múyá àògénéâ mɔ̄ jòm*
 |H-là-bɔ̄g N-úyá à-ògénéâ N-ɔ̄H=dʒ-ɔ̄m|
 AU-5-time 1-child I-SCOP 1-DIM=7-thing
 ‘When the child is still small.’

- b. [We gave him a present for his birthday.]

àγγένâ mîntàg
 |à-γγένâ mî-ntàg|
 I-SCOP 4-happy
 ‘He is still happy.’

- c. [Is she retired?]

àyá, àγγένâ jì jéglê
 |àjá à-γγένâ Ñ-jéglê|
 no I-SCOP 3-teacher
 ‘No, she is still a teacher.’

Note that the verb *γγένâ* can also function as a quasi-auxiliary before the participial form *dyă* of the copula *nè* (see Section 2.5).

- (35) a. àγγένâ dyă mǝ mújâ
 |à-γγένâ L-dîá N-ðH=N-ujâ|
 I-PER INF-being 1-DIM=1-child
 ‘She is still a small child.’
- b. àγγένâ dyă mîntàg
 |à-γγένâ L-dîá mî-ntàg|
 I-PER INF-being 4-happy
 ‘He is still happy.’
- c. àyá, àγγένâ dyă jì jéglê
 |àjá à-γγένâ L-dîá Ñ-jéglê|
 no I-PER INF-being 3-teacher
 ‘No, she is still a teacher.’

The opposition between *nè* and *bógbô* as the copula in the past tenses is one of imperfective versus perfective.

- (36) a. jkád úbé / úmé / úγγábé ìvèvèz
 |Ñ-kád ú-bé / ú-mé / ú-γγá-bé ì-vðvèz|
 3-exam III-PCOP / III-YCOP / III-RP-PCOP 7-light
 ‘The exam was easy.’
- b. jkád wáábé / wáámá / wááγγábá ìvèvèz
 |Ñ-kád ú-àá-bé ì-vðvèz|
 3-exam III-NEG-PCOP 7-light
 ‘The exam wasn’t easy.’

- (37) a. *ɲkàd úbógbò ɪvèvèz*
 |*Ṛ-kàd ú-Bógbò ɪ-vàvèz*|
 3-exam III-COP 7-light
 ‘The exam was easy.’
- b. *ɲkàd wáájé bōgbò ɪvèvèz*
 |*Ṛ-kàd ú-àá-dzɛ L-Bógbò H ɪ-vàvèz*|
 3-exam III-NEG-NIMPF INF-COP LT 7-light
 ‘The exam wasn’t easy.’

In the present the copula *nè* has a stative reading, whereas *bógbò* is dynamic. The latter is usually translated as ‘become’.

- (38) *àɲgâ bōgbò àyǎ ɲā mōdò*
 |*à-ɲgâ L-Bógbò àǎ ɲǎ mōdò*|
 I-INC INF-COP already adult
 ‘He is already becoming an adult.’⁵

The copula *nè* cannot be used in combination with the adverb *àyǎ*, the English translation equivalent of which is *already*. Instead, the Contrastive resultative form *mógô* of the copula *bógbò* is used.

- (39) *àmógô àyǎ ɲā mōdò*
 |*à-Ṛ-Bóg-à àǎ ɲǎ mōdò*|
 I-CR-COP-RS already adult
 ‘He has already become adult.’
- (40) *mèmógô àyǎ tètélá*
 |*mà-Ṛ-Bóg-à àǎ tètélá*|
 1SG-CR-COP-RS already straight
 ‘I’m already up/standing.’
- (41) *càlà àɲgábé àmógô àyǎ ɲ.ɲéglè wàmò*
 |*tɬàlà à-ɲgá-bé à-Ṛ-Bóg-à àǎ Ṛ-jéglè wàmò*|
 Tsala I-RP-IMPF I-CR-COP-RS already 1-teacher I.my
 ‘Tsala was already my teacher.’

Rather surprisingly, the Resultative form *bógô* is never used as a copula as far as I have been able to check, and the Contrastive resultative form is used where a Resultative could be expected.

⁵ The petrified phrase *ɲǎ mōdò* is glossed as a single word here in order not to complicate the glosses. Its historical meaning is ‘real person’, lit. ‘mother of a person’.

- (42) *íkèl ímógô èèy lèvíl*
 |ì-kèl í-ń-Bóg-à èèj lè-víl|
 7-abscess VII-CR-COP-RS with 5-pus
 ‘The abscess has ripened. (lit. has become with pus)’
- (43) *dè ùmógô ìtùṅà?*
 |dè ù-ń-Bóg-à ì-tùṅà|
 Q 2SG-CR-COP-RS 7-madman
 ‘Have you become crazy?’

There is no future form of the verb *nè*. With future time reference the verb *bógbô* is used instead, whether as a copula or in intransitive locative predicates.

- (44) *èèy bógbô míntàg*
 |à-èèj L-bógbò H mìn-tàg|
 I-FUT INF-COP LT 4-happy
 ‘He will be happy.’

Any nominal can be a nonverbal predicate. In the examples in (45), for instance, the nonverbal predicate is a noun and in (46) it is a demonstrative. A proper name formed out of a clause, such as the *ndan* in (47), is as good a nominal predicate as any other noun. In (48) the nonverbal predicate is pronominal.

- (45) a. *ùnè kán!*
 |ù-nè kán|
 2SG-COP [9]type
 ‘You’re one of a kind!’
- b. *dwálô ésé dâm*
 |dú-álò é-sé d-àm|
 5.francs V-NEG.COP 5-thing
 ‘Five francs is nothing. (lit. isn’t a thing)’
- c. *jóm ísê áā sí ínê mèbálá*
 |dʒ-óm í-sè áǎ sí í-nè mè-bálá|
 7-thing VII-every LC [9]earth IX-COP 6-medicine
 ‘Everything of the earth is a medicine.’
- d. *bòd bènê jǐǔg*
 |b-òd b-à-nè ñ-dʒúǔg|
 2-person II-COP 3-difficulty
 ‘People are complicated.’

e. *ɲgé ànè ùyǎb ...*

|ɲgá à-nè ù-jǎb|
if I-COP 3-distance
'If she is far away...'

- (46) *ɪwág mē ɪji mètē būg mínlō*
|ɪ-vúág ɪ-nè ɪ-dʒɪ mǎ-Lté L-búg H mím-kó|
VII-one VII-COP AU-VII.DEM 1SG-PR INF-crush LT 4-head
'One is that (herb) of which I crush the heads.'
- (47) *ɪyòlò ɪ cǎlá ɪsè mē "bìtùtùgà bíɲgâ bwág á lèbùm"*
|ɪ-jòlò ɪ=tǎlá ɪ-sè ɪ-nè|
7-namesake VII.CON=Tsala VII-every VII-COP
|bì-tùtùgà bí-ɲgâ L-búág á lè-bùm|
8-vegetable VIII-INC INF-roll.up LOC 5-belly
'Every namesake of Tsala is "the vegetables hurt in the belly".'
- (48) *ànè mǎ á mbúz èy mimbú míbā*
|à-nè mǎ á mbúz èy mím-bú mí-bǎ|
I-COP 1SG.SUB LOC [9]back with 4-year IV-two
'He is two years younger than I.'

Not only nominals can be nonverbal predicates. Other possibilities include a clause introduced by a complementiser (49-50), question words (51, 27) and prepositional phrases (29).

- (49) *ɪbyém mètē dǎɲ yāg èy byó ɪtē bímē nâ: ɲí ɪmēn béɲgábé kǎàgì vé*
bóɲó dwe lé mètàmna yá? jé ɪkwâmgi nâ bévê bó dwe lé
mètàmna?
|ɪ-bí-ém mǎ-Lté L-dàɲ H L-jág èy bjǎ|
AU-8-thing 1SG-PR INF-cross LT INF-need with VIII.SUB
|ɪtē bí-nè nâ ɲí ɪmēn bá-ɲgá-bé L-káz<Lg>|
there VII-COP CMP Q really II-RP-IMPF INF-begin<G>
|L-vé H b-ɲyó d-óé lǎ=mǎ-tàmna jǎ|
INF-give LT 2-child 5-name V.CON=6-metamna how
|d-z-á ɪ-H-kùàm-Lgì nâ H-bá-vé-L bǎ|
7-what VII-PST-do-G CMP SB-II-give-SB II.SUB
|d-óé lǎ=mǎ-tàmna|
5-name V.CON=6-metamna

'The things that I need most here are: How did they bestow a metamna to children, what was at the origin of the metamna?'

- (50) *dô vó jì jùnú wámò únê nâ mà mékê ààpág métùm mé nnàm ásí*
 |dô vó Ì-jùnú wámò ú-nè nâ mà H-mà-kè-L|
 DP *donc* 3-hope III.my III-COP CMP 1SG.SUB SB-1SG-go-SB
 |àà-pág H mà-tùm má=N-nàm á sí|
 INF-dig⁶ LT 6-habit VI.CON=3-country LOC [9]earth
 ‘So, my hope is that I go and dig profoundly into the habits of
 the country ...’

- (51) *mébálá ùtè kwàm èèy mó ménê yá?*
 |H-mà-bálá ù-Lté L-kuàm èèj mɔ́ má-nè já|
 AU-6-medicine 2SG-PR INF-do with VI.SUB VI-COP how
 ‘The medicines with which you heal, they are how?’

One construction deserves special mention. In order to say how somebody or something is called, the copula is followed by *dwé* ‘name’ or the word for another type of name, the complementizer *nâ* and a proper name. So, ‘my name is Mark’ is literally termed as ‘I am (the/a) name that Mark’.

- (52) *dô vó, ìsàmà ànè ndán vālá nâ kèìgègèè*
 |dô vó ìsàmà à-nè ndán vālá nâ kèì...|
 DP *donc* Essama I-COP [9]ndan there-CH CMP ...
 ‘So, Essama’s ndan is (cry of tone pattern)’

- (53) *mènè dwé nâ ùndwábó*
 |mà-nè d-óé nâ ùndúábó|
 1SG-COP 5-name CMP Ondobo
 ‘My name is Ondobo.’

Alternatively, the word for ‘name’ can be the subject of the copular clause. The use of the complementizer is still required.

- (54) *màkàd wò nâ: ndán yâmà ìnè nâ: ùwònò àpò mèlígí*
 |mà-à-kàd wò nâ ndán jàmà ì-nè nâ|
 1SG-SP-say 2SG.SUB CMP [9]ndan IX.my IX-COP CMP
 |ùwònò à-à-pò mà-lígí|
 groundnut I-SP-abound 6-leftovers
 ‘I tell you: my ndan is: “the groundnuts are abandoned for
 many reasons”.’

⁶ The morpheme *àà-* glossed as an infinitive prefix here remains to be described. Infinitives formed by means of this prefix (sequence of prefixes) are translated by means of a present participle in French.

When a pro-word, such as a question word or a manner adverbial like *nālá* ‘thus’, takes the place of the proper name in this construction, it is not preceded by the complementizer.

- (55) *ìlé ítê ímê dwé yâ?*
 |ì-lé í-tê í-nè d-óé já|
 7-tree VII-ANA VII-COP 5-name how
 ‘What (lit. how) is the name of this tree?’
- (56) *bísê kómgó, yî mbóy ìṅgábé ndán nālá*
 |bí-sè kóm<Lg><H>ò jî mbóé ì-ṅgá-bé|⁷
 VIII-all admire<G><IMP> FOC [9]friend IX-RP-PCOP
 |ndán nā-lá|
 [9]ndan thus-CH
 ‘Admire everything’ That’s how his namesake was called.’

See Section VII:2.4.1.1 for another important type of copular clause, viz. resultative clauses with a deverbal noun as predicate.

5. Clauses with a verbal predicate

5.1. Non-subject nominals

Neither of the two formal characteristics that make it easy to identify subjects, viz. agreement and word order, is available for objects. Contrary to many Eastern and Southern Bantu languages, Eton does not have object agreement on the verb. In fact, on the basis of my current knowledge of Eton grammar, I see no arguments to distinguish between the different postverbal nominals (i.e. non-subject nominals) in terms of direct versus indirect objects versus adjuncts. After a short description of word order among postverbal nominals (henceforth *complements*), I will briefly review the criteria I tried out in order to distinguish objects from non-objects before giving up the distinction.

Nominals with human reference precede non-human nominals, irrespective of their heaviness (57-58). There are two exceptions to this rule. The first is where a pronominal non-human complement stands in between the (quasi)-auxiliary and the main verb and a nominal human complement follows the main verb (59). The second exception concerns prepositional human complements, which follow nominal and pronominal non-human complements (60, 61b).

⁷ The analysis of the verb form in the *ndan* is uncertain, see example (141) in Section III:4.3.6.

- (57) a. *métâ wò vúl vē mbūlná*
 |H-mà-tá-L wò L-vúl H|
 SB-1SG-PF-SB 2SG.NSUB INF-do.quickly LT
 |L-vé H mbūlná|
 INF-give LT [9]example
 ‘Let me first give you an example quickly.’
- b. *mèkúz sòḡó wâmò yó*
 |mà-H-kúz-H sòḡó wâmò jǒ|
 1SG-PST-buy-NF aunt I.my VII.SUB
 ‘I bought it for my aunt.’
- c. *àté pàd ímòd àté sòm bíbùmá*
 |à-Lté L-pàd í-N-òd à-Lté L-sòm H bì-bùmá|
 I-PR INF-pick AU-1-person I-PR INF-hunt LT 8-fruit
 ‘She picks fruit for the hunter.’
- (58) *mèèy jú dǒ vé*
 |mà-èèj jǐ dǒ L-vé|
 1SG-FUT I.SUB V.SUB INF-give
 ‘I will give it to him.’
 = *mèèy jú vē dǒ*
 = *mèèy vé jú dǒ*
 **mèèy dǒ jú vé*
 **mèèy vé dǒ jú*
- (59) *mèté bǒ vé n jéglê*
 |mà-Lté bǒ L-vé H ñ-jéglê|
 1SG-PR II.SUB INF-give LT 1-teacher
 ‘I give them to the teacher.’
- (60) *mèkúz yô ású sòḡó wâmò*
 |mà-H-kúz-H jǒ ású H=sòḡó wâmò|
 I.SG-PST-buy-NF VII.SUB for III.CON=aunt I.my
 ‘I bought it for my aunt.’
- (61) a. *àté yām n jōm kpēm*
 |à-Lté L-jám H ñ-jóm k̂pēm|
 I-PR INF-cook LT 3-husband [9]cassava.leaves
 ‘She prepares cassava leaves for her husband.’

- b. *àté yām kpēm ású n̄jóm*
 |à-Lté L-jám H kpēm ású H=N-jóm|
 I-PR INF-cook LT [9]cass.leaves for III.CON=3-husband
 ‘She prepares cassava leaves for her husband.’

Nominal complements referring to time, place and manner follow other non-human complements (62).

- (62) *mèté yēn wò átān*
 |mò-Lté L-jén H wò á à-tán|
 1SG-PR INF-see LT 2SG.NSUB LOC 3-village
 ‘I’ll see you in the village.’

As has been said in the introduction to this section, Eton might be a language that has no objects (i.e. that does not differentiate between non-subject nominals). In the remainder of this section I will review some putative definitional characteristics of objects that I have tried out and rejected. First, the commonly used test of passivisability proved to be of little use. For lack of a sufficiently large corpus, it could be used only via elicitation, but elicited judgments of grammaticality proved to be variable on this point. Anyway, passivisability does not correlate with any other possible semantic or formal characteristic of objects (see, for instance, example IV:(52c)). Second, there are two formal characteristics that I first thought might mark objects differently from other complements, viz. link tone and the tone of first and second person substitutives. However, link tone turns out to mark nominals as opposed to non-nominal complements after an infinitive form of the verb (see V:3.7.1). The examples in (63) illustrate the absence of link tone when an infinitive is not immediately followed by a nominal. Note that the second infinitive is preceded by link tone in a succession of infinitives, which suggests that the infinitive prefix |L-| developed from a nominal prefix (in many Bantu languages the infinitive prefix is a nominal prefix synchronically). This permits to formulate the hypothesis that the link tone is the reflex of a connective morpheme (see also Piper 1989:60).

- (63) a. *àté mâ bàgì èèy mèsě*
 |à-Lté mâ L-bàgì èèj mò-sě|
 I-PR 1SG.NSUB INF-provoke with 6-insult
 ‘He provokes me with insults.’

- b. *àté bāmbān àné mō múyá*
 |à-Ltɛ L-bāmbān àné N-ɔ̃H=N-úyá|
 I-PR INF-be.told.off like 1-DIM=1-child
 ‘He gets told off like a child.’

As has been said in Section V:2.1.1, substitutives of the first and second person have a final (64b) and a non-final (64a) form. When such a substitutive is placed after the main verb and when it is followed by another postverbal element, its form can be either final or non-final, thus providing a possible distinction between second objects and adjuncts. However, the conditioning turns out to be similar to that of link tone. The examples in (65) show that the non-final form appears before a noun, also when that noun functions as a secondary predicate (65b). The prepositions in (66) are preceded by the final form of the substitutive. Temporal adverbials are preceded by the non-final form if expressed by a noun (67), otherwise by the final form (68).

- (64) a. *àté wɔ̃ yén*
 |à-Ltɛ wɔ̃ L-jén|
 I-PR 2SG.NSUB INF-see
- b. *àté yén wɔ̃*
 |à-Ltɛ L-jén wɔ̃|
 I-PR INF-see 2SG.FSUB
 ‘She sees you.’
- (65) a. *èy vé wɔ̃ ipáǵí*
 |à-èj L-vé H wɔ̃ ì-páǵí|
 I-FUT INF-give LT 2SG.NSUB 7-present
 ‘He will give you a present.’
- b. *àné bēngáyòlò wɔ̃ lèkírú?*
 |àné bē-ngá-jòlò wɔ̃ lèkírú|
 like II-RP-name 2SG.NSUB Akini
 ‘like they named you Akini?’
- (66) a. *àté yǎŋ mǎ èy mǎ nǎŋ*
 |à-Ltɛ L-jàŋà H mǎ èj mǎ nǎŋ|
 I-PR INF-wait LT 1SG.FSUB with his.brother
 ‘He waits for me with his brother.’

- b. *àté yǎŋ mā ábò mǎ jǎŋ*
 |à-Lté L-jàŋà H mǎ ábò mǎ jǎŋ|
 I-PR INF-wait LT 1SG.FSUB at his.brother
 ‘He waits for me at his brother’s.’
- c. *àté yǎŋ mā átān*
 |à-Lté L-jàŋà H mǎ á à-tān|
 I-PR INF-wait LT 1SG.FSUB LOC 3-village
 ‘He waits for me in the village.’
- (67) a. *mèté yēn wô kíđí*
 |mà-Lté L-jén H wô kíđí|
 1SG-PR INF-see LT 2SG.NSUB [9]morning
 ‘I’ll see you tomorrow.’
- b. *mèté yàŋ wô ŋgěŋgōgō*
 |mà-Lté L-jàŋà H wô ŋgěŋgōgō|
 1SG-PR INF-wait LT 2SG.NSUB [9]evening
 ‘I’ll wait for you in the evening.’
- (68) *ìnàm ítē yābrǎ mā ítètègè jɔ*
 |í-nàm í-Lté L-jábrǎ mǎ ítètègè jɔ|
 7-arm VII-PR INF-hurt 1SG.FSUB now
 ‘My arm hurts now.’

However, the (elicited) examples in (69) present some complications. In (69a) the non-final form appears before a complementiser and in (69b) before an adverb. More research is needed in order to refine the conditioning of the appearance of the non-final form.

- (69) a. *àtɔŋ mâ nâ bēy kàg lébɔg*
 |à-H-tɔŋ-H mâ nâ|
 I-PST-say-NF 1SG.NSUB CMP
 |bá-èèj L-kàg H là-bɔg|
 II-FUT INF-organise LT 5-party
 ‘She told me that they are going to organise a party.’
- b. *mèvé wô vó jê*
 |mà-H-vé-H wô vó jê|
 1SG-PST-give-NF 2SG.NSUB *donc* I.SUB
 ‘So I gave it to you (as planned).’

Finally, the only possible criterion that might distinguish between objects and other postverbal elements is replaceability by a substitutive, but this in itself is too light to define objects as a separate

grammatical relation. Most nominal complements can be represented by an agreeing substitutive. But a complement cannot co-occur with a coreferential substitutive. Verbs can have maximally two substitutives.

5.2. Quasi-Auxiliaries

5.2.1. Introduction

Many aspectual, manner-adverbial and modal notions are expressed by means of lexical verbs instead of affixes, auxiliaries or adverbs. For lack of a better term, I will call these verbs *quasi-auxiliaries*. Quasi-auxiliaries obligatorily take an infinitival complement (L-stem), which may be regarded as the main predicate from a semantic point of view. Many verbs can be used as an independent verb or as a quasi-auxiliary, but some exclusively function as quasi-auxiliaries. Every element that can stand between an auxiliary and its infinitival complement can also stand between a quasi-auxiliary and its complement, e.g. the adverb *pwágó* and the pronominal *mâ* in (70).

- (70) *àvúl pwágó mâ yàlnà*
 |à-H-vúl-H púágó mâ L-jàlnà|
 I-PST-do.quickly-NF really 1SG.NSUB INF-answer
 ‘He really answered me quickly.’

This section discusses the most frequently used quasi-auxiliaries. A first distinction is based on formal grounds, i.e. whether the quasi-auxiliary is conjugated as a regular verb (5.2.2) or as a Resultative form (5.2.3). The quasi-auxiliaries in Section 5.2.2 are ordered according to their meaning: aspectual (5.2.2.1-5.2.2.4), manner-adverbial (5.2.2.5-5.2.2.12) and modal (5.2.2.13-5.2.2.16). Some quasi-auxiliaries are glossed by means of an English translation equivalent, others by means of an abbreviated grammatical term in small caps, depending on their frequency and the availability of a grammatical term or a translation equivalent.

5.2.2. Non-resultative quasi-auxiliaries

Non-resultative quasi-auxiliaries are conjugated as normal verbs. This means that in the Present, the Future and the Inceptive they are the infinitival complement of a TA-auxiliary. Their complement in turn is also an infinitive, so that there is a link tone between the quasi-

auxiliary and the “main” verb. Since the “main” verb has the infinitive prefix *L-*, the link tone cannot attach to the right and must instead be attached to the left. The following schema illustrates this for the Present. The quasi-auxiliary is represented by two low syllables, its “main” verb complement by one high syllable.

$$c\grave{o}-L\acute{t}\acute{e} \# L-c\grave{o}c\grave{o} \# H \# L-c\acute{o} \rightarrow c\grave{o}t\acute{e} c\grave{o}c\acute{o} \downarrow c\acute{o}$$

When the quasi-auxiliary is monosyllabic and when it has a low tone, the result is a rising tone on the quasi-auxiliary, in accordance with the general tone rules of Eton.

$$c\grave{o}-L\acute{t}\acute{e} \# L-c\grave{o} \# H \# L-c\acute{o} \rightarrow c\grave{o}t\acute{e} c\check{o} \downarrow c\acute{o}$$

However, in some varieties (dialects?) the tone is downstepped high instead of rising if the previous syllable is high.

$$c\grave{o}-L\acute{t}\acute{e} \# L-c\grave{o} \# H \# L-c\acute{o} \rightarrow c\grave{o}t\acute{e} \downarrow c\acute{o} \downarrow c\acute{o}$$

5.2.2.1. *dɪŋ* iterative, habitual

The quasi-auxiliary *dɪŋ*, the literal meaning of which is ‘love, like’ is used in order to express iterative or habitual aspect. The iterative meaning of the quasi-auxiliary is fully grammaticalised, as is shown by example (71), where it is very unlikely that the subject likes the action:

(71) (TMAQ 98) [Why did you think yesterday that your brother had caught a cold?]

àmé dɪŋgì kwázì
 |à-mé L-dɪŋ-gì L-kwázì|
 I-YIMPF INF-HAB-G INF-cough
 ‘He coughed often.’

It is my impression that the verb *aimer* has the same meaning in many varieties of African French.

5.2.2.2. *zèzà* habitual

Contrary to *dɪŋ* the quasi-auxiliary *zèzà* does not exist as an independent verb. It also expresses habitual aspect. The difference with *dɪŋ* is probably that *zèzà* adds a sense of regularity, i.e. ‘have the habit of doing something regularly’. This quasi-auxiliary is usually accompanied by the adverb *à yǎ*. The form of the main verb is in need

of additional description. It seems to be the stem preceded by a low *à*. This might be a nominalization of the main verb (of gender 3).

- (72) *àté zèzà àyǎ à yám kpém*
 |à-Lté L-zèzàà àǎ H à jám H kpém|
 I-PR INF-HAB already LT ? cook LT [9]cassava
 ‘She has the habit of regularly preparing cassava leaves.’

5.2.2.3. *mà* terminative

The terminative quasi-auxiliary *mà*, which cannot be used as an independent verb, is related to the independent verb *mànà* ‘end (tr.), terminate’. Judging by the available corpus of spontaneous and elicited speech, this is the most frequently used quasi-auxiliary. *mà* has a number of related functions. First, it can simply add the meaning of the independent verb from which it developed, i.e. ‘finish doing something’ or ‘stop being in a certain state’. The tense of the quasi-auxiliary depends on when the situation designated by the main verb came/comes to an end.

- (73) a. *àmágá kwàn*
 |à-H-mà-gà-H L-kwàn|
 I-PST-TMN-G-NF INF-be.ill
 ‘He was ill (and recovered some time ago).’
 b. *àmá kwàn*
 |à-H-mà-H L-kwàn|
 I-PST-TMN-NF INF-be.ill
 ‘He was ill (and recovered recently).’

Second, *mà* can construe an event as being telic, i.e. as having a built-in terminal point (see Comrie 1976:44). Example (74b) can also mean ‘he finished eating’, when *mà* is used in its finish-doing-something meaning.

- (74) a. *àđi*
 |à-H-đi|
 I-PST-eat
 ‘He ate it.’
 b. *àmá đī*
 |à-H-mà-H L-đī|
 I-PST-TMN-NF INF-eat
 ‘He ate it up.’

- (75) a. *jàbá*
 |*dʒàbà-H*|
 lengthen-IMP
 ‘Lengthen it.’
- b. *mǎ jàbà*
 |*mà-H L-dʒàbà*|
 TMN-IMP INF-lengthen
 ‘Lengthen it completely.’

When used with events that are already telic, the terminative quasi-auxiliary highlights the completion of the event.

- (76) *íḍí kál yàmà ìḡámâ cáḡ nímùḡ, mèḡḡâ ḍí*
 |*íḍí kál jàmà ì-ḡḡâ-mà L-tfág H*|
 after [9]sister IX.my IX-RP-TMN INF-pound LT
 |*ḡ-Bùḡ mḡ-ḡḡâ L-ḍí*|
 3-cassava 1SG-INC INF-eat
 ‘After my sister pounded the cassava, I ate it.’

Note that the completive quasi-auxiliary is compatible with imperfective aspect, when one wishes to highlight the internal structure of the completion of a telic event, especially when this completion is or was cumbersome.

- (77) *àḡḡâbé màḡà tìl kálâdà*
 |*à-ḡḡâ-bé L-mà-ḡà L-tìl H kálâdà*|
 I-RP-IMPF INF-TMN-G INF-write LT letter
 ‘He was finishing writing the letter.’
- (78) *àté mǎ tìl bḡ kálâdà*
 |*à-Lté L-mà H L-tìl H bḡ kálâdà*|
 I-PR INF-TMN LT INF-write LT PL letter
 ‘He is finishing writing the letter.’

The terminative quasi-auxiliary *mà* is very frequently present in past perfective clauses expressing a telic event or an achievement, but can always be omitted without a clear difference in meaning.

- (79) *mèmá sò ndá*
 |*mḡ-H-mà-H L-sò H ndá*|
 1SG-PST-TMN-NF INF-clean LT [9]house
 ‘I cleaned the house.’

- (80) *bémāgá bōlī átān wōbrú*
 |bā-H-mà-gà-H L-bōlī H à-tān w-ōbrú|
 II-PST-TMN-G-NF INF-abandon LT 3-village III-their
 ‘They abandoned their village.’

Third, the terminative quasi-auxiliary often adds a change-of-state meaning to a stative verb (81, 82b, 83) or is optionally present before dynamic verbs that express a change-of-state (84). In this use, *mà* is functionally comparable to the Inceptive auxiliary *ɲgâ* and the two often combine (85).

- (81) *àɲgámà néɲ*
 |à-ɲgá-mà L-ɲéɲ|
 I-RP-TMN INF-be.fat
 ‘He had become fat.’
- (82) a. *á pàm*
 |á L-pàm|
 LOC INF-be.furious
 ‘to be furious’
 b. *á mǎ pàm*
 |á L-mà H L-pàm|
 LOC INF-TMN LT INF-be.furious
 ‘to grow furious’
- (83) *yó létē mǎ v̄m*
 |jó lǎ-Lté L-mà H L-óm|
 [5]sky V-PR INF-TMN LT INF-be.black
 ‘The sky is blackening.’
- (84) *ñê mǐláj àtē mǎ ɲòɲ mēlō mé béwógô*
 |ñ-lâi L=mǐ-láj à-Lté L-mà H|
 1-narrator I.CON=4-story I-PR INF-TMN LT
 |L-ɲòɲ H mǎ-ló mǎ=bǎ-wógô|
 INF-take LT 4-ear IV.CON=2-hearer
 ‘The storyteller catches the attention of the audience.’
- (85) *màm méɲgâ mǎ cēñ*
 |m-àm mǎ-ɲgâ L-mà H L-tfēñ|
 6-thing VI-INC INF-TMN LT INF-change
 ‘Things are changing.’

Finally, one example was found in which the quasi-auxiliary means ‘end up with’ (86).

- (86) *yó mèmáǵá gbēlê àná*
 |jǒ mǎ-H-mǎ-gǎ-H L-gbēl-ǎ|
 VII.SUB 1SG-PST-TMN-G-NF INF-grasp-RS
 ‘It’s this one (i.e. this name) that I ended up having.’

In the above examples, the terminative quasi-auxiliary occurs with every tone pattern that is possible on a single syllable, i.e. high (79), falling (81), low (77), rising (83) and downstepped high (80). These patterns are the result of the regular application of the tone rules described in Section II:2.6.2. In some dialects (or idiolects?), *mǎ* carries a downstepped high tone, where it has a rising tone in the examples above. These are dialects in which a *L-* prefix does not block high tone copy from a preceding syllable.

5.2.2.4. *dúǵnù*, *bǎgbâ* and *tǐmnù* repetitive

The quasi-auxiliaries *dúǵnù*, *bǎgbâ* and *tǐmnù* mean ‘do again’. As an independent verb *dúǵnù* and *tǐmnù* mean ‘come back’. *bǎgbâ* cannot be used independently.

- (87) *àté dūǵnǔ dī*
 |ǎ-Lté L-dúǵnù H L-dī|
 I-PR INF-REP LT INF-eat
 ‘He’s eating again.’
- (88) *àté bǎgbǎ dī*
 |ǎ-Lté L-bǎgbà H L-dī|
 I-PR INF-REP LT INF-eat
 ‘He’s eating again.’

5.2.2.5. *kè* andative

The andative quasi-auxiliary *kè* is frequently used, sometimes in contexts where its semantic contribution is not very clear. *kè* can be used as an independent verb as well, where it means ‘go’. Interestingly, my consultants prefer a downstepped high tone instead of a rising tone where *kè* is followed by link tone, whereas they prefer a rising tone with other low quasi-auxiliaries. A possible explanation for this could be that *ke* can have an underlying high tone when it functions as a quasi-auxiliary. This does not work, however, since *kè* is always clearly low in contexts where it is not followed by a link tone (90).

- (89) *mèté kē sā á ɲgâdnè*
 |*mà-Lté L-kè H L-sá á ɲgâdnè*|
 1SG-PR INF-ANDLT INF-work LOC garden
 ‘I’m going to work in the garden.’
- (90) *mèɲgákê sá á ɲgâdnè*
 |*mà-ɲgá-kè L-sá á ɲgâdnè*|
 1SG-RP-AND INF-work LOC garden
 ‘I went to work in the garden.’
 **mèɲgáké sā á ɲgâdnè*

In the imperative, the form of the andative quasi-auxiliary differs from that of the main verb *kè* ‘go’. Whereas the imperative of the quasi-auxiliary is regularly formed by means of the imperative suffix *|-H|* (91), the main verb has the irregular form *kènú* (92).

- (91) *kě twāgí bí ɲè̀m*
 |*kè-H L-túágí H bì- ɲè̀m*|
 AND-IMP INF-take LT 7-match
 ‘Go and look for matches.’
 **kènú twāgí bí ɲè̀m*
- (92) *kènú* ‘go!’
 **kě*

Sometimes, *kè* is followed by a main verb conjugated in the Southern present. The form of the lexical verb with its initial long vowel in (93) is in need of further description (consequently the glossing of (93) is only tentative).

- (93) *àté pāz káná. àkè ààvázì, àkè ààkù ásí, ̀vúvú́z yákè yápām àm̀̀ɲ.*
 |*à-Lté L-páz H káná à-à-kè à-à-vázì*|
 I-PR INF-fall LT [9]epilepsy I-SP-AND I-SP-stumble
 |*à-à-kè àà-kù ásí ̀vúvú́z ́-à-kè*|
 I-SP-AND INF-fall down 7-foam VII-SP-AND
 |*́-à-pām á à-m̀̀ɲ*|
 VII-SP-go.out LOC 3-mouth
 ‘He has an epileptic fit. He stumbles, he falls down, foam comes out of his mouth.’

5.2.2.6. *dàŋ* ‘a lot’, ‘most of all’

The stem *dàŋ* means ‘cross’ as an independent verb, and has the meaning ‘most of all’ or ‘a lot’ as a quasi-auxiliary.

- (94) *mèté dǎŋ dŋ bô újô*
 |*mà-Ltɛ L-dàŋ H L-dŋ H bô údzò*|
 1SG-PR INF-cross LT INF-like LT PL sweet.banana
 ‘I like sweet bananas a lot.’
- (95) *lérê ñcɔ́grú útē mâ dǎŋ yāg á mō*
 |*lá-nè H-ñ-tfɔ́grú ú-Ltɛ mà L-dàŋ H*|
 V-COP AU-3-idea III-PR 1SG.NSUB INF-cross LT
 |*L-jág á ñ-áó*|
 INF-interest LOC 3-head
 ‘It’s an idea that is very dear to me.’

5.2.2.7. *béb* ‘badly, wrongly’

Used as a main verb, the stem *béb* means ‘be ugly’ or ‘be bad’. As a quasi-auxiliary it means ‘badly’ or ‘wrongly’.

- (96) *àbéb lɔŋ íbēm*
 |*à-H-béb-H L-lɔŋ H ì-bém*|
 I-PST-be.bad-NF INF-build LT 7-cabin
 ‘He has built the cabin badly.’

Note that *jèb* ‘be good’ cannot be used as a quasi-auxiliary. The English adverb *well* is translated by the noun *mìmèŋ* in Eton, or by means of the quasi-auxiliary *kwàgdò*, which is described in the next section.

- (97) *ámá tìl bô kálàdà mìmèŋ*
 |*à-H-mà-H L-tìl H bô kálàdà ñ-Bèŋ*|
 I-PST-TMN-NF INF-write LT PL letter 3-good
 ‘He wrote the letters well.’

5.2.2.8. *kwàgdò* ‘well’

There is no related independent verb for the quasi-auxiliary *kwàgdò*, which has a manner-adverbial meaning ‘well’ and a modal meaning ‘utterly, downright’.

- (98) *àté kwàgdò swàlbò*
 |à-Lté L-kùàgdò H L-sùàlbò|
 I-PR INF-do.well LT INF-hide
 ‘He hides himself well.’
 or: ‘He is utterly hiding himself!’

In Southern dialects the quasi-auxiliary *twóně* is used rather than *kwàgdò*. This form does not have a related independent verb either.

- (99) *àté twóně swàlbò*
 |à-Lté L-túóně L-sùàlbò|
 I-PR INF-do.well INF-hide
 ‘He’s utterly hiding himself.’

5.2.2.9. *kún* ‘early’

Used independently, *kún* means ‘leave early’. As a quasi-auxiliary it means ‘do something early’.

- (100) *àté kún sã*
 |à-Lté L-kún H L-sá|
 I-PR INF-do.early LT INF-work
 ‘She works early in the morning.’

5.2.2.10. *vúlâ* ‘quickly’

The stem *vúl(â)* cannot be used as an independent verb. As a quasi-auxiliary it means ‘quickly’ or ‘early’.

- (101) *àté vūl đī*
 |à-Lté L-vūl H L-đī|
 I-PR INF-do.quickly LT INF-eat
 ‘He eats quickly.’
- (102) *ùfíl̄m útē vūl nāŋ*
 |ù-fíl̄m ú-Lté L-vūl H L-nāŋ|
 3-young.palm.tree III-PR INF-do.quickly LT INF-grow
 ‘The young palm tree grows rapidly.’
- (103) *mèté vūl tēb ášī*
 |mè-Lté L-vūl H L-tēb ášī|
 1SG-PR INF-do.quickly LT INF-stand up
 ‘I get up early.’

5.2.2.11. *bùlâ* ‘a lot’, ‘most of all’

The verb *bùlâ* means ‘multiply’ or ‘accumulate’. When used as a quasi-auxiliary, it has the same meaning as *dàŋ* (see 5.2.2.6).

(104) *àté bül dŋ kpêm*

|à-Lté L-bül H L-dŋ H kpêm|
I-PR INF-do.most LT INF-love LT [9]cassava.leaves
‘She likes cassava leaves a lot.’

5.2.2.12. *bùmŋgàná* ‘with a start’, ‘with a jump’, ‘suddenly’

When used independently, *bùmŋgàná* means ‘wake up with a jump’ or ‘shiver’. As a quasi-auxiliary it adds ‘with a start’, ‘with a jump’, ‘suddenly’.

(105) [*mémé wùlgà épàn*

‘I was walking in the bush.’]

dô mètē bùmŋgàná wùlǎ jōy á jól

|dô mà-Lté L-bùmŋgàná H L-wùlǎ H|
DP 1SG-PR INF-do.suddenly LT INF-walk LT

|jòé á jól|

[9]snake LOC [9]body

‘Then all of a sudden I stepped on a snake.’

5.2.2.13. *yèènú* necessity

Necessity is expressed by means of the quasi-auxiliary *yèènú*, which as a main verb means ‘be necessary’ or ‘be desirable’.

(106) a. *ùté yèènú sǎ*

|ù-Lté L-jèènú H L-sǎ|

2SG-PR INF-NEC LT INF-work

‘You have to work.’ (deontic necessity)

b. *àté yèènú sǎ*

|à-Lté L-jèènú H L-sǎ|

I-PR INF-NEC LT INF-work

‘He must be working.’ (epistemic necessity)

Epistemic necessity is often expressed by the combination of the quasi-auxiliaries *nè* (see 5.2.2.14) and *yèènú*, instead of *yèènú* alone. It is not yet clear to me what the quasi-auxiliary *nè* adds here.

- (107) [You hear somebody entering the house]
éñè yèènú kwǎm twāmó
 |é-nè L-jèènú H L-kuàm H tuàmó|
 V-NEC INF-NEC LT INF-do LT Tomo
 ‘It must be Tomo.’

The use of a negative form of *yèènú* negates the proposition expressed by the main verb, rather than the modality, just as English *mustn't*.

- (108) *ímúyá jî ànè mbìd, àátē yèènú jíínù á ndá*
 |í-N-úyá jî à-nè mbìd à-àá-Ltē L-jèènú|
 AU-1-child I.DEM I-COP [9]dirt I-NEG-PR INF-NEC
 |H L-jíínù á ndá|
 LT INF-enter LOC [9]house
 ‘This child is dirty, he mustn’t enter the house.’

5.2.2.14. *nè* possibility

The verb *nè* can function as a main verb (where it means ‘exist’), as a copula, as an auxiliary and as a quasi-auxiliary. In the latter case it has a modal meaning, expressing possibility.

- (109) *ànè kwàm dām lésê*
 |à-nè L-kuàm H d-àm lá-sè|
 I-POS INF-do LT 5-thing V-every
 ‘He’s capable of everything.’
- (110) *ílōm bōd bēnē dī*
 |í-l-ōm b-ōd bē-ně L-dī|
 AU-5-thing 2-person II-RPOS INF-eat
 ‘edible things’

In its use as a quasi-auxiliary expressing possibility, *nè* has a synonym *vò* (possibly in Southern dialects only), which I found in one example, viz. example (136) in Chapter 5.

5.2.2.15. *yì* volition

The quasi-auxiliary *yì*, which means ‘want’ in its main verb usage, usually expresses volition.

- (111) *mèté yǐ dī*
 |*mà-Ltɛ̃ L-jì H L-dī*|
 1SG-PR INF-VOL LT INF-eat
 ‘I would like to eat.’

With an inanimate subject it can have a prospective aspect reading, pointing to a present inclination towards, or potential for future behaviour, without implying immediate realisation, however.

- (112) *ndá ité yǐ sùglàn*
 |*ndá ỳ-Ltɛ̃ L-jì H L-sùglàn*|
 [9]house IX-PR INF-VOL LT INF-collapse
 ‘The house will collapse (since it is obviously shabby now).’

In still another use, exemplified in example V:(25), the quasi-auxiliary *yì* translates the French verb *faillir* in the sense ‘almost happen’.

5.2.2.16. *tá* primofactive⁸

The frequently used quasi-auxiliary *tá* is mostly found in non-indicative moods and in the Future. Most of the time it marks an activity as having priority, from which a reading of immediate future derives (113).

- (113) *bétâ dī*
 |*H-bâ-tá-L L-dī*|
 SB-II-PF-SB INF-eat
 ‘Let them eat first.’
- (114) *métâ ké dī*
 |*H-mà-tá-L L-kè H L-dī*|
 SB-1SG-PF-SB INF-AND LT INF-eat
 ‘I’m going to eat first.’

The primofactive quasi-auxiliary can be used twice in the same phrase, probably in order to insist on the priority of the action.

- (115) *bétâ tá dī*
 |*H-bâ-tá-L L-tá H L-dī*|
 SB-II-PF-SB INF-PF LT INF-eat
 ‘Let them eat first.’

⁸ The term *primofactive* was suggested by Jacky Maniacky (p.c.). Most probably this quasi-auxiliary derives historically from the verb *tádī* ‘begin’.

5.2.3. Resultative quasi-auxiliaries

There are two forms, *ɣkúná* and *ndòmó*, that can function only as quasi-auxiliaries, i.e. not as independent verbs, of which the form reminds us of the Resultative forms described in Section VII:2.4.1. In the present tense they do not take the auxiliary *-Lté*. The first resultative quasi-auxiliary, *ɣkúná*, cannot be used in the past. The second, *ndòmó* is preceded by the auxiliary *nè* in the past, just as Resultative forms. The forms *ɣgēna* and *gbélê* are not exclusively quasi-auxiliaries.

5.2.3.1. *ɣgēnâ* persistive⁹

Based on its conjugation and form, the verb *ɣgēnâ* could be analysed as a Contrastive resultative form (see VII:2.4.2), possibly of the verb *nè* ‘be’. But semantically it differs from the other Contrastive resultatives, meaning ‘still’, rather than ‘already’. It can be used as a main verb (116), as a copula (see Section 3) or as a quasi-auxiliary. When used as a quasi-auxiliary, it is followed by the participle (i.e. the G-form preceded by the infinitive prefix *L-*) of the main verb, not by the simple infinitive. This it has in common with the verb *nè* when used as a past imperfective auxiliary.

(116) *mèɣgēnâ*

|*mà-ɣgēnâ*|

1SG-still.be

‘I’m still there.’

(117) *mèɣgábé ɣgēnâ gbélê mètwa*

|*mà-ɣgá-bé L-ɣgēnâ gbél-ǻ mètúà*|

1SG-RP-IMPF INF-PER grasp-RS car

‘I still had a car.’

(118) (When I arrived at his place this morning)

àbé ɣgēnâ dígâ

|*à-bé L-ɣgēnâ L-ǻ-gà*|

I-IMPF INF-PER INF-eat-G

‘He was still eating.’

⁹ This term is widely used in Bantu studies for a TAM-morpheme or a construction used for a situation that “persists from a non-present time to the present, and is likely to extend to the [f]uture.” (Muzale 1998:163, cited via Rose et al. 2002:64).

5.2.3.2. *ɣkúná* prospective

The quasi-auxiliary *ɣkúná* is followed by the stem of the main verb, not the infinitive form. It expresses what Comrie (1976:64) calls *prospective aspect*, in which a state is linked to a subsequent situation. This quasi-auxiliary is probably the Contrastive resultative form of the verb *kún* ‘leave early, leave on time’, with the formal complication that its final vowel has a structural high tone, instead of a dissimilating high one.

- (119) *mèɣkúná ɖí ébàŋà*
 |*mà-ɣkúná ɖí è-báŋá*|
 1SG-PRO eat 5-macabo
 ‘I’m about to eat the macabo.’

- (120) *mbèŋ ɣkúná nɔ́áŋ*
 |*mbèŋ ɣkúná nɔ́áŋ*|
 [9]rain IX-PRO rain
 ‘It’s about to rain.’

5.2.3.3. *ndòmó/ndómá* perfect of recent past

The quasi-auxiliary *ndòmó* expresses the perfect of a recent past (see Comrie 1976:60). The form of this quasi-auxiliary and that of the following main verb needs to be checked. I noted *ndòmó* and *ndómá*, which might be dialectal variants. The form *ndòmó* looks like a Contrastive resultative form (but there is no verb *dóm*). It is followed by a main verb that takes a prefix *à-*. Example (122) gives the forms of the hodiernal past (122a), the hesternal past (122b) and the remote past (122c).

- (121) *mèndòmó àtóbno èèy ɣé*
 |*mà-ndòmó à-tóbno èèj ɣé*|
 1SG-PRP ?-meet with I.SUB
 ‘I have just met him.’

- (122) (TMAQ 59) [We did not find our brother at home when we arrived there.]
 a. *àbé ndòmó àpám*
 b. *àmé ndòmó àpám*
 c. *àŋgábé ndòmó àpám*
 ‘He had just left.’

(123) (TMAQ 138)

íjòy mèsógó á ndá, àmé ndómá mǎ tìl bô kálàdà bébā.

[í-ì-dzòy mǎ-H-só-gà-H á ndá à-mé|
 AU-7-time 1SG-PST-come-G-NF LOC [9]house I-YIMPF
 |ndómá L-mà H L-tìl H bô kálàdà bá-bǎ|
 PRP INF-TMN LT INF-write LT PL letter II-two

‘When I came home, he had just finished writing the two letters.’

5.2.3.4. *gbélè* obligation

As a quasi-auxiliary, *gbélè*, which is the resultative form of *gbé* ‘grasp’, expresses obligation.

(124) a. *ùgbêl sá*

|ù-*gbélǎ* L-sá|
 2SG-NEC INF-work
 ‘You have to work.’

b. *ùgbêl pùmì mébàjà*

|ù-*gbélǎ* L-pùmì H mǎ-bàjà|
 2SG-NEC INF-harvest LT 6-macabo
 ‘You have to harvest the macabos.’

(125) *wàágbêl sá*

|ù-àá-*gbélǎ* L-sá|
 2SG-NEG-NEC INF-work
 ‘You don’t have to work.’

5.2.4. Combinations of Quasi-auxiliaries

As example (123) illustrates, quasi-auxiliaries can combine. Only the first quasi-auxiliary is conjugated, the next ones are infinitival, just as the main verb. Every infinitive is the complement of the preceding infinitive in such a sequence. The order of quasi-auxiliaries is free or pragmatically conditioned, although there seems to be a preference for modal quasi-auxiliaries to precede the others.

(126) *àyèèní vúl yām*

|à-àyèèní L-vúl H L-jám|
 I-SP-NEC INF-do.quickly LT INF-cook
 ‘She has to cook quickly.’

- (127) *àndòmó mǎ tǐmǐnú pēn ndá*
 |à-ndòmó L-mà H L-tǐmǐnú H|
 I-PRP INF-TMN LT INF-do.again LT
 |L-pén H ndá|
 INF-paint LT house
 ‘She has just repainted the house.’
- (128) *ànè jǎm vūl cēnǐ bǐyē*
 |à-nè dzǎm L-vūl H L-tǐfénǐ H bǐ-jé|
 I-POS possibly INF-do.quickly LT INF-change LT 8-clothing
 ‘He might have changed clothes quickly.’
- (129) a. *àté dūyǐnǐ kwàgdó swàlbò*
 |à-Lté L-dúyǐnǐ H L-kwàgdó H L-suàlbò|
 I-PR INF-do.again LT INF-do.well LT INF-hide
 b. *àté kwàgdó dūyǐnǐ swàlbò*
 |à-Lté L-kwàgdó H L-dúyǐnǐ H L-suàlbò|
 I-PR INF-do.well LT INF-do.again LT INF-hide
 ‘He really hides himself again.’
- (130) *mènè jǎm twōné lāy, n̄tè mèbóg(ò) ásī*
 |mà-nè dzǎm L-túónà H L-láy|
 1SG-POS possibly INF-do.well LT INF-read
 |H-N-tè mà-bóg-ǎ ásī|
 AU-3-time 1SG-sit-RS down
 ‘I can read better when I’m seated.’

6. Relative clauses

All relative clauses are external in Eton. Four verbal constructions have a special relative form in Eton. The first is the Present affirmative form of the verb *nè* ‘be’, which has a rising tone instead of a low one in relative clauses (131). Then there is the Southern present, in which the stem is preceded by a floating high tone prefix in relative clauses (132). Third, the form of the Future auxiliary is *èèy* in relative clauses, instead of *èy* (133). Note that the Southern present is formed by the same morpheme as the Present in Ewondo and that in Ewondo verbal constructions regularly have a relative form. The Future auxiliary in Eton contains a reflex of this morpheme. Finally, the suffix of Resultative forms is high rather than dissimilating high in relative clauses. Head nominals precede the relative clause. When the relative clause is restrictive, its head nominal is marked by the

augment, if headed by a noun, since pronominals do not take the augment (131-133). The head noun of non-restrictive relative clauses is not marked, so that any marking of the verb form is the only formal clue for recognising non-restrictive relative clauses (134).

(131) a. *íkòpí ìně jól ì kpèm*

 |ì-kòpí ì-ně jól ì=kpèm|
 AU-[9]coffee IX-RCOP [9]colour IX.CON=[9]cassava.leaves
 ‘green coffee’

b. *íyòṅ àně á lébā*

 |ì-ìjòṅ à-ně á lè-bá|
 AU-7-time I-RCOP LOC 5-marriage
 ‘when she is married’

(132) *íyòṅ màyèṃ nâ wèèy sò, ...*

 |ì-ìjòṅ mà-à-H-jèm nâ ù-èèj L-sò|
 AU-7-time 1SG-SP-REL-know CMP 2SG-FUT INF-come
 ‘When I know that you will come, ...’

(133) a. *ímétwâ mèèy kùz*

 |ì-mètúà mà-èèj L-kùz|
 AU-car 1SG-REL.FUT INF-buy
 ‘the car I will buy’

b. *ívòm mèbógó*

 |ì-ívòm mà-Bóg-Á|
 AU-place 1SG-stay-REL.RS
 ‘the place where I live’

(134) *tò àné bémé kàdḡì bì nâ ndán ìmé dyǎ àné tɛlɛfɔn àně mɛlú mǎ*

 |tò àné bə-mé L-kàd-Lḡì bì nâ ndán|
 DP like II-YIMPF INF-say-G 1PL.NSUB CMP [9]ndan
 |ì-mé dǎá àné tɛlɛfɔn à-ně H-mà-lú mǎ|
 IX-YIMPF being like phone I-RCOP AU-6-night VI.DEM
 Although we have been told that the *ndan* was similar to
 today’s telephone (lit. the telephone, which exists these
 nights).’

Relative clauses are normally not introduced by a relativizer in Eton (131-135). However, some examples were found in which a relative clause is preceded by a word *á* (136, 137). In these examples there is usually some separation between the relative clause and its

head, which is always maximally specific. In example (136) the head nominal is a substitutive in focus position that refers to a herb. In the little dialogue in (137) the antecedent is a proper name, *Pius Eloundou*, which is separated from the relative clause by a change in speaker. The conditions in which the relativizer *á* must/can appear, remain to be described. Probably *á* appears only in Southern dialects, under the influence of Ewondo.

- (135) *íwòm mətá sā*
 [í-wòm mə-Ltɛ L-sá]
 AU-place 1SG-PR INF-work
 ‘the place where I work’
- (136) *ȳh mètɛ pād, á mètɛ bùm á ndwân, á məkād nâ itē yàgrù.*
 [H-j̄ɔ̄ mə-Ltɛ L-pád á mə-Ltɛ L-bùm á]
 AU-VII.SUB 1SG-PR INF-pluck RL 1SG-PR INF-braise LOC
 [ndúàn á mə-H-kād-H nâ í-Ltɛ L-jàgrù]
 [9]fire RL 1SG-PST-say-NF CMP VII-PR INF-itch
 ‘That’s the one that I pluck, that I braise on the fire, of which I said that it itches.’
- (137) A: *ɲǎ ɲúúz ilúná*
 [ɲǎ ɲúúz ilúná]
 mother Pius Eloundou
 ‘the mother of Pius Eloundou’
 B: *áŋgābé ísɔ̄*
 [á à-ŋgá-bé ísɔ̄]
 RL I-RP-IMPF your.father
 ‘who was your father’
 A: *áŋgābé pèpá!*
 [á à-ŋgá-bé pèpá]
 RL I-RP-IMPF daddy
 ‘who was daddy!’

Relativisation is highly accessible. The following examples illustrate some possible antecedents, viz. a second complement in (138), a so-called raised possessor in (139a) and an optional benefactive complement in (139b). In example (140) the antecedent is a time adverbial (see also examples (132-133)). If the head nominal is the complement of a preposition, a resumptive pronominal must take its place in the relative clause (141). However, if the head noun is a

complement of the locative preposition *á*, the latter is simply omitted in the corresponding relative clause (142b).

(138) *ìyàŋ ítê màlâŋ wǎ ńndán méyḡāpùdì wǎ.*

|í-jàŋ í-tè mà-à-làŋ wǎ ń-ndán|
7-time VII-ANA 1SG-SP-call 2SG-FSUB AU-[9]ndan
|mà-yḡá-pùdì wǎ|
1SG-RP-put 2SG.FSUB

‘At that time I call you by the ndan that I had given you.’

(139) a. *ìwáḡ ńmê íjì mèté búḡ ńínlō*

|í-wáḡ í-nè í-dzì mà-Ltè L-búḡ H mìn-lō|
VII-one VII-COP AU-VII.DEM 1SG-PR INF-break LT 4-head

‘One is that (herb) of which I break the heads.’

b. *ǰí ńḡglè ńkúŋkúímá ákūz kálâdà ànè mēbú àbwǎ*

|H-ń-jéglè ń-kúŋkúímá à-H-kùz-H kálâdà|
AU-3-teacher 3-chief I-PST-buy-NF book
|à-nè mà-bù à-bǎ|
I-COP 6-poor 3-very

‘The teacher for whom the chief bought a book is very poor.’

(140) *ámōz ékēngí úyḡábé ńèbgì*

|H-à-mōz è-H-kèn-Lgì-H ú-yḡá-bé L-ńèb-Lgì|
AU-3-day 1PL-PST-go-G-NF III-RP-IMPF INF-be.good-G

‘The day on which we left was beautiful.’

(141) a. *íbyém mèté dǎy yāḡ èy byó ítē bímê nâ: ...*

|í-bj-ém mà-Ltè L-dàŋ H L-jág èèj|
AU-8-thing 1SG-PR INF-cross LT INF-need with
|bj-ǎ ítǎ bí-nè nâ|
VIII-SUB there VIII-be CMP

‘The things that I need most are: ...’

b. *mébálá ùtè kwàm èy mǎ, mēnê yá?*

|H-mà-bálá ù-Ltè L-kwàm èy m-ǎ mǎ-nè já|
AU-6-medicine 2SG-PR INF-do with VI-SUB VI-COP how

‘The medicines with which you heal, they are how?’

c. *nímôm mènɣàŋ ɲkúŋkúmá ákūzǵí kálâdà ábò jé àté jèb dâm*

|H-N-Bòm m̀-ɲgàŋ ñ-kúŋkúmá à-H-kùz-Lgì-H|
 AU-3-maker 6-magic 3-chief I-PST-buy-G-NF
 |kálâdà ábò jé à-Lté L-jèb d-àm|
 book chez I.SUB I-PR INF-be.good 5-thing

‘The marabout from whom the chief bought a book is nice.’

(142) a. *ɲkúŋkúmá ákūzǵí kálâdà á mákíd*

|Ñ-kúŋkúmá à-H-kùz-Lgì-H kálâdà á m-ákíd|
 3-chief I-PST-buy-G-NF book LOC 6-market

‘The chief bought the book on the market.’

b. *ímákíd ɲkúŋkúmá ákūzǵí kálâdà ménê ùjàb v́á*

|í-m-ákíd ñ-kúŋkúmá à-H-kùz-Lgì-H kálâdà|
 AU-6-market 3-chief I-PST-buy-G-NF book

|má-nè ù-dzàb v́á|

VI-be 3-far here

‘The market where the chief bought the book is far from here.’

7. Focus

7.1. Verbal focus

Verbs can be focalised by reduplicating their stem. As in nominal reduplication, the reduplicant precedes the base and consists of the first two segments of the latter. The vowel of the reduplicant is often reduced (less often if it is a close vowel). The reduplicant has the same tone as the first syllable of the base, except in some cases when the latter is rising. The reduplicant then carries the low part and the base the high part, as with the negative copula *sě* in (149), but note the reduplicated form of the participle |*díá*| in the same example. In combination with the adverb *àyǎ* verb reduplication can be translated as ‘always’. The phrase in (143), for instance, could be an answer to the remark *The water is cold today*.

(143) *mèndím mètē sēsím àyǎ*

|m̀-ndím m̀-Lté L-sí-sím àjǎ|

6-water VI-PR INF-F~cold already

‘The water has always been cold / is always cold.’

- (144) a. *dè ùmógô ìtùṅà*
 |*dè ù-ń-Bóg-Ǻ ì-tùṅà*|
 Q 2SG-CR-COP-RS 7-madman
 ‘Have you become crazy?’
- b. *àyá, mèté dīdīṅ àyǎ bōgbô ìtùṅà*
 |*à-já mà-Lté L-dī-dīṅ àjǎ H L-BógbǺ*|
 3-pain 1SG-PR INF-F~HAB already LT INF-stay
 |*H ì-tùṅà*|
 LT 7-crazy
 ‘No, I’ve always been crazy.’
- (145) *mèté sēsá àyǎ*
 |*mà-Lté L-sá~sá àjǎ*|
 1SG-PR INF-F~work already
 ‘I have always worked. / I have the habit of working all the time.’
- (146) *àté bībyànì àyǎ mǎ*
 |*à-Lté L-bī-biànì àjǎ H mǎ*|
 I-PR INF-F~despise already LT 1SG.FSUB
 ‘She has always looked down upon me.’

Another use of verbal reduplication is to convey insistence. The reduplicated verb is then optionally accompanied by the adverb *pwágó* ‘really’, or, with a negative verb form *kǐg* ‘at all’. Example (150) needs some contextualisation. It is an exclamation by an elderly woman, Judith Akini, whom the interviewer asked many questions about the history of her family and other things from the past. The phrase must be interpreted as ‘why do you ask *me* all these questions?’

- (147) *àté sēsá*
 |*à-Lté L-sá~sá*|
 I-PR INF-F~work
 ‘He *does* work.’
- (148) *mèndīm mèté sēsím*
 |*mà-ndīm mǎ-Lté L-sí~sím*|
 6-water VI-PR INF-F~be.cold
 ‘The water is really cold.’

- (149) *àsèsé k̄g v̄á. b̄énâ jí èd̄idyā v̄â, mèlédá w̄ò jí.*
 |à-sà-sá k̄g v̄á b̄énâ à-d̄ĩ-d̄iá v̄á mà-lédà-H|
 I-F~NCOP at.all here if I-F-being here 1SG-show-CS
 |w̄ò jí|
 2SG.NSUB I.SUB
 ‘(about a herb) It really isn’t here. If it were here, I would have shown it to you.’
- (150) *yì ású p̄wágó nâ mà mègbégbêlè ìmó*
 |j̄i ású p̄úágó nâ mà mà-gb̄é-gb̄él-Ā Ì-Ìó|
 Q for really CMP 1SG.NSUB 1SG-F~grasp-RS 3head
 ‘Is it really because I have such a good memory?’

Finally, verbal reduplication can convey approbation, as in (151).

- (151) *àtè j̄ējáb*
 |à-Lt̄é L-d̄z̄á-d̄z̄áb|
 I-PR INF-F~be.big
 ‘(That’s right,) He is big.’

7.2. Nominal focus

7.2.1. Subjects

There are three ways to focalise subjects. In the first, the subject prefix is preceded by a coreferential substitutive (152-155). If there is a nominal subject, the substitutive follows it (155).

- (152) *bó b̄ètē s̄ā*
 |b̄ó b̄á-Lt̄é L-s̄á|
 II.SUB II-PR INF-work
 ‘They are working.’
- (153) *àngábé dwě nâ ìséj̄á. jí àngákê wú á mbóg nàm jí. jí àngálig bwán.*
 |à-ɲgá-bé d-òé nâ ìséj̄á jí à-ɲgá-k̄é|
 I-RP-COP 5-name CMP Essengue I.SUB I-RP-AND
 |L-wú á mbóg nàm jí jí à-ɲgá-lig b-úán|
 INF-die LOC [9]clan Namnye I.SUB I-RP-leave 2-child
 ‘She was called Essengue. It is she who passed away in Mbog Namnye. It is she who left children.’

- (154) *wò ùtè kwàm èèy mìvǎŋ yá?*
 |wò ù-Lté L-kùàm èèj mì-vǎŋ já|
 2SG.NSUB 2SG-PR INF-do with 4-liana what
 ‘What do you do with the lianas?’
- (155) *yì mòd jé àtè kwàm jóm jé tè yèm?*
 |jì N-òd jě à-Lté L-kùàm H dz-óm jě tàH jèm|
 Q 1-person I.SUB I-PR INF-do LT 7-thing I.SUB NEG know
 ‘Does somebody do something without understanding it!?’

In the second type of subject focus construction, the subject prefix is likewise preceded by a substitutive, but the latter always has a falling tone (156), also when it is of agreement pattern IX. Moreover, when the verb is *nè* ‘be’ or a Southern present, it has the tonality of a relative verb (157). Therefore, the substitutive with invariable falling tonality can best be analysed as the augmented antecedent of a relative clause. This is the only situation in which a substitutive can be augmented and “modified”. This focus construction is more contrastive than the previous one. When the focus substitutive is preceded by a subject nominal that ends in a high tone, while being followed by a verb form that does not have a special relative form, there is no formal difference between the two types of subject focus constructions (158).

- (156) *mèmá sèsánâ jê àŋgábé gbēlē mèbálá métê*
 |màmá sàsánâ H-jě à-ŋgá-bé L-gbél-ǎ|
 mother Suzanne AU-I.SUB I-RP-IMPF INF-grasp-RS
 |mà-bálá má-tè|
 6-medicine VI-ANA
 ‘It’s mother Suzanne who possessed these medicines.’
- (157) *ìyòŋ ítê màwúd. ìmìwúdnéŋgáná útê wô wákwâm nâ ìbǎb*
 ítêg
 |ì-jòŋ í-tè mà-à-wúd N-wúdnéŋgáná ú-tè|
 7-time VII-ANA 1SG-SP-massage 3-massage III-ANA
 |H-wǒ ú-à-H-kùàm nâ ì-bǎb|
 AU-III.SUB III-SP-REL-make CMP 7-asthma
 |H-í-tèg-L|
 SB-VII-weaken-SB
 ‘Then I massage. It’s this massage that weakens the asthma.’

- (158) *iyòŋ itè mèté pùg íjì á yásó méndim jì. zá jì ètè yēgnè? lèséŋ!*
 |í-jòŋ í-tè mà-Lté L-pùg H í-dzì á|
 7-time VII-ANA 1SG-PR INF-knead LT AU-VII.DEM RL
 |í-à-H-só mà-ndim dzì zá (H-?)jē|
 VII-SP-REL-ooze 6-water VII.DEM who(AU-?)I.SUB
 |à-Lté L-jègnè là-séŋ|
 I-PR INF-ignore 5-leseng
 ‘Then I knead the one (i.e. a liana) that oozes water. Who on earth doesn’t know (it’s name)?... Leseng!’

The third way to focus subjects is by means of a cleft, in which a substitutive precedes the subject prefix of the main verb (159).

- (159) *ímè ùkèŋ wó újǐbàn*
 |í-nè ù-kèŋ wó ú-H-jǐbàn|
 VII-COP 3-knife III.SUB III-PST-be.stolen
 ‘It’s a knife that is stolen.’

7.2.2. Complements

Complements can be focused simply by assuming clause-initial position.

- (160) *kǎí mèté kè*
 |kǎí mà-Lté L-kè|
 [9]tomorrow 1SG-PR INF-go
 ‘Tomorrow I leave.’
- (161) *mwé mènè wò jǎm vè*
 |m-óé mà-nè wò dzǎm L-vé|
 6-name 1SG-POS 2SG.NSUB possibly INF-give
 ‘The names I can give you.’

Often, such a preposed complement is followed by the adverb *vó*.

- (162) *bèkwónó itè vó béŋgáyòlò mímā*
 |bèkwónó í-tè vó bə-ŋgá-jòlò mímǎ|
 Bekono I-ANA *donc* II-RP-name 2PL.FSUB
 ‘It’s this Bekono after whom they called you guys.’¹⁰

Alternatively, preposed complements can be followed by an augmented substitutive. As with subjects, the following verb is relative (if it has a special relative form). The proverb in (163) is a

¹⁰ The sister of the interlocutor is called Bekono.

nice illustration. It means that relationships between people of equal importance are most likely to be successful. When a focused complement is pronominal, it is always preposed and augmented (165c).

- (163) *bílé b̄mē ntē, bȳḥ kvé 'itē kàlnì*
 |H-bì-lé b̄i-ně N-té H-byḥ kól|
 AU-8-tree VIII-RCOP 3-height AU-VIII.SUB [10]monkey
 |r-Lté L-kàlnì|
 X-PR INF-change
 'Monkeys jump between trees of the same height.'
- (164) *ùkèḡ wḥ màkùz*
 |ù-kèḡ H-wḥ mà-à-H-kùz|
 3-knife AU-III.SUB 1SG-SP-REL-buy
 'I'm buying a *knife*.'
- (165) a. *wḍyèḡ wḍgzówḍgzó òó?*
 |ù-à-jèḡ wḍgzówḍgzó=òó|
 2SG-SP-know wogzowogzo=Q
 'Do you know Wogzo-Wogzo (a plant)?'
- b. *mì màyèḡ wḍgzówḍgzó.*
 |mì mà-à-jèḡ wḍgzówḍgzó|
 yes 1SG-SP-know wogzowogzo
 'Yes, I know Wogzo-Wogzo.'
- c. *jê ùté pāg!*
 |H-jě ù-Lté L-pāg|
 AU-I.SUB 2SG-PR INF-dig
 'That's the one you dig up!'

Finally, a preposed focused complement can be followed by the focus particle *yî*. The use of this focus particle is in need of further description. The example in (166) shows two additional characteristics of nominal focus. First, subject focus and complement focus can be combined. The complement precedes the subject in this case. Second, when a complement of a preposition is preposed to focus position, a resumptive pronominal obligatorily takes its place.

- (166) *mwé yî mà mètè dǎŋ yāg èèy mɔ. mwé yî mà mètè yì.*
 |*m-óé jî mà mà-Lté L-dǎŋ H L-jág*|
 6-name FOC 1SG.NSUB 1SG-PR INF-cross LT INF-need
 |*H èèj mɔ m-óé jî mà mà-Lté L-jî*|
 LT with VI.SUB 6-name FOC 1SG.NSUB 1SG-PR INF-want
 ‘It’s the names I need most! The names I want.’

8. Some notes on questions

8.1. Polar questions

8.1.1. Basic structure of polar questions

There are two ways to form a polar question. The first is with an initial question marker *dè* or *yì* (167a-b) (see Section v:3.6.2). The second way is by means of an enclitic on the last word of the clause (167c).

- (167) a. *dè ùté dŋ ndógò?*
 |*dà ù-Lté L-dŋ H ndógò*|
 Q 2SG-PR INF-like LT [10]mango
 b. *yì ùté dŋ ndógò?*
 |*jî ù-Lté L-dŋ H ndógò*|
 Q 2SG-PR INF-like LT [10]mango
 c. *ùté dŋ ndógò òò?*
 |*ù-Lté L-dŋ H ndógò=òò*|
 2SG-PR INF-like LT [10]mango=Q
 ‘Do you like mangoes?’

The form of the question clitic depends on the word to which it is attached. If the latter ends in a consonant the clitic has the form of a long /ɪ/ (168). If it ends in a vowel, the latter is lengthened (169). The intonation is either rising or low. The question clitic is noted as a long vowel, usually with a rising tone (e.g. <í>). Yet, it tends to be longer than a long vowel and the tonality is usually more dynamic and variable than in the case of a normal low-high sequence. It happens that the timbre of the question clitic resembles that of the vowel in the preceding word even if the latter ends in a consonant (170).¹¹ Note

¹¹ The tonality/intonation of this interrogative clitic needs additional study. I heard instances with a falling intonation, but I have not been able to establish whether this variation is conditioned, and, if so, how.

that the final form of the Hodiernal and Hesternal past perfective appears before the interrogative clitic.

- (168) a. *wàláŋ ǐ?*
 |ù-à-láŋ=ǐ|
 2SG-SP-read-Q
 ‘Are you reading? / Would you read?’
- b. *à-bógô átān ǐ?*
 |à-Bóg-Ā á à-tán=ǐ|
 I-stay-RS LOC 3-village=Q
 ‘Does he live in the village?’
- c. *ùyéŋ ǐ?*
 |ù-H-jén=ǐ|
 2SG-PST-see=Q
 ‘Did you see it?’
- (169) a. *àgbélé àkúmá àá?*
 |à-gbél-Ā à-kúmá=àá|
 I-grasp-RS 3-wealth=Q
 ‘Is she rich?’
- b. *ùté yēn ílē=èé?*
 |ù-Lté L-jén H ì-lé=èé|
 2SG-PR INF-see LT 7-tree=Q
 ‘Do you see the tree?’
- (170) *ùté dī úlēz èè?*
 |ù-Lté L-dī H ù-léz=èè|
 2SG-PR INF-eat LT 3-rice=Q
 ‘Are you eating the rice?’

Negative polar questions are formed by adding one of the above polarity question markers to a negative statement.

- (171) *wàánǐ kè íbòm ǐ?*
 |ù-àá-ndzī L-kè á ì-bóm=ǐ|
 2SG-NEG-PST INF-go LOC 7-market=Q
 ‘Didn’t you go to the market?’

8.1.2. Leading questions

Leading questions can be formed by means of an assertive clause followed by a tag question. All available examples of this construction

were elicited. If a positive answer is expected, the assertive clause has positive polarity and is followed by the tag *sè nālâ=àá*.

- (172) *ùbé yèmgi ìyàlná, sè nālâá?*
 |ù-bé L-jèm-Lgì ì-jàlná sè nǎ-lÁ=àá|
 2SG-TIMPF INF-know-G 7-answer DP thus-ID=Q
 ‘You knew the answer, didn’t you?’

In case of an expected negative answer, the assertive clause has negative polarity and the tag question is *ɲǎ nālá*.

- (173) a. *wàánǵi sò bìyē, ɲǎ nālá*
 |ù-àá-ndǵi L-sò H bì-jé ɲǎ nǎ-lÁ|
 2SG-NEG-IMPF INF-wash LT 8-clothing isn’t thus-ID
 ‘You didn’t do the laundry, did you?’
 b. *wàánǵi v wālì kál yô, ɲǎ nālá*
 |ù-àá-ndǵi L-vúálì H kál ì-ò ɲǎ nǎ-lÁ|
 2SG-NEG-IMPF INF-help LT sister IX-your isn’t thus-ID
 ‘You did not help your sister, did you?’

8.2. Constituent questions

Section V:3.6 on question words provides a description of constituent questions. This section will be restricted to two brief remarks concerning constituent questions. First, it must be pointed out that question words can be fronted (174b). When they are preceded by a preposition, the latter is fronted as well (175b, 176).

- (174) a. *ùyén zá*
 |ù-H-jén-H zá|
 2SG-PST-see-NF who
 b. *zá úyén*
 |zá ù-H-jén|
 who 2SG-PST-see
 ‘Whom did you see?’
 (176) a. *ùsó ású jé?*
 |ù-H-só-H ású H=dz-é|
 2SG-PST-come-PST for III.CON=7-what
 b. *ású jé úsô?*
 |ású H=dz-é ù-H-só|
 for III.CON=7-what 2SG-PST-come
 ‘Why did you come?’

(177) *èèy b̀ ź á ákē á ḿákíd?*

|èèj b̀ ź á à-H-kè-H á ḿákíd|

with PL who I-PST-go-NF LOC market

‘With whom (plural) did she go to the market?’

Second, the modifying nominal in a connective construction can be replaced by a question word in order to question it. There are no adnominal interrogative pro-possessives such as English *whose*.

(178) a. *àbógô á nd́ á ì ź á?*

|à-Bóg-Á á nd́ á ì=ź á|

I-stay-RS LOC [9]house IX.CON=who

‘In whose house does he stay?’

b. *àbógô á nd́ á ì b̀ ź á*

|à-Bóg-Á á nd́ á ì=b̀ ź á|

I-stay-RS LOC [9]house IX.CON=PL who

‘In whose (pl.) house does he stay?’

The entire connective construction can be fronted (179).

(179) *á nd́ á ì ź á àbógô?*

|á nd́ á ì=ź á à-Bóg-Á|

LOC [9]house IX.CON=who I-stay-RS

‘In whose house does he stay?’

Chapter 9

The lexicon

1. Introduction

This chapter presents part of the lexical database on which the current description is based in the form of an Eton-French dictionary. In order to improve the accessibility of the data, the dictionary is accompanied by a French-Eton finderlist (Section 3.2). An index of (Eton) noun stems was also planned. Unfortunately, due to some technical difficulties it is not included now. The term *dictionary* applies more to the initial intentions than to the version in Section 2.2, which is rather something in between a dictionary and a word list. On the one hand, dependent morphemes have been left out of this print version for the sake of brevity. Evidently, they can be found in the previous chapters. On the other hand, some characteristics of good dictionaries could not be achieved at present. Ideally, example sentences are extracted from a corpus of spontaneous speech and they complement the translation by giving additional encyclopaedic information. Most example sentences in the current version of the dictionary are elicited, however, and often do little more than illustrate the grammatical behaviour of the entry. Also, the current version of the dictionary does not pretend to provide a thorough lexical-semantic analysis of the words included. At some points it might give the impression of being an exercise in lexicography, rather than a completed dictionary. For instance, I introduced proverbs in a separate numbered list at the end of the dictionary, with a reference to the relevant proverb in the entry of every word that occurs in the proverb. Since collecting proverbs was never a priority, this list contains only fifteen items. They were inserted anyway, because I hope that the dictionary will gradually grow. The best way to achieve this is to assure that all features of a good dictionary are already present from the outset, however embryonic. The importance of dictionaries of languages without a written tradition is all too often underestimated. Thanks to its high degree of hypertextuality and its possibility to deal with many different types of data (grammatical, phonological, encyclopaedic, ...), a

dictionary is the carrier par excellence of disappearing knowledge. Intending to be useful not only to scholars, but also to speakers of Eton, the target language of the dictionary is French, rather than English. An overview of the organisation of the dictionary is given in Section 2.1.

2. Dictionnaire éton-français

2.1. Introduction

2.1.1. Données

Ce dictionnaire contient surtout des substantifs et des radicaux verbaux. Parmi les radicaux verbaux retenus, il y a des formes dérivées, aussi quand celles-ci sont le résultat de dérivations plus ou moins productives. Contrairement à certains autres dictionnaires de langues bantoues, les entrées nominales dans ce dictionnaire consistent en substantifs entiers (préfixe + thème) au singulier, et pas en thèmes nominaux. Le rangement alphabétique des noms dépend donc de leur préfixe (s'ils en ont un). Les seuls utilisateurs pour qui un rangement par thème pourrait être avantageux, à mon avis, sont les chercheurs en linguistique bantoue comparative. A leur intention, un index des thèmes nominaux a été prévu. Malheureusement, je n'ai pas pu l'insérer dans cette version. Les utilisateurs non linguistes ont généralement des difficultés à diviser le nom en préfix et thème, surtout là où des règles de représentation de morphophonèmes jouent à la frontière entre préfixe et thème. Par contre, aucun locuteur éton n'aura des problèmes à trouver la forme du singulier d'un nom au pluriel, même s'il s'agit d'un nom qu'il n'a jamais entendu. Voir la Section 2.1.2 pour le rangement alphabétique.

Les données proviennent d'un nombre très limité de locuteurs éton, qui ne parlent pas tous le même dialecte. Tous les efforts de limiter les données retenues à un seul dialecte (choisi de façon arbitraire, puisqu'il ne semble pas y avoir un dialecte dominant) ont échoué pour des raisons pratiques. Dès lors, la version actuelle du dictionnaire est un pot-pourri de dialectes, une situation qui doit être redressée d'une façon ou d'une autre dans les versions ultérieures. Quand deux formes d'un même mot ont été récoltées, une forme est utilisée en tant qu'entrée et l'autre est donnée en tant que variante après le symbole ~. En plus, cette variante a souvent

été retenue en tant qu'entrée minimale avec un renvoi à l'entrée principale. Toutefois, les exemples dans l'entrée principale peuvent contenir la forme "variante" de l'entrée. En aucun cas, les phrases-exemples ont été adaptées.

- (1) **yóŋlô** voir: *jóŋlô*
jóŋlô (~yóŋlô; vt) **1. faire chauffer, réchauffer** *mèté jōŋlô mēndim* je réchauffe l'eau voir: *twàg* 'bouillir'; *jóŋ* 'être chaud' **2. apporter un support moral 3. importuner, déranger**

2.1.2. Rangement alphabétique

L'ordre alphabétique des segments est comme en (2).

- (2) *a, b, c, d, e, ε, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, ɔ, p, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, z*

L'orthographe pratique utilisée dans le dictionnaire et la grammaire ne fait pas la différence entre les phonèmes labio-vélaires $/\widehat{\eta m}/$, $/\widehat{g b}/$ et $/\widehat{k p}/$ d'une part et les suites de phonèmes $/\eta m/$, $/g b/$ et $/k p/$ d'autre part. Par conséquent, tous les $/\widehat{g b}/$ sont rangés entre les $/g a/$ et les $/g c/$. Le tiret (-) n'a aucune influence sur le rangement alphabétique.

L'ordre alphabétique des marqueurs tonals est haut (\acute{a}), bas (\grave{a}), descendant (\hat{a}), montant (\check{a}), abaissé (\bar{a}).

2.1.3. Structure des entrées et abréviations

2.1.3.1. Entrées nominales

Le schéma sous (3) présente tous les types d'informations qu'une entrée nominale peut contenir. Certains champs sont discutés en bas du schéma, parfois avec un exemple.

- (3) **entrée**^{n°} d'homonyme [origine] (~variante; *partie du discours*; pl: pluriel; classe nominale du singulier/classe nominale du pluriel; pr. numéro de proverbe) <étiquette stylistique> **1. traduction française de la première signification de l'entrée** (explications supplémentaires pour désambiguïser la traduction ou pour ajouter des informations encyclopédiques) *phrase-exemple* traduction libre de la phrase exemplaire (*litt.* traduction littérale de la phrase exemplaire) *Nom scientifique latin d'espèces de plantes* **2. traduction de la deuxième signification** ♥ **expression idiomatique a) traduction de la première signification de l'expression idiomatique** syn: *synonyme*
voir: *renvoi* 'traduction'

n° d'homonyme L'ordre des homonymes est arbitraire dans cette version du dictionnaire.

- (4) **j-ǎ¹** (*n*; pl: by-ǎ; 7/8) **chanson** voir: *jâ* 'chanter'
j-ǎ² (~j-á; *n*; pl: by-ǎ; 7/8) **ongle**

[origine] Les mots éton empruntés à une langue européenne sont suivis d'une indication de leur origine. Les abréviations utilisées sont *all.* (pour allemand), *ang.* (pour le pidgin anglais), *ar.* (pour arabe) et *fr.* (pour français). Souvent l'origine est incertaine. Dans ce cas, l'abréviation de la langue source est suivie d'un point d'interrogation (p.ex. *ang?*) et/ou plusieurs possibilités sont proposées. Quand la signification du mot source diffère de celle du mot éton, elle est aussi fournie, comme dans l'exemple (5).

- (5) **nòmàwán** [*ang.* number one 'numéro un'] (*n*;
pl: bò nòmàwán; s.g./s.g.) **banane douce (esp.)** voir: *újô*

(*partie du discours*) Pour les entrées nominales c'est toujours *n.* (abréviation de *nom*)

(pl: pluriel) La forme du pluriel d'un nom est donnée après le sigle *pl.*:

(classe nominale du singulier/classe nominale du pluriel) Une indication de la classe nominale du substantif (singulier et pluriel) avec un numéro de 1 à 10. Le sigle *s.c.* veut dire 'sans classe'.

(pr. numéro de proverbe) Le sigle *pr.* est suivi d'un numéro de 1 à 15 qui réfère à la liste des proverbes en fin du dictionnaire.

<étiquette stylistique> Une étiquette stylistique donne des informations stylistiques sur le mot précédent, que ce soit un mot

français ou éton. Deux abréviations sont utilisées dans ce champ: *vulg.* pour *vulgaire* et *fr.af.* pour *français africain*. La dernière étiquette signale qu'une traduction française existe seulement en (une variante de) français africain, dans la signification en question.

(6) **m̀-peg** (*n*; pl: m̀m-pég; 3/4) **sac, plastic** <*fr.af.*>

♥ **expression idiomatique** Le champ appelé expression idiomatique et marqué d'un petit cœur contient plusieurs types d'informations lexicales, qui ne peuvent pas être insérées en tant qu'entrées. Très souvent, il s'agit de constructions connectives dont la signification ne peut pas être déduite de la signification des nominaux composants, comme dans l'exemple (7).

(7) **̀jé** (*n*; pl: b̀i-jé; 7/8) **habit, vêtement** ♥ **̀jé ánùj** *lèvre* (*litt.* habit de la bouche)

Généralement une telle construction connective est seulement insérée dans l'entrée de son premier substantif. L'entrée du deuxième substantif contient alors un renvoi au premier substantif (8).

(8) **̀nùj** (*n*; pl: m̀-̀nùj; 3/6) **bouche, gueule** voir: ̀jé 'habit'

Mais il ne s'agit pas toujours de constructions connectives:

(9) **̀bùm** (*n*; pl: m̀-̀bùm; 5/6) **ventre** ♥ **̀nè è̀y è̀bùm** *elle est enceinte* (*litt.* elle est avec le ventre)

Parfois aussi, une expression donnée dans ce champ est parfaitement transparente, c.à.d. sa signification est claire à partir des significations de ses constituants. Alors l'expression est donnée à cause de sa grande fréquence ou saillance (10).

(10) **̀bwágzì** (~̀i-bwágáz; *n*; pl: b̀i-bwágzì; 7/8) **articulation** (partie du corps où s'effectue une liaison des pièces osseuses) ♥ **̀bwágzì áköl** *cheville* ♥ **̀bwágzì d́** *poignet, coude*

voir: *renvoi* 'traduction' Le champ introduit par *voir*: renvoie le lecteur à d'autres entrées pertinentes, tel que le verbe dont un substantif est dérivé. Souvent, la traduction est aussi fournie. Dans l'exemple (11), il y a aussi des renvois aux autres substantifs dérivés du même verbe.

(11) **̀vín** [*-p̀ind-] (*n*; 3) **la couleur noire** syn: *vyúg* voir: *̀m* 'être noir'; ̀vínù 'un noir, un Africain'; ̀vívínì 'noir'

Ce champ est le seul dans une entrée qui présente une variante d'une autre entrée (12).

(12) **ngwě** voir: *ɲgǔy*

Souvent le seul lien entre une entrée et un renvoi est le fait qu'ils font partie du même champ sémantique (13).

(13) **vwàli** (*vt*) **trier les fruits** (pour un arbre, passer par une période où un nombre de fruits non mûrs tombent par terre) *àndógó útē vwàli bɛjwāzɪ* le manguier fait tomber les mauvais fruits voir: *ɪ-jwāzɪ* 'fruit non mûr tombé par terre'

2.1.3.2. Entrées verbales

La plus grande partie des champs qui figurent dans les entrées nominales, se trouve aussi dans les entrées verbales, à l'exception, bien évidemment, des champs pour le pluriel, pour les classes nominales et pour les noms latins d'espèces. Les abréviations dans le champ *partie du discours* sont *v* (verbe), *vi* (verbe intransitif), *vt* (verbe transitif), *aux* (auxiliaire), *q-aux* (quasi-auxiliaire), *cop* (copule), *f.rés.* (forme résultative) et *f.rés.c* (forme résultative contrastive). Par contre, les entrées verbales contiennent quelques éléments qui ne figurent pas dans les entrées nominales, à savoir des sous-entrées et des indications de préposition obligatoire.

Les sous-entrées sont marquées d'un chiffre romain (I, II, III, IV) suivi d'une des abréviations pour les parties du discours (pas entre parenthèses). Quand il s'agit d'une forme résultative, celle-ci est donnée entre le chiffre romain et le sigle *f.rés.*, p.ex. les sous-entrées III et IV en (14).

(14) **bógbô** (*v*) I *vi* **1. s'asseoir** *mètē bōgbô vā* je m'assois ici **2. rester** *àbógbēɲgānā* il est resté ♥ **á bōgbô pwám se taire** *bógbô pwám* tais-toi ♥ **á bōgbô cíɲ être d'accord** (*litt.* rester la voix) II *vt* **devenir** *àɲgā bógbô àyǎ ɲā mōdō* il est déjà en train de devenir adulte; *àmógô àyǎ ɲā mōdō* il est déjà devenu adulte III **bógô** *f.rés.* **1. être assis** *mèbógó àsɪ* je suis assis **2. habiter** *ɲkòm ɲgòb àbógó bèbè vā* le cordonnier habite tout près d'ici; *mèbógó ítē kōm* j'ai toujours habité là **3. loger** **4. être qp.** *mèbógô* j'y suis IV **mógô** *f.rés.c.* **devenir** *sànā wě ànè ñsíbɪnú, lémógô wè ñtù* son pagne est usé, ce n'est plus qu'un chiffon (*litt.* c'est devenu seulement vieux)

Les indications de préposition obligatoire se trouvent entre parenthèses après la traduction d'un verbe. Ils donnent d'abord la

préposition française et en suite, après un tiret, la préposition éton. Quand une préposition en éton n'a pas de pendant français, le tiret est précédé du sigle *qc.* (quelque chose). Ce champ doit être amélioré dans les versions à venir.

(15) **jèmzàn** (*vi*) **s'habituer (à- èy) s'adapter à une situation** *mémá*
àyǎ jèmzàn èy èvèb je me suis déjà habitué au froid

2.1.3.3. Autres entrées

Les entrées non verbales et non nominales n'ont pas de champs spéciaux. Dans le champ *partie du discours* on peut trouver les sigles *adv* (adverbe), *pro* (pronom), *prep* (préposition), *prt* (particule), *num* (numéral), *int* (interrogatif) et *dp* (particule de discours).

2.2. Dictionnaire

- a -

à-bè (*n*; pl: *mè-bè*; 3/6) **cuisse** voir:

à-kòl 'jambe'

ábô (~*ábâ*; *prep*) **chez, vers** *àlóm*

nā wāmò ábá mòd nìpèbè il envoya ma mère chez une autre personne; *mènè ábá ùndwábô* je suis chez Ondobo; *ábá twāmó mèjwàg mélén métē jèb* chez Tomo, le vin de palme est bon; *màkè ábô òkúíkímá* je vais chez le chef

à-bwád (*n*; pl: *mè-bwád*; 3/6)

mince, minceur *mèbwád mé bôd* personnes minces

à-bwĩ (*n*; 3) **beaucoup, très** *àbù*

bôd úsò plusieurs personnes sont venues; *àbù ògāy* merci beaucoup; *ùdù útē jàb ábwĩ* l'arbre udu est très grand; *mèngásá àyǎ ábwĩ* j'avais déjà beaucoup travaillé; *mèpàn mégbélè àbwĩ bilé mébyàñ* la forêt a beaucoup d'arbres médicinaux

à-dũm (*n*; pl: *bò dũm*; 3/s.c.)

arbre (esp.)

à-jǎb (*n*; 3) **taille, longueur,**

hauteur voir: *jàb* 'être grand' syn: *ì-té*

à-jǒl (*n*; 3) **amertume** voir: *jòl*

'être amer'; *ì-jèjòlò* 'amer'

à-jòm (*n*; 3) **vieillesse** voir: *jòmbò*

'vieillir'; *jì-jòm* 'vieillard, vieux'

à-jón (*n*; 3) **1. chaleur 2. fièvre**

à-jòz (~*à-yòz*; *n*; pl: *mè-jòz*; 3/6)

1. espèce de chenille comestible

2. arbre (esp.) (espèce d'arbre qui abrite les chenilles du même nom, exploité pour le bois de coffrage)

à-kàb (*n*; pl: *mè-kàb*; 3/6) **1.**

partage 2. généreux, personne

généreuse *ànè àkàb* il est

généreux voir: *kàb* 'partager';

ò-gàb 'partage'

à-köl (*n*; pl: mè-köl; 3/6) **1. pied** *ùsò èy mèköl* tu es venu à pied **4. cheville** **3. jambe (membre)** voir: *ym-ymén* ‘le mollet’; *à-bè* ‘la cuisse’ **4. jambe d’un pantalon** *àmá jàbà mèköl mé twâlási wē* il a allongé les jambes de son pantalon

à-kúmá (*n*; 3) **richesse** *pùlási bégbéle àkúmá* les Français sont riches (*litt.* les Français ont la richesse) voir: *ɲ-kúmá* ‘chef’

à-kwàm (*n*; pl: mè-kwàm; 3/6) **espèce d’arbre très robuste**

àlàpágá (*n*; pl: b̀̀ àlàpágá; s.c./s.c.) **lapin**

à-ló (*n*; pl: mè-ló; 3/6) **oreille** ♥ **mèlò** **obstination** (*litt.* oreilles) ♥ **àlò mbúâ** **plante (esp.)** (*litt.* oreille du chien)

à-lóg (*n*; pl: mè-lóg; 3/6) **pêche** (surtout appliquée par les femmes, qui consiste à faire un barrage et d’en évacuer l’eau) voir: *lóg* ‘pêcher’; *jì-juwáb* ‘la pêche’

à-lú (*n*; pl: mè-lú; 3/6) **nuit** ♥ **àlú** **sê** **pleine nuit** ♥ **àlú vînâ** **banane plantain (esp.)** (*litt.* +/- Nuit-noire) ♥ **mélú mâ a)** **de nos jours** (*litt.* ces nuits-ci) *ɲkúɲkúmá èè mèlú mâ ànè dàm mèmèy* le chef actuel est très bon (*litt.* le chef de ces nuits-ci est bonne chose) **b)** **très bientôt** *èèysò mèlú mâ* il viendra très bientôt

àmèdkán [ang? American, fr? américain] (*n*; s.c.) **1. américain** **2. l’Amérique** **3. protestant, missionnaire protestant** *bénè àmèdkán* ils sont protestants **4. protestantisme**

à-mõz (*n*; pl: mè-mõz; 3/6) **jour** (période entre le lever et le coucher du soleil) ant: *à-lú*

à-ná (*n*; 3) **aujourd’hui**

à-ndógô (*n*; pl: mè-ndógô; 3/6) **manguier** voir: *ndógô* ‘mangue’

àné (~né; *prt*; pr. 11) **comme àné** *mémāgá wô kàd ààngògí, ...* comme je t’ai dit hier, .. *àné wè àné àté kwàn* il a l’air malade (*litt.* il est seulement comme il est malade); *àné ɲgùl àné ɲmgbēm* il est fort comme un lion

à-nùɲ (*n*; pl: mè-nùɲ; 3/6) **bouche, gueule** voir: *ì-jé* ‘habit’

-àɲ (*pro*) **combien** *bóɲ báy bènè á zékūlì?* il y a combien d’enfants à l’école

à-púb (*n*; pl: mè-púb; 3/6) **champ, plantation**

à-pùm (*n*; 3) **la blancheur, la couleur blanche** voir: *pùm* ‘être blanc’; *m-pùm* ‘blanc’

à-sá (*n*; pl: mè-sá; 3/6) **safoutier** (arbre qui porte un fruit ovale, pourpre-brun avec un goût acide qu’on grille), **prunier** <*fr.af.*> *Pachylobus edulis?* voir: *sá*

à-sǎɲ (*n*; 3) **acidité** voir: *sây* ‘être acide’; *ì-sésāy* ‘non mûr’; *ì-sèsâyà* ‘acide’

ású (*prep*) **pour** *àté pād bíbùmá ású jè* elle cueille des fruits pour lui; *bémā jām ábù méjwàg ású ébóg* on a fabriqué beaucoup de vin pour la fête; *àté swàlbò ású nâ ádí* il se cache pour manger

à-sú [*-fúò] (*n*; pl: mè-sú; 3/6) **visage** ♥ **àsú ísá** **poste de travail, lieu où on travaille** (*litt.* visage de travail)

à-súg (*n*; 3) **paresse intellectuelle** voir: *à-těg* ‘paresse’

à-tán (*n*; pl: mè-tán; 3/6; pr. 6) **village** ♥ **mòd àtán** **les toilettes**

(*litt.* l'homme du village) syn: ñ-nàm
à-těg (*n*; 3) **paresse** voir: à-súg 'paresse intellectuelle'; tēgbè 'être paresseux'; ù-tétég 'lent'
à-tí (*n*; 3) **intégrité, honnêteté** àté yēñî nâ ànè àtí il a l'air candide
à-tōŋ (~à-twáŋ; *n*; 3) **lenteur** àtōŋ dūlà une promenade lente voir: tōŋbō 'être lent'
à-tú (*n*; 3) **arbre (esp.), tamarinier** *Tamarindus indica*
àtwàdnò (*n*; pl: bō àtwàdnò; s.c./s.c.) **banane douce (esp.)** voir: újō
à-vín [*-pínd-] (*n*; 3) **la couleur noire** syn: vyúg voir: vīm 'être noir'; ì-víñî 'un noir, un Africain'; ì-víñmì 'noir'

à-vól (*n*; 3) **rapidité, rapide** mètē dī ávól je mange vite; bīmŋgá bétē jēm ávól ávól les femmes dansent en cadence (c.à.d vite) ♥ ákwàm ávól se dépêcher
à-vyě (~à-věy; *n*; 3) **la couleur rouge** voir: vyè 'rougir'
à-wú (*n*; 3; pr. 2) **1. mort, décès 2. deuil** voir: wú 'mourir'
à-yá (*n*; 3) **douleur physique** syn: mī-ntá
àyǎ (*adv*) **déjà** mēŋgátóbnù àyǎ èyè jé je l'avais déjà rencontré
àyáá (*int*) **non, pas du tout!** voir: à-yá 'le mal'
àzàŋà (*n*; pl: bō àzàŋà; s.c./s.c.) **manguier sauvage** ♥ àzàŋà àndóŋô

- b -

bá (*v*) I **vi se marier** mēbágâ je me suis marié II **vt épouser** mēbágâ ŋgwán ítón j'ai épousé une fille éton; mēbágá jê je l'ai épousé voir: bálá 'marier, unir par un acte de mariage'
bà (*v*) **1. dépecer un animal 2. sculpter, tailler le bois, couper pour donner une forme** pēpá mbámá àté bà tóg ìlé grand-père taille une cuillère en bois
-bǎ (*pro*) **deux** ŋgwàg íbā deux pierres
bàà (~bèè; *num*) **deux** pwág, bèè, léé, ... un, deux, trois, .. voir: -bǎ 'deux'
báb¹ (*vt*) **réchauffer la nourriture** àté bāb bídī elle

réchauffe la nourriture; bídī bítē bāábân la nourriture se réchauffe; syn: jōŋlō
báb² (*vt*) **masser** (pour des raisons médicales) bētē bāb jíjējā mēndim èyè kág on masse une femme qui vient d'accoucher avec de l'eau à l'aide d'un chasse-mouches syn: wíd
bábélá (*n*; pl: bō bábélá; s.c./s.c.) **vérité** bábélá àté jēb àlòdŋì mìnǎl la vérité vaut mieux que les mensonges; ♥ á kàd bábélá dire la vérité, garantir; mākàd wō bábélá nâ mòd àyì wō sō jòŋ je te garantis que quelqu'un viendra te chercher syn: m-pàŋ

bád (v) **1. simuler** á *bād úlūn* simuler la colère; *ábád* il a sorti des histoires ♥ **á bād mōd lèvó á jól** **calomnier** (*litt.* simuler qn. une affaire au corps) *ábád mā lèvó á jól* il m'a calomnié

bág (vt) **ajouter** *bág ĵkū á j. jām* ajoute du sel dans la sauce; *ìbùù éné ĵmām ùbág íwāg* neuf est huit plus un (*litt.* neuf est huit tu ajoutes un)

bàgbà (v) I **vi se coller** *ĵgwì ìtē kē* *bàgbà élēn* la chauve-souris s'en va s'accrocher au palmier; *àtē* *bàgbà á jóm ísē, ànè mōd mēwāgbó* il chicane sur tout, c'est un chicaneur (*litt.* il s'accroche à toute chose, c'est un homme de "prétextes"); *ùtá mā bàgbà zūd* tu me colles au cul voir: *bàgì* 'coller' II **bàgá** *f.rés.* *mìpég ùbāgá á wúnā* le sac est collé sur la fenêtre

bàgì (v) **bifurquer, changer de chemin ou de direction** *zēn ìtē* *bāgì ìtē* la route passe par-là; *byèyèy bāgì á dō mēyóm* nous allons bifurquer à droite

bàgì¹ (v) **coller, apposer** *mōd àṅgábāgì zítām á lépēb á yó* l'homme apposa un cachet sur le papier voir: *bàgbà* 'se coller'

bàgì² **provoquer, exciter par des gestes ou paroles agressives** *àtē mā bāgì èy mēsē* il me provoque avec des insultes voir: *bàgnù* 'être provocateur'

bàglà (~bààlà; v) **1. garder, conserver** *bimjgá, bō bētē bàglà mēbālā* ce sont les femmes qui gardent les remèdes; *mējwàg mēlén mātē bàglàn nímèy* le vin de palme ne se garde pas bien **2.**

surveiller; veiller sur voir: *mì-mààlà* 'surveillant'

bàgnù (v) **être provocateur** *àtē* *bàgnù* il est provocateur; *ànè* *mbàgnù* il est provocateur voir: *bàgì* 'provoquer'; *mì-bàgnù* 'provocation'

bàl (vt; pr. 4) **désheber, arracher les mauvaises herbes** *mèyèy bāl àpūb* je vais désheber mon champ; *màbāl wō / mètē wō bāl* je te le déshebe (parlant d'un champ) ♥ **á bāl èyèy mōd s'affronter avec qn.** *byèyèy bāl èyèy bō* nous allons nous affronter durement avec eux

bálà (vt) **1. marier** (dans le sens de créer les conditions pour que deux personnes puissent se marier, p.ex. en contribuant au dot) **2. donner en mariage** *pām ìbālgé ĵgwān yē* l'homme a donné sa fille en mariage; *í pām ìbālgá mā ĵgwān yē júlí* voilà l'homme qui m'a donné sa fille en mariage voir: *bá* 'se marier'

bālì (v) I **vi se blesser, blesser** *mēbālì* je me suis blessé II **vt blesser qn.** *mēbālì jē* je l'ai blessé *àbālì ĵkwāg lévèy á bídò á mbúz* il a blessé l'antilope aux membres postérieurs syn: *kpèli* '(se) blesser'

bám (v) I **vi gronder** *àbám* il a grondé II **vt gronder, vociférer** *àbám mōwān wē* il a grondé son enfant; *àbāmbéygan èy isá wē* il s'est fait gronder par son père; *àtē bāmbān àné mō mújā* il se fait gronder comme un petit enfant

bàmlà (vi) **être très chaud** *vyān ùtē bàmlà* le soleil brûle ♥ **á bāmàlā mōd á mēkān** **donner**

- une fessée, fouetter** *mèèy jé bàm̀l̀à á mèk̀ǎn* je vais le fouetter aux fesses
- bándád** [ang. bandage, fr. bande] (~bándáz; *n*; pl: m̀è-bándád; 9/6) **bande**
- báŋ** (*vt*) **1. couper les premiers tubercules d'igname** (les premiers tubercules de l'igname sont vite enlevés pour améliorer la récolte) ♥ **ábāŋ byō couper les ignames** **2. faire un croc-en-jambe** *mèèy wò báŋ ásí* je vais te faire un croc-en-jambe
- báŋdâ** (*vt*) **convoquer, inviter** *já à b̀óŋj̀ àtè b̀ò báŋdâ nâ b̀èk̀è d̀i* la mère des enfants les invite de manger; *m̀àb̀áŋdâ b̀òd b̀é m̀àm b̀ésè* je convie tous les villageois
- bé** (*vi*) **cuire** *t̀id itè b̀è* la viande cuit voir: *b̀èlè* 'cuire (tr.)'
- bè** (*v*) **1. planter, mettre en terre une plante** *m̀èb̀àŋj̀à m̀ènè t̀è b̀èèb̀àn èy isèb* le macabo ne se plante pas en saison sèche **2. garnir un lieu de végétaux** *ábégé áp̀ub z̀èg* il a planté un champ d'ananas
- béb** (*vi*) **1. être mauvais** *í nd̀óŋ j̀i itè b̀èb ásí wám̀ò* cette nouvelle est mauvaise pour moi **2. être laid, être moche** (pour personnes) *àtè b̀èb ǹim̀j̀gá* elle est laide comme femme, elle est une laide femme
- bèbâ** (*n*; pl: b̀ò bèbâ; s.c./s.c.) **grenouille (esp.)**
- bèbè** (*adv*) **1. proche** *mòd àsè b̀èbè* il n'y a personne à l'entour *sibâ bèbè èy táblè* **2. prêt** *dè ùnè b̀èbè* es-tu prêt?
- bèbè** (*v*) **1. regarder** *àŋgábé b̀èbgà m̀im̀j̀gá t̀è j̀ú ỳèn / t̀è ỳèn* il regardait la femme sans la voir;

bèbè, k̀ilá regarde! une tortue; *ámé b̀èbgà j̀é im̀èn iỳèn* elle se regardait dans le miroir **2. surveiller** *ùl̀ŋg̀i àb̀èbà m̀à múŋj̀á j̀ẁāl̀ó* voilà l'enfant, reste à le surveiller pour moi syn: *tál*

bég (*v*) **couper en cassant** (pain, cannes,...) *ábég b̀èèd̀i ỳè* il a coupé son pain; *ábég m̀à b̀èèd̀i* il a coupé mon pain voir: *b̀égè* 'couper pour qn.'; *číg* 'couper en tranchant'; *sàl* 'fendre'

bégè (*v*) **couper pour qn.** *ábégé m̀à b̀èèd̀i ỳè* il m'a coupé son pain; *ábégé m̀à b̀èèd̀i* il m'a coupé du pain

bèglè (*v*) **porter, transporter** *ábèglè múŋj̀á á mb̀úz* elle porte l'enfant sur le dos; *ilé ỳi íb̀èglè àb̀ù bíb̀umá* cet arbre porte beaucoup de fruits voir: *mb̀èglè* 'charge'

bèkwè (*n*; 2) **pygmées**

bémû (*v*) **avertir, mettre en garde**
syn: *b̀èŋû* voir: *mb̀ém̀ú*
'avertissement'

bèmì (*vt*) **placer, appliquer en introduisant** *á b̀èm̀i ùnd̀und̀ò j̀k̀àm* placer une perfusion; *is̀ŋj̀á íb̀ém̀gé m̀à byá ák̀òl* le chat a planté ses ongles dans ma jambe

béŋ (*adv*) **simplement, seulement** *àágbèlè zám bíd̀i, àtè b̀éŋ m̀āŋg̀ànà* il n'a pas d'appétit, il chipote

bèŋ (*vt*) **1. poursuivre, chasser pour capturer** *b̀ébé b̀èŋg̀i ŋ̀m̀ŋm̀éŋm̀éb ẁwàz á ndá ỳè* on poursuivait le voleur jusqu'à son domicile; *àtè b̀èŋ ák̀úmá á z̀úd* il poursuit la richesse; *àtè b̀èŋ b̀èŋ ák̀úmá á z̀úd* il poursuit seulement la richesse **2. chasser,**

faire partir àkè mâ bèy á mbóg yē il est allé me chasser de chez lui; mòmǵá àtè bèy kú úwòndò la femme chasse les poules sur les arachides syn: càṃ

bèzìmì (n; s.c.) ♥ **mò bézìmì militaire, policier, agent de sécurité** (personne qui porte un uniforme) voir: pùlúz ‘policier’

béd (v) **1. monter, atteindre un niveau supérieur** àṅgábéd pádà il a été ordonné prêtre; ṅgè míz mēmā bēd á yó si les yeux révulsent **2. grimper** àbéd ílē il a grimpé un arbre; àbéd á bilē il a grimpé sur les arbres; ílē yí ítē bēdbân nímèy cet arbre se grimpe bien; jò ítē bēd á ntónò l’igname grimpe le bâton de support; zēn ítē bēd le chemin grimpe voir: bēédâ ‘soulever’

bèdbè (v) I **vi se déposer, se mettre au-dessus de** úṃvǎn útē bèdbè á ṃvǎ l’oiseau se met sur le toit II **bèdé f.rés.** ndógô ìbèdé jād la mangue est posée sur le panier

bèdī (v) **1. charger soi-même ou qn. de qc.** zé bēdī mâ ìndṅ mēndīm viens me charger le seau d’eau; mètē bēdī (má mēn) ṅgálà jú je me charge de ce bois ant: sùzà **2. poser** àtē bēdī bídī á táblâ il pose la nourriture sur la table voir: pùdī; tēfi

béédê (vt) **lever, augmenter** bēédê dǎ á dōb lève la main en l’air; tá bēédê éyǵóyô dílâ á dōb lève un peu cette boîte; kílâ á kwǎz áṃā bēdbân táy á mákíd le prix du kilo de poisson a été augmenté ♥ **ábéédâ mébōm faire des sillons**

bèédī [ang. bread] (~bèédé; n; 9)

pain

bélê (vt) **cuire** mètē bēlê kíd je cuis la viande voir: bé ‘cuire (intr.)’; yáṅ ‘frir’

bèlnì (~gbèèni; v) **1. être utilisé** úkēy jū útē bèlnì ású jícǵrú jǎg ce couteau est utilisé pour couper la viande **2. utiliser, se servir (de - èy)** àtē bèlnì èy kwàb nâ àpád bíbùṃá il utilise un crochet pour cueillir les fruits ṅgǎ bēyǵábé gbèèṅgàn èy mèbálá bēfi? n’est-ce pas qu’ils utilisaient des remèdes traditionnels?

bèn (v) **1. refuser, ne pas accorder ce qui est demandé** àtē mâ bēn vē bídī elle refuse de me donner à manger **2. refuser, ne pas accepter** àbēn nímāyḍá wámô elle a refusé mon invitation; mǎbèn dī kíd í mbú je refuse de manger la viande de chien; àbē bēngè bòd (le bus était plein) il refusait les gens

béni (v) **avertir, informer, annoncer** mètē wô bēni nâ mbēy yàyi ṃváy ṅgūṅgúgô jū je t’avertis qu’il va pleuvoir ce soir voir: mbérú ‘loi’; m-béerú ‘façon d’avertir’; bēni ‘avertir, mettre en garde’

bì-dī (n; 8) **1. nourriture 2. repas** voir: dī ‘manger’; ì-dī ‘appât’

bì-dím (n; 8) **mystère** (événement mystérieux, tel que l’apparition du totem) ♥ **áyēn bídím vivre un événement perturbant et/ou mystérieux** (litt. voir un mystères)

bígdâ (v) I **vi rouler, bouger en roulant** ṅkwǎg útē bígdâ ndá le tronc roule vers la maison voir: ì-bígdâ ‘véhicule’ II **vt rouler,**

déplacer qc. en le roulant *mètè*
bīgdá ɲkwǎg á ndá je roule le
tronc vers la maison

bì-jém (*n*; 8) **avare, avarice** *ànè*
bìjém il est avare

bì-jùùgá (*n*; pl: *bì-jùùgá*; 7/8)
excuses ♥ **ájàgì** **bíjùùgá**
s'excuser (*litt.* demander des
excuses) voir: *jù* 'pardonner'

bímû (*vt*) **1. taper** (une fois), **gifler**
à nâ mǎjāy ábīm mā maman,
mon frère m'a tapé!; *ábīm mā 'itūl*
il m'a tapé sur l'épaule voir: *bwàb*
'taper (plusieurs fois)' **2. tirer le**
ballon (sport) *múyá ábīm ndámà*
l'enfant tire le ballon

bìnì (*v*) **1. tamiser** *mbámá àtè bìnì*
ísūg grand-mère tamise la sauce
de noix de palme

bísín [ang? bassin, fr? bassin] (*n*; pl:
bò bísín; s.c./s.c.) **cuvette, bassin**

bó¹ (*v*) **détruire, casser un petit**
réipient ♥ **bó ɲkǎɲè** **chipie** (*litt.*
détruit-campement) *lénè jǎ bó*
ɲkǎɲè c'est une vraie chipie syn:
búg 'détruire en cassant, casser'

2. chasser d'un endroit *bémā bō*
bō báyāsálēm on a chassé les
revendeuses

bó² (*vt*) **accuser (de- èèy)** *mètè wō*
bó èèy í gbéb jū je t'accuse de ce
vol

bòd (*vt*) **puiser** *á bòd méndīm*
puiser l'eau *kè bód jìjám* va te
servir la sauce voir: *lèy*

bógbô (*v*) I *vi* **1. s'asseoir** *mètè*
bógbô vā je m'assois ici **2. rester**
ábógbèngànà il est resté ♥
á bógbô pwám se taire *bógbô*
pwám tais-toi ♥ **á bógbô cíy être**
d'accord (*litt.* rester la voix) II *vt*
devenir *ànygá bógbô àyǎ jīā*

môdò il est déjà en train de
devenir adulte; *ámógô àyǎ jīā*
môdò il est déjà devenu adulte III
bógô *f.rés.* **1. être assis** *mèbógô*
àsí je suis assis **2. habiter** *ɲkòm*
ɲgòb ábógô bèbè vā le cordonnier
habite tout près d'ici; *mèbógô 'itē*
kōm j'ai toujours habité là **3. loger**
4. être qp. *mèbógô* j'y suis IV
mógô *f.rés.c.* **devenir** *sànà wē*
ànè ñsírú, lémgô vè itù son
pagne est usé, ce n'est plus qu'un
chiffon (*litt.* c'est devenu
seulement vieux)

bólì (*vi*) **déménager, quitter**
définitivement *mèngámā bóli 'itē*
j'ai déménagé; *bémāgá bóli átān*
wōbrú ils ont abandonné leur
village

bólô (*vt*) **nécessiter, demander,**
requérir ♥ **á bōlô míbōlô poser**
des questions (*litt.* demander des
questions) *itē bōlô nā mbèglè*
itwōnè tágbân á métwâ il faut
bien amarrer les bagages dans la
voiture (*litt.* cela demande que les
bagages soient correctement
arrangés dans la voiture) syn: *sílá*
voir: *m-móló* 'question'

bòm (*vt*) **1. battre un instrument**
à percussion *á bòm ɲkūl* jouer au
tam-tam; *mètè bòm ébèyí* je sonne
la cloche

bòmlò (*v*) **1. marteler, frapper à**
plusieurs reprises ♥ **á bòmlò**
ndá mettre une toiture sur une
maison (*litt.* marteler une
maison) **2. frapper avec force,**
cogner *mètwâ ábòmló múyá á*
jīy la voiture a cogné l'enfant en
route **3. clouer** *àtè bōmlò 'izmí nā*
àlóm il cloue la caisse pour
l'expédier ♥ **ábòmlò dwē**
attribuer un nom à qn. *bōyó*

- béyǵábòmlò jé dwé nâ mǵkàdà*
les enfants lui ont attribué le nom
Minkada (querelleur) voir: *bòm*
'battre'
- bómni** (v) **faire l'amour** *bétē*
bòmni ils font l'amour
- bón** (vi) **aboyer** *mbú ité bôn* un
chien aboie
- bòni** (vi) **créer, engendrer,**
fonder *í zèkùl jís àyǵábònbàn èyèy*
njāmni cette école a été fondée
par les Allemands voir: *è-bòn*
'origine'
- bójbô** (vi) **se coucher** (pour
dormir), **passer la nuit** *mèbóyǵbô*
ábô mbwé yâmà zǵj j'ai dormi
chez un ami
- bóóni** (~bóbni; v) **purger son**
ventre
- bóónò** (vi) **purger, administrer**
des remèdes par l'anus à l'aide
d'une poire *mètáđi bóónò jé*
mébálá mâ je commence à lui
administrer ces remèdes (par
l'anus) voir: *mbóónò* 'poire'
- bò** (vi) **pourrir** *ìnwǵ ìndá jù útē*
mā *bò* le toit de cette maison est
en train de pourrir voir: *ì-bwǵl*
'pourriture'
- bò** (n; 2) **les, des** (mot pluriel,
marqueur de pluriel des noms
sans classe)
- bǵ** (n; pl: *bò bǵ*; s.c./s.c.) **cerveau**
- bò kògló** (n; s.c.) **selle d'un bébé**
après constipation ou mal de
ventre
- bò ndwô** (~bò ndólô; n; s.c.)
vomissement
- bóg** (~bóg; vi) **boucher, bourrer**
ìnámá àté bǵg mbádǵi á mǵim
Enama bourre la boue dans le
mur

- bòg** (v) **extraire en creusant àté**
bòg mǵjǵni ìkwàn elle extrait un
rejeton de bananier plantain; *á*
bòg mé jǵéd ramasser des asticots
du tronc d'un palmier pourri, en
coupant le bois voir: *è-jǵéd*
'asticot de palmier'
- bríké** [fr. briquet] (n; pl: *bò bríké*;
s.c./s.c.) **briquet** *àkálné bríké wē* il
a allumé son briquet
- bùb** (v) **s'amuser (avec - èyèy)**
<fr.af.> , **négliger (qc./qn.- èyèy)**
ne pas prendre soin de *ìsǵg*
mèjwǵg àté bùb èyèy ndá í bòd yé
l'ivrogne néglige sa famille
- búdbâ** (v) I vi **1. se couvrir** *míz*
mē mētē būdbâ ses yeux se
ferment; voir: *búđi* 'couvrir' **2. se**
coucher sur qc. àté *būdbâ á*
táblâ il se couche sur la table II
búdá *f.rés. être couvert* *míz mē*
mébúdá ses yeux sont fermés
- búđi** (vi) **couvrir** *àté būđi míz mē*
il ferme ses yeux voir: *búdbâ* 'se
couvrir'
- búg** (v) **casser** voir: *ì-búbúgá*
- búǵi** (vi) **1. avoir une fracture, se**
casser en deux *àkǵl táblâ útē*
búǵi le pied de la table s'est
cassé; *mébúǵi* j'ai eu une fracture
voir: *búg* 'casser'; *bólē* 'casser' **2.**
être absent, ne pas se présenter
ábù bǵjǵ úbúǵi á zèkúli àná
beaucoup d'enfants ne se sont pas
présentés à l'école aujourd'hui
- bùlà** (v) I vt **rendre en grande**
quantité *ǵǵèlǵpíz bétē būlà*
ákūmá les Bamiléké multiplient
la richesse voir: *ì-bùlà* syn: *pòlò* II
q-aux **faire qc. beaucoup** *àté būl*
ndēǵlē il dérange beaucoup syn:
dàn

búlgân (vi) **s'emporter, se cabrer (fig.), s'irriter** *bésē jēgī èèy jé, àté búlgân itē itē* on ne peut pas parler avec lui, il se cabre tout de suite

búlgânà (vt) **troubler, rendre trouble** *àté búlgân ménđim / itàm* il trouble l'eau / le puits syn: *júglânà* voir: *ì-bébūlgí* 'brouillard'

bùm (vt) **braiser** *àté bùm mbâz* elle braise le maïs

bùmgân (v) I vi **1. tressaillir** syn: *sìlgân* **2. se réveiller en sursaut** II *q-aux faire en sursaut dđ mètē bùmngânà wùlă jōy á jól* alors, en sursaut, j'ai marché sur un serpent

búnbâ (vi) **être boudeur, avoir l'habitude de bouder** voir: *mè-bún* 'bouderie'

bùnì (n; 9) **amibiase** *bùnì mágá vòb* l'amibiase a duré longtemps

bùlâ (v) **remuer avec force, pétrir**

bwàb (v) **taper** (plusieurs fois), **donner une bastonnade, fouetter** *byàáté đng bíbwāábán* on n'aime pas être battu voir: *bímí*; *ì-bwàb* 'bastonnade'

bwád (vi) **s'habiller** *àté bwād* elle s'habille syn: *dál* voir: *m-bwádnú* '(bien) habillé'; *m-mwád* 'habillement'

bwàdbàn (v) **traîner** (aller quelque part et y traîner, entrer quelque part pour faire un travail

et y prendre tout son temps sans songer au retour) voir: *ù-bùbwàd* 'indolence'

bwàđí [ang. bra] (n; pl: bđ bwàđí; s.c./s.c.) **soutien-gorge**

bwág (v) I vt **enrouler** *àté bwāg jkwāl* il enroule une corde voir: *vàŋ* II vi **faire mal au ventre** *èbùm étē bwāg* le ventre fait mal

bwâlô (vt) **faire pourrir, faire périr, détruire** *b̀wúdá bitē bwâlô íbáb* les massages font périr l'asthme ♥ **àbwâl zwàg plante (esp.), Oboto (*Mamea africana*)?** voir: *ì-bwāl* 'pourriture'; *bđ* 'pourrir'

bwáj (~bój; vi) **maigrir excessivement**

bwí (vt) **brûler** (brûler une peau pour enlever les poils, garder les feuilles de bananier près du feu pour les rendre souples) voir: *m-búúúú* 'ramolli'

byâ [ang. beer] (n; pl: bđ byâ; s.c./s.c.) **bière** (de type européen) *byâ àté sm* la bière est froide

byànì (vt) **mépriser** voir: *ì-byànú* 'mépris'

byàŋ (n; pl: m̀-̀byàŋ; 9/6) **magie** syn: *ŋgàŋ*

- C -

cábâ (n; pl: bđ cábâ; s.c./s.c.) **carabine artisanale** *àjój cábâ*

nâ àkè á ncòm il a pris la carabine pour aller à la chasse

cág (vt) **piler** *dè bémā cāg kpēm itè?* ont-ils pilé ces feuilles de manioc? ♥ **á cág á nnēm énerver** (*litt.* piler au cœur)

càm (vt) **1. chasser, pousser devant soi** *cām éṣwè á fíd* chasse les mouches de la viande ♥ **á càm ékàg déjeuner** (*litt.* chasser la mauvaise haleine) voir: ì-càm **2. expulser, éconduire** *bécám jìé átān* ils l'ont expulsé du village syn: fídñà

càmñà (vt) **1. éparpiller de façon désordonnée** *múyó ácāmñà úwòndò á ncèy* l'enfant a éparpillé les arachides dans la cour voir: *càmñù* 's'éparpiller' **2. diviser les gens, provoquer la désunion** *itwàm í sí ímágá càmñà ndá í bòd* un problème foncier a divisé la famille

càmñì (vi) **s'éparpiller, se répandre, se disperser** *pó ité càmñù* la nouvelle se répand **2. être éparpillé** *úwòndò àmá càmñù vóm ásé* les arachides étaient éparpillées partout voir: *càmñà* 'éparpiller'

cècàd (adv)? **peu; petit** *bò bójó cècàd* très petits enfants; *àvé m̄à bídí cècàd* il m'a donné très peu de nourriture; *mèké újō cècàd* j'ai dormi très peu; *mèyǵábé yǵénà cècàd* j'étais encore très petit

cén [ang? chain, fr? chaîne] (n; pl: cén / mè-cén; 9/10, 6) **chaîne**

céñì [ang. change] (n; pl: céñì, mè-céñì; 9/10, 6) **changement, échange** *ùndwábò àté jēy céñù á mākùd* Ondobo cherche le changement (d'argent) au marché voir: *céñù* 'changer'

céñù (v) I vt **changer** *àné únàndà àbágá, dō àmágá céñù métùm* comme Onana s'est marié, il a changé ses habitudes II vi **se transformer, changer** *èbǵg étē mǎ céñù* le temps change voir: *céñù* 'changement'

cìcìlá (n; pl: cìcìlá; 9/10) **petite guêpe** (esp.)

cíg (v) **couper** *pùlzi ité cīg jíyōy èbòg ésè* les policiers coupent la route à tout moment voir: ì-cìcìgà 'coupé'; jì-cìgá 'coupeur'

cígí (vi) **se couper** *ǵkwǎl úté cígí èèy àdíd bíjé* la corde se coupe sous le poids des vêtements; *í yǵàlà jú ité cígí nímèy* ce bois-ci se coupe bien voir: *cíg* 'couper'

cilà (vt) **interdire, défendre qc à qn** *béyǵáçilà jé bídì átá mèmòz mèbā* on lui avait interdit la nourriture pendant deux jours

cíngí (n; pl: cíngí, mè-cíngí; 9/10,6) **rive**

cíṅ (n; pl: cíṅ; 9/10) **1. cou ♥ kwàd cíṅ nuque 2. gorge 3. voix ♥ cíṅ á yò à haute voix ♥ mènè cíṅ èèy wǵ. je suis d'accord avec toi ♥ bìpám cíṅ nous sommes tombés d'accord** voir: *bógbò; pām*

cìṅlàn (vi) **1. tourner, pivoter** *itè cìṅlàn á méyāl á mābgán* tu tournes à gauche au carrefour **2. tourner autour de** *èṣwàn étē cìṅlàn á ndá*

cìṅlànà (v) **faire tourner, faire pivoter**

còg (v) **penser, réfléchir** *mèté còg ísā yámá* je pense à mon travail; *àté còg úsusá nā àyálnà* il réfléchit avant de répondre syn: *bñù* 'réfléchir' **2. se souvenir de qc.** *mèté còg* je me souviens; *mèté*

còg átān útê je me souviens de ce village

cò (*int*) **zut, hélas**

cúgzêd (*n*; pl: bò cúgzêd; s.c./s.c.)

manœuvre *l̄ b̄ cúgzêd, n̄ isá itādī* appelle les manœuvres pour commencer le travail

cwág (*vi*; pr. 12) **1. être prévu, mais ne pas avoir lieu** *mèzīg*

mécwág la musique n'a pas marché (pendant une fête, p.ex.)

2. faire faux feu, ne pas détoner

cwáz [ang. church] (*n*; pl: cwáz, m̄-cwáz; 9/10, 6) **1. église 2. messe**

- d -

dá (*vt*) **perdre, cesser d'avoir** *ɲgá cālā adá mwānū* Nga Tsala a perdu de l'argent; *adá úbèbég mēcī* il a perdu beaucoup de sang

dā (*vt*) **faire traverser** *pèpá mbámá até dā mō múɲá úsō* grand-père fait traverser la rivière à l'enfant voir: *dāɲ* 'traverser'

dàbàg voir: *dābgì*

dābgì (~dàbàg; *adv*) **bien glacé, très froid** *mèkōl māmā mētē s̄m dābgì* mes pieds sont bien froids; *mèkōl māmā ménē dābgì* mes pieds sont froids; *mènđm ménē dābàg* l'eau est glacée voir: *s̄m* 'être froid'

d-âg (*n*; pl: m-âg; 5/6) **pièce de charbon**

dāl (~dÉÉ; *vt*) **habiller, porter un habit, mettre un habit** *atē dāl úbòm* il porte une jupe en écorce battue syn: *bwád*

dālā (*vt*) **habiller** *atē dālā mwán* elle habille son enfant

d-àm (*n*; pl: m-àm; 5/6) **chose** *wàyèm nā mām ménē àb̄w̄í ìn̄ɲ í mōd* tu sais que beaucoup de choses se passent dans la vie d'un homme; *í dām lēsē dīlā látègè mǎ*

tout ça me fatigue; *ɲkúm kúmá èè mélú m̄ ànè dām n̄mèy* le chef actuel est très bon (*litt.* le chef de ces nuits-ci est bonne chose) syn: *j-òm*

dáj (*vi*) **se perdre, disparaître, s'égarer** *mèdáj* je me suis perdu

dāɲ (*v*; pr. 3) I **v traverser** II *q-aux* **faire qc. beaucoup, ou le plus** (degré comparatif et superlatif) *atē dāj dī* il mange beaucoup; *á dāj jàb* être le plus grand; *jé atē dāj jàb* lui, il est le plus grand voir: *lòd*

dáz (*n*; pl: m̄-dáz; 5/6) **cadeau, dans le sens d'une compensation** voir: *ì-págí* 'cadeau'

dè (*vt*) **enterrer** *bētē dè p̄ á swánō* on enterre Fue le dimanche

dè (*int*) **marque de question générale** *dè ùdī* as-tu mangé?

déjbê (*vt*) **guetter** *mùɲá ábē dēj̀b̀ɲgà̀nà mǎ éj̀ɔ̀ɲ* l'enfant m'a guetté à travers un trou

dí (*vt*) **manger ♥ á dī sí 1. jurer** (*litt.* manger la terre) *mādī sí nā mǎán̄j̄ j̄ib dām* je jure que je n'ai rien volé **2. subir une défaite,**

mordre la poussière voir: *bì-dí* ‘nourriture’

ðib (vt) **1. trouver** *mèðib zêg épàn* j’ai trouvé des ananas dans la brousse syn: *swàm* **2. boucher, fermer**

d-íblâ (n; 5) **obscurité** *ndá ìnè á ðíblâ* la maison est dans l’obscurité (pas illuminée)

ðid (vi) **être lourd**

ðig (vi) **se brûler, brûler** *ɲgâlâ ìtè ðig* le bois brûle; *í ɲgâlâ jú ìtè ðig mímèy* ce bois-ci brûle bien; *ùlèz úmá ðig á mbē* le riz a brûlé dans la casserole; *mèðig* je me suis brûlé syn: *yóy* voir: *ðigâ* ‘(faire) brûler’

ðigâ (vt) **1. brûler** (détruire par le feu ou par une cuisson trop prolongée) *mémá ámā ðigâ úlèz* maman a fait brûler le riz voir: *ðig* ‘(se) brûler’; *ì-ðíðigâ* ‘chose brûlée’ **2. piquer** voir: *ì-ðígrú* ‘piqûre’; *ì-ðígnéyngânâ* ‘façon de piquer’

ðíinì (v) **1. être dans une relation d’échange ou de partage avec qn.** *étè ðíinì bíðí bí ɲgwân èy bō* nous partageons la dot avec eux voir: *júɲnù* **2. extorquer, escroquer** (qn.- èy) *bimjgá bêtē ðíinì èy bèyóm pâm* les femmes extorquent les hommes voir: *ðí* ‘manger’

ðímâ (vt) **1. éteindre** *úsúsúá nâ wòkè bóybo, ðímâ ndwân* éteins le feu avant d’aller te coucher **2. ignorer, ne pas savoir, ne plus reconnaître** *mètè ðímá mâm èy m̀ny yě* j’ignore tout de sa vie, je ne connais rien de sa vie syn: *yégnè* **3. ignorer, traiter avec indifférence** *átè mâ ðímâ né bimāgá sáànù* il m’ignore depuis

que l’on s’est disputé **4. effacer** *ðim mà dwé á kálâdâ wò* efface mon nom dans ton livre

ðínâ [ang. dinner] (n; pl: bò ðínâ; s.c./s.c.) **dîner**

ðin (v) **I vt aimer** *mètè ðăy ðin bō újò* j’aime beaucoup les bananes voir: *ðinrù* **II q-aux avoir l’habitude de, faire souvent**

ðinrù (v) **I vi aimer réciproquement** *bêtē ðinrù* ils s’aiment **II vi (qc.- èy) àâtē ðinrù èy mbú** il n’aime pas du tout les chiens

d-iz (~ðiz; n; pl: m-iz; 5/6) **oeil ♥ ðiz lé mbâz grain de maïs** (litt. oeil de maïs)

d-õb (n; 5) **ciel** *dòb étē vòm* le ciel est lourd (litt. le ciel est noir) ♥ **á dõb au-dessus** voir: *ì-báz* ‘écaille’

d-õm (n; pl: m-õm; 5/6) **paquet**

d-òngò (n; 5) **panaris**

d-õy¹ (~d-wé; n; pl: m-õy; 5/6) **nom** *mènè dwé nâ ùndwábó píúz* je m’appelle Pius Ondobo ♥ **mõy mé mîswân prénoms** (litt. noms de mission) ♥ **á dwē dē à cause de lui** (litt. en son nom) syn: *ì-yòlò*

d-õy² (~d-wé; n; pl: m-õy; 5/6) **nez**

d-õ (~dó; n; pl: m-õ; 5/6) **1. main** *dõ étē mà yăbrù* la main me fait mal; *dó légbélè lèny lètán* la main a cinq doigts; *dò méyál* la main gauche; *dò méjóm* la main droite; *á dõ* dans la main; *á mō* entre les mains ♥ **dó ítē paume 2. bras et main** *átè pōgò dõ* il bouge son bras syn: *ì-nâm* ‘bras’

dù (vt) **1. baptiser** voir: *ì-dùrù* ‘le baptême’ **2. tremper** *á dù ménðim* tremper dans l’eau

dùd¹ (v) **1. attirer, tirer vers soi**
ndàmà mèkòl àtè dùd ábù bôd le match de football attire beaucoup de gens **2. fumer** (faire brûler du tabac ou une autre substance en aspirant la fumée par la bouche)

dùd² (v) **conduire** *àtè dùd métwā* il conduit la voiture; *ànjì dùd* il sait conduire

dúg (vi) **agoniser** *ijúkúkwān úngádúg* le malade agonise; *mòd àtè dūg èy àwú* il se bat avec la mort

dùgà (vi) **mentir** *àtè kàd nā àtè dùgà; nā jé í mēn jé àjì yô* il dit qu'elle ment et qu'elle l'a volée elle-même voir: *dùgnù* 'mentir (habituel)'

dúgnà (~dúgnà; v) I vt **rembourser** *àdúgnà mâ mwānù wâmò* il m'a remboursé mon argent; *àdúgnà mwānù* il a remboursé l'argent II q-*aux refaire* *ijôjy àyì dúgně sō àyì mà vé 4mwānù* quand elle revient, elle me donnera de l'argent; *àdúgněngān yēn jíjóm nīnūngá wē* il a revu son ancienne femme

dúgnù (vi; pr. 12) **revenir, rentrer** voir: *bágbá; dúgnà* 'rembourser'

dùgnù (vi) **1. avoir l'habitude de mentir ou de tromper 2. se mentir mutuellement** voir: *n-dùgnù* 'mensonge'; *dùgà* 'tromper'

d-ùlà (n; pl: m-ùlà; 5/6) **1. promenade** voir: *wùlà* 'se promener' **2. voyage ♥ á kè á dùlà voyager**

d-úamá (n; pl: m-úamá; 5/6) **baobab** *Andansonia digitata*

d-ùmá (n; pl: m-ùmá; 5/6) **nid** *dùmá é úmwān* un nid d'oiseau

dùùdà (v) **tirer, traîner, attirer** syn: *dùd*

dwáb (n; pl: dwáb, mè-dwáb; 9/10, 6) **nombril**

dwábdô [ang? doctor, fr. docteur] (n; pl: bô dwábdô; s.c./s.c.) **1. médecin** *ábô dwábdô* chez le médecin **2. hôpital** *á dwábdô* à l'hôpital

d-wăd (n; pl: m-wăd; 5/6) **furoncle**

dwáktên [ang? doctrine, fr? doctrine] (n; pl: bô dwáktên; s.c./s.c.) **1. catéchèse 2. baratin**

dwálô (n; pl: bô dwálô; 5/s.c.) **pièce de cinq francs** *dwálô ésé dâm* cinq francs, ce n'est rien

d-wé voir: *d-ôy*

dyâ [ang? dear, all? teuer] (*adv*) **cher** *íkôb iyé jì mē nīmáà dyâ* cette étoffe est très chère

- e -

èy (*prep*; **1. avec** *bētē sòm èy mèkôj* ils chassent avec des lances; *ijgôm itâtū èy bwān bēy* le porc-épic fuit avec ses petits;

biâyikè èy mlāy úsū Nous continuerons la causerie (litt. nous irons avec les causeries avant) **2. et 3. le long de** *ámágá*

bè kópí èy zèn ísè àkèngì pám á ndá il a planté des caféiers le long de l'allée qui mène à sa maison 4.

è-bóŋ

contre *bēnēbnēyḡán jē èy ndá ì bòd yě* on l'a cabré contre sa famille

- ε -

è-bá (*n*; pl: mèn-bá; 5/6) **mariage** *mèsó á lēbā ísòḡò* je suis venu en mariage à Essogo (nom d'une famille); *í swān àmé lòdḡì èbá émé átán vā* dimanche dernier il y avait un mariage au village voir: *bá* 'marier'; *m-bááú* 'personne mariée'

è-bám (*n*; pl: mèn-bám; 5/6) **planche** *ndá mēbám* une maison en bois ♥ **èbám** é **mbâz** **inflorescence femelle du maïs, épi de maïs dans le premier stade de développement**

è-bàŋà (*n*; pl: mèn-bàŋà; 5/6; pr. 6) **macabo** *Xanthosoma kó èbàŋà* tubercule de macabo ♥ **èbàŋà** é **ŋkômò taro** *Colocasia esculenta*

è-bé (*n*; pl: mèn-bé; 5/6) **sein** (sans spécification seulement pour femmes) *kábdi ité vē mwán mēbē* la chèvre allaite son petit ♥ **èbé** é **tó sein** (d'homme ou de femme) ♥ **mèbé lait maternel** *twánô mà mēbē á míz* verse-moi du lait maternel dans les yeux (remède traditionnel pour traiter la cataracte) voir: *jì-còŋ* 'bec'

è-bèŋ (*n*; 5) **beauté**

è-bèŋí (*n*; pl: mèn-bèŋí; 5/6) **cloche** voir: *bòm* 'battre, sonner'

è-běł (*n*; pl: mèn-běł; 5/6) **1. noix de cola 2. arbre de cola** *Cola cordifolia*

è-bí (*n*; pl: mèn-bí; 5/6) **crotte**

è-bím (*n*; pl: mèn-bím; 5/6) **1. volume, quantité** *bé jūŋ ébím méjwàḡ dī* ne bois pas tant de vin **2. forme**

è-bìn (*n*; pl: mèn-bìn; 5/6) **testicules et scrotum** ♥ **ìkòb** **ébìn bourses, scrotum** ♥ **mimbăŋ ébìn testicules** (*litt.* noix du scrotum) ♥ **èbìn újô** **bourgeon mâle du bananier** (*litt.* scrotum du bananier)

è-bò (*n*; pl: mèn-bò; 5/6) **1. arbuste (esp.) 2. grain (esp.)** (petit grain sauvage, seulement consommé par certains animaux) **3. piège** (qu'on tend près de l'arbuste du même nom) voir: *ù-lám* 'piège'

è-bóm (*n*; pl: mèn-bóm; 5/6) **1. tas de terre dans lequel on plante 2. maladie** (qui rend les pieds des enfants glacés et gonflés à la suite de "l'asthme")

è-bòní (*n*; pl: mèn-bòní; 5/6) **origine** voir: *bòrù* 'engendrer'

è-bò (*n*; pl: mèn-bò; 5/6) **trace, empreinte** *mòd jìcòm àté tòŋ mébò mé yḡòm* le chasseur suit les traces du porc-épic

è-bóḡ (*n*; pl: mèn-bóḡ; 5/6) **fête**

è-bǒḡ (*n*; pl: mèn-bǒḡ; 5/6) **1. le temps, l'heure 2. durée**

è-bóŋ (~è-bwáŋ; *n*; pl: mèn-bóŋ; 5/6) **genou** *àgbélè mīŋkavád mébóŋ* elle a des jambes cagneuses (*litt.* elle a des genoux tordus)

è-bùdà (*n*; pl: mèt-bùdà; 5/6)
patate douce *Ipomoea batatas*
è-bùm (*n*; pl: mèt-bùm; 5/6)
ventre ♥ ànè èèy èbùm elle est enceinte (*litt.* elle est avec le ventre)
è-bwäg (*n*; pl: mèt-bwäg; 5/6)
potiron, melon <*fr.af.*> voir: *jì-jìèŋ* ‘feuille et plante du potiron’
è-bwáj voir: *è-bóŋ*
è-čí (*n*; pl: mèt-čí; 5/6) **oeuf** voir: *mèt-čí* ‘sang’
è-cíl (*n*; 5) **acidité**
è-dí (*n*; 5) **repas** voir: *dí* ‘manger’
è-ndíŋ (*n*; pl: mèt-ndíŋ; 5/6) **noeud**
è-jà (*n*; pl: mèt-jà; 5/6) **nasse** syn: *jì-còŋ*
è-jáj (~lè-yáj; *n*; pl: mèt-jáj; 5/6)
mamba vert ♥ lèyáj lé nyōy mamba vert (*litt.* mamba vert de serpent)
è-jǎŋ¹ (*n*; 5) **fraternité** voir: *mǎjǎŋ* ‘mon frère’; *mǎjǎŋ* ‘son frère’
è-jǎŋ² (*n*; pl: mèt-jǎŋ; 5/6) **1. oignon 2. plante à fibres**
è-jéb (~lè-yéb; *n*; pl: mèt-jéb; 5/6)
crise économique ou financière, grande pauvreté *èjéb éñè á màm* il y a une crise au pays
è-jóm (~lè-yóm; *n*; pl: mèt-jóm; 5/6) **1. parenté** voir: *jìjóm* ‘époux’ **2. communauté**
è-jóŋ (~lè-yóŋ; *n*; pl: mèt-jóŋ; 5/6)
trou (ouverture pratiquée de part en part dans une surface ou un corps solide) *mùŋá ábē dēŋbēŋgàná mǎ éjōŋ* l’enfant m’a guetté à travers un trou; *éjōŋ é mǎm* un trou dans le mur ♥ *éjōŋ méŋjólǎǎ méat urinaire, canal*

séminal (*litt.* trou d’urine) voir: *ì-bé* ‘trou’; *ŋmè-ŋmēl* ‘terrier’
è-jòŋ (~è-yòŋ; *n*; pl: mèt-jòŋ; 5/6)
clan, linéage
è-jwámí (*n*; 5) **plante (esp.)**
è-kàg (*n*; pl: mèt-kàg; 5/6)
mauvaise haleine *èkàg éñè jé á mùŋ* il a la mauvaise haleine ♥
ìcàm èkàg le petit déjeuner voir: *càm* ‘chasser’
è-kàlà (~è-kèà; *n*; pl: mèt-kàlà; 5/6) **beignet** voir: *mèt-kàlà* ‘pâte pour beignets’
è-kǎn (*n*; pl: mèt-kǎn; 5/6) **fesse**
è-kàŋ (*n*; 5) **rhumatisme**
è-kǎŋ (*n*; pl: mèt-kǎŋ; 5/6) **séchoir**
èkǎŋ í kēká séchoir de cacao
è-kèlbá (*n*; pl: mèt-kèlbá; ?/6)
prétexte, échappatoire *àté jēŋ mèkèlbá nà tè àsá* il cherche des prétextes pour ne pas travailler voir: *kèlbá* ‘s’accrocher’
è-kǒ (*n*; pl: mèt-kǒ; 5/6) **teigne**
è-kǒŋ (*n*; pl: mèt-kǒŋ; 5/6) **1. lance 2. munitions**
è-kpâg pl: (mèt-kpâg; 5/6) voir: *kâg*
è-kúđ (*n*; pl: mèt-kúđ; 5/6) **fou** syn: *ì-tùŋà*
è-kùŋ (*n*; pl: mèt-kùŋ; 5/6) **hibou**
è-kúz (*n*; pl: mèt-kúz; 5/6) **rituel imposé aux veufs** syn: *mèt-jèb* voir: *ŋ-kúz* ‘veuve’
è-kwád (*n*; pl: mèt-kwád; 5/6)
virage (tournant d’une piste ou route) *mètúâ àkúbi ékwād* la voiture s’est renversée au tournant
è-kwádǎǎ (*n*; pl: mèt-kwádǎǎ; 5/6)
petit fruit, épi ou régime d’une plante cultivée ♥ èkwádǎǎ é mbâz petit épi de maïs

- è-kwáǎí** (*n*; pl: mèt-kwáǎí; 5/6) **coin dans la rue, tournant** voir: è-ndúmǎí ‘angle’
- è-kwàm** (*n*; pl: mèt-kwàm; 5/6) **façon, manière** voir: kwàm ‘faire’
- è-kwě** (*n*; pl: mèt-kwě; 5) **1. amont** (côté situé vers le haut d’une pente ou partie d’une rivière située plus près de la source) àsò tēbē úsō á lékwě il s’est arrêté en amont du fleuve (*litt.* il est venu se placer à la rivière en amont) ♥ **ékwě vers l’amont** **2. nord** (direction du vent) ìmàm ítón únê á kswân ùngólô ékwě le pays éton se situe au nord de Yaoundé
- è-lámâ** [ang? lamp, fr? lampe] (*n*; pl: mèt-lámâ; 5/6) **lampe** syn: lámâ
- è-lén** (*n*; pl: mèt-lén; 5/6) **palmier** ♥ **èyè mèlén mé kíkídâ très tôt le matin, lever du jour** (*litt.* avec les palmiers du matin)
- è-lóg** (*n*; pl: mèt-lóg; 5/6) **igname bulbifère** (sorte d’igname dont les fruits ne sont pas sous la terre mais poussent sur des lianes, généralement cultivé dans les champs d’igname, on dit qu’un enfant d’une grande famille ne doit jamais manger ce fruit seul, il doit au moins jeter les peaux sur ses frères, sinon sa famille disparaîtra) *Dioscorea bulbifera*, melon <fr.af.>
- è-lǒŋ** (*n*; pl: mèt-lǒŋ; 5/6) **escargot de rivière**
- è-máj** (*n*; pl: mèt-máj; 5/6) **joue**
- è-ndím** voir: mèt-ndím
- è-ndó** (*n*; pl: mèt-ndó; 5/6) **plante** (esp.) *Acanthus montanus*

- è-ndúmǎí** (*n*; pl: mèt-ndúmǎí; 5/6) **endroit reculé** èndúmǎí é ndá le coin de la maison
- è-néní** (*n*; 5) **grosueur** voir: nén ‘être gros’
- è-njáj** (*n*; 5) **lame de balafon** (petite pièce de bois taillé qui produit un ton précis dans un balafon)
- è-ŋèd** (*n*; pl: mèt-ŋèd; 5/6) **asticot de palmier comestible** voir: bǒg
- è-ŋgàŋ** (*n*; pl: mèt-ŋgàŋ; 5/6) **magie** ♥ **mè-mòm mènŋgàŋ féticheur**
- è-ŋgèŋ** (*n*; pl: mèt-ŋgèŋ; 5/6) **vieux vêtement déchiré**
- è-ŋgédǎí** (~è-ŋgédég; *n*; pl: mèt-ŋgédǎí; 5/6) **taille**
- è-ŋgòŋ** (*n*; pl: mèt-ŋgòŋ; 5/6) **1. cadenas** mèdâ ìdìŋà léŋgòŋ j’ai perdu la clé du cadenas **2. fruit de manioc (sur la tige), pas comestible**
- è-ŋgóz** (*n*; pl: mèt-ŋgóz; 5/6) **tas** àté bāg mèbàŋà mé ŋkômò á léŋgòz il ajoute un taro sur le tas
- è-ŋgùnà** (*n*; pl: mèt-ŋgùnà; 5/6) **grenier** (gros panier en bambou réservé pour la conservation des récoltes en céréales et généralement gardé sur des étagères tout à côté du feu) voir: ŋm-gbélmí
- è-ŋgwàn** (*n*; 5) **coquetterie, manières de jeunes filles** ♥ **ákwàm éŋgwàn faire la coquetterie, se comporter comme une jeune fille libre** voir: ŋgwàn ‘fille’
- è-pǎb** (*n*; pl: mèt-pǎb; 5/6) **aile** syn: ì-pépāb
- è-pàn** (*n*; pl: mèt-pàn; 5/6) **forêt, brousse**

è-péb [ang? paper] (*n*; pl: mèt-péb; 5/6) **feuille (papier) ♥ èpéb é kálàdà une feuille d'un livre**

è-pìdí (*n*; pl: mèt-pìdí; 5) **1. confiance** *bòd lèpìdí* des personnes de confiance **2. espoir** *mègbélá lèpìdí ábò ñfí* j'ai espoir au Seigneur **3. foi** voir: *pìdí* 'avoir confiance, espérer, croire'

è-pólô (*n*; pl: mèt-pólô; 5/6) **1. endroit, place** *lérè mèmèà lèpólô* c'est un cadre magnifique **2. temps, moment** *ɣgé mègbélè èpólô* si j'avais du temps... syn: *vòm*

è-pòm (*n*; pl: mèt-pòm; 5/6) **guêpe (esp.)** (espèce de grande guêpe qui construit de grands nids de papier et qui est consommée, les enfants pas encore circoncis ne peuvent pas manger cette guêpe)

è-púná (*n*; pl: mèt-púná; 5/6) **paquet** *bètè pùdí ká í byém á bwān mēpúná* on met les légumes dans des cageots (*litt.* petits paquets)

è-sàŋ (*n*; pl: mèt-sàŋ; 5/6) **main de bananes (plantains ou douces) ♥ èsàŋ m̀mwágô** pl: b̀d m̀sàŋ m̀mwágô; **banane plantain (esp.)** (espèce de banane plantain appartenant au groupe des plantains corne, le régime ne produit pas plus de deux mains, mais celles-ci sont très longues) (*litt.* Une-main) voir: *v̀wàd; ì-kvàn* 'plantain non mûr'

è-séŋ (*n*; pl: mèt-séŋ; 5/6) **arbre (esp.)**

è-sól (~èsóy, èswé; *n*; pl: mèt-sól; 5/6) **igname (esp.), igname blanche** *Dioscorea dumetorum* voir: *j-ð* 'igname'

è-sõŋ (*n*; pl: mèt-sõŋ; 5/6) **dent ♥ èsõŋ é ɲɲwáb hameçon** (*litt.* dent de la ligne de pêche) voir: *m̀-ɱwùd* 'personne sans dents'; *ì-kèg* 'molaire'; *sõŋdò* 'donner une forme pointue'

è-swĩ (*n*; 5) **cendre**

è-té (*n*; pl: mèt-té; 5/6) **crachat**

è-fig (*n*; pl: mèt-fig; 5/6) **fond** (petite quantité de vin ou autre liquide qui reste dans une bouteille ou un gobelet) voir: *fig* 'être épais'

è-ťín¹ (*n*; pl: mèt-ťín; 5/6) **tige**

è-ťín² (*n*; 5) **pied atteint par l'éléphantiasis** voir: *mèt-ťín* 'éléphantiasis'

è-ťiŋ (*n*; pl: mèt-ťiŋ; 5/6) **nœud**

è-tóm¹ (*n*; pl: mèt-tóm; 5/6) **colis, paquet destiné à être expédié**

è-tóm² (*n*; pl: mèt-tóm; 5/6) **1. méchanceté, vandalisme** *ànè mètóm* il est vandale **2. mauvais jeu, anti-jeu** *àté vòm mètóm á ndâmà* il pratique un anti-jeu au football

è-tó (*n*; pl: mèt-tó; 5/6) **goutte** *ètó m̀ndm* goutte d'eau

è-twán (*n*; pl: mèt-twán; 5/6) **tache**

è-vá (*n*; 5) **calvitie** *àgbélè èvá á m̀wò* il est chauve (*litt.* il a la calvitie à la tête) syn: *è-yán?*

è-véb (*n*; 5) **le froid** *èvèb ènè kíkádá* le matin il fait froid (*litt.* le froid est/existe au matin)

è-véŋ (*n*; pl: mèt-véŋ; 5/6) **blessure**

è-vèl (*n*; pl: mèt-vèl; 5/6) **bord, côté (une partie du périmètre)** *àté ò m̀vèl mé ndá* il défriche les

alentours de la case ♥ **évèl à côté de**

è-víl (*n*; 5) **pus**

è-vó (*n*; 5) **1. affaire** (ensemble de faits créant une situation compliquée) *mètè jè nâ màyéñ jè nâ lépēdrú lévō létê èèy jé je voudrais le voir afin de discuter avec lui cette affaire* **2. palabre**

è-vóŋ (*n*; 5) **graisse**

è-vùl (~è-vwì; *n*; pl: mètè-vùl; 5/6)

1. poil ou plumes d'un animal **2. cheveux sur le corps humain, sauf la tête** (poils du pubis et sur les bras, les jambes, le ventre et la poitrine) *àgbélè mèvùl á jól ábwí* il est velu **3. poils sur une feuille**

è-vwád (*n*; pl: mètè-vwád; 5/6)

filet *bélmdá lévōwād nâ bákám ùkpāl* ils ont tendu le filet pour attraper une perdrix

è-wágbó voir: *mètè-wágbó*

è-wáŋi (*n*; pl: mètè-wáŋi; 5/6) **1.**

naissance **2. date de naissance**

bité yi nâ ygé wò kází bî kád léwāli dō nous aimerions que tu commences à nous dire ta date de naissance

èwáŋl (*n*; s.c.) **Douala**

è-wòlò (*n*; pl: mètè-wòlò; 5/6)

heure *á mēwòlò mé sāmì* à six heures

è-wóm (~lè-wôm; *n*; pl:

mètè-wóm; 5/6) **dix** *àgbélè mimbú léwôm* il a dix ans

è-yán (*n*; 5) **calvitie** syn: *è-vá*

è-yégbé (*n*; pl: mètè-yégbé; 5/6)

support voir: *yégbé* 's'appuyer'

è-zwê voir: *mètè-zwê*

- gb -

gbà (*vt*) **lancer, jeter** *àgbá mâ ìkúdá* il m'a lancé un coup de poing syn: > *vúmlá*

gbè (*v*) I *vt* **1. saisir, attraper** *àgbé mál nâ àvwáŋi bíā mbèglè* il a saisi la pirogue pour nous aider à porter ♥ **méjwàg má métè gbè** ce vin est capiteux (*litt.* ce vin attrape) voir: *gbèlì* 'se faire attraper' II **gbélè** *f.rés.* **avoir, posséder** *mègbélè ndá* j'ai une maison ♥ **ùjó úgbèl mã** j'ai sommeil ♥ **mèjwàg mégbélè**

mã je suis ivre (*litt.* le vin m'a attrapé)

gbéb (*n*; pl: gbéb, mètè-gbéb; 3/10, 6) **vol** *í gbéb vî úmé ygùl* ce vol était énorme

gbèèni voir: *bèlri*

gbèlì (*vi*) **se faire attraper** *tíd ìté gbèlì úlām* l'animal se fait attraper dans le piège; *àgbèlì èèy ìwág yâmà* il a capitulé devant mon entêtement (*litt.* il s'est fait attraper par mon insistance) voir: *gbè* 'saisir'

- h -

háŋkwâb [ang. handcuffs] (*n*; pl: bô háŋkwâb; s.c./s.c.) **menottes**
pùdî jê mèkôl á bô háŋkwâb

mets-lui les pieds dans les
menottes

- I -

ì-bâ¹ (*n*; pl: bì-bâ; 7/8) **bambou**

ì-bâ² (*n*; pl: bì-bâ; 7/8) **1.**
découpage d'un animal abattu
voir: *bâ* 'découper' **2. sculpture**
ìbâ mîŋkûl la fabrication des tam-
tams

ì-băb¹ (*n*; pl: bì-băb; 7/8)
morceau *ìbâb í kvàn* un morceau
de banane plantain ♥ **ìbâb ílé**
écorce (*litt.* morceau d'arbre)

ì-băb² (*n*; pl: bì-băb; 7/8) **asthme**
<fr.af?>

ì-bám (*n*; pl: bì-bám; 7/8)
cancrelat

ì-bàmà (*n*; 7) **débauche**

ì-bán (*n*; pl: bì-bán; 7/8) **gage,**
pari, otage

ì-bàn (*n*; pl: bì-bàn; 7/8) **période**
longue, longtemps *mè mógô àyă*
mō ìbân je suis déjà resté un peu
longtemps; *àté kvàn ìbàn* il est
malade depuis longtemps

ì-bàndùm (*n*; pl: bì-bàndùm;
7/8) **célébration de la nouvelle**
année (pendant cette célébration
les jeunes passent toute la nuit
d'une maison à l'autre pour y
chanter et danser) *ìbàndùm ítē*
bôgb òjyūmá íté álú l'ibandum
dure toute la nuit (*litt.* toute la
durée de la nuit)

ì-băŋ (*n*; pl: bì-băŋ; 7/8) **caillou**

ì-báz *n*; pl: bì-báz; 7/8) **écaille**
mèkôl mé kí ménê èy bîbáz les

pattes de la poule sont couvertes
d'écailles ♥ **ìbáz í yó** (~ìbáz í
dôb; **nuage** (*litt.* écaille du ciel)

ì-bé (*n*; pl: bì-bé; 7/8) **trou**
(abaissement ou enfoncement de
la surface extérieure de qc.) voir:
ŋm-ŋmël 'terrier'

ì-bébáz (*n*; pl: bì-bébáz; 7/8)
omoplate

ì-bèbég (*n*; pl: bì-bèbég; 7/8)
assez nombreux, plutôt grand
ìbèbég ìbùmá un fruit assez grand;
bòd bènê ìbèbég les gens sont
nombreux; *ànè ìbèbég àné mā* il
est si grand que moi

ì-bèbòm (*n*; pl: bì-bèbòm; 7/8)
rhume *àté kvàn ìbèbòm* il est
enrhumé

ì-bègá (*n*; pl: bì-bègá; 7/8) **genre**
zá ìbègá ìbógí hō mèbógó nâ?
quelle est donc ce genre de
résidence que j'occupe comme
ça!/? syn: *kán*

ì-bégí (*n*; pl: bì-bégí; 7/8) **larme** ♥
ìsó ìbégí assiette cassable voir:
jî-jôn 'pleur'

ì-běm (*n*; pl: bì-běm; 7/8) **hutte**
(petite hutte qu'on construit aux
champs en tant que refuge contre
la pluie)

ì-bígdâ (*n*; pl: bì-bígdâ; 7/8) **1.**
véhicule (vélo, moto, voiture)
voir: *bígdâ* 'rouler'

- ì-bóg** (*n*; pl: *bì-bóg*; 7/8) **boiteux**
 (la condition) voir: *m̀-̀mómôg* ‘un
 boiteux’
ì-bógí (~ì-bógí; *n*; pl: *bì-bógí*; 7/8)
1. chaise 2. chez-soi *ìbógí ítē mā*
béb l’endroit où je vis est mauvais
ì-bòm (*n*; pl: *bì-bòm*; 7/8) **marché**
périodique
ì-bòm kwàd̀g̀ (*n*; pl: *bì-bòm*
kwàd̀g̀; 7/8) **guêpe (esp.)**
 (espèce de grande guêpe qui n’est
 pas consommée par les hommes)
ì-bón (*n*; pl: *bì-bón*; 7/8) **fond** *ìbón*
í mbē le fond de la casserole
ì-bóń (*n*; pl: *bì-bóń*; 7/8) **1. fait de**
se coucher pour passer la nuit
 voir: *bóńb̀* ‘se coucher’ **2. endroit**
où l’on se couche 3. rapports
sexuels, acte d’amour
ì-bóg¹ (*n*; pl: *bì-bóg*; 7/8) **planche**
en bois creusée, usée par
l’usage ménager (piler, écraser)
 syn: *ì-búbōg*
ì-bóg² (*n*; pl: *bì-bóg*; 7/8) **paralysé**
àkú ìbōg il est devenu paralysé au
 niveau des pieds voir: *m̀-̀mémōg*
 ‘personne paralysée’
ì-bòg (*n*; pl: *bì-bòg*; 7/8) **hanche**
ì-búâ (*n*; 7) **rosée**
ì-búbōg (*n*; pl: *bì-búbōg*; 7/8)
planche en bois creusée, usée
par l’usage ménager (piler,
écraser) voir: *ì-bóg*
ì-bùbù (~ì-bùgbù; *n*; pl: *bì-bùbù*;
 7/8) **facile** *byém bitê bínê ìbùbù*
 ces choses sont faciles; *ìbùbù*
m̀ỳkàd examens faciles
ì-búbùgà (*n*; pl: *bì-búbùgà*; 7/8)
une chose cassée voir: *búg*
 ‘casser’
ì-búbúlgí (*n*; 7) **éblouissement**
 (trouble de la vue momentané ou

- permanent) voir: *búlgànà*
 ‘troubler’
ì-bùbwà (*n*; pl: *bì-bùbwà*; 7/8)
connerie
ì-bùbwàg (*n*; pl: *bì-bùbwàg*; 7/8)
bébé, nouveau-né
ì-búdgà (*n*; pl: *bì-búdgà*; 7/8)
couvercle voir: *búdâ* ‘être
 couvert’
ì-búg (*n*; pl: *bì-búg*; 7/8) **mot**
ì-bùlà (*n*; pl: *bì-bùlà*; 7/8)
multiplication ♥ ìbùl àkúmá
transactions économiques
lucratives
ì-bùmá (*n*; pl: *bì-bùmá*; 7/8) **1.**
fruit *ìbùmá í ndóg̀* un fruit de
 mangue **2. goyave ♥ ìbùmá**
ntáńńí macadamia (litt. goyave
du blanc)
ì-bùù (*num*; 7) **neuf**
ì-bwàb (*n*; pl: *bì-bwàb*; 7/8) **1.**
bastonnade voir: *bwàb* ‘taper’ **2.**
défaite
ì-bwágzí (~ì-bwágáz; *n*; pl:
bì-bwágzí; 7/8) **articulation**
 (partie du corps où s’effectue une
 liaison des pièces osseuses) ♥
ìbwágzí àkõl cheville ♥ ìbwágzí
dó poignet, coude
ì-bwǎl (~ì-bwǎ; *n*; pl: *bì-bwǎl*;
 7/8) **pourriture** *ìbwǎl í tíd ítē*
ǹm s̀n la viande pourrie sent
 mauvais (*litt.* dégage une odeur
 de putréfaction); *̀m̀wí mdá j́ú únê*
ìbwǎl le toit de cette maison est
 pourri voir: *b̀* ‘pourrir’; *bwàl̀*
 ‘faire pourrir’
ì-bwàm (*n*; pl: *bì-bwàm*; 7/8) **1.**
arbre (esp.) *Anonidium mannii* 2.
fruit de l’arbre du même nom
ì-bwàn (*n*; pl: *bì-bwàn*; 7/8)
maîtresse, amant

- ì-byàní** (*n*; 7) **mépris** *bóyó ééy mēlú mâ bēnē ìbyàní* les enfants d'aujourd'hui n'ont plus de respect voir: *byàní* 'mépriser'
- ì-càm** (*n*; pl: *bì-càm*; 7/8) **chasse** (l'action de chasser, dans le sens de pousser devant soi) ♥ **ìcàm èkàg petit déjeuner; premier repas du jour** (*litt.* la chasse de la mauvaise haleine) voir: *càm*
- ì-cè** (*n*; pl: *bì-cè*; 7/8) **fer, objet en fer**
- ì-cì** (*n*; pl: *bì-cì*; 7/8) **interdiction** *ìcì mē ànà mòd tè pām* il y a une interdiction aujourd'hui que personne ne sorte voir: *cilà* 'interdire'; *ì-cilà* 'sevrage'
- ì-cícigà** (*n*; pl: *bì-cícigà*; 7/8) **1. coupé, coupure 2. (couper) pêle-mêle** *ácìg ìcícigà* couper pêle-mêle voir: *cìg*
- ì-cígá** (*n*; pl: *bì-cígá*; 7/8) **voix** (une voix très élevée et haute, utilisée pour appeler qn. par son ndan) voir: *ndán*
- ì-cilà** (*n*; pl: *bì-cilà*; 7/8) **sevrage** *ìcilà mēbé ítē ìbōgbó ávōl* ce sevrage du lait maternel est précoce voir: *cilà* 'interdire'; *ì-cì* 'interdiction'
- ì-dàṅ** (*n*; pl: *bì-dàṅ*; 7/8) **puce** *lēsɔwè lēnē ìdāṅ* la chique est une puce
- ì-dàṅdītē** [fr. identité] (*~ì-dàṅzītē*; *n*; pl: *bì-dàṅdītē*; 7/8) **carte d'identité** *bēygená kwāmgi bìdāṅdītē á bđìg áṣī* on faisait encore les cartes d'identité à la Briqueterie (quartier à Yaoundé)
- ì-děṅ** (*n*; 7) **vanité** ♥ **ìdēṅ lēpìdì espoir vain**
- ì-dí** (*n*; pl: *bì-dí*; 7/8) **appât** voir: *đí* 'manger'
- ì-díb** (*n*; pl: *bì-díb*; 7/8) **vague**
- ì-dìbgà** (*~ì-dìbgà*; *n*; pl: *bì-dìbgà*; 7/8) **bouchon, capsule** (couvercle servant à fermer une bouteille) *àté vāà ìdìbgá ìrɔvāmò* il enlève la capsule de la bouteille
- ì-dídìgà** (*n*; pl: *bì-dídìgà*; 7/8) **chose brûlée** *bìdídìgà bíđí* nourriture brûlée voir: *đìgá* 'brûler'
- ì-dìṅgà** (*n*; pl: *bì-dìṅgà*; 7/8) **clé**
- ì-díkâz** (*n*; pl: *bì-díkâz*; 7/8) **pioche**
- ì-dìṅ** (*n*; pl: *bì-dìṅ*; 7/8) **1. amour 2. cher, chéri** *lēnē múyá ìdìṅ à ndá ì bōd* c'est l'enfant chéri de la famille; *bēnē bóyó bíđìṅ bē ndá ì bōd* ils sont les enfants chéris de la famille
- ì-dò** (*n*; pl: *bì-dò*; 7/8) **membre, partie du corps** (aussi pour animaux)
- ì-dù** (*n*; pl: *bì-dù*; 7/8) **souris**
- ì-dúg** (*n*; pl: *bì-dúg*; 7/8; pr. 14) **toilettes** *mètē yí kè ìdūg* j'ai besoin d'aller au cabinet
- ì-dũṅ** (*n*; pl: *bì-dũṅ*; 7/8) **bruit**
- ì-dwág** *n*; pl: *bì-dwág*; 7/8) **profond, profondeur** *úsó únē ìdwág* la rivière est profonde; *ìdwág úsō* une rivière profonde
- ìgíptèn** [all. Ägypten] (*n*; s.c.) **1. Egypte** *nà màryá ygwǎn ìgíptèn!* Mère Marie, fille d'Egypte! (exclamation) **2. égyptien**
- ì-hédmán** [ang. head man] (*n*; pl: *bì-hédmán*; 7/8) **adjoint du chef** (probablement il s'agit d'une fonction coloniale plutôt que traditionnelle)

- ì-jám (~ì-yám; *n*; pl: bì-jám; 7/8) **résidu d'une matière pilée** syn: ò-*yám*
- ì-jé (*n*; pl: bì-jé; 7/8) **habit, vêtement** ♥ **ijé ánũŋ** lèvres (*litt.* habit de la bouche) ♥ **ijé ánũŋ mbēl** lèvres de la vulve syn: *áló mbēl* (*litt.* oreille du vagin)
- ì-jèjòlò (*n*; pl: bì-jèjòlò; 7/8) **amer** *bijèjòlò mējwàg* le vin amer voir: *à-jòl* 'amertume'
- ì-jéjùglànà (*n*; pl: bì-jéjùglànà; 7/8) **trouble** *ijéjùglànà mēndm* l'eau trouble voir: *júglànà* 'troubler'
- ì-jém (*n*; pl: bì-jém; 7/8) **1. animal domestique 2. infirme** *à-nè ijém* il est infirme
- ì-jì (*n*; pl: bì-jì; 7/8) **visite de pièges ou lignes de pêche** *pèpá ásòb zézè ijì mèlám* papa est rentré bredouille de la visite aux pièges voir: *jì* 'visiter les pièges'
- ì-jòy (~ì-jwê; *n*; pl: bì-jòy; 7/8) **commandement, pouvoir** voir: *jòy* 'commander'
- ì-jòg (*n*; pl: bì-jòg; 7/8) **malédiction** voir: *jòg* 'maudire'
- ì-jòŋ¹ (*n*; pl: bì-jòŋ; 7/8) **fois**
- ì-jòŋ² (~ì-yòŋ; *n*; pl: bì-jòŋ; 7/8) **compagnie**
- ì-jòy (*n*; pl: bì-jòy; 7/8) **épine** *àbè púláwô bijòy* il a planté un cactus
- ì-jwàg (*n*; pl: bì-jwàg; 7/8) **bouture d'une plante (sauf bananiers)** *ijwàg àndògô* rejeton de manguier
- ì-jwǎn (*n*; 7) **brouillard** *ì-jwǎn ñmè á míz* j'ai le brouillard dans mes yeux syn: *ì-bébũlgí*
- ì-jwázi (*n*; pl: bì-jwázi; 7/8) **non mûr** (dit d'un fruit qui est atteint

- d'une maladie, qui fait qu'il va pourrir avant de mûrir) *ijwázi ndògô* mangue non mûre, qui ne va jamais mûrir voir: *ndàn*; *vwǎli* 'trier les fruits'
- ì-kà (*n*; pl: bì-kà; 7/8) **aide** (aide collective d'un membre de la communauté pour un grand travail, p.ex. la construction d'une maison) voir: *kà*
- ì-kàbǎlǐ (*n*; pl: bì-kàbǎlǐ; 7/8) **cheval**
- ì-kád (*n*; pl: bì-kád; 7/8) **couronne** *bètè bèdì ikád í púláwô á sòy* on pose souvent une couronne de fleurs sur la tombe
- ì-kàgá (*n*; pl: bì-kàgá; 7/8) **reste, provision** (quantité de nourriture qui reste après le repas ou que l'on garde), **qc. qu'on garde pour qn**
- ì-kàlǐ (*n*; pl: bì-kàlǐ; 7/8) **natte**
- ì-kásāŋ (*n*; pl: bì-kásāŋ; 7/8) **non mûr, vert, qui doit encore mûrir** voir: *ì-tòdò*
- ì-kèg (*n*; pl: bì-kèg; 7/8) **molaire** voir: *è-sòy* 'dent'
- ì-kékóngí (*n*; pl: bì-kékóngí; 7/8) **bosse** *lénè jìjòy bíkékóngí* c'est une route cahotante (*litt.* c'est une route de bosses)
- ì-kèl (*n*; pl: bì-kèl; 7/8) **abcès** *ikèl ñmè mǎ àbè* j'ai un abcès à la cuisse syn: *ì-pépâmà*
- ì-kòb (*n*; pl: bì-kòb; 7/8) **peau** ♥ **ìkòb ílé écorce** (*litt.* peau de l'arbre) ♥ **ìkòb íjé étoffe** (*litt.* peau de l'habit)
- ì-kòdgì (*n*; pl: bì-kòdgì; 7/8; pr. 10) **brousse** (petite brousse qui se forme sur un champ abandonné) *ìmè jìjòm ikòdgì* c'est une vieille plantation abandonnée
- ì-kóđí (*n*; 7) **soif** *mètè wòg ikòđí* j'ai soif

- ì-kòglò** (*n*; pl: bì-kòglò; 7/8) **1. peau d'un fruit, épluchures** *ìkòglò í ndògò* peau de mangue **2. coquille, gousse de haricot** *ìkòglò écì é kú* coquille d'un oeuf de poule; *ìkòglò í kón* gousse de haricot
- ì-kòmò** (~ì-kòmò à mbàz; *n*; pl: bì-kòmò; 7/8) **plat** (les grains de maïs et d'arachide sont écrasés ensemble, cette pâte est cuite en papillote, c.à.d. emballée dans des feuilles)
- ì-kóyó** (*n*; pl: bì-kóyó; 7/8) **casque** *ìkóyó bézimì* casque de policier/militaire
- ì-kóg** (*n*; pl: bì-kóg; 7/8) **coccyx**
- ì-kpásāy** (*n*; pl: bì-kpásāy; 7/8) **acide (fruit)** *ìkpásāy íbùmá* un fruit acide
- ì-kpèbà** (*n*; pl: bì-kpèbà; 7/8) **espèce de piment piquant** *Capsicum chinense* voir: *úndúndwâ*
- ì-kpèbè** (*n*; pl: bì-kpèbè; 7/8) **poivron**
- ì-kpékpêlì** (*n*; pl: bì-kpékpêlì; 7/8) **blessé**
- ì-kpélí** (*n*; pl: bì-kpélí; 7/8) **moquerie** voir: *kpélí* 'se moquer'
- ì-kúd bwáj** (*n*; pl: bì-kúd bwáj; 7/8) **coude** voir: *kúd* 'plier'
- ì-kúdâ** (*n*; pl: bì-kúdâ; 7/8) **coup de poing**
- ì-kúdgà** (*n*; pl: bì-kúdgà; 7/8) **tamis, passoire**
- ì-kùg** (*n*; pl: bì-kùg; 7/8) **arbre de quinine** *Quinquina ledgeriana*
- ì-kùkùn** (~ì-kùkùnà; *n*; pl: bì-kùkùn; 7/8; pr. 14) **dépotoir**
- ì-kúkūy** (*n*; pl: bì-kúkūy; 7/8) **chenille non comestible**
- ì-kúkwâlò** (*n*; pl: bì-kúkwâlò; 7/8) **racontars, rumeur**
- ì-kùm** (*n*; pl: bì-kùm; 7/8) **bastonnade**
- ì-kūm** (*n*; pl: bì-kūm; 7/8) **souche** (partie de l'arbre qui reste après qu'on l'a coupé) ♥ **ìkùm ílé souche** ♥ **ìkūm í mbâz racines du maïs** (*litt.* souche du maïs) voir: *ìy-kǎy* 'racine'
- ì-kúngà** (*n*; pl: bì-kúngà; 7/8) **paquet de tiges** ♥ **ìkúngà úwòno paquet de plantes d'arachides récoltées**
- ì-kwàb** (*n*; pl: bì-kwàb; 7/8) **houe**
- ì-kwán** (*n*; 7) **argile blanc** (utilisée pour blanchir les cases, pas pour la poterie)
- ì-kwàn** (*n*; pl: bì-kwàn; 7/8) **1. banane plantain non mûre** voir: *íncá* **2. plante de bananes plantain**
- ì-kwájó** (*n*; pl: bì-kwájó; 7/8) **louche** (grande cuillère à long manche)
- ì-kwázî** (*n*; pl: bì-kwázî; 7/8) **toux**
- ì-lá** (*n*; pl: bì-lá; 7/8) **verre**
- ì-lád¹** (*n*; pl: bì-lád; 7/8) **pou du pubis**
- ì-lád²** (*n*; pl: bì-lád; 7/8) **type de coiffure en nattes**
- ì-lǎd** (*n*; pl: bì-lǎd; 7/8) **banane plantain (esp.)** ♥ **ìlǎd íkwàn banane plantain (esp.)**
- ì-láj** (*n*; pl: bì-láj; 7/8) **anus**
- ì-làŋ** (*n*; pl: bì-làŋ; 7/8) **farce, histoire drôle, plaisanterie** *àkwámgí nālá èy bìláj* il a fait cela par amusement
- ì-lájâ** (*n*; pl: bì-lájâ; 7/8) **recensement** voir: *láj* 'compter, lire'

- ì-lây (*n*; pl: bì-lây; 7/8) **arc**
 ì-lé (*n*; pl: bì-lé; 7/8; pr. 15) **arbre**
 ì-lěz (*n*; 7) **négligence**
 ì-líg (*n*; pl: bì-líg; 7/8) **héritage, patrimoine** (maison et terrains que qn. laisse après sa mort) voir: *líg* 'laisser'
 ì-lógzò (*n*; pl: bì-lógzò; 7/8) **réceptacle** (utilisé pour évacuer l'eau d'un puits ou de derrière un barrage, souvent, mais pas nécessairement, une demi-calabasse) voir: *lóg* 'évacuer l'eau'
 ì-lóŋ (*n*; pl: bì-lóŋ; 7/8) **sifflet** voir: *lóŋ* 'siffler'
 ì-lúm (*n*; pl: bì-lúm; 7/8) **fourchette**
 ì-lwábí (*n*; pl: bì-lwábí; 7/8) **marécage**
 ì-lwág (*n*; pl: bì-lwág; 7/8) **herbe**
 ♥ **ádi bílwāg paître**
 ì-lwālì (*n*; pl: bì-lwālì; 7/8) **canard**
 ì-mwázi (*n*; pl: bì-mwázi; 7/8) **pincement**
 ì-nàáŋgà (*n*; pl: bì-nàáŋgà; 7/8) **personne jeune** voir: *náŋ* 'grandir'
 ì-nàm (*n*; pl: bì-nàm; 7/8) **1. bras**
 ♥ **fin ìnàm bras supérieur**
bras et main
 ì-ndàm (*n*; pl: bì-ndàm; 7/8) **large** *b̀ndàm m̀l̀s* grandes oreilles
 ì-ndéglé (*n*; pl: bì-ndéglé; 7/8) **punition**
 ì-nèm (*n*; 7) ♥ ì-nèm **cwālgò** (~ì-nèm cwê:gò) **corette potagère, légume-feuilles**
Corchorus olitorius ♥ ì-nèm **évũl feuilles de gombo** (*litt.* "inem" de poil, parce que les feuilles sont couvertes de poil)

- Abelmoschus esculentus* voir: *è-vũl* 'poil'
 ì-nìŋ (*n*; pl: bì-nìŋ; 7/8) **vie**
 ì-nǎŋ (~ì-nwǎŋ; *n*; pl: bì-nǎŋ; 7/8) **lit**
 ì-nùm (*n*; pl: bì-nùm; 7/8) **odeur**
 syn: ì-sà voir: *nùm* 'puer'
 ì-núgá (*n*; pl: bì-núgá; 7/8) **nain** (personne anormalement petite) voir: ì-ŋgègè 'nabot'
 ì-nútèn [all. Minute] (*n*; pl: bì-nútèn; 7/8) **minute**
 ì-ŋég (*n*; pl: bì-ŋég; 7/8) **ourlet, bord, pli** ♥ **ŋég** **lorsque àtè d̄ŋ**
kù úkavǎn íŋég ájuŋŋ méyòg m̀l̀én il tombe malade lorsqu'il boit le vin de palme; *íŋég ísê àtè s̄w m̀ú àtè d̄ŋ zé d̄āŋ* chaque fois qu'il vient ici, il se perd
 ì-ŋèm (*n*; pl: bì-ŋèm; 7/8) **allumette**
 ì-ŋéŋŋ (*n*; pl: bì-ŋéŋŋ; 7/8) **moustique**
 ì-ŋúm (*n*; pl: bì-ŋúm; 7/8) **espèce d'igname, rose ou blanche** voir: *j-ò* 'igname'
 ì-ŋgègè (*n*; pl: bì-ŋgègè; 7/8) **nabot**
 ìŋgélzi [ang? angel, all? Engel] (*n*; pl: b̀ ìŋgélzi; s.c./s.c.) **ange**
 ì-ŋgòŋ (~ì-ŋgwàŋ; *n*; pl: bì-ŋgòŋ; 7/8) **oesophage** ♥ **ìŋgòŋ ásí** **partie en bas du cou** (en dessous de la pomme d'Adam) ♥ **ìŋgòŋ áyó** **partie supérieure du cou** (en dessus de la pomme d'Adam) ♥ **ìŋgòŋ ítè** **l'intérieur de l'oesophage**
 ìŋgrízi [ang? English] (~ìŋgrízi; *n*; s.c.) **1. les Anglais, personnes anglaises** **2. l'anglais, la langue anglaise**
 ì-ŋgùlí (*n*; pl: bì-ŋgùlí; 7/8) **piège**

ì-ngúngwál (*n*; pl: bì-ngúngwál; 7/8) **malheureux** *ngúngwál í mōd* personne malheureuse voir: *ng-wál* ‘pitié’
ì-ɲmgbáj (*n*; pl: bì-ɲmgbáj; 7/8) **dérision** syn: *ì-ndáy* syn: *ɲm-kpálá*
ì-ɲmgbém (*n*; pl: bì-ɲmgbém; 7/8) **lion**
ì-págâ (~ì-págî; *n*; pl: bì-págâ; 7/8) **cadeau** syn: *è-tóm* voir: *págá* ‘offrir’; *dáz* ‘cadeau en tant que compensation’
ì-pàgâ (*n*; pl: bì-pàgâ; 7/8) **hareng**
ì-pàfilá [fr? épicerie] (*n*; pl: bì-pàfilá; 7/8) **magasin, épicerie, boutique** <fr.af.> (souvent le seul endroit au village où on vend des boissons, sert aussi de bar)
ì-pépāb (*n*; pl: bì-pépāb; 7/8) **aile** *bìpépāb bí úmwàn bíṭē v̄m* les ailes de l’oiseau sont noires syn: *è-pāb*
ì-pépāmà (*n*; pl: bì-pépāmà; 7/8) **1. qc. qui sort 2. enflure de la peau** (terme générique pour abcès, panaris, furoncle, etc.) *mēté kwàn ípépāmà* j’ai un abcès syn: *ì-kèl* **3. nouveauté**
ì-pwàgó (*n*; pl: bì-pwàgó; 7/8) **1. enclos ♥ mwàn ípwàgó cage** (*litt.* petit enclos) **2. internat**
ísā (*n*; pl: bō ísā; s.c./s.c.) **père ♥ ísā ndómô oncle paternel** *ísā ndómô àwúgâ m̄mbú n̄bā ánā* son oncle est mort depuis deux ans voir: *tādā*
ì-sá (*n*; pl: bì-sá; 7/8) **travail** *àvé j̄è bìsá* elle lui a donné du travail; *bákàl wò ìsá* on te demande de travailler voir: *sá*
ì-sà¹ (*n*; pl: bì-sà; 7/8) **odeur** syn: *ì-m̄m*
ì-sà² (*n*; pl: bì-sà; 7/8) **hangar**

ì-sàlgà (*n*; pl: bì-sàlgà; 7/8) **1. fente, rigole ♥ isàlgà mékăn raie des fesses** syn: *zāj mēkăn* **2. opération** *pèpā mbāmà amē isàlgà á dwábdō* grand-père était en opération à l’hôpital voir: *sāl* ‘fendre, opérer’
ì-sàmga (*n*; pl: bì-sàmga; 7/8) **fleur d’un arbre d’où se développe un fruit** voir: *sām*
ì-sǎŋ (*n*; pl: bì-sǎŋ; 7/8) **roselle** (les feuilles sont comestibles, mais sont surtout utilisées sous forme de tisane en tant que remède pour le sang) *Hibiscus sabdariffa*
ì-sâŋz [fr. essence] (*n*; 7) **carburant** *isâŋz ímē dyâ* le carburant est cher
ì-sě (*n*; pl: bì-sé; 7/8) **tas d’herbes coupés, touffe d’herbes**
ì-sèb (*n*; pl: bì-sèb; 7/8) **saison sèche**
ì-ség (*n*; pl: bì-ség; 7/8) **foie**
ì-sěg (*n*; pl: bì-sěg; 7/8) **réipient à moitié, service à moitié** (p.ex. une assiette avec seulement une demi-portion)
ì-sègzè (*n*; pl: bì-sègzè; 7/8) **tamis** syn: *ì-kùdgà* voir: *sègzè* ‘secouer’
ì-sèsâlâ (*n*; pl: bì-sèsâlâ; 7/8) **fente** syn: *ì-sàlrú*
ì-sèsâŋà (*n*; pl: bì-sèsâŋà; 7/8) **aigre, acide** *isèsâŋà íbù má* un fruit acide voir: *à-sǎŋ* ‘acidité’
ì-síŋâ (*n*; pl: bì-síŋâ; 7/8) **chat ♥ isíŋâ èpàn félin sauvage**
ì-só (~ì-swé; *n*; pl: bì-só; 7/8) **assiette ♥ isó bétí assiette traditionnelle** syn: *sóló*
ì-sòm (*n*; pl: bì-sòm; 7/8) **gosse, enfant de moins de cinq ans (plus ou moins)**

ís̄ (*n*; pl: b̄ ìs̄; s.c./s.c.) **ton père**
 ♥ ís̄ ndómô **ton oncle paternel**
 ì-s̄óŋ (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-s̄óŋ; 7/8) **banane**
plantain (esp.) ♥ ìs̄óŋ íkwàn
banane plantain (esp.) voir:
 ì-kwàn ‘banane plantain’
 ì-s̄òŋ (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-s̄òŋ; 7/8) **sissongo**
 (plante avec de longues feuilles
 coupantes; les feuilles de cette
 plante sont utilisées pour soigner
 la maladie ebom (asthme), on fait
 braiser les feuilles dans un sachet
 et on masse les pieds du malade
 avec) *Pennisetum purpureum* ♥
mèfín mé ís̄òŋ tiges du sissongo
 voir: m̄ ì-s̄òŋ ‘rejets de sissongo’
 ì-s̄úg (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-s̄úg; 7/8)
sauce/pulpe de noix de palme ♥
 ìs̄úg bítòŋ **pulpe de noix de**
palme ♥ jól î ìs̄úg **couleur**
jaunâtre (*litt.* couleur de la pulpe
 de noix de palme) voir: ì-tòŋ ‘noix
 de palme’
 ì-s̄ùŋ (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-s̄ùŋ; 7/8) **dispute** ♥
 ìs̄ùŋ m̄ŋkóŋ **tout ce que les**
gens font pour obtenir un poste
ou un grade
 ì-s̄ùswâl (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-s̄ùswâl; 7/8)
pénis impubère, non circoncis
 ì-swág (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-swág; 7/8)
bouture
 ì-swàngò (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-swàngò; 7/8)
grimaces m̄úŋá àté kwàm
 ìswàngò l’**enfant fait un caprice**
 ì-swáz (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-swáz; 7/8) **morve**
 àté kwàn ìswáz il est enrhumé
 (*litt.* il est malade de morve) voir:
 ì-bùbòm ‘rhume’
 ìtályèn [all? Italien] (*n*; s.c./s.c.) **1.**
Italien, personne italienne **2.**
Italie **3. l’italien, la langue**
italienne
 ì-tályèn [all. Italien] (*n*; pl:
 b̄ ì-tályèn; 7/8) **pendentif** (avec

une image chrétienne), **amulette**
 (amulette chrétienne suspendue
 au cou par un collier)
 ì-tám (*n*; 7) **solitude, seul** àté
 kwālò ítām il parle à la cantonade
 (*litt.* il parle seul); m̄nè ítām je
 suis seul syn: ì-tétámá
 ì-tām (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-tām; 7/8) **puits**
d’eau potable, source ítām ýí ínè
 àsí (ítē) ce puits est (très) profond
 ì-táj (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-táj; 7/8) **grenier**
 (panier pendu au-dessus du feu de
 cuisson pour fumer la nourriture
 (le maïs, le poisson, ...) ce panier
 en forme de cloche a une petite
 ouverture en haut qu’on peut
 fermer; selon la tradition un
 homme (ou un garçon) ne peut
 pas mettre sa main dans ce panier
 sous peine de perdre sa virilité)
 ìté íté (*prt*) **1. soudainement, tout**
à coup íté íté m̄béd á jwé á yó
 tout à coup j’ai marché sur un
 serpent **2. immédiatement, tout**
de suite bésē jēgî èy jé, àté
 b̄lŋân ítē íté on ne peut pas
 parler avec lui, il se cabre tout de
 suite
 ì-téŋ (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-téŋ; 7/8) **pousse,**
plant, jeune plante
 ì-tétám (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-tétám; 7/8) **fruit**
du gombo *Abelmoschus*
esculentus syn: p̄z
 ìtétámá (*adv*) **seul** jé ítétámá
 àgbél mētūá átān il est le seul qui
 a une voiture au village
 ìtètègè (*adv*) ♥ ítètègè jó
maintenant ànè átān ítètègè jó il
 est actuellement au village ♥
 ítètègè jwáló **tout à l’heure**
 ì-tétób (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-tétób; 7/8) **arbre**
(esp.)
 ì-tétóg (*n*; pl: b̄ ì-tétóg; 7/8)
ampoule m̄gbélè ítétóg áköl,

- ngòb yàmà ìté mâ bálí* j'ai une ampoule au pied, ma chaussure me blesse
- ì-téy** (*n*; pl: *bì-téy*; 7/8) **position**
voir: *tébé* 'se lever'
- ì-fíblá** (*n*; pl: *bì-fíblá*; 7/8) **souffrance**
- ì-fíndíz** (*n*; pl: *bì-fíndíz*; 7/8) **talon**
- ì-tòdò** (*n*; pl: *bì-tòdò*; 7/8) **non mûr** (pour les fruits qui noircissent quand ils mûrissent, tel que les fruits du safoutier)
- ì-tón** (*n*; 7) **éton**
- ì-tó** (*n*; pl: *bì-tó*; 7/8) **arbre (esp.)**
Voacanga africana?
- ì-tǒg** (~ì-twǎg; pl: *bì-twǎg*; 7/8) **source, endroit qui est riche en qc.** ♥ *ìtǒg méngàṅ un pot à fétiche*
- ì-tóndó** (*n*; pl: *bì-tóndó*; 7/8) **feuille de l'aubergine africaine** (consommée en tant que légume)
Solanum macrocarpon voir: *zój* 'aubergine africaine'
- ì-tòṅ** (~ì-tòṅ; *n*; pl: *bì-tòṅ*; 7/8) **noix de palme ou régime de noix de palme** ♥ *só ìtòṅ noix de palme (une seule)* ♥ *jìcág ìtòṅ régime de noix de palme* syn: *mbí* voir: *ì-súg* 'pulpe'
- ì-tǒṅ** voir: *ì-tòṅ*
- ì-túl** (~ì-twí; *n*; pl: *bì-túl*; 7/8) **épaule**
- ì-tùn¹** (*n*; pl: *bì-tùn*; 7/8) **1. une partie, un morceau** ♥ *ìtùn í ndá chambre* (*litt.* partie de la maison) **2. moitié** *ìtùn í mwānú* la moitié de l'argent
- ì-tùn²** (*n*; pl: *bì-tùn*; 7/8) **court**
ìtùn í mōd un homme de petite taille
- ì-tùṅà** (*n*; pl: *bì-tùṅà*; 7/8) **fou** syn: *è-kúd*
- ì-tùtùgà** (*n*; pl: *bì-tùtùgà*; 7/8) **légume (en générale)**
- ì-twàm** (*n*; pl: *bì-twàm*; 7/8) **bagarre, rixe**
- ì-twàn** (*n*; pl: *bì-twàn*; 7/8) **maladie infantile** (qui provoque l'excitation et les démangeaisons des parties génitales et de l'anus)
múyá àté kwàn ìtwàn l'enfant souffre d'itwan voir: *jídí* 'introduire'
- ì-vág** (*n*; 7) **insistance** *àgbéli èèy ìvág yàmà* il a capitulé devant mon entêtement (*litt.* il s'est fait attraper par mon insistance)
- ì-vèglà** (*n*; pl: *bì-vèglà*; 7/8) **dessin** voir: *vèglà* 'dessiner'
- ì-vèvèz** (*n*; pl: *bì-vèvèz*; 7/8) **léger**
- ì-vévô** (*n*; pl: *bì-vévô*; 7/8) **ombre**
voir: *jì-cí jcm* 'silhouette'
- ì-véli** (*n*; pl: *bì-véli*; 7/8) **personne qui a la peau claire, brune**
- ì-vèz** (*n*; pl: *bì-vèz*; 7/8) **os** ♥ *ìvèz í kwāz arête*
- ì-vín** (*n*; pl: *bì-vín*; 7/8) **écorce** (grande pièce d'écorce utilisée en tant que récipient (aussi utilisée en tant que porte ou couverture de récipients) *ìóm í ngûn* pelle à poussière traditionnelle (*litt.* écorce de saleté)
- ì-vínî** (*n*; pl: *bì-vínî*; 7/8) **africain** (une personne de peau noire) voir: *óm* 'être noir'; *à-óm* 'noir (la couleur)'
- ì-vívínî** (~ì-vívínî; *n*; pl: *bì-vívínî*; 7/8) **noir** *ìvívínî í sá* une prune noire voir: *à-óm* 'couleur noire'
- ì-vóbó** (*n*; pl: *bì-vóbó*; 7/8) **silence**
ànè ìvóbó il est silencieux voir: *pwám* 'silencieux'
- ì-vóy** (*n*; pl: *bì-vóy*; 7/8) **vide** *jàd ìvóy* le panier est vide

- ì-võy (*n*; pl: bì-võy; 7/8) **jeu** voir: *vò* ‘jouer’
- ì-vú (*n*; pl: bì-vú; 7/8) **pouvoir magique (de sorcellerie) qu’on donne à certains enfants pendant une initiation à bas âge**
- ì-vùdǵá (*n*; pl: bì-vùdǵá; 7/8) **rancune**
- ì-vúǵlâ (*n*; pl: bì-vúǵlâ; 7/8) **1. vent** *ìvúǵlâ mē ɣǵùl* le vent est fort voir: *vúǵlâ* ‘souffler’; *ɣǵùlâ* ‘tempête’ **2. air** *ìvúǵlâ mē èy* *èvéb* l’air est froide
- ì-vúvúmní (*n*; pl: bì-vúvúmní; 7/8) **membre de la famille, personne avec qui on entretient des liens de parenté**
- ì-vúvûz (*n*; 7) **écume** voir: *vúz* ‘gonfler’
- ì-vyág (*n*; pl: bì-vyág; 7/8) **balai** voir: *vyé* ‘balayer’
- ì-wág¹ (*n*; pl: bì-wág; 7/8) **bretelle**
- ì-wág² (*n*; pl: bì-wág; 7/8) **cal** *ǵǵélê bìwág á mēkòl* il a des cals aux pieds
- ì-wàngò (*n*; pl: bì-wàngò; 7/8) **flatterie** *ànè mòd bìwàngò* c’est un cajoleur
- ì-wàz (*n*; pl: bì-wàz; 7/8) **peigne** syn: *páǵǵà* voir: *wàz* ‘peigner’
- ì-wéwòlò (*n*; pl: bì-wúwòlò; 7/8) **caillé** *àté dɣ bìwúwòlò mé jáy* il aime le lait caillé voir: *wól* ‘cailler’
- ì-wóódè (*n*; pl: bì-wóódè; 7/8) **1. chenille (esp.)** (espèce de chenille comestible) **2. arbre (esp.)** (espèce d’arbre qui abrite les chenilles du même nom) voir: *ɣ-kóy*
- ì-wúdâ (*n*; pl: bì-wúdâ; 7/8) **massage**

- ì-yàlná (*n*; pl: bì-yàlná; 7/8) **réponse** voir: *yàlnà* ‘répondre’
- ì-yázi (*n*; pl: bì-yázi; 7/8) ♥ **ìyázi í ndá maison en construction avec toit et sans murs** syn: *ɣ-kóy ndá* ♥ **ìyázi méjwǵ ouvre-bouteilles**
- ì-yègèz voir: *ì-yègèzà*
- ì-yègèzà (~ìyègèz; *n*; pl: bì-yègèzà; 7/8) **menton** ♥ **ìyègèzà àsí le dessous du menton**
- ì-yém (*n*; pl: bì-yém; 7/8) **1. bête, animal 2. infirme, infirmité** *ìyém yē itē pǵwǵó yēíú* son infirmité est apparente (*litt.* son infirmité se fait vraiment voir)
- ì-yén (*n*; pl: bì-yén; 7/8) **miroir** voir: *yén* ‘voir’
- ì-yòlò (*n*; pl: bì-yòlò; 7/8) **1. nom** syn: *dǵy* **2. homonyme** (personne qui porte le même nom)
- ì-yóm (*n*; pl: bì-yóm; 7/8) **don** (qui bloque la sorcellerie, la sorcellerie ne peut pas atteindre les personnes généreuses, si on donne qc. à un sorcier (ne serait-ce qu’un verre d’eau), ce don sera une barrière contre sa sorcellerie)
- ì-yòy voir: *ì-jòy*
- ì-zézán (*n*; pl: bì-zézán; 7/8) **1. espèce d’arbre 2. condiment, amandes des fruits du izezang écrasées**
- ì-zèzèg (*n*; pl: bì-zèzèg; 7/8) **sucré, sucré** voir: *zègbàn* ‘être sucré’
- ì-zímí (*n*; pl: bì-zímí; 7/8) **caisse, cercueil**

- j -

- já¹** (v) **se remplir, être plein** *jàd yámâ ʔtē jā* mon panier se remplit
voir: *jáálá* ‘remplir’
- já²** (vi) **guérir** *ámá jā ʔid mēčī* il a guéri du paludisme; *ájá* il est guéri
- jâ** (v) **chanter** (hommes), **chanter** (oiseaux), **appeler** voir: *lōy*
- j-ǎ¹** (n; pl: by-ǎ; 7/8) **chanson** voir: *jâ* ‘chanter’
- j-ǎ²** (~j-á; n; pl: by-ǎ; 7/8) **ongle**
- jáálâ** (vt) **remplir** *jáálâ mà ilâ* remplis mon verre voir: *já* ‘se remplir’
- jâb** (vi) **1. être long, être haut** voir: *à-jâb* ‘longueur, taille’; *ù-jâb* ‘éloignement, distance’
- jâbâ** (vt) **rallonger**
- j-ǎd** (n; pl: by-ǎd; 7/8) **panier** *jàd mē ʔóy* le panier est vide
- jâgì** (v) **demander, supplier** *mētē wô jâgì ʔgúl nâ mēpâm* je te demande la permission de sortir ♥
á jâgì bíjùùga s’excuser (litt. demander pardon)
- jám** (~yám; v) **préparer, faire la cuisine** *àtē jām bídī* elle prépare un repas; *bēmā jām ábù mējwàg ású ébóg* on a fabriqué beaucoup de vin pour la fête voir: *jì-jám* ‘préparation’
- jâm** (vt) **couvrir** *jìjóm mbú àtē jâm ʔjǎl* le chien couvre la chienne voir: *jâmnù* ‘s’accoupler’
- jâm** (adv) **possiblement, peut-être** *twónē dō swàlì, bérē dō jâm jìb* cache bien cela, on pourrait le voler
- jâmnì** (v) **s’accoupler** voir: *jâm* ‘couvrir’
- jé** (int) **quoi**
- jè** (~yì; v) **vouloir** *jícílâ úsúsúá mētē yì nâ māsílâ wǎ únē nâ*: ... la première question que je veux te demander est... ; *mētē jè bēēdī* je veux du pain
- jèb** (v) **aiguiser, affûter** *kékádâ bētē tādē mǎ jèb pâ tǎd kē isā* le matin, on affûte d’abord la machette avant d’aller au travail
- jéblê** (v) **accepter, répondre à un appel**
- jégì** (v) **parler (avec- èèy)** *bēsē jégì èèy jé, àtē būlgân ʔtē ʔtē* on ne peut pas parler avec lui, il se cabre tout de suite; *àtē jégì ʔtōn* il parle éton
- jéglânâ** (v) **imiter** voir: *yéglê* ‘enseigner, imiter’
- jém** (v) **danser** *ètē dʔj jēm bíkúdsí* nous aimons danser le bikutsi
- jèm** (~yèm; v) **I vt savoir** voir: *ù-jèmlâ* ‘connaissance’; *ù-jèm* ‘connaissance’; *jì-jèmè* ‘savant’; *nǎ* ‘connaître’ **2. reconnaître** **II vi avoir un effet sur** *mèbálâ méyèm* les remèdes ont eu un effet
- jémlâ** (v) **s’habituer à faire qc., acquérir un comportement habituel**
- jémnì** (v) **être rare, manquer, être absent** *ndá ʔ bód yàmâ ʔtē mǎ jémnì* ma famille me manque; *bídī bítē jémnì* la nourriture manque / est rare voir: *jéjbân* ‘être recherché’

jèmzàn (vi) **s'habituer** (à- èèy)

s'adapter à une situation *mèmá àyǎ jèmzàn èèy èvèb* je me suis déjà habitué au froid

jéj (vt) **1. chercher, essayer de**

trouver *mèté jēj pā yàmà* je cherche ma machette; *àŋgénéá jēēŋgì byém byē* il cherche toujours ses affaires **2. chercher, apporter** *kè jēj mà ŋkóg nâ mēvìb wó* va me chercher une canne à sucre afin que je la suce

jéjbân (v) **manquer, être absent**

mìŋŋgá wámò àté mà jéjbân ma femme me manque; *àŋgábé jējbéngàn mǎ* il me manquait; *bòd bētē jējbân* les gens sont recherchés/il manquent des personnes voir: *jēmù* 'manquer'

jèzlànà (~yèzlànà; vt)

réprimander *èèyì yèzlàná mōjō wē* il va réprimander son enfant

jéŋ (~yéŋ; v) **sauter**

jī (vt) **visiter les pièges ou les**

lignes de pêche ♥ ájī mēlām

visiter les pièges ♥ ájī mījwāb

visiter les lignes de pêche voir:

ŋ-jī 'visite des pièges ou lignes de pêche'

jīb (vt) **voler** voir: *ŋm-ŋméméméb*

'voleur'

jīdī (v) **1. pincer 2. piquer avec un**

objet pointu ♥ ájīdī ítwām

administrer un remède sur base

de piments dans l'an

d'enfants voir: *ŋ-twām* 'maladie'

jó (vi) **vomir**

jò (vi) **pousser, germer, croître**

jò (v) **empiler, bourrer**

j-ō (~j-ó; n; pl: by-ō; 7/8) **1.**

igname *èsól éné kán ò jò* l'esol est

un type d'igname voir: *è-sól*

'igname (esp.)'; *ŋ-núm* 'igname

(esp.)'; *è-lóg* 'igname (esp.)' **2.**

espèce d'igname, igname jaune *Dioscorea cayenensis?*

jògbò (v) **I vi se coucher** *mētâ ké*

jògbò je vais me coucher voir: *jògò*

'être couché' **II jògò frés. être**

couché *ndógò jògò évél é jād* la

mangue est à côté du panier;

ndógò ìbè jògò évél é jād la

mangue était posée à côté du

panier

jògì (v) **laisser, ne pas intervenir**

tá jògì mà mētâ mànà! laisse-moi

d'abord finir; *jòg mà myōj, ùté*

mâ ndéglè laisse-moi tranquille tu

m'agaces **2. déposer par terre**

ilúná àté jògì ítwámò ásí

Eloundou dépose la bouteille par

terre

jòl (v) **être amer** *mèbálá mētē yòl*

le remède est amer voir: *à-jòl*

'amertume'

j-òm (~j-óm; n; pl: l-òm; 7/5)

chose ♥ jóm símâ jóm kàlà

(~jóm sí jóm kà; telle ou telle

chose syn: *d-àm*

jón (v) **pleurer** voir: *ŋ-jón* 'pleur'

jój (~yój; vi) **1. chauffer, avoir**

chaud voir: *à-jój* 'chaleur'; voir:

jójlò 'réchauffer' **2. avoir fièvre**

3. brûler, être détruit par le feu

ŋgàlà ité jój le bois brûle

jójlò (~yójlò; vt) **1. faire**

chauffer, réchauffer *mētē jójlò*

méndim je réchauffe l'eau voir:

twàg 'bouillir'; *jój* 'être chaud'

2. apporter un support moral 3.

importuner, déranger

jòg (~jwàg; ~ywàg; v) **maudire**

voir: *ŋ-jòg* 'malédiction'

jòngí (n; pl: jòngí, mè-jòngí; 9/10,

6) **crapaud**

jònóg voir: *jòngí*

jù (v) **pardonne** *màjù wǒ* je te pardonne voir: *bì-jùgá*

jùgì (vi) **souffrir** voir: *tíblá* 'faire souffrir'

júglànà (v) **troubler, rendre trouble** *àtè jūglànà méndīm / ítàm* il trouble l'eau / le puits; *mèjwàg métē jū júglàn íwō* l'alcool l'a troublé la tête syn: *búlghànà* voir: *ì-jéjūglànà* 'trouble'

jwáb (v) **pêcher à la ligne ou au filet** voir: *jì-jwáb* 'pêche'

jwág¹ (v) **construire** *mètē jwāg ndá* je suis en train de construire une maison

jwág² (vi) **nager**

jwáz [ang. judge] (v) **1. juger 2. se défendre au tribunal**

jwáz [ang. judge] (n; pl: *mè-jwáz; 5/6*) **1. jugement** *jwáz éyghábé á ntēn* le jugement était juste **2. procès**

- k -

ká (n; pl: *ká; 9/10; pr. 5*) **feuille, légumes verts ♥ ká í kpēm feuilles de manioc** syn: *ì-ká*

ká (v) **empêcher** *mbwé yâmà ìká mâ nâ tē jwé yàlób mā* mon ami m'a empêché d'être mordu par un serpent

ká¹ (v) **aider** *kǎ mā* aide-moi voir: *ì-ká* 'aide'

ká² (v) **grimper** (aller de branche en branche dans un arbre) *àtè kà vè né wâgđ* il grimpe comme un chimpanzé voir: *kwé¹* 'singe'

káb (v) **attraper qc. de volant** *twàmó ápād pūpó, dō mékāb* Tomo a cueilli une papaye (c-à-d détaché), puis je l'ai attrapée

kàb (vt) **1. partager** voir: *ɲ-gàb* 'le partage' **2. célébrer ♥ ákàb mébā marier, unir en mariage** *àtè kàb mébā sédàdè* il marie les samedis (parlant d'un prêtre p.ex.)

kábâ (n; pl: *bò kábâ; s.c./s.c.*) **1.0 centimes** (argent colonial français)

kàbâ (n; pl: *bò kàbâ; s.c./s.c.*) **robe ♥ kàbâ ɲgónó robe** (robe large sans couture au niveau de la poitrine) ♥ **kàbâ ɲkùg robe** (robe qui serre à la hauteur de la poitrine et devient plus large en bas) (*litt.* robe de poitrine)

kàbâ (vi) **réussir (à - á) àkábé á ɲkàd** il a réussi à son examen; *àkábé èy sí* il a réussi (sa vie) sur terre; formule exprimée lors d'un enterrement après les témoignages

kábđi (n; pl: *kábđi; 9/10*) **chèvre; mouton ♥ ɲgál kábđi chèvre ♥ ñtóm kábđi mouton**

kábínâ [ang. carpenter] (n; pl: *bò kábínâ; s.c./s.c.*) **menuisier**

kàd (v) **dire** syn: *tɔy* voir: *ɲ-kàd* 'examen'

kádá (n; pl: *bò kádá; s.c./s.c.*) **crabe ♥ kádá úlèdè scorpion**

kàg (v) **1. promettre** *mètē kàg wō nâ káđi lèy kè á dūlâ* je te promets que demain nous allons voyager **2. émettre un souhait de malheur ou de mort à qn.**

kâg (~è-kpâg; *n*; pl: kâg; 9/10)
chasse-mouches

kâgdân¹ (*n*; 9) **encombrement**
kâgdân ìnè àbwo il y a beaucoup
d'encombres

kâgdân² (*vi*) **être serré, être
encombré** *kwàz ítē kâgdân á
léyḡōyó* les poissons sont serrés
dans la boîte; *bòd bētē kâgdân á
mētūá* les gens sont serrés dans le
car

kál (*n*; pl: bō kál; 9/s.c.) **soeur** *ínē í
kál yâmà ìné má úsū* c'est ma
soeur aînée

kálâ (*v*) **faire attention** *syn:*
âkwâm úkálâ voir: *ù-kálâ*

kálâdâ [ar?] (*n*; pl: bō kálâdâ;
s.c./s.c.) **1. papier 2. livre 3.
lettre**

kâlâsínâ [fr. kérosène] (~kèèsínâ;
n; s.c.) **pétrole**

kâlî (*v*) **demander une
participation, une contribution,
solliciter une intervention** *bákâl
wò isá. yì wò àsá môd á mō.* On te
demande de travailler. Est-ce que
tu travailles pour quelqu'un?
(ndan)

kâlnâ (*vt*) **transmettre** *yì ndán ìnè
íyólò béyḡábé jām kâlnâ?* Est-ce
que le ndan est un nom qu'on
pouvait transmettre?; *mētē kâlnâ
yḡálà* je transmets le bois voir:
kâlnî

kâlnâ (*v*) **allumer** *àtē kâlnâ
ndwân á ymḡpāmḡé ndá wē* il
allume le feu dans sa nouvelle
maison *syn: kòì syn: kâznâ*

kâlnâ (*vi*) **faire des incantations**
syn: jōmlô

kâlnî (*v*; pr. 15) **changer** (train,
bus, ..), **se transmettre** *ùkwân*

útē kâlnî la maladie se transmet
voir: *kâlnâ*

kâm (*vt*) **attraper, capturer**
*mèkâm kwê ì sí úlām j'ai attrapé
un rat palmiste dans le piège*

kâmnî (*v*) **défendre** (qc. - èy)
àtē mâ kâmnî èy bìdî elle me
défend la nourriture; *bētē kâmnî
nâ bōd béjwāḡ* on défend de
nager; *mētē kâmnî nâ bédúd tàḡà
vê* je défends de fumer ici

kán (*n*; pl: kán; 9/10) **type, genre**
*kân í mwé pé léyḡ l'ítón léyḡábé
ḡbēlá úsúsúá ìnâ mîntáyíú
myázú?* quels types de noms est-
ce que l'ethnie éton avait avant
que les Blancs n'arrivent?; *àtē sâ
kân áàvól, békâm bésē* il travaille
à une cadence étonnante (*litt.* il
travaille genre de rapidité, tous
étonnés)

kân (*v*) ♥ **âkân swāḡ jurer**
*mâkân wò swāḡ nâ màánjî jîb
dâm* je te jure que je n'ai rien
volé *syn: màànâ ♥ âkân
míḡkânâ*

káná (*n*; 9) **épilepsie ♥ âkù káná
convulser ♥ ápāz káná devenir
épileptique**

kâḡ (*v*) **croire, faire des éloges,
être reconnaissant** *mâākâḡ nâ
èèysō* je ne crois pas qu'il viendra
voir: *ḡ-kâḡíú* 'éloge'

kâḡâ (*vi*) **1. rester, demeurer**
*mètâmnâ mé mūyá, mō
mèyḡákâḡâ èy mō* le surnom
d'enfance, lui, je suis demeuré
avec lui *syn: líḡí syn: bōḡbō* **2.
dépasser, aller au-delà de ses
capacités** *bìdî bíkâḡá mā* la
nourriture m'a dépassé (c'était
trop)

káángá (*n*; pl: káángá; 9/10) **rôti**

káángá í fid rôti de viande

kásín [ang. kitchen] (*n*; pl: b̀̀

kásín; s.c.) **cuisine** *ákwàm kásín*
faire la cuisine

kázî (*v*; pr. 12) **commencer** voir:

mè-kázî syn: *táđî*

kè (*v*) **1. aller, s'en aller** *mètè kè á*

mónátélé je vais à Monatéle;
bíkénygán èy d̀̀là d̀̀ènú úsũ
poursuivons notre chemin **2.**

entraîner, amener (*qc.* - èy)

̀̀tòl b̀̀ b̀̀núngá útè kè èy b̀̀ á
lèpàn l'aînée des filles les
entraîne dans la forêt; *àkényí èy*
m̀̀jĩāy wè il a amené son frère
avec lui

kê (*dp*) **1. certainement, pardi 2.**

n'est-ce pas que (introduit une
question rhétorique) *kè útálá*
̀̀sàmà wàm̀̀? prenons l'exemple
de mon Essama (*litt.* n'est-ce pas
que tu vois mon Essama?)

kég (*v*) **casser qc. pour enlever le**

contenu ♥ *̀̀jkèg mèb̀̀ oiseau*
(*esp.*) (*litt.* celui qui casse les
ebo)

kègì (*v*) **goûter** *mèkégí mpyāy j' ai*

goûté à la sauce

kèká [fr? cacao] (~kèkâ; *n*; s.c.)

1. cacao ♥ *̀̀bùmá í kèká cabosse*
de cacaoyer pleine (*litt.* fruit de
cacao) ♥ *̀̀kòglò í kèká cabosse*
de cacaoyer vide, coquille voir:
è-kāy 'séchoir' **2. cacaoyer,**
arbre de cacao ♥ *̀̀étín é kèká*
cacaoyer (*litt.* tige de cacao) **3.**
cacaoyère, champ de cacao

kékídâ (*n*; pl: kékídâ; 9/10) **matin**

kèŋ (*v*) **coiffer** (raser ou couper les

cheveux ou la barbe)

kèdnâ (*v*) **viser**

kèlbè (~kèèbè; *v*) I *vi*

s'accrocher, être suspendu

nd̀̀g̀̀ ìkèlbè á ntèm ̀̀lé la mangue
s'est accrochée à une branche;
nd̀̀g̀̀ ìkèlbè la mangue s'est
accrochée II **kèlé** *f.rés.* **être**
accroché *nd̀̀g̀̀ ìkèlé* la mangue
est accrochée

kèlì (*vt*) **1. accrocher** *mètè kèlì ̀̀jè*

yámá ̀̀lé j'accroche mon habit à
un arbre voir: *kèlbè* 's'accrocher'

2. circoncrire *àté kèèbàn* il se fait
circoncrire

kén (*v*) **être en érection** *jìcwád*

útè kèn le pénis est en érection;
àté kèn il a une érection ♥ **àté**
kèn (*ánù̀̀*) il est très bavard voir:
̀̀j-kééú 'érection'

kéngāná (*adv*) **horizontalement**

kídí (*adv*) **demain** voir: *kékídâ*

kíkídâ voir: *kékídâ*

kíní [ang? fr? quinine] (*n*; 9)

quinine *j̀̀y knú p̀̀wág, á vālá*
ẁ̀ỳ̀ m̀̀kwàm m̀̀bwāgí prends de
la quinine, ainsi tu seras guéri

kód (*vi*) **sécher, devenir sec** voir:

yáú 'sécher (tr.)'

kód [ang. coat] (*n*; pl: mè-kód;

9/6) **veste**

kòđî (*v*) **sauver, libérer** *àkòđgí*

múyá á m̀̀nd̀̀m il a sauvé
l'enfant de l'eau syn: *nyà* **2.**
égaliser (faire un contre-but dans
un match sportif qui égalise le
score)

kódô (*v*) I *vi* **partir** *̀̀mó ìkèl úkòđô*

la tête de l'abcès est partie ♥
àkòdó ásí se lever II *vt* **quitter,**
partir de *bémāgé kódô átān ẁ̀b̀̀nũ*
ils ont abandonné leur village

kòglàn (*v*) **prier, supplier** (*qn.-*

èy mòd , **de faire qc.-** *nâ suivi*
d'une subordonnée complétive)

mèté kòglàn èy wǎ nâ ùbè kwàm bídǔy ààlúsè je te prie de ne pas faire du bruit dans la nuit

kòglò (v) **mordre, croquer** *mbú ìkòglò mǎ* le chien m'a mordu syn: *lób*

kòlì (vt) **1. prêter à qn.** *mèté kòlì mǎdkǔz kálàdà* je prête un livre à Marc **2. emprunter (à qn.-** *ábò mòd)* *mèté kòlì kálàdà ábò mǎdkǔz* j'emprunte un livre à Marc

kòm (v) **1. faire, fabriquer 2. ajuster, arranger** *àtè kòm mǎy kòm mí mǎǎy* il arrange les montants du lit **3. toucher**

kómò (v) **admirer** voir: *mè-kómgó* 'admiration'

kón¹ (~kékón; *n*; pl: *bò kón*; s.c./s.c.) **1. fantôme, revenant 2. pays de l'au-delà, monde après la mort**

kón² (*n*; pl: *kón*; 9/10) **haricot, plante et graine** voir: *yǎgèy* 'graine de haricot ou d'arachide'

kònú (v) **saluer** ♥ **mèkònú salut!** (*litt.* j'ai salué)

kòòbàn (~kwèèbàn; *v*) **être allumé** *ndwàn ìkòòbàn* le feu est allumé

kòònì (v) **se saluer** voir: *kónú* 'saluer'

kòpí [ang? coffee] (*n*; 9) **1. café** *mèté dǎy í kòpí mǎ yǎgíl* j'aime le café fort ♥ **mètin mé kòpí caféiers** (*litt.* tiges de café) **2. caféier**

kòy¹ (v) **enlever les cabosses d'arachides**

kòy² (~kòzè, kwè; *v*) **allumer le feu** *mèté kòzè mbí tàgà yàmà* j'allume ma pipe

kó (v) **récolter** voir: *pùmì* 'déraciner'; *bòg* 'ramasser asticots'

kó (*n*; pl: *kó*, *mè-kó*; 9/10, 6) **tubercule** *kó ì mímùy* tubercule de manioc

kò (*n*; pl: *bò kò*; s.c./s.c.) **nervure centrale d'une feuille de palmier** (utilisée, entre autres, pour faire les balais) ♥ **kò èlén** **nervure de palmier**

kòm voir: *kwàm*

kóǎgwás (*n*; 10?) **fleurs vieilles/mûres (pépins/baies) de certaines espèces de plantes qui ont de petites épines ou des crochets qui font que les fleurs collent aux habits**

kpád (*adv*) **terrible**

kpàdà (*n*; s.c.) **bière de maïs**

kpàgì (v) **défricher, créer une route ou un champ (à partir de zéro)**

kpál (v) **être loquace** voir: *yǎm-kpálnú* 'loquacité'

kpám (v) **franchir**

kpè (v) **abattre, faire tomber** *mèkpé èlén* j'ai abattu un palmier; *àkpé ìlè* il a abattu un arbre

kpèkpàzà (*n*; pl: *bò kpèkpàzà*; s.c./s.c.) **brosse à dents traditionnel** ♥ **kpèkpàzà nǎ** **premier vin de palme qu'on boit le matin avant de manger ou de commencer le travail** (*litt.* brosse à dents du gorille)

kpèm (*n*; pl: *kpèm*; 9) **feuilles de manioc** (pour leur préparation les feuilles de manioc sont d'abord pilées très finement dans un mortier, puis ils sont cuits dans l'eau pendant un très long temps; après, on cuit des noix de palme et on les pile avec de l'eau; le

liquide rouge qu'on obtient ainsi est alors mélangé avec les feuilles et des condiments et le tout est encore cuit une dernière fois; le goût de ce mets est naturellement un peu amer et de nos jours on ajoute souvent le sucre, on réfère aux éton villageois qu'ils mangent le kpem sans sel, une façon de dire qu'ils seraient sauvages) voir: *m-mùŋ* 'manioc' ♥

ŋkóngí kpèm mets de manioc

kpèlì (v) se moquer de voir: *̀-kpèlì* 'moquerie'

kpèlì (v) se blesser, blesser *mèkpèlì jè* je l'ai blessé; *mèkpèlì* je me suis blessé; *ákpèl mbāŋ* faire des scarifications (*litt.* blesser les scarifications) syn: *báli*

kú (n; pl: kú; 9/10) poule

kù (vi) 1. tomber ♥ ákù nímèg tomber (*litt.* tomber la chute) ♥ **ákù ndím devenir aveugle** voir: *swàdnì* 'dégringoler' **2. échouer á kù á ŋkàd** échouer un examen

kúb (v) verser ♥ ákúb nsàlní bénir (*litt.* verser la bénédiction)

kúbì (v) se verser voir: *kúb*

kúd (v) plier àtè kūd mébōŋ íkàlì il s'agenouille sur la natte (*litt.* il plie les genoux sur la natte)

kùd (v) 1. battre ìmém útē kùd le cœur bat ♥ **ákùd mézīg jouer la musique 2. convoquer àyikùd mbóg nàm jè nâ bēwô mǎ** il convoquera les Mbog Namnye afin qu'ils me tuent

kúgâ [ang. cook] (*n; pl: b̀ kúgâ; s.c./s.c.*) **cuisinier**

kùkùmà (*n; pl: b̀ kùkùmà; s.c./s.c.*) **amarante, légume-feuilles, folon** <*fr.af.*> ***Amaranthus* ♥ kùkùmà bìkàblì**

plante (esp.), pas consommée (*litt.* amarante des chevaux)

kùl (v) nettoyer en grattant (p.ex. une peau)

kùlbâ (vi) se courber

kùlwàdá [ang. cool water 'eau frais'] (*n; s.c.*) **gargoulette** (vase poreux dans lequel les liquides se rafraîchissent par évaporation) *kùl wàdá ànè ìbúg òŋgriz, étē ìm̀ nâ* "cool water" kulwara est un mot anglais, ça veut dire "cool water" voir: *m-m̀ŋ* 'canaris'

kùm (v) battre syn: *bwàb*

kúngí (n; pl: kúngí; 9/10) toucan bleu (esp.) voir: *ŋm̀-ŋmǎm*

kùnì (v) venger

kùz (vt) acheter voir: *ŋ-kùz* 'achat'

kwáb (vt) trouver qn., rejoindre

kwáb [ang. cup] (*n; pl: b̀ kwáb; s.c./s.c.*) **tasse**

kwáb (n; pl: kwáb, m̀-kwáb; 9/10, 6) crochet (pour cueillir des fruits)

kwábdô [ang. cupboard] (*n; pl: b̀ kwábdô; s.c./s.c.*) **armoire**

kwád (vi) faire demi-tour ákwād c̀ŋ tourner la tête (*litt.* tourner le cou)

kwād (vt) collectionner

kwàdòwádó (*n; pl: b̀ kwàdòwádó; s.c./s.c.*) **oiseau (esp.)** (qui vit dans des bois de bambou marécageux)

kwág (n; 9/10) occiput, partie postérieure de la tête, nuque <*fr.af.*>

kwàg (vt) écraser

kwàlì (v; pr. 13) embusquer

kwálô (n; 2) personnes ewondo

kwálô (n; pl: b̀ kwálô; s.c./s.c.) cravate

kwálô (~kólô; *v*) **parler**

kwám (*n*; 9?) **1. instant ♥ kwám**

ísê toujours, tout le temps *àtē sā kwám ísê* il travaille tout le temps; *àtē kwám nímèy kwám ísê* il agit toujours bien **2. longtemps, depuis longtemps** *àkwán áyǎ kwám* il est malade depuis longtemps

kwàm (~kòm; *v*) **1. faire, effectuer ♥ ákwàm úkálá faire attention** voir: *kòm* ‘fabriquer, créer, réparer’ **2. agir** *àkwámgí mǎ nímá èy ábē* il a mal agi avec moi

kwàn (*v*) I *vi* **1. être malade** *mbó yámà ité kwàn* mon ami est malade voir: *ỳ-kúykwān* ‘malade’ **2. avoir mal quelque part** *mètē kwàn á bímám* j’ai mal aux bras II *vt* **1. souffrir de qc. ♥ á kwàn wǎwǎy avoir peur, s’affoler** *tē wǎ kwàn wǎy* n’aie pas peur **3.**

faire souffrir *ùjǎ útē mǎ kwàn* j’ai sommeil; *ímó ú tē mǎ kwàn* j’ai mal à la tête

kwánâ [ang. corner] (*n*; pl: bǎ kwánâ; s.c./s.c.) **coin**

kwàṅkwàṅ (*adv*) **immobile**

kwáz (*vi*) **tousser** *àkwázgí ỳjǎy ỳwág* il toussa une fois

kwǎz (*n*; pl: kwǎz, mē-kwǎz; 9/10, 6) **poisson**

kwé¹ (*n*; pl: kwé; 9/10; pr. 15) **singe ♥ í kwé ité kǎ** voir: *kwé* ‘rat palmiste’

kwé² (*n*; pl: kwé; 9/10) **escargot ♥ í kwé ité wǎy le kwe qui rampe (l’escargot)**

kwóòno (*vt*) **amasser** *kwóònygáná bǎwág á ménygōz á pǎglé ỳ ndá* amasse les herbes en tas derrière la case

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láá (*num*) **trois**

lǎànì (~lǎènì; *vi*) **causer, bavarder, se raconter de petites histoires** voir: *lây* ‘raconter’

láb (*v*) **introduire, plonger**

lád (*vi*) **être collant**

làd (*vt*) **coudre** *vé mǎ ỳndùndò mǎdūgná làd sáná wámô* donne-moi une aiguille pour recoudre mon pagne

lám (*vt*; pr. 13) **piéger, tendre des pièges** *àlám bǎyǎgǎlǎ* il a tendu des pièges; *àlám kwé ỳ sí* il a piégé un rat palmiste

lám [fr. lame] (*n*; pl: lám, mē-lám; 9/10, 6) **lame**

lámâ [ang? lamp, fr? lampe] (*n*; pl: bǎ lámâ; s.c./s.c.) **lampe** syn: *è-lámâ*

lǎy (*v*) **1. lire** voir: *ỳ-lǎyǎ* ‘lecture’ **2. compter, calculer** voir: *ỳ-lǎyǎ* ‘recensement’

lây [fr. ail] (*n*; pl: bǎ lây; s.c./s.c.) **ail**

lây (*vt*) **raconter** voir: *ỳ-lǎ* ‘raconteur’

lé (*v*) **jouer**

léb (*v*) **conseiller (à qn. de faire qc.-** *mòd nǎ mètē wǎ lǎb nǎ*

úbōgbó á ndá je te conseille de rester à la maison
lè-kpěy pl: (mè-kpěy; 5/6) voir: *péy*
lélê (*n*; pl: b̀̀ lélê; s.c./s.c.) **vernis à ongles** ♥ **lélê ñtáǵní plante (esp.), rocou** *Bixa orellana* (*litt.* vernis du blanc) ♥ **lélê àwúsá sève de rocou**, (colorant utilisé par les filles pour faire les tatouages sur les mains et pieds) (*litt.* vernis de Haoussa)
lèŋ (*v*) **1. puiser** (remplir un grand récipient avec un liquide à l'aide d'un petit récipient 2 recueillir le vin de palme ou de raphia) voir: *b̀̀d*
lésómlô (*n*; pl: b̀̀ lésómlô; s.c./s.c.) **bronchite**
lè-swè (*n*; pl: mè-swè; 5/6) **chique** *lèswè lé júné mā áköl* une chique m'est entrée dans le pied
lè-swě (*n*; pl: m̀̀-swě; 5) **cachette** *àngákê á lèswě, ñjál t̀̀ ỳ̀m* il partit en cachette de sa femme; *ànè m̀̀d m̀̀swě* c'est un cachottier (*litt.* c'est un homme de cachettes) voir: *swàli* **cacher**
lè-ỳ̀ŋ voir: *è-j̀̀ŋ*
lèd¹ (*vt*; pr. 6) **être dur, être difficile** ♥ **èb̀̀m étē mā lèd** je suis constipé (*litt.* le ventre m'est dur)
lèd² (*vi*) **1. guérir, recouvrer la santé** *ñkúŋkwān úmā lèd* le malade a guéri **2. guérir, disparaître** (en parlant d'une souffrance physique) *ỳ̀ ìb̀̀b̀ ñm̀̀ j̀̀m lèd?* est-ce que l'asthme peut guérir?
lèd̀̀ (*vt*) **1. rendre dur 2. guérir**
lédê (*v*) **1. montrer** *lédê mā ndèm* montre-moi un exemple ♥ **á lédé**

ndèm garantir, prouver (*litt.* montrer une preuve) *jé ñtē m̀̀lédé ndèm nā ñtē mā k̀̀d b̀̀bélá* qu'est-ce qui me garantit que tu me dis la vérité ♥ **àké mā lédê á zēn** il m'a accompagné (*litt.* il est allé me montrer à la route) **2. présenter** *m̀̀lédé ẁ̀d m̀̀j̀ŋ twàm̀̀* je te présente mon cousin Tomo

lèŋk̀̀d voir: *r̀̀nk̀̀d*

lí (*vt*) **défricher** *àtē ñ m̀̀vèl m̀̀ ndá* il défriche les alentours de la case voir: *lỳ̀* 'défrichage'

líŋ (*vt*) **laisser, abandonner** *k̀̀b̀d̀ ñm̀á líŋ bwān* la chèvre a abandonné ses petits ♥ **á líŋ méfŋ promettre, prêter serment** (*litt.* laisser des promesses) voir: *m̀̀-líŋí* 'restes'; *ì-líŋ* 'héritage'

líŋí (*vi*) **rester**

límd̀̀ (*v*) **tirer** *m̀̀újá àtē ñmd̀̀ k̀̀b̀d̀ z̀̀l* l'enfant tire la barbe du cabri syn: *d̀̀d̀* syn: *b̀̀m̀̀*

lób (*vt*) **mordre**

lòd (*v*) I *vt* **1. passer, dépasser** *ñk̀̀d j̀̀ú ñj̀gábé lèdg̀ ãbẁ ùlòdg̀ ñí ñí vwāg* cet examen était plus difficile que tous les autres **2. gagner** II *vi* **se passer, se produire, arriver** *jé ỳ̀èỳ lòd ñj̀g̀ méd̀ ñ mbél j̀̀?* qu'est-ce qu'il va se passer si je mange ce champignon?

lógô (*n*; pl: b̀̀ lógô; s.c./s.c.) **bouton d'un vêtement**

lóm (*vt*) **envoyer** *àlóm j̀̀ā wám̀d̀ áb̀á m̀̀d̀ mpéb̀* il envoya ma mère chez une autre personne

lòŋ (*vt*) **construire**

lòŋ (*n*; 5; pr. 11) **cheveux, chevelure** *àgbélè lèb̀èŋ lé lòŋ* elle

a une belle chevelure voir: *mè-vùl*
'poil, poils du pubis'

ló (~lójó, lwánó; vt) **1. appeler**
(référer à qn. à l'aide d'un nom
propre) *bètē mâ ló nâ mádkîz* on
m'appelle Marc voir: *î-lóóú*
'appellation'; *yòlò* 'appeler,
donner un nom à qn.' **2. appeler,
inciter à venir** *bètē mâ ló mádkîz*
on appelle Marc pour moi; *àlò
mbú yē* il a appelé ses chiens; *àlò
ndómú yē ìlúná* il a appelé son
fils, Eloundou syn: *lójó*

lò (v) **administrer un produit par
les narines, inhaler** *mètē lò
mèbālá dṽé* j'administre les
remèdes par le nez

lóg (v) **1. évacuer l'eau** *á lóg
méndim* évacuer l'eau **2. pêcher**
(on fait d'abord un barrage dans
une petite rivière, après on enlève
l'eau; cette technique est surtout
appliquée par les femmes) voir:
à-lóg 'la pêche'; *ym-ymég*
'barrage'; *jwāb* 'pêcher'

lój (v) I vi **1. siffler** voir: *ì-lój*
'sifflet' **2. chanter** (coq) *kú ìté lój*
le coq chante II vt **appeler qn qui
est loin en sifflant**

lú (vt) **plier, tordre** voir: *î-lwâ*
'forgeron'

lùgà (vt) **respecter** *mètē lùgà ísá
wâmò* je respecte mon père voir:
wóg 'percevoir'; *ù-lùgá* 'respect'

lùlwâ voir: *î-lwâ* (n; pl: bò lèlúá;
s.c./s.c.) **forgeron**

lúm (v) **1. jeter, lancer un
projectile** *dó mé jṽy ígṽâg, dó
mèlúm jṽy, dó ìṽú* alors je pris
une pierre, je le lança vers le
serpent et il meurt; *mèlúm ékṽy*
j'ai lancé une lance **2. tirer** (faire
partir au moyen d'une arme)
àlúm ñzínzín wē ygál il a tiré sur
son ennemi avec un fusil

lúmnì (v) **lutter**

lwánj voir: *lój*

lwáz [ang. lose] (v) **perdre, ne
pas gagner** *àlwáz á ymymēl* il a
perdu la course

lyâ (n; pl: bò lyâ; s.c./s.c.)
défrichage voir: *lí* 'défricher'

- m -

màànà (v) ♥ **á màànà swâj**
jurer *màmàànà wò swàj nâ
màànjì jìb dâm* je te jure que je
n'ai rien volé syn: *kàn*

màbgán (n; pl: màbgán; 9/10)
carrefour

m-âg (n; 6) **charbon** *mâg ménē
díâ á mákíd* le charbon est cher au
marché

m-ágnì (n; 6) **1. accord 2. rendez-
vous** *mègbélè mágnì èy jé kíđ*
j'ai un rendez-vous avec lui
demain **3. récompense, salaire**

mákíd [ang. market] (~mácíd; n;
pl: bò mákíd; s.c., 6/s.c.) **marché**

m-ál (n; 6) **pirogue**

màn (vi) **finir, se terminer** *wàtéli
àygâ màn* le marché se termine;
àsógó mímú úmângì il est venu

- l'an passé (*litt.* il est venu l'an qui s'est terminé) voir: *mànà* 'terminer (vt)'
- mànà** (vt) **1. terminer 2. abattre, rendre faible, enlever la force à qn.** *ɸibâ àtê mâ mànà* la fièvre m'abat voir: *màn* 'terminer (vi)'
- mángànà** (vi) **chipoter** *àágbêlâ zám bìđí, àtê bēŋ māngànà* il n'a pas d'appétit, il chipote
- m-áŋ** (n; 6) **mer**
- màŋá** (n; pl: bò màŋá; s.c./s.c.) (ma) **mère, maman** *ǎ māŋá* maman! (vocatif) ♥ **mwǎn māŋá** **mon frère, ma soeur**
- másís** [ang. matches] (n; s.c.) **allumettes**
- mbá** (n?; **supportable** *ndúgdâ isě mbá* la chaleur est insupportable; *íjéŋ ámā jūŋ tādá ásé mbá* quand il a bu, mon père est insupportable)
- mbà** (n; pl: mbà, mē-mbà; 9/10, 6) **côte, flanc (anatomie)**
- mbâ** (n; pl: mbâ; 9/10) **mûr** (personne) *mê jà môd mbâ* c'est un homme âgé
- m-báání** (n; pl: mî-mbáání; 3/4) **personne mariée** *ànè mbáání* elle/il est mariée; *m̄báání únê ìcìlâ* le mariage est interdit voir: *è-bá* 'mariage'
- mbàbgán** voir: *mbákán*
- mbàdàg** voir: *mbàdgì*
- mbàdgì** (~mbàdàg; n; 9) **boue** *mbàdgì málèd* la boue est devenue dure
- mbàgnì** (n; pl: mē-mbàgnì; 9/10, 6) **provocation** *ùnè mbàgnì* tu es provocateur voir: *bàgnù* 'être provocateur'
- mbákán** (~mbàbgán; n; pl: mbákán, mē-mbákán; 9/10, 6)
- aisselle** *àgbêlê dwád á mbābgán* il a un abcès à l'aisselle
- mbán** (n; pl: bò mbán; s.c./s.c.) **co-épouse**
- mbǎŋ** (n; pl: mbǎŋ, mē-mbǎŋ; 9/10, 6) **rayures** (scarifications dans la peau pour administrer un remède en forme de poudre) *ákɸèl m̄bāŋ* faire des scarifications (*litt.* blesser les scarifications)
- mbàz** (n; pl: mbàz; 9/10) **mais**
- mbě** (~mbyě; n; pl: mbě, mē-mbě; 9/10,6) **marmite** (casserole utilisée pour cuisiner; le mot 'casserole' en français camerounais réfère à un pot (normalement en fer émaillé) dans lequel on sert la nourriture; pour éviter que l'émail noircisse, on ne cuisine pas dans ce type de pots; on les appelle aussi 'assiette', ce qui semble une traduction de l'éton) ♥ **mbě í** **tàgà pipe** (*litt.* marmite du tabac)
- mî-bèèní** (n; 3) **état d'être planté** *mèbàŋà mēmógô àyǎ m̄bèèní* les macabos sont déjà plantés voir: *bè* 'planter'
- mbèglè** (n; pl: mbèglè, mē-mbèglè; 9/10, 6) **1. charge, fardeau, bagage 2. le fait de porter qc.** *syn: mî-mèglè*
- mbémí** (n; pl: mēmèmbémí; 9/6) **avertissement** ♥ **ákè á mbémí** **aller mettre en garde** *ùndwábô ákē á mbémí ábô mádkúz* Ondobo est allé mettre en garde Marc voir: *bémí* 'avertir, mettre en garde'
- mbèŋ** (n; 9) **pluie** *mbèŋ itē nōŋ* il pleut
- mbě** voir: *mběl*
- mbéd** (n; pl: mbéd; 9/10) **guitare, mvét** (instrument à cordes traditionnel)

mbél (*n*; pl: mbél, mèn-mbél; 9/10, 6) **champignon** ♥ **mbél mésín champignon (esp.)**

mběl (~bě; *n*; pl: mběl, mèn-mběl; 9/10, 6) **sexe féminin** ♥ **èjój é mběl vagin** (*litt.* trou du sexe féminin)

mbéńí (*n*; pl: mèn-mbéńí; 9/6) **loi, interdiction** voir: *béńú* ‘avertir’

mbí (*n*; pl: mbí, mèn-mbí; 9/10, 6) **noix de palme** syn: *ì-tòj*

mbìd (*n*; 9) **saleté** syn: *ɣgùn*

mbóg (~mbóg; *n*; pl: mbóg, mèn-mbóg; 9/10, 6) **1. lignage** ♥ **mbóg kání lignage Ekani** ♥ **mè mbóg kání personne du lignage Ekani** **2. domicile, chez-soi** ♥ **mbóg ì kání le domicile d’Ekani** *màyì kè á mbóg yē mmú útē zù j’irai chez lui l’an prochain*

mbòńí (*n*; pl: mbòńí, mèn-mbòńí; 9/10, 6) **1. noix de coco** **2. cocotier**

mbóónì (*v*) **sympathiser** *bó bébā bēsē bētē mbóòńì ábwǐ* ils ont beaucoup de sympathie l’un pour l’autre

mbòòńí (~mbòòńó; *n*; pl: mbòòńí, mèn-mbòòńí; 9/10, 6) **ressemblance** voir: *pòòńì* ‘ressembler’

mbóónò (~mbóónì, mbóbnì; *n*; pl: mbóónò, mèn-mbóónò; 9/10, 6) **poire à lavement** (petite calebasse utilisée pour purger le ventre) voir: *mbóónò* ‘purger’

mbóy (*n*; pl: bò mbóy; 9/s.c.) **1. ami** *mbóy yâmà ité kwàn* mon ami est malade; *mbwé yē íwēgē jē ìyē* son ami lui a donné un vêtement **2. homonyme, personne qui porte le même nom**

mbó (*n*; 9) **graine** *mbó ùléz* graine de riz

mbǒg (*n*; pl: mbǒg, mèn-mbǒg; 9/10, 6) **écureuil** (le mythe dit qu’on peut attraper cet animal avec une chanson)

mbú (*n*; pl: mbú/mèn-mbú; 9/10,6) **chien**

mbùlná (*n*; pl: mèn-mbùlná; 9/10, 6) **exemple** *dàm létē lénē mbùlná àné mōd, vèdá íwē mímâ jìcì jìcím* cela a l’apparence d’un homme, mais c’est un esprit syn: *ndēm*

mbùm sí (*n*; pl: mbùm sí, mèn-mbùm sí; 9/10, 6) **pubis**

mbúmbúâ (*n*; 9) **retard** *àyì ké vèbè mbúmbúâ kíđi* il se lèvera tard demain

mbúmbûj (*n*; pl: mbúmbûj; 9/10, 6) **abeille** *mbùmbûj ítē đgñù ábwǐ* les abeilles piquent beaucoup

mè-búúńí (*n*; pl: mím-búúńí; 3/4) **feuille de bananier ramollie** *ùká úwē mbúúńí* la feuille est ramollie

mbúz (*n*; pl: mbúz, mèn-mbúz; 9/10, 6) **dos** ♥ **á mbúz derrière** *mǒjāy àné á mbúz ású đmâ* mon frère est en retard pour le dîner; *lénē mǒjāy á á mbúz* c’est mon frère cadet (*litt.* c’est mon frère de derrière)

mbwàbò (*n*; pl: mbwàbò; 9/10) **1. feuille morte** **2. papier d’emballage**

mè-bwáđńí (~mè-mwáđńí; *n*; pl: mím-bwáđńí; 3/4) **manière d’être habillé** *àné mbwáđńí* il est bien habillé voir: *bwáđ* ‘habiller’

mbwàm (*n*; pl: mbwàm, mèn-mbwàm; 9/10, 6) **boa** (serpent)

mbwām (*n*; pl: mbwām, mē-mbwām; 9/10, 6) **chance** *mātām wō nīmēmā mbwām* je te souhaite bonne chance

mè (*vt*) **fabriquer, former** *á mē mbē* fabriquer un pot

mè-bádná (*n*; 6) **surnom** voir: *mè-tāmná*

mè-bálá (*n*; 6) **remèdes**

mè-bán (*n*; 6) **partie du dos supérieur entre les omoplates ♥** **tág mèbán** bosse de bison

mè-bí (*n*; 6) **excréments**

mè-bún (*n*; 6) **bouderie ♥** **ákwām mèbūn** bouder voir: *búnbá* ‘être boudeur’

mè-bwā (*n*; 6) **pauvreté** voir: *m-múmwá*

mè-čí (*n*; 6) **1. sang ♥ mèčì** **mésé jê á jól** il fait de l’anémie (*litt.* le sang lui n’est pas dans le corps) *mèčì mēmángí jê á jól* il fait de l’anémie (*litt.* le sang lui est fini dans le corps) ♥ **mèčì mé bí èyè í môđ jó máátē tōbnì** j’ai de l’antipathie pour cet homme (*litt.* le sang de nous et de cet homme ne se rencontre pas) voir: *è-čí* ‘oeuf’

méénì (*v*) **gémir**

mè-jèb (*n*; 6) **1. angoisse** (grande angoisse ou douleur provoquée par un événement malheureux) **2. rituel complexe imposé aux veufs** syn: *è-kúž* **3. tenue de deuil** (de couleur noire, bleue ou blanche) *jkúž útē dāl mējèb* la veuve porte la tenue de deuil

mè-jóm (*n*; 6) **droite**

mè-jwàg (*n*; 6) **vin ♥ mèjwàg** **mélén** vin de palme

mè-kàlà (*n*; 6) **pâte pour beignets** voir: *è-kàlà* ‘beignet’

mè-kází (*n*; 6) **début** *á mēkází bité yì nā...* pour un début nous voulons que... voir: *kází* ‘commencer’ syn: *mè-táđí*

mè-kémdâ (*n*; 6) **sève** (latex qui sort d’un fruit qui saigne, tel que la papaye)

mè-kémdâ (*n*; 6) **sève**

mè-kómgó (*n*; 6) **1. admiration** voir: *kómô* ‘admirer’ **2. envie** (désir de jouir d’un avantage, d’un plaisir égal à celui d’autrui)

mèkónî voir: *kórú*

mè-kó (*n*; 6) **période de récolte**

mè-kwě (*n*; 6) **maladie** (de la peau de la tête, semblable à la gale)

mè-lébgá (*n*; 6) **conseil**

mè-lígí (*n*; 6) **reste, qc qui reste** voir: *líg* ‘laisser, abandonner’

mè-ló (*n*; 6) **obstination** (*litt.* oreilles) *ànè mèló* il est têtu

mèm (*v*) **avouer** *àmém nā mènè á zēn* il a avoué que j’ai raison (*litt.* que je suis sur le chemin); *àmém jí nāmniéngán kwāz* elle s’est chargée de la préparation du poisson

mè-ndèn (*n*; 6) **salive** syn: *mè-té*

mè-ndím (*n*; 6; pr. 5) **eau ♥** **è-ndím** goutte d’eau

mè-njáj (*n*; 6) **balafon** voir: *è-njáj*

mè-náj (*n*; 6) **lait** syn: *múlig*

mējègà voir: *m-mwán*

mè-jólgi (~*mè-jólóg*; *n*; 6; pr. 3) **urine**

mè-jólóg voir: *mè-jólgi*

mè-júy (*n*; 6) **boisson** voir: *júy* ‘boire’

mènjlà (vt) **amadouer** àté dǎj
mènjlà bwán bē il chérit beaucoup
ses enfants

mè-ɲmgbém (n; 6) **maladie**
(maladie infantile qui fait gonfler
les joues)

mè-pyàd (n; 6) **indigence** syn:
mè-zwê

mè-pyǎd (n; 6) **conjonctivite**
múnjǎ àté kwàn mépyǎd l'enfant
souffre de la conjonctivite

mè-sèb (n; 6) **basilic** ♥ **ɸín** èsèb
tige de basilic

mè-táđí (n; 6) **début** voir: táđí syn:
mè-kázi

mè-tàmná (n; 6) **félicitations,**
nom de félicitation voir:
mè-bádná

mè-té (n; 6) **salive** voir: è-té
'crachat'

mè-ɸín (n; 6) **éléphantiasis** àgbélê
mèɸm á méköl il a l'éléphantiasis
aux pieds ♥ **mèɸm mé köl**
l'éléphantiasis des pieds voir:
è-ɸm

mè-ɸɸj (n; 6) **promesse** ♥ **álig**
mèɸɸj faire une promesse (litt.
laisser une promesse)

mè-tódó (n; 6) **pomme de terre**
voir: jì-cád 'maladie des pommes
de terre'

mè-tùm (n; 6) **habitudes,**
coutumes bité yì nâ byǎpág
mètùm mé màm ítón ásí nous
voulons creuser les habitudes du
pays éton à fond

mètwâ [ang? motor, fr? moteur]
(n; pl: bò mètwâ; s.c./s.c.)
voiture, car (fr.af.)

mè-wágbó (n; 5/6) **prétextes** tè
wè jéj mǎ mèwágbó á jól ne me
cherche pas chicane (litt. ne me

cherche pas les prétextes sur le
corps) syn: mè-yégbá syn: è-kélbá

mè-yál (n; 6) **gauche** voir: yj-yál
'épouse'

mèzíg [ang? music, fr? musique,
all? Musik] (n; s.c.) **musique**

mè-zwê (n; 5/6) **indigence** syn:
mè-pyàd

měn (prt; **particule**
d'identification, souvent traduit
par 'même' mǎ mēn moi-même;
nâ bijēm zǎ mēn àyǎgālê ndòj ítè
que nous sachons qui même avait
raconté ce récit

méngân (vi) **s'aggraver** úkwǎn
útē mǎ méngân la maladie
s'aggrave

mílig [ang. milk] (~múlgí; n; s.c.)
lait syn: mè-jám

mìn (vt) **avalier**

m-ìnggá (n; pl: b-ìnggá; 1/2; pr.
3) **femme**

mì-ntá (n; 4) **douleur physique**
ou mentale á wōg mǐntǎ avoir
mal syn: à-yá

mì-ntàg (n; 4) **heureux, joyeux,**
fier múnjǎ ànè mǐntàg èy
ɲmǐkpámǎgí kǎàyè wè l'enfant est
fier de son nouveau cahier; mōd
mǐntàg un homme gai; mǐntàg mǐ
mōd la joie de qn; mōd ànè
mǐntàg l'homme est joyeux

míjǎ (v) **donner une forme à**
une pâte (p.ex. rouler des
bâtonnets d'argile (colombins)
pour faire un pot ou faire des
beignets) àté mǐjǎ vyōg il donne
une forme à l'argile rouge
(poterie)

mì-sòɲ (n; 4) **rejetons de sissongo**
2. plat de rejetons de sissongo
mìsòɲ mǐnè jǐjámú èy mǐmwán
bitòj le sissongo est préparé avec

- l'huile de palme voir: ì-sòḡ 'plante
sissongo'
- mìswân** [ang? fr? mission] (*n*; pl:
bò mîswân; s.c./s.c.) **mission**
- mì-vyáz** (*n*; 4) **jumeaux**
- mì-mà** (*n*; pl: mìm-bà; 3/4)
tambour
- mì-mààlà** (*n*; pl: bè-bààlà; 1/2)
surveillant voir: bàglà 'surveiller'
- mì-mǎḡ** (*n*; pl: mìm-bǎḡ; 3/4) **1.**
noix ♥ **mìmbǎḡ ébìn testicules**
(*litt.* noix du scrotum) **2. noix**
palmiste (amande de la noix de
palme) ♥ **mìmàḡ ítḡḡ noix**
palmiste dans sa coquille voir:
mì-mwán
- mì-mé** (*n*; pl: mî-mé; 3/4) **entrée,**
ouverture mímé ndá porte
- mì-mèḡ** (*n*; pl: mî-bèḡ; 3/4) **chute**
(seulement pour personnes)
- mì-mèglè** (*n*; pl: mìm-bèglè; 3/4)
1. charge, fardeau, bagage **2. le**
fait de porter qc. syn: mbèglè voir:
bèglè 'porter'
- mì-mémóg** (*n*; pl: mî-mémóg;
3/4) **personne qui ne peut pas**
marcher, personne qui est
paralysée au niveau des pieds
voir: ì-bḡḡ 'paralysé'
- mì-mèḡ** (*n*; pl: mî-bèḡ; 3/4) **bien,**
bonté ìnè àkúmá wḡ ùnè mímèḡ
c'est la richesse qui est bonne; á
mìm mímèḡ sentir bien; kábdi
yàmà ítḡǎ mímèḡ ma chèvre est
bien attachée voir: è-bèḡ 'beauté'
- mì-mìm** (*n*; pl: mìm-bìm; 3/4)
cadavre (humain ou animal)
- mì-míḡ** (*n*; pl: mî-bíḡ; 3/4) **chenille**
(espèce de chenille comestible)
voir: ḡ-kḡḡ
- mì-mól¹** (*n*; pl: mìm-ból; 3/4) **une**
chose séchée mímól mbâz épi de
maïs séché (avec les feuilles de
couverture) syn: ḡ-kód
- mì-mól²** (*n*; 3) **façon, manière**
màáté dḡḡ mímól bó bétè yām
kpém je n'aime pas la façon dont
elles préparent les feuilles de
manioc
- mì-móló** (*n*; pl: mî-bóló; 3/4)
question mímóló myḡ mítè má
cág á mím tes questions
m'énervent voir: bóló 'demander'
syn: ì-cílá
- mì-móm** (*n*; pl: mî-bóm; 3/4) **1.**
museau **2. gueule** **3. fleur de**
bananier
- mì-mòm** (*n*; pl: mî-bòm; 3/4)
personne qui joue un
instrument musical ♥ **mímòm**
mèzíg musicien voir: bòm frapper
- mì-mómôḡ** (*n*; pl:; 3/4) **personne**
qui ne peut pas marcher voir:
bóló 'rester'
- mì-mònì** (*n*; pl: bè-bònì; 1/2) **1.**
ancêtre, géniteur àté lḡ
mímśmśm mî bébònì il invoque les
âmes des ancêtres **2. parents** bḡḡḡ
mélú má bááté pè lùgà bébònì les
enfants de l'époque actuelle ne
respectent plus les parents
- mì-móg** (*n*; pl: mìm-bóg; 3/4)
trou, orifice ♥ **mìmbóg mí dwé**
narines
- mì-mòḡ** (*n*; pl: mî-bòḡ; 3/4) **prison**
bétè pāmā mwán mímòḡ on libère
le captif (*litt.* ils font sortir le petit
de la prison)
- mì-mòḡ** (*n*; pl: mî-bòḡ; 3/4) **grand**
pot (anciennement en terre cuite,
maintenant un tonneau en plastic,
dans lequel on garde l'eau, appelé
'canari') voir: kílwadá
'gargoulette'

m̀-mú**** (*n*; pl: m̀-**bú**; 3/4) **année** *táy m̀mbú* nombre d'années, âge; *ùgbélè m̀mbú myáy* quel âge as-tu? (*litt.* tu as combien d'années?); *m̀yèngí jê nímú úmè m̀ngì* je l'ai vu l'année dernière ♥ **nímú útè zù l'an prochain** (*litt.* l'an qui vient) ♥ **nímú úm̀ngì l'an passé** (*litt.* l'an qui s'est terminé)

m̀-mú**múá** (*n*; pl: m̀-**búbúá**; 3/4) **personne pauvre** voir: *m̀-**búá***

m̀-mù**ḡ** (*n*; pl: m̀-**bùḡ**; 3/4) **tubercule de manioc** *Manihot esculenta* *àdì pyâ èy m̀mùḡ* il a mangé l'avocat avec le manioc voir: *kpèm* 'feuilles de manioc' voir: *ǹ-**tùdà*** 'pâte de manioc'

m̀-mwád**** (*n*; pl: m̀-**bwád**; 3/4) **tendue, habillement** *m̀mwád wē útè bēb* sa tenue est moche voir: *bwád* 'habiller'

m̀-mwàm**¹** (*n*; pl: m̀-**bwàm**; 3/4) **paquet** *m̀mbwàn mé ílé* paquets d'herbes

m̀-mwàm**²** (*n*) **légumes** (feuilles vertes, généralement préparées dans une sauce de noix de palme sans sel, on peut optionnellement ajouter les arachides et/ou le sucre)

m̀-mwán**** (*n*; pl: m̀-**bwán**; 3/4) **huile** *m̀mwán útè twàg* l'huile bout ♥ **m̀mwán méjèḡà l'huile de palmiste, l'huile de l'amande de la noix de palme** ♥ **m̀mwán bíṭṡḡ l'huile de palme** syn: *m̀mwán mbí*

m̀-mwàḡ**** (*n*; pl: m̀-**bwàḡ**; 3/4) **pot en terre cuite**

m̀-mwùd**** (*n*; pl: m̀-**mwùd**; 3/4) **1. bouche sans dents, endroit dans la bouche sans dents** **2.**

personne sans dents voir: *è-**sḡy*** 'dent'

m̀-òd**** (*n*; pl: b-**òd**; 1/2) **personne (mâle ou féminine)**

m̀ógô**** voir: *b̀**ógbô***

m̀-ò**** (*n*; pl: b-**ò**; 1/2) **petit (mot diminutif)** ♥ **m̀**ò** ḡwàn** **neveu ou nièce de côté maternel** (*litt.* petite fille) ♥ **m̀**ò** kál** **nièce de côté maternel** (*litt.* petite soeur) ♥ **m̀**ò** pâm** **garçon** (*litt.* petit homme)

m̀ḡjāḡ**** (*n*; pl: b̀**éjāḡ**; s.c./s.c.) **frère** (frère ou soeur de la personne qui parle, du même sexe que celle-ci, c.-à-d. mon frère, si je suis un garçon; ma soeur, si je suis une fille) 'ton frère'

m̀ḡjāḡ**** (*n*; pl: b̀**éjāḡ**; s.c./s.c.) **frère** (frère ou soeur du même sexe de la personne de référence, c.-à-d. le frère de X, si X est un homme et la soeur de X, si X est une femme)

m̀ḡjōḡ**** (*n*; pl: b̀**éjōḡ**; s.c./s.c.) **frère** (frère ou soeur de la personne adressée du même sexe de celle-ci, c.-à-d. ta soeur, si tu es une fille; ton frère, si tu es un garçon)

m̀-òḡnò**** *n*; pl: b-**òḡnò**; 1/2) **rejeton de bananier** *m̀**òḡnò** íkwàn* (~*mwàn* *íkwàn*; rejeton de plantain)

m̀-òḡó**** (*n*; pl: b-**òḡó**; 1/2) **1. enfant** (garçon ou fille de moins de dix ans) **2. junior** (après un nom) *ìsìmà m̀**òḡó*** Isima jr. **3. enfant de, fils ou fille de qn.** (quel que soit l'âge) syn: > *m̀-**wán***

m̀-pág**** (*n*; pl: m̀-**mpág**; 3/4) **partie, côté (une division de la surface)** *m̀pág ápúb* une partie du champ ♥ **í pàá** **du côté de, au niveau de**

m̀-*págní* (*n*; pl: m̀m-págní; 3/4)
creusage, fouille dans le sol, extraction *m̀págrí v̄yḡg úṭē yâbr̀ǹ*
 l'extraction de l'argile rouge est pénible (*litt.* fait mal) voir: *pág* 'creuser'

m̀-*pàn* (*n*; pl: m̀m-pàn; 3/4)
flèche à l'arc

m̀-*pàṅ* (*n*; pl: m̀m-pàṅ; 3/4) **1.**
riche, important *m̀ègbèlè m̀pàṅ*
ímō j'ai une bonne mémoire (*litt.*
 j'ai une tête importante) **2. vrai**
m̀kàd wḡ m̀pàṅ je te dis vrai (la
 vérité)

m̀-*pég* (*n*; pl: m̀m-pég; 3/4) **sac,**
plastic <*fr.af.*>

m̀-*péd* (*n*; pl: m̀m-péd; 3/4) **1.**
doute voir: *pèdǹ* 'douter' **2.**
désaccord, discussion

m̀-*pèn* (*n*; pl: m̀m-pèn; 3/4) **1.**
tresse 2.

m̀-*pí* (*n*; pl: m̀m-pí; 3/4) **utilité**

m̀-*pídámpím* (*n*; pl: b̀
m̀pídámpím; s.c./s.c.) **espèce de**
banane douce voir: *újô*

m̀-*pím* (*n*; pl: m̀m-pím; 3/4) **mur**

m̀-*pìṅá* (*n*; pl: m̀m-pìṅá; 3/4)
couverture

m̀-*pöl* (*n*; pl: m̀m-pöl; 3/4) **arbre**
(esp.), bois jaune

m̀-*púbén* voir: *m̀-*púbér̀**

m̀-*púbní* (~*púbén*; *n*; pl:
 m̀m-púbní; 3/4) **propre,**
propreté *m̀pùbr̀ swád* une
 chemise propre

m̀-*púm* (*n*; pl: m̀m-púm; 3/4)
blanc *m̀púm ndá* une maison
 blanche; *m̀púm íkòb* une peau
 blanche ♥ **m̀púm íkòbò** (*litt.*
 peau-blanc) voir: *pùm* 'être
 blanc'; *à-pùm* 'blancheur'

m̀-*pùṅ* (*n*; pl: m̀m-pùṅ; 3/4)
poudre

m̀-*pyán* (~*m̀-*myán*; *n*; pl:
 m̀-*mpyán*; 3/4) **sauce, soupe**
 <*fr.af.*> ♥ **m̀pyán úwòno** la
sauce d'arachides voir: *j̀-*jam*
 'repas, nourriture préparée'**

m̀-*ú* (*adv*) **ici** (localité moins
 précise) *úsúsúá m̀â j̀jéblá*
kátóliká wḡ ázù m̀ú avant que la
 religion catholique ne soit arrivée
 ici; *á ndá m̀ú* ici à la maison ♥ **á**
m̀ú par ici ♥ **m̀úfýá par là-bas**
 voir: *vá*

m̀-*új* (*vi*) **sourire**

m̀-*vòòbò* (*n*; 3) **respiration** voir:
vòòbò 'respirer'

m̀-*wán* (*vi*) **guetter, être à l'affût**

m̀-*wán* (*n*; pl: b̀-*wán*; 1/2) **1.**
enfant (dans le sens de
 descendant; aussi pour animaux)
 syn: < *m̀-*ḡḡ* **2. neveu, nièce**
 (l'oncle paternel appelle son
 neveu "mon enfant") voir: *m̀-*ḡ***

m̀-*wání* [ang. monday] (*n*; pl: b̀
m̀wání; s.c./s.c.) **lundi**

m̀-*wání* (*v*) **attendre**

m̀-*wàní* [ang. money] (*n*; pl: b̀
m̀wàní; s.c./s.c.) **argent** ♥
m̀wàn(í) à ṅwàn salaire (*litt.*
 argent du mois)

m̀-*wàz* (*vt*) **couper une très petite**
part *ámwáz m̀â f̀id* il m'a donné
 une partie infime de sa viande;
ámwáz m̀ā il m'a piqué un peu
 de ma nourriture

m̀-*yàd* (*v*) **presser** *átē myàd íkèl* il
 presse sur l'abcès

m̀-*yáj* (*int*) **combien** *ùgbèlè*
m̀mbú myáj quel âge as-tu? (*litt.*
 tu as combien d'années?)

- n -

nà (*n*; pl: b̀̀ nà; s.c./s.c.) **mère (d'égó), maman ànà!** maman! (vocatif)

nâ (*sub*) **1. que àté pèdrù nâ mènđm mètē s̄n** il doute que l'eau soit froide **2. afin que mètē jè nâ màyé n jè nâ lépèdrù lévō létē èy jé** je voudrais le voir afin de discuter avec lui cette affaire

nálá (*adv*) **ainsi, comme ça ímê nálá** c'est ainsi; *lésē nálá yí légbélè kwàmbàn* ce n'est pas ainsi qu'il faut le faire

nâlâ (*v*) **élever ♥ á nālá b̀̀j́ élever des enfants ♥ á nālá lōm á ngâdnà élever des plantes** (*litt.* élever des choses au jardin) ♥ **á nālá tíđ élever des animaux**

nàlbà (*v*) **mentir** voir: *̀̀- nāl* 'mensonge'

nàmâ (*vt*) **toucher, frôler tē ẁ̀nàmâ mǎ** ne me touche pas

náj (*vi*) **grandir**

này (*v*) **garder**

ndá (*n*; 9/10, 6) **maison ♥ ndá í b̀̀d famille** (*litt.* maison des gens) ♥ **ndá èbá foyer, ménage** (*litt.* maison du mariage)

ndàmâ (*n*; pl: b̀̀ ndàmâ; s.c./s.c.)

1. fronde àbúg ípēpāb úrwǎn èy ygwàg í ndàmâ il a brisé l'aile de l'oiseau d'un coup de fronde **2. caoutchouc 3. ballon, balle 4. hévéa, arbre de caoutchouc** *Hevea brasiliensis*

ndámna (*vt*) **gâter, abîmer mbèy ìmá mâ ndámna ygôb** la pluie a abîmé mes chaussures voir: *ndámnu* 'se gâter'

ndámnu (*v*) **se gâter tíđ ìmāndámnu** la viande s'est gâtée voir: *ndámna* 'gâter'

ndăn (*n*; pl: ndăn; 9/10) **non mûr ndàn í mbàz** mais non mûr voir: *̀̀- jwází*

ndég (*n*; pl: ndég; 9/10) **1. calabasse 2. boîte** voir: *è- ygúnu* 'boîte (de conserves)'

ndéglê (~ndéégê; *vt*) **déranger, agacer àté mâ ndéglê** il me dérange; *múyá àté ndéglê ísā mbámâ* l'enfant agace son grand-père voir: *̀̀- ndéglê* 'punition'

ndèm (*vi*) **voler, se déplacer dans l'air**

ndèm (*n*; pl: ndèm, m̀̀-ndèm; 9/10,6) **exemple léd mà ndèm** montre-moi un exemple syn: *mbùlná*

ndēm (*n*; 9) **sperme**

ndéj (*v*) **1. balancer 2. faire qc. avec peine, s'efforcer**

ndèj (*v*) **somnoler mètē ndèj újō** j'ai sommeil

ndèn (*n*; pl: ndèn, m̀̀-ndèn; 9/10, 6) **toile d'araignée**

ndím (*n*; 9; pr. 9) **cécité** voir: *̀̀- đmđm* 'aveugle'

ndímzàná (*n*; pl: m̀̀-ndímzàná; 9/10, 6) **1. signification ndán í mēn ìnè ndímzàná yā?** Le ndan même, quelle est sa signification? **2. traduction**

̀̀- đmđm (*n*; pl: m̀̀-đmđm; 3/4) **personne qui ne voit pas, aveugle**

ndóbēn (*n*; pl: b̀̀ ndóbēn; s.c./s.c.) **rencontre** voir: *tóbnu* 'se rencontrer'

ndóm (*n*; pl: b̀̀ ndóm; 9/s.c.)
frère (d'une fille) ♥ j̀̀à ndómô
oncle maternel ♥ j̀̀à ndómô ton
oncle maternel ant: *kál* 'la soeur
 (d'un homme)' voir: *ísā* 'père'
ndómní (*n*; pl: b̀̀ ndómní; 9/10,
 s.c.) **1. adolescent, jeune homme**
2. fils *m̀̀è ìt̀̀ól ndómíú wám̀̀d* c'est
 mon fils aîné
ndóǵ̀̀ (*n*; pl: ndóǵ̀̀; 9/10, 6)
mangue
ndóǵ̀̀ (*n*; pl: m̀̀è-ndóǵ̀̀; 9/6) **1.**
nouvelle, compte-rendu *b̀̀éyédnè*
ndóǵ̀̀ àwú ỳ̀è átān on a annoncé la
 nouvelle de sa mort au village syn:
p̀̀ó **2. histoire, récit, explication,**
rapport
ndóǵ̀̀ (*n*; pl: b̀̀ ndóǵ̀̀; s.c./s.c.)
piège (petit piège pour attraper
 les perdrix, tendu avec un appât,
 souvent des arachides ou noix de
 palme)
ndúǵ̀̀dā (*n*; pl: ndúǵ̀̀dā,
 m̀̀è-ndúǵ̀̀dā; 9/10, 6) **chaleur**
̀̀n-dùǵ̀̀ní (*n*; pl: m̀̀i-ndùǵ̀̀ní; 3/4)
tromperie, mensonge *m̀̀è*
m̀̀i ndùǵ̀̀ní ce sont des mensonges
 syn: *̀̀n-nā́* voir: *dùǵ̀̀à* 'tromper'
̀̀n-dúndwág (*n*; pl:
 m̀̀i-ndúndwág; 3/4) **sourd,**
personne sourde voir: *n-dwág*
 'sourd'
̀̀n-dùní (*n*; pl: m̀̀i-ndùní; 3/4)
baptême voir: *dù* 'baptiser'
ndwág (*n*; 9) **1. surdité** *àkú*
ndwág il est devenu sourd; *à̀̀nè*
ndwág il est sourd/têtu voir:
̀̀n-dúndwág 'personne sourde' **2.**
obstination, cabochard *ndwág*
íté b̀̀éb l'obstination est mauvaise
ndwàǵ (*n*; 9) **gourmandise** voir:
ndwàǵb̀̀ 'être gourmand'

ndwáǵb̀̀ (*vi*) **être têtu** voir:
ndwág 'obstination'; *m̀̀è-l̀̀ó*
 'obstination'
ndwàǵb̀̀ (*vi*) **être gourmand**
 voir: *ndwàǵ* 'gourmandise'
ndwân (*n*; pl: m̀̀è-ndwân,
 ndwân; 9/10, 6) **feu** *bákálnè*
ndwân lèpàn on a allumé un feu
 de brousse
ndwáj (*n*; pl: ndwáj,
 m̀̀è-ndwáj; 9/10, 6) **aventure,**
conte
ndwì (*n*; pl: m̀̀è-ndwì; 9/6)
poudre médicinale voir: *m̀̀i-pùǵ̀̀*
 'poudre'
ndwì (*n*; pl: ndwì/m̀̀è-ndwì;
 9/10,6) **mauvaise nouvelle ♥ à̀̀kè**
á ndwì aller vérifier une
mauvaise nouvelle
nè (*v*) I *vi* **1. exister, vivre, être**
è̀̀vèb m̀̀è kíkídā le matin il fait
 froid; *íỳ̀ǵ̀̀ nà à̀̀ǵ̀̀gábé d̀̀yá...*
 quand maman vivait encore, .. **2.**
être qq. *à̀̀nè á ndá m̀̀i j̀̀ó* il est
 ici à la maison **3. signifier** *nálá*
à̀̀nè nā... cela veut dire que.. **4.**
avoir, être (avec- è̀̀y) *íwúǵ̀̀lá m̀̀è*
è̀̀y è̀̀vèb l'air est froide ♥ *à̀̀nè*
è̀̀y lèbùm elle est enceinte II
cop être à̀̀ǵ̀̀gábé d̀̀ǵ̀̀á il avait
 mangé III *q-aux pouvoir, être*
possible *tám m̀̀è j̀̀òml̀̀d* une
 plume peut chatouiller; *à̀̀nè jám*
s̀̀ó il peut venir IV *aux auxiliaire*
des formes du passé
imperfectives
nèbnè (*v*) **cabrer (qn. contre**
qn.- m̀̀d è̀̀y m̀̀d) dresser (qn.
contre qn.) *bè̀̀nèbnèǵ̀̀gán j̀̀è è̀̀y*
ndá ì b̀̀d ỳ̀è on l'a cabré contre sa
 famille
nèmnà (*v*) **1. exagérer, dépasser**
une limite *tè ẁ̀d nèmnà*

n'exagères pas; *tè wò nèmna èbim mēbálá* ne débordes pas la dose des médicaments **2. sauter, passer sans s'y arrêter**
nén (*vi*) **1. être grand**
nénê (*vi*) **agrandir, faire grand**
àté mā nēnē ápūb wē il agrandit sa plantation
nìŋ (*vi*) **vivre** *kād byā yī bò tàdā bēŋgábé nìŋgì yá* dis-nous comment avaient vécu nos aïeux voir: *vyèèbè* 'être éveillé, vivant'
njâmni (~njâmèn; *n*; s.c.) **1. Allemands, peuple allemand**
njâmni báánjī kwàgdé jwè mû les allemands n'ont pas vraiment gouverné ici (c.à.d. pas longtemps) ♥ **mò jâmni un Allemand, une Allemande** **2. Allemagne** **3. l'allemand, la langue allemande**
njàŋá (*n*; pl: bò njàŋá; s.c./s.c.) **tontine** syn: *ì-sùnù*
njī (*n*; pl: njī; 9/10) **gorille**
njinjā [ang. ginger] (*n*; pl: bò njinjā; s.c./s.c.) **gingembre**
n-lánjī (*n*; 3) **lecture** *àté yēgī ñlāŋjī* il apprend à lire voir: *lāŋ*
n-lwâ (*n*; pl: bē-lúâ; 1/2) **forgeron** voir: *lú* 'plier'
n-nāl (*n*; pl: mī-nnāl; 3/4) **mensonge** voir: *nālbā* 'mentir'
n-nām (*n*; pl: mī-nām; 3/4) **1. pays** *ñnām mīntāŋjī* l'Europe (*litt.* le pays des Blancs) **2. village** syn: *à-tān*
n-nāŋ (*n*; pl: mī-lāŋ; 3/4) **1. conte** **2. causerie**
n-nàŋ (*n*; pl: mī-nàŋ; 3/4) **albinos**
mīnŋgā mǎjāŋ áwāgǎ mǎŋ la femme de mon frère a accouché d'un albinos

n-ném (*n*; pl: mī-lém; 3/4) **coeur**
ñnēm útē kùd le coeur bat
n-nó (*n*; pl: mī-ló/mī-nó; 3/4) **1. la tête** ♥ **mègbèlè ñnó** j'ai une bonne mémoire (*litt.* j'ai une tête) ♥ **á jèm ñnō rêver** (*litt.* connaître la tête) **2. la partie supérieure de qc.** *ñnó íkèl úkódò* la tête de l'abcès est partie ♥ **á nnō en amont de**
ñnódóbó (*n*; s.c.) <poétique>
lune voir: *ŋ-gwàn* 'lune'; *ŋm-ŋmēl* 'claire de lune'
n-nòŋó (*n*; pl: mī-lòŋó; 3/4) **seau**
n-nòmò (~n-nwàmò; *n*; pl: mīn-nòmò; 3/4) **bouteille** *àté sùgzǎ nwàmò* il agite la bouteille
n-núm (*n*; pl: mī-lúm; 3/4) **branche dans une piège**
n-núnūm (*n*; pl: mī-núnūm; 3/4) **arc-en-ciel**
n-nwánó (*n*; pl: mī-lwánó; 3/4) **appel** voir: *lǎ* 'appeler' syn: *ñ-lóóŋ*
n-nwǐ (*n*; pl: mī-nwǐ; 3/4) **toit**
nóbô (*v*) **chier** <vulg.>
nòmàwán [ang. number one 'numéro un'] (*n*; pl: bò nòmàwán; s.c./s.c.) **banane douce** (esp.) voir: *újò*
nóŋ (~nwán; *vi*) **pleuvoir** *mbèŋ itē nōŋ* il pleut (*litt.* la pluie pleut)
n-sàlní¹ (*n*; pl: mīn-sàlní; 3/4) **1. fente** (le fait de fendre) **2. opération** (le fait d'opérer) *pèpá mbámá ámé ñsàlní á dwábdò* grand-père était opéré à l'hôpital voir: *sāl* 'fendre'
n-sàlní² (*n*; pl: mīn-sàlní; 3/4) **bénédictio** *mākúb wò nsàlní* je te bénis (*litt.* je te verse la bénédiction) voir: *sāl*

ñ-tájá (*n*; pl: mìn-tájá; 3/4)

lamentation voir: *tájá*

ñ-tájén voir: *ñ-tájú*

ñ-tájní (*n*; pl: mìn-tájní; 3/4; pr.

1) **blanc** (toute personne qui n'a pas la peau noire: Européens, Asiatiques, Nord-africains, Indiens, ..)

ñ-té (*n*; pl: mìn-té; 3/4; pr. 15) 1.

taille, hauteur 2. **durée, longueur temporelle** syn: *è-bòg*

ñ-tééní (*n*; pl: mìn-tééní; 3/4)

soulèvement ♥ **ñtééní dúlà** manière de marcher voir: *té* 'déraciner'

ñ-tég (*n*; 3) **vessie**

ñ-tèm (*n*; pl: mìn-tèm; 3/4)

branche *ñtèm ílé* la branche d'un arbre

ñ-téd (*n*; pl: mìn-téd; 3/4)

personne alitée

ñ-těn (*n*; pl: mìn-těn; 3/4) **ligne,**

trait ♥ **á ntěn juste**

ñ-tí (*n*; pl: bè-tí; 1/2) **seigneur,**

personne qui mérite le respect

ñ-tól (*n*; pl: mìn-tól; 3/4)

premier-né, aîné *ñtól ndómńí wámò* c'est mon fils aîné

ñ-tóm (*n*; pl: mìn-ntóm; 3/4) 1.

chapeau 2. **foulard**

ñ-tómdân (*n*; pl: mìn-tómdân;

3/4) **mauvais tour** (mauvais acte avec l'intention de provoquer, choquer ou amuser l'autre)

ñ-tómó (*n*; pl: mìn-ntómó; 3/4)

mouton

ñ-tónô (*n*; pl: mìn-tónô; 3/4)

bâton de support pour les plantes (p.ex. d'igname, bananier) voir: *tónô*

ñ-tóńlś (*n*; pl: mìn-tóńlś; 3/4) très

long

ñ-túd (*n*; pl: mìn-túd; 3/4) **plein**

ñtúd ílá un verre plein

ñ-tűd (*n*; pl: mìn-tűd; 3/4; pr. 11)

feuillage dense en forêt

ñ-tùdâ (*n*; pl: mìn-tùdâ; 3/4) **pâte**

♥ **ñtùdâ mùń** **pâte de manioc** voir: *m-mùń* 'manioc'

ñ-túm (*n*; pl: mìn-túm; 3/4)

canne *àswándś ntúm* il a taillé une canne; *àté wùlà èy ñtúm* il marche avec une canne

ñ-twàbdò (*n*; pl: mìn-twàbdò;

3/4) **goulument**

ñ-twàgzò (*n*; pl: mìn-twàgzò;

3/4) **jeunes feuilles d'un arbre ou d'une herbe**

ñ-twăm (*n*; pl: mìn-twăm; 3/4)

bourgeon, jeune feuille encore enroulée

ñ-twáj (*n*; pl: mìn-twáj; 3/4) 1.

planoir (barre avec un bout pointu ou aplati en fer pour creuser la terre) 2. **long** *ñtwáj íbâ*

un long bambou ♥ **ñtwáj zùdâ**

(*n*; pl: bđ mìn-twáj mí zùdâ;

s.c./s.c.) **piment** (petit piment vert, pointu en bas, très piquant)

(*litt.* longue-fesse) *Capsicum*

frutescens voir: *úndúndwâ*

ńtwí (*n*; pl: bđ ńtwí; s.c./s.c.)

diarrhée

ñùm (*v*) **puer, avoir une odeur**

ñùmlâ (*v*) **sentir, percevoir une**

odeur

ñùmní (~ñùmní; *n*; 9/10) **cru** *bétē*

yāńú nímńú ì kòpí on fait sécher le

café vert; *ñímńú mmùń ìté vē*

ndēm le manioc cru donne la

puissance (*litt.* le manioc cru

donne le sperme)

nwàmò [ang. number] (*n*; pl: bđ

nwàmò; s.c./s.c.) **nombre,**

numéro

nwáŋ voir: *nóŋ*

ñ-wúdnéngánâ (*n*; pl: mìn-wúdnéngánâ; 3/4)

massage

nyâ (*vt*) **sauver** àúgá mújâ á mēndim il a sauvé l'enfant de l'eau syn: kòdì

ñ-zénzām (*n*; pl: mìn-zénzām; 3/4) **lépreux** voir: *zām* 'lèpre'

ñ-zínzìŋ (*n*; pl: mìn-zínzìŋ; 3/4) **1.**

personne haineuse voir: *zìŋ* 'haine' **2. ennemi**

- ñ -

ñǎ (*n*; pl: bò ñǎ; s.c./s.c.) **1. mère** *jà wāmò* ma mère voir: *màjâ* 'mère (d'ego)'; *nà* 'maman' **2. vrai** àmógò *jà módò* il est devenu adulte (*litt.* il est devenu un vrai homme); *ímê jà môd mbá* c'est un homme âgé

ñàb (*v*) **déchirer**

ñàbì (*vi*) **se déchirer** *ŋgê úpūđì* *ŋgwâg í mpēg íjò, wéyèy ñàbì* si tu mets une pierre dans ce sac, il se déchirera

ñád (*n*; pl: ñád, mē-ñád; 9/10, 6)

buffle ♥ **ñádâ ilwág plante** (*esp.*), **herbe aux sorciers** *Ageratum conyzoides*

ñàg (*n*; pl: ñàg; 9/10) **boeuf**

ñámâ (*vt*) **fondre**

ñànbàn (*vi*) **cahoter** *mètúâ àtê* *jànbàn á bīkēkóngí á mō zēn* la voiture cahote sur les bosses sur la piste

ñáj (*v*) **téter**

ñájâ (*v*) **allaiter** *mìnùŋgá àtê* *jàjâ mújâ wē* la femme allaite son enfant

ñícâ (~ñícê; *n*; pl: bò ñícâ; s.c./s.c.) **plantain mûre** voir: *ì-kvàn* 'plantain non mûr'

ñì-cá (*n*; pl: mìn-cá; 3/4) **rameau, petite branche**

ñì-câ¹ (*n*; pl: mìn-câ; 3/4) **pillage**

ñì-câ² (*n*; pl: mìn-câ; 3/4) ♥ **ñìcâ** *ŋgwān* **sauce de "pistache"**

ñì-cád (*n*; 3) **dur** (dit d'une pomme de terre atteinte d'une maladie qui fait qu'elle ne cuit pas) *mètódó ànè jicád* la pomme de terre est atteinte du 'ncat'

ñì-cág (*n*; pl: mìn-cág, mìn-ság; 3/4) **1. régime** (p.ex. de bananes ou de noix de palme) **2. costaud** (gros et grand de taille) *ànè jicág* (*môd*) il est costaud

ñì-cámá (*n*; pl: mìn-sámá; 3/4) **ensemble, groupe, rang** *tēlì bójó á jicámá úsū ndá* aligne les enfants devant la maison (*litt.* pose les enfants en rangs devant la maison) syn: *ì-sámá*

ñì-cǎn (*n*; pl: mìn-sǎn; 3/4) **savane**

ñì-càŋ¹ (*n*; pl: mìn-sàŋ; 3/4) **bouton sur la peau, gale** *mìsàŋ mìnê èy* *ìsèb* il y a (une épidémie de) gale pendant la saison sèche

ñì-càŋ² (*n*; pl: mìn-sàŋ; 3/4) **coup de pied**

ñì-cég (*n*; pl: mìn-ség; 3/4) **bracelet**

jì-cèmlè (*n*; pl: m̀j̀n-cèmlè; 3/4)
grand fruit, régime ou épi
 d'une plante cultivée ♥ j̀cèmlè
 ncág íkwàn régime de bananes
 plantain énorme ♥ j̀cèmlè
 mbâz grand épi de maïs voir:
 è-kwádǵí 'petit fruit, régime ou
 épi'

j̀cèŋ (*n*; pl: m̀i-sèŋ; 3/4) **1. cour**
2. public

j̀cél (*n*; pl: m̀i-sél; 3/4)
égratignure de la peau

j̀célèg voir: j̀cèlgì

j̀cèlgì (*n*; pl: m̀i-sèlgì; 3/4) **sable**

j̀cǐ (*n*; pl: b̀è-cǐ; 1/2) **beau-parent**
 (membre de la belle-famille) ♥
 j̀cǐ à pàm beau-père ♥ j̀cǐ à
 m̀ngǵá belle-mère ♥ b̀ècǐ belle-
 famille

j̀cígâ (*n*; pl: b̀è-cígâ; 1/2)
coupeur ♥ j̀cíg j̀ng boucher
 (*litt.* coupeur de boeuf) voir: cíg
 'couper'

j̀cílá (*n*; pl: m̀i-sílá; 3/4) **question**
 voir: sílá 'demander'

j̀cínâ (*n*; pl: b̀ò m̀sínâ; 1/s.c.)
train j̀cín àtè kè á tólbé le train
 part à midi

j̀cǐj̀cīm (*n*; pl: m̀i-sǐj̀cīm; 3/4)

1. silhouette voir: ì-òéòò 'ombre'

2. âme, esprit àwú, j̀cǐj̀cīm wē
 úkè il est mort, son âme est partie;
 í mébálá ùté kwàm ménè nyǎ
 m̀sǐsím mí sí ísè les remèdes que
 tu fais peuvent sauver les âmes de
 toute la terre

j̀cǐz (*n*; pl: m̀i-sǐz; 3/4) **veine**

j̀còg¹ (~j̀còg mbâz; *n*; pl:
 m̀j̀n-còg; 3/4) **bouillie de maïs**
 frais

j̀còg² (*n*; pl: m̀j̀n-còg; 3/4)
culotte (culotte ou slip étiré qui

pend comme un sac, qui a perdu
 sa forme) ♥ j̀còg kúlód ♥ j̀còg
 íjé

j̀cògní (*n*; pl: m̀j̀n-cògní; 3/4)
pensée, réflexion mègbélè á
 j̀cògní nâ màkwàm ídâm d́ó j'ai
 l'intention de faire cela; létē mā
 vé bébē ní j̀cògní cela me donne
 le cafard (*litt.* cela me donne les
 mauvaises pensées) voir: còg
 'penser'

j̀còm (*n*; pl: m̀j̀n-còm, m̀i-sòm;
 3/4) **chasse** bēmākè á j̀còm ils
 sont allés à la chasse

j̀còn (*n*; pl: m̀i-sòn; 3/4) **chair**

j̀cô (*n*; pl: b̀ò j̀cô; s.c./s.c.) **lézard**

j̀cô (*n*; pl: m̀i-sô, m̀j̀n-cô; 3/4) **nu,**
nudité m̀sô mèkǒl nu-pieds; àyén
 mâ j̀cô il m'a vu nu ♥ j̀cô
 úwòndò graine d'arachide sortie
 de la coquille

j̀cóbó (*n*; pl: m̀i-sóbó, m̀j̀n-cóbó;
 3/4) **mortier**

j̀còŋ voir: j̀c-wáŋ

j̀còŋ¹ (*n*; pl: m̀i-sòŋ; 3/4) **1. bec** **2.**
bout, pointe ♥ j̀còŋ ébé le bout
 du sein ♥ j̀còŋ m̀bómbòŋ le
 dard d'une abeille vâzá j̀còŋ
 m̀búmbúŋ ú j̀j̀rú mā ímàm retire
 l'aiguillon de l'abeille qui est
 enfoncé dans mon bras

j̀còŋ² (*n*; pl: m̀i-sòŋ; 3/4) **nasse** ♥
 j̀còŋ kwāz nasse syn: è-jà

j̀cù (*n*; pl: m̀i-sù; 3/4) **poison**

j̀cùl (*n*; pl: m̀i-sùl; 3/4) **pet**

j̀c-wád (*n*; pl: m̀i-swád; 3/4)
pénis

j̀c-wàn¹ (*n*; 3) **tabac à priser,**
tabac en poudre

j̀c-wàn² (*n*; 3) **flair** àgbélè
 j̀c-wàn il a du flair

j̄-cwáj (*n*; pl: m̄-swáj; 3/4) **ver**
j̄-cwǎz (*n*; pl: m̄-swǎz; 3/4)
colportage
j̄èb (*vi*) **être bien** *átán j̄ú útē*
j̄èb ce village est agréable; *íyē yí*
ítē j̄èb èèy wǎ ce vêtement te va
très bien
j̄û voir: *j̄ûm̄*
j̄ûnì (~j̄û; *vi*) **entrer, pénétrer**
ɲm̄ɲm̄éɲm̄éb ú j̄úm á ndá í wúná
j̄ó le voleur est entré à la maison
par cette fenêtre; *mbèy ité j̄û á*
ndá la pluie pénètre dans la
maison
j̄ǎn (*n*; pl: j̄ǎn; 9/10) **pou de la tête**
j̄iná (*sub*) **dès que** *j̄iná m̄ésúúñì,*
m̄élóyò wǎ dès que j'arrive, je
t'appelle
j̄íglá (*v*) **faire pénétrer** *m̄ètē*
j̄íglá ákól á z̄itwágnì je fais
entrer le pied dans la chaussette;
ísíyá í j̄íglé mâ byǎ ákól le chat a
planté ses ongles dans ma jambe
voir: *j̄ûm̄* 'pénétrer, entrer'
j̄-jôy (~ñ-jwè; *n*; pl: b̄-jôy; 1/2)
commandant voir: *ì-jôy*
'commandement'
j̄jdy (~n-jwè; *n*; 10) **ciseaux**
j̄-jǔg (~j̄-jǔg; *n*; pl: m̄-jǔg;
3/4) **difficulté** *bòd b̄enē j̄jǔg* les
gens sont compliqués; *ísá m̄ē*
j̄jǔg le travail est pénible
j̄-jà (*n*; pl: m̄-jà, m̄-jà; 3/4)
intestin
j̄-jám (*n*; pl: m̄-jám; 3/4)
préparation, nourriture
préparée, p.ex. une sauce voir:
jám 'préparer'
j̄-jè (*n*; pl: m̄-jè; 3/4) **1. limite**
2. époque, moment *ùtēbē j̄jè*
m̄pé tu t'es levé à quel moment?
j̄-jébá (*n*; pl: m̄-jébá; 3/4)
salon (partie de la maison où se

trouvent le salon et les chambres:
la maison beti consiste en deux
bâtiments, la cuisine et la partie
du salon et des chambres) syn:
èbáá
j̄-jéglē (*n*; pl: b̄-yéglē; 1/2)
enseignant voir: *yéglē* 'enseigner'
j̄-jèmē (*n*; pl: b̄-jèmē; 1/2)
savant voir: *jèm* 'savoir'
j̄-jéjā (*n*; pl: m̄-jéjā; 3/4)
femme qui vient d'accoucher
j̄-jéŋ (~j̄-jéŋē; *n*; pl: b̄-yéŋ;
1/2) **étranger**
j̄-jèŋ (*n*; pl: m̄-jèŋ; 3/4) **plante**
et/ou feuille du potiron, melon
<*fr.af.*> *Cucurbita maxima*
j̄-jūnì (*n*; pl: m̄-yūnì; 3/4) **1.**
projet, volonté *m̄iyū m̄yò í*
ɲḡúɲḡúḡó j̄ú m̄ínē yá? quels sont
tes projets pour ce soir? **2. espoir**
d̄ò w̄ò j̄ j̄ūn̄ w̄ām̄ò úr̄ē n̄ā... alors,
mon espoir est que.. voir: *yí*
'vouloir'
j̄-jóm (*n*; pl: b̄-jóm; 1/2; pr. 10)
1. époux 2. grand, important,
notable *j̄jóm p̄ām* un vrai
homme
j̄-jǒm (*n*; pl: m̄-jǒm; 3/4) **1.**
vieillard voir: *j̄òmbò* 'vieillir';
à-jòm 'vieillesse' **2. vieux** *j̄jòm*
m̄òdò vieil homme **3. ancien**
(abandonné, ne plus utilisé)
b̄éswám̄ḡí j̄jòm átān ils ont
retrouvé l'ancien village
j̄-jón (*n*; pl: m̄-jón; 3/4) **pleur**
voir: *jón* 'pleurer'
j̄-jób voir: *j̄-jwáb*
j̄-jóŋ¹ (~j̄-jwáj; *n*; pl: m̄-jóŋ;
3/4) **route**
j̄-jóŋ² (~j̄-jwáj; *n*; pl: m̄-jóŋ;
3/4) **dérision** (plaisanterie avec le
but d'échapper à une obligation
ou pour éviter de répondre à une

question) *àtè mà kwàm jíjɔ́ɔ́* il me distrait, il me fait une farce
syn: *ì-ɲmgbáɲ*

ɲ̀-ɲ́úɲwág (*n*; 3) **féroce** *b̀̀ pám békám jíjɔ́ɔ́ ɲwág fɪd* les hommes ont capturé l'animal féroce

ɲ̀-ɲwáb (~ɲ̀-ɲóɓ; *n*; pl: m̀̀-ɲwáb; 3/4) **1. pêche au filet ou à la ligne** (surtout appliqué par les hommes) ♥ **ɲ̀ɲwáb álú pêche de nuit** (un grand nombre de lignes courtes sont placées sur le bord de la rivière, de temps en temps le pêcher passe pour contrôler les lignes, peut en principe aussi se faire pendant la journée) ♥ **ɲ̀ɲwáb ámòz pêche de jour** (le pêcheur utilise une seule ligne longue à partir de la rive) **2. ligne de pêche** voir: *ɲwáb* 'pêcher'; *ɲ̀* 'visiter les lignes de pêche'

ɲ̀-ɲwág voir: *ɲ̀-ɲóɔ́*

ɲól¹ (~ɲól; *n*; pl: ɲól, m̀̀-ɲól; 9/10, 6) **corps** *ɲgɛ byā ɲòɲ mbùlnă á ɲól í ỳ̀* si nous prenons vous comme exemple (*litt.* si nous prenons l'exemple sur votre corps)

ɲól² (~ɲól; *n*; 9/10) **couleur** *múɲá wɛ ànè ɲól ànè kòpí* son enfant est couleur café (*litt.* son enfant est couleur comme café) ♥ **ɲól í d̀̀b**

bleu (*litt.* couleur du ciel) *sà̀̀nà ànè ɲól í d̀̀b* le page est bleu ♥ **ɲól í k̀̀pèm vert** (*litt.* couleur des feuilles de manioc) *í k̀̀pí ině ɲól í k̀̀pèm* le café vert

ɲò̀̀nì (*vi*) **se redresser**

ɲó (*n*; pl: b̀̀ ɲó; s.c./s.c.) **ta mère**

ɲòɲ (*vt*) **1. prendre** ♥ **á ɲòɲ mél̩** **capter l'attention** (*litt.* prendre les oreilles) **2. adopter** *à ɲóɲgí mwán á m̀̀ ɲíáɲ* il a adopté le fils de son frère

ɲóy (~ɲwé; *n*; pl: ɲóy; 9/10) **serpent**

ɲúɲ (*vt*; pr. 7) **boire**

ɲúɲá (*vi*) **faire boire** *wàáté ɲè júɲá mébālá* tu ne lui fais pas boire les remèdes voir: *júɲ* 'boire'

ɲwà̀̀ml̩ (*v*) **chatouiller**

ɲwí (*n*; 9; pr. 8) **état d'être orphelin** *ɲwí ɲ̀̀bélè b̀̀* ils vivent un état d'orphelin (*litt.* le fait d'être orphelin les arrête) ♥ **m̀̀ ɲwí** pl: b̀̀ b̀̀ɲwí; **orphelin**

- ɲ & ɲm -

ɲgá (*n*; s.c.) **épouse de qn.** (l'époux doit être spécifié) ♥ **ɲgɛ ís̩ la femme de ton père** ♥ **ɲgá m̀̀ɔ́ɲòɲ la femme de ton frère**

ɲgà̀̀b (*n*; 9) **1. le partage, la distribution** voir: *kà̀̀b* 'partager' **2.**

part ♥ **á ɲòɲ ɲgà̀̀b prendre part, se préoccuper**

ɲgádnà [ang. garden] (*n*; pl: m̀̀-ɲgádnà; 9/6) **jardin**

ɲgál (*n*; pl: ɲgál, m̀̀-ɲgál; 9/10,6; pr. 1) **fusil** ♥ **ɲgál í mb̀̀ɲ** **tonnerre** (*litt.* le fusil de la pluie)

ngàlà (*n*; 9) **bois (matière)**
ngám (*n*; pl: ngám, mè-ngám; 9/10, 6) **mygale** ♥ **ábō ngám**
consulter un charlatan
(traditionnellement: consulter la mygale, cet animal est considéré comme un voyant, autrefois on faisait des consultations devant son terrier avant de prendre des décisions importantes)
ngǎn (*n*; pl: ngǎn, mè-ngǎn; 9/10, 6) **crocodile** ♥ **ɲkòm ngǎn**
crocodile, caïman <fr.af.>
ngáj (*n*; pl: ngáj; 9/10) **jeune**
(phase de la croissance d'un palmier, quand il a atteint une hauteur d'environ un mètre et demi) *ngáj lǎlén itá vūl nāŋ* le jeune palmier grandit rapidement
ngǎŋ (*n*; 9) **remerciement** *mèté mǎm vé ngǎŋ èyɔ̃ ɲpágí yèènú* je vous remercie de votre cadeau ♥
àbú ngǎŋ **merci beaucoup**
ngáz (*n*; pl: ngáz/mè-ngáz; 9/10, 6) **fil de fer**
ngàz (*n*; 9) **pilosité du tronc** (poil de la poitrine ou du ventre) *ngàz mǎ jé á ɲkǎŋ* il a les poils sur la poitrine voir: *mè-vūl* 'poil'
ngé̃b (*v*) **se régaler**
ngègè (*n*; pl: bǎ ngègè; s.c.) **1. fruit (esp.)** (fruit non comestible de grande taille) **2. jeu** (jeu presque disparu joué en deux équipes, une équipe jette le fruit du même nom dans le camp de l'équipe adverse qui doit essayer de le percer à l'aide de flèches)
ngèŋ (*n*; pl: ngèŋ, mè-ngèŋ; 9/10) **graine** (d'arachide ou de haricot) *ngèŋ úwònd* une graine d'arachide
ɲ-géd (*n*; 3) **cruauté**

ngélàpíz [ang. grassfields] (*n*; s.c.) **personne Bamiléké** voir: *mbóg* 'lignage'
ngòb (*n*; pl: ngòb; 9/10) **paire de chaussures** ♥ **àkòl ngób**
chaussure (*litt.* pied de chaussure)
ngólô (~ù-ngólô; *n*; pl: bǎ ngólô; s.c./s.c.) **1. clôture, barrière 2. Yaoundé**
ngòm (*n*; 9) ♥ **ngòm nǎtǎní**
plante (esp.), dartier? *Cassia alata?*
ngòm (*n*; pl: ngòm; 9/10) **porc-épic**
ngòmzàn (*n*; pl: ngòmzàn, mè-ngòmzàn; 9/10, 6) **préparatifs** *màábē kíŋ á ngòmzàn* je ne me suis pas préparé
ngǒy (~ngwě; *n*; pl: ngǒy, mè-ngǒy; 9/10, 6) **porc, cochon**
ngómnd [ang. governor 'gouverneur'] (*n*; pl: bǎ ngómnd; s.c./s.c.) **fonctionnaire, préfet**
ngǒy (~ngwě; *n*; pl: ngǒí, mè-ngǒí; 9/10, 6) **mille-pattes**
ngúl (~ngùl; *n*; 9) **force, pouvoir, autorisation** *mèté wǎ jǎgì ngúl nǎ mǎpǎm* je te demande la permission de sortir; *mèté dŋ íkǎpí mǎ ngúl* j'aime le café fort; *ɲgbém mǎ ngùl* le lion est fort
ngùn (*n*; pl: ngùn; 9/10) **saleté, ordures** syn: *mbid*
ngǔngúgô (~ngúngúgô; *n*; pl: ngǔngúgô, mè-ngǔngúgô; 9/10, 6) **soir** *ngǔngúgô ɲgǎ vǎm* le soir tombe (*litt.* noircit)
ngwàg (*n*; pl: ngwàg, mè-ngwàg; 9/10, 6) **Pierre** *mǎ zǎn ì ngwàg* c'est un chemin caillouteux ♥ **ngwàg èbwǎŋ**
rotule (*litt.* pierre du genou)

ngwál (*n*; 9) **pitié** voir: *wóg* ‘sentir, percevoir’

ngwàn¹ (*n*; pl: *ngwàn*; 9/10) **1. fille** (enfant ou jeune être humain du sexe féminin) **2. fille** (personne de sexe féminin, considérée par rapport à son père et à sa mère ou à l’un des deux seulement) *ínê ñtòl ngwàn wámò* c’est ma fille aînée

ngwàn² (*n*; 9) **lune** syn: *ínódóbò* voir: *ngwàn* ‘clair de lune’

ngwǎn (*n*; 9) **courgette** (?), **pistache** <*fr.af.*>

ngwáj (*n*; pl: *ngwáj*, *mè-ngwáj*; 9/10, 6) **tibia**

ngwě voir: *ngěy*

ngwì (*n*; pl: *ngwì*; 9/10) **chauve-souris** (esp.) ♥ **ngù bǎgbà** **chauve-soiris** (esp.) (*litt.* *ngwi-coller*)

ng-kàbní (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kàbní*; 3/4) **succès** *àyágná ngkàbní wě dyâ* il a payé chèrement son succès

ng-kàd (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kàd*; 3/4) **examen** voir: *kàd*

ng-kàg (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kàg*; 3/4) **colonne vertébrale**

ng-káná (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-káná*; 3/4) **slip, caleçon**

ng-káj (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-káj*; 3/4) **pintade**

ng-kǎṅ (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kǎṅ*; 3/4) **racine** voir: *ngkǎm* ‘souche’

ng-káná (*n*; 3) **bravoure**

ng-kàṅní (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kàṅní*; 3/4) **éloge** voir: *kàṅ* ‘être reconnaissant’

ng-káz (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-káz*; 3/4) **fouet fait de cuir ou de caoutchouc** voir: *ng-gbáz*

ng-kě (*n*; 3) **1. aval 2. sud** voir: *ng-kwě* ‘nord’

ng-kéṅ (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kéṅ*, *mì-léṅ*; 3/4; pr. 9) **personne affectée de strabisme, personne qui louche**

ng-kél (~*kéé*; *n*; pl: *mùṅ-kél*; 3/4) **manche** (partie longue et étroite d’un outil, d’un instrument par lequel on le tient quand on l’utilise)

ng-kéngà (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kéngà*; 3/4) **partie d’une plante cultivée qui n’est pas utilisée** ♥ **ngkengà mbáz** **épi de maïs dont les grains ont déjà été enlevés** (ne s’utilise pas chez les éton) ♥ **ngkengà kpêm** **tige d’une feuille de manioc** (pas consommée) ♥ **ngkengà úwòndò** **tiges et feuilles de la plante d’arachide** (qui sont jetées une fois que les grains ont été enlevés)

ng-kód (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kód*; 3/4) **1. sec** *á ngkòd ílé* à l’arbre sec **2. maigre, squelettique, chétif** *mùṅkòd ní mbú níbā múnghásó* deux chiens squelettiques sont venus; *léné mwàn ngkòd múṅá* c’est un enfant chétif

ng-kóg (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kóg*; 3/4) **canne à sucre** ♥ **ngkóg múnghá** **sucre** (*litt.* la canne à sucre des blancs)

ng-köl (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-köl*; 3/4) **colline**

ng-kóm (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kóm*; 3/4) **rocher**

ng-kòm (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kòm*; 3/4) **bord** *àté kòm múnghòm ní mwǎṅ* il arrange les montants du lit

ng-kòmò (*n*; pl: *bè-kòmò*; 1/2) **réparateur, créateur** voir: *kòm* ‘faire’ ♥ **ngkòm ngòb** **cordonnier**

ng-kõn (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kõn*; 3/4) **queue**

ng-kóṅ¹ (*n*; pl: *mùṅ-kóṅ*; 3/4) **1. âge 2. grandeur** *ngkóṅ ánién ndá útê* que cette maison est grande! **3.**

grade 4. poste dans l'administration
 ñ-kóŋ² (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kóŋ; 3/4) ♥
 ñkóŋ ndá maison en chantier
 ñ-kõŋ (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kõŋ; 3/4)
chenille comestible voir: m̀-ńíŋ
 ‘chenille (esp.)’; ì-wóóðè
 ‘chenille (esp.)’; à-jòz ‘chenille
 (esp.)’
 ñ-kòz (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kòz; 3/4) **crayon**
 ñ-kò (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kò; 3/4)
célibataire
 ñ-kónjí (~ñ-kónóg; *n*; 3) **mets**
 ñ-kóŋ (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kóŋ; 3/4) **tuyau**
 ♥ ñkóŋ ñgál le canon du fusil
 ñ-kóŋlól (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kóŋlól; 3/4)
très long ñkóŋlól zēn un très long
 chemin
 ñ-kũ (*n*; 3) **sel**
 ñ-kùg (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kùg; 3/4) **1.**
poitrine syn: tó **2. bûche, partie**
d'un tronc d'arbre voir: ñ-kwǎg
 ‘tronc d'un arbre couché’; ñ-kùm
 ‘tronc d'un arbre debout’
 ñ-kúl (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kúl; 3/4) **tam-**
tam (tronc évidé avec deux fentes
 pour produire deux tons
 différents, cet instrument était
 utilisé pour communiquer des
 messages à longue distance) á
 bòm ñkūl battre le tam-tam
 ñkúlà (*n*; pl: b̀ ñkúlà; s.c./s.c.)
tempête ñkúlà àŋgâ sùz le vent
 s'apaise
 ñ-kùm (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kùm; 3/4)
tronc d'un arbre debout syn:
 ñ-kùg
 ñ-kùŋ (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kùŋ; 3/4)
substance granuleuse (tel que le
 sel ou le sable)

ñ-kúŋkúmá (*n*; pl:
 m̀ñ-kúŋkúmá; 3/4) **chef** voir:
 à-kúmá ‘richesse’
 ñ-kúŋkwān (*n*; pl:
 m̀ñ-kúŋkwān; 3/4) **personne**
malade voir: kwān ‘être malade’
 ñ-kúz (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kúz; 3/4) **veuve**
 voir: è-kúz
 ñ-kùz (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kùz; 3/4) **achat**
 voir: kùz ‘acheter’
 ñ-kwǎb (*n*; 3) **caisse** ñkwǎb
 mwānũ caisse d'argent
 ñ-kwád (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kwád; 3/4)
tordu àgbélè m̀ñkwád mèbóŋ elle
 a des jambes cagneuses (*litt.* elle
 a des genoux tordus)
 ñ-kwág (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kwág; 3/4)
antilope
 ñ-kwǎg (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kwǎg; 3/4; pr.
 3) **tronc d'un arbre couché** voir:
 ñ-kùg
 ñ-kwǎl (~ñ-kwǎ; *n*; pl: m̀ñ-kwǎl;
 3/4) **1. corde** ♥ ñkwǎl ñgáz **fil**
de fer ♥ ñkwǎl jó **vrille de la**
plante d'igname (*litt.* corde
 d'igname) **2. téléphone**
 ñ-kwǎlô (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kwǎlô; 3/4)
langue ùtè kwǎl ñkwǎl m̀pè? tu
 parles quelle langue?; àŋgácíg mâ
 ñkwǎlô elle m'avait interrompu
 voir: kwǎlô ‘parler’
 ñ-kwáŋ (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kwáŋ; 3/4)
robinet
 ñ-kwáŋó (*n*; pl: m̀ñ-kwáŋó; 3/4)
grenouille (esp.)
 ñmám (*vi*) être acide òpúm béfi
 àtè ñmām le citron est acide
 ñmgbáz (*n*; pl: ñmgbáz; 9/10)
bâton qu'on utilise en tant que
fouet voir: ñ-káz
 ñmgbèg (*vi*) **roter** voir: ñm-gbèg
 ‘rot’

ɲmgbèg (*n*; pl: ɲmgbèg; 9/10)

rot voir: ɲmgbèg ‘roter’

ɲmgbègbàn (*v*) être **avide** (de-
èèy) àtè ɲmgbègbàn èèy mèjwàg
il est avide de vin

ɲm̀-gbéɲmgbél

(~ɲm̀-ɲm̀éɲm̀él; *n*; pl:
m̀ɲm̀-gbéɲm̀gbél; 3/4) **sorcier**
voir: ɲm̀-gbél ‘sorcellerie’

ɲm̀gbél (*n*; pl: ɲm̀gbél,
m̀-ɲm̀gbél; 9/10, 6) **sorcellerie**
voir: ɲm̀-gbéɲm̀gbél ‘sorcier’

ɲm̀gbélmí (*n*; pl: ɲm̀gbélmí,
m̀-ɲm̀gbélmí; 9/10, 6) **grenier**
(sous forme d’un panier qu’on
accroche dans une balançoire,
quatre cordes accrochées à une
latte, à côté du feu et qui sert de
séchoir, le panier est peu profond
et plus large à l’ouverture qu’en
bas) voir: è-ɲgùnà ‘même type de
panier, mais plus grand’; ì-táj
‘grenier’

ɲm̀-kpálá (*n*; pl: m̀ɲm̀-
kpálá; 3/4; pr. 13) **dérision** m̀èy wò
kwàm ɲm̀kpálá je vais te tourner
en dérision

ɲm̀-kpální (*n*; pl: m̀ɲm̀-
kpální; 3/4) **loquacité** voir: kpál
‘être loquace’

ɲm̀-kpámgí (~ɲm̀-
kpámí; *n*; pl: m̀ɲm̀-
kpámgí; 3/4) **nouveau,**
neuf ndá m̀è ɲm̀kpámgí la maison
est neuve

ɲm̀-kpél (*n*; pl: m̀ɲm̀-
kpél; 3/4) **braisé** ɲm̀kpél
ébàṅà macabo
braisé

ɲm̀-ɲmám (~ɲm̀-
ɲmám; *n*; pl: m̀-
vyám/m̀-ɲmám; 3/4)

toucan bleu

ɲm̀-ɲmǎn (~ɲm̀-
ɲmán; *n*; pl: m̀-
vyǎn / m̀-ɲmǎn; 3/4) **liane**
(esp.) **sauvage de taille haute**

ɲm̀-ɲmǎg (*n*; pl: m̀-
vyég; 3/4) **barrage,**
digue voir: yég ‘barrer’;
à-lóg ‘pêche’

ɲm̀-ɲmél (*n*; pl: m̀m̀-
vél; 3/4) **course à pied**

ɲm̀-ɲmël (*n*; pl: m̀-
ɲmël; 3/4) **terrier** (abri naturel ou creusé)

ɲm̀-ɲméméb (*n*; pl:
m̀-ɲméméb; 3/4) **voleur** voir:
jib ‘voler’

ɲm̀-ɲmël (*n*; pl: m̀-
vyěl / m̀-ɲmël; 3/4) **claire de lune** voir:
ɲ-gwán ‘lune’

ɲm̀-ɲmén (*n*; pl: m̀-
vyén / m̀-ɲmén; 3/4) **mollet** dɔ́ òtè m̀â
lób á ɲm̀ɲm̀én alors, il mord dans
ma jambe ♥ **ɲm̀ɲm̀én úsè jambe**
(litt. le mollet entier)

ɲ-ɲál (*n*; pl: b̀-
yál; 1/2) **épouse** ♥
ɲɲál ìlwàli cane (litt. épouse du
canard) voir: m̀-
yál ‘gauche’

ɲ-ɲám (*n*; pl: m̀-
ɲám; 3/4) **résidu**
d’une matière pilée, marc àtè
gbà ɲɲámgà kòpí elle jette le
marc du café syn: ì-jám

ɲ-ɲém (*n*; pl: m̀-
ɲém; 3/4) **chauve-souris** (esp.) voir: ù-
tàn ‘chauve-souris (esp.)’

- 0 -

òpùmá (*n*; pl: b̀
òpùmá; s.c./s.c.) **1. agrume** **2. orange** ♥

òpúm bètí citron (litt. agrume
des beti) ♥ **òpúm bìkàblí**

pamplemousse (*litt.* agrume des chevaux)

òwònò (*n*; s.c.) **arachide**

- p -

pà (*vi*) **briller** *ɲgwàn ìté pà* la lune brille

pà (*n*; pl: mè-pà; 9/10, 6) **machette**

páágà (*n*; pl: páágà, mè-páágà; 9/10, 6) **peigne** *syn: ì-wàz*

pád (*vt*) **cueillir, récolter (maïs, etc.)**

pàdà (*n*; pl: bò pàdà; s.c./s.c.) **prêtre**

pàdī (*vt*) **arracher** (enlever de force à une personne) *mǎjāŋ ápādgí mǎ mǎmǎgá* mon frère a arraché ma femme

pág (*v*) **creuser** *bìté yì nǎ byǎpág mētúm mé mǎm ìtón á sí* nous voulons creuser les habitudes du pays éton à fond

pám (*v*) I *vi* **1. sortir 2. arriver** *bētē pām á tólbé* ils arrivent à midi II *vt* **1. devenir** *mǎ mǎáté yì nǎ mǎpám ìmód àté kwàm mēbālá* moi, je ne veux pas devenir quelqu'un qui fait des remèdes **2. atteindre** ♥ **á pām** **cíŋ s'accorder** (*litt.* sortir la voix)

pām (*vi*) **être fâché, être furieux**

pām (*n*; pl: pām; 9/10) **homme, mâle adulte**

pámâ (*vt*) **faire sortir, libérer** *bētē pāmâ mwán mǎmǎg* on libère le captif

páj (*n*; pl: páj; 9/10) **correct, acceptable, normal** <*fr.af.*> *ájám páj ì kpèm* elle a préparé un plat de feuilles de manioc acceptable; *àsé páj* il est stupide

(*litt.* il n'est pas normal) ♥ **páj**

páj correctement *mǎpāg á mǎmbū mēsē kwàgdé jèm páj páj* concernant les années, je ne peux bien savoir correctement (dit par un vieillard concernant son âge)

pàzì (*vt*) **enlever** *á pàzì ìjǎy* enlever une épine

pé (*n*; pl: pé; 9/10) **1. lieu, endroit 2. forêt**

pê (*adv*) **1. aussi** *mǎmá pē?* vous aussi? **2. plus (négation)** *bǎŋǎ mēlú mǎ bǎáté pē lùgá bēbòrù* les enfants de l'époque actuelle ne respectent plus les parents

-pébê (~pébê; *pro*) **autre**

pèg (*n*; 9) **sagesse, intelligence** *àgbél pèg* il est intelligent

pèm (*vt*) **détester**

pèmnì (*v*) **détester l'un l'autre**

pèŋ (*v*) **balancer** *ìtǎŋ élén útē pèŋ èèy ìwǎŋlá* le long palmier balance avec le vent

pépé (*n*; pl: pépé; 9) **cafard** *mòd á pépé ànè á zēn* il y a un gros cafard sur le chemin voir: *ì-bám*

péy (~lè-kpěy; *n*; pl: péy; 9/10) **vipère**

pèd (*v*) **fermer** I *vt* *mētē pèd mǎmēndá èèy ìdǎgá* je ferme la porte à clé II *vi* *zèkúli àté pèd kǎdī* l'école ferme demain (définitivement); *mǎmēndá únē tē pèdbàn* la porte ne se ferme pas (c-à-d ne peut pas être fermée)

pèdnì¹ (vi) **se fermer** *m̀m̀éndá útē*
p̀èdnì la porte se ferme (d'elle-même)

pèdnì² (v) I vi **1. douter** *àtē p̀èdnì nā m̀ènd̄m̀ m̀ètē s̄m̀* il doute que l'eau soit froide voir: *mp̀èd* 'doute' **2. être peu serviable** II vt **discuter** *m̀ètē j̀è nā m̀àyé̄n j̀é nā l̀ép̀èdnìú l̀é̄v̄ l̀étē è̀y j̀é* je voudrais le voir afin de discuter avec lui cette affaire

pèlnà (v) **expliquer**

pén [ang. paint] (vt) **peindre**

pèn (vt) **coiffer, tresser** *àtē p̀èn m̀ō j̀iāy* elle tresse sa sœur; *àtē p̀ènbàn* elle se fait tresser

pèz (n; pl: p̀èz; 9/10) **gombo**
Abelmoschus esculentus voir: *ì-ǹèm è̀v̄l* 'feuilles du gombo'

pèb (vi) **être épais** *m̀p̀im̀ útē p̀èb* le mur est épais

pébâ [ang. fever] (n; s.c.) **fièvre**

pèdì (v) I vt **1. avoir confiance en qn.** *m̀ètē j̀i p̀èdì* j'ai confiance en lui II vi **1. espérer** *àtē p̀èdì nā m̀ènd̄m̀ m̀ètē s̄m̀* il espère que l'eau sera froide **2. croire en Dieu** voir: *è-p̀èdì* 'confiance, espoir, foi'

pímû (v) **effacer**

pó (n; pl: p̀ó; 9/10) **rat**

pò (vi) **être abondant** *b̀òd b̀ètē p̀ò* il y a beaucoup de gens

póblô (vt) **bercer**

pógô (vt) **1. bouger** *àtē p̀ógô t̀èblā* il bouge la table; *àtē p̀ógô d̄ō* il bouge son bras; *b̀ìd̄ib b̀ítē p̀ógô m̀ál* les vagues agitent la pirogue voir: *p̀ógzân* 'bouger (vi)' **2. remuer**

pógzân (vi) **bouger** *àtē p̀ógzân* il bouge; *m̀ènd̄m̀ ā úsō m̀ètē*

p̀ógzân les eaux du fleuve sont agitées

pòlò (vt) **rendre en grande quantité, agrandir** *yg̀èl̀áp̄z b̀ètē p̀òlò āk̄m̀ā* les Bamiléké multiplient la richesse ♥ **ápòlò m̀òd m̀ām á j̀ól noircir qn.** (*litt.* multiplier un homme les choses sur le corps) syn: *b̀ùlè*

póm [ang? pump, fr? pompe] (vi)

1. pomper 2. pulvériser

pòd̀nì (~p̀òd̀nè; v) **ressembler**

b̀ètē p̀òd̀nì ils se ressemblent voir: *m̀b̀òd̀nìú* 'ressemblance'

póz (v) **écorcher**

pó (n; pl: m̀è-p̀ó; 9/6) **nouvelle, information, message** syn: *nd̄ōy* ♥ **m̀èp̀ó m̀ áwú pages nécrologiques**

pózi (vt) **éplucher**

púb (vi) **être propre**

pùblàn (vi) **s'agiter, faire des mouvements rapides, gesticuler**
kú itē p̀ùblàn la poule bat ses ailes

pùdì (vt) **mettre, administrer**
ìsónò àtē p̀ùdì m̀p̀ijá ñwǎy Essono met la couverture sur le lit; *àtē p̀ùdì b̀ilā á kwábd̄ō* il met les verres dans l'armoire ♥ **ápùdì m̀íz bien observer** (*litt.* mettre les yeux)

pùg (vt) **malaxer, pétrir** *b̀ètē p̀ùg úv̄g ású m̀ékàlā* ils malaxent la farine pour les beignets

pùládē [ang. friday] (n; pl: b̀ò p̀ùládē; s.c./s.c.) **vendredi** voir: *swánò*

pùlāsí (n; s.c.) **les Français**

pùlávô [ang. flower] (n; pl: b̀ò p̀ùlávô; s.c./s.c.) **fleur**

pùlúz [ang? police, fr? police;] (~p̀ùlú; n; s.c.) **police**

pùm (vi) être blanc voir: à-pùm
‘la blancheur’; m-pùm ‘le blond’
pùmì (vt) déraciner, récolter
tubercules ou arachides á pùmì
úwòndò récolter des arachides;
úwòndò àté pùmbàn ávól les
arachides se récoltent vite
pún (v) I vi avoir peur màáté pūn
je n’ai pas peur II vt craindre,
avoir peur de mèté pūn
míngbēngbél j’ai peur des sorciers
voir: w-šy ‘peur’
pùpó [fr? papaye] (n; pl: bð pùpó;
s.c./s.c.) papaye
pwàd (v) <vulg.> faire l’amour,
baiser <vulg.>
pwág voir: vwág

pwágó (adv) vraiment màkàd
pwágó wò nâ... je te dis vraiment
que..
pwám (adv) ♥ àné pwám II est
silencieux. ♥ ábōgbò pwám se
taire syn: ì-vóbó
pwám (n; pl: pwám; 9/10)
fourmi (petite fourmi qui vit en
brousse et qui pique)
pwàmò (v) observer, consulter
pyâ [ang. pear ‘poire’] (n; pl: bð
píâ; s.c./s.c.) 1. avocat (fruit) 2.
avocatier *Persa americana*
pyàgà (n; pl: pyàgà, mè-pyàgà;
9/10, 6; pr. 13) farce,
plaisanterie, blague

- R -

rènkód [ang. raincoat] (~lènkód;
n; pl: bð rènkód; s.c./s.c.)
imperméable

- S -

sá (v) I vi travailler àngábé ságá á
ndá yē il était en train de
travailler dans sa maison voir: ì-sá
II vt 1. faire, être occupé de qc.
jé àngābé ságá qu’est-ce qu’il
était en train de faire? syn: kòm 2.
soigner dwábdô àté sā
ḡkūmkūmá le médecin soigne le
chef 3. cultiver ḡgá ísā àngásá
úwòndò l’épouse de son père avait
cultivé les arachides
sá (n; pl: sá; 9/10) fruit du
safoutier *Dacryodes edulis* ? ,
(fruit ovale et pourpre-brun avec

un goût acide qu’on grille),
prune <fr.af.> voir: à-sá
‘safoutier’
sáánì (~séesnì; vi) se disputer
sàbsábá (n; pl: bð sàbsábá;
s.c./s.c.) 1. plante (esp.)
corossolier *Annona muricata* 2.
corossol, fruit du corossolier
ság (vi) 1. être costaud, être gros
et grand de taille, être robuste
àté ság il est costaud 2. produire
un grand régime (bananier)
ìkwàn íság le bananier (plantain) a
produit un grand régime

sàl (vt) **1. fendre** *ùsò útē sàl m̄ àpúlb* le ruisseau coupe mon champ **2. opérer**

sám (vt) **allonger** *àtē sām ímàm ású n̄ àgbê iyé yē* il allonge le bras pour attraper son vêtement

sām (n; pl: sām; 9/10) **bourgeon de fleur** voir: *ì-sàngà* ‘fleur’ ♥ **sām î mbàz fleur de maïs, panicule, inflorescence mâle du maïs** ♥ **ákpā sām fleurir**

sāmà (vi) **se défouler**

sámlân (v) **s’allonger** *sámlân ípwây* allonge-toi sur le lit voir: *sám* ‘allonger’

sànà (n; pl: b̄ s̄nà; s.c./s.c.) **pagne**

sāj [ang. sign] (v) **signer** *á sāj ápēb* signer un document

sāj¹ (vt) **entailler, faire des encoches** voir: *sājlà* ‘découper, couper en pièces’

sāj² (vi) **être acide, être aigre** *m̄pyáj úmàsāj* la sauce est gâtée; *òpùmá àtē sāj* l’orange est acide; *méywâg má mētē sāj* ce vin est acide

sājá (n; pl: b̄ sājá; s.c./s.c.) **tante (paternelle ou maternelle)**

sājgēlézi (n; pl: b̄ sājgēlézi; s.c./s.c.) **sous-vêtement**

sājlà (~sājà; n; pl: b̄ sājlà; s.c./s.c.) **plat de maïs** (avec des feuilles, p.ex. les feuilles de manioc, et de la sauce de noix de palme) (~sājlà mbàz)

sājlà (vt) **découper, couper en pièces** voir: *sāj¹* ‘entailler’

sājnì (vi) **être gêné, s’inquiéter, être agité** *ìkējkwān útē sājnì èy p̄bâ* le malade est agité par la fièvre

sàz (vt) **éparpiller, mettre en désordre**

séébán (vi) **se soigner, se faire soigner** (d’une maladie) *ìbǎb ñgábé sēébēygan èy ilē* l’asthme se soignait avec des herbes (*litt.* avec l’arbre)

ségzân (vi) **respirer avec peine**

sègzè (vt) **secouer** voir: *ì-sègzè* ‘tamis’; *sùgzà* ‘secouer’

sêm [ang. same] (n; pl: sêm, b̄ sém; 9/10, s.c.) **même** *sêm dàm* la même chose; *àgbélê sêm ì mètwa àné m̄* il a la même voiture que moi

sēj (v) **douter, être incertain**

sēj (vt) **terrasser** *á sēj j̄cēj* terrasser la cour

sédàdé [ang. saturday] (n; pl: b̄ sédàdé; s.c./s.c.) **samedi**

séli (vt) **1. éplucher** (un tubercule ou un fruit avec un instrument tranchant) syn: *tònì* syn: *p̄zì* **2. tailler** (un tronc de palmier ou de raphia pour récolter le vin) **3. manger goulûment** *àtē sēl mēbàjà* il mange les macabos avec voracité

sèn (vi) **glisser**

sí (n; pl: sí, mèsí; 9/10,6; pr. 6) **terre, sol** *ágbà á sí* jeter par terre; *b̄⁴d̄í í dàm é⁴kú á sí* ne mange pas ce qui est tombé par terre ♥ **ásí sous, dessous** *ílē á sí* sous l’arbre; *mētē s̄z táj ásí* je diminue le prix

síbâ (v) **s’approcher (de- èy)** *síbâ bēbè èy táblē* approche-toi de la table

sî (vi) **se oindre**

síl (n; pl: síl, mē-síl; 9/10, 6) **termite (esp)**

sílá (v) I *vi* être souhaitable *ítē sīlá nâ úvê d̄wé d̄ô* il est souhaitable que tu donnes ton nom II *vt* 1. **demander** voir: *jì-cílâ* 2. **poser une question** *jícílâ úsúsúá mètē yì nâ māsílâ wǒ únê nâ*: ... la première question que je veux te poser est: .. voir: *téli*

sílbâ (n; pl: b̀̀ sílbâ; s.c./s.c.) **marmite en aluminium**

sílgàn (vi) **tressaillir** *syn: b̀̀m̀̀gàn*

símá (n; pl: b̀̀ símá; s.c./s.c.) **sous-vêtement** *syn: s̀̀ng̀̀lézì*

sín (vi) 1. **être froid** *mènd̄im mètē s̄m* l'eau est froide voir: *d̀̀b̀̀g* 'glacé' 2. **être mouillé** *b̀̀jé b̀̀tē s̄m* les habits sont mouillés

síngì (n; pl: b̀̀ síngì; s.c./s.c.) **pièce d'un franc de l'époque coloniale française** voir: *s̀̀p̀̀n* '50 centimes'

síng (vt) **haïr** voir: *z̀̀ng* 'haine'; *z̀̀ngb̀̀á* 'être rancunier'

sípên (n; pl: b̀̀ sípên; s.c./s.c.) **cinquante centimes (argent colonial français)** ♥ *ng̀̀ng sípên* **jú je te mets au défi, je t'avertis** (on prononce ces mots en croisant les doigts, l'interlocuteur accepte le défi s'il met un doigt entre les doigts croisés en les écartant) (*litt.* prends ces 50 centimes-ci)

sízil (vt) **effrayer** *mèsízil m̀̀ng̀̀ng* *ẁ̀m̀̀d̄j*'ai effrayé mon frère

sò (v) **nettoyer, laver** *mèmə́ s̀̀* *ndá* j'ai nettoyé la maison

sòb (vi; pr. 6) **rentrer (de, à- á) á** *sòb á ndá* rentrer à la maison; *mètē sòb á d̀̀l̀̀á* je rentre d'un voyage

sóló (~swé; n; pl: b̀̀ sóló; s.c./s.c.) **assiette traditionnelle, en bois** voir: *̀̀s̀̀* 'assiette'

sòm (v) **chasser, poursuivre un gibier pour le capturer ou tuer**

sòpíá (n; pl: b̀̀ s̀̀píá; s.c./s.c.) **travail de nettoyage d'un terrain à la machette**

só (~zù; v) I *vi* **venir, arriver** *àsógò ùkwàng̀̀* il est venu alors que tu étais malade II *vt* 1. **apporter (qc. à qn.- m̀̀d̀̀ è̀̀y j̀̀m)** *àsó ng̀̀ng è̀̀y ipá̀̀g̀̀* il a apporté un cadeau à sa femme (*litt.* il est venu à sa femme avec un cadeau) 2. **fuir, faire suinter** *ilá itē s̀̀ m̀̀nd̄im* le verre fuit l'eau 3. **suinter** *m̀̀nd̄im mètē s̀̀ ilá* l'eau suinte du verre

só (n; pl: só; 9/10) **noix de palme** ♥ **só it̀̀ng noix de palme** ♥ **só ì mbí noix de palme**

sóbó [ang. soap] (n; s.c.) **savon**

sónbó (vi; pr. 14) **s'accroupir**

s̀̀ng (v) **charger (fusil) àtē s̀̀ng ng̀̀ng** il charge le fusil

s̀̀ngd̀̀ (vt) **donner une forme pointue** voir: *è-s̀̀ng* 'dent'

s̀̀d (n; 9) **coton**

súglá (v) **pousser, renverser** *àsúglá mā àsí* il m'a poussé par terre

s̀̀nglàn (vi) **s'effondrer** *ndá itē s̀̀nglàn* la maison s'effondre

s̀̀ngzà (vt) **secouer àtē s̀̀ngzà** *inwàm̀̀d̄* il agite la bouteille voir: *s̀̀ngzè*

s̀̀m (vi) **labourer**

s̀̀n (v) **détériorer (nourriture)** *b̀̀d̄i b̀̀mā s̀̀n* la nourriture s'est décomposée voir: *s̀̀n* 'odeur de décomposition, odeur de pourriture et d'excréments'

s̀̀ng (vt) **disputer, lutter pour obtenir qc.** voir: *̀̀s̀̀ng*

sùz (vi) **descendre, diminuer** *táj*
íté sùz le prix diminue voir: *sùzà*
 ‘faire descendre, diminuer’ *ùlún*
wē úngâ sùz sa colère s’apaise

sùzà (vt) **1. diminuer, abaisser**
mèté sùzà táj ásí je diminue le
 prix; *àté sùzà sâná ìjé ásí* il
 abaisse son pagne **2. cotiser**
 (payer sa contribution dans un
 système de tontine) voir: *ì-sùznì*
 ‘tontine’ **3. décharger** *sùzá mǎ*
 décharge-moi; *sùzá jé lépūná*
 décharge le du paquet

swád [ang. shirt] (n; pl: b̀ swád;
 s.c./s.c.) **chemise**

swáđí (vt) **enlever un vêtement**
ùndwábò àté swáđí ngôb Ondobo
 enlève les chaussures

swâdnì (vi) **dégringoler**

swàlb̀ (~swè̀b̀; v) I vi **se**
cache *àté mâ swàlb̀* elle se
 cache de moi II **swàl̀** f.rés. **être**
caché *ìpáǵí íswàl̀* le cadeau est
 caché voir: *swàl̀* ‘cacher’

swàl̀ (~swè̀; vt) **cache** *mèté*
swàl̀ mwán wâm̀ je cache mon
 argent; *ùté mâ swàl̀ byém* tu me
 fais des cachotteries (*litt.* tu me
 caches des choses)

swàm (vt) **1. trouver qc. qu’on**
cherche, découvrir *múǵá*
áswām léswǎ l’enfant a découvert
 la cachette syn: *đb* voir: *kwáb* **2.**
retrouver *béswámǵí j̀j̀nòm átán*
 ils ont retrouvé l’ancien village

swâmǹ (n; pl: m̀-*swâmǹ*; 9/6)

plainte ♥ **á b̀ swâmǹ porter**
plainte (*litt.* accuser la plainte)

swán (vi) **piaffer** <fr.af.>
 (produire un son en suçant l’air
 dans la bouche en signe de
 mécontentement)

swánd̀ (vt) **tailler** *àswánd̀ ñtūm*
 il a taillé une canne

swáǹ [ang. sunday] (n; pl: b̀
swáǹ; s.c./s.c.) **dimanche** ♥

swáǹ mèlú métán (~*swán*
mētán); **mardi** (*litt.* dimanche
 cinq nuits) ♥ **swáǹ mèlú ménà**

(~*swán* *mē nà*); **mercredi** (*litt.*
 dimanche quatre nuits) ♥ **swáǹ**

mèlú mélá (~*swán* *mēlá*);

jeudi (*litt.* dimanche trois nuits) ♥

swáǹ mèlú mébā (~*swán*
mēbā); **vendredi** (*litt.* dimanche
 deux nuits) syn: *pùládē*

swàŋ (n; pl: *swàŋ*, *m̀-*swàŋ**;
 9/10, 6) **tombe** ♥ **á kàn swàŋ**

jur

swáŋ̀ (n; pl: b̀ *swáŋ̀*; s.c./s.c.)
tante

- t -

tàd (vi) **1. bêler (chèvre)** *kábd̀ ìté*
tàd la chèvre bêle **2. caqueter**
ǵǵál kú àté tàd ñtád léŋgwàn la

poule caquette (*litt.* l’épouse de la
 poule crie le cri de la coquetterie)

táđá (n; s.c.) **(mon) père** ♥ **m̀**
táđá mon frère, ma soeur

táđi (v) **débuter, commencer** ♥
átáđgì àné depuis que *átáđgì àné ɲríkpāmǵí ɲkúmǵúmá úsǵǵ, ìsá ímāǵá jèb* depuis l'arrivée du nouveau chef, le travail s'est amélioré voir: *mè-táđi* 'début'

tág (vt) **arranger, ranger** *ámá tág mēkēz á mál* il a rangé les caisses dans la pirogue; *tág lōm dō* range tes affaires!

tág (n) voir: *mè-bán*

tágà [fr. tabac] (n; s.c.) **tabac** voir: *mbē*

tágí¹ (v) **décortiquer**

tágí² (vt) **pondre** *lēswe létáǵí mwán ákǵl wámò* la chique a pondu un oeuf dans mon pied

tál (~téé; vt) **1. apercevoir** **2. visiter** *mèté kē tál twámó* je vais rendre visite à Tomo

tám (n; pl: *tám, mētám*; 9/10,6) **plume**

tám (vt) **souhaiter** *mátám wò nímémà mbwám* je te souhaite bonne chance

támná (v) **féliciter** voir: *mè-támná* 'félicitations'

táj (n; 9) **1. calcul** **2. nombre** *táj mimbú yò* ton âge **3. prix**

tájá (vi) **1. se soucier, avoir des soucis** **2. se lamenter** voir: *ñ-tájá* 'lamentation' **3. demander des excuses par un don, donner une compensation**

té (vt) **soulever, arracher, déraciner** *nà áté tē mbē ásí* maman soulève la casserole; *pám itē tē íbúdgà mētwa á úsú* l'homme soulève le capot de la voiture (*litt.* l'homme soulève la couvercle de la voiture de devant) ♥ **té ɲmɲmēl** **courir** ♥ **té dúlá** **marcher** voir: *ñ-téérí*

'déracinement, arrachage, soulèvement'

tébê (v) I vi **1. se lever** ♥ **tébé ásí** **se lever** *mèté wūlâ tēb ásí kékádâ* je me lève tôt le matin **2. aller bien** *èté tēbé* nous allons bien voir: *mbwàǵí* **3. prendre l'habitude de faire qc.** II **télê** *f.rés.* **être debout** *mètélê á jōɲ* je suis dans la rue; *lèwùl lé kábđi létélê ɲmǵɲ* le poil du cabri est hérissé voir: *téli*

téblê [ang? table, fr? table] (n; pl: *bò téblê*; s.c./s.c.) **table**

tèè (vi) **glisser, être glissant** *sóbó áté tèè* le savon glisse syn: *sèn*

téèy (v) **1. quitter, partir de quelque part** *bí èy cālâ bitéy biké á mbálméyōz* Tsala et moi avons quittés et sommes partis à M. **2. provenir de** *mēndim mētē téèy á ɲkól á yó* l'eau provient d'en haut de la colline

tèèy (prep; **sans** *áké mēdyǵ tèèy* *jé* il est parti sans moi (*litt.* il est parti, moi étant sans lui); *mèké àdyǵ tèèy jé* je suis parti sans lui; *èké àdyǵ tèèy jé* nous sommes parti sans lui)

tèg (v) I vi **1. s'épuiser, s'affaiblir, se fatiguer** ♥ **mètég** j'en peux plus, je suis épuisé **2. mûrir, devenir tendre** *píā àmá tég* l'avocat est mûr **3. se fatiguer (de- èy)** *mùǵà átég èy zékúli* l'enfant se fatigue de l'école, l'enfant a marre de l'école II vt **surmener, fatiguer** *átég mbú yē* il a surmené son chien

tègbè (vi) **être paresseux, être faible** *áté tègbè* il est paresseux voir: *à-tég* 'la paresse'

tègnì (vi) être fatigant, épuiser

isá yí itē tègnì ce travail épuise
voir: tègbè 'être paresseux'

tètùlí (n; s.c.) chose bizarre,
souffrance mèèy wò lédè tètùlí je
vais te faire souffrir (litt. je vais te
montrer des choses bizarres)

téli (vt) 1. placer, poser *téli bójó á*
ɲcāmá úsū ndá aligne les enfants
devant la maison (litt. pose les
enfants en rangs devant la
maison) *àtē tēli m̀pēg ásí* il met le
sac sur le sol 2. poser une
question *m̀à̀ỳi túóú tēlé j̀cílá* je
voudrais mieux poser la question
3. arrêter *m̀ò b̀éz̀m̀i àtēli m̀étwā*
le policier a arrêté la voiture voir:
tébè

tíblá (v) faire souffrir voir: *̀-̀f̀blá*
'souffrance'

fid (n; pl: fíd, m̀-̀f̀id; 9/10,6) 1.
animal ♥ **fíd lèpàn animal**
sauvage (litt. animal de brousse)
♥ **fíd átán animal domestique**
(litt. animal de village) 2. viande
♥ **fíd mèčì paludisme** (litt. la
viande du sang) *m̀ètē kwàn fíd*
m̀èc̀i je souffre du paludisme

fídnà (v) expulser syn: *càm*

fíg (v) 1. être épais (de liquides)
m̀̀pyáŋ úwòndò útē c̀ig la sauce
d'arachides est épaisse voir: *̀-̀f̀ig*
'fond' 2. être mûr (de
personnes) *̀̀ngá f̀ig* il est mature

fũ (vt) détacher

fũbà (v; pr. 13) I vi être attaché *̀tē*
fũbà il est attaché (il s'attache?) II
tyă f.rés. ̀b̀é tyă il était attaché;
̀̀tyă il est attaché

fũnì (vi) 1. se détacher *kábdi ̀iřírú*
̀jkwál la chèvre s'est détachée de
la corde; *̀jkwál kábdi úmá f̀ǹi* la
corde de la chèvre s'est détachée?

2. signifier *nálà wátĩǹi ǹa...* cela
veut dire que .. ; *b̀ibáz b̀i yó b̀itē*
̀m̀ b̀i b̀itē f̀ǹi ǹa m̀b̀èy ỳà̀ỳi ǹóy
ces nuages noirs annoncent la
pluie (litt. ces nuages noirs
signifient que la pluie va tomber)

fíkêd [ang. ticket] (n; pl: m̀-̀f̀ikêd,
b̀ò f̀ikêd; 9/6, s.c.) **billet** *f̀ikêd ̀m̀è*
dyâ le billet coûte cher ♥ **fíkêd ̀i**
swám̀ǹò billet de convocation

fíl (vt) 1. écrire *àtē f̀il káládà* il
écrit une lettre voir: *̀-̀f̀il* 'écriture'

2. inscrire *m̀èt̀il m̀ũyá á z̀èkúli*
j'ai inscrit l'enfant à l'école

fílbàn (v) 1. s'écrire, être écrit *d̀è*
̀tón ̀ngá f̀ilbàn àyá á b̀ò káládà
est-ce que l'éton s'écrit déjà dans
les livres? 2. s'inscrire *m̀èt̀ilbàn á*
z̀èkúli je me suis inscrit à l'école

fímnì (v) I vi rentrer, retourner
m̀ètē f̀mǹi ápũb je rentre au
champ

fímzànà (vt) 1. expliquer voir:
n-d̀mzàná 'signification,
traduction' syn: *p̀èlnà* 2. traduire
p̀ádà àtē f̀mzànà ̀p̀àng̀ilũm le
prêtre traduit l'évangile

fín (v) pousser *̀̀f̀n m̀étwā* il a
poussé la voiture

fíŋ (v) tisser

fíŋdà (v) attacher *àtē f̀ŋdà kábdi*
̀ilē il attache la chèvre à un arbre

físwân (n; pl: b̀ò f̀iswân; s.c./s.c.)
ville

fítímâ (n; pl: b̀ò f̀ítímâ; s.c./s.c.)
bateau

tó (n; 9) poitrine syn: *̀j̀-̀k̀ug*

tòbnì (vi) 1. se rencontrer voir:
tòbnò 'rencontrer qn.' 2. se
réunir *b̀ò j̀à b̀òd m̀b̀á á àtān*
b̀ètòbǹi á́sú l̀évó les anciens du
village se sont réunis pour la
palabre 3. cadrer, s'accorder

avec (avec- èèy) *m̀̀jicògrú myē myāáté tōbǹ̀ èèy m̀̀̀kwàmíú myē* ses idées ne cadrent pas avec ses actes **4. arriver (à qn.- èèy mòd)** *ùtè jèm í dām ìtóbneḡgáná èèy má ààngògí?* tu sais ce qui m'est arrivé hier?

tóbnò (vi) **rencontrer (qn.- èèy mòd)** *mètóbnò àyǎ èèy jé* je l'ai déjà rencontré voir: *tóbǹ̀* 'se rencontrer'; *ndóbēn* 'rencontre'

tóg (~tóg; n; pl: tóg, m̀̀-*tóg*; 9/10, 6) **cuiller**

tólbé (~tólbí; n; pl: b̀̀ tólbé; s.c./s.c.) **midi** *àsó á tólbé* il est venu à midi

tómád [fr. tomate] (n; pl: b̀̀ tómád; s.c./s.c.) **tomate**

tònì (vi) **éplucher** *àtè tònì mbáz* il épluche le mais

tónò (vt) **palisser, supporter une plante à l'aide d'un bâton ♥ jé ítè wô tónò? tu comptes sur quoi? d'où cet orgueil?** (*litt.* qu'est-ce qu'il te soutient?) *àtè tónò jé í mēn* il se donne beaucoup de poids, il se gonfle voir: *̀̀-tónò* 'support'

tó (vi) **dégouliner, tomber goutte à goutte** voir: *è-tó* 'une goutte'

tò (dp) **si, même si**

tógbò (vi) **être petit** *í ndá j̀̀ ìtè tógbò* cette maison est petite

t̀̀lápēn (n; pl: b̀̀ t̀̀lápēn; s.c./s.c.) **2.5. centimes** (argent colonial français)

tóḡ (vt) **1. dire, raconter** *mèté wô tóḡ bábélá* je te dis la vérité **2. affirmer** *àtè tóḡ nâ àsúnéḡgán áàngògí* il affirme qu'il est venu hier **3. avertir qn. de** *àtóḡgé b̀̀ lèwáki lé múḡá wē* il nous a

annoncé la naissance de son enfant

tóḡ [fr. thon] (n; pl: b̀̀ tóḡ; 9/s.c.)

thon (poisson) *tóḡ ìnè dyâ á mákad* le thon coûte cher au marché

tóḡ¹ (vt) **1. nourrir 2. élever**

tóḡ² (vt) **poursuivre** *m̀̀ḡó àtè tóḡ j̀̀ nā* l'enfant poursuit sa mère; *ùbàm útē tóḡ bíđi byē* l'épervier poursuit sa nourriture

tóḡbò (vi) **être lent** voir: *à-tóḡ* 'lenteur'

tú¹ (vi) **fuir, s'échapper**

tú² (v) **percer** *ùnàná àtè tū dwād* Onana perce un furoncle ♥ **átū métē cracher** (*litt.* percer la salive) voir: *̀̀-túúú* 'le fait d'être percé'

túbnà (~túlǹ̀; vi) **faire une percée, aller plus loin que prévu initialement**

túbǹ̀ (v) I vi **1. transpercer (qc.- á j̀̀m)** *m̀̀ndm métúbú á ḡḡḡmēḡ* l'eau a transpercé la digue; *ìbà ítúbú á mp̀̀m* le bambou a transpercé le mur **2. venir à contretemps (pour excréments ou urines)** *múḡá átúbú mé j̀̀lgí ḡwǎḡ* l'enfant a fait pipi dans son lit; *m̀̀bí métúbú múḡá | múḡá átúbú m̀̀bí* l'enfant a fait caca à contretemps II vt **transpercer** *átúbú ìbà á mp̀̀m* il a transpercé le mur avec un bambou

túd (v) **prononcer, citer**

tùḡ (vt) **frotter**

túgâ (v) **fumer, dégager de la fumée** *ḡkwáḡ ḡgál úḡḡnâ túgâ údá* le canon du fusil est encore

fumant (*litt.* fume encore la fumée)

tùl (~twì; *vi*) être ému

túli (~twéé; *v*) **aggraver un mal ou une souffrance** àtúli mā évèŋ il m'a de nouveau fait mal à la blessure!

túlnì voir: *túbnà*

túúdi [fr. tour] (*n*; s.c.) **époque** ndán yò yàáyǵábé túúdi ìtè? le ndan n'existait pas à cette époque-là?

twáb (*v*) **enlever, purifier** (p.ex. le riz) **en enlevant des saletés**

twáb (*vt*) **1. ramasser** bǵjǵ bétē *twāb ndǵgǵ* les enfants ramassent les mangues **2. choisir, sélectionner** tédésá àté *twāb í dām àně jām* Thérèse choisit ce qu'elle peut préparer syn: *twágí*

twàg (*vi*) **bouillir** m̀mwán úte *twàg* l'huile bout voir: *twàgdò* 'faire bouillir'

twàgdò (*vt*) **faire bouillir** m̀tè *twàgdò m̀m̀m̀m̀m̀* je fais bouillir l'eau

twágí (*vt*) **1. prendre, ramasser** m̀tè *twágí m̀bālā* je prends des remèdes **2. récupérer, chercher** m̀tè *twágí yǵǵb yámā ábò mbóy yāmā* je récupère mes chaussures chez mon ami; *kè twágí bí jiem* va chercher des allumettes syn: *jǵjǵ*

twàlàsí [ang. trousers] (*n*; pl: b̀ò *twàlàsí*; s.c./s.c.) **pantalon**

twí (*vi*) **se percer** ndám àtwí le ballon s'est percé

twónè (*q-aux*) **faire bien ou mieux qc.** m̀yì *twónè tēlé j̀cílā* je voudrais mieux poser la question; *íyǵjǵ bité twónè bèbà, ...* lorsque nous observons bien, ...

- u -

ù-běŋ (*n*; pl: è-běŋ; 3/5) **pigeon**

ù-bǵ (~ù-bǵí; *n*; pl: è-bǵ; 3/5) **moute-moute** (insecte volant qui pique, cette espèce vit surtout près du fleuve Sanaga) voir: *ù-p̀yǵǵjǵ* 'espèce de petite mouche qui pique'

ù-bìli (*n*; 3) **contrainte** m̀vè wǵ *ùbìli* je te (l')ai donné contre mon gré

ù-bòm (*n*; pl: è-bòm; 3/5) **jupe** (jupe traditionnelle en écorce battue)

ù-bùbwàd (*n*; 3) **nonchalance** ànè *ùbùbwàd* il est nonchalant syn: *ùjǵjǵ* voir: *bwàdbàn*

ù-d̀d̀d̀gá (*n*; pl: è-d̀d̀d̀gá; 3/5) **1. bravoure** *ùd̀d̀d̀gá wě úyǵámǵá jé* sa bravoure l'a sauvé syn: *j̀-káŋá* **2. brave, qn. qui ne traîne pas.** ànè *m̀m̀à ùd̀d̀d̀gá* il est très brave

ù-d̀d̀g (*n*; 3) **reins, partie inférieure de l'épine dorsale** ♥ **ùd̀d̀g ásí** région lombarde (*litt.* bas reins)

ù-jǵb (*n*; 3; pr. 14) **distance** voir: *jǵb* 'être grand'

ù-jām (*n*; pl: è-jām; 3/5) **écureuil**

újān (*n?*) **1. avant-hier** *újān úyǵábé m̀m̀m̀jǵ* avant-hier était agréable **2. après-demain**

ù-jém (*n*; pl: è-jém; 3/5) **langue** (organe)
ù-jèm (*n*; 3) **connaissance**
ù-ǰǰî (*n*; 3) **fainéantise** *syn:* *ù-bùbwàd*
ùjô (*n*; pl: bô újô; s.c./s.c.) **banane douce** ♥ **ùjô mèkâlâ banane douce (esp.)** (*litt.* banane des beignets) *syn:* *mǰídámǰím* voir: *mǰídámǰím* ‘banane (esp.)’; *nòmâwân* ‘banane douce (esp.)’; *àtwàdnò* ‘banane douce (esp.)’
ù-jòn (*n*; pl: è-jòn; 3/5) **pluie** (petite pluie qui vient en juin-juillet et qui peut durer deux jours)
ù-jó¹ (*n*; 3) **sommeil** *ùjô útē mâ kwàn* j’ai sommeil; *âtê kè újô* il dort
ù-jó² (*n*; pl: è-jó; 3/5) **sorte de petite biche**
ù-ká (*n*; pl: è-ká; 3/5) **feuille** *syn:* *ká*
ù-kálá (*n*; 3) **attention** ♥ **ákwàm úkálá faire attention** voir: *kálá faire attention*
ù-kâlâ (*n*; 3) **âge** *úkâlâ mènè mǰí jê?* à mon âge, je suis de quelle utilité?
ù-kǎŋ (*n*; pl: è-kǎŋ; 3/5) **bosquet**
ù-kèŋ (*n*; pl: è-kèŋ; 3/5) **couteau**
ù-kéní (*n*; pl: è-kéní; 3/5) **anneau**
ù-kpád (*n*; pl: è-kpád; 3/5) **fourmi (esp.)** (espèce de fourmi qui pique)
ù-kpāl (*n*; pl: è-kpāl; 3/5) **perdrich**
ù-kpèŋ (*n*; pl: è-kpèŋ; 3/5) **animal, lièvre** <*fr.af.*> voir: *ù-jó* ‘petite biche? (les deux sont souvent confondus)’
úkûl (*n*; s.c.) ♥ **úkûl bìpèègá plante (esp.)** *Euphorbia hirta* (?)

ù-kwàg (*n*; 3; pr. 11) **okok, légume verte**
ù-kwǎn (*n*; pl: è-kwǎn; 3/5) **maladie (en général)** *àkú úkwǎn* il est tombé malade voir: *kwàn* ‘être malade’
ù-lám (*n*; pl: mèn-lám; 3/6) **piège** *ƒid itê gbèlì úlām* l’animal se fait prendre au piège ♥ **ùlám ébò piège** (qu’on tend sur les branches de l’ebo pour attraper les oiseaux qui viennent manger ses baies) ♥ **ùlám ákôl piège** (qui attrape les animaux au pied) (*litt.* piège du pied) *syn:* *àkóló* voir: *ù-núm*
ù-léz (*n*; 3) **riz**
ù-lòŋ (*n*; pl: è-lòŋ; 3/5) **échelle**
ù-lùgá (*n*; 3) **respect** voir: *lùgá* ‘respecter’
ù-lún (*n*; 3; pr. 2) **colère** ♥ **ùlún** **ùlún cafardeux** *ànè kwám ísè vè ùlún ùlún* il est toujours cafardeux (*litt.* il est tout le temps seulement colère colère)
ùndùndò (*n*; pl: bô ùndùndò; s.c./s.c.) **1. aiguille 2. injection** ♥ **ùndùndò ñkùm perfusion** (*litt.* injection-tronc d’arbre)
ùndúndwá (*n*; pl: bô ùndúndwá; s.c./s.c.) **1. piment** voir: *ñtwáŋ zúdà* ‘piment (esp.)’; *ì-kpèbà* ‘piment (esp.)’ **2. piment, sauce piquante sur base de piment**
ù-nǔŋ (*n*; pl: è-nǔŋ; 3/5) **1. doigt** ♥ **ñjóm únŋ pouce 2. orteil**
ù-nwǎn (*n*; pl: è-nwǎn; 3/5) **oiseau**
ù-ǰǎŋ (*n*; pl: è-ǰǎŋ; 3/5) **cataracte, maladie de l’œil** ♥ **ùǰǎŋ ñiz iris, membrane circulaire de l’œil**

ù-ngólô (*n*; pl: mè-ngólô; 3/6)

voir: *ngólô*

ù-ngòn (*n*; pl: è-ngòn; 3/5)

sternum

ù-pìngdò (~ù-pìngí / lè-pìngí; *n*;

pl: è-pìngdòn; 3/5) **mouche (esp.)**

(espèce de petite mouche qui pique, surtout dans la soirée et le matin)

ù-sàhà (*n*; pl: bò ù-sàhà; s.c./s.c.)

plante (esp.), citronnelle
<fr.af.> *Cymbopogon citratus*

ù-sén (*n*; pl: è-sén; 3/5; pr. 10)

petit écureuil (esp.)

ù-só (*n*; pl: è-só; 3/5) **rivière,**

marigot

ù-sòd (*n*; pl: è-sòd; 3/5) **clitoris**

úsū (*adv*) **devant (litt. au devant)**

byàyi kè èy míláñ úsū nous continuerons la causerie (*litt.* nous irons avec les causeries devant.); *úsū wámô* devant moi (*litt.* mon devant); *mê í mōjāñ àně má úsū* c'est mon frère aîné; *mōjāñ úsū ákē á ñkōl ígwān* mon frère aîné est parti à Nkolngwan

ù-sún (*n*; pl: è-sún; 3/5) **taon**

ùsún úđgá mā le taon m'a piqué

ù-swán (*n*; 3) **honte**

ù-tàd (*n*; pl: è-tàd; 3/5) **ride d'expression**

ù-tàn (*n*; pl: è-tàn; 3/5) **1. chauve-souris (esp.) 2. parapluie**

ù-tétê (*n*; pl: è-tétê; 3/5) **étoile**

ù-tétég (*n*; 3) **lent, lenteur** *àbè*

tìlgì ùtétég il écrivait lentement

voir: *à-těg* 'paresse'

ù-fíl (*n*; 3) **écriture** voir: *fíl* 'écrire'

ù-fílm (*n*; 3) **jeune palmier**

ù-tú (*n*; 3) **résine**

ù-vègè (*n*; 3? s.c.?) **mil, sorgho**

ù-vùg (*n*; 3) **1. farine** *ùvùg mbáz*

farine de maïs **2. mil**

ù-vwón (*n*; pl: è-vwón,

mè-vwón; 3/5,6) **hache**

ù-záj (*n*; 3) **désir fort** (envie de

manger ou boire ou appétit

sexuel) *ùzáj (mējwāg) úgbêlà*

mǎ j'ai une énorme envie (de vin)

úzêlè (*n*; pl: bò úzêlè; s.c./s.c.)

zèbre

- V -

vá (*adv*) **ici** (point précis) *mèngábé*

bōgô vá j'habitais ici; *vá àté* *juèb*

ici c'est bien ♥ **váfiyâ là-bas**

(point précis) voir: *mú*

vàà (~vázà; *v*) **enlever** *béváágá*

cén ààngògí ils ont levé l'ancre

hier; *àté vâà íđbgá mwàmò* il

enlève la capsule de la bouteille ♥

á vâà mété bénir (*litt.* enlever la

salive)

vám (*v*) **sortir ou arriver**

brusquement *dô zwây ùngwâlò*

àngázú vá alors, Jean Ongolo

est brusquement arrivé

váj (*q-aux*) **faire sciemment,**

faire à dessein *aváj wōg úlūn* il

a fait semblant se fâcher

vàng (*v*) **emballer, bander,**

enrouler *béngámâ vāj á bándád*

ils l'ont emballé dans un bandage

vâz (v) **1. déféquer** *àtē kē vāz* il va faire caca; *múná àtē vāz bókògló* l'enfant défèque les koglo voir: *kògló* **2. faire une petite crise (maladie)** *àváz úkwǎn àyìgà ké kwàm òkàd* il est tombé malade, étant sur le point de passer un examen

vâzlâ (v) **projeter**

vé (vt) **donner** *vē mā* Donne-moi!

♥ **á vē zēn céder le passager** ♥

á vē ngúl permettre (*litt.* donner le pouvoir) ♥ **á vē ngān remercier** (*litt.* donner merci)

vè (adv) **seulement** *àngéná gbélè* *vè mmú mmwāg nā ànèŋ* il n'a plus qu'un an à vivre

vébê (v) **s'évaporer**

vèbè (v) **se réveiller** voir: *vèlè* 'réveiller qn.'

véblâ (vi) **crier**

vèbè (vi) **souffrir d'insomnie**

vèglâ (v) **1. dessiner** voir: *ì-vèglâ* 'dessin' **2. essayer**

vègzàn (v) **se transformer** *íyòŋ* *ùtú jicàŋ, úmā vèjzàn lévèŋ* lorsque tu perces le bouton, il se transforme en blessure

vèvâzá (n; pl: bð vèvâzá; s.c./s.c.)

plante (esp.) *Bidens pilosa* *vèvâzá àgbélè kóŋgwás* le bidens a de vieilles fleurs collantes

vèlè (vt) **réveiller qn.**

vên nâ (sub) **pendant que** *àsó vên nâ mèdyǎ ápūb* il est venu pendant que j'étais au champ

víb (vt) **manger un fruit, sucer** <fr.af.> *ùndwábó àtē ðŋ vīb ndógô* Ondobo aime manger les mangues syn: *swáz*

víblâ (vt) **commencer à se remplir de pus** (pour un abcès ou

autre enflure) *ikèl ímā víblâ* l'abcès mûrit

vidâ (n; pl: bð vidâ; s.c./s.c.) **fumée**

vìdbâ (v) **s'affaïsser** *ndá ívìdbâ* la maison s'est affaïssée

vín (vi) **être noir** voir: *à-vím* 'noir'; *ì-vímî* 'africain'

vó (v) **déclarer**

vò (v) **jouer** voir: *ì-vòŋ* 'jeu'

vòb (vi) **1. dépasser les limites de l'acceptable** *bùnù mágá vòb* l'amibiase a duré longtemps **2. s'égarer mentalement, craquer**

vóglô (v) **écouter** *tè wò vóglô jé, ànè mòd b'wàngô* ne l'écoute pas, c'est un cajoleur

vóló¹ (vi) **être aigu, tranchant (d'un couteau)** *vé mūŋó úkèŋ únē* *tè vól* donne l'enfant un couteau qui n'est pas tranchant; *úkàlgà, í pā jú ité vól* attention! elle coupe, cette machette

vóló² voir: *vúlâ*

vôm (n; pl: bð vôm; s.c./s.c.)

endroit, lieu ♥ **vôm m'pébâ**

ailleurs (*litt.* autre endroit) *ŋgé m'ááyì bógbò vâ, m'áyìkè vôm m'pébâ* si je ne veux pas rester ici, j'irai ailleurs ♥ **vôm z'ŋ quelque part** (*litt.* un lieu quelconque) syn: *è-pólô*

vòòbò (vi) **respirer** voir: *m-vòòbò* 'respiration'

vùdnì (vi) **se plier** *pèy ité vùdnì* le serpent s'enroule

vúlâ (q-aux) **1. faire vite qc.** *mètè vūl kwàm* je me dépêche; *mètè vūl ðī* je mange rapidement **2. faire tôt** *àvūl sō* il est venu tôt

vúmlâ (v) **jeter violemment** syn: <gbà

vùn (v) **fouiller** *ɣ̀ǹɣ̀m̀ɛ̀ɣ̀m̀ɛ̀b̀ úm̄ā m̄ā vùn n̄imp̄ēg* le voleur m'a fouillé les poches
vúnâ (v) **oublier** *m̀è̀v̀ú̀n̄â* j'ai oublié
vùŋ (v) **se défoncer, mettre toutes ses forces dans une action** *ɣ̀k̀l̀l̄â àt̄é vùŋ* la tempête se lève
vúŋlâ (v) **souffler** *á n̄êz àl̄m̄â àt̄é v̄ũŋl̄â n̄d̄w̄ân* Agnes Alima souffle le feu voir: *ɣ̀v̄úŋl̄â* 'vent'
vùvú [ang? fufu] (n; pl: b̀d̀ v̀ù̀v̀ú; s.c./s.c.) **couscous, fufu** ♥ **vùvú à mb̀z̀ couscous de maïs** (fait à partir de grains de maïs séchés) ♥ **vùvú n̄m̀ùŋ couscous de manioc** (le manioc est épluché puis trempé dans l'eau pendant quelques jours et puis écrasé)
vúz (vi) **gonfler, grossir anormalement**
vùz (v) I *vi* **se tromper** *àv̀ú̀z̀g̀i* il s'est trompé II *vt* **rater**
vúzâ (vt) **faire gonfler**
vùzà (v) **lancer**
vwábî (vi) 1. **se refroidir** 2. **se calmer, guérir**
vwàd (v) **cesser** *àt̄é s̄ā t̄é v̄w̄âd* il travaille sans cesse; *àv̄w̄âd j̄ũŋ* il a cessé de boire ♥ **àvwàd mb̀ègl̄è banane plantain (esp.)** (groupe des plantains corne)
vwáŋi (vt) **aider** *z̄ě v̄w̄āŋi m̀à̀b̀ègl̄ě j̄ād* viens m'aider à porter le panier; *àv̄w̄ālḡé m̄ā z̄é kw̄àm n̄d̄ā* il m'a aidé à faire ma maison

vwàŋi (vt) **trier les fruits** (pour un arbre, passer par une période où un nombre de fruits non mûrs tombent par terre) *ànd̄ōḡō út̄ē v̄w̄āŋi b̄ij̄w̄āz̄i* le manguier fait tomber les mauvais fruits voir: *ɣ̀j̄w̄āz̄i* 'fruit non mûr tombé par terre'

vwóm (vi) **déraper**

vyàn (~vyān; n; 3) **soleil** *vyàn út̄ē p̄à* le soleil brille

vyé¹ (v) **uriner** ♥ **á vyē mé̀n̄ōlḡi uriner**

vyé² (vt) **balayer** *m̀è̀m̄ā vyē n̄d̄ā* j'ai balayé la maison voir: *ɣ̀vyāg* 'balai'

vyè (vi) 1. **être rouge** 2. **devenir rouge, rougir** 3. **mûrir** *úw̄ōn̄d̄o j̄ó ánḡām̄ā l̄iḡi àv̄yè* ces arachides restèrent mûrir voir: *à-v̄ȳě* 'rouge'

vyèèbè (v) **être vivant, être éveillé, survivre** *àŋḡábé vyã* il était éveillé/vivant voir: *n̄ũŋ* 'vivre'

vyōg (n; 3; pr. 7) **argile** (type d'argile rouge utilisée pour faire la poterie, extrait à grande profondeur dans les marécages) *vyōg út̄ē d̄id* l'argile est lourde

vyúg (n; 3)?) **noir foncé** *à̀n̄é vyúg* il est très noir syn: < *à-ú̄m*

- W -

wàdn̄i (vi) **subir un lavage traditionnel**

wàdn̄ò (vt) **administrer un lavage traditionnel** (en versant

de l'eau avec des remèdes sur qn.)

wágbê (vi) **se reposer** *lénê mímèŋ nâ úwāgbê ʔwəvó* il est agréable de se reposer à l'ombre (*litt.* c'est bien que tu te reposes à l'ombre)

wágô (v) I *vi se laver* *dè úwágô* tu t'es lavé? II *vt laver un être vivant, faire la toilette* *àké wāgô mwán wē* elle est allé laver son bébé

wàgô (n; pl: bô wàgô; s.c.) **chimpanzé**

wáli (vi) **naître** *mèŋgáwáli á mbóg màmù* je suis né à M.N. voir: *è-wáli*

wám (v) **racler**

wáj (vi) **ramper** voir: *kwé* syn: *yáǵí*

wàtéli (~wàtéle; n; pl: bô wàtéli; s.c./s.c.) **marché**

wáz (v) **peigner** voir: *ʔ-wáz* 'peigne'

wé (vt) **tuer, abattre** *àyi kùd mbóg nàm jè nâ béwô mǎ* il convoquera les Mbog Namnye afin qu'ils me tuent; *bòd bé jicòm béwé jád í tán* les chasseurs ont abattu cinq buffles

w-ě (n; 3) **miel**

wé (~wó; vt) **1. engendrer, accoucher** <fr.af.> *íyóŋ ísá wámò àŋgáwé mā dō àŋgáyólò mā d'wé nâ bétâ yénê* lorsque mon père m'a accouché, il m'a donné le nom de "qu'ils essaient aussi de voir"; *mímŋgá áwǵó mǎŋ* la femme a mis au monde un albinos **2. mettre bas** *ŋjál kábdì àwó mwán à kábdì* la chèvre a mis bas un cabri

wè (vi) **rire** *àwǵò* elle a ri

wòdí (vt) **ronger, brouter, griffer** *àlàpágá àté wòdí ká mébùdà* le

lapin ronge les feuilles de patate; *ísŋjá ítē wòdí ílē èy byǎ* le chat gratte l'arbre avec les ongles ♥ **á wòdí ŋkóm faire face à une difficulté énorme** (*litt.* ronger le rocher)

wól (vi) **cailler, se coaguler** *mémā wól á ŋmgbāg lèvéŋ* le sang est caillé autour de la plaie; *bétē mǎ kwám nâ ndámà áwól* on fait coaguler le caoutchouc voir: *ʔ-wúwólò* 'caille'

wóólò (vt) **ramasser** *mò pām àté wóólò ŋgún* le garçon ramasse les ordures

wò (v) **jeter, lancer** syn: *gbà*

wóg (vt) **1. percevoir; entendre** *àwóǵí pó ààŋgòǵí* il a appris la nouvelle hier ♥ **á wóg áyā avoir mal** ♥ **á wóg úlūn être fâché** *àté wóg úlūn èy wó* il est fâché avec toi ♥ **á wóg ŋwál avoir pitié** ♥ **á wóg íkòdí avoir soif** ♥ **á wóg mímèŋ aimer, être content, être fier** *dè úté wóg íd mímèŋ?* Est-ce que tu aimes la viande? **2. comprendre** **3. respecter** voir: *mè-wóg* 'respect'

wógdânà (v) **sentir** (par le sens du toucher) *àté wógdânà nâ mènđim mētē sīm* il sent que l'eau est froide; *àté wógdânà né mènđim mētē sīm* il sent combien l'eau est froide voir: *wóg* 'percevoir'

w-ǵŋ (~w-ǵŋ, w-ǵǵŋ; n; 3) **peur, crainte** voir: *kwàn* 'être malade'; *pún* 'avoir peur'

wú (vi; pr. 1, 8) **mourir** *àwú* il est mort ♥ **wú úswānô plante (esp.)** *Mimosa pudica* (*litt.* meurs de honte) voir: *à-wú* 'mort'

wúd (v) **masser avec des feuilles**

voir: ñ-wúdnéyḡáná 'massage' syn: báb

wúdá (n; pl: b̀ wúdá; s.c./s.c.)

piège (qui attrape les animaux au cou)

wùlà (vi) **1. marcher, se**

promener ♥ **á kè áwùlà se promener** (*litt.* aller marcher) **2.**

se répandre *dwé létê léyḡá wùlà* ce nom va donc se répandre **3.**

fonctionner **4. marcher sur qc.** *dó mètē b̀mḡḡáná wùlà j̀y á*

j̀ól alors tout d'un coup j'ai marché sur un serpent (*litt.* j'ai marché le serpent sur le corps)

wúm¹ (v) **donner des fruits (dit d'un arbre)**

wúm² (vi) **avoir une grande renommée** *m̀ḡḡmḡb̀éḡmḡb̀él m̀ítē ẁúm átān* les sorciers ont une grande renommée au village

wún (n; pl: b̀ wún; s.c./s.c.) **dépanneuse**

- y -

yá (int) **comment** *p̀épá ẁô àḡḡábé dwē yá?* Comment s'appelait ton père?; *à̀nè yá?* comment va-t-il

yáànì (vi) **bâiller**

yâbnì (vi) **faire mal** *à̀k̀ól útē mâ yâbǹì* mon pied me fait mal **2.**

yád (n; pl: yád / m̀è-yád; 9/10, 6)

camp, côté ♥ **á yád de l'autre côté** ♥ **á mbúz m̀ink̀ól á yád à l'horizon** (*litt.* derrière les collines de l'autre côté)

yág (v) I **vi être prétentieux** *à̀té*

yāḡ il veut toujours être au centre de l'attention II **vt 1. avoir besoin (de- è̀y)** *m̀ètē yāḡ è̀y ù̀k̀èḡ* j'ai besoin d'un couteau **2. s'intéresser (de- è̀y)** *dó m̀ēn d̀ô m̀ètē d̄ḡḡ yāḡ è̀y d̀ó* c'est surtout ça qui m'intéresse; *l̀énè ñ̀cḡḡr̀ú útē mâ d̄ḡḡ yāḡ á m̀ō* c'est une idée qui m'est chère

yáḡì (v) **marcher à quatre pattes (pour petits enfants)**

yàḡì (vi) **se gratter**

yálnà (v) **répondre à une question** *à̀yálná ẁô yá?* qu'est-ce

qu'il t'a répondu? (*litt.* il t'a répondu comment?) voir: ì-yálná 'réponse'

yáñì (vi) **sécher, faire sec** *m̀èjāḡ m̀è̀y m̄ b̀ô ḡḡé ẁà̀āḡ m̀ô yáñ̀ì* les oignons vont pourrir si tu ne les sèches pas voir: *k̀ód* 'sécher (intr.)'

yáḡ¹ (vt) **1. frire** *á yāḡ m̀étōd̀ó* faire des frites **2. griller** *á yāḡ ú̀wò̀nò* griller des arachides voir: *b̀élé* 'cuire'

yáḡ² (v) **soigner**

yàḡà (v) **attendre** *à̀k̀óm nā m̄ j̀āḡ ẁām̀ô á̀yāḡè j̀é* il a fait attendre mon frère syn: *m̀wáñ̀ú*

yázi (v) **ouvrir** *m̀ètē yāz̀ì m̀m̀ē ndá* j'ouvre la porte syn: *p̀ó*

yéblé (~jéébé; v) **1. répondre à un appel** **2. accepter** *d̀è à̀yéblé máḡǹù m̀é byā* a-t'il accepté notre accord?

yég (vt) **1. barrer** *à̀má yēḡ z̀ēn* il a barré la route voir: *ḡḡǹ-ḡḡm̀éḡ* 'barrage'

yégbê (v) I **vi s'appuyer** *àté yégbê èèy mō á téblê* il s'accoude à la table (*litt.* il s'appuie avec ses bras sur la table) voir: *è-yégbê* 'support' II **yégê** *f.rés. òkúkwán úyégê njúg á mým* le malade se soutient avec peine contre le mur

yéǵi (vt) **apprendre** (acquérir la connaissance de) *àté yéǵi ñlāyíú* il apprend à lire voir: *yéǵlê* 'enseigner'

yéǵlê (vt) **enseigner, apprendre** *àté yéǵlê bōyó ñlāyíú* il apprend à lire aux enfants voir: *jì-jéǵlê* 'enseignant'; *yéǵi* 'apprendre'

yêgnè (v) **ignorer, ne pas connaître, ne pas savoir** *yí mòd í mēn ànè jām yêgnè métāmná mē yá?* comment quelqu'un peut ignorer son propre metamna?; *mète yêgnè ávō dēdē* j'ignore tout de cette affaire syn: *đmâ*

yém (v) **bloquer, coincer** *mèyém* j'ai été bloqué

yémbê (v) **être bloqué**

yémlá (v) **demeurer**

yédné (v) **annoncer** *béyédné ndōy àwú yē átān* on a annoncé la nouvelle de sa mort au village voir: *tìni* 'signifier'

yéli (vi) **s'envoler** *ùbām útē yēli* l'épervier s'envole; *ùmvàn útē yēli á dōb ítēdē* l'oiseau s'envole loin en l'air

yén (v) 1. **voir** ♥ **á yēn môd ñngéngwál avoir pitié** (*litt.* voir une personne malheureuse) voir:

yéni 'se faire voir'; *ì-yén* 'miroir'

2. constater

yéni (vi) 1. **se faire voir, se montrer** *àté yéni nâ ànè àfí* il a l'air candide (*litt.* il se montre qu'il est intègre) *àté yéni íyēn* il se voit dans le miroir ♥ **á yéni mímèy satisfaire** *àkwám nālá nâ áyēni mímèy* il a fait cela pour m'être agréable (*litt.* il a fait cela qu'il se fait voir bien) voir: *yén* 'voir' 2. **être clair** *iyém yē ítē pwaǵó yéni* son infirmité est apparente 3. **s'annoncer** *dulá létē yéni ñjǵg* le voyage s'annonce difficile

yó (n; 5) **ciel** *yó létē v̄m* le ciel est noir; *àté bèb á yó* il regarde en l'air ♥ **á yó sur** *mòd àyǵábàgì zítām á lépēb á yó* l'homme apposa un cachet sur le papier

yòlò (vt) 1. **appeler, dénommer, donner un nom à quelqu'un** *bèswág bētē yòlò íkúkwâlò* certains donnent le nom de Ikukwalo ('racontage') 2. **donner un homonyme** *yòlò mā* donne mon nom à ton enfant

yón (~jón; vi) **pleurer** voir: *jì-jón* 'pleur'

yóǵlò voir: *jóǵlò*

- Z -

zá (n; s.c./s.c.) pl: bō zá; **qui**

zà (n; 9) **faim, famine**

zám (*n*; 9) **1. plaisir 2. appétit**

m̀m̀m̀m̀m̀ zám bon appétit; *àgbéle zám ì kíd ábwo* il a un grand appétit de viande

zám (*n*; 9) **raphia**

zám (*n*; pl: zám; 9/10) **lèpre** voir: *̀n-zézám* ‘lépreux’

zámá (*n*; pl: b̀ zámá; s.c./s.c.)

Dieu

zánj (*n*; pl: zánj; 9/10) **dispute**

zánj (*n*; pl: zánj/m̀- zánj; 9/10, 6)

miliu á zánj átán au milieu du village ♥ **zánj mèkán raie des fesses** ♥ **á zánjzánj exactement au milieu** *ilé itélè á zánjzánj wó itè jàb ábwo* l’arbre du milieu est le plus grand ♥ **ingábé á zánj vālá... il y avait à une époque plutôt récente...** (*litt.* il y avait au milieu-là)

zánmál (*num*) **sept**

zè (*n*; pl: zè; 9/10) **panthère** *zè*

ingábé í m̀m̀m̀m̀ jú, d̀ b̀d̀ b̀é jicòm béngámá wé ísè il y avait des panthères ici, toutes ont été abattues par des chasseurs

zèg (*n*; pl: zèg; 9/10) **ananas** ♥

zèg ǹtánj aloès véra *Aloe barbadensis* (*litt.* l’ananas du blanc)

zègbàn (*vi*) **être sucré** voir:

̀n-zèzèg ‘sucre’

zèkúfí [all? Schule, ang? school]

(*n*; pl: b̀ zèkúfí; s.c./s.c.) **école**

zèj voir: *zèjgà*

zèjgà (~zèj; ~zèjgà ì mbàz; *n*;

pl: zèjgà; 9/10) **barbe** (sur un épi de maïs)

zèzè (*n*; 9) **nul; simple; idiot** ♥

zèzè mòd nullard, bon à rien ♥

izèzè í m̀m̀m̀m̀ sottises *kè kvám ízèzè í m̀m̀m̀m̀ júle v̀m̀m̀m̀m̀ ǹp̀b̀b̀ va*

faire tes sottises ailleurs ♥ **ásòb**

zèzè rentrer bredouille *pèpá*

ásòb zèzè íjì mèlám papa est rentré bredouille de la visite aux pièges ♥ **á zèzè gratuitement** *vè tédé m̀á ìb̀m̀á í t̀m̀ád íwāg á zèzè* donne-moi une tomate gratuitement s’il te plaît

zèzélá (*n*; pl: b̀ zèzélá; s.c./s.c.)

auriculaire voir: *̀m̀j* ‘doigt’

zèl (*n*; pl: zèl; 9/10) **barbe, moustache**

zèn (*n*; pl: zèn, mèzèn; 9/10,6)

sentier ou petit chemin

(normalement pas goudronné) *zèn itè jàb* le chemin est long; *zèn m̀è kágdán* le chemin est encombré

zínj (*n*; 9) **haine** voir: *̀n-zínzínj*

‘ennemi, haineux’

zínj (*prt*; **quelconque** *v̀m̀m̀m̀m̀ zínj* un

lieu quelconque

zínjbà (*v*) **être rancunier** *àtè zínjbà*

il est rancunier voir: *zínj* ‘haine’; *sinj* ‘hair’

zítám [ang. stamp] (*n*; pl: b̀

zítám; s.c./s.c.) cachet *àbágí*

zítám á àmvèlób il a cacheté l’enveloppe

zítwágnì [ang. stocking] (*n*; pl: b̀

zítwágnì; s.c./s.c.) chaussette

zój (*n*; pl: zój; 9/10) **fruit de**

l’aubergine africaine,

(consommée en tant que légume)

Solanum macrocarpon ♥

mèndím mé zój soupe

d’aubergines (surtout mangée le matin) (*litt.* eau d’aubergines)

zù (*vi*) **arriver** *mègbélè nà*

mèyàngà nà ùtè zù je dois

attendre que tu arrives; *zùgá*

viens! voir: *só* ‘venir’

zùd (*n*; pl: zùd, mè-zùd; 9/10, 6)

sexe, parties génitales, fesses

434 zwàg

zwàg (*n*; pl: zwàg; 9/10) **éléphant**

zwàgbò

zwàgbò (*n*; pl: b̀̀ zwàgb̀̀;
s.c./s.c.) **banane plantain (esp.)**
voir: *ì-kwà̀n* ‘banane plantain’

2.3. Liste des proverbes

- 1 *ɲgál ɪwū ɪtāɲén* ‘L’élève dépasse son maître.’ (litt. Le fusil a tué le blanc.)
- 2 *ùlún únê àwú* La colère est la mort.
- 3 *mèɲólǵí mé nīnúɲgá mááté dàɲ ɲkwàg* ‘Les femmes doivent connaître leur place dans la société’ (litt. Les urines d’une femme ne traversent pas le tronc d’arbre.)
- 4 *á bàl ɪbòɲó* ‘avoir de la peine’ (litt. racler l’herbe ibongo.)
- 5 *gbélê mènɲm á ká èbàɲà* ‘avoir de la peine/des problèmes.’ (litt. avoir de l’eau dans les feuilles d’ebanga.)
- 6 *ɲgé símā lèd, mèbàɲà mēsōb átān.* ‘Si le sol est devenu dur, les macabos rentrent au village.’ (litt. Si les conditions sont défavorables, on plie bagages.)
- 7 *á ɲūɲ vɲɔg* ‘avoir d’énormes difficultés pour faire quelque chose.’ (litt. boire l’argile. N.B. le *vɲɔg* est une argile, utilisée pour la poterie, dont l’extraction est très pénible)
- 8 *á wū ɲwī* ‘souffrir énormément, être sans soutien’ (litt. mourir en état d’orphelin)
- 9 *mīɲkēɲ mīsē nɲm* ‘On peut être ignorant, mais pas con.’ (litt. les personnes qui louchent ne sont pas aveugles.)
- 10 *àné ɪkòdǵì, àné ɲɲōm úsén* ‘Chacun est roi chez soi.’ (litt. chaque champ abandonné a son écureuil mâle.)
- 11 *àné lòɲ àné ntūd úkwàg* ‘Il est très chevelu’ (litt. Il est chevelure comme une touffe de lianes okok.)
- 12 *ɲgé kōb ɪcwág, ɪdúgné kāzī* ‘En cas d’échec, il faut recommencer’ (litt. si les applaudissements ratent, on doit recommencer)
- 13 *ùlām ɲm̄kpālā, úkwālɪ èy pyàɲà, wèykwáb bábélá àtyǎ* ‘Des actes simples peuvent avoir des conséquences lourdes, parce que la vérité finit toujours par triompher’ (litt. tu tends un piège avec négligence, tu fais une embuscade avec plaisanterie, tu trouveras la vérité étant prise)
- 14 *ɪdúg újǎb, ùsōnbó ɲkikìn* ‘Il faut utiliser les moyens de bord / à défaut de ce qu’on veut, on se contente de ce qu’on a’ (litt. si le WC est loin, tu t’accroupis au dépotoir)

- 15 *bílé bímē ntē, byô kwé ítē kàl̀ǹ* ‘Il faut y avoir des similitudes entre des gens pour avoir une bonne relation’ (litt. c’est entre les arbres de même taille que les singes sautent)

3. Index français-éton

3.1. Introduction

L'index français-éton est un index, et ne peut donc pas être utilisé en tant que lexique. Il réfère à l'entrée où on peut retrouver une traduction du mot cherché ou la traduction d'une phrase qui contient ou peut contenir le mot français. Par exemple, la partie de l'index sous (16), réfère à l'entrée *w-ǝŋ* et à la première signification de la sous-entrée II du mot *kwàn*. L'entrée pour *kwàn* est donnée sous (17). Seulement *w-ǝŋ* est une traduction possible pour 'peur'.

(16) peur II (1), → *kwàn*; *w-ǝŋ*

(17) **kwàn** (v) I vi **1. être malade** *mbó yâmà ité kwàn* mon ami est malade voir: *ŋ-kúŋkwān* 'malade' **2. avoir mal quelque part** *mèté kwàn á bímàm* j'ai mal aux bras II vt **1. souffrir de qc.** ♥ **á kwàn w̄wōŋ** avoir peur, s'affoler *tè wò kwàn w̄ŋ* n'aie pas peur **3. faire souffrir** *ùjò útē mâ kwàn* j'ai sommeil; *ìmó ú tē mâ kwàn* j'ai mal à la tête

3.2. Index français-éton

- a -

abaisser	<i>sùzà</i> (1).	achiote	<i>lélè</i> .
abandonner	<i>líg</i> .	acide	<i>ì-kpásāŋ</i> ; <i>ì-sèsāŋà</i> .
abattre	<i>kpè</i> ; <i>mànà</i> (2); <i>wé</i> .	acide (être)	<i>ŋmám</i> ; <i>sāŋ</i> ₂ .
abcès	<i>ì-kèl</i> ; <i>ì-pépâmà</i> (2).	acidité	<i>à-sāŋ</i> ; <i>è-cíl</i> .
abeille	<i>mbúbûŋ</i> .	actuel	<i>à-lú</i> (a)).
abîmer	<i>ndámnà</i> .	actuellement	<i>à-lú</i> (a)).
aboyer	<i>bón</i> .	adjoint du chef	<i>ì-hédmán</i> .
absent (être)	<i>jémnì</i> ; <i>jégbàn</i> .	admiration	<i>mè-kómgó</i> (1).
accepter	<i>jéblè</i> ; <i>yéblé</i> (2).	admirer	<i>kómô</i> (1).
accompagner	<i>lédè</i> (1).	adolescent	<i>ndómní</i> (1).
accord	<i>m-ágnì</i> (1).	adopter	<i>ŋǝŋ</i> (2).
accorder (s' avec)	<i>tôbnì</i> (3).	affaiblir (s')	I (1), → <i>tèg</i> .
accouché	<i>ŋ-ŋéŋā</i> .	affaire	<i>è-vó</i> (1).
accouder (s')	I, → <i>yégbè</i> .	affaïsser (s')	<i>vìdbà</i> .
accoupler (s')	<i>jàmni</i> .	affirmer	<i>tóŋ</i> (2).
accrocher	<i>kèfi</i> (1).	affoler (s')	II (1), → <i>kwàn</i> .
accrocher (s')	I, → <i>kèlbè</i> .	affronter (s' avec qn)	<i>bàl</i> .
accroupir (s')	<i>sónbó</i> .	affûter	<i>jèb</i> .
accuser	<i>bó</i> ₂ .	afin que	<i>nâ</i> (2).
achat	<i>ŋ-kúz</i> .	africain, noir	<i>ì-víní</i> .
acheter	<i>kúz</i> .	agacer	<i>ndéglè</i> .

âge	m̀- <i>mú</i> ; ɣ̀- <i>kóŋ</i> ₁ (1); ù- <i>kàlà</i> .	âme	ɣ̀- <i>číŋc̄im</i> (2).
âgé	<i>nǎ</i> (2).	amener	<i>kè</i> (2).
aggraver	<i>túfi</i> .	amer	ì- <i>jèjòlò</i> .
aggraver (s')	<i>méngân</i> .	amer (être)	<i>jòl</i> .
agir	<i>kwàm</i> (2).	américain	<i>àmèdkán</i> (1).
agiter	<i>sùgzà</i> .	Amérique	<i>àmèdkán</i> (2).
agoniser	<i>dúg</i> .	amertume	<i>à-jòl</i> .
agrandir	<i>nénè</i> .	ami	<i>mbóy</i> (1).
agréable	<i>yéni</i> (1).	amibiase	<i>bùni</i> .
agréable (être)	<i>nèb</i> .	amont	<i>è-kwè</i> (1).
agrume	<i>òpùmá</i> (1).	amont (en)	<i>n-nó</i> (2).
aide	ì- <i>kà</i> .	amour	ì- <i>díŋ</i> (1).
aider	<i>kà</i> ; <i>vwáfi</i> .	ampoule	ì- <i>tétóg</i> .
aigre	ì- <i>sèsàŋà</i> .	amulette	ì- <i>tályèn</i> .
aigre (être)	<i>sàŋ</i> ₂ .	amusement	ì- <i>làŋ</i> .
aigu (être)	<i>vólò</i> ₁ .	ananas	<i>zèg</i> .
aiguille	<i>ùndùndò</i> (1).	ancêtre	<i>nè-mòni</i> (1).
aiguillon	ɣ̀- <i>còŋ</i> ₁ (2).	ancien	ɣ̀- <i>nòm</i> (3).
aiguïser	<i>jèb</i> .	anémie	<i>mè-čí</i> (1); <i>mè-čí</i> (1).
ail	<i>lây</i> .	anémique	<i>mè-čí</i> (1).
aile	<i>è-pǎb</i> ; ì- <i>pépǎb</i> .	ange	íngélzì.
ailleurs	<i>vòm</i> .	anglais	íngǎzì (1).
aimer	I, → <i>díŋ</i> .	angle	<i>è-ndúmgí</i> .
aimer l'un l'autre	I, → <i>díŋni</i> .	anglaise	<i>mè-jèb</i> (1).
aîné	<i>n-tól</i> ; <i>úsū</i> .	animal	ì- <i>jém</i> (1); <i>tíd</i> (1).
ainsi	<i>nálá</i> .	animal (esp.)	ù- <i>kpèm</i> .
air	ì- <i>vúŋlá</i> (2).	anneau	ù- <i>kéni</i> .
aisselle	<i>mbàkán</i> .	année	<i>nè-mú</i> .
ajouter	<i>bág</i> .	annoncer	<i>béni</i> ; <i>yédné</i> .
ajuster	<i>kòm</i> (2).	anti	<i>è-tóm</i> ₂ (2).
albinos	<i>n-nàŋ</i> .	antilope	ɣ̀- <i>kwág</i> .
alcarazas	<i>kúlwàdá</i> .	antipathie	<i>mè-čí</i> (1); <i>mè-čí</i> (1).
alentours	<i>è-vèl</i> .	anus	ì- <i>láj</i> .
aligner	<i>téfi</i> (1).	apaiser (s')	<i>sùz</i> .
alité	<i>n-téd</i> .	apercevoir	<i>tál</i> (1).
allaiter	<i>ɣ̀-<i>nájà</i></i> .	apparent (être)	<i>yéni</i> (1).
Allemagne	<i>njámni</i> (2).	appât	ì- <i>dí</i> .
allemand	<i>njámni</i> (1).	appel	<i>n-nwánó</i> .
aller	<i>kè</i> (1).	appeler	<i>ló</i> (1); II, → <i>lój</i> ;
allonger	<i>sám</i> .		<i>yòlò</i> (1).
allonger (s')	<i>sámlân</i> .	appétit	<i>zám</i> (2).
allumé (être)	<i>kòòbàn</i> .	apporter	<i>jéŋ</i> (2); II (1), → <i>só</i> .
allumer	<i>kálnà</i> ; <i>kòy</i> ₂ .	apposer	<i>bàgì</i> ₁ .
allumette	ì- <i>nèm</i> .	apprendre	<i>yégi</i> ; <i>yéglè</i> .
allumettes	<i>másis</i> .	approcher (s')	<i>síbà</i> .
amadouer	<i>chérir</i> <i>mèŋlà</i> .	appui	<i>è-yégbé</i> .
amande	<i>m-mǎŋ</i> (2).	appuyer (s')	I, → <i>yégbé</i> .
amant	ì- <i>bwàn</i> .	après-demain	<i>újān</i> (2).
amarante	<i>kúkùmà</i> .	arachide	ɣ̀- <i>có</i> ; <i>òwòndò</i> .
amasser	<i>kwóòndò</i> .	arbre	ì- <i>lé</i> .
		arbre (esp)	<i>àzàŋà</i> .

arbre (esp.)	ì-kùg.	attention	ù-kálá.
arbre (esp.)	à-dùm; à-jòz (2); à-kwàm; à-tú.	attention (faire)	kálâ.
arbre (esp.)	è-séj; ì-bwàm (1).	attirer	dùd ₁ (1).
arbre (esp.)	ì-tétób; ì-tó; ì-wóódè (2); ì-zézáj (1); nì-pól.	attraper	I (1), → gbè; káb; kàm.
arbuste (esp.)	è-bò (1).	attribuer	bòmlò (3).
arc	ì-lây.	aubergine	ì-tóndó; zóŋ.
arc-en-ciel	n-núnūm.	au-delà	kón ₁ (2).
arête	ì-véz.	au-dessus	d-òb.
argent	dwálò; kábâ; mwàní; sínǵi; sípèn; tólápèn.	aujourd'hui	à-ná.
argile	ì-kwán; vyǒg.	auriculaire	zézélá.
armoire	kwábdò.	aussi	pè (1).
arracher	bâl; pàdî; té.	autorisation	ŋǵúl.
arranger	kòm (2); tág.	autre	-pébè.
arrêter	I (1), → gbè; tǐlì (3).	aval	ŋ-kè (1).
arriver	II, → lòd; I (2), → páam; zù.	avalier	nìn.
arriver à qn.	tòbnì (4).	avant-hier	újān (1).
articulation	ì-bwágzì.	avare	bì-jém.
asseoir (s')	I (1), → bógbò.	avarice	bì-jém.
assiette	ì-só.	avec	èèy (1).
assiette en bois	sóló.	aventure	ndwáj.
assis (être)	III (1), → bógbò.	averse	ù-jòn.
asthme	ì-báb ₂ .	avertir	bénî; bénî.
asticot	è-jèd.	avertissement	mbémí.
attaché (être)	I, → fūbà.	aveugle	n-díndím.
attacher	fūjdà.	avide (être)	ŋmgbègbàn.
atteindre	II (2), → páam.	avocat	pyâ (1).
attendre	mwáñi; yàŋà.	avocatier	pyâ (2).
		avoir	II, → gbè; I (4), → nè.
		avoir peur	II (1), → kwàn.
		avouer	mèm.

B - b

bagage	mbèglè (1); mè-mèglè (1).	banane (esp.)	àtwàdnò; mpídámpím; nòmàwán.
bagarre	ì-twàm.	banane plantain (esp.)	à-lú; è-sàŋ; ì-läd; ì-sóŋ; vwàd; zwàgbò.
bâiller	yàànì.	bande	bándád.
baiser	pwàd.	bander	vàŋ.
balafon	è-njáj; mè-njáj.	baobab	d-úamá.
balai	ì-vyág.	baptême	n-dùní.
balancer	ndéj (1); pèŋ.	baptiser	dù (1).
balayer	vyé ₂ .	bar	ì-pàfilá.
balle	ndàmà (3).	baratin	dwáktèn (2).
ballon	ndàmà (3).	barbe	zèl.
bambou	ì-bà ₁ .	barrage	ŋm-ŋmèg.
Bamiléké	ŋgélàpíz.		
banane	újò.		

barrer	yég (1).	boîte	ndég (2).
barrière	ngólô (1).	bon	d-àm; mî-mèŋ.
bas (mettre)	wé (2).	bon, (être)	ŋèb.
basilic	mè-sèb.	bonté	mî-mèŋ.
bassin	bísin.	bord	è-vèl; ì-ŋég; ñ-kòm.
bastonnade	ì-bwàb (1); ì-kùm.	bosquet	ù-kăŋ.
bateau	fítimâ.	bosse	ì-kékóngí.
battre	bímî (1); bwàb; kùd (1); kùm.	bouche	à-nùŋ; mî-mwùd (1).
battre (instrument musical)	bòm (1).	boucher	bóg; ðib (2); ñ-cígâ.
bavarder	lâânì.	bouchon	ì-ðibgâ.
beaucoup	à-bwî; II, → dàŋ.	bouder	mè-bún.
beaucoup (être)	pò.	bouderie	mè-bún.
beau-parent	ñ-cí.	boudeur (être)	búnbâ.
beauté	è-bèŋ.	boue	mbàdgi.
bébé	ì-bùbwàg.	bouger	pógó (1); pógzân.
bec	ñ-còŋ (1).	bougonner	mè-bún.
beignet	è-kâlâ.	bouillie	ñ-còŋ (2).
bêler	tâd (1).	bouillir	twâg; twâgdô.
bénédiction	ñ-sâlní ₂ .	bourgeon	ñ-twâm; sâm.
bercer	póblô.	bourrer	bóg; jò.
besoin (avoir de)	II (1), → yág.	bourses	è-bìn.
bête	ì-yém (1).	bout	ñ-còŋ (2).
biche (esp.)	ù-jò ₂ .	bouteille	ñ-nòmò.
bien	d-àm; mî-mèŋ; twónè.	boutique	ì-pâfilâ.
bien (aller)	I (2), → tébê.	bouton	lógô; ñ-càŋ (1).
bien (être)	ñèb.	bouture	ì-jwâg; ì-swág.
bientôt	à-lú (b)).	bracelet	ñ-cég.
bière	byâ.	braisé	ŋmî-kpél.
bière de maïs	kpàdâ.	braiser	bùm.
bifurquer	bági.	branche	ñ-tèm.
billet	fíkéd.	bras	d-ò (2); ì-nàm (1).
bizarre	tètùlí.	brave	ù-ðíðigâ (2).
blague	ì-ŋmgbáŋ; ñ-ñóŋ ₂ .	bravoure	ñ-káná; ù-ðíðigâ (1).
blanc	mî-púm; ñ-táŋní.	bredouille	zèzè.
blanc (être)	pùm.	bretelle	ì-wág (1).
blancheur	à-pùm.	briller	pâ.
blessé	ì-kpèkpèlí.	briquet	briké.
blessier	II, → bálí; kpèlí.	bronchite	lésómlô.
blessier (se)	I, → bálí; kpèlí.	brosse à dents	kpèkpàzâ.
blessure	è-véŋ.	brouillard	ì-jwân.
bleu	jó ₂ .	brousse	è-pân; ì-kòdgi.
bloqué (être)	yémbê.	brouter	wòdí.
bloquer; coincier	yém.	bruit	ì-dũŋ.
boa	mbwâm.	brûlé	ì-ðíðigâ.
boeuf	ñâg.	brûler	bwí; ðigâ (1); jóŋ (3).
boire	ñúŋ.	brûler (se)	ðig.
boire (faire)	ñúŋâ.	brun	ì-vélí.
bois (matière)	ngâlâ.	bûche	ñ-kùg (2).
boisson	mè-ñúŋ.	buffle	ñád.

C - c

cabane	ì-běm.	canon	ɲ-kóɲ.
cabinet	ì-dúg.	caoutchouc	ndàmà (2).
cabochard	ndwág (2).	capsule	ì-dìbgâ.
cabosse	kèkà (1).	capter	ɲòɲ (1).
cabrer (qn. contre)	nèbnè.	capturer	kàm.
cabrer (se) (fig.)	búlgân.	caqueter	tàd (2).
caca	mè-bí.	carabine	cábâ.
cacao	kèkà (1).	carburant	ì-sâɲz.
cacaotière	kèkà (3).	carrefour	màbgân.
cacaoyer	kèkà (2).	casque	ì-kóɲó.
cacaoyère	kèkà (3).	cassable	ì-bégí.
caler	swàfi.	cassé (chose)	ì-búbûgâ.
caler (se)	I, → swàlbò.	casser	bó ₁ ; búg; kég.
cachet	zítám.	casser (se)	búgí (1).
cache	lè-swě.	casserole	mbè.
cachotterie (faire des)	swàfi.	cataracte	ù-ɲǎɲ.
cadavre	mè-mim.	catéchèse	dwáktèn (1).
cadeau	dáz; ì-págâ; ì-yóm.	cause (à de)	d-òy ₁ .
cadenas	è-ɲgòɲ (1).	causer	lání.
cadet	mbúz.	causerie	ń-náj (2).
cadrer avec	tòbni (3).	cécité	ndím.
cafard	ɲì-cògní; pépé.	célébration	ì-bàndùm.
cafardeux	ù-lún.	célébrer	kàb (2).
café	ì-pàfilá; kòpí (1).	célibataire	ɲ-kò.
caféier	kòpí (2).	cen	è-swí.
café	ì-pwàgó (1).	centre	zǎɲ.
cahoter	ɲànbàn.	certainement	kè (1).
cahute	ì-běm.	cerveau	bš.
caillé	ì-wéwòlò.	cesser	vwàd.
cailler	wól.	chaîne	cén.
caillou	ì-bǎɲ; ɲgwàg.	chair	ɲ-còn.
caïman	ɲgǎn.	chaise	ì-bógí (1).
caisse	ì-zímí; ɲ-kwǎb.	chaleur	à-jóɲ (1); ndúgdâ.
cal	ì-wág ₂ .	chamailler (se)	sááni.
calcul	táj (1).	champ	à-púb; ì-kòdgì.
calculer	láj (2).	champignon	mbél.
alebasse	ndég (1).	chance	mbwám.
caleçon	ɲ-káná.	changement	céni.
calmer (se),	guérir vwábí (2).	changer	I, → céri; kální.
calomnier	bád (1).	chanson	ɲ-ǎ ₁ .
calvitie	è-vá; è-yán.	chanter	jà.
camp	yád.	chanter (coq)	I (2), → lóɲ.
canard	ì-lwàfi.	chapeau	ń-tóm (1).
cancrelat	ì-bám.	charbon	m-âg.
candide	à-fí.	charbon (pièce de)	d-âg.
cane	ɲ-ɲál.	charge	mbèglè (1); mè-mèglè (1).
canne	ń-túm.	charger	bèdì (1).
canne à sucre	ɲ-kóg.		

charger (fusil)	sòŋ.	cloche	è-bèŋí.
charpente	bòmlo (1).	clôture	ngólò (1).
chasse	ì-càm; jì-còm.	clouer	bòmlo (3).
chasse-mouches	kâg.	coaguler (se)	wól.
chasser	bèŋ (2); càm (1); sòm.	coccyx	ì-kóg.
chat	ì-síŋâ.	cochon	ngöy.
chatouiller	jwàmlò.	cocotier	mbòní (2).
chaud (être)	bàmlà.	co-épouse	mbán.
chauffer	jóŋ (1).	coeur	n-ném.
chaussette	zítwagné.	coiffer	kèŋ; pèn.
chaussures (une paire de)	ngòb.	coiffure	ì-lád ₂ .
chauve-souris (esp.)	ngwì; j̄-jém; ù-tàn (1).	coin	è-kwáđí; è-ndúmǵí; kwánâ.
chef	j̄-kúŋkúamá.	cola	è-běł (1).
chemin	zèn.	colère	ù-lún.
chemise	swád.	colis	è-tóm ₁ .
chenille	ì-kúkūŋ; j̄-köŋ.	collant (être)	lád.
chenille (esp.)	à-jòz (1); ì-wóódè (1); nì-míŋ.	collectionner	kwàd.
cher	dyâ; ì-đŋ (2).	coller	bàǵ ₁ .
chercher	jéŋ (1); twáǵí (2).	coller (se)	I, → bàgbà.
chéri	ì-đŋ (2).	colline	j̄-köl.
chétif	j̄-kód (2).	colonne vertébrale	j̄-kâg.
cheval	ì-kâbí.	colportage	j̄-cwâz.
chevelure	lòŋ.	combien	-áŋ; myáŋ.
cheveux	lòŋ.	commandant	j̄-jöy.
cheville	à-köl (4); ì-bwágzí.	commandement	ì-jöy.
chèvre, mouton	kábđí.	comme	àné.
chez	ábò.	commencer	kázi; táđí.
chez-soi	ì-bóǵí (2); mbóg (2).	comment	yá.
chicote	ŋmgbáz.	communauté	è-jóm (2).
chien	mbú.	compagnie	ì-jòŋ ₂ .
chier	nòbò.	compensation	dáz.
chimpanzé	wàgò.	complexité	j̄-jüg.
chipie	bó ₁ .	comprendre	wóg (2).
chipoter	mángânâ.	compter	láj (2).
chique	lè-swè.	conduire	dúd ₂ .
choisir	twáb (2).	confiance	è-pìđí (1).
chose	d-àm; j-òm.	confiance (avoir)	I (1), → pìđí.
chute	mè-mèg.	conjonctivite	mè-pyáđ.
ciel	d-òb; yó.	connaissance	ù-jèm.
cinq francs	dwálò.	connaître	I, → jèm.
circoncire	kèłi (2).	connerie	ì-bùbwà.
ciseaux	j̄jòy.	conseil	mè-lébgá.
citer	túd.	conseiller	léb.
citron	òpùmá (2).	conserver	bàglà (1).
citronnelle	ùsàŋâ.	constater	yén (2).
clair de lune	ŋm-ŋměl.	construire	jwáǵ ₁ ; lóŋ.
clan	è-jòŋ.	conte	ndwáŋ; n-náj (1).
clé	ì-đŋgâ.	contrainte	ù-bíłi.
clitoris	ù-sòd.	contre	èèy (4).
		contrée	à-tán.

contretemps (venir à)		coût	táj (3).
	I (2), → túbni.	couteau	ù-kèṅ.
contrôler	ḵi.	coutume	mè-tùm.
convoquer	báṅdâ; kùd (2).	couvercle	ì-búdgà.
coquetterie	è-ṅgwàn.	couvert (être)	II, → búdbâ.
coquille	ì-kòglò (2).	couverture	nè-pìṅá.
corde	ṅ-kwâl (1).	couvrir	búḍi.
cordonnier	ṅ-kòmò.	couvrir (copuler)	jàm.
corette potagère	ì-nèm.	couvrir (se)	I (1), → búdbâ.
corossol	sâbsábá (2).	crabe	kádá.
corossolier	sâbsábá (1).	crachat	è-té.
corps	ṅól ₁ .	craindre	II, → pún.
costaud	ṅ-cág (2).	crapaud	jòṅgí.
costaud (être)	ság (1).	cravate	kwâlô.
côte	mbâ.	crayon	ṅ-kòz.
côté	è-vèl; yád.	créateur	ṅ-kòmò.
cotiser	sùzà (2).	créer	bòni.
coton	sùd.	creusage	nè-páṅní.
cou	číṅ (1).	creuser	pág.
couché (être)	II, → jògbò.	crier	véblâ.
coucher (se)	bóṅbò;	crise	è-jéb.
	I (2), → búdbâ;	crochet	kwàb.
	I, → jògbò.	crocodile	ṅgân; ṅgân.
coude	ì-bwágzi; ì-kúd bwáṅ.	croire	kàṅ; II (2), → pidi.
coudre	làd.	croître	jò.
couleur	ṅól ₂ .	croquer	kòglò.
coup	ì-kúdâ.	crotte	è-bí.
coup (tout à)	ìté ìté (1).	cru	nùmni.
coup de pied	ṅ-câṅ ₂ .	cruauté	ṅ-géd.
coupé	ì-cíçgà (1).	cueillir	pád.
couper	báṅ (1); bég; bégè;	cuiller	tóg.
	číg; kpè; mwàz.	cuire (intr.)	bé.
couper (se)	čígí.	cuire (tr.)	bélè.
coupeur	ṅ-cíçgâ.	cuisine	kásín.
cour	ṅ-cèṅ (1).	cuisinier	kúgâ.
courber (se)	kúlbâ.	cuisse	à-bè.
courir	té.	cultiver	II (3), → sá.
couronne	ì-kád.	cupide	bì-jém.
course	ṅm-ṅmél.	cuvette	bísin.
court	ì-tùn ₂ .		
couscous	vùvú.		

D - d

danser	jém.	début	mè-kázi; mè-tádi.
dard	ṅ-còṅ ₁ (2).	débuter	tádi.
date de naissance	è-wáli (2).	décès	à-wú (1).
débauche	ì-bàmâ.	décharger	sùzà (3).
debout (être)	II, → tébè.	déchiré	è-ṅgèṅ.
débrousser	fi.	déchirer	ṅàb; ṅàbì.

déclarer	vó.	dessous	sí.
décortiquer	tágí ₁ .	détacher	fî.
découpage	ì-bà ₂ (1).	détacher (se)	fîni (1).
découper	sàŋlà.	détériorer	sùn.
découvrir	swàm (1).	détester	pèm.
défaite	đi (2); ì-bwàb (2).	détester l'un l'autre	pèmnì.
défendre	kàmni.	détruire	bó ₁ .
défêquer	váz (1).	deux	-bǎ; bàà.
défoncer (se)	vùŋ.	devant	úsū.
défourer (se)	sàmà.	devenir	II, → bógbô; IV, → bógbô; II (1), → pám.
défrichage	lyâ; sòpíâ.	diarrhée	ńtíwí.
défricher	kpàgì; lí.	Dieu	zámá.
dégouliner	tó.	difficile (être)	lèd ₁ .
dégringoler	swàdnì.	difficulté	ji-jüg.
déjà	àyǎ.	digue	ŋmì-ŋmèg.
déjeuner	càm (1); è-kàg; ì-càm.	dimanche	swánô.
demain	kídí.	diminuer	sùz; sùzà (1).
demander	bólô; jàgì; II (1), → sílá.	dîner	đínà.
déménager	bólí.	dire	kàd; tóŋ (1).
demeurer	káŋà (1); yémlá.	discussion	nè-pěd (2).
demi-tour (faire)	kwád.	discuter	II, → pèdnì ₂ .
démoralisé	ù-lún.	disparaître	dáŋ.
dénommer	yòlò (1).	disperser (se)	càmni.
dent	è-sòŋ.	dispute	ì-sùŋ; zàŋ.
dents	mì-mwùd (1).	disputer	sùŋ.
dépanneuse	wún.	disputer (se)	sáánì.
dépasser	káŋà (2); vòb (1).	distance	ù-jǎb.
dépecer	bà (1).	distribution	ŋgàb (1).
déposer	jògì (2).	dix	è-wóm.
déposer (se)	I, → bèdbè.	doigt	ù-nüŋ (1).
dépotoir	ì-kùkùn.	domestique	ì-jém (1).
déprimé	ù-lún.	domestique (animal)	fid (1).
depuis que	táđi.	domicile	mbóg (2).
déracinement	nè-tééní.	dommage	cò.
déraciner	pùmì; té.	don	ì-yóm.
déranger	jóŋlò (3); ndéglè.	donner	vé.
déraper	vwóm.	dos	mbúz; mè-bán.
dérision	ì-ŋmgbáŋ; ji-ŋóŋ ₂ ; ŋmì-kpálá.	dose	è-bím (1).
derrière	mbúz.	Douala	èwáló.
dès que	jiná.	douleur	à-yá; mìn-tá.
désaccord	mè-pěd (2).	doute	mè-pěd (1).
descendre	sùz.	douter	I (1), → pèdnì ₂ ; séŋ.
déscherber	bàl.	dresser (qn. contre)	nèbnè.
désir	ù-záŋ.	droite	mè-jóm.
désordre (mettre en)	sàz.	dur	ji-cád.
dessein (faire à)	váŋ.	dur (être)	lèd ₁ .
dessin	ì-vèglà.	durée	è-bòg (2); nè-té (2).
dessiner	vèglà (1).		

E - e

eau	mè-nđim.	enlever	kòy ₁ ; pàzì; swáđí; vaa.
éblouissement	ì-búbúlgí.	ennemi	ñ-zínzín (2).
échange	cérí.	enrouler	I, → bwág; vą.
échappatoire	è-kèlbá.	enseignant	jà-néglè.
échapper (s')	tú ₁ .	enseigner	yéglè.
échelle	ù-lò.	ensemble	jà-cámá.
école	zèkúfi.	entailler	sà.
éconduire	cám (2).	enterrer	dè.
écorce	ì-kòb.	entêtement	ì-vág.
écorce (pièce d')	ì-vín.	entraîner	kè (2).
écorcher	póz.	entrée	mè-mé.
écouter	vóglò.	entrer	jànì.
écraser	kwág.	envie	mè-kómgó (2).
écrire	fi (1).	envier	kómò (2).
écrire (s')	fi bàn (1).	envoler (s')	yéfi.
écriture	ù-fi.	envoyer	lóm.
écrouler (s')	sùglàn.	épais (être)	pìb; fig (1).
écume	ì-vúvúz.	éparpillé (être)	càmni (2).
écureuil	mbòg.	éparpiller	càmna (1); sàz.
écureuil (esp.)	ù-jàm; ù-sén.	éparpiller (s')	càmni.
effacer	đímá (4); pími.	épaule	ì-túl.
effectuer	kwám (1).	épicerie	ì-pàfilá.
effondrer (s')	sùglàn.	épilepsie	kána.
efforcer (s')	ndé (2).	épine	ì-jòy.
effrayer	sízil.	éplucher	pózi; séfi (1); tòni.
Egypte	ìgíptèn (1).	épluchures	ì-kòglò (1).
éléphant	zwàg.	époque	jà-nè (2); túúđi.
éléphantiasis	è-fín ₂ ; mè-fín.	épouse	jà-gál.
élever	nála; tòn ₁ (2).	épouse de	ngá.
éloge	jà-kàgní.	épouser	II, → bá.
emballer	vą.	époux	jà-nóm (1).
embêter	pógó (1).	épuiser (s')	I (1), → tèg.
embusquer	kwàfi.	érection (être en)	kén.
émoussé (être)	túl.	escargot	kwé ₂ .
empêcher	ká.	escargot de rivière	è-lò.
empiler	jò.	esclave	cúgzèd.
emporter (s')	búlgàn.	escroquer	đíni (2).
empreinte	è-bò.	espérer	II (1), → píđi.
emprunter	kòfi (2).	espoir	è-píđi (2); jà-nìni (2).
enceinte (être)	I (4), → nè.	esprit	jà-cíncim (2).
enclos	ì-pwàgó (1).	esprit malifique	ì-vú.
encombrement	kágdàn ₁ .	essayer	vèglà (2).
endroit	è-pólò (1); pé (1); vòm.	essuyer	pími.
enfant	m-òjò (1); m-òjò (3); m-wán (1).	et	èy (2).
engendrer	bòni; wé (1).	éton	ì-tón.
		européen	ñ-tágní.
		évacuer	lóg (1).

évaporer (s')	vébê.	exister	I (1), → nè.
éveillé (être)	vyèèbè.	explication	ndóŋ (2).
ewondo	kwálô.	expliquer	pèlnà; fimzàna (1).
exagérer	nèmnà (1).	expres (faire)	váŋ.
examen	ŋ-kàd.	expulser	càm (2); tídnà.
excréments	mè-bí.	extorquer	đínnì (2).
excuser	jù.	extraction	m-págní.
excuser (s')	bì-jùùgá.	extraire	bòg. écaille ì-báz.
excuses	bì-jùùgá.		
exemple	mbùlná; ndèm.		

F - f

fabriquer	kòm (1).	féticheur	è-ŋgàŋ.
face	à-sú.	feu	ndwàn.
faché (être)	pàm.	feuillage	ñ-túd.
facile	ì-bùbù.	feuille	è-péb; ká; ñ-twàgžò; ù-ká.
facilité	ì-bùbù.	feuille (esp.)	ì-tóndó.
façon	è-kwàm; m-mól ₂ .	feuille morte	mbwàbò (1).
faim	zà.	fève	mbó.
fainéantise	ù-jíjía.	fier	mì-ntàg.
faire	kòm (1); kwàm (1); II (1), → sá.	fièvre	à-jóŋ (2); píbà.
faire à dessein	váŋ.	fièvre (avoir)	jóŋ (2).
faire attention	kálá.	fil	ŋ-kwál (1).
famine	zà.	fil de fer	ŋgáz.
fantôme	kón ₁ (1).	filet	è-vwád.
farce	ì-làŋ; ñ-tómdàn; jì-jóŋ ₂ ; pyàŋà.	fillette	ŋgwàn ₁ (1).
fardeau	mbèglè (1); m-mèglè (1).	fil	ndómní (2).
farine	ù-vùg (1).	finir	màn.
fatigant (être)	tègnì.	flair	jì-cwàn ₂ .
fatiguer	II, → tèg.	flanc	mbà.
fatiguer (se)	I (1), → tèg.	flatterie	ì-wàngò.
faux (faire feu)	cwág (2).	flèche	m-pàn.
félicitations	mè-tàmná.	fleur	ì-sàmga; m-móm (3); pùlávò; sàm.
féliciter	tàmnà.	fleurir	sàm.
félin	ì-síŋà.	fleurs	kóŋgwás.
femme	m-ìŋgá; jì-jéjā.	foi	è-píđí (3).
fendre	sàl (1).	foie	ì-ség.
fente	ì-sàlgà (1); ì-sèsàlà; ñ-sàlní ₁ (1).	fois	ì-jòŋ ₁ .
fer	ì-cè.	folon	kùkùmà.
fermer	đib (2); pèd.	fonctionnaire, préfet	ŋgómndò.
fermer (se)	pèdní ₁ .	fonctionner	wùlà (3).
féroce	jì-júp ₁ wág.	fond	è-fig; ì-bón.
fesse	è-kàn.	fonder	bònì.
fesses	zùd.	fondre	jámà.
fête	è-bòg.	force	ŋgúl.
		forêt	pé (2).
		forêt	è-pàn.

forgeron lùlwâ; ñ-lwâ.
 forme è-bím (2).
 former mínglâ.
 fort ngûl.
 fou è-kúd; ì-tùṅà.
 fouet ṅ-káz; ṅmgbáz.
 fouetter bàmlâ; bwàb.
 fouille ñ-págní.
 fouiller vùn.
 foulard ñ-tóm (2).
 fourchette ì-lúm.
 fourmi (esp.) pwám; ù-kpád.
 foyer ndá.
 fracture (avoir une) búgí (1).
 franc dwálô; síngì.
 français pùlâsí.
 franchir kpám.
 frapper bínû (1); bòmlò (1).
 fraternité è-jāṅ.
 frère mǎjāṅ; ndóm.
 frère (mon) ; soeur (ma) tàdá.
 frère (mon) màṅá.
 frère (son) mǎjāṅ.

frère (ton) mǎjāṅ.
 frire yáṅ₁ (1).
 froid è-véb.
 froid (être) sín (1).
 frôler nàmà.
 fronde ndàmà (1).
 frontière jì-nè (1).
 frotter tùg.
 fruit è-kwádgí; è-ngòṅ (2);
 ì-bùmá (1).
 fruit (esp) sàbsábá (2).
 fruit (esp.) è-bò (2); ì-bwàm (2);
 ngègè (1).
 fufu vùvú.
 fuir tú₁.
 fuir (faire suinter) II (2), → só.
 fumée vídâ.
 fumer dùd₁ (2); tógâ.
 furieux (être) pàm.
 furoncle d-wád.
 fusil ngál.

G - g

éteindre dímâ (1).
 étoffe ì-kòb.
 étoile ù-tétè.
 étranger jì-néṅ.
 être I (1), → nè.
 être malade I (1), → kwàn.
 être noir vín.
 égaliser kòdî (2).
 égarer (s') dáj.
 église cwáz (1).
 égratignure jì-cél.
 égyptien ìgíptèn (2).
 gage ì-bán.
 gagner I (2), → lòd.
 gale jì-càṅ₁.
 garder bàglâ (1); này.
 gargoulette kúlwàdá.
 gêter ndámnnâ.
 gêter (se) ndámnnì.
 gauche mè-yál.
 gémir méénì.
 gêné (être) sâṅnì.
 généreux à-kàb (2).
 génitales (parties) zùd.

géniteur m-mònì (1).
 genou è-bóṅ.
 genre ì-bègá; kán.
 germer jò.
 gesticuler pùblàn.
 gingembre nǎjínjâ.
 glacé dàbgì.
 glissant (être) tèè.
 glisser sèn; tèè.
 gombo ì-nèm; ì-tétám; pèz.
 gonfler vúz.
 gorge cíṅ (2).
 gorille nǎjì.
 gosse ì-sòm.
 goulûment ñ-twàbdò; séfì (3).
 gourmand (être) ndwàgbò.
 gourmandise ndwàg.
 gousse ì-kòglò (2).
 goûter kègì.
 goutte è-tó.
 goyave ì-bùmá (2).
 grade ṅ-kóṅ₁ (3).
 grain d-iz.
 graine mbó; jì-có; ngèṅ.

graisse	è-vóŋ.	grimaces	ì-swàngò.
grand (être)	nén (1).	grimper	béd (2); kà ₂ .
grandeur	ŋ-kóŋ ₁ (2).	grognon (être)	búnbâ.
grandir	náj.	gronder	I, → bám.
grapefruit	òpùmá (2).	gros	ŋ-cág (2).
gratter (se)	yàgì.	grosseur	è-néní.
gravir	béd (1).	grossir	vúz.
grenier	è-ŋgùnà; ì-táj; ŋmgbélmí.	guêpe (esp.)	cìcílá; è-pòm; ì-bòm kwàdgò.
grenouille	ŋ-kwájó.	guérir	já ₂ ; lèd ₂ (1); lèdà (2).
grenouille (esp.)	bèbâ.	guetter	déŋbè; mwán.
griffer	wòdì.	gueule	à-nùŋ; m-móm (2).
griller	yáj ₁ (2).		

H - h

habillé	m-bwádní.	hélas	cò.
habillement	m-mwád.	herbe	ì-lwág.
habiller	dál; dálâ.	héritage	ì-íŋ.
habiller (s')	bwád.	heure	è-wòlò.
habit	ì-jé.	heureux	m-ntág.
habiter	III (2), → bógbò.	hévéa	ndàmà (4).
habitudes	mè-tùm.	hibiscus	ì-sáj.
habituer	I (3), → tébè.	hibou	è-kúŋ.
habituer (s' à qc.)	jémlâ; jènzàn.	histoire	ndóŋ (2); n-náj (1).
hache	ù-vwón.	histoire drôle	ì-làŋ.
haine	zìŋ.	homme	pâm.
haineux	n-zínzìŋ (1).	homonyme	ì-yòlò (2); mbóy (2).
haïr	sìŋ.	honte	ù-swán.
haleine	è-kàg.	hôpital	dwábdò (2).
hameçon	è-sòŋ.	horizon	yád.
hanche	ì-bòg.	horizontalement	kéŋgāná.
hangar	ì-sà ₂ .	houe	ì-kwàb.
hareng	ì-pàgà.	huile	m-mwán.
haricot	kón ₂ .	hutte	ì-bém.
haut (être)	jáb (1).		
hauteur	n-té (1).		

I - i

ici	mú; vá.	immobile	kwàŋkwàŋ.
identité (carte d')	ì-dàŋdítè.	imperméable	rènkód.
idiot	zèzè.	important	m-pàŋ (1).
igname	è-lóg; è-sól; ì-ŋúm; j-ò (1).	importuner	jóŋlò (3).
ignorer	đimâ (2); yègnè.	indigence	mè-pyàd; mè-zwè.
imbécile	zèzè.	indolence	ù-bùbwàd.
imiter	jéglànà.	infirme	ì-jém (2); ì-yém (2).
immédiatement	ìté ìté (2).	infirmité	ì-yém (2).
		inflorescence	sám.

inflorescence (maïs) è-bám.
 information pó.
 informer béñi.
 inhaler lè.
 injection ùndùndò (2).
 inquiéter (s') sâñni.
 inscrire fil (2).
 inscrire (s') filbàn (2).
 insistance ì-vág.
 insomnie (avoir) vèèbè.
 instant kwám (1).
 intégrité à-fí.
 intelligence pèg.

interdiction ì-cì.
 interdire cìlà.
 intéresser II (2), → yág.
 internat ì-pwàgò (2).
 intestin jì-nà.
 introduire láb.
 iris ù-nǎñ.
 ironie ì-ɣmgbáñ; jì-nóñ.
 irriter (s') búlgân.
 Italie ìtályèn (2).
 italien ìtályèn (1).

J - j

jambe à-kõl (3).
 jambe (pantalon) à-kõl (4).
 jardin ɣgádnà.
 jaune ì-súg.
 jeter lúm (1); vúmlà; wò.
 jeu ì-võy.
 jeu (esp.) ɣgègé (2).
 jeune ɣgáñ.
 jeune personne ì-nàáñgà.
 joie mìn-tàg.
 joue è-máñ.

jouer lé; vò.
 jour à-mòz.
 joyeux mìn-ntàg.
 jugement jwáz (1).
 juger jwáz (1).
 jumeaux mìn-vyáz.
 junior m-ðñó (2).
 jupe ù-bòm.
 jurer dí (1); kàn; màànà.

K - k

kola è-běl (1).

L - l

labourer sùm.
 laid (être) béb (2).
 laisser jògì; líg.
 lait mè-nám; mílíg.
 lait maternel è-bé.
 lame è-njáj; lám.
 lamentation ñ-tájá.
 lamenter (se) tájá (2).
 lampe è-lámà; lámà.
 lance è-kşñ (1).
 lancer gbà; lúm (1); vùzà;
 wò.
 langue ñ-kwálî; ù-jém.

lapin àlàpágá.
 large ì-ndàm.
 larme ì-béçí.
 latex mè-kémdà.
 laver sò; II, → wágô.
 laver (se) I, → wágô.
 lecture ñ-láñní.
 léger ì-vèvèz.
 légume ì-tùtùgà.
 légume (esp.) ì-nèm; ì-nèm;
 ì-tóndó; mìn-mwàm.
 légume (sp.) ù-kwàg.
 lent ù-tétég.

lent (être)	tɔ̃ɓbɔ̃.	lit	ì-nɔ̃ɓ.
lentement	ù-tétég.	livre	kálàdà (2).
lenteur	à-tɔ̃ɓ; ù-tétég.	loger	III (3), → bógbô.
lèpre	zám.	loi	mbéni.
lépreux	ñ-zénzām.	lombaire	ù-dúg.
lettre	kálàdà (3).	long	ñ-tɔ̃ɓlɔ̃; ñ-twáj (2); ɓ-kɔ̃ɓlɔ̃.
lever	béédê.	long (être)	jáb (1).
lever	vàà.	long (le de)	èèy (3).
lever (se)	I (1), → tébê.	longtemps	ì-bàn; kwám (2).
lèvre	ì-jé.	longueur	à-jáb.
lézard	jícɔ̃.	loquace (être)	kpál.
liane (esp.)	ɓm̃-ɓm̃än.	loquacité	ɓm̃-kpální.
libérer	kòdì; páamá.	lorsque	ì-jég.
lieu	pé (1); vòm.	louche	ì-kwájɔ̃; ɓ-kéɓ.
lièvre	ù-kpèɓ.	lourd (être)	ɔ̃d.
lignage	mbóg (1).	lundi	mwáñi.
ligne	ñ-tén; ñ-cámá; ñ-ɓwáb (2).	lune	ñnódóbó; ɓgwàn ₂ .
limite	ñ-ñè (1).	lune (clair de)	ɓm̃-ɓm̃ěl.
linéage	è-jɔ̃ɓ.	lutter	lúmnì.
lion	ì-ɓm̃gbém.		
lire	láj (1).		

M - m

macabo	è-bàɓà.	mamba	è-jáj.
macadamia	ì-bùamá (2).	manche	ɓ-kél.
machette	pà.	manger	ɔ̃r; séli (3).
magasin	ì-pàfilá.	manguer	ndɔ̃gɔ̃.
magie	byàɓ; è-ɓgàɓ.	manguier	à-ndɔ̃gɔ̃.
maigre	ɓ-kód (2).	manguier sauvage	àzàɓà.
maigrir	bwáj.	manière	è-kwàm; m-mól ₂ .
main	d-ɔ̃ (1).	manioc	m-mùɓ.
main de bananes	è-sàɓ.	manioc (feuilles de)	kpèm.
maintenant, actuellement	ítètègè.	manoeuvre	cúgzêd.
maïs	mbàz.	manquer	cwág (1); jéɓbàn.
maison	ndá; ñ-ñébé.	marc	ɓ-ɓám.
maître	ñ-ñéglè.	marché	ì-bòm; mákíd; wàtélí.
maîtresse	ì-bwàn.	marcher	té; wùlà (1).
mal (avoir à)	I (2), → kwàn.	marcher sur	wùlà (4).
mal (faire)	yàbnì.	marécage	ì-lwábí.
mal (faire au ventre)	II, → bwág.	mari	ñ-ñóm (1).
malade	I (1), → kwàn.	mariage	è-bá.
malade (personne)	ɓ-kúɓkwān.	marié	m-báání.
maladie	ñ-cád; ù-kwān.	marier	bálà (1).
maladie (esp.)	ì-twàn; mè-kwě.	marier (se)	I, → bá.
malaxer	pùg.	marigot	ù-só.
malédiction	ì-jɔ̃g.	marmite	mbè; sílbà
malheureux	ì-ɓgúɓgwál.	marteler	bòmlò (1).
maman	nà.		

massage	ì-wúdâ; n-wúdnéngánâ.	minceur	à-bwád.
masser	báb ₂ ; wúd.	minute	ì-nútèn.
matin	è-lén; kékídâ.	miroir	ì-yén.
maudire	jòg.	mission	míswân.
mauvais (être)	béb (1).	moche (être)	béb (2).
mauvaise nouvelle	n-dwì ₂ .	moitié	ì-tùn ₁ (2).
méat	è-jòg.	moitié (récipient à)	ì-sèg.
méchanceté	è-tóm ₂ (1).	molaire	ì-kèg.
médecin	dwábdô (1).	mollet	gmè-gmén.
mêlée	ì-twàm.	moment	è-pólô (2); jì-jè (2).
melon	è-bwäg.	monnaie	dwálô; kábâ; tólápèn.
melon (esp.)	è-lóg.	montant	g-kòm.
membre (anat.)	ì-dò.	monter	béd (1).
même	mèn; sèm.	montrer	lédè (1).
mémoire	n-nó (1).	moquer (se)	kpéfi.
ménage	ndá.	moquerie	ì-kpéfi.
menottes	hájkwâb.	morceau	ì-báb ₁ ; ì-tùn ₁ (1).
mensonge	n-dùgní; n-nál.	mordre	kòglò; lób.
mentir	dùgâ; dùgnì; nàlbâ.	mort	à-wú (1).
menton	ì-yègzâ.	mortier	jì-cóbó.
menuisier	kábínâ.	morve	ì-swáz.
mépris	ì-byàní.	mot	ì-búg.
mépriser	byàní.	mouche	ù-pìngòg.
mer	mì-máŋ.	mouillé (être)	sín (2).
merci	ngáŋ.	mourir	wú.
merde	mè-bí.	mousse	ì-vúvúz.
mère	nâ; ná (1); jì-jéjā.	moustache	zèl.
mère (de toi)	jô.	moustique	ì-jéjōg.
mère (d'êgo)	mājā.	moute-moute	ù-pìngòg.
messe	cwáz (2).	mouton	n-tómó.
mets	g-kóngí.	multiplication	ì-bùlâ.
mettre	pùdi; téfi (1).	munitions	è-kòg (2).
mettre (se)	I, → bèdbè.	mur	m-pím.
mettre bas	wé (2).	mûr (être)	fig (2).
midi	tólbé.	mûr, âgé	mbâ.
miel	w-è.	mûrir	I (2), → tèg; vyè (3).
mieux	twónè.	mûrir (d'un abcès)	víblá.
mil	ù-vùg (2).	museau	m-móm (1).
mil, sorgho	ù-vègè.	musique	mèzíg.
milieu	zãŋ.	mvèt, guitare, instrument	mbéd.
militaire	bèzimì.	mygale	ngám.
mille-pattes	ngôy.	mystère	bì-dím.
mince	à-bwád.		

N - n

nabot	ì-ngègè.	naissance	è-wáfi (1).
nager	jwág.	naître	wáfi.
nain	ì-nújá.	nasse	è-jâ; jì-còg ₂ .

natte	ì-kàfi.	nombril	dwáb.
nécessiter	bólô.	non	àyâá.
négligence	ì-lěz.	nonchalance	ù-bùbwàd; ù-jíjîá.
négliger	bùb.	non mûr	ì-kásāñ; ì-tòdò.
nervure	kô.	non mûr	ì-jwázi; ndăn.
nettoyer	kùl; sò.	nord	è-kwě (2).
neuf	ì-bùù; ñmì-kpámgi.	nourrir	tòñ (1).
neveu, nièce	m-wán (2).	nourriture	bì-dí (1).
nez	d-öy ₂ .	nouveau	ñmì-kpámgi.
nid	d-ùmá.	nouveauté	ì-pépâmà (3).
noeud	è-dñ; è-tñ ₁ .	nouvelle	ndóñ (1); pó.
noir	à-vín; ì-vívíní; vyûg.	nu	ji-có.
noix	m-măñ (1).	nuage	ì-báz.
noix de coco	mbòní (1).	nudité	ji-có.
noix de palme	ì-tòñ; mbí; só.	nuit	à-lú.
noix palmiste	m-măñ (2).	nul	zèzè; zèzè.
nom	d-öy ₁ ; ì-yòlò (1).	nullard	zèzè.
nombre	nwàmò ₁ ; táñ (2).	numéro	nwàmò ₁ .
nombreux, volumineux, grand	ì-bèbég.	nuque	číñ (1).

O - o

obscurité	d-íblá.	opération	ì-sàlgà (2); n-sální (2).
observer	pwàmò.	opérer	sàl (2).
obstination	à-ló; m-é-ló; ndwág (2).	orange	òpùmá (2).
occiput	kwág.	ordures	ngùn.
odeur	ì-nùm; ì-sà ₁ .	oreille	à-ló.
oeil	d-iz.	orifice	m-móg.
oesophage	ì-ngòñ.	origine	è-bòní.
oeuf	è-čí.	orphelin	ñwí; ñwí.
oignon	è-jăñ ₂ (1).	orteil	ù-nũñ (2).
oindre (se)	sñ.	os	ì-véz.
oiseau	ù-nwăn.	otage	ì-bán.
oiseau (esp.)	kwàdòwádó.	oublier	vúnâ.
okok	ù-kwàg.	ourlet	ì-ñég.
ombre	ì-vévô.	ouvre-bouteilles	ì-yázi.
omoplate	ì-bébáz.	ouvrir	yázi.
oncle	ísâ; ísô; ndóm.		
ongle	j-ă ₂ .		

P - p

pagne	sànâ.	palme (noix de)	mbí.
pain	bèèdí.	palmier	è-lén.
paître	ì-lwág.	palmier (jeune)	ù-tílim.
palabre	è-vó (2).	paludisme	tíd (2).
palisser	tónô.	pamplemousse	òpùmá (2).

panaris	d-òngò.	pénétrer	jūnì.
panicule	sām.	pénétrer (faire)	jūŋlā.
panier	j-ād.	pénis	jì-cwád.
pantalon	twàlàsí.	pénis impubère	ì-sùswāl.
panthère	zè.	pensée	jì-cògní.
papaye	pùpó.	penser	còg.
papier	è-péb; kálâdâ (1); mbwàbò (2).	pépin	mbó.
paquet	d-òm; è-púná; ì-kúngà; m̀- mwàm ₁ .	percée (faire une)	túbna.
paralysé	ì-bóg ₂ .	percer	tú ₂ .
parapluie	ù-tàn (2).	percer (se)	twî.
pardi	kê (1).	percevoir, entendre	wóg (1).
pardonner	jù.	perdre	dá; lwáz.
parent	ì-vúvumní.	perdre (se)	dáj.
parenté	è-jóm (1).	perdrix	ù-kpál.
parents	m̀- mònì (2).	père	ísā.
paresse	à-tég; ù-bùbwàd; ù-jijî.	père (de toi)	ísō.
paresse intellectuelle	à-súg.	père (d'ego)	tàdá.
paresseux (être)	tègbè.	perfusion	ùndùndò (2).
pari	ì-bán.	période longue	ì-bàn.
parler	jégí; kwáló.	personne	m-òd.
part	ngàb (2).	personne jeune	ì-nààngà.
partage	à-kàb (1); ngàb (1).	pet	jì-cùl.
partager	kàb (1).	petit	cècàd; m-ò.
partie	ì-tùn ₁ (1); m̀- pág.	petit (être)	tógbò.
partir	I, → kóđò.	pétrir	bùulà; pùg.
partir de	téèy (1).	pétrole	kàlàsínà.
passé	màn; m̀- mú.	peu	cècàd.
passer	I (1), → lòd.	peur	II (1), → kwàn; w-òŋ.
passer (se)	II, → lòd.	peur (avoir)	I, → pún.
passoire	ì-kùdgà.	peut-être	jām.
patate douce	è-bùdà.	piaffer	swán.
pâte (de manioc)	n-tùdà.	pièce	dwáló; ì-tùn ₁ (1).
pâte pour beignets	mè-kàlà.	pied	à-kòl (1).
paume	d-ò (1).	piège	ì-ngùlí; ndóŋó; ù-lám.
pauvre (personne pauvre)	m̀- múmúá.	piège (type)	è-bò (3); wúdá.
pauvreté	mè-bwà.	piéger	lám.
pays	n-nàm (1).	pierre	ngwàg.
peau	ì-kòb; ì-kòglò (1).	pigeon	ù-bèŋ.
pêche	à-lóg; jì- ŋwáb (1).	piler	cág.
pêcher	jwáb; lóg (2).	pillage	jì-cà ₁ .
peigne	ì-wàz; páágà.	pilosité	ngàz.
peigner	wàz.	piment	ùndúndwá (1).
peindre	pén.	piment (esp.)	ì-kpèbà; n-twáj.
peine	m̀- ntá; jì-jũg.	pince de carbe	m̀- pèn (2).
pendant que	vèn nà.	pincement	ì-mwázi.
pendentif	ì-tályèn.	pincer	jìdì (1).
pendre	I, → kèlbè.	pintade	ŋ-káj.
		pioche	ì-díkâz.
		pipe	mbè.
		piquer	dígà (2); jìdì (2).
		pirogue	m-ál.

pistache	ɲgwǎn.	pomme de terre	mè-tódó.
pitié	ɲgwál.	pomper	póm (1).
pivoter	cɪŋlàn (1).	pondre	tágí ₂ .
place	è-pólò (1).	porc	ɲgöy.
placer	bèmì; téfi (1).	porc-épic	ɲgöm.
plaintain (plante)	ì-kwàn (2).	porter	bèglè.
plaintain mûre	ǰcâ.	porter (vêtement)	dál.
plainte	swâmnò.	poser	bèdì (2); téfi (1).
plaisanterie	ì-làn; ǰi-ǰón ₂ ; pyàǰà.	position	ì-téy.
plaisir	zám (1).	posséder	II, → gbè.
planche	è-bám; ì-bóg ₁ .	possiblement	ǰám.
plant	ì-téǰ.	poste	ǰi-kóǰ ₁ (4).
plantain	ì-kwàn (1).	pot	kúlwadá; mbè; mè-mòǰ; mè-mwàn.
plantain (esp.)	à-lú; è-sàn; ì-lád; ì-sòǰ; vwád; zwàgbò.	potiron	è-bwág; ǰi-ǰèǰ.
plantation	à-púb; ì-kòdgì.	pou de la tête	ǰín.
plante (esp.)	à-ló; è-jwámí; è-ndó; ì-nèm; ì-nèm; ì-sǰ; ì-sòǰ; ì-tóndó; kùkùmà; lélé; ǰád; ǰi-ǰèǰ; ùsàǰà; vèvázá; wú.	pou du pubis	ì-lád ₁ .
planter	bè (1).	pouce	ù-nǰǰ (1).
plantoir	ǰi-twáǰ (1).	poudre	mè-pùǰ.
plat	sàǰlà.	poudre médicinale	ndwì ₁ .
plat (sissongo)	mè-sòǰ (2).	poule	kú.
plat de maïs	ì-kòmò.	pour	ású.
plein	ǰi-túd.	pourrir	bò.
pleur	ǰi-ǰón.	pourrir (faire)	bwálò.
pleurer	ǰón; yón.	pourriture	ì-bwál.
pleuvoir	nòǰ.	poursuivre	bèǰ (1); tòǰ.
pli	ì-ǰég.	pousse	ì-téǰ.
plier	kúd; lú.	pousser	ǰò; súglâ; tìn.
plonger	láb.	pouvoir	ì-ǰòy; III, → nè; ɲgûl.
pluie	mbèǰ.	premier-né	ǰi-tól.
plume	tám.	prendre	ǰòǰ (1); twágí (1).
plumes	è-vùl (1).	préparatifs	ɲgòmzàn.
pluriel	bò.	préparation	ǰi-ǰám.
plus	pè (2).	préparer	ǰám.
plus que	I (1), → lòd.	présenter	lédè (2).
poignet	ì-bwágzì.	presser	myàd.
poil	è-vùl (1); ɲgàz.	prêt	bèbè (2).
poil du pubis	è-vùl (2).	prétentieux (être)	I, → yág.
pointe	ǰi-còǰ ₁ (2).	prêter	kòlì (1).
poire	mbóónò.	prétexte	è-kèlbá.
poison	ǰi-cù.	prétextes	mè-wágbó.
poisson	kwáz.	prêtre	pàdà.
poitrine	ǰi-kùg (1); tó.	prier	kòglàn.
poivron	ì-kpèbè.	prison	mè-mòg.
police	pùlúz.	prix	táǰ (3).
policier	bèzìmì.	problème	ì-twàm.
		procès	ǰwáz (2).
		prochain	mè-mú.
		proche	bèbè (1).
		produire	ság (2).
		produire (arbre)	wúm ₁ .

produire (se) II, → lòd.
 professeur jì-jéglê.
 profond ì-dwág.
 profondeur ì-dwág.
 projet jì-jìní (1).
 projeter vázlâ.
 prolétaire cúgzêd.
 promenade d-ùlà (1).
 promener (se) wùlà (1).
 promesse mèt-ñj.
 promettre kâg (1).
 prononcer túd.
 propre m-púbni.
 propre (être) púb.
 propreté m-púbni.
 protestant àmèdkán (3).
 protestantisme àmèdkán (4).
 provenir téèy (2).
 provision ì-kàgá.

provocateur (être) bàgnì.
 provocation mbàgnì.
 provoquer bàgì.
 prune sá.
 pubis mbùm sí.
 public jì-cèṅ (2).
 puce ì-dàṅ.
 puer nùm.
 puiser bòd; lèṅ (1).
 puits ì-tàm.
 pulpe ì-súg.
 pulvériser póm (2).
 punition ì-ndéglé.
 purger bóónò.
 purger (se) bóónì.
 pus è-víl.
 pygmées bèkwè.

Q - q

quantité è-bím (1).
 que nâ (1).
 quelconque zìṅ.
 quelque part vòm.
 querelle záj.
 question m-móló; jì-cílá.

queue ṅ-kõn.
 qui zá.
 quinine kíni.
 quitter II, → kódo; téèy (1).
 quoi jé.

R - r

racine ṅ-kǎṅ.
 racler wám.
 racontars, rumeur, on-dit
 ì-kúkwalò.
 raconter láy; tóṅ (1).
 raconter des contes kàn.
 raie ì-sàlgà (1); zǎṅ.
 rallonger jàbà.
 ramasser twáb (1); wóólò.
 rameau jì-cá.
 ramolli m-búúni.
 ramollir bwí.
 ramper wáj; yáḡi.
 rancune ì-vùdgá.
 rancunier (être) zìṅbâ.
 rang jì-cámá.
 ranger tág.
 raphia zàm.

rapidement à-vól.
 rapidité à-vól.
 rapports sexuels ì-bóṅ (3).
 rare (être) jéṅbàn.
 rare (être); manquer jémni.
 raser kèṅ.
 rat pó.
 rater II, → vùz.
 recensement ì-láṅâ.
 réchauffer báb₁.
 réchauffer jóṅlò (1).
 recherché (être) jéṅbàn.
 récipient ì-lógzò.
 récipient à moitié ì-sèḡ.
 récit ndóṅ (2); ñ-náj (1).
 récolte mèt-kó.
 récolter kó.
 récompense m-ágnì (3).

reconnaître	I (2), → jèm.	respirer avec peine	ségzân.
recueillir	lèŋ (2).	ressemblance	mbòòní.
recupérer	twáŋi (2).	ressembler	pòòni.
redresser (se)	ɲòòni.	reste	è-tíg; ì-kàgá; mè-lígí.
réfléchir	còg.	rester	I (2), → bógbô;
réflexion	ɲi-cògní.		káŋá (1); lígí.
refroidir (se)	vwábi (1).	retard	mbúbúá; mbúz.
refuser	bèn (1).	retrouver	swàm (2).
régaler (se)	ɲgéb.	réunir (se)	tòbni (2).
regarder	bèbè (1).	réussir	kàbà.
régime	ì-tòŋ; ɲi-cág (1).	réveiller	vèlè.
reins	ù-dúg.	réveiller (se)	vèbè.
rejeton (bananier)	m-óŋnò.	revenant	kón ₁ (1).
rejetons de sissongo	mì-sòŋ.	revenir	dúgnì.
rembourser	I, → dúgnà.	rêver	ñ-nó (1).
remèdes	mè-bálá.	rhumatisme	è-kàŋ.
remerciement	ɲgãŋ.	rhume	ì-bèbòm.
remplir	jàlâ.	riche	mè-pàŋ (1).
remplir (se), plein (être)	jà ₁ .	richesse	à-kúmá.
remuer	pógó (2).	ride	ù-tàd.
remuer avec force	bùùlà.	rigole	ì-sàlgà (1).
rencontre	ndóbèn.	rire	wè.
rencontrer	tóbnò.	rituel	è-kúz; mè-jèb (2).
rencontrer (se)	tòbni (1).	rive	cingí.
rendez-vous	m-ágnì (2).	rivière	ù-só.
rendre	I, → dúgnà.	rixer	ì-twàm.
rendre dur	lèdà (1).	riz	ù-léz.
rentrer	dúgnì; sòb.	robe	kàbà.
rentrer, retourner	I, → fimni.	robinet	ɲ-kwáŋ.
renverser	súglâ.	robuste (être)	ság (1).
renvoi	ɲmgbèg.	rocher	ɲ-kóm.
répandre	wùlà (2).	rocou	lélè.
répandre (se)	càmni.	ronger	wòdì.
répandre (se)	wùlà (2).	rosée	ì-búá.
réparateur	ɲ-kòmò.	roselle	ì-sàŋ.
repas	bi-dí (2); è-dí.	rot	ɲmgbèg.
répondre	yàlnà; yéblé (1).	roter	ɲmgbèg.
réponse	ì-yàlná.	rôti	kááŋgá.
reposer (se)	wágbè.	rotule	ɲgwàg.
réprimander	II, → bám; jèzlànà.	rouge	à-vyé.
résidu	ì-jám; ɲ-ɲám.	rouge (être)	vyè (1).
résine	ù-tú.	rougir	vyè (2).
respect	ù-lùgá.	rouler	I, → bígdá; míŋlâ.
respecter	lùgá; wóg (3).	route	ɲi-ɲóŋ.
respiration	mì-vòòbò.		
respirer	vòòbò.		

S - s

sable	ɲi-cêlgì.	sac	mè-pég.
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safoutier à-sá.
 safoutier (fruit du) sá.
 sagesse pèg.
 saisir I (1), → gbè.
 saison ì-sèb.
 salaire mwàní.
 saleté mbìd; ngùn.
 salive mèn-dèn; mèn-té.
 saluer kóní.
 saluer (se) kòòní.
 salut! kóní.
 samedi sédàdé.
 sang mèn-ǎ (1).
 sans tèy.
 sauce ì-súg; nì-pyán;
 úndúndwá (2).
 sauter jéfi; nèmna (2).
 sauvage (animal) fíd (1).
 sauver kòdì; nyà.
 savane jì-cǎn.
 savant jì-jèmè.
 savoir I, → jèm.
 savon sǒbó.
 scarifications mbǎñ.
 sciement (faire) vǎñ.
 scrotum è-bìn.
 sculpter bà (2).
 sculpture ì-bà₂ (2).
 seau n-nògò.
 sec m-mól₁; ñ-kód (1).
 sécher (intr) kód.
 sécher (tr.) yáñí.
 séchoir è-kǎñ.
 secouer ségzè; sùgzà.
 seigneur n-tí.
 sein è-bé.
 sel ñ-kǔ.
 sélectionner twáb (2).
 selle bǒ kògló.
 selles mèn-bí.
 sentier zèn.
 sentir (toucher) wógdànà.
 sept zǎñmál.
 sépulcre swàñ.
 serpent jǒy.
 serpent (esp.) è-jáñ.
 serré (être) kágdàn₂.
 serrure è-ngòñ (1).
 service ì-yóm.
 servir (se de) bèlnì (2).
 seul ì-tám; ìtétámá.

seulement vè.
 sève mèn-kémdá;
 mèn-kémdá.
 sevrage ì-cilà.
 sexe mbél; zùd.
 si tǒ.
 siffler I (1), → lóñ.
 sifflet ì-lóñ.
 signer sáñ.
 signification ndimzàná (1).
 signifier fùnì (2).
 silence ì-vóbó.
 silhouette jì-cǎñcǎm (1).
 simplement bég.
 simuler bád (1).
 singe kwé₁.
 sissongo nì-sòñ (2).
 slip ñ-káná.
 soeur kál; mǒjǎñ.
 soeur (ma) màñá.
 soeur (sa) mǒjñāñ.
 soeur (ta) mǒjñōñ.
 soif ì-kódí.
 soigner II (2), → sá; yáñ₂.
 soigner (se) séébán.
 soir ngǔñgúgò.
 sol sí.
 soleil vyàn.
 solitude ì-tám.
 sommeil ù-jǒ₁.
 somnoler ndèñ.
 sorcellerie ñmgbél.
 sorcier ñmì-gbéñmgbél.
 sortir I (1), → pám; vám.
 sot zèzè.
 sottises zèzè.
 souche ì-kǔm.
 soucier (se) táñá (1).
 soudainement ìté ìté (1).
 souffler vúñlá.
 souffrance ì-fíblá.
 souffrir jùgì; II (1), → kwàn.
 souffrir (faire) fíblá.
 souhaitable (être) I, → sílá.
 souhaiter tám.
 soulèvement n-tééni.
 soulever té.
 soupe zóñ.
 source ì-tám.
 sourd (personne sourde)
 n-dúndwág.

sourire	múŋ.	sud	ŋ-kě (2).
souris	ì-dù.	suinter	II (3), → só.
sous	sí.	suite (tout de)	ìté ité (2).
sous-vêtement	sánggélézi; sìmá.	supplier	kòglàn.
soutien-gorge	bwàđí.	support	è-yégbé.
souvenir (se de qc.)	còg (2).	supportable	mbá.
sperme	ndém.	sur	yó.
squelettique	ŋ-kód (2).	surdité	ndwág (1).
sternum	ù-ŋgòn.	surmener	II, → tég.
strabisme	ŋ-kéŋ.	surnom	mè-bádná.
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T - t

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U - u

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V - v

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veiller (sur)	bàglà (2).	vert	ŋól ₂ .
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vendredi	pùládē.	veste	kód.
venger	kùnì.	vêtement	è-ŋgèŋ; ì-jé.
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vent	ì-vúŋlâ (1).	viande	tíd (2).
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ver	jì-cwáŋ.	vie	ì-nùŋ.

vieillard	jì-jǒm (1).	voiture	mèt-wâ.
vieillesse	à-jǒm.	voix	číŋ (3).
vieux	jì-jǒm (2).	voix élevée	ì-cígá.
village	à-tán; ñ-nàm (2).	vol	gbéb.
ville	tíswân.	voler	jǐb; ndèm.
vin	mè-jwàg.	voleur	ŋmì-ŋmémémb.
vipère	péy.	volonté	jì-jìní (1).
virage	è-kwád.	volume	è-bím (1).
visage	à-sú.	vomir	jó.
viser	kèdnà.	vomissement	bò ndwô.
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W - w

w.c. ì-dúg.

Y - y

Yaoundé ŋgólô (2).

Z - z

zèbre úzèlè.
zut cò.

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