

LEXICOGRAPHY AND MINORITY LANGUAGES IN GABON

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Abstract

In Gabon, as in many African countries, the use of dictionaries and other reference works began with the arrival of early explorers and missionaries. This indicates that Gabon has a longer lexicographic tradition than is often acknowledged by current practices. Over the past 20 years, the production of dictionaries in Gabon has grown significantly, contributing positively to the promotion and development of local languages by increasing their visibility and documentation. This growth has also led to a rise in the number of Gabonese languages being described. However, not every work containing a list of words qualifies as a "dictionary." There are specific criteria that differentiate dictionaries from other reference works, such as lexicons or encyclopedias. Despite this progress, lexicography as a scientific discipline remains in its infancy in Gabon, with confusion persisting among authors and users about its standards and classifications. This article examines the state of Gabonese lexicography, providing a historical overview and a catalog of existing dictionaries. It focuses specifically on bilingual dictionaries, which constitute the majority of Gabonese lexicographic output.

Keywords: *Lexicography, Dictionaries, Gabonese Languages, Glossaries, Bilingual Dictionaries*

Résumé

Au Gabon, comme dans de nombreux pays africains, l'utilisation des dictionnaires et autres ouvrages de référence a débuté avec l'arrivée des premiers explorateurs et missionnaires. Cela montre que le Gabon possède une tradition lexicographique plus ancienne qu'on ne le reconnaît souvent dans les pratiques actuelles. Au cours des vingt dernières années, la production de dictionnaires au Gabon a considérablement augmenté, contribuant de manière positive à la promotion et au développement des langues locales en renforçant leur visibilité et leur documentation. Cette

évolution a également permis de décrire un plus grand nombre de langues gabonaises. Cependant, tout ouvrage contenant une liste de mots ne peut être qualifié de « dictionnaire ». Des critères spécifiques permettent de différencier les dictionnaires des autres ouvrages de référence, tels que les lexiques ou les encyclopédies. Malgré ces avancées, la lexicographie, en tant que discipline scientifique, reste encore à un stade embryonnaire au Gabon, et une certaine confusion subsiste parmi les auteurs et les utilisateurs concernant ses normes et ses classifications. Cet article analyse l'état de la lexicographie gabonaise, en proposant un aperçu historique et un inventaire des dictionnaires existants. Il met particulièrement l'accent sur les dictionnaires bilingues, qui représentent la majorité de la production lexicographique au Gabon.

Mots clés : *Lexicographie, Dictionnaires, Langues gabonaises, Lexique, Dictionnaires bilingues*

Introduction

Any dictionary, with any treated language, presents a work that imposes its presence by infiltrating almost all disciplines. It appears as a necessary and essential tool because it is an open door to virtually all areas and covers a variety of subjects. It is also the repository of the experience and culture of a given speech community.

The production of lexicographic reference works in Gabon dates back to the 1840s, with the works of missionaries, explorers and other colonial administrators (Mihindou 2001: 11-12). These works were led by non-native speakers, whose objectives were describing the languages in order to better interact with the people who spoke them. It took nearly a century to see other works, written by Gabonese people to the example of the work of Bishop André Raponda Walker, first Gabonese Catholic bishop who published in 1931 the first bilingual Gabonese-French dictionary. By the continuation, there will be a production of lexicons, dictionaries, learning manuals, etc. However, dictionary production will experience a time of lethargy towards the late 1970s and into the early 2000s. The late

1970s, period of resumption, as seen the emerging of works done by Gabonese trained in various disciplines of language sciences. Gabonese languages are then endowed with works descriptions, learning and lexicographic works conducted by Gabonese who are often native speakers of the languages they work on.

This paper provides a chronological overview of the various lexicographical works available in the field of Gabonese languages. It covers lexicons, glossaries, encyclopedias, and dictionaries that have one or more Gabonese languages as the studied language. In this context, it falls within the domain of bilingual dictionaries, under which all Gabonese lexicographical works are categorized. The objective of this presentation is to catalog these works in order to better understand the evolution of this scientific discipline, whose progress remains still embryonic in Gabon. Through this approach, the paper sheds light on the lexicographical activity practiced to this day in the country.

Due to editorial constraints, a comprehensive analysis of all existing bilingual dictionaries and lexicons, focusing on their design and macro- and microstructural elements, is not required. Instead, the paper will employ a method based on metalexicographical principles as outlined by Wiegand (1983), Gouws (1999), Mabika Mbokou (2002), and Mavoungou (2010). Using these principles, a selection of existing works will be presented and analyzed to assess their linguistic and cultural functionality. These principles offer theoretical frameworks for dictionary design and development. This approach provides a multidimensional examination of the lexicographic work involving French and Gabonese languages. Specifically, the study aims not only to deepen the internal understanding of bilingual lexicography in Gabon but also to consider the sociolinguistic context, user needs, and the environment in

which the target audience operates. Additionally, it will explore the creation of new types of dictionaries, such as electronic and online dictionaries.

1. Linguistic situation and historical background

Like most African languages, in Gabon, the use of dictionaries or other reference works appears with the arrival of the first explorers and/ or missionaries. It can therefore be said that there is a much older lexicographic tradition in that country than what the current lexicographic practice seems to be.

The works done by the colonial administrators and the missionaries aimed at describing not only the language of the indigenous people they encountered, but also their customs and the environment in which they lived. The lexicon included in the old dictionaries was linked to various subjects including religious words. They included cultural data as well as grammar rules, anthropologic data, data on the flora and the fauna, etc. The following examples illustrate the lexicographic treatment of some of the old dictionaries.

[1]. *Vocabulaire Adouma-Français* (Dahin, 1895)

- 16 -

Coq	Mulami u a tshu- tshu	Court, te	Mukabi, <i>pl. Mi.</i>
Coque	lkandja, <i>pl. Bi.</i>	Cousain	Evidju, <i>pl. Bi.</i>
Corde	Mussinga, <i>pl. Mi.</i>	Couteau	Mbèdi, <i>pl. Ma.</i>
Corne	Tshémbo, <i>pl. Ma.</i> <i>tshémbo</i>	Goutame	Ntahambi, <i>pl. Sa.</i>
Corps	Gnutu, <i>pl. Ma.</i>	Couture	Mbindu, <i>pl. Mi.</i>
Corriger	Eyébisse	Couver	Ekutana
se corriger	Ebnèissè	Couvercle	Edibagu, <i>pl. Bi.</i>
Corrompre	Ebungaga. Essa etambassa	Couverture	Evu, <i>pl. Bi.</i>
Corrupteur, trice	Mubangigi, <i>pl. Ba.</i>	Couvrir	Ediba
Costume	Elutilli, <i>pl. Bi.</i>	Crabe	Kala, <i>pl. Ba.</i>
Côte	Bandji, <i>pl. Ma.</i>	Crachat	Lité, <i>pl. Maté</i>
Côté	Lingundu, <i>pl. Ma.</i>	Crachement	Etutilli, <i>pl. Bi.</i>
— endroit	Ediga. Ndjèla, <i>pl. Mam.</i>	Cracher	Etutala
— d'une chose	Ntsèli, <i>pl. mam-</i> <i>tchè</i>	Cracheur	Mututilli, <i>pl. Ba.</i>
Côtelette	Libandji, <i>pl. Ma.</i>	Craindre	Ebataga. Emono bomo
Coton	Lifudia, <i>pl. Ma.</i>	Crainte	Bomo, <i>pl. Ma.</i>
Cou	Kingu, <i>pl. Ma.</i>	Crampe	Mnkoti, <i>pl. Mi.</i>
Couchor	Elassa	Cramponner	Ederassa. Ekua- ta naboèdi
Coude	Mbokulo, <i>pl. Mam.</i>	Crâne	Pandja, <i>pl. Ma.</i>
Cou-de-pied	Likindu, <i>pl. Ma.</i>	Crapaud	Evgu, <i>pl. Bi.</i>
Coudoyer	Edumassa	Craquement	Bumbumbu
Coudre	Edissa	Craquer	Essa bumbumbu
Couler	Ependa	Crasse	Mbindu, <i>pl. Mam-</i> <i>bindu</i>
Couleur	Lilongo, <i>pl. Ma.</i> Pita, <i>pl. Mapita</i>	Cravache	Mukadja
Coup	Ebolili, <i>pl. Bi.</i> Efundjili, <i>pl. Bi.</i>	Crayon	Krèyon. Ghèlasi bu etenda
Tout à coup	Ntshitsha. Lèlè li mò	Créateur, trice	Muvangi, <i>pl. Ba.</i>
— au moral: Il a	Ndè sa diambo li	Credo	Krédo. Me yala
fait un mau-	libi	Créer	Evanga ti ghèla ti ghèla yè
vais coup		Crépu, cheveux	Mandsùgi bi- dièngite
Coupable	Kuisalu	crépus	Burungi, <i>pl. Bi.</i>
Couper	Ekèsse	Crête	Eshima
se couper	Eluala	Creusser	Ekua
Coupure	Ekèssili, <i>pl. Bi.</i>	Crever (périr.)	Etuba misu
Cour	M'badi, <i>pl. Mam-</i> <i>badi</i>	— Percer (Cre- ver les yeux)	
Courage	Pindju, <i>pl. Ma.</i>	Crî	Mundangi, <i>pl. Mi.</i>
Courage!	Ederassa gnutu	Crible	Etsatsara, <i>pl. Bi.</i>
Courageusement	Na pindju	Cribler	Elotassa etsat- sara
Courageux, euse	Mutu na pindju	Crier	Efulaga
Courbature	Gnutu ekura	Crime	Diambo li libi, <i>pl. Mambo ma</i> <i>mabi</i>
Courber	Ekotuno	Croc	Rônho, <i>pl. Ba-</i> <i>rônho</i>
Courge	Kôngo, <i>pl. Ma.</i>	Crocodile, cai-	Ngandu, <i>pl. Ba.</i>
Courir	Eyènde na ma- tènn	man	

[2]. *Grammaire Pounou et Lexique Pounou-Français* (Bonneau, 1956)

i-konzi, n. pl. bi-; grillon.
 i-kangu, n. pl. bi-; petite marmitte en terre; (rac. *g'ougo*, être rond; i-kangu est diminutif de *duanga*).
 i-keri, n. pl. bi-; insecte de toute espèce.
 i-keti, n. pl. bi-; chassie des yeux.
 i-kiba, n. pl. bi-; enroulement.
 i-kokuu, n. pl. bi-; usque; (rac. 1^{re} *ak'a*, pointe, point; 2^e *hougo*, sommet arrondi).
 i-kaku, n. pl. bi-; bosse; (rac. 1^{re} *ak'a*, une pointe; 2^e *hougo*, sommet arrondi).
 i-kami, v. sans plur.; résistance, inobéissance, désobéissance.

II. — Semi-ogolite
 w est palatale, comme ou, dans ou.
 y est post-palatale.

III. — Uqolite.

a	comme ou	haquin.	i	noyen.
é	é	noyent.	i	long.
é	é	long.	é	noyen.
é	é	noyen.	é	long.
é	é	noyen.	é	noyen.
é	é	long.	é	long.

Remarque. — Ou est ord. premier et pour é, ha : moyi pour *noyi*.

[2] *Encyclopédie Pahouine* (Samuel Galley 1964)

AKUBE (h) n.4, pl. *mekubé* (vb *k'ubé* h). Chavirement, renversement. *Akubé byal*, chavirement de pirogue. — 2. Action de se jeter sur quelqu'un. *Akubé beyin*, attaque ennemie.

AKUÉ (bm) n.4, pl. *mekué* (vb *ku* b). Fait de tomber, chute. Voir *mekua*.

AKUGHBE (bm) n.4, pl. *mekughbe* (vb *kughbe* b). *Akughbe ñkobe*, hésitation en parlant. *Akughbe dule*, hésitation en marchant.

As said in the previous lines, these works were designed to convey knowledge about the life of the linguistic community in which the missionaries and/or explorers lived. The data included not only related to communication requirements, but also covered religious, commercial and scientific fields.

Trade began very early in Africa (15th and 16th centuries), it was only in the 18th century that the first dictionaries including African languages as processing language were published. In Gabon, although the local languages do not have an ancient tradition of writing, dictionaries and other lexicographical works were used as soon as Western explorers and missionaries arrived. They were already used very actively during the

colonial era and even accompanied its establishment (Mihindou, 2002; Mavoungou 2010; Zambesso 2018). At that period, lexicographic works were not made up under theoretical principles but rather on the basis of what was done empirically and practically. It was the oral act that guided the people who worked on local languages and all work had a descriptive character. As stated by Mabika Mbokou (2006), the primary needs of the populations of the linguistic communities present on the Gabonese territory were not taken into account and had no influence on the lexicographic treatment and presentation of the included data. This, in some cases, led to gaps in the processing of dictionary articles, because this treatment was far from the linguistic reality of native speakers of the languages under study. The treatment of the data on pronunciation, and the written forms of the lemmas are taken as illustration in the following examples.

[4]

Contraction des voyelles

Toute syllabe étant ouverte, il arrive que toute voyelle initiale d'un radical est exposée à se contracter avec la voyelle finale du préfixe nominal ; il en est de même pour les pronoms personnels sujets quand ils sont suivis d'un auxiliaire. Ainsi :

$a + a = \hat{a}$ comme *mámbu* pour *ma-ambu* ; $a + e = \hat{e}$ comme *mlla* pour *ma-da* ;
 $a + i = \hat{i}$ comme *bé* pour *bi-i* ; $a + u = \hat{u}$ comme *mána* pour *ma-na* ;
 $i + i = \hat{i}$ comme *míri*, pour *mi-ri* ; $u + u = \hat{u}$, comme *mánu* pour *mu-uu* ;

devant *a, e, i, u* devient la semi-voyelle *u*, devant *a, e, o, u, i* devient la semi-voyelle *y*.

[5]

travail - yisalu
travailler - usala
travailleur - musalitsi
à travers - puangala
traverser - uvioga, usabuga
trébucher - uduku dibaku
treillis - diguyi na maluta
treize - yigumi na birieru
treizième - ajimuyigumi na
birieru
tremblant - uregama, usisana
tremblement - disisana
trembler - uregama, usisana

In [4] taken from the data included in the *Grammaire Pounoue et Lexique Pounou-français* (op.cit.), the rule of vowel assimilation is linguistically correct, however, the resulting phenomenon is not. The word “mâmbu” with its morphological form /ma-ambu/ used to illustrate “a+a” gives a wrong illustration of the phenomenon of vowel contraction. What Bonneau noted as tonal form “â” is supposed to be the length of the sound resulted from the assimilation of the prefix vowel “ma” as the Yipunu speakers pronounce [maambu]. The same phenomenon is observed with the words illustrating “i+i” and “u+u”. In the Yipunu language, the association of a stem starting with a vowel and a prefix ending with the same vowel produce a length in the pronunciation. Instead of writing “mâmbu”, the word should have been written “maambu” as suggested by the morphological form.

Example [5] taken from the *Dictionnaire français-yipounou/yipounou-français* (Église Évangélique du Sud-Gabon (CMA), 1966) show some of the difficulties western researchers, colonial administrators and missionaries had in

transcribing African languages sounds. The transcription of the devoiced final vowel in some languages such as Yipunu is at the core of debates for the writing system of Bantu languages. Should the word be written with a final “a” which is the phonologic allophone of the [ə] sound, or should it be written using the French letter “e” as final? Some even recommend to leave the word with no final vowel. The debate is based on the fact that no Yipunu speaker pronounces a final vowel when he/she talks. We agree with this viewpoint and note that the writing system in example [5] conveys an incorrect pronunciation of the Yipunu data. The authors did not include any guidance on pronunciation, which may lead users to pronounce the word for “tremblement”—“disisana” (trembling)—as [disisana] instead of the correct pronunciation [disisan(ə)].

The same stands for “travailler” written “usala” (to work), “à travers” written “puengala” (through something) or “trellis” written “diguti na maluta” (trellis). In that example, the issue raised by the lack of data on pronunciation can also be seen in the writing of the words containing “g”. Yipunu consonants do have the velar voiced sound [g] like the one found in French or English. It also has another palatal-velar sound [ɣ] that was mistranscribed in old dictionaries like the *Dictionnaire français–yipounou/yipounou–français*. The authors wrote as translation equivalence “uregema” (tor tremble) and “digumi na birieru” (thirteen). With no data on how to pronounce, the user may say [uregema] and [digumi] instead of [urɣem] and [diɣumi]. It should have been written “gh” (or any symbol at that time) to mark the difference with “g” as in “puangala”.

The old dictionaries compiled by western people in the pre- and colonial period do presents numerous mistakes in sound

transcription, often lead by wrong description of the studied language, or lack in cultural transfer.

2. On the current status of Gabonese lexicography

Dictionaries play an important role as authoritative sources of linguistic and pragmatic assistance. However, users do not rely solely on them as repositories of language knowledge but they consult for help with cultural and encyclopedic issues. This is especially true in multilingual and multicultural environments where dictionaries are used to translate from one language to another, but also to ensure a better understanding of the culture of the speech communities represented. Because of the linguistic diversity prevailing in Gabon, as in most sub-Saharan African countries, and because of a glaring lack of reliable and standardized written data, there are still very few monolingual dictionaries. All the Gabonese dictionary production is classified in bilingual lexicography. Whether dealing with lexicons, general dictionaries or specialized dictionaries, they all have a bilingual lexicographic treatment that includes the combination of French-Gabonese (monodirectional as well as bidirectional).

In the course of the past 20 years, Gabonese lexicography has seen a growth in terms of the number of dictionaries, lexicons and glossaries produced. The reason behind this interest lies in the fact that the native speakers want to pass on to the next generation the languages of their ancestors. In Gabon, the natural process from which children are learning the language of their parents is no longer the primary model (Mabika Mbokou 2014). The family realm is no longer the place of the linguistic transfer and the young generation is more familiar with French, English and other foreign western languages. Consequently, there is a rise in the creation of non-profit associations for the preservation, promotion and vulgarization of Gabonese

languages whose native speakers are the founders, and the target population, the young generation belonging to these language groups. These associations are sometimes willing to finance various projects aimed at preserving, promoting and making more visible and accessible their languages. Sometimes they are the initiators of the projects, but most of the time, they promote them by doing linguistic and cultural marketing (exposure on blogs, web sites, workshops conferences, etc.). As a result, Gabon has seen a growth in:

- The number of treated languages;
- The number of bilingual grammar books;
- The number of bilingual school books including coloring books and word game books such as crosswords;
- A diversity in the field of dictionary production;

However, this global view of the development of linguistic and lexicographical works in Gabon reveals an imbalanced treatment received by the Gabonese languages. Some languages are far more advanced than others. The lack of written sources, the number of speakers (some less than 100), and the obsolete status of some documents are contributing factors to this situation. As far as lexicography is concerned, the lexicographic treatment of each language will vary in length according to the availability of resources and the data collection. For example, the discrepancy in the treatment of Gabonese languages split the Gabonese dictionary production into two major typologies with bilingual dictionaries being the only genre available up to know. There are translation dictionaries and general standard bilingual dictionaries.

Moreover, even if the dictionary production in Gabon is booming, any lexicographic production cannot be called “dictionary”. There are categories and differences in the type of

Bilingual glossaries: The structure of this type of dictionary is similar to the one of translation dictionaries. The lexicon included is often form a specific field as displayed below:

[9.1.] *Vocabulaire thématique Fang-Français* (Akomo Nzogue, 2013)

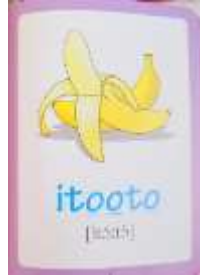
BIWOMAN YE ANE BABO DZAM
LES VÊTEMENTS ET LA MODE

Abwar bitô	S'habiller
Abwar mengôp	Porter les chaussures
Assor bitô	Se déshabiller
Assor mengôp	Se déchausser
Abwar	Mettre, porter
Avâ	Enlever
Assangle	Se changer
Avegh	Essayer
Aviane	Aller (bien)
Ane onghergüett	C'est court
(vêtement) ou papa j'ai grandi <i>fam.</i>	
Ayem	Être serré (vêtements ou chaussures)

Biwoman
Les vêtements

Ékôre nveng	Imperméable
Ékôre avep	Blouson
Ékôre ou Ékôt	Veste
Ékôt	Costume
Nlat ou Nlar bitô	Tailleur

[9.2.] *Le Dictionnaire des Mwanas. J'apprends le Lembaama* (Unik Africa, 2013)



This lexicographic work illustrates the misuse of the word “dictionary” in Gabon. It is not a dictionary as it does not display the component of a dictionary within the central list, namely the comment on form and the comment on semantic. The nomenclature of the work presents a list of translation equivalence with no lemma. It is the drawing that serves as lemma followed by the translation equivalence and the data on pronunciation. The choice of such a structure by the author is linked to the target user of the dictionary, namely pupils of preschool. This put the *Dictionnaire des Mwanas* under the category of a “picture book”

Bilingual LSP dictionaries

It is the category of dictionaries that treats words according to a particular linguistic aspect or words that belong to a specific scientific field.

[10] *Dictionnaire des Expressions Idiomatiques Lumbu* (Mbindi Aninga et al., 2023)

PEEMBI/PEEMBI *s. cl. 9/10*

(u)gholé peembi na ngulu [ũyʒĩs pɛmbĩ nã ŋgũlũ]. "Frotter le (pain) de kaolin et la poudre rouge de padouk". Locution verbale à valeur proverbiale. ■ Maquiller les jumeaux, prendre soin d'eux; (par ext.) suivre des soins thérapeutiques. Biloongu batisi ma ibulighé, **ugholé peembi na ngulu**. *Le traitement consiste à s'enduire de kaolin et de poudre rouge de padouk.* (chanson populaire des jumeaux) **Peembi na ngulu** bamaghole, peembi na ngulu. *On a enduit (les jumeaux) de kaolin et de poudre rouge de padouk.* **Note cult:** L'argile blanche a pris le sens nouveau de pain car le kaolin à usage rituel avait la forme d'un petit pain. D'où l'expression "pain de kaolin". Sur la même base, on parle également de "pain d'odika" (appellation mpongwé, pâte brunâtre à base d'amandes de mangues sauvages) pour désigner les amandes de *Irvingia gabonensis* séchées (ou fraîches), grillées et pilées pour obtenir la "sauce odika" ou "chocolat indigène".

(u)ilè muna peembi [ũsilè mũnũ pɛmbĩ]. "Frotter à quelqu'un le (pain) de kaolin". Locution verbale à valeur proverbiale. ■ Innocenter une personne (parce que le kaolin est une argile très pure et parfaitement blanche). Ngaangé wisi, ngaangé wisi, buxa **peembi** lavamusilé. *Ngaanga après ngaanga il est innocenté. Voir PEETSU, usughélé nyoogha.*

KUUGHU/(TS)KUUGHU *s. cl. 9/10.*

Simbamu kuughu! [simbãmnũ kũyũ!]. "Attrapez le conte = retenez bien l'histoire!". Locution exclamative utilisée idiomatiquement. ■ Retenez bien la morale! (Formule utilisée par les conteurs en s'adressant à l'auditoire plusieurs fois au cours d'un conte, notamment au début et au milieu d'un conte).

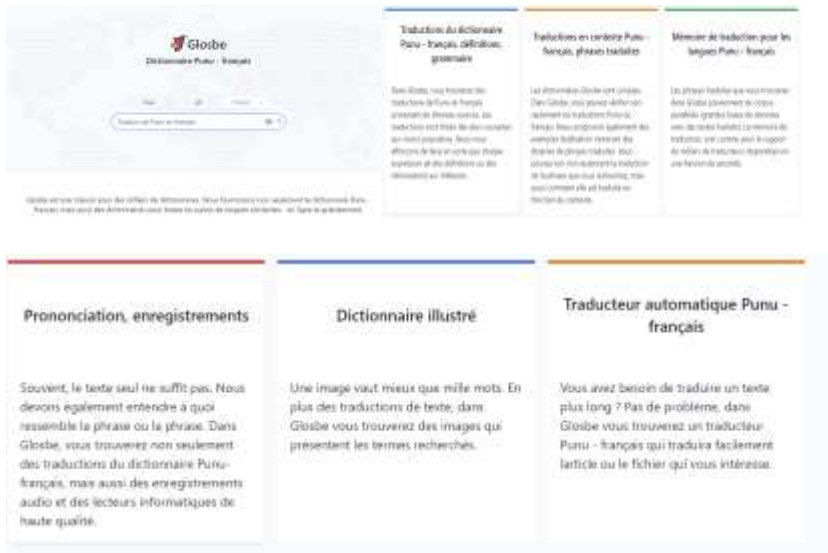
KUUMBU/(TS)KUUMBU *s. cl. 9/10.*

Kuumbu dibaasé? [kũmbũ dibãisè?]. "Surnom d'un homme?". Locution interrogative utilisée idiomatiquement. ■ Déclinez votre identité? Présentez-vous? Invitation à un étranger à donner son surnom. **Note encycl.:** Un surnom peut être attribué à la naissance ou plus tard, ou à l'occasion d'une initiation. Lorsque deux personnes se rencontrent pour la première fois, elles se présentent réciproquement. Ainsi, chacun fournit à l'autre son surnom (*kuumba*) accompagné d'une devise personnelle (*mbakabi*). On récite aussi le surnom quand on éternue ou quand on heurte un caillou.

(u)taandé kumbu [ũtãndè kũmbũ]. "Eternuer, réciter son surnom accompagné d'une devise personnelle". Locution verbale utilisée idiomatiquement. ■ Décliner son identité, se présenter à son interlocuteur.

The lexicographic production is not only prolific when it comes to paper dictionaries, but e-lexicography has also seen a growth. There are online dictionaries or websites that propose dictionaries or glossaries with Gabonese languages as treated languages.

[11.1]



The speech communities are involved in the process of the preservation of the language. Some of the website like Globse, offers the possibilities to the native speakers to enhance and add information on the languages.

[11.2.]



[12] Langue 241



[13]. eklablog



Conclusion

The analysis reveals that the current configuration of the Gabonese lexicographic landscape is markedly different from

what missionaries and explorers left behind. While dictionaries are still compiled for educational purposes, the primary motivations today are the dissemination and popularization of knowledge. As a result, Gabonese lexicography is experiencing its golden age. The evolution of this field demonstrates rapid and substantial growth, evident in the number and regularity of publications. This contribution aimed to achieve two key objectives: to present the current state of lexicographical production in Gabon over recent decades, and to provide valuable insights into Gabonese lexicography research and dictionary production. The latter objective is driven by the existing confusion surrounding what qualifies as a "dictionary."

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