The African Lexis in Jamaican: Its Linguistic and Sociohistorical Significance

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THE AFRICAN LEXIS IN JAMAICAN:
ITS LINGUISTIC AND SOCIOHISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

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ABSTRACT

The African Lexis in Jamaican: Its Linguistic and Sociohistorical Significance

Joseph Tito Farquharson

This thesis presents a fresh and comprehensive treatment of the putative lexical Africanisms in Jamaican with a view to assessing the volume and nature of this aspect of the grammar of Jamaican.

The work draws on a set of best practices in the field of etymology and outlines a set of transparent guidelines for assigning etyma. These guidelines are put to work by conducting careful etymological analyses of the over 500 putative Africanisms that have been identified for Jamaican. The analyses produce a list of 289 words whose African etymologies have been fairly well established. An entire chapter is devoted to surveying the distribution of these 289 secure Africanisms based on their source languages, time of attestation, the African region they come from, and the semantic domains to which they belong. The thesis also discusses some of the regularities observed among secure Africanisms such as the fate of noun-class prefixes, the shape of iterative words, the number of taboo words, and pejoration. A reconstruction of Akán day-names shows that the Jamaican system shares more in common with the reconstructed system than it does with any modern version of the system used in Africa. The final substantive chapter attempts to trace substrate patterns in compounding, an exercise which turns up two potential cases of substrate influence.

The thesis assigns fewer Akán etymologies than most previous works, and proposes that many of the Akán words in Jamaican appear to be post-formative. On the converse, the number of Koongo etymologies has increased. This is accompanied by the fact that there is more evidence for Koongo lexical contribution to Jamaican up to the end of the eighteenth century than for Akán.

Keywords: Joseph Tito Farquharson; Africanism; etymology; history; reconstruction; lexicon; compounds
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I realised very early that a thesis of this sort could only be efficiently done by a team consisting of an etymologist, linguist/philologist, historian, folklorist, lexicographer, and several Africanists. I have had to take on all of these roles in order to produce the current work, but it would not have been possible without the assistance, at every stage, of numerous persons whose support helped to guide and supplement the modest work that I did.

The first drops of libation must be poured out in honour of those scholars who have travelled this road before. I have been guided by the footprints which they left, even in those cases where I had to step out of theirs and create my own. I now fully appreciate the pioneering journey of Mervyn C. Alleyne, Richard Allsopp†, Frederic G. Cassidy†, Beverley Hall-Alleyne, Robert B. Le Page†, Sybille Mittelsdorf, and Maureen Warner-Lewis on what I now know to be very rugged terrain.

While I hope that readers will find the current version of this thesis good, several poor souls had to go through numerous bad versions of the text, even before I knew what I wanted to say. This frustrating task was well executed by the members of my supervisory committee: Silvia Kouwenberg (UWI, Chair), Susanne Michaelis (MPI EVA, Co-chair), Jeff Good (SUNY, Buffalo), and Hubert Devonish (UWI, Mona). I would like to thank them for their expert guidance and their continued belief in me even in those periods when I stopped believing in myself.

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Various aspects of the work were presented in seminars at UWI (Mona), MPI EVA, University College Dublin, Freiburg, Siegen, meetings of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL), the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL), and the Studentischen Tagung Sprachwissenschaft (StuTS). I would like to thank the audiences in those settings for their feedback.

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My parents—to whom this dissertation is dedicated—very long ago gave up their son to books. They have been my chief source of motivation through the years of preparation. I need to thank my mother, whose first-hand knowledge of traditional Jamaican life has helped to shed light on several questions within these pages. Thanks also to my father for inspiring in me from an early age a love for Africa and (my) history. Special thanks to Cornelia Loos whose love and encouragement made three years of this thesis bearable.

*Nof tangks, Vielen Dank, Dank je wel, Muchísimas gracias, Muito obrigado, Merci beaucoup*

Leipzig & Mona
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents
Winston Clive Farquharson
and
Lauretta Med Farquharson.
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# ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>DeCamp (1967)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AEC</td>
<td>Atlantic English-lexicon Creole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFU</td>
<td>Africa Unspecified</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARJC</td>
<td>= Mittelsdorf (1978)</td>
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<tr>
<td>adv</td>
<td>adverb</td>
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<tr>
<td>AEC</td>
<td>Atlantic English-based Creole</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIA</td>
<td>Bight of Biafra</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
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<td>ch.</td>
<td>chapter</td>
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<td>cl.</td>
<td>class</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPE</td>
<td>Cameroon(ian) Pidgin English</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRA</td>
<td>Company of Royal Adventurers</td>
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<td>DCEU</td>
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<td>DJE</td>
<td>= Cassidy and Le Page (1967)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DJE2</td>
<td>= Cassidy and Le Page (2002)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DJES</td>
<td>= Cassidy and Le Page (2002, pp. 491–509)</td>
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<td>EJB</td>
<td>= Hall-Alleyne (1996)</td>
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<td>GOC</td>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
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<td>in.</td>
<td>inch(es)</td>
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<td>IPA</td>
<td>International Phonetic Alphabet</td>
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<td>= Cassidy (1961a)</td>
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<td>LC</td>
<td>lexical category</td>
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<td>RC</td>
<td>restricted code</td>
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<td>= Patrick (1995)</td>
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SEN  Senegambia
SIE  Sierra Leone
sp.  species
s.v.  *sub verbo, sub voces*
s.vv.  *sub verbis*
UNK  unknown
v  verb
V  vowel
WCA  West-Central Africa
WIC  West India Company
WIN  Windward Coast
YFA  year of first attestation

Symbols

§  section
<  derives from
→  to (direction of change)
←  from (direction of change)
②  accepted etymology, -ies (App. B)
③  discussion of etymologies (App. B)
④  etymological assignment (App. B)

Abbreviations used in interlinear glossings

The conventions used for interlinear glossing in this thesis follow the February 2008 revised version of ‘The Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses’ prepared by Bernard Comrie, Martin Haspelmath, and Balthasar Bickel.

1  first person
2  second person
3  third person
ACC  accusative
ANT  anterior
COMP  complementiser
COP  copula
DET  determiner
LOC  locative
NEG  negation, negative
PERF  perfective
PL  plural
PRES  present
PST  past
Q  question particle
SG  singular
All the world over and at all times there have been practical men, absorbed in ‘irreducible and stubborn facts’: all the world over and at all times there have been men of philosophic temperament who have been absorbed in the weaving of general principles. It is this union of passionate interest in detailed facts with equal devotion to abstract generalization which forms the novelty in our present society. (Alfred North Whitehead)
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Language is an archaeological vehicle, full of the remnants of dead and living pasts, lost and buried civilizations and technologies. The language we speak is a whole palimpsest of human effort and history. (Russell Hoban)

1.1 Introduction

The current thesis is being submitted for a degree in linguistics, however, the constriction of this official stamp conceals the true inter-disciplinary nature of the work involved in its production. The thesis provides a thorough lexico-etymological study of lexical Africanisms in Jamaican Creole (hereafter, Jamaican) with a view to revising our current knowledge about the African contribution to the language.

Although linguistics is the primary tool used in the present investigation, the work has benefitted from complementary tools offered by the fields of cultural anthropology, ethnography, folklore studies, genetics, history, philology, in addition to my own experiences and the lived experiences of other Jamaicans who responded to my various queries. As Russell Hoban points out in the epigraph which prefaces this introductory chapter, ‘language is an archaeological vehicle’, and since it is an archaeological
conduit we can employ various tools to unearth the evidence of its past structure. The application of these tools will become obvious at various points throughout the work.

Naturally, the question about why we need a work such as this arises. Why do we need to go digging for the ‘remnants of dead and living pasts’? The simple answer is that there is an enduring interest, on the part of both linguists and native speakers of Jamaican, in Afro-Jamaican history and language. I have the good fortune of being both native speaker and linguist.

In this introductory chapter I start out by outlining the main objectives of the current thesis (§1.2). This is followed by a discussion of the motivations for the study (§1.3) which takes a brief look at the sociohistorical and ideological issues which drive the interest of both linguists and non-linguists in the search for African sources for Jamaican words. Section 1.4 attempts to delimit the object of study by defining the different types of lexical Africanisms and indicating which ones are relevant to this study. The chapter ends with a chapter-by-chapter overview of the entire thesis (§1.5).

1.2 Objectives of the study

Although the thesis touches on numerous areas of general linguistics and creole linguistics in particular, it has the following five main objectives:

1. To reassess the contribution made by African languages to the lexicon of Jamaican

2. To set a standard for assigning etymologies in creole studies

3. To ascertain the volume and nature of the contribution of specific African languages to the lexicon of Jamaican

4. To explore issues related to tracing morphological patterns found in creoles to the languages involved in their formation

5. To reconstruct the (socio)linguistic situation of early English Jamaica
1.3 Motivations for the study

The objectives outlined in §1.2 are essentially a response to the continued interest of both linguists and non-linguists in the African heritage of Jamaica. The interest of non-linguists in words of African origin can be seen as part of a larger effort to make sense of the ‘epistemic violence’ which slavery and colonialism have wrought on Africans and their descendants in the Americas. The social and genealogical ruptures caused by slavery and colonialism are cogently summarised by the persona in Louise Bennett’s (1982 [2005], p. 115) poem ‘Back to Africa’:

Back to Africa, Miss Mattie?
Yuh no know what yuh dah seh?
Yuh haffi come from somewhe fus
Before yuh go back deh!\(^1\)

The persona points out that there is a need to establish origin, a need, which when viewed from the perspective of linguistics, manifests itself in the search for African etyma. These African elements serve to legitimise the status of Africa as homeland and origin, helping Afro-Jamaicans to ‘go back’ to a place that most have never been to physically. In other words, the search for Africanisms is a search for our roots, a search for self, beyond the spatio-temporal sphere of the plantation. This being the case, the prevailing nature of the interest among ordinary Jamaicans is purely ideological, which if not balanced by careful academic study runs the risk of constructing skewed versions of history. This is already evident in the popular belief that all recognisably non-English aspects of Jamaican are of African provenance, and that only these constitute the ‘real’ Jamaican language. It is probably this view that led Jamaican journalist Michael Burke to declare that ‘[w]e know that [Jamaican] is classified as a dialect mainly because it has only about 300 words’ (Burke 1998).

\(^1\)My translation:
[Going] back to Africa Miss Matty?
Don’t you understand what you’re saying?
You have to come from somewhere,
Before you can go back there!
1.3.1 Linguistic interest

On the academic side, interest in the African vocabulary of Jamaican was most profoundly demonstrated by Cassidy (1961a). The findings of this early work were revised by the lexicographic work of Cassidy and Le Page (1967), and Sybille Mittelsdorf’s (1978) thesis which reassessed the African contribution to several aspects of Jamaican grammar, lexicon included. The past three decades have seen additional work on the subject by Hall-Alleyne (1996), Allsopp (1996), and Warner-Lewis (2003, 2004), but these later works are all more restricted in their focus. These works, and others, are treated more comprehensively in chapter 3.

The academic side has not been totally free—and some might add—cannot be totally free—of ideological biases. Linguistic works which take an overtly ideological stance on Africanisms in Jamaican and the Atlantic creoles in general are best represented by Alleyne (1971, 1980, 1986, 1988, 1993). The current work endeavours to minimise the ideological bias, but it must be understood that scholars such as Alleyne researched and wrote in a different period with its own unique political climate. Work from that period was a response to two inter-related phenomena: (i) the neo-colonial mentality which denigrated all things African, and (ii) the psychological effects of centuries of oppression on many Africans and their descendants, which led them to believe that their culture and history started with slavery, and in all respects represented failed attempts to acquire European culture and language. The spirit of that period is best expressed in the words of Alleyne (1980, p. 2) himself:

This position led to the consideration of the speech of Blacks, and similarly of their culture in general, as that of bizarre, aberrant, pathological forms of European languages resulting from corruptions of these languages by persons (Africans) whose minds were considered too primitive for expression in modes of speech beyond their capabilities. The speech of Blacks was not viewed as a natural language with its own internally consistent rules of grammar. It was not seen as a code functioning efficiently in a community which used it as a normal means of communication and even developed styles of rhetoric and other kinds of verbal play; rather, it was viewed only in relation to and in the perspective of European languages.
The urgency of the project in that period, coupled with limited access to data on many of the relevant African languages, led to the application of one or more approaches which had less than the desired level of academic rigour. In some cases it was thought sufficient to point to (shallow) surface similarities between structures in creoles and putative source languages. See Bickerton (1986) for a critique of this approach, and chapter 4 of the current work for other such approaches and how to avoid them.

The findings of a language attitude survey conducted by the Jamaican Language Unit (2005) clearly show that Jamaican, in respect of its status, has come a far way since Alleyne’s time. This is not to imply that Jamaican is now rid of all the negative sociopolitical views that are mentioned by Alleyne in the quotation above. We are continually faced with the uncomfortable situation that for a language ‘created’ and spoken by people of African descent, it is the African elements which constantly need to be justified. Instead of causing us to retreat into ideological ivory towers, this state of affairs should cause linguists to rise to the challenge.

1.4 Delimiting the object of study

1.4.1 Defining lexical Africanisms

Broadly speaking, from the point-of-view of the lexicon of Jamaican, a *lexical Africanism* is any lexical item which owes its phonetic form and/or semantics to an African language. Technically, this would include *(a)* morphemes copied from African languages into Jamaican that have maintained, to varying degrees, both their form and meaning; *(b)* CALQUES, i.e. usually complex words and expressions which use English-derived material but are morpheme-by-morpheme translations of models in their African source languages; *(c)* POLYSEMY COPYING, i.e. the process by which the range of meanings associated with an English-derived morpheme is extended under the influence of the corresponding morpheme from an African language; and *(d)* morphological transfer, which is used here to signify the transfer of a particular rule of word-formation from an African language into Jamaican.

The current thesis is primarily concerned with *(a)* above, however, some of the lexical Africanisms subsumed under *(d)* will be dealt with in chapter 8. While the treatment
of \((d)\) in chapter 8 breaks with the lexico-etymological focus of the rest of the thesis, it is a necessary tangent seeing that despite the interest in (substrate) transfers in creolistics, the search for morphological transfers has been virtually neglected.\(^2\) Although calques \((b)\) are quite interesting, they require a different methodology which cannot be implemented within the ambit of this thesis. Hence, they are only treated incidentally in chapter 8.

**1.4.2 Lexical Africanisms: dividing the pack**

Much of the previous scholarship on lexical Africanisms in Jamaican (e.g., Cassidy, 1961a; Cassidy & Le Page, 1967; Mittelsdorf, 1978; Warner-Lewis, 2003) has focussed on words of African origin that have been/are used in Jamaica. Unfortunately, not all researchers have pointed out that all Africanisms do not share the same status and distribution in the speech of Jamaicans. A distinction is made in the current work between lexical Africanisms that have been recorded in Jamiaican, as spoken across the island by the general population, versus those which belong to one or more of the several restricted codes (RC) which are present on the island. My working assumption is that those lexical Africanisms attested in Jamaican entered the language anywhere between the middle of the seventeenth century, and the second quarter of the nineteenth century (i.e. the period of Emancipation). Those belonging to restricted codes can be identified according to the time in which the initiators arrived in Jamaica. The communities to which these restricted codes belong are identified and discussed in §1.4.2.1–§1.4.2.2.2 below.

**1.4.2.1 Maroons**

In addition to some Africanisms that are shared with the general population of Jamaica, the speech of Jamaican Maroons contains lexical Africanisms that are used frequently by Maroons but have not been attested in non-Maroon speech, and words which are the preserve of only a few members of these communities and are used only in ritual contexts (see Bilby, 2006).\(^3\)

\(^2\)For two prominent exceptions—but note the recency of both works—see Lefebvre (1998) on Haitian and Braun (2005) on early Sranan.

\(^3\)A Ph.D. thesis is currently being written by Audene Henry (University of the West Indies, Mona), which looks at the present status of Kromanti among the Maroons of Moore Town, and attempts a reconstruction of 18\(^{th}\) century Kromanti.
1.4.2.2 Post-Emancipation groups

Besides Maroon communities, there are several other enclaves on the island with a high concentration of lexical Africanisms. However, these communities comprise the descendants of Africans who migrated to Jamaica as indentured labourers after enslaved Africans were emancipated. I have divided these into two groups below, the more famous Kumina by itself in §1.4.2.2.1 and all the others in a miscellaneous group in §1.4.2.2.2.

1.4.2.2.1 Kumina  Kumina is essentially an Afro-Jamaican religion which today is mainly practised in a few communities in several eastern and central parishes of Jamaica. Most Kumina practitioners are descendants of chiefly Koongo-speaking Africans who were taken to Jamaica in the post-Emancipation period to work as indentured labourers on plantations owing to the labour shortage caused by the emancipation of Africans from slavery (Schuler, 1980) (see §2.6.3). The language of Kumina contains numerous words of Central African origin that are not found in the Jamaican spoken by the general population (Carter, 1996a). The African-derived words and expressions found exclusively in the language of Kumina are not counted among the secure Africanisms in general Jamaican. However, so that readers know which African-derived items listed in the DJE were not included in our final count (see ch. 6), the Kumina items are identified and their etymologies discussed in a separate section in Appendix B.3.4.

1.4.2.2.2 Other post-Emancipation groups  In addition to lexical Africanisms encountered in the language of Kumina, there are other post-Emancipation groups (§2.6.3) whose linguistic codes contain lexical Africanisms not recorded in general Jamaican. These groups include the Nago whose members reside in the communities of Abeokuta and Waterworks in the parish of Westmoreland (see Adetugbo, 1996); and the Etu in the parish of Hanover (see Adetugbo, 1996)). To this group should probably be added the Tambo communities (Wakefield, Kongo Town, and Friendship) in the parish of Trelawny (see Lewin, 2000, pp. 171–177). For the same reasons as outlined in §1.4.2.2.1 above, these items are not included in the final count of Africanisms in general Jamaican (see ch. 6), and only those listed in the DJE are
identified and given etymological treatment in Appendix B.3.5.

1.5 Thesis overview

This thesis comprises nine chapters including the current one which is the general introduction to the entire work. Chapter 2 discusses relevant aspects of Jamaica’s history under British rule. Using more up-to-date information on the nature and volume of the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans, and the characteristics of plantation slavery, the chapter corroborates some of the earlier views, but also challenges and revises several conclusions reached by previous scholars on the sociohistorical and linguistic implications of the trade and its driving force.

Chapter 3 begins the linguistic aspect of the thesis. It provides a critical overview of past treatments—mostly academic, but some non-academic works included—of lexical Africanisms in Jamaican, and highlights various issues or problems that affect the strength of those works. For the issues identified in chapter 3, chapter 4 attempts to find suitable answers by drawing on a set of best practices in etymology and the broader field of historical linguistics. It lays out the methodology which guides how etyma are assigned in the current thesis, provides justification for the decisions taken, and explains what implications these decisions have for the total number of etyma assigned. Chapter 5, presents in tabular form the results of the etymological analyses carried out in Appendix B. In other words, the chapter is the end product of applying the guidelines outlined in chapter 4 to the hundreds of lexical items for which African provenance has been claimed by one or more authors.4

The remaining four chapters present discussions of the data in §3.1 of Appendix A, and the conclusions which those data suggest. Chapter 6 approaches the results given in chapter 5 from a quantitative perspective, and gives a revised count of secure lexical Africanisms in Jamaican, and their distribution based on source language, semantic domain, lexical category, etc. Chapter 7 takes a look at some interesting patterns observed when we look at secure Africanisms. These patterns relate to the retention/deletion of noun-class prefixes, iteration, semantic phenomena, and historical onomastics. An attempt is made in chapter 8 to trace several compounding

4Please see §1.4.2 for an explanation of how I arrive at 505.
patterns in Jamaican to specific African languages. The final chapter (9), outlines the main contributions of the thesis.
CHAPTER 2

REVISITING THE CULTURAL MATRIX OF JAMAICAN CREOLISATION

2.1 Introduction

Since the appearance of Robert Le Page’s (1960) pioneering work on the demographic and sociocultural make-up of early British Jamaica, numerous historians have made adjustments to his figures and findings on the basis of new data, or have reinterpreted his figures based on other insights. Since Le Page, many creolists have turned to historical sources in order to find answers to persistent problems thrown up by the linguistic data. Among those who follow this line of research, Mervyn Alleyne has been one of the most ardent advocates of the use of history in the attempt to reconstruct the sociolinguistic and cultural landscape of early Jamaican society (e.g. Alleyne, 1988).

The most recent linguist to join this trend is Silvia Kouwenberg, who from her chronological vantage point has suggested several revisions to many of the views still current among creolists, about the volume and nature of the slave trade to Jamaica, and about plantation society in the seventeenth century. Thanks to the crucial work by historians which has been appearing over the past two decades, Kouwenberg and I
are working with more complete data than our predecessors. We now have a good part of the big picture, thanks to the work of historians such as Eltis (1995); Eltis and Richardson (1997b); Eltis, Lovejoy, and Richardson (1997); Behrendt, Eltis, and Richardson (2001); T. G. Burnard (2001); R. P. Stewart (2003). Kouwenberg (2008, 2009), while relying heavily on the work of professional historians, has also done some of her own historical work using archival sources. The availability of this body of information allows me to focus in this chapter on some of the minor points which are important for the way in which we interpret history. The chapter can therefore be seen as a response to Alleyne's appeal:

We need to know about all the various ethnic groups that have contributed to the Jamaican cultural mosaic. We also need a major work of synthesis that would show the cultural outcome of the social, political, and economic interaction of these different groups in different periods of our history (Alleyne, 1988, p. vii).

The current work aims to provide some aspects of that synthesis by surveying ‘the cultural outcome of the social, political, and economic’ factors which shaped early Jamaican society, but it goes a step further by attempting to reconstruct the sociolinguistic situation which these factors created.

Section 2.2 provides a very brief description of the database which has supplied the bulk of the demographic data which are presented and discussed in sections 2.3.1, 2.4.1, and 2.6.1. This is followed by §2.2.1 which seeks to identify in a more or less precise way the African regions from which Africans were drawn. These background sections are followed by the three sections which form the major parts of the current chapter. These sections are all organised in a standard way, and each deals with a specific period in the early colonial history of British Jamaica. In terms of dating, these periods are somewhat arbitrary. The first period begins naturally in 1655 when the British occupation of Jamaican began, but it ends arbitrarily in 1700. The third period begins arbitrarily in 1800, but it is meant to revolve around significant historical events such as abolition (1808), and emancipation (1838). The second period merely falls between those two, but can be characterised by some amount of cultural and linguistic stabilisation, plus the Maroon Treaty of 1738. Section 2.7
provides a summary and conclusion of the entire chapter.

2.2 The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade database

Eltis et al. (1999) and much of the recent work by historians (e.g. R. P. Stewart, 2003) is based on an impressive database detailing transatlantic voyages transporting enslaved Africans from their homeland to the Americas. The database contains varying amounts of data on 27,233 voyages which linked Africa, Europe, and the Americas in the triangular trade. On the coverage, the compilers claim that it ‘is probable that our data set now includes more than 90 percent of all voyages that left British ports’. For a fuller description of the database including a critical review of the methodology employed in its compilation see Ryden (2001).¹

2.2.1 Regions of slave origin

The definitions of these regions of origin are based on Eltis et al. (1999), with supplementary information provided wherever such is available. Senegambia (SEN) takes in the region north of Rio Nunez stretches from Rio Nunez to the west of Cape Mount. The Windward Coast (WIN) begins at Cape Mount and runs eastward to the Assini River. To the east of the Assini River, the Gold Coast (GOC) begins and comprises the area up to and including the Volta River. The Bight of Benin (BEN) runs from the Volta River up to and including the Rio Nun. The Bight of Biafra (BIA) lies east of the Bight of Benin and west of the Gulf of Guinea. It extends from the Niger River delta to Cape Lopez in Gabon (latitude -0.63° (0° 38’ S) and longitude 8.7°(8° 42’ E), thus incorporating the modern states of Nigeria, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, and Gabon, and island states such as Annobón, Bioko, and São Tomé and Princípio. West-Central Africa (WCA) stretches from the area south of Cape Lopez to Benguela in modern-day Angola. These regions are presented in Table 2.1² with the abbreviations used in this thesis for them, and the ports found in each region.

¹The database is now available online at http://www.slavevoyages.org.
²The information in this table is drawn from Eltis et al. (1999) and Eltis et al. (1997).
Table 2.1: Regions and ports of the slave trade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Abbrev.</th>
<th>Ports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>GOC</td>
<td>Anomabu, Cape Coast, Kormantin, Accra/Christiansborg, Elmina, Apam, Alampi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>Ouidah, Lagos, Porto Novo/Ekpe, Allada (Offra, Jakin), Popo, Badagry, Benin, Keta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Biafra</td>
<td>BIA</td>
<td>Bonny, (Old) Calabar, New Calabar, Cameroons, Gabon, Cape Lopez, Rio Brass, Rio Nun, Bimbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West-Central Africa</td>
<td>WCA</td>
<td>Cabinda, Luanda, Benguela, Malembo, Congo, Ambriz, Loango, Nova Redonda, Mayomba, Ambona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East Africa</td>
<td>SEA</td>
<td>Lourenço Marques, Inhambane, Quelimane, Madagascar, Mozambique, Kilwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 The formative period, 1655–1700

2.3.1 Slave trade demography of the formative period

Although we are interested in the full period stretching from the start of the English occupation in the mid-seventeenth century to the emancipation of slaves in the nineteenth century, the formative period (1655–1700) is probably the most significant, because most of the pronouncements which are made about the socio(cultural) matrix use this period as their point of reference.
Table 2.2: Estimates of Jamaica’s gross slave imports from Africa, 1655–1700

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senegambia</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>1,079</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>2,895</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>9.13</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>243</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windward Coast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>479</td>
<td>2,550</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
<td>606</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>433</td>
<td>1,832</td>
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<td>5,169</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Biafra</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>2,209</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>2,184</td>
<td>2,006</td>
<td>1,284</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>1,565</td>
<td>10,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>West-Central Africa</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>1,424</td>
<td>3,491</td>
<td>4,731</td>
<td>3,499</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>14,463</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>South-East Africa</td>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa Unspecified</td>
<td>1,155</td>
<td>1,783</td>
<td>1,672</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>5,770</td>
<td>1,176</td>
<td>2,945</td>
<td>11,690</td>
<td>27,111</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>69.6</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL EMB.</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>4,587</td>
<td>2,263</td>
<td>3,178</td>
<td>9,258</td>
<td>19,598</td>
<td>13,332</td>
<td>11,819</td>
<td>16,784</td>
<td>81,014</td>
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<tr>
<td>MP Mortality</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>2,265</td>
<td>4,393</td>
<td>2,644</td>
<td>2,433</td>
<td>3,280</td>
<td>16,976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>24.5</td>
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<td>19.8</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL DISEMB.</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>3,754</td>
<td>1,820</td>
<td>2,603</td>
<td>6,993</td>
<td>15,205</td>
<td>10,688</td>
<td>9,386</td>
<td>13,504</td>
<td>64,038</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Based on Table 2.2, in decreasing order, the contribution of ports in Senegambia, Sierra Leone, South-east Africa, and the Windward Coast, to the ethnic composition of the Jamaican landscape is not significant in the first forty-five years of Jamaica’s occupation by the English so we will ignore them for the moment. It is important to note that we are not certain that the 85 slaves recorded for the first five-year period (1656–1660) actually arrived in Jamaica. Hence, starting with the second and third quinquenia, slave shipments to Jamaica originated in the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, and West-Central Africa, with more slaves embarking in the Bight of Biafra than in the other two regions combined. The fourth quinquenium contains the first record of a shipment (479 embarked) of enslaved Africans from the Gold Coast. However, this is matched by comparable numbers from the two bights. These figures are more than suggestive that within the first two decades of the English occupation of Jamaica, enslaved Africans from the Bight of Biafra dominated direct arrivals from Africa, followed by the Bight of Benin, West-Central Africa, and the Gold Coast, in decreasing order of arrivals.

We must also bear in mind that Table 2.2 only shows the number of people coming in but does not give us a sense of outward migration which is important since Jamaica was a major trans-shipment point for enslaved Africans. Zahedieh (1986, p. 218) informs us that in the 1680s Jamaica sold roughly 25% of its annual supply of slaves to Spanish American colonies via the asiento trade.

The most relevant point to be made here is that the numbers in Table 2.2 are not consonant with the view that Africans from the Gold Coast were numerically dominant in the formative period of Jamaican society (cf. H. O. Patterson, 1967, p. 142). Lawrence (1986, p. 240) working from a historiographical perspective corroborates the dominance of the Bight of Benin in this period. He notes that although the English only started trading at Allada in 1663, by the 1680s they had surpassed the Dutch as the major purchasers of slaves at that port. During this period the trade

---

3The data in this table are based on Eltis et al. (1999).

4Several aspects of the database entry for this voyage are unclear. The voyage was made by the ship St Jan, on behalf of the Dutch West India Company. A total of 195 Africans embarked at Bonny in the Bight of Biafra. Only 85 Africans arrived at the first port of disembarkation, which was in Curacao, but yet the database names Jamaica as the principal port of disembarkation. In addition to this anomaly, the database has the outcome of the voyage as ‘shipwrecked or destroyed, after embarkation of slaves or during slaving’. Despite this, the region in which the voyage originated is still relevant.
centre was moved from Allada to Whydah but most of the slaves sold at Whydah had been channelled through Allada.

The population figures suggest that most of the Africans in Jamaica during the formative period were taken directly from Africa, however numerous Africans were supplied via intra-Caribbean migration or trade. Africans were taken to Jamaica from St. Kitts and Nevis, Barbados and Suriname so it is important for us to know the source of slaves in these territories right before and during the same period.

Table 2.3: Estimates of gross slave imports by St Kitts, Nevis and Barbados

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Nevis</th>
<th>St Kitts</th>
<th>Barbados</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa Unspecified</td>
<td>6,049</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>30,604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegambia</td>
<td>1,405</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>4,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windward Coast</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>3,030</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>16,346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
<td>1,934</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>33,903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Biafra</td>
<td>4,470</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>14,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West-Central Africa</td>
<td>2,008</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>8,683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East Africa</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>5,387</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the data in Table 2.3\(^5\), both St. Kitts and Nevis obtained the majority of their slaves from the Bight of Biafra. For St. Kitts, the Bight of Biafra is followed, in descending order, by the Bight of Benin and Senegambia. Nevis shows a different supply pattern, since the Bight of Biafra, its principal region of slave origin, is followed closely by the Gold Coast which is trailed by West-Central Africa. The much more significant figures for Barbados testify to Barbados’ status as Britain’s chief plantation colony in this period. During this period, Barbados obtained a considerable portion of its slaves from the Bight of Benin. As a supplier of Barbadian slaves, the Gold Coast is next in line with almost 50% less than the Bight of Benin. The third region is the Bight of Biafra.

Turning our attention now to Suriname, we rely on data presented by Smith (2001, p. 56). The data presented by Smith are ultimately from Postma (1990) and really represent the general Dutch slave trade in the Atlantic. However, he is confident based on Warren’s (1667) report that most of the slaves in Suriname during that

\(^5\)The data in this table are based on Eltis et al. (1999).
period were from Guinea. The toponym Guinea in the seventeenth century referred to the area of land stretching from Sierra Leone to Benin, which comprises both the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin. In the period 1658–1674, the overwhelming majority of Africans transported to Suriname from Africa came from the Bight of Benin (28%). The Bight was followed by West-Central Africa, supplying 13.9%, and the Gold Coast adding another 10.4% to the total figure.⁶

Therefore, this means that in seventeenth-century Jamaica ethnic groups from the Bight of Benin (e.g. Gbè, Yorùbá) were numerically dominant, followed by West-Central Africa, the Gold Coast, and the Bight of Biafra. This can be inferred by taking into consideration the figures for direct imports from Africa as well as importation trends in other Caribbean territories which supplied Jamaica in the early decades.

These findings contradict the conclusions reached by scholars (e.g. Cassidy) that during the seventeenth century, the Gold Coast was the principal source of Jamaican slaves obtained via direct trade with Africa and from other English territories. The chief piece of evidence that has been employed to support Gold Coast dominance is the early presence of the English on the Gold Coast, seeing that they had set up a post at Kormantin c.1618 which was converted into a fort during the 1630s (Feinberg, 1989, pp. 40–41).

The available data (see Table 2.3) do show that enslaved Africans were shipped from the Gold Coast before the middle of the seventeenth century. However, there is overwhelming evidence which indicates that the major interest of Europeans on the Gold Coast during that century was gold (Zook, 1919, p. 206, Wolf, 1982, p. 196, Feinberg, 1989, p. 63, Makepeace, 1989), hence the name. Slave traders looked to the Bight of Benin (also known as the Slave Coast, with good reason), where the powerful kingdom of Allada had effectively organised itself as the chief supplier of slaves since the sixteenth century (Law, 1994, p. 59).⁷ These facts appear to corroborate our

⁶Smith uses Slave Coast and Loango which I have substituted with the Bight of Benin and West-Central Africa, respectively.

⁷This is not to suggest that the Gold Coast did not contribute to the supply of enslaved Africans in the Caribbean. There are records that show that in the period 1638–1645 the Dutch supplied Barbados with Africans from the Slave Coast and the Gold Coast (Behrendt & Graham, 2003, pp. 41–2).
findings above that the Bight of Benin was the chief region of slave origin for a significant part of the seventeenth century.

Additional support for the supposed numerical dominance of Gold Coast slaves in seventeenth-century Jamaica has been drawn from the stated preference of (some) Jamaican planters for slaves originating from the Gold Coast. For example, the Royal African Company in a correspondence to Charles Chaplin noted that “‘Angola, Gambia & Bite Negroes are not acceptable to our planters’” but in trade with the Spanish “these Negroes will then turn to account”’ (qtd. in T. Burnard, 2007b, p. 11). The trouble with the conclusion drawn from such reports, is that it generally does not consider the extent to which planters could actually put this preference into practice in an economy where slave purchases were largely driven by supply. This is borne out by Le Page (1960, p. 36) who in attempting to account for the ‘preference’ notes that:

so efficiently did the people of Whydah and Dahomey organize the trade in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that, while Gold Coast slaves or “Coromantines” were favoured throughout the British and French West Indies, and commanded a higher price, ships’ captains often found it much easier to get a cargo of “Popos” (or “Papaws”) from Whydah, Jaqueen, or Ardra, and as a result the Slave Coast supplied a considerable proportion of the total West Indian trade.

2.3.2 Plantation society in the formative period

Jamaica was a Spanish possession from 1494 right up to 1655. In 1655 an army of 4,000 colonists from Barbados and an additional 1,200 from the Leeward Islands was recruited to capture the Spanish side of the island of Hispaniola. After suffering a sound defeat the army turned its attention to Jamaica to save the expedition from complete failure. The few Spanish colonists in Jamaica, who were mainly farmers, put up resistance for a while but were eventually defeated. Those who had not fled early and survived the struggle eventually surrendered the island to the English and left for Cuba, effectively bringing an end to 166 years of Spanish occupation.

---

Table 2.4: Ports of origin of Jamaican slaves in the first decade of British occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ports</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Venture</th>
<th>Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1659</td>
<td>Bonny</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>WIC</td>
<td>BIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1661</td>
<td>AFU</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>UNK</td>
<td>AFU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662</td>
<td>AFU</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>AFU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662</td>
<td>AFU</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>UNK</td>
<td>AFU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1663</td>
<td>Calabar</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>CRA</td>
<td>BIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1663</td>
<td>AFU</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>CRA</td>
<td>AFU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1664</td>
<td>BIA</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>UNK</td>
<td>BIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1664</td>
<td>Calabar</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>CRA</td>
<td>BIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>CRA</td>
<td>WCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>Ardra</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>CRA</td>
<td>BEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>Calabar</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>CRA</td>
<td>BIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>Ardra</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>CRA</td>
<td>BEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>New Calabar</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>CRA</td>
<td>BIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>New Calabar</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>CRA</td>
<td>BIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>New Calabar</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>CRA</td>
<td>BIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3382</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.1 The military phase

During the first seven years of the British occupation of the island, the settlers in Jamaica remained in military mode (cf. Evans, 2010, p. 10), fearing reprisals from the Spanish in an attempt to retake the island. Since most of the inhabitants at this point were soldiers and the country needed to be kept in readiness for war, local affairs were organised by a Commander-in-Chief, but even he needed the approval of the Council of State, and the Committee for the affairs of Jamaica, both based in England. In this period, most of the persons who owned land in Jamaica were soldiers who received small parcels as part of their remuneration for service to the Crown. In an attempt to populate the new colony, the wives of soldiers were encouraged to join them in Jamaica and the Council of State gave orders for ‘1,000 Irish girls, and the like number of youths, of 14 years or under, to be sent to Jamaica’. As far as Jamaica was concerned, the British government practised an open immigration policy. The year 1656 saw the migration of settlers from places such as New England, Bermuda, and Ireland. To their number was added 1500 persons from Nevis (many of whom subsequently died) who settled in Morant Bay, and 1000 men from Scotland.

Given that the major focus of the first 7 to 8 years was on defence and populating the island with British settlers, there was very little need for slaves. This conclusion is borne out by the very low number of Africans (circa 1232) coming directly from Africa to Jamaica in that period.\footnote{Remember that this figure is made up of both real and imputed numbers and does not take into consideration mortality upon arrival in Jamaica.} In fact, the country would not experience an increase in direct imports from Africa until the homestead phase. Long (2002 \citeyear*{1774}a, p. 375) proposes that in 1658 the population stood at approximately 4,500 whites and 1,400 Africans.\footnote{Holm (1989, p. 470) suggests that 1,000 of the individuals coming from Nevis were slaves, but I find this high figure unrealistic for a period this early in the slave trade.}

\subsection*{2.3.2.2 The homestead phase}

Eventually things settled down in Britain’s new colony and a civil government was established in 1661. By 1664 the population of the country was approximately 5,000, increasing to about 8,000 in 1669. By the 1660s direct imports of slave labour from Africa had increased but this was mainly to supplement the labour of white families, the few slaves they owned, and white indentured servants on small homesteads cultivating various cash crops. The move towards a plantation-type economy actually started off with cocoa, not sugar. Cocoa was selected because its cultivation was not as labour-intensive as sugar-cane and one acre of cocoa plants could yield a much higher return over a longer period than the same area in sugar-cane.

In the same period, the Englishman Cary Helyar, a friend of Governor Modyford, had arrived in Jamaica with dreams of quickly establishing his wealth through cocoa cultivation. In November 1670 he owned only 12 enslaved Africans working on several properties although he was a dealer in slaves. Most planters were able to afford only about 3–4 slaves of their own, and resorted to leasing a few others when they had need. The shift to sugar was a response to a cocoa blight in 1670 and the decline of buccaneering and privateering activities at Port Royal (Shepherd, 2009, p. 10). T. Burnard (1996, p. 772) shows that in 1662 the entire population of the island stood at 4,207, while the whites accounted for 3,653 of that total. If we assume that the difference is for Africans, then there would have been 554 Africans in Jamaica at...
that time. As we have seen the evidence contradicts the view held by some researchers such as Holm that Jamaican ‘plantations were large almost from the very beginning’ (Holm, 1989, p. 470)

**2.3.2.3 The early plantation phase, 1670–1700**

In 1671, almost two decades after the English took the island from the Spanish, Jamaica had only 57 sugar estates whose production resulted in exports of 1,000 hogsheads (each 1,000 lbs) per year. By 1685 the country had some 246 sugar plantations which pushed the annual sugar export to over 12,000 hogsheads (Zahedieh, 1986, p. 207). However, taking into consideration the frequency of escapes, and mortality among the African population owing to ill-treatment and diseases, the African work force on most plantations remained relatively small during the seventeenth century. Based on data available for 60 plantations in 1674–5, only 1 had a slave population over 100, whereas 25 had a work force of 0–10 slaves. This situation did not change much in the final quarter of the seventeenth century, since out of 151 plantations only 4 had more than 100 slaves, while 52 had 0–10, 29 had 11–20, and 26 had 21–50 (Zahedieh, 1986, p. 211). The slave population is documented at approximately 554 in 1662 and 2,500 in 1670, ballooning up to 9,504 in 1673 (Zahedieh, 1986, p. 212).

Table 2.5: Migration to Jamaica from older colonies, 1671–8 and 1686–9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1671–4</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>1,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1675–7</td>
<td>989</td>
<td>1,585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1678</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1686</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1687</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1688</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Setting up and running a plantation was a risky venture seeing that it was both capital- and labour-intensive and few who came from England with dreams of increasing their wealth via the plantation economy possessed enough personal wealth to cover the set-up costs. Up to the 1680s Jamaica’s planter society comprised mainly small land-holders (T. Burnard, 2007a, pp. 31–32) and some of the most successful
planters were also merchants. Jamaica was later to become a major producer of sugar, but during the seventeenth century the transition to sugar was so gradual that even at the close of the century it was not Jamaica that threatened Barbados’ position as chief producer, but the Leeward Islands (Eltis, 1995, p. 631).

As we have already seen in §2.3, by looking at Jamaica’s slave imports in the period 1655–1700, Africans arriving from the Gold Coast were outnumbered by those originating from the Bights of Benin and Biafra. More importantly, a look at the plantation level also fails to provide evidence for the numerical dominance which Africans from the Gold Coast supposedly enjoyed. T. Burnard (2007b, p. 14) in studying the slave-purchasing patterns of 22 seventeenth-century Jamaican planters, shows that despite any wish that Jamaican planters might have had for Gold Coast slaves, this was not reflected in their purchasing practices. In most cases, planters made roughly equal purchases of Africans from the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, and the Bight of Biafra, with any slight advantage normally going to one or both of the Bights.

On the matter of cultural dominance, scholars (e.g. Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. xli) have generally pointed to reports of Coromantee slaves leading insurrections, and the survival of Kromanti, a linguistic variety based on Àkán among the Windward Maroons. The second point presupposes that Maroon societies were microcosms of plantation Jamaica, and that all speech forms found in Maroon communities go back to the seventeenth century. The relationship of Maroon linguistic practices to those found on plantations is treated in §2.5, so here I will only comment on the notion that slaves from the Gold Coast (specifically speakers of Àkán) were culturally dominant in early English Jamaica. In 1688 Sir Hans Sloane and a French musician witnessed about a dozen Africans on a southern Jamaican plantation dancing and singing. The French musician recorded three of the songs, which he was informed by the slaves—with the overseer acting as linguistic intermediary—were ‘Kromanti’, ‘Papa’, and ‘Angola’. Rath (1993) has shown that the composition of the music in terms of rhythm and metre is indicative of cultural accommodation and mixing as opposed to domination by one group.¹²

Now that we have an idea of the demography of the enslaved Africans to Jamaica,

¹²Duo aal fish nyam man, da shaak wan get di bliem.
and the socio-historical and -cultural character of plantation life in Jamaica, we will now see how these factors translate into linguistic terms. In §2.3.4 an attempt is made to reconstruct the linguistic situation of Jamaica in the formative years in light of the information presented in §2.3.1 and §2.3.2.2 above. However, before this can be done, it is important to discuss the ethnonyms used by Europeans to refer to Africans and the implications of those ethnonyms for the ethnic origins of enslaved Africans (§2.3.3).

2.3.3 Ethnonyms and problems with ethnicity

In historical accounts various ethnonyms are used to refer to Africans as a group or to specific ethnic sub-groups. Some scholars have seen these ethnonyms as true reflections of African ethnicities during the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans. Whether these were pre-/non-colonial ethnic labels used by Africans, the stability and preciseness of these terms need to be taken into account before using them to support arguments regarding the ethnic composition of the African population in Jamaica. Even the toponyms used by Europeans to refer to places in Africa were often incorrect (Rodney, 1969, p. 327), and when they were not they might take in more or less than what their modern designations imply.

The existing literature contains three main assumptions about the coverage of the term ‘Coromante’. The first assumption links the appellation to those Africans who were shipped via Fort Cormantine (cf. Kouwenberg, 2009, p. 1), the second equates it with Àkán-speaking or specifically Asante people (cf. Alleyne, 1988, p. 30), while the third takes the term as a general label for Africans shipped from the Gold Coast (cf. R. P. Stewart, 2003). These assumptions will be dealt with in turn.

The claim that the term Coromante referred only to those Africans who were shipped via Fort Cormantine on the Gold Coast is not supported by the evidence. Throughout most of the period of the trade, the ports at Anomabu and Cape Coast Castle overshadowed all other ports on the Gold Coast as slaving depots (Eltis & Richardson, 1997b, p. 23). In fact, Cormantine as a port of embarkation accounted for only 1.6% of all Africans shipped to the Americas from 1676 to 1832 (Eltis et al., 1997, p. 19). If Africans were called Coromante because they were shipped via Fort Cormantine,
then the numerous references to them in the New World literature are highly disproportionate to their actual numbers. It is odd that Europeans would have gone through the trouble of naming such an insignificant group.

Those scholars who claim that the term Coromante was used to refer to Àkán-speaking people or specifically to the Asante sub-group fail to take into account several very important points. Speakers of Àkán make up a significant portion of the population of Ghana today (Dolphyne, 1988, p. xi), and it appears that this has been the case since about the seventeenth century when through territorial expansion, Àkán supplanted Guang as the dominant language of the Gold Coast (Christaller, 1933, p. xiii). However, while speakers of Àkán might have comprised a good part of those referred to as Coromante, slaving practices and the political character of the coast during that period indicate that not all of them could have been/were Àkán speakers. Groups were much more likely to capture and sell other groups as slaves. Willem Bosman, a contemporary historian, provides supporting evidence by informing us that the defeated Denkyira in the Asante-Denkyira war of 1701 were sold as slaves (R. P. Stewart, 2003, p. 84). Therefore, when the Asante kingdom was expanding it would have sourced slaves from without. The Asante had become the chief supplier of slaves in the region by the mid-1740s (R. P. Stewart, 2003, p. 82).

Scholars such as O. Patterson (1969, p. 135), and Allsopp (1996, p. 170), point out that the term refers generally to Africans taken from the Gold Coast. The available literature on the slave trade also points out that Coromante was used to refer to all Africans from the Gold Coast and not only Àkán-speaking ones:

> The term Coromantyn, or as we more frequently find it spelt, Korman tyn, was not the name of any particular race or tribe. It was applied in general to those slaves who were brought from the Gold Coast in Africa (R. P. Stewart, 2003, p. 392, emphasis mine).

Further evidence in favour of caution comes from slave-naming practices in Jamaica. In December 1761, Thomas Thistlewood purchased several new slaves among whom was a 15 year-old girl called Coobah who Thistlewood identified as ‘an Ebo’ (Hall, 1999/1989, p. 124). The name and the proposed ethnonym do not coincide since the name Coobah is associated with Gold Coast groups. Coobah [kuba] is the Jamaican
reflex of A’kwá which occurs in several languages spoken on the Gold Coast, and is
given to a female born on Wednesday (see §7.5).

This misascription is also typical with other groups. For example, to the west of Ìgbo
came the caravali (< [Elem] Kalabari) which at one point referred simultaneously
to the Ijo slave dealers of the Niger Delta and the slaves from further inland which
they supplied (Kolapo, 2004, p. 118). This is illustrated by one of the DJE’s 1943
quotations for the headword duma ‘to flog’ where it is noted that duma is an Ebo
(i.e. Ìgbo) word. The current work has traced the word to Hausa and Wolof, not to
Ìgbo. The Ìgbo assignment is due to the fact that Hausa speakers would have been
exported via ports in the Bight of Biafra and thus would have been (mis)identified as
Ìgbo. We can safely assume that the same kinds of uncertainty surround other ethnic
labels used in Jamaica such as ‘Angola’, ‘Arada’, ‘Chamba’, ‘Congo’, ‘Mandingo’,

2.3.4 The formative period: sociolinguistic implications

Starting with Le Page (1963), numerous scholars have assumed that Africans from
the Gold Coast made up the greater part of the slave population of Jamaica in the
seventeenth century. This view was repeated by Cassidy and Le Page (1967) who
claim that:

The slaves were brought from many parts of the West African coast, and
a few even came from Madagascar; but in the first fifty years of the
island’s settlement the largest number from any one language-community
were those from the Gold Coast (where the Royal African Company had
factories) and its hinterland, speaking therefore one of the Akan-Ashanti
languages; and the next largest number were from Dahomey, many of
whom probably spoke Ewe [i.e. Vhe] (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. xli).

We have already seen (§2.3.1) that the claim that Africans from the Gold Coast
constituted a numerical majority in the formative period of Jamaica’s plantation
society is not borne out by more up-to-date evidence on the demographic profile
of slave imports during that period. In the brief military phase which commenced
the island’s occupation by the English, the largest ‘homogenous’ linguistic group
would have comprised speakers of regional dialects of British English. This group included soldiers who had been recruited in Barbados and several Leeward islands, in addition to (poor) colonists invited from England to help establish the colony. During Jamaica's military and homestead phases the majority of enslaved Africans were imported from colonies such as St. Kitts and Nevis and Barbados. Up to the late 1660s most of the enslaved Africans in Jamaica spoke either Proto-Bajan or Proto-Kittitian (taken to include Nevis) which are likely to have been mutually intelligible varieties.

White planters arriving in Jamaica from Nevis in 1656 with slaves settled on the eastern side of the island. This is significant because min, a rare variant of the anterior marker, has been attested in both Kittitian and Jamaican (Holm, 1989, p. 467). Although several phonological variants of the anterior marker have been attested in Jamaica (bin ~ ben ~ ban ~ wen ~ min ~ en ~ in) (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 38, Bailey, 1966, p. 140), min is restricted to eastern Jamaica where the colonists from Nevis settled. This distribution of variants of the anterior marker throughout Jamaica suggests that speakers of Proto-Bajan were dispersed throughout the island while speakers of Proto-Kittitian were concentrated in the east.

In the late 1660s and the early 1670s the linguistic profile of the island changed again when planters from Suriname settled in western Jamaica with their slaves who spoke Proto-Sranan. Proto-Sranan is an off-shoot of Proto-Bajan but Sranan is innovative in its use of de as imperfective aspect marker where older varieties of Bajan and Kittitian employ da. Jamaican once used both da and de with the same function but the former has been reduced in most central and eastern dialects to a. The variant de is restricted to the western parishes of Jamaica which suggests a Surinamese origin. In 1673 the slave population of St. James, St. Elizabeth and St. Anne was approximately 833 (Long, 2002 [1774b, p. 376), which means that the incoming Surinamese slaves would have constituted a significant proportion of the enslaved population.

Based on the foregoing, and the work of scholars on the history and linguistics of these territories (e.g. Smith, 1987; McWhorter, 2000), I assume that enslaved Africans imported from places such as Barbados, St. Kitts and Nevis, Suriname were mostly
seasoned slaves and arrived in Jamaica already speaking genealogically related inter-
language varieties of English (which may be considered as daughters of Proto-Atlantic
English-based Creole or PAEC). The most widely accepted evidence for PAEC comes
from Ingredient X (proposed by Norval Smith), a small list of words from various
African languages, which appear in all the AECs (see the list in McWhorter, 2000,
the behaviour, development and functional division of labour of the locative copula
de and equative copula (d)a which appear in numerous AECs.¹³

In terms of direct imports from Africa we observed in §2.3.1 that enslaved Africans in
seventeenth century Jamaica were chiefly drawn from the Bight of Benin, followed by
West Central Africa, the Bight of Biafra and then the Gold Coast. Most population
figures do not put the Africans over 2,000 in the 1660s. This means that hundreds of
Africans arriving from other Caribbean territories in a short space of time would have
constituted a significant proportion of the slave population. In addition, if these were
seasoned slaves we can safely assume that they would have been placed in positions of
responsibility and would have been responsible for seasoning new slaves. Even if we
were to ignore the linguistic evidence provided by Ingredient X, the demographic data
seem to contradict the claim made by Kouwenberg (2009) that ‘enslaved Africans
arriving in Jamaica during [the post-1675] period did not encounter a substantial
population of Africans in the plantation environment speaking English interlanguage
varieties’, and that that among other factors ‘resulted in a lack of continuity between
the pre-1675 and the post-1675 slave population’.

There are two main factors that seem to speak against Kouwenberg’s proposal that
there was a lack of linguistic continuity between the pre- and post-1675 slave popu-
lation. First, Africans coming directly from the continent quickly outnumbered and
linguistically swamped those coming from the Eastern Caribbean, we would have
expected Jamaican to be more radical (along the lines of Saramaccan) if the new
Africans ignored the linguistic performance of their predecessors. In addition, the

¹³An eloquent argument is provided by Devonish regarding the use of da/de in 12 AECs as
demonstrative adjective/definite article, topicaliser/equational marker, locational preposition,
imperfective aspect marker, locational verb, and distal locational adverb. While most varieties use da
as the marker of imperfective aspect, Sranan, western varieties of Jamaican and Belizean and Krio
(both believed to be descended from Jamaican) use the variant de.
servant to slave ratio jumped from 1:24 in 1674–5 to 1:54 in the period 1686–96 (Zahedieh, 1986, p. 210). This sudden jump means that whites would not have provided enough models for Africans coming in. However, a speech community with whites speaking various dialects of English and seasoned slaves speaking various interlanguage varieties of English would have provided sufficient models (and social pressure) for new slaves to defer to those who arrived earlier on the scene.

If the reader remains uneasy about the ability a small group of seasoned slaves to set the linguistic pace in Jamaica, then s/he should recall that Sranan survived in Suriname after Suriname was given to the Dutch although only a few ‘old’ Sranan-speaking slaves remained, they were quickly outnumbered by fresh imports arriving directly from Africa (cf. Smith, 2001, p. 54). This is even more remarkable when we recall that the number of ‘old’ plantation slaves left in Suriname in this period was eventually split through marronage to form the Saramaccan tribe. Turning our attention back to Jamaica the records show that in the period 1686–96 107 of the 151 estates on the island possessed between 0 and 50 slaves (Zahedieh, 1986, p. 211). If we distributed the Surinamese slaves equally across the 151 estates then we would have roughly 8 Surinamese slaves per plantation. Think of the impact that they would have had on the 52 estates which had 10 slaves or fewer.

The seasoned slaves, speaking various dialects of PAEC, were joined by a steady stream of Africans drawn from the Bight of Benin who spoke languages such as Gbè, Ijo, and Yorùbá. The Bight of Benin slaves would have outnumbered by a small margin slaves arriving from West-Central Africa who spoke Narrow Bantu languages such as Koongo and Mbundu (and possibly Adamawa-Ubangi languages). Next in line are slaves from the Bight of Biafra who spoke languages such as Êgbo, Êfik, Ibibio, and Duala, and a minority from the Gold Coast speaking languages such as Àkán, Guang, and Gâ.

I infer from the available facts that those slaves who had already been seasoned in Britain’s other Caribbean territories and who more than likely spoke related interlanguage varieties of English (i.e. developments from PAEC) were linguistically dominant in this early period and set the foundation for Jamaican. Slaves arriving directly from Africa gradually assimilated into that section of the new speech community.
dominated by those who arrived earlier on the Caribbean/Jamaican scene.

### 2.4 The middle period, 1701–1800

Now we move to the eighteenth century, the second long period in Jamaica’s plantation history. §2.4.1 discusses slave trade demography of the period in light of Eltis et al. (1999) and the work of other historians. This is followed by §2.5 which provides a brief overview of the history of the Maroons. The section closes with a discussion of the linguistic implications of the demographic and sociocultural facts (§2.5.3).

#### 2.4.1 Slave trade demography of the middle period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1701–1725</th>
<th>1726–1750</th>
<th>1751–1775</th>
<th>1776–1800</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa Unspecified</td>
<td>85,303</td>
<td>125,338</td>
<td>50,270</td>
<td>21,710</td>
<td>282,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>56.10</td>
<td>73.10</td>
<td>19.00</td>
<td>6.63</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegambia</td>
<td>3,556</td>
<td>1,451</td>
<td>4,063</td>
<td>2,637</td>
<td>11,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>9,084</td>
<td>12,329</td>
<td>22,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windward Coast</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>22,939</td>
<td>8,895</td>
<td>32,936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>8.65</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>29,912</td>
<td>12,540</td>
<td>66,593</td>
<td>74,428</td>
<td>183,473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>19.70</td>
<td>7.18</td>
<td>25.10</td>
<td>22.70</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
<td>22,741</td>
<td>4,392</td>
<td>24,413</td>
<td>19,769</td>
<td>71,315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>9.21</td>
<td>6.04</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Biafra</td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>16,040</td>
<td>67,919</td>
<td>133,915</td>
<td>218,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>9.18</td>
<td>25.60</td>
<td>40.90</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West-Central Africa</td>
<td>7,155</td>
<td>11,307</td>
<td>19,763</td>
<td>53,820</td>
<td>92,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>6.47</td>
<td>7.46</td>
<td>16.40</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East Africa</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total embarked</td>
<td>152,007</td>
<td>174,747</td>
<td>265,044</td>
<td>327,503</td>
<td>919,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total disemb.</td>
<td>125,338</td>
<td>144,190</td>
<td>225,057</td>
<td>286,943</td>
<td>781,528</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.6 shows that during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Gold Coast became the chief supplier of enslaved Africans destined to Jamaica.\(^{14}\) The

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\(^{14}\)The most worrying thing about the data available for this period are the extremely high figures for ‘Africa Unspecified’. I am proceeding on the assumption that the data we have available for specific regions are indicative of the general trend. Unfortunately, if this assumption turns out to be wrong then Africa Unspecified can swing the trend in a completely different direction. This is
significant increase in the number of Africans shipped from the Gold Coast can be attributed to the Ashanti wars of the late seventeenth century up to the middle of the eighteenth century. These wars made available a constant supply of war prisoners who were sold to Europeans as slaves.\(^\text{15}\) When compared with the previous century, the first quarter of the eighteenth century shows a dramatic fall-off in the number of Africans supplied by the Bight of Biafra. Also, there is a sharp dip in the percentage of Africans drawn from ports in West-Central Africa. The figures for West-Central Africa do not become significant again until the second half of the century.

During the second quarter there is a noticeable increase in the number of Africans whose region of origin is not known. This is accompanied by an equally noticeable decrease in the numbers for all significant regions, except West-Central Africa and the Bight of Biafra. West-Central Africa experiences more than a 50% increase over the previous quarter while the Bight of Biafra increases by 15 times the figure of the previous quarter. This places the Bight of Biafra slightly in the lead followed closely by the Gold Coast and West-Central Africa.

In the third quarter, the figure for ‘Africa Unspecified’ falls significantly which increases the reliability of the distribution seen for the known regions. In this quarter we get the first significant figures for Senegambia (4,063) and Sierra Leone (9,084). In fact, the number of exports from all regions have increased except for South-East Africa whose only figure for the century (472), is recorded in the first quarter. The Gold Coast (66,593) and the Bight of Biafra (67,919) are almost equal in their more than substantial lead over the other regions. Although West-Central Africa (19,763) shows an increase over its second-quarter figure, it loses its third-place spot to the Windward Coast (22,939) which records the highest figure ever.

The final quarter is interesting because it records the highest figures for the entire duration of the transatlantic trade. The Bight of Biafra (133,915) maintains its lead from the previous quarter, but now it outstrips the Gold Coast (74,428), its closest competitor, by almost 50%. West-Central Africa regains its third-place spot with a substantial 53,820 Africans embarked in that region. Africans shipped from the Bight

\(^\text{15}\) Arhin (1967) argues that the wars were not necessarily motivated by trade in enslaved Africans, but the supplies brought in by the trade were an added benefit for the victors.
of Benin in the late eighteenth century were traded by the kingdom of Oyo whose captives were mostly Nupe, Borgu, Hausa, and Gbe (Morgan, 1997, p. 129).

2.5 The maroons, 1655–1800

The Maroons have long been considered by researchers such as Cassidy and Le Page (1967, p. xli) and Alleyne (1986) to be the key to the linguistic history of early Jamaica. This section takes a brief look at Maroon history with a view to discovering the relationship (if any) between the language of the Maroons, and the then nascent creole spoken by enslaved Africans on plantations. The aim is not to provide a complete history of the Maroons in this period. The section is chiefly concerned with the ethnic composition of the main Maroon communities, the linguistic situation in these communities up to the eighteenth century, and the relationship between the linguistic varieties attested in Maroon communities and general Jamaican.

2.5.1 Origin and groupings

While petite marronage remained a constant feature of Jamaican society during the plantation era, grande marronage was popular during the seventeenth century but, as we will see, the large-scale version peaked before the middle of the eighteenth owing to the British signing a peace treaty with the Maroons. Scholars are generally agreed that the first Maroon communities were formed by ex-slaves of the Spanish, who having assisted invading British forces to defeat the Spaniards, ran off into the mountains to secure their freedom (Kopytoff, 1978, Alleyne, 1988). This band of Maroons, or at least a sub-group of them were referred to as ‘Varmahaly Negroes’, but after 1670, the records are silent about their ultimate fate (Kopytoff, 1978, p. 290).

About three other groups are mentioned in the early literature, the Cottawood Maroons, the Madagascars, and the Kencuffees. The Cottawood Maroons joined the Kencuffees (under Cudjoe) before 1730, and they were later joined by the Madagascars. Although the scholarly literature on the subject contains numerous claims that the earliest Maroons were from the Gold Coast, we do not have definite information on the specific ethnic origin of the slaves which the Spaniards had during this
period.\textsuperscript{16}

It appears that many of the slave revolts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were led by Gold Coast slaves (cf. Alleyne, 1971, p. 176). A 1673 insurrection on a large plantation owned by ‘Major Lobbys Father’ saw 200 Africans (reported to consist of mostly Coromantine) escaping to the mountains between the parishes of Clarendon, St. Elizabeth, and St. Ann to form the Leeward Maroons (Sheridan, 1976, p. 291, Kopytoff, 1978, p. 292, O. Patterson, 1996, p. 256). The population of the Leeward Maroons increased significantly in 1690 when Cudjoe’s father led some 500 slaves, mostly from the Gold Coast, in an uprising on Sutton’s (estate). Of the total, over 200 escaped to the mountains (Kopytoff, 1978, pp. 292–3).\textsuperscript{17} We do not know what proportion of these escapees were seasoned as opposed to new Africans, but we are told that when Maroons raided the Plantain-Garden-River estate in 1719 they captured 26 negroes which included ‘thirteen able seasoned men’ and ‘six seasoned negro women’ (Kopytoff, 1978, p. 294). Although some scholars would have us believe that the Marrons were a heterogenous group, one eighteenth-century writer informs us that they ‘were composed of negroes of different countrys and of different manners and customs in Guinea’ (Kopytoff, 1978, p. 295).

\subsection*{2.5.2 Maroon language}

As far as language is concerned, the language of the Maroons of Jamaica has been used as evidence of an archaic variety of the speech of plantation slaves (Alleyne, \textsuperscript{16}The database by Eltis et al. (1999) lists only one slave voyage to Jamaica before 1655. A ship captained by Diego de Melo embarked around 119 slaves in Africa (specific region unknown), out of which 97 were probably delivered to Jamaica in 1607. Given the fact that the Spanish had no trading forts in Africa, and the Portuguese had a monopoly on the trade with Africa, these slaves were probably drawn from either the Gold Coast Elmina or Congo. Approximately 270,000 Africans, many from West-Central Africa, were imported by Spanish American territories during the period, 1595–1640 (Lokken, 2004, p. 45). We have no record of the ethnic composition of the Maroon settlements in the seventeenth century but it is only logical to conclude that it must have been similar to that of the plantations from which they had escaped.

Lockett (1999, 6) suggests that the early Maroons were mostly Ashanti while Kopytoff (1978, p. 289) claims that the Ashanti were the founders of the groups later referred to as the Windward Maroons. However, Maroon historian Dallas (1803, p. 25) states that the ‘Spanish’ Maroons made their settlement in the south-central parish of Clarendon under their leader Juan de Bolas, and not in the east. Also, the twenty-odd Africans arriving in Virginia in 1619 were from West-Central Africa (Thornton, 1998, p. 421).

\textsuperscript{17}It is not certain whether this number can be taken at face value. Between 1674 and 1704, the wealthiest planter in seventeenth-century Jamaica, Colonel Peter Beckford I, bought only 189 slaves from the Royal African Company in fourteen shipments (T. Burnard & Morgan, 2001, p. 29).
1971, 1986). Two historians writing round about the same time who come to different conclusions about the nature of eighteenth-century Maroon speech. The first is B. Edwards (1796, pp. xxvii, xxix) who informs us that:

Concerning the Maroons, they are in general ignorant of our language [...] Their language was a barbarous dissonance of the African dialects, with a mixture of Spanish and broken English.

The second comes from Dallas (1803, p. 92) who tells us that:

The Maroons, in general, speak, like most of the other negroes in the island, a peculiar dialect of English, corrupted with African words; and certainly understand our language sufficiently well to have received instruction in it.

Thomas Thistlewood’s chance encounter in Dean’s Valley with the Maroon leader, Colonel Cudjoe appears to have presented no major communication problems.\[^{18}\]

From his ethnographic study of the Windward Maroons, Bilby (1983) describes a continuum with Maroon Creole at one end, Maroon Spirit Language (MSL) in the middle and Kromanti at the other end. Bilby states that Maroon Creole is the everyday language of the community and is very much like the creole which is spoken by non-Maroon Jamaicans. MSL, other wise called ‘deep language’ is also a version of creole, but it is more conservative than even the most basilectal variety of Jamaican documented so far.\[^{19}\] It has been fairly well established that Kromanti is based on Àkán (e.g. Le Page, 1960, pp. 75–6, Alleyne, 1986, p. 308). Based on the undeniable correspondences between MSL and Sranan, I concur with Bilby (1983); Smith (1987); McWhorter (2003) in considering Pre-MSL and Proto-Sranan as being related vari-

\[^{18}\]Thistlewood’s journal entry on the meeting reads:

Between 8 and 9 miles from Dean’s Valley, met Colonel Cudjoe, one of his wives, one of his sons, a Lieutenant and other attendants. He shook me by the hand, and begged a dram of us, which we gave him. He had on a feathered hat, sword by his side, gun upon his shoulder, &c. Barefoot and barelegged, somewhat a majestic look (Hall, 1999/1989, p. 14).

\[^{19}\]Bilby (1983, pp. 42–53) lists several features of Maroon Deep Language: (a) vowel epenthesis; (b) alternation of liquids; (c) /ai/ becomes /e/; (d) metathesis of liquids; (e) vowel nasalisation; (f) na used as equative copula, locative preposition and focus marker; (g) \(h/e\) as progressive marker and sa as future marker; and (h) interrogative and personal pronouns. The future marker sa and some of the pronouns have not been attested in mainstream Jamaican.
eties. could have entered anywhere between the late eighteenth century and 1739 with the signing of the Treaty with the Windward Maroons. why Sranan and Jamaican share more African items than do Jamaican and Kromanti. If Kromanti represented the earliest stage of Jamaican then we would have expected to see more overlap in the number of Africanisms. This set of facts suggests that MSL is earlier than Kromanti. If we locate Pre-MSL to 1671, then Kromanti would have been formed between then and 1739 when the Windward Maroons might Since runaways were supposed to be returned according to the terms of the treaty would have to be before 1739.\footnote{The ninth article of the 1738 Treaty which was understood to be a part of the 1739 one: That if any negroes shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and fall into Captain Cudjoe’s hands, they shall immediately be sent back to the chief magistrate of the next parish where they are taken.}

### 2.5.3 The middle period: sociolinguistic implications

If we use the embarkation figures in Table 2.6 as rough estimates of Jamaica’s import trend during the period 1700–1775, we can use them as a starting point in determining the ethnolinguistic make-up of the groups entering the island during this period. The regions represented suggest that the Jamaican in this period had major input from languages spoken along the Gold Coast such as Àkán, Guang, Gâ, and the Vhe dialect of Gbè. The next largest group of Africans was shipped from the Bight of Biafra which more than likely would have comprised speakers of Îgbo, Èfik, Ibibio, and some Bantu and Adamawa-Ubangi languages. They were followed by Gbè and Yorùbá, and a small number from West Central Africa comprising speakers of Koongo and Mbundu among other Narrow Bantu languages. Extrapolating from the available demographic and sociohistorical data, it was suggested in §2.3.4 that Jamaican was already in place by the end of the seventeenth century. However, there is no consensus on this view. Mufwene (2002, p. 3), after weighing socio-economic, topographic, and climatic factors, concludes that ‘no geographically-uniform Patois […] could have emerged in the 18th century that was spoken by African slaves all over Jamaica’.

The current thesis does not concur with Mufwene’s view and proposes that the foundation of Jamaica was set by a small but linguistically significant group of Africans who had arrived in the seventeenth century and had learnt a contact variety from
more seasoned slaves. To their numbers, were added increasingly larger numbers of Africans coming directly from the continent. During the first quarter of the century the majority of these new arrivals would have spoken Kwa languages such as Akán, Guang, Gá, Gbè, and Yorùbá. The next significant but much smaller group would have included speakers of Narrow Bantu languages such as Koongo, Mbundu, Ngombe. If we view the figures provided by R. P. Stewart (2003, p. 98) from a cumulative perspective, by the second decade of the century, speakers of Akán, Guang, Gá, and the Vhe dialect of Gbè would have started outnumbering speakers of Fon, Yorùbá, and Bantu languages.

The English-based variety was constantly in flux with the constant inflow of new Africans from the continent. This meant that multilingualism was a constant feature of the society even in this period. As one contemporary observer points out:

> Besides this as to the Generality of them, they will retain their own several Languages, of which according to the several Countrys there are ten at least which are all perfectly different & were never yet (as we good [sic] hear of) brought under the regulation of Letters (Klingberg, 1942, p. 292).

Multilingualism notwithstanding, we can be certain that by the final quarter of the eighteenth century Jamaican had started to stabilise because it was being recognised as a variety used by Creoles. Also, the creole must have had more English lexical items in it than African ones for Long to state:

> The language of the Creoles is bad English, larded with the Guiney dialect, owing to their adopting the African words, in order to make themselves understood by the imported slaves; which they find much easier than teaching these strangers to learn English (Long, 2002 [1774]a, p. 426). The better sort are very fond of improving their language, by catching at any hard word that the Whites happen to let fall in their hearing; and they alter and misapply it in a strange manner; but a tolerable collection of them gives an air of knowledge and importance in the eyes of their brethren, which tickles their vanity, and makes them more assiduous in stocking themselves with this unintelligible jargon (Long).
Bear in mind that this is the broader picture, and the linguistic impact that these ethnolinguistic groups had on the development was also influenced by the way they were distributed across plantations. We have seen already that slave purchasers (including planters) in Jamaica tended not to purchase all their slaves from one region.

2.6 The period of abolition and emancipation, 1801–1875

The third and final long period stretches from 1801 to 1875 and includes two significant events; the abolition of the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans, and the subsequent emancipation of those already in slavery. This period is important because there are aspects of its sociolinguistic complex which may give us insights on earlier periods (see §2.6.4). Additionally, this final period provides a cut-off point for the entry of African lexical items into Jamaica.

2.6.1 Slave trade demography of the abolition period

The figures in Table 2.7 (drawn from Eltis et al., 1999), if compared with those in Table 2.2 will show that the major supply areas for slaves in the closing period of the trade are somewhat reminiscent of those in the opening period. The only difference between the two periods is that the Gold Coast has taken the Bight of Benin’s position in the top three supply areas. Overall, 36,032 Africans are shipped from the Bight of Biafra, 14,378 from the Gold Coast, and 13,308 from West-Central Africa.

Britain abolished the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans in 1807 but approximately 243 of the 249 ships which conveyed Africans to Jamaica during this period started out at British ports (Liverpool, London, Bristol), and all 243 voyages recorded in the period 1801–1825 were made before 1808.21

The dramatic fall-off in recorded slave imports to the island is certainly due to Britain’s passing of the Slave Trade Act in 1807, which abolished the trade in the British empire. Given that the demand for slaves in the island did not cease with the passing of the Act, Jamaican planters obtained slaves from other European na-

21This observation is based on the data in Eltis et al. (1999).
Table 2.7: Estimates of Jamaica’s gross slave imports from Africa, 1801–1875

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1801–1825</th>
<th>1826–1850</th>
<th>1851–1875</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa Unspecified</td>
<td>9,366</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegambia</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>0.37%</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1,453</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>1.82%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windward Cast</td>
<td>1,580</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>1.98%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>14,378</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
<td>3,370</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>4.22%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Biafra</td>
<td>36,032</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West-Central Africa</td>
<td>13,308</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>13,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East Africa</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL DISMEMB</td>
<td>67,318</td>
<td>1,559</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>69,239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We will recall that the database (Eltis et al., 1999) from which our figures are drawn provides a much better coverage of the British trade than any others, and that it represents mostly official documentation. Therefore, the extremely low figures in the period immediately following abolition are not to be taken as an indicator that only a few slaves were imported, they may simply reflect missing data.

### 2.6.2 Plantation society in the abolition period

The first half of the nineteenth century is an important moment in the history of plantation slavery. By this time plantation economy was benefitting from a significant population of creole slaves. Given the very high embarkation figures we saw for the second half of the eighteenth century (see Table 2.6), it is unlikely that creole slaves would have outnumbered imported Africans as Schuler (1980, p. 34) claims. There is evidence from the second decade of the nineteenth century that some slaves were still conscious of their ethnic origins and sometimes organised themselves along ethnic lines. An early nineteenth-century visitor to the island reported that he ‘went down
to the negro-houses to hear the whole body of Eboes lodge a complaint against one of the book-keepers’ (M. G. Lewis, 1834, p. 129). Given the great influx of Biafran slaves in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, it is not surprising that many slaves would still be able to identify themselves as ‘Eboe’ (§2.3.3). Hence, Africans did not just merge into a seamless group without ethnic distinctions soon after arrival, and importation was sufficiently high enough up to the first decade of the nineteenth century that continent-born Africans would still have made up a significant part of the population.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century was marked by official emancipation in 1834 and full-freedom for the enslaved in 1838. Although the Slavery Abolition Act had been passed in the British parliament in 1833, Jamaican planters devised an apprenticeship system, equivalent to wage slavery, in order to retain their labour force and protect their interests. Jamaican slaves had to wait until 1838 to be free of the system of apprenticeship, and for many, the plantations. Although some of the ex-slaves opted to stay on the plantations, many went up into the hilly interior of the island and set up communities on land that had long been neglected by the Crown. This series of events struck a heavy blow to the plantation system and those who depended on it for their wealth. This is evident in the swift decline of many planters and their estates. For example, the eastern parish of St. David had 10 sugar estates at emancipation, but by 1854 seventy percent (70%) of them had been abandoned (Wilmot, 1998, p. 130).

2.6.3 Post-Emancipation arrivals

In response to the labour shortage created by the mass exodus of Africans from the plantations, Jamaican planters turned to another source for procuring cheap labour—the importation of Africans as indentured labourers. Labourers were recruited either by direct canvassing or offering opportunities to recaptives from illegal slaving ships. From 1842 to 1867 there were twenty-seven voyages from St. Helena to Jamaica, and between 1846 and 1851 more than two thousand recaptives were shipped from St. Helena to Jamaica (Schuler, 1980, pp. 27–8).
2.6.4 The abolition period: sociolinguistic implications

The nineteenth century and the Africans who arrived during this century have been ignored by creolist (except Mufwene, 2002, p. 3) because it is thought that these arrivals were too late on the scene to have any impact on the creole. As far as I am aware no research exists on the impact of Koongo on the everyday language of Kumina practitioners or the impact of Yorùbá on the everyday Jamaican spoken by practitioners of Etu.

If we concentrate on the first quarter of the century only, we can infer that in this period, the majority of Africans arriving in Jamaica spoke western Kwa languages (e.g. Àkán, Guang, Gbè (Vhe)), eastern Kwa languages (e.g. Êgbo, Idoma), Cross River languages (e.g. Èfik, Ibibio), and north-western Bantoid languages (e.g. Duala, Tiv). From the embarcation figures in Table 2.7, we can infer that speakers of eastern Kwa languages and north-western Bantoid languages made up the greater part of imports. Based on our current knowledge of the survival of African languages in Jamaica it is safe to assume that those Africans who arrived in the immediate pre-Emancipation period were assimilated into the general Afro-Jamaican population and ended up speaking Jamaican. (Schuler, 1980, 61).

With regard to Kumina, the description provided by Bilby and kia Bunseki (1983), suggests that three linguistic varieties are employed by its practitioners. The first, a variety of Jamaican, is a regular code which community members use in their daily interactions, however, for specifically in-group interaction, ‘in prosaic conversational contexts’ (Bilby & kia Bunseki, 1983, p. 62) they may incorporate more Koongo words and phrases. The second variety, referred to as ‘Country’, ‘African’, or ‘Kongo language’, is the ritual language which is used for oration during ceremonies and in songs. This linguistic variety, while it has some morphemes from Jamaican is not mutually intelligible with it, and according to Bilby and kia Bunseki (1983, p. 63) ‘often occurs in a less “creolized” form, with few or no English-derived lexical items’.

First, Jamaican is the language used by Kumina practitioners in most of their daily interactions. Bilby and kia Bunseki (1983, p. 62) point out that Bantu words and
phrases are sometimes incorporated into ‘prosaic conversational contexts’. Country is used

The state of linguistic attrition is much more advanced in the Nago communities in the parishes of Westmoreland and Hanover. Speakers of Yorùbá were apparently numerically dominant in these areas but there were also indentured labourers from West Central Africa (mostly Koongo-speaking) and a few other places on the continent. By the 1970s most of their descendants were apparently elderly rememberers. In the early 1990s several elderly speakers remembered some Yorùbá words and their meanings but many of these no longer formed part of their active vocabulary (Adetugbo, 1996, p. 52).

There several things which these post-emancipation immigrants have in common that provide some insights on the sociolinguistic landscape during that period. First, these Africans were late arrivals, and so it is not surprising that more Africanisms would be found in their speech than in the general population. Second, they were despised by ex-slaves since they provided labour at rates lower than most ex-slaves would be willing to work for. This would have served to strengthen their sense of community and distinguish them from niega, the term they used for the ex-slaves.

The sense of wariness that indentured Africans had towards former slaves should not be interpreted as total separation from the new society that ex-slaves were constructing. Despite the tension between the groups all of the late immigrants ended up speaking Jamaican, although they must have outnumbered the slaves who decided to remain on the plantations, and who no doubt served as their primary linguistic models. I submit that these observations provide the crucial evidence (contra Kouwenberg, 2009, p. 11) for the pace-setting effect that slaves coming from Barbados, St Kitts and Suriname in the seventeenth century must have had on the formation of Jamaican, despite their small numbers. This also contradicts T. Burnard (2001, p. 10) who claims that:

the sheer extent of migrants’ numerical predominance made it much harder for “established” Jamaicans to formulate models of behaviour and custom to which migrants were forced to adopt [sic].
2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has revisited the demographic and sociolinguistic matrix of creolisation in Jamaica. This was done by drawing on more up-to-date information on the slave trade to Jamaica, especially in light of data on slave voyages contained in the database compiled by Eltis et al. (1999). The discussion confirmed the conclusion drawn by historians (e.g. R. P. Stewart, 2003) and those scholars who work in the area of sociohistorical linguistics (e.g. Kouwenberg, 2008, 2009) that contrary to academic and popular views in the literature, speakers of Àkán were not the most dominant ethnic group in Jamaica. The Gold Coast was Jamaica’s chief supply area for enslaved Africans for short periods in the eighteenth century, but it did not hold that dominance during what is held here to be the foundational period for the development of Jamaican (1655–1700) nor for much of the rest of the period of slavery.

In the first forty-five years of the British occupation of Jamaica Africans taken from the Gold Coast (including those who spoke Àkán) were outnumbered by Africans taken from the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, and West Central Africa (in declining order). One of the earliest records of cultural interaction between enslaved Africans of different ethnicities in Jamaica (cf. Rath, 1993) provides evidence of negotiation and accommodation rather than dominance by any one group.

Following the lead of Bilby (1983) regarding a probable link between the language of Jamaican Maroons and the creoles of Suriname, the chapter proposed that early Jamaican did not have its birth in Jamaica but comprised varieties of interlanguage English spoken in colonies which had their start before Jamaica such as Barbados, St. Kitts and Nevis, and Suriname. Enslaved Africans who had been seasoned in those territories were taken to Jamaica when their masters migrated in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Given the fact that they were skilled labour they would have been placed in positions of responsibility over new Africans and so the former group would have been the most accessible linguistic models for the latter.

Enslaved Africans arriving in the first three decades of the nineteenth century appear to have assimilated quickly both socially and linguistically. However, Africans (mostly from the Bight of Biafra and West Central Africa) arriving as indentured labourers in
the post-Emancipation period held on to their linguistic heritage well into the twentieth century. This was attributed to the fact that they lived in close-knit communities. While previous researchers have ignored these post-Emancipation immigrants as far as the genesis of Jamaican is concerned, this work proposed that the social and linguistic dynamics between these late immigrants and the few Creole(-speaking) Africans who stayed on the plantations can provide insights on the dynamics in early English Jamaica between seasoned slaves coming from Barbados, St. Kitts ad Nevis, and Suriname, and Africans imported directly from the continent.
CHAPTER 3

AN OVERVIEW OF PREVIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF LEXICAL AFRICANISMS

Nowadays etymology has got past the period of more or less “happy” thoughts. (H. Schröeder)

3.1 Introduction

The current chapter provides a critical overview of previous works which have dealt with the African-derived lexis in Jamaican. In other words, the chapter contains detailed descriptions of my data sources. It notes the contribution that these works have made to the study of lexical Africanisms in Jamaican; discusses the ways in which these various works organise and present the information; and comments on specific aspects of their methodology which are essential for understanding the current state of research on the topic.

The chapter is divided into works which appeared before the twentieth century (§3.2)
and those that have appeared in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (§3.3). Section 3.4 concludes the chapter.

### 3.2 Pre-twentieth century works

#### 3.2.1 Long (2002 [1774]a)

Edward Long’s multi-volume *History of Jamaica* (1774) is the first known work to list a number of Africanisms with a view to indicating etymologies. A list of 8 words which Long claims are of African origin and for which he includes source languages: *mungo* ‘bread; Negro’s name’ (Mandinka), *bumbo* ‘alligator; Pudendum muliebre’ (Mandinka), *coffee* ‘Goodmorrow; name of a plant, the berries of which yield an agreeable morning repast to many of the Negroes’ (Fulfulde), *Guinnay, Guinee* ‘devil; name of the slave country’ (Wolof, Fulfulde), *sangara* ‘brandy; Sangree or Strong Negus’ (Wolof, Fulfulde), *tate* ‘the posteriors; the head’ (Wolof), *kénne-kénne* ‘small-sand; ash’ (Mandinka), *buaw* ‘devil; bullock’ (Mandinka). To these we should probably add the word *fum-fum* which occurs on the same page but without any definition. It could be either entry 148 or entry 152 in Appendix B, for both of which African etymologies have been securely established.

*Guinnay* is obviously the toponym Guinea, while the word *bumbo* (cf. entry 70) is African. While I have not been able to corroborate Long’s Mandinka etymology for *buaw*, I have found a very good match in Tiv (cf. entry 84). So far no researcher has been able to corroborate Long’s African etymologies for *mungo, sangara, tate*, and *kénne-kénne*, hence, they have been rejected until more solid evidence surfaces.

In addition to these words, Long also lists 14 African-derived day-names which he claims are used by plantation slaves. These day-names are treated in §7.5 and §B.3.2 of this thesis.

#### 3.2.2 Russell (1868)

The second work from this period which attempts to identify Africanisms is Thomas Russell’s nineteenth-century work *The Etymology of Jamaica Grammar by a Young
Gentleman (1868). Russell (1868, pp. 6–7) gives a list of 25 Jamaican words which he claims to be ‘purely African’, but he does not provide African source languages for any of the words. It was not until Cassidy (1961a), that Russell’s list was subjected to extensive and serious scholarly attention. Based on the work of previous scholars, in addition to the etymological analyses undertaken in Appendix B, we will be able to indicate in chapter 6 how many secure etymologies have been established for Russell’s ‘purely African’ words.

3.3 Twentieth and twenty-first century works

3.3.1 Cassidy (1961a)

Cassidy’s (1961a) Jamaican Talk (JT) holds the distinction of being the first comprehensive treatment of the lexicon of Jamaican. In chapter 5 of the book, which covers lexical items associated with work and occupations, Cassidy suggests African etymologies for 17 Jamaican words. Out of this number, possible African origin is claimed for 2 (but without any source language identified), while the other 15 are assigned to Àkán (identified in JT through labels such as Twi, Akyem, and Fante), but note that Àkán competes with Bamanankan for the etymology of one word in the chapter. In light of subsequent research since JT was published, several of the suggested Àkán etymologies turn out to be correct, however, we now know that many of them could plausibly have been attributed to neighbouring Nyo, Tano, or Left Bank languages.

As with items derived from other sources, Africanisms appear throughout the text of the book interlaced with the general discussion. Often the author provides etymologies within the text or in the endnotes, but this is not consistently done for all items. On pages 394–5 Cassidy provides a list of roughly 215 words which are supposedly of African origin. When the day-names on page 157 are added to this list we get a total of 229 putative Africanisms. In light of the research recorded in JT, Cassidy came to the conclusion that:

We may feel fairly certain of about two hundred and thirty loan-words from various African languages; and if the numerous compounds and
derivatives were added, and the large number of untraced terms which are at least quasi-African in form, the total would easily be more than four hundred’ (Cassidy, 1961a, p. 394).

He registers his reservations about identifying etymologies for interjections and exclamations, but gives a list of those items which ‘would appear to be African or partly so’. While he mentions that some forms might be of multiple origins, he only deals with cases involving an African word and a European one where the closeness in form/meaning of words in separate languages probably resulted in convergence.

3.3.2 Cassidy and Le Page (1967)

Cassidy published several articles dealing with lexical issues in Jamaican before and after the 1967 publication of the *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (DJE). However, these articles are in essence companions to the DJE, therefore it makes more sense to present the DJE first and then discuss these supplemental works afterwards.

The DJE, co-edited by Frederic Cassidy and Robert Le Page, is a dictionary prepared on historical principles, copying much of the macro-structure and some of the editorial policies of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED1). The title of the work suggests that the dictionary covers Jamaican English, but this label must be understood in the context of the Jamaican linguistic situation which has no less than two linguistic systems historically related to British varieties of English, but with some lects being structurally more distant from English (cf. DeCamp, 1971). As the editors point out:

This dictionary, however, faces a special problem not present for its predecessors: the fact that Jamaican English runs the gamut from standard educated speech to dialectal folk usage, much of which has never been written down before.

The latter, customarily called “the dialect” in Jamaica, is full of variations due both to geography and development. It is not “dialect” in the sense in which that word applies to a local dialect in England, which latter would be largely of the same historical descent as Standard English. The better
term for Jamaican dialect is “creole”, the term used by linguists today, which points to the origin of this folk speech as an amalgam of some features of English with others drawn from a large variety of African languages (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. xiii).

The DJE is essentially a contrast lexicon (contrasting Jamaican “English” with other Englishes) which includes approximately 15,000 items (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 1). All lexical items which the editors believe to belong to the creole end of the continuum are labelled in the main text of the dictionary with the abbreviation ‘dial’ for ‘dialect’. Seeing that historical dictionaries normally depend on published sources, and Jamaican is chiefly an oral language, the editors’ method of overcoming this hurdle brands the DJE as a remarkable and revolutionary publication for its time. To supplement lacking or inadequate data, the editors used transcriptions of oral sources—some of which had been collected during fieldwork exercises—as illustrative quotations.

There are well over four hundred and fifty entries for which the editors have made a direct or indirect claim about African provenance. Compare this with Cassidy’s own count of 416, given in Cassidy (1972, p. 2) for ‘words which are sure or nearly sure to be of African source’. Seeing that the DJE is the main work on which the present thesis is based, it is important to note that it (and hence the list in chapter 5) is a study of the state of Africanisms in Jamaican up to about 1962 (the year of the last Jamaican publication which the dictionary quotes). Indubitably, several of the words which the DJE treats would have already been obsolete, and we would expect several others to have fallen into disuse by the appearance of the second edition (DJE2) in 1980.

One feature of the DJE which provides evidence for the use of numerous Africanisms just before the middle of the twentieth century, is the inclusion of entries from a word competition. In December 1943, the national newspaper, the Daily Gleaner, held a competition which offered a prize for the best list of ‘dialect words and phrases’. Several hundred entries were received ranging from ‘a dozen or twenty words on a single sheet of paper to a hundred or more items on half-a-dozen sheets’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. ix). The entries were included in the DJE as illustrative quota-
tions and helped to provide extra senses, and additional evidence relating to use and pronunciation.

The first edition of the dictionary contains a supplement at the front which covers pages lxv–lxxi. Unfortunately, the editors do not tell us the purpose of the supplement, though we can make an informed guess. The supplement probably contains entries which were written after the type for the dictionary had already been set.

In the second edition (1980), the supplement occurs at the back (pp. 491–509) and continues the Arabic numbering of the main text of the dictionary. The supplement in the second edition contains all the words in the first, but also includes additional information gathered by the editors (variant spellings, senses, etymologies) numerous words which were omitted, or for which more data became available, or which entered the language since the appearance of the first edition. I have counted approximately forty-five (45) entries in the 1980 supplement which have a direct bearing on the present study. In this thesis, all references to the supplement refer to the much fuller 1980 version, and these are acknowledged by the abbreviation DJES.

The changes made to the main text in the second edition of the dictionary are negligible. It appears that the editors mostly updated entries by adding information such as an extra etymological proposal where space permitted. In most cases, however, a lower-case “s” in bold font is added after the definition, pointing readers to the supplement at the back (e.g. see LONGGA in Cassidy and Le Page (2002)). Where there is a need to refer specifically to information found in the main text of the second edition that does not occur in the first, I will use the abbreviation DJE2 as a stand-in for Cassidy and Le Page (2002).

In the introduction to the dictionary, the editors briefly state the challenges they encountered in searching for (African) etymologies (see Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. xii), however, they do not elaborate on the etymological conventions which are employed in the dictionary. Therefore, the reader is left to interpret etymological proposals with varying levels of certainty without knowing what yardstick to use.

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1The version of the second edition of the DJE that I used for this thesis is a reprint published by the University of the West Indies Press in 2002.
Based on my own interpretation of the conventions used in the DJE, it appears that
the editors use the symbol ‘<’ to indicate secure etymologies, and use ‘cf’, ‘perhaps’,
‘probably’, and ‘possibly’ to indicate varying degrees of doubt. Prima facie, this
system seems straightforward enough, but it proves problematic when even Cassidy
himself fails to interpret it consistently. For example, Cassidy (1972, p. 2) reports that
the DJE contains 14 Hausa etymologies distributed in the following way: 11 certain,
1 probable, and 2 possible. In contrast to Cassidy, I have encountered 16 entries
in the DJE for which a Hausa (but not necessarily the only) etymon is proposed.²
Interestingly, for all 16 entries, the DJE merely says ‘cf Hausa’, which means that ‘cf’
was also used to indicate secure etymologies. Hence, it is impossible for us to know
with any certainty which etymologies the editors consider to be secure and which not.
This problem is magnified by the fact that the editors use the ‘derived from’ symbol
in combination with ‘cf’, and other markers of uncertainty. For further treatment of
methodological problems encountered in the DJE see chapter 4.

Despite the several shortcomings of the DJE as discussed above and later in chapter
4, it is important not to lose sight of the immense contribution the DJE has made
to the study of lexical Africanisms in Jamaican, and Atlantic English-based Creoles
(AECs) in general (cf. Alleyne, 1980; Holm & Shilling, 1982; Allsopp, 1996; Aceto,
1999; Parkvall, 2000; Bilby, 2006).

3.3.3 Cassidy (1957, 1961c, 1964, 1966a, 1967)

Now that we have looked at JT and the DJE, we can look at Cassidy’s other articles
that discuss the lexico-etymological work which formed the focus of those two larger
publications. These smaller companion articles provide more detailed information on
Cassidy and Le Page’s etymological practices. The first of these articles is Cassidy
(1957) which is the first scholarly study of reduplication in Jamaican. Cassidy iden-
tifies several reduplicated words as either African (16 words) or quasi-African (10
words) in origin. For those words which Cassidy considers to be African, he provides

²These are the words for which the DJE claims a Hausa etymology. Those marked with ME for multiple etymologies represent one suggestion in a list of several suggested sources: aburu, badu, bam (ME), Bonggo (ME), duma, dundo (ME), karakara, kuukuu, lenggelengge (ME), maiyal, minimini (ME), muduk, nyam (ME), shaka (ME), siman-kwengke-man, singkuma.
etyma (all from Àkán) ‘for comparison’. No etymological suggestions are made for those reduplicated forms which he presents as quasi-African. Based on subsequent work (the present included) several of the words have turned out to be cases of multiple etymologies. However, as the first known scholarly treatment of Africanisms in Jamaican, it provides a good introduction to the topic.

The title of Cassidy (1961c) announces it as a footnote to the discussion on the etymology of the word jonjo ‘mushroom; mould’. Cassidy’s article is a response to Thompson (1958) which dealt with the problems of identifying the etymology of jonjo. Thompson’s aim was to reopen the debate on the etymology of the word after Sandmann (1955) had rejected his proposal of an African source. Cassidy (1961c, p. 103), while not able to offer an etymology, points out that nothing ‘militates against the possibility of junjo as an Africanism’.

That same year, in a book chapter, Cassidy (1961b) discusses several of the problems encountered in the preparation of the DJE. The chapter is mainly concerned with defining the scope of the dictionary, and relating how the editors were handling issues surrounding pronunciation, orthography, and the labelling of linguistic varieties. The discussion contains 8 words which Cassidy claims are either direct copies of African words or have been influenced by African forms. Those included in the first group are afu, kotaku, abe, afana, and potopoto all of which he derives from Àkán, nyam which he claims is a common African word, but without providing any etymology, and doti and brangbrang which he argues owe their present shape and meaning to the cross-fertilisation (i.e. lexical conflation) of English and African forms. As one of the earliest works to pin-point specific sources for Africanisms, this book chapter represents a fair start. Most of the Àkán etymologies still hold today, with the only adjustment being that most of the words may plausibly be traced to other Tano languages also.

Another book chapter (Cassidy, 1964), appeared three years later which represents Cassidy’s attempt to reconstruct the early English-African pidgin which gave rise to the AECs. Cassidy does this by looking at African- and European-derived lexical items shared between Jamaican and one of the creoles of Suriname. On pages 273–

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3 Cassidy does not specify whether the Surinamese creole he is looking at is Sranan or Saramac-
4, Cassidy presents two lexical items that are shared by both creoles followed by their African source languages. He then presents another 27 items in a table on page 274, with the Suriname and Jamaican forms occupying the first and second columns respectively, the proposed African source language and form in the third, and a global gloss in the fourth. The article does not cite any sources, which makes it difficult for the information to be double-checked and corroborated. See §4.3.1 for the ramifications of this practice.

A year before the appearance of the DJE, Cassidy published two important articles. The first article (Cassidy, 1966a) tackles the etymologies of the Jamaican words hipsaa (spelt hipsaw) ‘a hip-shaking dance’, and jangkunu (spelt John Canoe) ‘a popular masked performance and other elements associated with it’. For hipsaa, Cassidy identifies the first syllable as originating from the English body-part term hip, and successfully assigns the second to Àkán sàw ‘to dance’.

On the etymology of jangkunu, Cassidy (1966a) first rejects the proposal given in the Dictionary of Americanisms (Matthews, 1951) that the word is apparently related to Àkán agyanka ‘orphan, child bereft of its father’, and suggests an alternative origin from Gbè (Vhe) dzọ́ŋ'kọ́ ‘a sorcerer’s name for himself’ and -nu ‘man’ which produced the composite meaning “sorcerer-man” or “witch-doctor”. Notwithstanding the plausibility of Cassidy’s Gbè etymon, subsequent investigations on the cultural and linguistic aspects of jangkunu, have pointed to a more convincing source (see entry 188 in Appendix B).

The second article (Cassidy, 1966b) is devoted to the phenomenon of multiple etymologies. It should be noted that Cassidy’s use of the term multiple etymologies is different from the one employed in the present work (see §4.3.4 for my definition). His use coincides with what is generally referred to as lexical conflation (see §4.3.5). Although Cassidy’s preliminary discussion appears to be dealing with true cases of multiple etymologies—i.e. cases involving the presence of cognates (or loanwords) in two or more relevant source languages—the eight (8) lexical items which the article treats are really instances of lexical conflation, involving chance similarity in form and/or meaning between an African and a European (normally English) word. In can, but the data and discussion suggest the former.
this article, Cassidy discusses the etymologies of *doti, kunu, tikitiki, kakati, bobo, kaskas, *si* as in *sidong*, and the grammatical morpheme *se*. Since sections 4.3.4 and 4.3.5 are devoted to multiple etymologies and lexical conflation, respectively, the major discussion of Cassidy’s methodology will be done in those sections.

The final journal article (Cassidy, 1967), in thirteen pages, provides detailed discussions regarding the etymologies of 7 Jamaican words. Cassidy, claims African origin or influence for 4 of these: *chamba* and its reduplicated form *chamba-chamba*, *jangga, sampata, jangkunu*. Although I disagree with the majority of Cassidy’s African etymologies, the article is invaluable, since it documents not only the proposed etyma, but also the reasons for having selected them. Owing to space restrictions, this transparency is lacking in many of the relevant DJE entries. Please consult the relevant entries in Appendix B to see my proposals.

### 3.3.4 Cassidy (1972, 1986): The DJE in retrospect

Five years after the publication of the DJE, Cassidy (1972) presented a brief but very important conference paper entitled ‘Jamaican Creole and Twi—Some comparisons’. The paper is a milestone in the study of lexical Africanisms in Jamaican because its figures are based on the much more extensive data provided by the DJE. Cassidy gives actual figures for the number of items contributed by each African language, albeit only for the six (6) chief contributors.

Cassidy (1972, p. 2) claims that the DJE lists ‘at least 416 words which are sure or nearly sure to be of African source’. These 416 Africanisms are further divided using a three-pronged measure of the etymologies presented in the dictionary based on whether they are certain, probable, or possible. According to this scheme, the lexical Africanisms in the DJE are distributed as follows: certain (277); probable (69); and possible (70). We will recall from §3.3.2 that the labels used in the DJE often make it difficult to ascertain which etymologies should be treated as certain, probable, or possible. In a table, reproduced below as Table 3.1, Cassidy provides

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4It is quite possible that there is more than one version of this paper floating around. The one I had access to was (re)typed by Pauline Christie from an original version. All page references are to that version.

5Note that I have found over four hundred entries in the DJE for which the editors claim African provenance.
figures for his 6 chief contributing languages (Àkán, Gbè, Hausa, Yorùbá, Koongo, and Êfik), sub-dividing the number of etymologies depending on whether they are certain, probable or possible.

Table 3.1: Cassidy’s six chief contributing languages (Cassidy, 1972)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Àkán</th>
<th>Gbè</th>
<th>Hausa</th>
<th>Yorùbá</th>
<th>Koongo</th>
<th>Êfik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Certain</td>
<td>122 (29.33%)</td>
<td>33 (7.93%)</td>
<td>11 (2.64%)</td>
<td>10 (2.44%)</td>
<td>7 (1.68%)</td>
<td>7 (1.68%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probable</td>
<td>18 (4.33%)</td>
<td>11 (2.64%)</td>
<td>1 (0.24%)</td>
<td>1 (0.24%)</td>
<td>3 (0.72%)</td>
<td>0 —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible</td>
<td>29 (6.97%)</td>
<td>10 (2.44%)</td>
<td>2 (0.49%)</td>
<td>8 (1.92%)</td>
<td>3 (0.72%)</td>
<td>0 —</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we sum the figures in Table 3.1, Cassidy’s 6 chief contributing languages account for 276 (66.3%) of the 416 African etymologies the DJE is claimed to contain. Please note that the percentages relate to the entire list of 416 lexical items.

Cassidy informs us that the 416 items which were counted do not include compounds, but there is no clarification regarding the type of compounds to which he is referring. He could be referring either to hybrid compounds which comprise an African and a non-African lexeme (see §4.3.6), or to compounds which use English-derived lexemes but are probably translations of African words (i.e. calques). To not count the former would reduce the lexical Africanisms in Jamaican by a good number, since some words have only been attested as constituents in compounds (e.g. *dodo in patudodo).

The problem presented by multiple etymologies is the only one which is mentioned and discussed by Cassidy (1972). Cassidy points out that the evidence demonstrates that the source for at least 42 of the Africanisms recorded in the DJE could have been multiple (cf. my figure in §6.3). By way of illustration he lists: akra ‘a fried bean cake’ (Yorùbá, Ìgbo, or Êfik akara); mumu ‘a person unable to speak’ (Gbè, Àkán, Mende mumu, Êfik imum, Mandinka mumpumi); nyam ‘food, meat, to eat’ (Wolof nyam, Zulu nyama, etc.); tata ‘father’ (Gbè, Gà, Ngombe, Mbundu tata, Bobangi tata, Luba-Kasai tatu, etc.). We are told that in cases where the source of the word is probably multiple, each contributing language is counted, thus adding one point to the total for that language. Given the fact that many instances in which the DJE itself claims multiple sources the editors only list one language (most often Àkán), some languages gain an unfair advantage over others. The major weakness of the article is that it does not provide a list of all the Africanisms with their etyma
and divided according to whether they are certain, probable, or possible. We have already seen that finding the secure etymologies in the DJE is not a straightforward task, so the absence of Cassidy’s own list(s) makes the figures less informative.

Cassidy’s final work on lexical Africanisms in Jamaican speech is published in a short book chapter (Cassidy, 1986) which, although it purports to be a study of etymology in Caribbean Creoles, focuses mainly on Jamaican. It represents Cassidy’s most explicit statement on his approach to etymology, and is more concerned with methodology, than with the etymologies themselves. The chapter opens with what could be considered Cassidy’s manifesto:

Etymology, the study of word origins, is a serious discipline that calls for the application of every resource of linguistic scholarship. Despite the way some people go about it, it is not a matter of clever guesses or dogmatic assertions but the scientific collection and evaluation of all available evidence, the testing of each hypothesis and its contrary. As often as not, the outcome is inconclusive, so that at the end of a tortuous trail one can honestly say no more than “perhaps,” or, with luck, “probably,” but far too frequently for comfort, “etym unknown” (Cassidy, 1986, p. 133).

As informative as this opening paragraph is, one cannot be certain whether it represents a consistent approach followed in the preparation of the DJE, or is the summary of experience gained since then. Only 2 African etymologies are dealt with in depth (doti and jangkunu) and the discussions are merely rehashed versions of those presented previously in Cassidy (1966b, 1967). The main feature of the chapter is that it provides a sort of step-by-step guide to identifying words of African extraction. I have reproduced this in point form below:

1. Make an educated guess about what source language the word is likely to be from.

2. If the word’s form suggests African origin, then see if the word refers to something specifically African.

3. Check to see if the etymology is supported by internal and external evidence.

Steps 1 and 2 are stated explicitly in the article, while step 3 is my extrapolation from
Cassidy’s discussion. These steps are still very relevant to the assignment of African etymologies in Jamaican, and they have been applied in arriving at my decisions in Appendix B.

To close this section on Cassidy’s contribution to the field, I think it fitting to end with what he jovially called ‘Cassidy’s Law for etymology’, which shows that he was not unaware of the need for caution in assigning etymologies, especially in cases where corroborating evidence was often lacking. ‘Possibilities, no matter how many, do not add up to a probability; probabilities no matter how many, do not add up to a certainty’ (Cassidy, 1986, p. 138).

3.3.5 Mittelsdorf (1978)

Sybille Mittelsdorf completed her doctoral thesis entitled *African Retentions in Jamaican Creole: A Reassessment* in 1978. The study tackles the putative Africanisms in the lexicon, morphology and syntax of Jamaican. Of interest to us here is her longest chapter (pp. 23-99) which is devoted to the lexicon. The chapter is based on her reassessment of the 416 words for which the DJE claims African origin. To the best of my knowledge, the work is the first attempt to formulate and apply a methodology which is systematic and rigorous, and also to document the criteria employed in the assignment of etyma. Hence, it signals a turning point in substrate studies on Jamaican. However, the fact that she was focussing on several sub-components of grammar, indubitably limited the attention she could have devoted to any one sub-component. Since my only concern in this thesis is the lexicon, this has allowed a more detailed treatment of things which Mittelsdorf pioneered but only dealt with in passing.

Mittelsdorf’s study treats only ‘complete morphemic retentions’ from African languages, in imitation of Haugen’s (1950) ‘complete morphemic importation/substitution’. In points 1–4 below I briefly outline the major aspects of her methodology:

1. The inclusion of only those words which are complete morphemic retentions of their etyma — In her discussion Mittelsdorf contrasts complete morphemic retentions with calques, since in the latter, semantic concepts and morphological structures are maintained without retention of material from the source
language. As justification for her non-inclusion of calques she points out that ‘they could have originated from any number of African languages’, and that singling out one source language for a calque which has several suitable models, is misleading. While I agree with her that it is disingenuous to cite only one source language for a construction that has multiple potential sources, this is not reason enough to omit them. She herself includes several complete morphemic retentions which have multiple etymologies (e.g. \textit{fufu}, \textit{mumu}, \textit{nyam}). Surely, calques could have been treated in the same manner. I have followed her in not including calques, but that is because working out their etymologies demands a whole different methodology based on language universals, cognitive semantics, typology, and diachronic semantics. This methodology cannot be properly implemented within the ambit of the present thesis.

2. The exclusion of African ethnonyms and toponyms — Mittelsdorf acknowledges that these ethnonyms and toponyms make obvious reference to Africa, but disqualifies them because they were known to and used by Europeans. Although I agree with her that these names should not be included in the general batch of lexical items, I believe that if handled with care, they can still be instructive. Please see §4.3.7 for my particular approach to words which fall within this category.

3. The inclusion of only those words whose etymologies have been positively identified — In this regard, Mittelsdorf (1978) departs from the procedure used by Cassidy (1972), and coincides with the approach used in the present thesis. This approach excludes words that are believed to be of African provenance but for which adequate evidence is not yet available.

4. Identifying the reasons for revising or rejecting the etymologies proposed by the DJE — Unlike the current thesis, Mittelsdorf (1978) provides the reasons for revising or rejecting an etymology in a global discussion and not on a word-by-word basis. Etymologies are revised or rejected when:

(a) The Jamaican word and its putative African etymon are phonetically similar, but the semantic relationship is tenuous. To illustrate, she uses the word \textit{bongka} ‘the cabbage palm tree, its branches, or the sheath or
“bough” for which the DJE asks us to consider Àkán ò-ò́n ‘rind, bark’ + articulative -k- + a.

(b) The etymology proposed by the DJE reconstructs a complex source language form which is not attested in the source language and violates its word-formation rules, e.g. fuba ‘unfit, withered fruit’ which the DJE derives from Àkán fua ‘to lay hold of’ and -ba ‘small’. Mittelsdorf points out that in addition to the semantic relationship being far-fetched, fuba is not an Àkán word, and Àkán does not create words by attaching the diminutive suffix to verbs.

(c) The Jamaican word is proposed to be formed via the concatenation of stems from two separate African languages. See §4.3.6 for a discussion of this topic.

(d) The phonological change(s) which the DJE proposes to account for the difference(s) between the form of the Jamaican word and its proposed etymon is too implausible in light of further evidence.

(e) The sound-meaning correspondence between the Jamaican word and its proposed etymon is on point, but ‘the etymology was considered doubtful on external grounds’. To exemplify this problem, Mittelsdorf uses Jamaican unu ‘2nd person plural pronoun’, which is derived by most scholars from Ìgbo unu which has the same meaning. She argues that Ìgbo is unlikely to have contributed an important item such as a pronoun since, based on her work, it has only contributed one other word to the Jamaican lexicon. In addition she points to 2nd person plural pronouns in Themne nu, Bullom no, Fula onon, and Songhai on, arguing that the Jamaican pronoun could have derived from any of them. She then goes further to suggest that the 2nd person plural pronoun in Àkán, wònòm, is a much likelier source on the basis that Àkán contributed more lexical items to Jamaican. However, Mittelsdorf fails to point out that all the forms mentioned by her, including the Àkán one, are poorer formal matches for the Jamaican pronoun than the Ìgbo word.

6Note that my work uncovers a total of 9 secure etymologies from Ìgbo (see §6.2.1).
(f) The words are interjections or they are phonosymbolic in nature. Mittelsdorf notes that the representation of interjections in dictionaries tends to be imprecise (in terms of intonation, voice qualifiers, and paralinguistics), and those recorded in the DJE (and attributed to African sources) tend to be ‘negligible in phonetic bulk, many consisting of no more than two vowels separated by a glottal stop’ (Mittelsdorf, 1978, 30). In addition, she points out that in several cases phonetically similar interjections can be found in English and other (non-African) languages. I agree with Mittelsdorf on her treatment of interjections (and exclamations), but I contest her use of the term phonosymbolic, which probably implies more things than she intends (see §4.3.9 for my discussion and solution). She also includes in this category what I refer to as nursery terms in §4.3.8. While we both reject African etymologies for nursery words, I believe it is still important to make a distinction between them and true phonosymbolic items.

(g) Lists of etyma proposed by the DJE in cases of multiple etymologies are too inclusive. For example, Mittelsdorf cites the DJE’s inclusion of Àkán enam, Êfik unam, and Hausa na:ma as possible sources for the Jamaican verb nyam. She points out that there are numerous languages which possess the palatal nasal like the Jamaican word and thus those without may be safely omitted. I have followed this practice, except in cases where there is evidence for such a change/alternation in the list of African-derived words or in the broader lexicon of Jamaican.

From applying the criteria outlined above, Mittelsdorf identifies 123 Jamaican words as complete morphemic retentions of African forms. A list of the (words and their) accepted etymologies are given on pages 39–47 of the work, which is directly followed by a list of 35 rejected etymologies (pp. 48–50). The latter figure is extremely low since Mittelsdorf herself states that the DJE contains 416 putative Africanisms. She found secure etymologies for 123, rejected 35, which means that there are 258 items which are not accounted for!

Àkán accounts for 73 or 59% of Mittelsdorf’s 123 secure etymologies, while there are only negligible figures for Gbè (3), Hausa (2), Yorùbá (5), and Êfik (1). The most
An interesting finding is the identification of 31 (25%) words originating from Bantu languages. Rather than conducting an independent count of the entries in the DJE which are assigned Bantu etymologies, Mittelsdorf contrasts her total number of Bantu etymologies with Cassidy’s (1972) Koongo etymologies (13 items). A careful search of the DJE will reveal that it assigns etymologies to other Bantu/Bantoid languages such as Duala, Mbundu, Ngombe, and Tiv. Notwithstanding this oversight, her results demand that we rethink the little importance scholars have usually assigned to areas such as West Central Africa (see §6.5).

Seeing that Mittelsdorf explicitly states that the focus of her thesis is Jamaican Creole, it is worth pointing out that her list of 123 accepted etymologies also contains 17 words which are used only by special groups. These words are obrafo, obrouni, found in the speech of the Maroons; banda, biizi, buta ‘man’, buzú, diibu, kumuna, kwidi, malaava, pangge, and zombi associated with Kumina; and agidi, bayawo, etu, oka, omi recorded only in communities dominated by post-Emancipation indentured labourers. Explanations have already been given in §1.4.2 as to why these words should be excluded. When we subtract these 17 lexemes, we are left with only 106 items found in mainstream Jamaican for which Mittelsdorf has found secure African etyma.

Mittelsdorf also includes in her list of accepted etymologies 15 words for which she offers at least two equally plausible etyma each: agidi, akra, baakini, bakra, doti, fufu, kanda, lundy, mumu, mundella, nyam, potopoto, tata, yangga, yaya. However, she does not say how she counted these cases in coming up with the total number of words contributed by each language.

Finally, I find Mittelsdorf’s etymologies and results interesting on account of the virtual absence of any contributions from Atlantic and Mande languages. In fact, only three words are assigned to Mande languages: agidi and fufu < Mende, and tata < Mande. In all cases the Mande etymology is just one in a list of plausible etyma. Please consult §6.2 and §6.3 to see how these results compare with mine.

If Mittelsdorf’s work has come under more scrutiny than the others mentioned in this chapter, it is solely because her work is the most explicit on methodology and findings. Although a few areas lack the desired level of consistency, many of her ideas
have been taken up and implemented in this thesis, and we owe a great debt to her for bringing a more objective approach to the topic.

### 3.3.6 Hall-Alleyne (1984, 1996)

As far as I am aware, Hall-Alleyne’s first relevant work on the subject appeared in 1980 and attempted to trace the evolution of African languages in Jamaica. Much of the paper covers lexical Africanisms in the speech of the Maroons, Kumina practitioners, and the Rastafari community, which, as discussed in §1.4.2 all fall outside the scope of this dissertation. Hall-Alleyne (1984) only treats Africanisms in Jamaican in a section devoted to songs, folktales, and proverbs, and there is a brief mention of Africanisms in another section on morphosyntax. From performative folk-culture, Hall-Alleyne records 15 Jamaican words and provides etymologies for each of them. In light of the conventions she uses elsewhere in the work, we can safely assume that she accepts all of these etymologies. Her list also contains words that have multiple etymologies, and some which are the result of lexical conflation. In the section on morphosyntax Hall-Alleyne identifies African influence in particular metaphors and definitional labels (i.e. calques), and extension of the semantics associated with particular lexemes (i.e. semantic extension). She presents eight (8) Jamaican words and offers a corresponding form in at least one African language as the model upon which the calque was built: Àkán (8), Yorùbá (1), Gbè (1).

Hall-Alleyne’s second etymological work which is of relevance to us comes in the context of an ethno-linguistics-cum-botany survey (Hall-Alleyne, 1996). The paper identifies 28 (in)edible plants and tubers whose names allegedly have their origin in one or more African languages. In proposing the etymologies of these 28 words, Hall-Alleyne mentions some 13 African languages accounting for 45 putative etymologies in total. This would suggest an average of 7 etymologies/cognates per word, but Àkán and Gbè account for well over half the total figure, and 7 out of the 13 languages are mentioned only once.

Hall-Alleyne (1996) has been instrumental in improving our understanding of the linguistic and cultural contribution of Africa to the semantic domain having to deal

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7 A version of the article was republished as Hall-Alleyne (1990) but with the sections on Jamaican Creole deleted.
with flora. I have found most of her etymologies to be sound on both formal and semantic grounds. My main contention is that for ackee, she includes in the section reserved for etymologies Yorùbá ishin ‘a tree with edible fruits’ (meaning supplied by me from DYL, 2003, p. 125), when it is clearly not the source of the Jamaican word.

### 3.3.7 Allsopp (1996)

Before the publication of the DJE, Richard Allsopp had begun work on what later became known as the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (hereafter DCEU = Allsopp, 1996). Owing to the magnitude of the project, among other factors, the preparation time stretched over several decades. From the earliest stage of its conception, the dictionary was intended as a guide for Caribbean teachers and students on lexical items which occur in Caribbean varieties of English. While the dictionary’s chief focus is language ‘usage in the intermediate and upper ranges of the West Indian speech continuum’ (Allsopp, 1996, p. xxii), the linguistic situation in most of these communities makes it impossible to omit words from basilectal varieties which are used in standard language contexts. These lexical items help to set Jamaican/Caribbean English(s) off from other international varieties of English. The inclusion of words copied from basilectal varieties into meso- and acrolectal varieties is of particular importance, since one expects to find more Africanisms in basilectal varieties than in the others.

I have counted approximately 60 entries in the DCEU which are marked as being in use in Jamaica and for which African etymologies are proposed. In addition, I have come across another ten words for which African etymologies are proposed in the DCEU or in other works, and which have been attested in use in Jamaica, but are not marked as Jamaican by the DCEU.

While the DCEU is not a historical dictionary, since it proposes etymologies for the majority of its entries, it is of relevance to the current project. Allsopp does not provide a detailed statement on how etymologies are treated in the dictionary but he notes that:

*In every case, by unemotive, expository glossing, cautious etymo-*
logical references and sometimes footnote cross-referencing, the work has tried to sensitize the reader to the reality, nature and dimensions of the Caribbean’s African background, and to invite investigative intelligence to dislodge the old programmed contempt for Black African cultures (Allsopp, 1996, p. xxxiii, emphasis mine).

This is the closest that Allsopp comes to shedding some light on the methods employed in his etymological assignments. When compared to the DJE, the DCEU provides more expository glossings, pointing out phenomena such as reduplication, vowel raising and lowering, and conversion, to account for differences between Caribbean reflexes and their putative (African) etyma. However, several of its accepted etyma are poor formal and semantic matches for their Caribbean reflexes. This is exemplified by eddoe, Colocasia esculenta, for which the DCEU supplies Ákán edwo and Ibibio edomo ‘potato yam’. The Ákán proposal is unacceptable since the orthographic digraph ‘dw’ represents the voiced alveo-palatal affricate, hence [ Edʒa).

Arguably, the most significant contribution of the DCEU is the identification of numerous compounds and idioms which are probably calques of African structures. In most cases, where Allsopp proposes that an item is (probably) an African calque, forms from one or more African languages are provided to back up the claim. Some of these calques receive attention in this thesis only to the extent that they may have provided models for compounding patterns in Jamaican (see chapter 8).

3.3.8 Parkvall (1999, 2000)

Parkvall (2000) is a comprehensive reassessment of putative Africanisms (phonological, syntactic, and lexical) in the Atlantic creoles. Of immediate interest to us is his fifth chapter, on lexicosemantics (Parkvall, 2000, 99–114), which is based on an impressive compilation (hereafter, Afrolex = Parkvall, 1999) of most of the words in the Atlantic creoles for which African etyma have been suggested. Before discussing the results presented in Parkvall (2000), I will first address the philosophy behind Afrolex since its contents form the basis of Parkvall’s lexico-semantics chapter.

Although Afrolex claims to provide a fairly decent coverage of the Jamaican items marked as Africanisms in the DJE, DCEU and elsewhere, there are several omissions.
For example, the word *afana* ‘cutlass’ is missing, even though the Àkán (Akyem) etymology which the DJE offers is good both formally and semantically. In addition, Parkvall also omits items such as *aganga* ‘lizard’ which are African-derived but were not so marked by the editors of the DJE. Given the broad coverage of Parkvall’s compilation (all Atlantic creoles), one could hardly expect him to identify all such cases. However, such omissions have an impact on his final figures which show the contribution made by specific languages. Unfortunately, his own prefatory note to *Afrolex* does not help in explaining why words such as *afana* were omitted:

> I have included almost all suggested etymologies, even many to which I myself am sceptical. I have only excluded those that I find exceptionally implausible and imaginative, which are usually concentrated to works by a few [authors]... In general, the reader should be aware that the majority of etymologies presented here must be regarded as tentative. (emphasis mine)

While Parvall does include some etymologies of his own, most of the etymologies that *Afrolex* provides are copied from the original works even where they are imaginative, exceptionally implausible or tentative as he points out. In Appendix B the reader will observe that many tentative etymologies are not robust enough to stand up to scrutiny. §4.3.2 argues that uncertain etymologies should not be included in the final count.

Now we can turn to Parkvall (2000, pp. 99–114), which comprises the results from *Afrolex* and the theoretical discussion springing from those results. The chapter commences with a discussion of two interrelated problems encountered in assigning African etymologies. The first problem has to do with the presence of pan-Creole items (= Ingredient-X, first identified in Smith, 1987, pp. 107–7), while the second has to do with pan-African items, i.e. items having multiple possible etymologies. The sociohistorical and sociolinguistic implications of the pan-Creole items in Jamaican have already been touched on in §2.3.4, and we will return to the subject briefly in §9.1. The methodology used in the current work for dealing with items which have multiple possible etymologies is outlined in §4.3.4.

Close to the end of his chapter on the lexicon, Parkvall (2000, p. 110) presents four
tables which show the total number of Africanisms retained in the Atlantic creoles based on the data in *Afrolex*. Each table supplies figures for languages belonging to one lexifier. Only his first table which comprises figures for the English-lexicon creoles is of immediate relevance to us. The figures for Jamaican, showing distribution based on the family of the source language are reproduced as Table 3.2.\(^8\)

Table 3.2: Parkvall’s figures for lexical Africanisms in Jamaica

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Atlantic</th>
<th>Mande</th>
<th>Kwa</th>
<th>Delto-Benuic</th>
<th>Bantu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please note that ‘Delto-Benuic’ is the term Parkvall (2000, p. 10) uses to refer to the Benue-Congo languages, in the sense of Williamson (1989), but including Ijoid, and excluding Bantu. Parkvall informs us that he has omitted the category ‘other’ from his calculations which covers 1% of the Africanisms *Afrolex* records for Jamaican.

Seeing that Parkvall (2000, p. 110) tells us that he uses this category for words of Chadic, Gur and Kru origin, for Jamaican, it probably contains words that the DJE and the DCEU assign to Kru and Hausa.

*Afrolex* has been particularly useful in helping to identify cognate forms in cases of multiple etymologies. Unfortunately, Parkvall’s (Parkvall, 2000, p. 110) figures are based on etymologies of varying degrees of certainty, he does not state how multiple etymologies affect his final figures, and he collapses single and multiple etymologies into larger groups (e.g. Atlantic, Mande). These aspects of his methodology make it very difficult to compare his findings to those of the present work, but an attempt will be made in chapter 6 to do so.

### 3.3.9 Bartens (2000)

Like Parkvall (2000), Bartens (2000) is a cross-linguistic study of the Atlantic creoles. Bartens (2000, p. 44) does point out that many of the etymologies provided are to be viewed as tentative. Nevertheless, clarity is compromised by Bartens’ attempt to do etymology and typology simultaneously without indicating whether a form from a substrate language is given because it is typologically similar to the creole form(s),

\(^{8}\)Note that like the works mentioned above, Parkvall’s figures reflect the number of lexical Africanisms attested in Jamaica (i.e. restricted codes included), and not only in Jamaican.
or is to be treated as a tentative etymology. The problem is compounded by the fact that the work looks at various creoles. Where each creole has a slightly different form and each substrate form is different, it is not clear to the reader which etymon is being claimed for which creole form.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the work has been of tremendous value to me in helping to identify cases of multiple etymologies. Bartens (2000) copies many etymologies from previous works and so her work is only mentioned in Appendix B where it is the first to propose an African etymology for an item, or it records an African source form for which I lack adequate sources. The foregoing should indicate to the reader that the number of references in the present thesis to Bartens (2000), is not a true reflection of the contribution of that investigation to my work.


Shifting focus back again to work focusing specifically on Jamaica, Warner-Lewis (2003) and Warner-Lewis (2004) are undoubtedly the most significant since Mittelsdorf (1978), in terms of the new information they have uncovered. Although Warner-Lewis is chiefly concerned with providing a broad anthropological treatment, tracing etymologies is a substantial part of her work in her attempt to show the links between Central Africa and Jamaica (or the Caribbean in general).

Warner-Lewis (2003) is a book covering the retention of linguistic and cultural items from (Central) Africa in the Caribbean. Therefore, the book touches on putative African-derived vocabulary occurring in the language of the Maroons, the speech of the descendants of Africans brought to the Caribbean as indentured labourers in the post-Emancipation period, the speech of members of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century religion of Rastafari, as well as the mainstream vernaculars of various Caribbean territories. Since the work is exploratory in nature, sometimes African words are merely suggested as etyma, with words indicating that the African lexeme is ‘possibly’ the source. In addition, Warner-Lewis does not always acknowledge the source of her African data (e.g. \textit{beele} on p. 227), which makes it difficult to double-check problematic points. It is very difficult to say how many Africanisms are dealt with in Warner-Lewis (2003) since she does not always make it clear which Caribbean language/register a
particular word is associated with (e.g. *dende* on p. 97).

Now we turn to Warner-Lewis (2004) which like its predecessor, is meant to be corrective in that it aims to show that the Central African contribution is much greater than it was previously thought to be. The article deals specifically with Jamaica and so is of particular interest to us here. Again, it must be pointed out that Warner-Lewis is concerned with Central African words and practices wherever in the island they are used, and not only with Jamaican as spoken by the general population (§1.4.2).

She notes that some of the words occur in numerous languages of the Bantu group, and that putative etymologies are given from only one language (Koongo) for reasons of economy. This practice is understandable given the constraints which she, like most other scholars have had to work with, but it does not help us in assessing the specific contribution made by Koongo as opposed to other Bantu languages, and it might lead the unsuspecting reader to misconstrue Koongo as the (only) source of a word, notwithstanding her disclaimer. From my count, I have discovered 62 words (from Jamaican and restricted codes) in the body of the article for which Warner-Lewis proposes Central African provenance. 6 of these are restricted to the language of the Maroons, 3 to Kumina, and 2 have been recorded both in Maroon and Kumina communities (*jege*, *jungga*). Another 6 are very likely to be post-Emancipation importations since they are largely restricted to the areas which received large numbers of African indentured labourers during the nineteenth century: (*beele*, *bulikisa*, *dingole*, *gere*, *paabula*, *tambu*). The endnotes contain a further 6 words whose etymologies are discussed: 3 are from restricted codes, and 3 belong to the lexis of the general population: (*doti*, *jongkunu*, *jonjo*).

The author does not always make it clear what code a particular word belongs to, i.e. whether it is employed only in special communities and/or is a part of Jamaican proper. In addition, except for the few etymologies dealt with in the endnotes, Warner-Lewis (2004) makes no mention of competing etymologies, so the unsuspecting reader might get the impression that these etymologies are being proposed for the first time, and this is not true in all cases. On that point, more careful attention to past proposals may have avoided a few glaring errors. For example, Warner-Lewis (2004, p. 33) claims that ‘there is as yet no evidence in Jamaica of the Koongo and Mbundu
names for this food such as *funji* and *funde*. That there is no evidence of the use of the word in Jamaican, is not true. The DJE records the word *funji* (see DJE entry *FUNGEE*) as early as 1790, with the latest use recorded in that work being 1958.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, Warner-Lewis’ works are important for helping to weaken the monolithic view of African influence, which considers only languages from West Africa as being significant. Her findings have added a few secure etyma from the languages of Central Africa to our list, and have fostered a greater appreciation of the cultural and linguistic contributions made by Africans originating from this region.

### 3.3.11 Some other works: Alleyne (1986); Aceto (1999); Bilby (2006)

In addition to the more substantial works described above, several other works have appeared which do not deal directly with etymology, but which mention a few words and their putative etyma. Alleyne (1986) is an article on substratum influence and the process of language death. His arguments center on Africanisms primarily in the speech of the Maroons of Jamaica, and secondarily in the speech of the general population. Alleyne mentions 4 words for which he suggests African etyma: *aachi*, *bakra*, *de*, *funji*. There are also 5 items on the list which are dealt with particularly in relation to Maroon speech, but which I know have also been attested in Jamaican: *afana*, *anansi*, *kamfo* (see *kyamfa*), *paki*, and *sense*.

In the late 1990s, Aceto (1999) in attempting to shed light on the genesis of the AECs, looked at a few African-derived words in several AECs, and their etyma. The work lists 35 words of African origin which are used or have been recorded in Jamaica (Jamaican, Maroon Spirit Language), Suriname (Kumenti, Ndyuka, Sara-maccan, Sranan), and Sierra Leone (Krio). From Aceto’s list of 35 words, I have counted 26 which have been recorded in Jamaica: 20 in general Jamaican and 6 which are restricted to Maroon speech. Apparently, he depends heavily on works such as Cassidy and Le Page (1967); Dalby (1971); Bilby (1983) for his etymologies, and so he copies their inconsistencies. The type of work done by Aceto (1999) has implications for the genesis of Jamaican and lexical stratification.
The most recent work to appear which includes lexical Africanisms is Bilby (2006). Bilby’s book on the history and culture of Jamaican Maroons contains a glossary (pp. 475–483) with approximately 194 lexical items used in Maroon speech and general Jamaican. Bilby identifies words which are used in all Maroon communities (AC), those belonging to an archaic form of Maroon Creole (MC), those which are found only in the Windward Maroon communities (WC), those found only in the Maroon Kromanti ritual language (MK), and those found in Jamaican Creole (Jamaican). Out of the 194 lexical items, I have counted 39 to which Bilby explicitly assigns African etymologies, but only 9 of these are used in general Jamaican. The etymologies that Bilby proposes for the 9 Jamaican items are distributed in the following way: Àkán (3), Igbo/Éfik (1), Duala (1), Bube (1), Koongo (2), Common Bantu (1).

That Bilby’s etymologies for the Africansims in Jamaican always coincide with those given in the DJE, testifies to his debt to that work; a debt which he acknowledges each time he borrows information. Nevertheless, it appears that he did not rely blindly on the DJE since there are several cases in which the DJE proposes an African etymology, but Bilby provides none in his glossary. Frequently, these are cases where the etymologies are uncertain or unconvincing, e.g. *nyam* ‘to eat’. Another example is Jamaican *makoka* ‘any grub or grublike worm’ which Bilby does not assign an etymology. Note that DJE2 (see DJE2 *macaca*) suggests a plausible Koongo etymon for this word, among several less plausible non-African ones. Bilby points out that the word is listed in the DJE but he provides no etymon for it. We cannot be sure whether his omission of DJE2’s etymology is merely an oversight or is an indication that he is not in agreement with it.

### 3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has painted the current landscape of investigations which deal with lexical Africanisms in Jamaican. An effort has been made to show in what ways previous scholars have contributed to the topic, and to point out several of the more specific problems which have dogged their work. Therefore, this overview acts as my point of departure, highlighting methodological problems which need to be addressed or implemented. However, it also helps me to capitalise on the good aspects of their
methodology, hence, picking up where they left off.
...a large number of features will remain suspected Africanisms without much likelihood of confirmation. That circumstance should not invite a relaxation of the criteria for Africanisms. It simply has to be accepted as evidence of the limitations in our historical knowledge and reconstructive methodology (Carrington, 1993, p. 41).

4.1 Introduction

Etymological research on lexical Africanisms in Jamaican Creole (Jamaican) has been advanced through the efforts of the scholars whose works are described in chapter 3 of this thesis. While recognising the stalwart contribution that they have made, the
increasing availability of information on African languages and Jamaican calls for a fresh look at the data. It is the aim of this chapter to outline a set of guidelines which ought to be followed in assigning etymologies.

The words ‘updated approach’ in the title are meant to signify that very few of the methods employed in this work are totally new. Indeed, several of the features of the system I outline and implement have been used, to some extent, by previous researchers. However, where necessary, I have introduced more consistency and transparency. The general methodology has also been supplemented by drawing on a set of best practices from mainstream etymology as represented by works such as Malkiel (1975, 1982, 1993).

4.2 Guidelines for assigning etyma

Attempting to work out a set of basic guidelines on which to base our acceptance or rejection of etymologies is a tricky process. It leads us to concur with the saying commonly attributed to Gilliéron, that ‘chaque mot a son histoire’, while at the same time recognising that each word belongs to a system whose rules and patterns govern its behaviour. These patterns are numerous and the phenomena which influence them are likewise numerous, so it is very difficult to create a cookie-cutter type set of guidelines which can be applied to all the words dealt with in this dissertation without occasion for explaining how the conclusion was reached. Notwithstanding, my aim is to employ all the tools made available from the fields of (historical) phonology, phonetics, semantics, morphology, and syntax in facilitating the etymological work.

As suggested in chapter 3, much of the existing work on lexical Africanisms in Jamaican merely provide list-like treatment giving the Jamaican word and its putative African etymon. When there are differences between the Jamaican word and the proposed etymon authors do not always indicate how the difference(s) can be justified in terms of what we know about the grammar of the source language, Jamaican, or what we know about variation and change in language in general. This is one common shortcoming which this work hopes to overcome. The following sections provide detailed discussions of issues relating to form and semantics in assigning etyma. The
discussion moves logically from etyma which are easily identified, to more problematic cases, and how they should be treated.

4.2.1 Philological issues

In the assignment of etymologies, there is much to be gained from paying closer attention to information provided by existing texts, whether written or oral. Operating within a philological framework should ensure that the researcher weighs all existing evidence before a decision is made in favour of one etymon or the other. Being a dictionary prepared on historical principles, the DJE contains illustrative quotations which in numerous cases help to shed light on both the internal and external history of the word. While some of the entries in the DJE (see combolo) show evidence that the editors considered the information contained in the quotations in working out the etymology of the word, it appears that this was not always done. I have found no indication in Mittelsdorf (1978) that she paid any attention to the DJE’s illustrative quotations. This might explain why she rejected some etymologies which would have been more acceptable in light of the extra evidence.

Especially in cases of folk-etymology, Jamaican words might exhibit unexpected formal and semantic correspondences with their etyma. In such cases, external data from stories, proverbs, songs, oral history, may serve to unravel the linguistic puzzles. This is illustrated by the word gyaaashani for which the DJE gives no etymology, but notes that it refers to ‘a bull in a well known folk-tale’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 217). The logical assumption would be to look for an etymon which means ‘bull’, just like the name of the popular trickster-hero, anansi, goes back ultimately to a word meaning ‘spider’. It turns out that the word goes back to Àkán or Gă gyaasehene which refers to the body guard of the king’s household. Numerous versions of the story have been recorded but the recurring aspects of the plot involve a boy who has to defeat a bull, or large unidentified animal, or a giant (Beckwith, 1924, pp. 453–5). The military might of the king’s body guard is here being figuratively represented by the large size of the animal or giant.
4.2.2 Formal issues

In working out etymologies, the best case scenario occurs when a Jamaican lexeme corresponds perfectly with its etymon in terms of phonemic segments, i.e. assuming that the semantic match is also good (see §4.2.3). For example, consider Jamaican butu ‘crass, unseemly behaviour’ which is a perfect formal match with the Ijo etymon I have assigned it: buˈtu ‘ignorant, stupid’ (see butu₁, entry 105 in Appendix B). The match is perfect because all segments in the input are maintained in the output. Unfortunately, not all cases are this straightforward since many of the lexical Africanisms in Jamaican exhibit one or more segmental differences from their proposed etyma. The philosophy of the current work is that these differences are crucial in the assignment of etymologies and ought to be accounted for based on what we know about sound change in general, and the changes which have been attested in Jamaican, and in the source language of the etymon.

The analysis is informed by the long tradition of work on diachronic phonology and the nature of sound change (e.g. Bermúdez-Otero, 2007; Kiparsky, 2003; Blevins, 2004), the growing body of work on loanword phonology (e.g. Hoenigswald, 1960; Hockett, 1990), and recent studies which outline the role of phonetics in sound change (e.g. Ohala, 2003; Blevins, 2004, 2008). Sections 4.2.2.1–4.2.2.4 discuss how paying close attention to phenomena such as sound change and alternation and processes such as insertion, deletion, metathesis and hypercorrection can assist in assigning solid etymologies when there is lack of identity between the proposed etymon and its Jamaican reflex.

4.2.2.1 Sound change and alternation

Before accepting an etymology which assumes a sound change, the etymologist should ask himself several questions until a defensible answer is found:

1. Is the proposed change reflected in other words of African origin?

2. Is the proposed change reflected in other Jamaican words, or can it be accounted for by appealing to the phonology of Jamaican?

3. Is the proposed change supported by what we know about normal sound change?
Mittelsdorf (1978, 28) operationalises question (1) above in countering Cassidy and Le Page’s (1967, p. 56) proposal that the unproductive Jamaican suffix -bo ‘a person of the kind, or possessing the quality, expressed in the element to which it is attached’, is from Àkán -fó ‘person, possessor’. Based on the evidence of other Àkán-derived words in Jamaican with /f/, Mittelsdorf argues that the normal Jamaican reflex of Àkán/f/ is /f/. The regularity of the correspondence renders the DJE’s Àkán etymology highly unlikely.

On the matter of question (2) above, the reader will notice that in Appendix B all known variant pronunciations of each word are supplied in the headword section (e.g. entry 113). This strategy is deliberate since it gives us a better understanding of the phonological paths along which specific segments have changed. Knowing this should help us in the future to weed out the tentative etymologies from among the more plausible ones.

To illustrate question (3) above in action, we will look at Warner-Lewis’s (2004, p. 31) suggestion that Jamaican bati ‘buttocks, anus’ is from Koongo mbaasi ‘cleft between the two buttocks’. This etymology suggests an /s/ → /t/ sound change which as far as I am aware, is not attested in Jamaican, and is cross-linguistically rare. The approach taken in the current work is to reject etymologies such as these which suggest “unnatural” sound changes.

4.2.2.2 Epenthesis

It is worth remembering that the formal resemblance between an etymon and its reflex may be obscured by insertion or epenthesis of segments. In assigning etymologies, the etymologist should bear in mind that vowel epenthesis is more common than consonant epenthesis, and some types of consonant epenthesis (e.g. insertion of nasal consonants) are more frequent than others. With regard to vowel epenthesis, Jamaican makes regular use of epenthetic /-i/ with hypocoristic effect, in CVC monosyllabic words, e.g. English sweet (noun) > Jamaican swiiti. Note though that we can expect the occurrence of vowel epenthesis in African-derived words to be low given the well-known preference of Niger-Congo languages for CV syllables (Clements & Rialland, 2008, p. 40).
Turning our attention now to consonant epenthesis, one good rule of thumb is to see if the particular type of consonant insertion which is being assumed is attested elsewhere in the lexicon of the subject language. Take for example the epenthetic /k/ in Jamaican *asunuk* ‘elephant; fat person’, one of the variants of *asunu*. There is no obvious phonetic motivation for the insertion of /k/ here. In fact, it runs counter to the cross-linguistic preference for CV syllables (Blevins, 2008, p. 139). However, we find other words such as *kikombok* \(<\) English *cucumber* (attested 1956, see DJE) and *brak* \(<\) *bra* \(<\) English *brother* (s.v. *brac* in DJE). Technically, we can also treat African-derived words which from a formal perspective are etymologically simple, but are reduplicated in Jamaican as instances of insertion. In this case the phonological process inserts a copy of the base (e.g. *kulukulu*\(^1\), entry 245).

### 4.2.2.3 Apheresis, syncope, and apocope

Deletion of material (taking into consideration apheresis, syncope, and apocope) may affect only a single segment, a sequence of segments, or multiple segments in different places in the same word. For example, the Jamaican word *paki* ‘the calabash tree and […] gourd-like fruit’ has been assigned (§B.3.1) to several Nyo languages such as Guang (Gua) *akpakyi* ‘a large calabash or gourd container with a cover’. The initial vocalic segment which is present in all of the Nyo cognates (Àkán *apakyie*, Guang *akpakyi*, Gā *akpaki*) either did not make it into Jamaican, or was lost after the word was copied into Jamaican. In some cases the absence or presence of an etymological segment might even serve to indicate a semantic distinction, e.g. *adopi* ‘a hairy little creature said to live in the bush’ vs. *dopi* ‘ghost’ which both derive from a Nyo word e.g. Gā *adope* ‘chimpanzee’. While deletion is much more common than insertion, it should be appealed to only in instances where the semantic match between the reflex and the potential etymon is so close as to remove all doubt. For a discussion of deletion in Nyo-derived words see §7.2.1.

### 4.2.2.4 Metathesis and hypercorrection

In addition, one has to bear in mind the workings of processes such as metathesis and hypercorrection which may be responsible for the difference in shape between etymon and reflex. An instance of hypercorrection is witnessed in Jamaican *pindal* ‘peanut’
which has been recorded for *pinda*. This change obviously took place in Jamaica under the influence of English, whereby the final vowel of the African word was reinterpreted as English /er/, and then the final /r/ was changed to /l/ as happens in a few words.

4.2.3 Semantic and morphosyntactic issues

The areas of morphosyntax and semantics present even more challenging situations with respect to establishing correspondence between etyma and reflexes. It is worth pointing out that we cannot always determine whether the difference in meaning between a Jamaican word and its putative etymon is actually the result of change as opposed to lack of documentary evidence; hence, it is more appropriate to speak of semantic difference. The challenges presented by morphosyntactic and semantic correspondence arise because the rules of semantic change appear to be less precise than those related to sound change (see Ullmann, 1957 [1951]; Stern, 1931), plus there is still no coherent theory of historical semantics. These shortcomings in the theory should not derail the entire enterprise, but cause us to approach the phenomenon with more caution. Hence, we should ensure that the relationship between the meaning of the Jamaican word and the meaning of the proposed etymon be plausible and based on reasonable expectations of sense change in order to accept the etymology.

As with formal features where we find perfect segmental matches between numerous Jamaican words and their etyma, there are also numerous words which maintain perfectly the lexical category and semantics of their etyma, e.g. Jamaican *masu* ‘to lift’ < Ákán mášú ‘to lift’. However, there are many cases where the match is not perfect, and these cases require careful attention. For example, the DJE submits Ákán *adwuma* ‘Arbeit [work]’, as a possible source of Jamaican *juma* ‘to shake (someone)’.

The first issue is that the etymon belongs to a different lexical category from the reflex (i.e. noun vs. verb). However, this is not such a jarring difference seeing that change in word class membership is well documented cross-linguistically when words are copied from one language into another. The more problematic aspect of the DJE’s etymology is the semantic difference between the two words. It is not immediately
obvious why a word meaning ‘to work’ should come to mean ‘to shake’. The link between the semantics of the reflex and that of the proposed etymon is spurious or too tenuous, and there is no evidence to support the considerable semantic change which the etymology suggests.

4.3 Specific problems and solutions

As promised in chapter 3, here I note in a specific way particularly problematic aspects of previous approaches, and say how they are dealt with in the current work.

4.3.1 Inconsistencies in documentation

The first problem I would like to discuss is the occurrence of genuine errors in the existing literature, some of which represent typographical errors and lapses in memory rather than errors of analysis. The cases are not numerous, but the presence of such errors should be noted. For example, Cassidy (1964, p. 274) gives Àkán as the source of Jamaican *pinda* ‘peanut’. This error is corrected in the DJE (see *pindar* in Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 351) where the editors derive the word correctly from Koongo *mpinda* ‘ground-nut, peanut’, however, I have come across no note in either Cassidy or Le Page’s works which points out the error. Presenting a new etymology without explicitly stating that the previous one was an error is likely to lead readers to believe that they are looking at a case of multiple etymologies. Unfortunately, as recent as the end of the last century, Cassidy’s faux pas was publicised by folklorist Louise Bennett as the source of Jamaican *pinda* (Bennett-Coverley, 1999).

One of the chief problems related to documentation, is the lack of attribution to the source of etymologies. Mittelsdorf (1978) is the chief exemplar of this practice, since her list of etymologies is void of citations. She does list several works on African languages in her list of references, but she also elicited data from native speakers of various African languages, and there is no way for the reader to determine which information was found in published sources and which was elicited. For example, Mittelsdorf (1978, p. 43) provides Koongo *mayele* ‘intelligence, witchcraft’ as the etymon of Jamaican *maiyl* ‘a form of witchcraft, normally associated with healing’ (s.v. *myal* in DJE). The single Koongo source (i.e. Laman, 1964, p. 512) which
Mittelsdorf includes in her list of references has only the ‘intelligence’ meaning.

First, where I notice inconsistencies in the existing literature that result from errors introduced during the copying of information, they are explicitly identified and discussed. It is hoped that identification of inconsistencies will assist in reducing their reproduction in future works. Second, whether or not my proposed etymology coincides with proposals in the existing literature, I copy the etymon and its meaning from an original source, not from a second-hand one. I depart from this practice only in about one or two instances where I have failed to locate the proposed etymon in any of the African sources available to me, and the second-hand source is all I have. Third, no etymology is presented without an indication of its source. Indicating the source of information allows the reader not only to double-check the information for himself, but also to make judgements about the reliability of that information.

4.3.2 Uncertainty

A common feature of several of the works which deal with lexical Africanisms in Jamaican, is their use—implicit or explicit—of some kind of scale in the assignment of etymologies. The authors indicate varying levels of (un)certainty by the use of labels such as ‘perhaps’, ‘probably’, ‘possibly’, ‘not sure if’ African. This is true of the DJE, the DCEU, Patrick (1995), Parkvall (1999), as well as Warner-Lewis (2003, 2004). While I acknowledge that this practice might be useful in drawing readers’ attention to suggestive correspondences, the fact that the presentation is very often not accompanied by a discussion to help guide the reader, makes the practice potentially more harmful than useful. This is particularly true since etymologies are regularly employed as evidence by those arguing for the African contribution to Jamaican (e.g. Alleyne, 1980; Bennett-Coverley, 1999).

Given that the main aim of this thesis is to establish secure etymologies, it is extremely important that we separate secure etymologies from uncertain ones. This is done in Appendix B by discussing each putative Africanism individually and weighing all the evidence before offering my final decision. At the end of the discussion, a word whose African etymology has been securely established is marked with the source language and the region in which the language is spoken. See Appendix B.2 for a fuller
explanation of the structure of entries. The system used here makes no allowance for uncertainty. If a word was previously proposed to be of African origin but evidence has been uncovered which disproves that proposal, this will be indicated by the label ‘African etymology rejected’. Where the evidence is insufficient to prove or disprove African provenance, this will be indicated by the label ‘No suitable (African) etymology found’.

Mittelsdorf (1978) and Hall-Alleyne (1996) are the only two works among the lot which eschew the practice of including uncertain etymologies, and they provide only those etymologies whose accuracy the authors are convinced of. This latter approach is much more desirable, especially if we intend to use those etymologies to make claims about the contribution of specific groups. In the present work, all proposed etymologies are discussed in order to reduce the level of uncertainty. If the evidence is not conclusive, then the entry will be marked with the word “No suitable (African) etymology found”.

4.3.3 Poor etymologies

The issue of poor etymologies is related to the previous one in that marking a word as ‘probably African’, is often used as an escape hatch for obviously poor etymologies. For example, for the Jamaican word *bima* ‘an old sore or ulcer on the foot or leg’, the DJE suggests Mende *gbalema* ‘a sore, an ulcer’ as one of the possible sources. While the semantics of the Jamaican and Mende words are roughly the same, there is no evidence to support the suggested phonological changes (see §4.2.2). As shown in example (1), the Mende word would need to go through three unattested forms in order to produce the Jamaican one.

\[
\text{(1) } \text{gbalema} \rightarrow *\text{balema} \rightarrow *\text{blema} \rightarrow *\text{bema} \rightarrow \text{bima}
\]

From the evidence gathered in the present work, the first stage is plausible, since we have numerous instances in which the voiced labial-velar plosive [gb] in word-initial position in Niger-Congo words is replaced by the voiced bilabial plosive [b] in Jamaican. However, the second stage *balema → *blema presents two major problems. First, there is no precedence in the lexicon of Jamaican (regardless of ultimate source
language) for apocope of trisyllabic CVCVCV words by deleting the first V.¹ All attested cases of apocope acting on trisyllabic words involve deletion of the second V, e.g. Jamaican *pikini → pikni*, Koongo *wangila → Jamaican wanggla*. Second, there is no motivation for the reduction of the word-initial /bl/ cluster that would instantiate the *blema → *bema change. I am aware of no Jamaican dialect (diachronic or synchronic) which reduces initial /bl/ clusters.²

Neither is the semantic side free of problems. In fact, it appears to be more prone to imprecise and unconvincing proposals, no doubt a reflection of the current state of our understanding of semantics itself and how words change meanings over time. This can be illustrated by Jamaican *dengke* (DJE *denke*) ‘a large round yellow yam’ for which DJE² asks us to consider Common Bantu *dèngè* ‘pumpkin’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 2002, p. 147). While the formal correspondence is plausible, it is highly unlikely that Africans would have confused pumpkins with tubers.

The presence of unconvincing etymologies in the works under scrutiny, appears to be proportional to the length of the work, so that the larger the work, the more of these problematic cases one finds. The inclusion of etymologies not based on sound principles compromises the quality of the evidence and so should be excluded from the list of accepted etymologies.³ It should be noted that, as with several other decisions taken in this thesis, the rejection of a suggested African etymology for a word is not necessarily a statement about the word’s Africanness. It merely means that the available evidence is not convincing enough for the African etymology to be objectively accepted.

¹The deletion of a VC sequence from the middle of a word (*balema → *bema) strikes me as too implausible to warrant consideration as a explanation of the difference between the Jamaican word and its putative etymon.

²At first glance, Jamaican *bimbling* ‘the trees *Averrhoa bilimbi* and *A. carambola*, and their fruit used for preserves and pickles’, which the DJE derives from English *blimbi*, appears to be a counter-example to this claim (see BIMBLING (PLUM) in Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 43). However, OED² lists *blimbi* [1772–84], *blimbing* [1866], as attested variant spellings of the word in English. This suggests that Jamaican inherited variant long and short forms as opposed to inheriting the long form and apocoping it.

³My list of accepted etymologies is provided in Appendix B.
4.3.4 Multiple etymologies

The presence of lexical Africanisms in Jamaican with multiple etymologies has presented both practical and theoretical problems for scholars working in this area. Several approaches are used in the existing literature to deal with cases of multiple (possible) etymologies. The first approach is that taken by (Warner-Lewis, 2004) who recognises that cognate forms exist in several African languages, but only provides one form from one (and always the same) language—in this case Koongo. Warner-Lewis (2004, p. 31) justifies the presentation of only one form by appealing to space limitation. Another variation of this approach is used in the DJE where the editors claim that a form is widespread throughout Africa, but only provide one form—in most cases Àkán—for comparison (cf. poto-poto in Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 361). There are quite a few DJE entries whose etymologies are presented in this manner.

A second approach is employed by the DJE, Hall-Alleyne (1996), Parkvall (1999), the DCEU, and Bartens (2000). This approach involves listing all cognate forms found, sometimes including words which are obviously poor matches for the creole form in question. This is generally done without any note to show that some cognates are more plausible as etyma than others. To illustrate, consider Parkvall (1999, p. 121) who, following the lead of Anglade (1998, p. 167) includes Sefwi bètèbètè as a possible etymon for potopoto ‘mud; muddy’ which occurs in several Atlantic pidgins and creoles. Parkvall lists the word in 18 Atlantic creoles (with different lexifiers), and all 18 have the voiceless bilabial plosive [p], and not the voiced version as the initial segment of the base. Given such overwhelming evidence, we may safely dismiss the Sefwi form as a plausible source of the pidgin/creole word.

After all the formal criteria have been followed, we still need to be aware that words whose phonetic shape and semantics are close or similar, and which occur in several African languages, may actually be false cognates or may represent borrowing from one African language into another. In the case of borrowing, the timing of the borrowing is important to us but this information is not usually available, given the fact that some of the earliest dictionaries of African languages were prepared in the nineteenth century.
By way of illustration, let us look at Jamaican *kete* ‘a flute’ for which possible sources are Àkán *kète*, Gbè (Vhe) *kete*, Gbè (Gun) *okete*, Gã *kete* ‘a flute’. The African forms are either true cognates going back to one historical proto-form *akete*, or they represent areal diffusion. It is not always possible to reconstruct these changes within Africa, and so there may be no way of telling which analysis is correct. Even if speakers of, say, Gbè (Vhe, Gun), and Gã did borrow the word from Àkán, it might have been incorporated into their lexicons by the time they were transported to Jamaica, and so it would have been no less Gbè and Gã than it was Àkán. If they are cognates, then their presence in all these languages is likely to have resulted in ‘diffusional cumulation’ (Swadesh, 1951) and reinforcement.4 The solution which is adopted in the present work is to conduct a thorough search of African sources and list only the plausible forms which have been found (see entry 343 in Appendix B).

After the sifting has taken place, we can assign the word to the lowest level of genealogical classification which all plausible sources share.5 Therefore, words which have plausible etyma in several languages from different phyla, e.g. Hausa (an Afro-Asiatic language), and Yorùbá (a Niger-Congo language), will be labelled as ‘African’. Cases where the cognates are restricted to several languages within the same phylum, but are shared by two or more families (e.g. Mande, Ijoid) will be labelled as ‘Niger-Congo’. Multiple etymologies which are restricted to one family (e.g. Mande languages) will be identified using the appropriate label (in this case, Mande) and all the dialects or languages in which suitable forms have been found will be given in parentheses. This system makes it possible to avoid the common practice of assigning words which have multiple etymologies to what Parkvall (2000, p. 114) calls a ‘pet substrate’. In this way we improve on previous work which fails to differentiate between the number of retained Africanisms in total, and the number which can be assigned to one and only one language. I present different figures in chapter 6—with and without multiple etymologies—to show the possible contribution of each language.

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4 Diffusional cumulation’ is Swadesh’s term for convergence.
5 This treatment was first proposed by Manfredi (1996) in his review of Holloway and Vass (1993).
4.3.5 Lexical conflation

It is common for existing works to claim that the history of some words involves lexical conflation between an African word and (frequently) a European word which are close in form and semantics. Words involving lexical conflation in the DJE are identifiable through analytic labels such as ‘influenced by’ or ‘concurrent influence’. On closer inspection, some of these proposals appear not to be as robust as previously thought.

For example, the DJE derives the Jamaican word *kakati* (DJE cockaty) ‘boastful, proud, selfish; a boastful, selfish person’ from Ákán *kakaté* ‘unmanageable, unruly’, and only as an after-thought states that it is perhaps influenced by English *cockety* ‘lively, vivacious, pert; disposed to domineer’. While the phonetic shape of the Ákán word makes it a plausible source, its meaning is quite different from the Jamaican word. According to Christaller (1933, p. 222) the Ákán word means ‘to be dispersed, disturbed, discomposed, unmanageable’. As I argue in Appendix B (entry 205), to be proud and selfish does not necessarily entail being unmanageable or unruly, moreover, the latter sense is absent from the Jamaican word. On the other hand, the Jamaican word agrees with English *cockety* in both form and semantics. This suggests that the English word is the principal, if not the only etymon. If Ákán played any role in the history of this word, it cannot be proven objectively since there are no phonetic or semantic peculiarities that show up the Ákán influence.

In the approach taken here, preference is given to English etyma for the mere fact that the majority of words in Jamaican are English in origin, and their etyma can be identified more readily. While it might be argued that this approach is biased against the African component, in the end it assures us that those words identified as African are certain. In light of this approach, any claim made in the current work that a word is the result of lexical conflation, is backed by convincing arguments to show how and what the African word contributed specifically. In such instances evidence is provided by phonetic or semantic peculiarities that are shared by the Jamaican and African words, but not the English word. It should be noted that a few instances of lexical conflation involving words exclusively from African languages have been found. These are subject to the same principle of demonstrating the specific contribution made by
4.3.6 Hybrid compounds

An interesting but not insurmountable challenge is presented by lexical Africanisms which occur as elements in hybrid compounds. ‘Diachronically, a hybrid is a lexical item consisting of morphemes from two different languages’ (Zuckermann, 2004, p. 240). Although these words have several theoretical ramifications and influence the figures given for the total number of lexical Africanisms, none of the previous scholars have stated how they ought to be handled. Cassidy (1972), in presenting his figures for the total number of lexical Africanisms in Jamaican, informs us that compounds were not counted. However, we cannot be certain whether the compounds to which he refers are hybrid compounds or are compounds calqued on an African pattern. As shown in Table 4.1, it is possible to identify three types of hybrid compounds based on the source of the first and second component.

Table 4.1: Typology of hybrid compounds involving African material

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type I</td>
<td>European + African</td>
<td>spit-kokobe</td>
<td>‘a type of frog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type II</td>
<td>African + European</td>
<td>sense-foul</td>
<td>‘a type of chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type III</td>
<td>African + African</td>
<td>patudodo</td>
<td>‘an ugly person’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mittelsdorf (1978, pp. 51–8) explores the compounds in the DJE which I have identified as belonging to Type III in Table 4.1. Her discussion focuses on word-formation only, and she declares that ‘[n]o positive evidence of hybrid creations in which the component elements derive from two different African languages were found’ (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 55). In fact, no hybrid compound is included in her list of accepted etymologies, probably because her stated focus is ‘complete morphemic retentions’ (see §3.3.5). However, I disagree with this aspect of Mittelsdorf’s methodology, since African-derived lexemes which only occur in compounds are still African in origin despite their restricted use.

Notwithstanding my more open-minded approach to Type III, these hybrid compounds ought to be handled with extra caution, since they constitute some of the weakest etymologies proposed in the DJE. Take for example the DJE’s treatment of the etymology for kanggatuoni ‘a name applied to several types of fish; a worm,
often used for fish bait’. The editors propose that the first element of the word is either from the ethnonym Konggo or the Koongo word njaka ‘a fish’, while its second element is either from Gbè (Fã)\(^6\) ton ‘a water spirit’, (Gen) ton ‘a stream’, or (Vhe) toni ‘an earthworm which by night stings sleepers’. These various etymologies are implausible either on phonetic or semantic grounds, which makes the complex etymology even more problematic. Despite these problematic cases, there are a few instances in which the component parts in Type III hybrid compounds have been convincingly traced to their sources (e.g. aachibong, see entries 1 & 75).

In the etymological analyses in Appendix B, African lexemes which have only been attested in compounds will be listed alphabetically by the African item and will be starred (*) to show that they are not independent lexemes. For example, dodo which only occurs in the word patudodo is listed as ‘*dodo as in patudodo’. For Type III compounds (African+African), if one of the African items is also attested as an independent word, then we count only its independent occurrence for the final figures. This is the case with patu in patudodo and aachi in aachibong, where the first element in each compound has been attested as independent lexemes in Jamaican.

4.3.7 Anthroponyms, ethnonyms, and toponyms

Cassidy (1961a, 395) mentions day-names, tribal names, and a few other proper names as being among the stock of Africanisms used in Jamaica. However, neither Cassidy (1961a), nor any of his other works make it clear which names he considers to be useful in assessing lexical contributions to Jamaican in general. Mittelsdorf’s position is stated explicitly, but its application is not totally transparent as we can see from the following quote:

Excepting a few names of special interest, African tribal and place names which have survived in Jamaican were not included in this study. It was felt that these names, in spite of their obvious reference to Africa, cannot contribute to an assessment of the contributions made by individual

\(^{6}\)I have not been able to identify this language name in Ethnologue and I am not sure which language/dialect it is supposed to represent. It is probable that this is a typographical error, and the editors of the DJE meant to write F`on. Just in case it is a language that I have missed, I have copied it as is from the DJE.
languages. Besides, these names were known to and used by colonial Europeans (1978, p. 27).

She does not elaborate on why these ‘few names’ are of ‘special interest’. That names were known to, and used by Europeans cannot be a good reason for ruling them out since there are several items associated with slave culture which were known to and used by Europeans, especially when the African word was the only or the most popular/appropriate means of referring to the item, e.g. *obia* ‘witchcraft’. Consider too, that if Europeans used the appropriate ethnonyms to designate Africans, these designations must have come ultimately from Africans themselves. However, see §2.3.3 for a discussion of some of the problems associated with ethnonyms.

The presence of these toponyms, anthroponyms, and ethnonyms provides evidence of some type of cultural contact in the past, and after careful study, they may be employed in our endeavour to reconstruct the sociocultural landscape of early Jamaica.\(^7\)

For example, the term *Nago* is an exonym, which is used by the Fɔn (with a variant used by the Guang people) to refer to the Yorùbá, but the term is not used by the Yorùbá to refer to themselves (Parrinder, 1947, p. 122). The presence of this exonym in Jamaican is an indicator that Fɔn speakers were in Jamaica.

To signify their special status, all anthroponyms, ethnonyms, and toponyms recorded in the DJE and the DCEU have been placed in a section of their own (§B.3.2). To work out the etymologies of these items, there will be a special focus on philological evidence, using the illustrative quotations in the DJE and other sources. In addition, these items are subject to the requirements regarding phonetic shape mentioned in section 4.2.2.

### 4.3.8 Nursery words

The DJE and DCEU propose African etymologies for several words referring to kinship ties and for several others associated with the expulsion of waste from the body. It is an established tenet in historical linguistics that these words, generally called nursery words, do not provide reliable evidence for language relatedness (cf. Camp-

\(^7\)There are probably other African-derived anthroponyms, ethnonyms, and toponyms which are not dealt with in this work. Nevertheless, coverage is restricted to those which are treated in the DJE and/or the DCEU. No attempt has been made to identify other such forms.
Numerous languages which are not genealogically related (and are not geographically contiguous), have independently developed similar phonetic forms for several nursery words.

Cross-linguistically, the word for mother normally involves bilabial or dental nasals [m, n], occurring with low vowels [a, æ] while the word for father normally involves dental or bilabial oral sounds [p, b, f, t, d] occurring with low vowels (M. M. Lewis, 1951/1936; Murdock, 1959; Jonsson, 2001). For example, consider the Mayan language Kaqchikel nan (Campbell, 2004, p. 129), Portuguese mãe, and Gā mami which all mean ‘mother’. Jamaican words which fall into this category, and are treated as possible Africanisms by the DJE and the DCEU are included in Appendix B, but will be identified as ‘nursery words’. Owing to their problematic nature, they will not be used as evidence of African contribution.

The same holds true for words used by and to children, to refer to waste excreted from the body such as faeces and urine, which show a high level of formal similarity cross-linguistically, as illustrated in Table 4.2 constructed from data drawn from the internet. Nursery words relating to faeces and urine were also rejected by Mittelsdorf (1978, p. 31) for similar reasons.

Table 4.2: Crosslinguistic survey of faeces and urine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>‘faeces’</th>
<th>‘urine’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Danish</td>
<td><em>puha</em>, <em>polser</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>pooh</em> <em>pooh</em></td>
<td><em>pee</em>, <em>wee</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td><em>caca</em>, <em>popo</em></td>
<td><em>pipi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>tsisa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td><em>chichi</em></td>
<td><em>weewee</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td><em>kaka</em>, <em>kaki</em></td>
<td><em>pipi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td><em>caccia</em>, <em>popò</em>, <em>pupù</em></td>
<td><em>pipi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td><em>caca</em></td>
<td><em>xixi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td><em>kaka</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td><em>kaka</em></td>
<td><em>çiş</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In dealing with terms belonging to these semantic domains, I will note all etymologies which have been previously proposed, but will also point out that these could have arisen as a result of language universals. In most cases the label ‘nursery word’ will be used as an abbreviation for the cautionary discussion presented here, and the reader will be referred back to this section.
4.3.9 Sound-symbolic words

Analysing how existing works deal with sound-symbolic words needs careful attention since different works use different terminology for this class, with varying degrees of inclusiveness, which often makes it difficult to know exactly what words are to be included or excluded.

The DJE labels utterances generally used to reflect one or more emotions as interjections or exclamations, e.g. aó (see DJE A-oah). Words that are representative of sounds are labelled as echoic or imitative words, e.g. brigidim, and descriptive words whose phonetic form evoke visual images, e.g. deah-deah are labelled as phonosymbolic. Mittelsdorf (1978, p. 29) identifies only interjections and phonosymbolic words, giving bragadap as an example of the latter. Quite usefully, the DCEU includes a separate entry for the expression ECHOIC WORD. Parenthetically, the editor breaks it down into exclamations and ideophones. The definition given by the DCEU for an echoic word is:

A descriptive vocable used to convey an impression adding vividness to the meaning of any utterance, phrase, or sentence that describes a noise, action, movement, or the nature of an incident or a combination of these. The form is spontaneous in character and may occur by itself as a mere imitative sound representing an action observed or sensed, or it may form part of a descriptive phrase at its beginning, middle, or end (Allsopp, 1996, p. 231).

A big problem is that previous researchers have used the same terms with different meanings without always defining them. To bring some order to the field, I have adopted the typology of sound symbolism proposed by Hinton, Nichols, and Ohala (1994, pp. 2–6), which I believe is a more transparent system. In the following subsections I discuss the types of sound symbolism that Hinton et al. (1994) suggest, say what terms they correspond to in the creole literature, and how they ought to be treated with regard to finding etymologies.

4.3.9.0.1 Corporeal sound symbolism

Hinton et al. (1994, p. 2) employ the term corporeal sound symbolism to refer to ‘the use of certain sounds or intonation
patterns to express the internal state of the speaker, emotional or physical’. The term corresponds to what the DJE and the DCEU refer to as interjections and exclamatives, and what Mittelsdorf (1978) calls interjections. Mittelsdorf points out that words belonging to the category of corporeal sound-symbolic words are usually phonetically negligible and are generally composed of nothing more than a sequence of two or three vowels, e.g. ãi ‘exclamation of surprise, fear, etc’ (see DJE aye). I concur with her that it is very likely that Jamaican retained words expressing corporeal sound symbolism from African languages, but their negligible phonetic bulk increases the likelihood of chance development, especially in light of the fact that cross-linguistically these words tend to be similar. For these reasons, it is unwise to assign these words African etymologies. They are included in the list in Appendix B and discussed like all other words, but I will note that they represent corporeal sound symbolism and refer the reader back to this discussion.

4.3.9.0.2 Imitative sound symbolism For Hinton et al. (1994, p. 3), imitative sound symbolism ‘relates to onomatopoeic words and phrases representing environmental sounds’, which include sounds made by birds and other animals. For example, the DJE asks us to consider Àkán b`am ‘expressing the sound of striking, clapping, lashing, falling’ as the etymon of Jamaican bam ‘an imitative sound suggesting a sudden action (though not necessarily an audible one)’. OED2 records English bam ‘an interjection imitating the sound of a hard blow’ which means that Jamaican bam could also have come from English. Mittelsdorf (1978) rejects all African etymologies proposed for words belonging to this group, a decision which causes her to throw out the baby with the bath water. I believe imitative sound symbolic words ought to be approached with much caution, but where there is convincing formal and semantic evidence, African etymologies can be accepted.

For imitative sound symbolic words, the mono-syllabic type tends to pop up in numerous languages which are not genealogically related. In addition, there is generally nothing peculiar about their semantics, in that most of them refer to beating/flogging, or the sound of falling (e.g. bam, pam, pam-pam) which are all transparent. I reject African etymologies suggested for these words. In Appendix B they are marked with the words ‘imitative sound symbolism’ and the reader is referred back to this
discussion.

On the other hand, if words from this class are longer than one syllable, it may be possible to identify secure African etyma for them. Hence, the Jamaican word *budum* which functions as a noun meaning ‘a loud sound’, and an adverb meaning ‘loudly’, has secure sources in two Niger-Congo languages: Wolof *burum* ‘(intensifying) fall (expression)’ (Dem, 1995, p. 4), Àkán *būrūm* ‘noise of something heavy falling to the ground’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 54). Furthermore, no parallel form has been identified outside Niger-Congo.

### 4.3.9.0.3 Synaesthetic sound symbolism

The words belonging to this class are characterised by ‘the acoustic symbolization of non-acoustic phenomena’ (Hinton et al., 1994, p. 4), and generally refer to size, texture, shape, state, and other sense perceptions. The category includes words that the DJE and the ARJC label as phonosymbolic, and the DCEU refers to as ideophonic, but Hinton et al.’s ‘synaesthetic sound symbolism’ is not as broad as the terms used by these other works. In this work, the label synaesthetic sound symbolism is reserved for words such as *jagajaga*, *nyakanyaka*, and *potopoto* whose phonetic forms seem to be linked in some way to their meanings, at least in the speaker’s perception.

An interesting feature of these words is that they tend to exhibit multiple variants, some with slightly different meanings. Often, it is difficult to say whether we are dealing with mere phonetic variants of the same word, or with different words which are close in form and meaning but which have separate histories. For example, see the DJE headwords *jaga-jaga* and *jag-jag* (entries 183 & 190 in Appendix B), which on the surface appear to be phonetic variants. However, based on the available evidence provided by both form and semantics, African etyma have been identified for the first word, and the second has been assigned an English etymology.

### 4.3.9.0.4 Conventional sound symbolism

The final type of sound symbolism concerns ‘the analogical association of certain phonemes and clusters with certain meanings’ (Hinton et al., 1994, p. 5). Probable cases in Jamaican are discussed by Alderete (2000) who shows a link between type of vowel and meaning in a small set of reduplicated words. Many reduplicated words in Jamaican of African extraction
do show vowel alternation, e.g. *nyakanyaka*, *nyekenyake* but there is as yet no strong indication of a systematic link between vowels and meanings. With regard to assigning etymologies, these words are subject to the same principles as words which are not sound symbolic, but special attention must be paid to universals.

### 4.4 Conclusion

This chapter outlines the major aspects of my approach towards etymological work. These guidelines are based on best practices drawn from the existing literature on Africanisms in creoles, as well as established work in the broader field of etymology.

A straightforward etymology is one which exhibits complete faithfulness between the form and meaning of the etymon and those of its Jamaican reflex. These secure cases then provide the yardstick against which proposals involving lack of complete identity are measured. The etymologist must pay close attention to universal paths of language change, but to the internal changes suggested by the corpus of straightforward etymologies. In addition, the etymologist should ensure that textual and other external evidence support the proposals being made.

While the current practice is either to omit anthroponyms, ethnonyms, and toponyms or to include them indiscriminately the current work accords them the same careful treatment as ordinary lexical items. That forms which do not meet the formal and semantic criteria should be omitted from the list. Sound-symbolic words are not treated as one undifferentiated group.

Appendix B contains the implementation of these guidelines where all Jamaican words for which African etymologies are suggested in previous works are discussed individually. Given the nature of etymological work, it is unlikely that all my proposals will find favour with everyone. However, I hope that by carefully documenting the process I will enable other researchers to understand how I arrived at my conclusions.
CHAPTER 5

SECURE AFRICANISMS IN JAMAICAN

5.1 Introduction

The current chapter contains the full list of words which have been assigned secure African etymologies in the present thesis. Appendix B provides detailed analyses of all the words for which African provenance has been suggested in previous works. The discussions in chapters 6, 7, and 8 are based on this list. The list presents the results of the etymological analyses in Appendix B.

5.2 Relation of current chapter to the rest of the thesis

The extensive nature of Appendix B can be attributed to two things. First, it represents a synthesis of both academic and non-academic work on the topic spanning close to two and a half centuries (see ch. 3). Second, the approach followed breaks with existing approaches which merely present words and etymologies without mentioning previous suggestions, and without explaining why the new etymologies are better than the ones previously suggested (see ch. 4). The reader is encouraged to go through Appendix B first and then return to the list in this chapter.
5.3 Conventions used in the table

The Jamaican words are given in the leftmost column of Table 5.3. Where the pronunciation of the word is known it is rendered using the Cassidy-JLU phonemic orthography and placed in bold italic font. A word attested only in writing and/or whose pronunciation is unknown is given in one of its attested spellings and is underlined for easy identification. An asterisk precedes a word which has only been attested in a combination such as a compound or a phrase. Abbreviations that are specific to Table 5.3 are LC = lexical category, YFA = year of first attestation. Standard abbreviations can be found listed at the beginning of the thesis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Africanism</th>
<th>Semantic Domain</th>
<th>LC</th>
<th>Lang. Group</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>YFA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aachi</td>
<td>Food and drink</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Kwa</td>
<td>GOC</td>
<td>Gã, Gbè</td>
<td>1955</td>
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<tr>
<td>aba</td>
<td>People</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>GOC</td>
<td>Guang</td>
<td>1935</td>
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<tr>
<td>abe₁</td>
<td>Flora</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Tano</td>
<td>GOC, BEN</td>
<td>Ákán,</td>
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CHAPTER 6

A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS
OF SECURE LEXICAL
AFRICANISMS IN JAMAICAN

6.1 Introduction

The data which form the focus of the current chapter are presented in chapter 5. The reader will recall that chapter 5 comprises the end product of the etymological analyses done in Appendix B. The analyses produced 289 lexical items whose etymologies were identified with a good amount of certainty. The current chapter assesses the volume and nature of the secure Africanisms in Jamaican by quantifying the data, submitting the numbers to analysis, and discussing implications of the findings for the genesis and development of Jamaican.

In order to fully understand the nature of Africanisms in terms of their origin and use in Jamaica, the various sections of this chapter outline the distribution of these Africanisms based on their source languages (§6.2 and §6.3), the century in which they were first attested (§6.4), the regions of Africa from which they came (§6.5), and the semantic domains to which they belong (§6.6). Where relevant, comparisons are made with the findings of researchers who have worked on this topic previously.
6.2 Single source etymologies

In keeping with the guidelines outlined in §4.3.4, this section presents the tally for secure Africanisms whose etyma have been identified in only one African language (thus far). I refer to these as ‘single source etymologies’ or ‘single etymologies’ to distinguish them from multiple etymologies (see §4.3.4 and §6.3).

6.2.1 Data

Figure 6.1: Distribution of single source etymologies

Out of the 289 Jamaican words which have been assigned secure African etymologies, 171 (59.2%) have single source etymologies which means that only a single African language has presented a plausible etymon for each of these words. These contrast with those assigned multiple etymologies which will be dealt with in §6.3. Figure 6.1 shows the distribution of these 171 single source etymologies according to the 24 languages from which they were drawn. In declining order, Àkân, Koongo and Gbè are the chief contributors of items to the lexicon of Jamaican. When combined, these three languages account for well over half (i.e. 64%) of words whose etymologies go back to a single source language. These are followed by languages such as Ìgbo, Yorùbá, Guang, Hausa, Gã, Mende, whose individual contributions fall below six but above two percent. The remaining 13% is divided among 15 (Bamanankan, Ìjọ [2% each], Fulfulde, Mandinka, Ngombe, Tiv, Wolof [1% each], Gbaya, Duala, Mbundu,
Mono, Nupe, Urhobo, Yala, Zulu [<1% each]) languages which contributed 2% or less to the lexicon of Jamaican. As a point of comparison we can look at each of the three main contributors as a percentage of the total number of secure Africanisms (i.e. 289). In this regard, Àkán-only etymologies represent 21% of the total, Koongo-only etymologies 11%, and Gbè-only etymologies 6%.1

6.2.2 Discussion

The current section compares the findings presented in §6.2.1 with those of previous works, and discusses the implications of these findings for ideas about the African contribution to, and genesis of Jamaican.

6.2.2.1 Cassidy

It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many single source etymologies Cassidy proposed for Jamaican. Cassidy (1961a, p. 394) claims that:

> We may feel fairly certain of about two hundred and thirty loan-words from various African languages; and if the numerous compounds and derivatives were added, and the large number of untraced terms which are at least quasi-African in form, the total would easily be more than four hundred.

The current work has analysed the over 400 putative Africanisms recorded in the DJE, plus a handful of others, and has assigned secure etymologies to 289 of them, a figure that is a little higher than the 230 of which Cassidy (1961a) says ‘we may feel fairly certain’. While I have confirmed many of the etymologies which Cassidy and Le Page assign in the DJE, quite a few have been rejected. However, in several cases where I disagreed with their particular etymology, a more plausible African etymon was found for the word; hence, the word turned out to be of African origin after all. This, in addition to several secure Africanisms identified by Mittelsdorf (1978) and Warner-Lewis (2003, 2004), and the handful of Africanisms added by me—for

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1Please note that these figures are for single source etymologies established for each chief contributor, expressed as a percentage of the total list of secure Africanisms. For example, in addition to the 61 words which have been traced to Àkán alone, there are roughly 63 other cases in which Àkán is mentioned as one of several plausible sources (i.e. multiple etymologies). The count is for the 61 single source etymologies, the 63 mentions are dealt with separately in §6.3.
most of which secure etyma were found—accounts for why my figure is higher than Cassidy’s.

Cassidy (1972) provides a partial count of the African etymologies identified in the DJE (see §3.3.3 for discussion). His data are presented in Table 3.1 which is reproduced here as Table 6.1. Unfortunately, Cassidy (1972) only gives figures for what he identifies as the 6 chief contributing languages. The 6 languages account for 276 of the 416 putative Africanisms in the DJE that he claims ‘are sure or nearly sure to be of African source’. It is important to note that he assigns secure Àkán etymologies to 122 items, has 18 others that he says are probably Àkán, and an additional 29 which he claims are possibly from that language. This gives a total of 169 words assigned to Àkán. We will recall that Cassidy’s figures also include multiple etymologies, but compare them to my figures above where the sum of single source etymologies and multiple etymologies assigned to Àkán equal only 124. This means that there are 45 cases in which I disagree with the DJE that a particular word is of Àkán extraction.

Table 6.1: Cassidy’s six chief contributing languages (Cassidy, 1972)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Àkán</th>
<th>Gbè</th>
<th>Hausa</th>
<th>Yorùbá</th>
<th>Koongo</th>
<th>Èfik</th>
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<tr>
<td>Certain</td>
<td>122 (29.33%)</td>
<td>33 (7.93%)</td>
<td>11 (2.64%)</td>
<td>10 (2.44%)</td>
<td>7 (1.68%)</td>
<td>7 (1.68%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probable</td>
<td>18 (4.33%)</td>
<td>11 (2.64%)</td>
<td>1 (0.24%)</td>
<td>1 (0.24%)</td>
<td>3 (0.72%)</td>
<td>0 —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible</td>
<td>29 (6.97%)</td>
<td>10 (2.44%)</td>
<td>2 (0.49%)</td>
<td>8 (1.92%)</td>
<td>3 (0.72%)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cassidy (1972) assigns 54 etymologies to Gbè with 33 of those judged as ‘certain’. These contrast sharply with my own figures which add up to 41 in all—16 single source etymologies and 26 multiple etymologies. Our numbers for Èfik and Koongo are another area of notable difference. Cassidy assigns 7 etymologies to Èfik, all of them ‘certain’, whereas in my list of secure Africanisms Èfik is mentioned only 3 times, and only as one of several probable source languages. Overall, Cassidy (1972) assigns 13 etymologies to Koongo, of which only 7 are ‘certain’. In addition to my own discoveries, the work of Mittelsdorf (1978) and Warner-Lewis (2003, 2004) has significantly increased the Koongo contribution. Lexical items for which Koongo has been identified as the only source (thus far) number 33 in total, and there are an additional 25 where Koongo is mentioned as a probable source among several others. On our overall figures for Yorùbá and Hausa, there are not a whole lot of differences,
but when they are broken down, Cassidy’s certain etymologies are consistently higher than my single source etymologies.

Considering only those languages for which the deviation between Cassidy’s figures and mine are noteworthy, it can be safely concluded that Cassidy (1972) overstates the figures for Àkán, Gbè, and Èfik, but understates the figure for Koongo.

6.2.2.2 Mittelsdorf

As far as I am aware, the only other scholar who has provided figures for the number of Africanisms in Jamaican is Mittelsdorf (1978). Based on her reassessment of the putative Africanisms in the DJE, Mittelsdorf finds only 123 secure etymologies. Just a little over 59% (i.e. 73 items) of her total are assigned to Àkán. This number is higher than the 61 Àkán-only etymologies which I have assigned, but we must remember that Mittelsdorf’s number also includes multiple etymologies. Therefore, her figure for Àkán appears to be understated in light of my total mentions for Àkán (124 single and multiple etymologies) which come up to almost two times the number she provides.

Except for Èfik which accounts for 1 out of her 123 secure etymologies, her totals for other languages are all lower than mine: Koongo (31), Yorùbá (5), Gbè (3), Hausa (2). The difference between my totals and hers for Yorùbá, and Hausa are not that significant. On the surface, the difference between our figures for Koongo does not appear to be noteworthy. However, we need to recall two aspects of Mittelsdorf’s methodology which will lead us to revise her figures before they can be compared with mine. It was pointed out in §3.3.5 that Mittelsdorf’s final count of secure etymologies does not make a distinction between words traced to a single source language and those which have multiple possible sources. Additionally, her final count also includes words only attested in restricted codes such as the one used by Kumina practitioners. These differences in methodology have substantial implications for our Koongo figures since she assigns no less than 10 of her 31 Koongo words multiple etymologies. This means that only 21 are single source etymologies. With regard to words attested only in Kumina, Mittelsdorf’s Koongo etymologies contain 11 such. Even with this revision, the number of secure Koongo etymologies identified by Mittelsdorf (1978)
is still an improvement on the 13, assigned with varying degrees of certainty, by Cassidy (1972). However, the Koongo-only etymologies (33 items) assigned in the present thesis represent a 50% increase over Mittelsdorf’s figures if we count her Koongo-only etymologies.

Three languages account for all the etymologies in the DJE which are associated with the Gold Coast: Àkán, Gbè, and Gã. However, the only Gold Coast languages that are mentioned by Mittelsdorf (1978) are Àkán and Gbè. The absence of Gã and other Gold Coast languages is probably an artefact of Mittelsdorf’s methodology which involves rejecting an etymology because the language has not contributed (m)any words to Jamaican (§3.3.5). The current work has assigned 5 etymologies to Gã (with another 25 involved in multiple etymologies), 6 to Guang (with another 41 involved in multiple etymologies). Other languages spoken along the Gold Coast such as Anufo, Dangme, Nzema, also occur as candidates in cases where multiple etymologies have been identified. These findings provide support for the caution issued in chapter 2 to not equate the labels Kromanti or Gold Coast with Àkán.

The suspicion of previous researchers that other Gold Coast groups apart from Àkán were involved is hidden behind joint labels such as ‘Twi-Fante-Ga-Ewe’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. xli). In the past, owing to the dearth of available descriptions of African languages, mostly Àkán forms were identified. This is the first time we are getting a very clear picture of the lexical contribution made by ethnolinguistic groups other than Àkán. The figures for single source etymology items from Guang, Gã, and Gbè are admittedly low in comparison to those from Àkán, but the importance to Jamaican culture of the entities to which these words point asks us to rethink the previous views which link numbers of items contributed to overall impact on the culture. For example, the Jamaican name for the very popular flat, round cassava bread (*bami*), and the name that was applied to the person who led the singing while slaves worked (*boma*) are both from Gã.

Mittelsdorf (1978, 33–4) improves on the work of Cassidy and Le Page (1967) by identifying 31 secure Bantuisms among DJE entries. However, as pointed out in chapter 4, since her interest is in mainstream Jamaican, her figures must be revised (downwards) since she includes words only recorded in the speech of Maroons, or
in the speech of post-Emancipation immigrants (Kumina). The current work has identified 55 secure Bantuisms (both single and multiple etymologies), most of which have sources in Narrow Bantu languages. This contrasts sharply with Mittelsdorf’s 31 items (20 for general Jamaican), but a few more observations are warranted.

The Southern Bantoid language Tiv only accounts for 2 of the total number of single source etymologies identified. All the others are restricted to Narrow Bantu languages. Within Narrow Bantu, 33 words have been assigned to Koongo only, 1 to Mbundu only, and 1 to Ngombe only. The remaining 19 are accounted for by multiple etymologies including cases where only Koongo and Mbundu (together) are involved to others where up to 10 Narrow Bantu languages provide equally plausible source forms. As far as multiple etymologies are concerned, Koongo is mentioned a total of 25 times, while Mbundu, which is overshadowed by Koongo in terms of single etymologies, is mentioned 15 times in relation to multiple etymologies. In discussing her final count for Bantuisms, Mittelsdorf (1978) notes that most of them ‘could be satisfactorily related to [Koongo]’, but cautions that this ‘should not be taken to imply that [Koongo] was necessarily the chief contributing Bantu language’. Interestingly, Mittelsdorf (1978, p. 33) ignores all other Kwa languages spoken on the Gold Coast, except Gbè, but is quick in proclaiming Àkán (especially the Akuapem dialect) as the leading contributor overall. My current figures, based on more literature, and a more thorough search of that literature speak in favour of Koongo as the leading contributor among Bantu languages.

One significant difference between the results of the DJE and that of Mittelsdorf (1978) is the virtual absence of Atlantic and Mande etyma in the latter. The current work has traced approximately 12 words to Atlantic and Mande sources. While I leave room for Mittelsdorf and me to disagree on the assignment of some etyma, that she found none of the 12 good strikes me as odd. No doubt, this outcome is the result of her practice of rejecting an etymology because the language is not a chief contributor (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 29).

To summarise this section, it is apparent that Cassidy and Le Page (1967) and Cassidy (1972) overstate the number of lexical Africanisms in Jamaican. However, Mittelsdorf (1978) does not do full justice to the topic since her work seriously understates the
lexical contribution made by African languages to Jamaican.

6.3 Multiple etymologies

As promised in §4.3.4, words which have plausible etyma in more than one African language are counted separately. The results are presented in the current section.

6.3.1 Data

Table 6.2: Distribution of multiple etymologies by language group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language group</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>% of ME</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger-Congo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic-Congo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijo-Congo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volta-Congo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue-Kwa</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwa</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
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<td>Tano</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue-Congo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrow Bantu</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mande</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manding</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegambian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2 provides figures for those words for which more than one source language can be identified. The first column contains language families/groups, the second and third columns contain the number of lexical items associated with each group, and the percentage of the total number of multiple etymologies, respectively. The final column shows what percentage of the total number of Africanisms (i.e. 289 items) each group represents. Most groupings are the standard ones used in African linguistics (e.g. Williamson & Blench, 2000, p. 18), but I have departed in a few instances. My use of Kwa and Benue-Congo resembles Greenberg’s (1963) grouping more than it does Williamson and Blench’s. Benue-Kwa is equivalent to Williamson and Blench’s proto-branch *East-Volta-Congo. The label ‘African’ does not represent any standard language phylum, and is only used in the current work as a convenient cover for etymologies which span more than one language phylum e.g. Niger-Congo.
and Afro-Asiatic. The Niger-Congo classification I have adopted is outlined in more
detail in the front matter.

A lexical item with plausible etyma in two or more languages belonging to separate
language phyla (e.g. Niger-Congo and Afro-Asiatic) are labelled as African. Lexical
items with multiple etymologies which all occur in Niger-Congo languages are assigned
to the lowest branch of Niger-Congo that they share. The reader should be aware
that most if not all of the language groups which appear in Table 6.2 are over-lapping
categories. For example, a lexical item assigned to Benue-Kwa may appear in one or
more strictly Kwa languages, in addition to one or more Narrow Bantu languages.
Benue-Congo is itself subsumed under Benue-Kwa, but the sole item assigned to this
group, *bakra* ‘white man’, was found in two Cross River languages (Èfik, Ibibio),
one Narrow Bantu language (Duala), but not in any Kwa language. Consequently,
Benue-Congo is the lowest branch of Niger-Congo to which these languages belong.
For a more extensive explanation of the system used, please refer to §4.3.4.

Only 6 words with multiple etymologies are labelled as ‘African’. These are words
that have plausible sources in one or more Niger-Congo languages, plus the Afro-
Asiatic language Hausa. In 50% of the cases where a word is labelled as ‘African’,
the Niger-Congo languages involved tend to be those spoken in regions contiguous
with the Hausa-speaking area (e.g. Yorùbá, Ègbo, Ijọ, Èfik, Ibibio).

While many of the 16 words which fall under the labels Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo,
and Volta-Congo are likely to be cognates (e.g. *mumu* ‘dumb’), a few of them such
as *akra* ‘cake made from black-eyed peas’, are Wanderwörter. Together, these
pan-continental words account for a mere 13.5% of the total number of multiple
etymologies.

The gap between the number of words labelled as Benue-Congo and the number
assigned to Benue-Kwa is an indication that more words on our list are shared by Kwa
and Narrow Bantu languages than are shared by the Bantu and non-Bantu languages
of Benue-Congo. Interestingly, a good number of the words labelled ‘Benue-Kwa’
are words which have cognate forms in both Ìkàn and Koongo. This is potential
evidence in support of J. M. Stewart’s (2002) Proto-Potou-Akanic-Bantu as a pilot
reconstruction for Proto-Niger-Congo.
Table 6.2 shows a conspicuous bias towards the Benue-Kwa languages. This is understandable since Benue-Kwa is the largest branch of Niger-Congo comprising over 1,000 languages. Furthermore, we notice that the numbers for most of the Benue-Kwa sub-groups are larger than the numbers for groups outside Benue-Kwa, and that Tano, Kwa and Narrow Bantu are hot spots for multiple etymologies. Le Page (1960, p. 76) attributes the high Àkán contribution to the lexical similarity of languages spoken around Àkán to their ‘greater linguistic homogeneity’. At this juncture I will merely point out that the Narrow Bantu area also exhibits a high level of lexical similarity, and delay discussion of this matter until §6.3.2.

While the single source etymologies presented in Figure 6.1 were spread over 24 languages, there are approximately 66 languages which are only mentioned in multiple etymologies. These languages are given in Table 6.3 grouped according to the language group to which they belong.

Table 6.3: Languages only mentioned in multiple etymologies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic</td>
<td>Gola, Kisi, Limba, Serer-Sine, Themne</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mande</td>
<td>Kpelle, Maninkakan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gur</td>
<td>Delo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kru</td>
<td>Grebo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwa</td>
<td>Ahanta, Anufo, Anyi, Avatime, Dangme, Nzema</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>Ibibio</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrow Bantu</td>
<td>Akoose, Bangi, Bemba, Bembe, Bobangi, Bolo, Bube, Chokwe, Chokwe-Luchazi, Comorian, Digo, Duala, Geviya, Gikuyu, Hemba, Herero, Ila, Kwakum, Luba-Kasai, Luba-Katanga, Luvale, Manyika, Matumbi, Mwera, Ngundi, Njebi, Nkhumbi, Nugunu, Nyanga-Li, Nyanja, Nyungwe, Oroko, Oshiwambo, Shambala, Sira, Songe, Songo, Swahili, Taita, Teke-Tege, Tetela, Tsogo, Venda, Yaka, Yao, Zigula, Zulu</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adamawa-Ubangi</td>
<td>Mbete, Mono, Ngbandi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3.2 Discussion

It is important to note that close to 50% of all secure Africanisms have multiple etymologies. This corroborates Voorhoeve’s (1968, p. 312) view that ‘[t]he most important new insights, that the Dictionary of Jamaican English offers is, […] the demonstration of a possible derivation from multiple sources’. Given the heterogeneous nature of slave arrivals to Jamaica over the period of the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans (see chapter 2), there were sure to be some speakers of these languages present at one time or other. In such a multilingual environment, when enslaved speakers of say Tetela in Jamaica used the word kata ‘headpad’, it would have been impossible to tell whether they were using a reflex of Tetela e-kata or of Koongo nkata.\footnote{This point becomes clearer if we note that no speaker knows all the words in his language. Therefore, if Tetela has the word e-kata it does not follow that it was a part of the vocabulary of all Tetela speakers transported to Jamaica.} As several scholars (e.g. Cassidy, 1966b, p. 211, Aub-Buscher, 1989, p. 3) have already pointed out, cognacy would have served to secure the survival of the ‘shared’ term in the creole.

There are very few words on our list that Mbundu shares with Koongo that it does not share with other Narrow Bantu languages which are not geographically contiguous with it. This fact seems to suggest that many of the items shared between these (two) languages are cognates as opposed to borrowings. On the Kwa side, the number of words that Àkán shares with languages such as Guang, Gā, and the Vhe dialect of Gbè is quite impressive. These tend not to be shared by other Kwa languages such as Yorùbá, Ìgbo, Nupe, or even the eastern dialects of Gbè. It appears that the high frequency of shared items in this linguistic area is due to borrowing chiefly from Àkán into these other languages.

We can infer from this that borrowing played a greater role than cognacy in the multiple etymologies we find in the western Kwa area, while cognacy was the dominant factor in the Narrow Bantu region. We can safely assume that most cognates have a deeper time depth than most borrowings. Hence, many of the shared forms that show up in multiple etymologies restricted to Bantu languages were in those languages prior to the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans. On the other hand, the borrowings so typical of the western Kwa linguistic area are likely to have a shallower time depth,
and might actually have been borrowed from Àkán long after Jamaica’s formative period. This has the potential to increase our Àkán-only etymologies and decrease our Koongo-only etymologies.

6.4 Period of first attestation

This section looks at the distribution of secure Africanisms based on the century in which they were first attested. It is hoped that this information can help us later in determining the strata to which different lexical Africanisms belong. Nevertheless, the reader is asked to bear in mind the provisos that accompany the presentation of the data (see §6.4.2).

6.4.1 Data

Figure 6.2: Century of first attestation

Figure 6.2 provides the distribution of Africanisms in Jamaican based on the century in which they were first attested, and the percentage of words attested in each period in relation to the full list of 289 secure Africanisms. The 15 lexical items first attested in the twenty-first century were either added by me from my native-speaker knowledge of Jamaican, or taken from works published in the twenty-first century. The centuries for all other lexical items were extrapolated by me from the first year of attestation provided in the DJE (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967).

As shown in Figure 6.2, starting in the seventeenth century, first attestations of Africanisms in Jamaican increased each century, climaxd in the twentieth century and then decreased drastically in the current century. Unfortunately, only 2.1%
(6 items) are attested in print in the formative period (1655–1699). The majority of lexical Africanisms were first attested in the twentieth century (62%), with the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries trailing behind.

In Table 6.4 we take a look at how single source etymologies are distributed based on the source languages of the words and the centuries in which the words were first attested. Ìgbo, Koongo, and Mandinka, are the only African languages known to have provided single source etyma to Jamaican in the seventeenth century. Àkán does not come onto the scene until the eighteenth century and even then it is outnumbered by Koongo. The Àkán figures outstrip the Koongo ones in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but even then the Koongo figures remain significant.

6.4.2 Discussion

In digesting the figures in Figure 6.2 and Table 6.4, we must remember that attestation of a word in writing is essentially an accident of history; however, earlier accidents are more informative than later ones. To illustrate, we can take the Jamaican words bakra ‘white man, master’ and punash ‘vagina’, which were first attested in 1688 and 2005, respectively. We can deduce that by 1688 the Benue-Congo-derived word bakra had entered the vocabulary of Jamaican. This leaves open one of two possibilities; either bakra entered Jamaican exactly in 1688 or several years/decades earlier. The Àkán-derived word punash presents a different case. It is unlikely that it entered Jamaican in 2005 since we have no record of contact between Jamaican and Àkán in the twenty-first century. It is well known that words can be part of the lexis of a language for decades or even centuries before anyone writes them down. Therefore, punash, although first attested in the twenty-first century, must have entered the language well over a century ago, i.e. during the plantation period when there was contact between Jamaican and Àkán.

Bearing these things in mind, we ought to be wary of proposals (e.g. Lalla & D’Costa, 1990, p. 106, Patrick, 2007, p. 150) which implicitly equate late written attestation with late entry into the language. We should also remember that we are dealing with writing, and it is well established in the literature that writing lags behind speech. Africanisms were introduced and predominantly used by Jamaicans of African
Table 6.4: Single source etymologies by century of attestation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>17th</th>
<th>18th</th>
<th>19th</th>
<th>20th</th>
<th>21st</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td><strong>Atlantic</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

descent, while early written accounts of Jamaican were done by Europeans, some of them mere visitors to the island. It is assumed that for all periods, the number of Africanisms in the vocabulary of white Jamaicans would be much more limited than the number of Africanisms in the speech of (both imported and locally-born) Africans. Nevertheless, we have had to rely on accounts of Jamaican written by Europeans which means that we are restricted to the few Africanisms in their vocabulary, or to those words which fell within the scope of their interest. Notwithstanding these
drawbacks, accidents of history (i.e. which words got written down early) might still provide us with some important, albeit, tentative information.

We will recall that Cassidy and Le Page claim that,

in the first fifty years of the island’s settlement the largest number from any one language-community were those from the Gold Coast [...] and its hinterland, speaking therefore one of the Akan-Ashanti language (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. xli),

and Alleyne (1986, p. 308) even claims that Àkán was adopted by other enslaved Africans in Jamaica as a second or subsequent language. These points have already been refuted in §2.3.1 and §2.3.4. If early English Jamaica were dominated by native speakers of Àkán, and other Africans were adopting Àkán as an additional language, the probability would be greater that words attested in the seventeenth century would be from Àkán more than any other language. However, this is not what we see. That Koongo and Ìgbo words are attested in the 17th century, appears to match up with the fact that many of the enslaved Africans taken to Jamaica in the first decades of British colonisation were drawn from West-Central Africa and the Bight of Biafra. However, it is still not possible to equate these with numerical dominance because no words from Gbè or Yorùbá were attested in this period although the Bight of Benin was the chief supplier of Africans in this period.

It is true that we have mostly been looking at single source etymologies, but the seventeenth-century picture does not change much when we add words which have multiple etymologies. Written attestations have allowed us to assign only 6 African words to the seventeenth-century stratum of Jamaican. These words, which include items with single and multiple etymologies, are: bakra ‘white man, master’ [Benue Congo], bizi ‘Cola acuminata’ [Kwa], kalalu ‘several types of green leafy vegetables used in soups, medicinally, etc.’ [Mandinka], okro ‘okra’ [Ìgbo], pinda ‘peanut’ [Koongo], and wanggla ‘sesame seed; peanut’ [Koongo] (Farquharson, 2008, p. 157). Out of the 6 Africanisms attested in the seventeenth century, Àkán only figures in the etymology of 1, as one of several plausible sources.

There is no evidence here of one language dominating the vocabulary of early Ja-
maican, except for the trivial fact that Koongo contributed 2 words in this period while other languages/groups contributed 1 each. More informative is the dominance of words from Benue-Kwa languages (chiefly Kwa and Narrow Bantu), with the only outlier being contributed by the Mande language, Mandinka. On the semantic side, all except 1 of the words refer to foods, which tells us something about lexical needs of the Jamaican population in the early period (see §6.6 for further discussion).

Of the 122 items first attested in the 20th century, 87 (71.3%) were attested in 1943, which means that most of them were collected in the Daily Gleaner’s ‘dialect words’ competition (see §3.3.2). As the editors of the DJE inform us, the entries ‘came mostly from people of limited education’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. ix), which, given the socio-demographics of Jamaica during that period, were sure to have been chiefly people of African descent.

The steady increase in attestation over the earlier periods can be attributed to two chief factors; the development and stabilisation of Afrocentric cultural and linguistic habits during and after the plantation era, to which whites had increasing access, and the emergence, starting in the late nineteenth century, of a growing class of educated blacks who were bilingual in both Jamaican and English. Indubitably, the second factor has given rise to the growing prestige of Jamaican and the increase in its use in newspapers and other literature over the past three decades.

### 6.5 Distribution by regions

This section presents figures for the distribution of secure Africanisms in Jamaican based on the regions in Africa where the source languages are/were spoken. These regions correspond to the regions of slave origin that were introduced in §2.2.1.

#### 6.5.1 Data

Out of the 289 secure Africanisms found, 235 (81.3%) are from languages spoken within a single region, while 54 (18.7%) are from either one language which spans several regions, e.g. Mwere which is spoken in West-Central Africa and South-East Africa; or separate languages spoken in separate regions. Table 6.5 gives the breakdown of the distribution of lexical items which are found in one and only one region.
The three leading regions in descending order are the Gold Coast (134 items), West-central Africa (40 items), and the Bight of Biafra (31 items). The Gold Coast accounts for 57% of those items that are associated with only one region, while West-Central Africa and the Bight of Biafra represent 17% and 13.2% respectively.

Table 6.5: Distribution of Africanisms based on African regions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senegambia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Biafra</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West-central Africa</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-east Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That the Gold Coast is the region that has made the largest contribution, is not surprising, given that languages spoken along the Gold Coast such as Àkán, Gâ, Gbè, and Guang when combined account for 50.8% of all single etymology items. However, approaching the data from a different angle reveals more interesting results. Table 6.6 presents data for the distribution of our secure Africanisms by century and the regions from which the words are drawn. Columns 2–8, contain figures for only those words whose etymologies have been traced back to a single region. Column 9 contains the figures for those Africanisms whose etymologies are from languages spoken in multiple regions.

The Bight of Biafra and West-Central Africa were the chief contributing regions in the seventeenth century, with the Gold Coast and Senegambia as runners-up. Admittedly, the figures are low, but notice that despite the low figures the patterns seem to match the demographic patterns seen in chapter 2. In the eighteenth century the Bight of Biafra remains in the lead. It is joined in that position by the Gold Coast, relegating West-Central Africa to a not too distant second. For the nineteenth century Senegambia produces its best showing but the previous leaders fall off drastically, all except Àkán which shows an increase of close to 200% over the previous century.
Table 6.6: Distribution of Africanisms based on century and African regions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>17th</th>
<th>18th</th>
<th>19th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senegambia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windward Coast</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Biafra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West-Central Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East Africa</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple regions</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.5.2 Discussion

Except for the fact that none of the words attested in the seventeenth century is from the Bight of Benin which was one of the chief suppliers of slaves in that period, the rest of the picture is reminiscent of the demographics of the earliest period (1655–1699) where a good proportion of the enslaved Africans brought to Jamaica were taken from ports in the Bight of Biafra and West-Central Africa, with the Gold Coast and Senegambia playing a lesser part.

The current research corroborates the findings of previous researchers (e.g. Cassidy, 1972, Mittelsdorf, 1978, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 47), on the (numerically) significant contribution made by the Gold Coast to the lexicon of Jamaican. We have seen that the top regions from which enslaved Africans were drawn contributed the most lexical items to Jamaican. Nevertheless, this does not immediately translate into a direct correlation between number of Africans taken from these regions and the number of items contributed. In fact, over the first three centuries (Table 6.6), we have no evidence of words originating uniquely from the Bight of Benin although this Bight was the leading supplier of enslaved Africans during the first fifty years of Jamaica’s colonisation by the British (ch. 2). Except for this anomaly, the rest of the data seem to corroborate the historical evidence.

When we look at our data from the perspective of regions, there is still no evidence for the supposed dominance of Africans from the Gold Coast. In the seventeenth century Gold Coast contributions are outnumbered by contributions from the Bight
of Biafra and West-Central Africa. Because of the small number of words attested in this period, any conclusion drawn will be tentative. Notwithstanding, the proportion of words contributed by regions seems to reflect Jamaica’s seventeenth century slave-trade demographics (§2.3.1), which undermines the suggestion of early Àkán dominance suggested by Cassidy and Le Page (1967, p. xli).

The eighteenth-century distribution provides an even better reflection of slave-trade demographics than the distribution of the century before. We will recall from §2.4.1 that the Bight of Biafra, the Gold Coast, and West Central Africa all surpass the Bight of Benin in supplying enslaved Africans to Jamaica. The Bight of Biafra and the Gold Coast are in the lead, with West-Central Africa trailing close behind. It is interesting that the number of lexical items from the Gold Coast increases in the very century when the number of Africans brought to Jamaica from the Gold Coast increases dramatically. A possible conclusion which may be drawn from this is that while the Gold Coast lexical contribution to Jamaican may be large, many of the items might actually be eighteenth-century imports, as opposed to being from the formative period.

Support for this conclusion comes from nineteenth century evidence. In the nineteenth century, most regions experience a fall-off in lexical contribution, but the Gold Coast increases by approximately 200%. This can be interpreted as the nineteenth century effects of a shift in slave-trade demographics during the eighteenth century (§2.4.1), which saw a huge jump in the number of Africans shipped to Jamaica from the Gold Coast. Following the same line of reasoning, we would have expected a greater number of items coming into Jamaican from languages spoken in the Bight of Biafra given the high number of Africans drawn from this region in the eighteenth century. However, in no period do the demographic figures for Africans originating in the Bight of Biafra show any strong correlation with lexical contribution. This is possibly due to cultural factors that are not yet obvious.

It may be argued that Gold Coast words recorded in the nineteenth century might have been around since the formative period but only got recorded in writing some two centuries later. Nevertheless, this argument must account for why languages which contributed fewer words overall show higher percentage contributions in the
earlier period, if Ákán words were in greater use in the society.

6.6 Semantic domains

The 19 semantic domains which are the focus of this section are based on those used by Mallory and Adams (2006) with a few modifications. All animals and insects have been placed in the group *Fauna*, even if their flesh is normally eaten, however, only plants which are not used as food are included in the category *Flora*. The label *Anatomy* includes parts of the body, excretions from the body, and diseases. Since it is not always possible to distinguish between magic, superstition, mythology and religion, I have gathered all relevant terms under the label *Folklore*. The domain labelled *Activity* was specifically created for verbs, but there are about 3 nouns which are included in this category because they are action nominals. The label *Event* is used for occasions. There are several items which could have been placed in more than one category, but to keep matters simple I have chosen to restrict each word to one domain only. Check the table in chapter 5 to see the semantic domain to which each word has been assigned.

Table 6.7 shows the distribution of the 289 secure Africanisms by semantic domain. From surveying the figures in Table 6.7, we see that all semantic domains are represented by at least one Africanism. However, *Event*, *Hearth and home*, *Human propensity*, *Physical world*, *Place*, *Pronoun*, and *Society* are all negligible seeing that none of them has as much as 10 members, and only a few of them even approach that number. The reader should bear in mind though that the distribution exhibited here is also an artefact of the decisions taken regarding the semantic domain to which particular words belong.

The largest semantic domains, in declining order, are those relating to *Food and drink*, *Descriptors*, *Material culture*, *Fauna*, *Activity*, and *People*. This distribution provides evidence of the extent to which African culture influenced the ordinary day-to-day lives of enslaved Africans in Jamaica. These findings support Alleyne’s view that ‘African words did not constitute merely a culture-bound vocabulary expressing those items of African culture which “survived” in Afro-American, but rather, in fact, those which belonged to the vocabulary of everyday life’ (1980, p. 112). Nevertheless,
Table 6.7: Distribution of secure Africanisms by semantic domains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic domain</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food and drink</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptor</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauna</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material culture</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatomy</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flora</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folklore</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech and sound</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth and home</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical world</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human propensity</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>289</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

while many of these words might refer to ‘everyday’ practices, many of them refer to things which were introduced by Africans or specific to Africans. In other words, the list still shows a heavy leaning towards what Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 212) refers to as ‘cultural borrowings’.

The domain of *Folklore* includes folktales, magic (both benign and malignant), and religious practices. It is interesting that we find only 11 members in this super-category, especially in light of previous expectations that Africanisms would belong predominantly to those domains which were more emblematic to Africans and/or those which Africans wanted to hide from Europeans (cf. Huttar, 1983, Aub-Buscher, 1995, p. 7).

In Table 6.8 we take another look at the distribution of secure Africanisms but this time from a different angle. Here we are interested in how the semantic domains are distributed according to the five chief contributing languages. The table includes data for single source etymologies only. The rightmost column called ‘Others’ contains figures for the other 18 languages which have single source etymologies.
Table 6.8: Distribution of secure Africanisms in the five chief contributing languages by semantic domains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Domain</th>
<th>Àkán</th>
<th>Koongo</th>
<th>Gbè</th>
<th>Igbo</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food and drink</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauna</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material culture</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatomy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flora</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folklore</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech and sound</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth and home</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical world</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human propensity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have already seen that the semantic domain of *Food and drink* accounts for nearly 20% of the items on our list. Nevertheless, when we look at it from the perspective of language 62% of the terms referring to *Food and drink* are spread over 18 languages. In fact, the five chief contributing languages all record below 20%. Ignoring the semantic domains with just 1 item, *Flora*, *Speech and sound*, *Quantity*, and *Physical world* are the only domains where the chief contributing language outnumbers the 18 languages in the group ‘Other’. Àkán accounts for 100% and 57% of the words in *Physical world* and *Quantity*, respectively. The terms are *abu* ‘a clayey type of earth’, *abu* ‘stony soil’, *doti* ‘earth, ground’, *wuruwuru* ‘bramble, hair’. The only term that can be considered basic vocabulary is *doti*. However, *doti* occurs in a substantial number of the AECs, is counted among’s Smith’s Ingredient X, and so cannot be considered a Jamaican borrowing. It is not yet apparent why more words from these domains would be taken from Àkán than from any other language.
The most interesting thing is how close the distribution of Ákán and Koongo words are especially in light of the fact that Koongo contributed almost 50% fewer words to Jamaican than Ákán.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a revised picture of the contribution made by specific languages to the lexicon of Jamaican. This revision was achieved by making a distinction between etymologies that have been traced to a single language versus those that have been traced with equal plausibility to multiple sources. A look at single source etymologies revealed that Ákán, Koongo, and Gbê (in declining order) are the top three contributors to the lexicon of Jamaican. Kwa and Narrow Bantu were found to be the linguistic groups with the highest numbers of multiple etymologies.

It was argued that the Kwa cases were largely due to borrowing, while the Narrow Bantu cases were mostly due to cognacy.

No evidence was found for Ákán linguistic dominance among the words attested in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In fact, very high attestation figures for Ákán words were not seen until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, long after the formative period of Jamaican. This was taken as an indication that much of the Ákán lexis in Jamaican is post-formative.

The current work concurs with the conclusion reached by previous researchers that the Gold Coast contributed the greatest number of words to the Jamaican lexicon. Nevertheless, when we break down the regional contributions by centuries, we find that the Gold Coast does not overshadow regions such as the Bight of Biafra and Koongo until the nineteenth century.

Our survey of semantic domains revealed that food and drink, ways of describing things and people, and ways of designating fauna constituted the chief reasons for which Africans drew on their L1 vocabularies. In fact, only very few of the items could be classified as basic vocabulary items. The majority are cultural borrowings brought over into the creole to fulfil specific needs.
CHAPTER 7

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON
FORMAL AND SEMANTIC
PATTERNS AMONG THE
SECURE AFRICANISMS IN
JAMAICAN

7.1 Introduction

From conducting the etymological analyses which are presented in Appendix B the regularity with which some phenomena occur among the secure Africanisms is quite impressive. Many of these phenomena need comprehensive treatment but it is not possible to tackle all of them within this thesis. In the current chapter I present four of these observations which were most interesting to me. Section 7.2 looks at the fate of noun-class prefixes with regard to words retained from Niger-Congo languages that have noun-class systems. §7.3 discusses Africanisms in our list which have iterative structure, and §7.4 presents a brief discussion of semantic phenomena. The final section before the conclusion (§7.5) conducts historical onomastic work on the day-names which are listed in B.3.2.
7.2 Fate of noun-class morphology

7.2.1 Nyo-derived words

Most nouns in Àkán are accompanied by nominal prefixes which are thought to be the remnants of a much more extensive noun-class system. We can be certain that whatever its former state, by the nineteenth century the system had come to mark mainly singular and plural distinctions as demonstrated by the entries in Christaller’s (1933) [1881] dictionary. The language now contains numerous nouns which have lost the singular prefix, or both singular and plural prefixes (Osam, 1993, pp. 96–7).

Àkán noun-class prefixes can be made up of a vowel (V), a nasal stop (N), or a vowel plus nasal sequence (VN). The V prefixes e-, e-, a-, O- harmonise with the vowels of the noun stem. The front vowels i-, e- also occur in the Fante dialect as prefixes. The N prefix is both syllabic and homorganic. The VN prefix only occurs on a small group of words and is created by adding a nasal consonant to the prefix a- (Dolphyne, 1988, p. 82). Table 7.1 shows the nominal prefixes of Àkán, based on Dolphyne (1988, pp. 82–3), but please note that the division into classes is my own representation of the data contained in Dolphyne.

Table 7.1: The noun-class prefixes of Àkán

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>a-, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the list of lexical items that have been securely assigned to Àkán alone, or to Àkán plus one or more Nyo languages, we can observe a very regular pattern of retention of noun-class prefixes into Jamaican. The shape with which a Nyo-derived word is adapted into Jamaican appears to be linked to the shape of the noun stem and the number of syllables it contains. Monosyllabic noun stems (CV and CVN) invariably preserve the nominal prefixes (2a). Bisyllabic noun stems show variation based on whether the prefix is consonantal or vocalic. All bisyllabic stems which would have taken a nasal prefix in Àkán have been copied into Jamaican without
the prefix. Those which would have taken a vocalic prefix either retain them, drop them or exhibit variation between a vowel-initial and a consonant-initial form (2b). Finally, words derived from Akán noun stems that contain more than two syllables (mostly compounds, reduplications in Akán), have dropped the prefix, regardless of the nature of the prefix (2c).

(2)

a. \( \text{abe}_2 \) < Akán aba

b. \( \text{abeng} \) < Akán a-bey

c. \( \text{akám} \) < Akán a-kám

d. \( \text{anansi} \sim \text{nansi} \) < Tano, e.g. Akán ananse

e. \( \text{kaskas} \) < Akán a-kasakásá

f. \( \text{kòngkòngsá} \) < Tano, e.g. Akán η-koņkoņsá

Further evidence that the deletion of Akán noun-class prefixes is linked to the length and syllabic structure of the stem comes from a few reduplicated Jamaican words that use Akán-derived lexemes as their base. As the examples in Table 7.2 demonstrate, even in cases where the related simplex base has been copied into Jamaican with a prefix, the prefix is dropped in the reduplication process.

Table 7.2: Reduplicated words with simplex Akán bases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jamaican simplex</th>
<th>Jamaican complex</th>
<th>Akán</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asham</td>
<td>shamsham</td>
<td>o-slám</td>
<td>parched corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asunu</td>
<td>sunusunu</td>
<td>(e)sùnù</td>
<td>elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>bufrobufro</td>
<td>o-bò-fùro</td>
<td>clumsy/lazy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The current discussion focuses on Akán because, of all the Nyo languages Akán is the chief contributor of lexical items to Jamaican (§6.2.1). However, cognacy among these languages, and the pervasive nature of borrowing among them, make it difficult at times to say whether to analyse a prefix-less Jamaican form as having lost the Akán prefix, or having been borrowed from another Nyo language which had already dropped the prefix. In addition, alternating prefixed and prefixless forms in Jamaican might ultimately derive from separate Nyo languages as opposed to being the result of change which took place in Jamaica. For an illustration of this, see the data in Table 7.3.
Table 7.3: Africanisms in Jamaican compared with ‘cognate’ etyma in several Nyo languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Jamaican</th>
<th>Àkán</th>
<th>Gà</th>
<th>Guang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deceit</td>
<td>kongkongsà</td>
<td>ŋkongkōnsá</td>
<td>kōkōnsá</td>
<td>kōnkōnsā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banana</td>
<td>kojo</td>
<td>kwâdû</td>
<td>akwadu</td>
<td>kʷwadu, kodu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spider</td>
<td>anansi, nansi</td>
<td>ananse</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ananse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.2 Koongo-derived words

In this section we will focus on the Koongo-derived words in Jamaican since Koongo is the only Bantu language that has made a contribution significant enough for us to draw conclusions about patterns of retention. The majority of words that are derived from Bantu languages were apparently copied into Jamaican without a noun-class prefix. In fact, only about 9% of all Jamaican words with Bantoid etymologies (both single source etymologies and multiple etymologies, §6.2.1 and §6.3, respectively) have retained the noun-class prefix. This is not surprising for Koongo-derived words in Jamaican since most of them apparently belong to classes 1 and 9, in which the prefixes are commonly realised as nasals. Our corpus contains no word which has retained an N prefix. This is reminiscent of the categorical deletion of nasal noun-class prefixes in Nyo-derived words that we saw in (7.2.1) above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jamaican</th>
<th>Short gloss</th>
<th>Cl.</th>
<th>Singluar</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bango</td>
<td>bag</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>mbangu</td>
<td>mbangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fini-man</td>
<td>obeahman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>mfini</td>
<td>mfini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guzu</td>
<td>obeah(man)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ngunsa</td>
<td>ngunsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanda</td>
<td>palm sheath</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>nkanda</td>
<td>nkanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kata</td>
<td>headpad</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>nkata</td>
<td>nkata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanggla</td>
<td>sesame seed/peanut</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>wangila</td>
<td>wangila</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only a handful of Bantuisms have been copied into Jamaican with noun-class prefixes intact. While Bantu languages generally have noun-class prefixes bearing the shapes V, CV, the only type that survived in Jamaican is the CV type which suggests that the prefix was probably reinterpreted as the first syllable of the stem.¹

¹Note, however, the existence of Jamaican mapempe which co-exists with its variant apimpe. This could represent the loss of the initial nasal, but a much more favoured explanation here is the variant forms may have been contributed by separate Bantu languages.
The 5 clear cases of Koongo-derived words being retained with prefixes are: *bu-futu* ‘big, clumsy’, *bungguzu* ‘obeah(man)’, *mafuuuta* ‘the cocoon vine’, *makaka* ‘a wood-boring beetle’, *mampala* ‘an effeminate man’. Both *bufutu* and *bungguzu* contain the cl. 14 prefix *bu-* which attaches to abstract nouns. Both *mafuuuta* and *makaka* contain the cl. 6 prefix *ma-*, which for *mafuuuta* is the plural of cl. 5 and in the case of *makaka* is the prefix for pluralia tantum. I am not certain about the class membership of the remaining word *mampala*, but the first syllable is likely to be derived from the cl. 1 prefix *mu-* which is a class for ‘people’.

### 7.2.3 Discussion of noun-class morphology

We have seen that although the Jamaican linguistic landscape had numerous Niger-Congo languages that possess noun-class systems, none of these systems made it into Jamaican. In fact, there is a very clear tendency for Niger-Congo words to be adapted by deleting noun-class prefixes. However, the adaptation exhibits some consistent patterns. Regardless of language of origin, nasal prefixes are categorically deleted. The retention of Nyo words with vocalic prefixes shows variation which is phonotactically sensitive. Monosyllabic words always keep their vocalic prefixes, bisyllabic words exhibit alternation between prefixed and prefixless forms, and polysyllabic words always delete prefixes. With regard to words of Bantu origin, all V and N prefixes have been dropped, but a few Koongo-derived words have maintained CV noun-class prefixes, especially *bu-* (class 14 singular) and *ma-* (class 6 plural) prefixes.

While our survey has found no evidence that an African-derived noun-class system was operational at any period in the history of Jamaican, Alleyne (1986, p. 311) and Hall-Alleyne (1984, p. 27) argue that a reduced form of the Àkán noun-class system was apparently functional in earlier stages of the language of the Maroons of Jamaica. Their conclusion is based on the 3 same examples. For 2 of the examples, the Maroon words contain prefixes on Àkán-derived words where none has been recorded for Àkán, e.g. Maroon *a-praku* ‘pig’, *a-wisa* ‘pepper’ < Àkán *prako* ‘pig’, *wisa* ‘pepper’, respectively.2 The third example is Maroon *nkoko* which contains the plural prefix

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2Guyanese Creole also has *awisa* ‘guinea pepper’ which makes it unlikely that the form is a Jamaican Maroon innovation (Kouwenberg p.c.).
where Àkán would have akoko. It should be pointed out that 3 examples do not provide sufficient evidence for a functioning noun class system, and incontrovertible evidence can only be provided by the appearance of such prefixes on words of non-Àkán origin.

7.3 Iteration

This section is concerned only with the phonological aspects of iteration, with no reference to the morphological history of the words being surveyed. Once a word exhibits identity between one or more of its syllables, regardless of whether it co-exists with a simplex base, it is of interest to us here. Therefore, this treatment takes in words such as bubu and fraafraa for which no simplex bases have been attested in Jamaican.

With very few exceptions, the iterative Jamaican words in our corpus can be traced back to iterative African etyma. The exceptions constitute cases where an iterative word was apparently created in Jamaica from a simplex African word (4). A few words demonstrate the flip side of this process, where Jamaican develops a simplex form from an iterative word which was copied from an African language. For example, Jamaican created pala ‘bedaubed’ from palapala ‘badly washed or polished’ which itself was copied from Yorùbá pála-pála ‘uneven’. It is likely to be a local creation because Yorùbá has no simplex base for this word (Joseph Atóyèbí p.c.). In fact, while Àkán has a simplex verb stem fra ‘to be admixed’ which is reduplicated to derive fráfrá ‘to mingle oneself or associate with’ (Christaller, 1933, pp. 136–7), Jamaican has only retained the reduplicated form, fraafraa ‘gossip’. Also, several Niger-Congo languages (e.g. Àkán, Gbê) have both simplex and iterative forms corresponding to Jamaican potopoto ‘mud, muddy’, but only the iterative form has been attested in Jamaican.

Considering all Jamaican words for which secure etymologies have been established, seven types of iteratives can be identified based on the syllable structure of the entire phonological string. The typology presented in Table 7.4 takes into account variant forms of the same word such as potpot which is a reduced form of potopoto.

Our corpus contains roughly 14 examples of Type II iteratives. Some Type II words
Table 7.4: Typology of iteratives exhibited by secure Africanisms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Syllable structure</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TYPE I</td>
<td>CVCV</td>
<td>bubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE II</td>
<td>CVC-CVC</td>
<td>potpot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE III</td>
<td>CCV-CCV</td>
<td>brabra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE IV</td>
<td>CVCV-CVCV</td>
<td>potopoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE V</td>
<td>CCVC-CCVC</td>
<td>krenkreng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE VI</td>
<td>CCVCV-CCVCV</td>
<td>grangigrangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE VII</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>bububububububu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

can be traced back to iterative source forms (e.g. *pampam*, *pempem*, *pumpum*, *tuktuk*, *tumtum*), while others appear to be Jamaican innovations formed from simplex African bases (4). Interestingly, it appears that Type II iteratives that have remained faithful to their etyma come exclusively from Kwa languages, most of them originating from Àkán. The structure of most of the Àkán-derived words of this type is CVN-CVN. That these nasals now occur as syllable codas appears to be a phonological reanalysis since Dolphyne (1988, p. 53) argues that there are no closed syllables in Àkán and that final consonants constitute separate syllables bearing their own tone.

(4)  
a. **bimbim** ← Gbè *abimo*

b. **tuntun** ← Bamanankan *tutunin*

c. **gingging** ← Duala *ningi*

d. **shamsham** ← Àkán *o-siám*

The remaining sub-category of Type II words contains iteratives which are derived from Type IV iteratives by deletion of the second vowel in each CVCV sequence (5).

(5)  
a. **gobgob** ← Koongo *ki-guba-guba*

b. **kaskas** ← Àkán *akasakásá*

c. **potpot** ← e.g. Mende *potapot*

There are 10 Type III iteratives in our corpus. In most cases the second consonant in the cluster is the rhotic approximant CrVCrV, but in a few cases we find the lateral
/l/ or palatal /y/ approximant. All the words belonging to this sub-class of Type III iteratives are derived from Kwa languages (largely without change), and most of them can be traced unambiguously to Àkán (6). The second sub-group comprises iteratives which are created via the reduction of Type IV iteratives which have the shape CVrV-CVrV (7). As we saw for the first sub-class, the members of this set also come from Kwa languages, especially Àkán (7).

(6) a. *brabra* ← Urhobo *brabra*
b. *frafra* ← Àkán *fráfrà*
c. *gragra* ← Àkán *kyèŋkyèŋ*
d. *krakra* ← Àkán *krà kra*
e. *prapra* ← Àkán *práp'ra*

(7) a. *brebre* ← Àkán *bére bëre bëre*
b. *brebre* ← Àkán *bërëbëre*
c. *krakra* ← Àkán *krà kra*
d. *krokro* ← e.g. Ijo *kàrákàrá*
e. *prepre* ← Àkán *pèrepere*

It has already been pointed out that Type IV iteratives provide the basis for several other types. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that roughly 43 of the words in our corpus belong to Type IV (8). This figure increases to 60 if we count variant forms of the same word. For example, *karakara* has 3 variant forms: *karokaro*, *korokoro*, and *kurukuru*. Of the 43 words, about 27 (63%) originate from corresponding CVCV-CVCV words, provided we ignore additional morphemes in the etyma such as diminutive suffix -wa which occurs at the end of Àkán *nnukuu-nñukuwa* ‘small pieces of cloth’ (8c).

(8) a. *bufobufu* ← Koongo *büfu-bufu*
b. *katakata* ← e.g. Yorùbá *kàtákàtá*
c. *nukonuko* ← Àkán *nnukuu-nnukuwa*
Approximately 12 of the words can be traced back to simplex words (9a). Some of the etyma are CVCV strings which would only have required iteration to produce the Jamaican form, however, several of them correspond to longer strings which had to be apocopated to CVCV shapes before they could be used as the base of the iterative operation (9b–9d).

(9)  
   a. *finifini* ← Zulu *fini* 
   b. *sunusunu* ← (a)sunu ← Àkán *ɛ-sóno* 
   c. *dugudugu* ← e.g. Bamanankan *dügülə* 
   d. *garagara* ← Yorùbá *gàgara*

The remaining 4 members of the Type IV set are historically related to iterated African forms which appear to be triplications or partial reduplications (10). There are two possible explanations for the shape of the Jamaican words. We could assume that the CVCV-CVCV forms were created in Jamaica from the reduced African versions. However, there is very little evidence to suggest that the reduced forms were ever part of the lexicon of Jamaican. The only word which co-exists with a simplex form is *jegejege* ~ *jege*, and the simplex version is apparently the result of back-formation (10b). The only other plausible explanation is that the Jamaican words represent older/fuller versions of the African words. Under this second explanation, the words were copied into Jamaican before they underwent reduction in their source languages.

(10)  
   a. *busubusu* ← Koongo *büsusu* 
   b. *jegejege* ← e.g. Guang *gyegyéegye* 
   c. *werewere* ← Yorùbá *wèrèwe* 
   d. *garagara* ← Yorùbá *gàgara*

Unlike Types II and III iteratives, Type IV does not exhibit a Kwa/Àkán bias with regard to language of origin. While the number of Kwa-derived words among the Type IV iteratives is still high, Type IV iteratives seem to have been drawn from a wide cross-section of Niger-Congo languages. Additionally, there is a substantial Bantu (chiefly Koongo) contribution of roughly 13 forms.
Only 5 words in our corpus are associated with Type V iteratives but these 4 words share about 16 variant forms among them which conform to the CCVC-CCVC pattern. Diachronically, Type V iteratives derive from Kwa languages, and 80% of them are Akán-derived. The first consonant (C₁) in the clusters is usually a bilabial or velar plosive (p, b, k, g), while the C₂ position is reserved for the approximants r, l, j.

This section has opened up a potential avenue for future research. Given that Akán contributed to so many structural iterative types, it would be good to see if this had any impact on the phonology of iteratives in the English-based stratum of Jamaican.

7.4 Semantics

This section looks at pejoration and taboo, two semantic phenomena which have been claimed to be of particular relevance in the study of Africanisms. It is worth pointing out here that no evidence was found in our corpus for amelioration of senses.

7.4.1 Pejoration

In the linguistic literature, pejoration has been identified as one of the leading causes of semantic change (Stern, 1931, p. 411, Ullmann, 1957 [1951], p. 183). It was also assumed by previous scholars that pejoration played a substantive role in the changes which African-derived words underwent in Jamaica. However, the evidence provided by the analyses in Appendix B does not corroborate the general assumption that things associated with African-derived culture generally took on depreciatory meanings in Jamaica. When we look at the 289 lexical items in Jamaican which have been positively identified as being of African extraction (ch. 5), it appears that pejoration was used only rarely.

It is common for researchers (e.g. Cassidy & Le Page, 1967) to call attention to ethnonyms such as Bongo (Bonggo) and Congo (Konggo), as proof of pejoration. The word Bongo is likely to be an appellation referring to the Babongo of present-day Gabon but in Jamaican it is also ‘an insulting term meaning very black; ugly; stupid; a country bumpkin’. However, historical sources list many other ethnonyms such as
Timini (Themne), Bambarah (Bambara), Papaw (Popo), which were used as neutral ethnic labels, and were even used at times as personal designations.

This over-generalisation by previous researchers such as DeCamp (1967); Cassidy and Le Page (1967); Allsopp (1996) created a blind spot resulting in three cases of lexical conflation being summarily treated as instances of a supposedly general tendency towards pejoration. These works treated the Jamaican words *kwaashi* ‘a stupid person’, *kwaku* ‘a rough, uncultivated person’, and *kwau* ‘one from the remote country parts’, as having developed via the pejoration of the three day-names *Kwaashi* ‘boy born on Sunday’, *Kwaku* ‘boy born on Wednesday’, and *Kwau* ‘boy born on Thursday’, respectively. Please see the discussions in §B.3.1 under the relevant entries for the disambiguation of the various senses.

### 7.4.2 Taboo

Our corpus contains 6 items that refer to genitalia: *bombo*, *chucho*, *pumpum*, *punu*, *punash*, and *tuni*. All 6 refer to the vagina, with one item, *bombo*, exhibiting vagina/anus polysemy. Plausible etyma have been identified for *bombo* in 5 Atlantic-Congo languages, most of which are located in the West-Central Africa Region. Àkán is responsible for 3 terms: *chucho*, *pumpum*, and *punash*, while *punu* is shared by 2 Tano languages, one of which is Àkán. Bamanankan is the most apparent source of the remaining word *tuni*. There is one other genitalia-related term in the corpus, *dindi* as in *dindi-okro* ‘*Cereus triangularis, C. grandiflorius* (a type of okra)’ which goes back to a Koongo word meaning ‘vagina’. However, we have no evidence for an independent use of the word in Jamaican to mean ‘vagina’.

The predominance of Àkán-derived words in this semantic domain may be taken by some as further proof for the strength of Àkán linguistic influence against that exerted by other ethnicities. Given that taboo items are generally avoided cross-linguistically, a more neutral explanation is that speakers of Àkán were less inhibited, for whatever reasons, in talking about the female genitalia. Once we work with this assumption, it is easy to account for the widespread use of these Àkán-derived terms in Jamaica, seeing that persons are generally more comfortable with using taboo items from another language than from their own. Note though, that not even the speakers of
Àkán seem to have been completely free of inhibitions, since 2 of the items, *pumpum* and *punash*, appear to be euphemisms.

It is interesting to note that all African-derived terms for the female genitalia are considered vulgar in contemporary Jamaica, and one of them, *bombo* ‘vagina, anus’, is numbered among the most offensive swearwords when combined with *klaat* (<>Eng. *cloth*) = *bombo-klaat* ‘a sanitary towel; a swearword’.

### 7.5 Historical onomastics

Since we are chiefly concerned with open and closed class items in Appendix B, the African-derived day-names discussed in Cassidy (1961a, p. 157), DeCamp (1967) and Cassidy and Le Page (1967, p. 144) are merely listed in §B.3.2 with a set of plausible etyma from various Nyo languages and the reader is referred to the current section for further discussion. However, the formal consistency of the day-names across several English-based creoles spoken in the Americas indicates that the hodge-podge derivation which the presentation in §B.3.2 suggests needs to be revisited.

J. J. Williams (1934, p. 245), Cassidy (1959, p. 168), Cassidy and Le Page (1967, p. 146), and Allsopp (1996)) refer to them specifically as Àkán or Ashanti day-names. However, this conclusion has not been based on any systematic historical onomastic investigation. Edward Long (2002 [1774a, p. 427) writing in the eighteenth century states that ‘[m]any of the plantation Blacks call their children by the African name for the day of the week on which they are born’, and goes further to outline the entire system.

The general concensus on the status of these names in West Africa is that they were originally Àkán, but were borrowed by other ethnic groups such as the Gă, Vhe, and Fon (Migeod, 1917, p. 39). Some of the names were also borrowed into Anufo which now has communities in Ghana, Togo, and Benin, but the Anufo system appears to be a partial one, and the names and days do not always correspond to the Àkán system.

The most striking feature about the day-names is that none of the systems found in West Africa fits the Jamaican system (or any American system for that matter) per-
fectly. Table 7.5 provides a comparative overview of the Jamaican system alongside the systems found in the Bono, Akuapem, and Fante dialects of Akán, the Nkonya and Gua dialects of Guang, and the Vhe and Fôn dialects of Gbè. While there are several aspects of similarity, the many points of dissimilarity make attribution to any one language/dialect problematic.
Table 7.5: Day-names from western Kwa languages from Migeod (1917), Westermann (1973), Westermann (1922), Asihene (c.1999), Ansu-Kyeremeh (2000), Höftmann (2003), Agyekum (2006)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Jamaican</th>
<th>Akán</th>
<th>Fante</th>
<th>Nkonya</th>
<th>Gua</th>
<th>Vhe</th>
<th>Gbè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bono</td>
<td>Akuapem</td>
<td>Kwasi</td>
<td>Kwesi</td>
<td>Akwasi</td>
<td>Kwasi</td>
<td>Kwasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kwaashi</td>
<td>Kwasi</td>
<td>Kwasi</td>
<td>Kwesi</td>
<td>Akwasi</td>
<td>Kwasi</td>
<td>Kwasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Kwashiiba</td>
<td>Kosua</td>
<td>Akosua</td>
<td>Esi</td>
<td>Akwasiba</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Akwasiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kojo</td>
<td>Kwadwo</td>
<td>Kwadwo</td>
<td>Kojo</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Kwadwo</td>
<td>Kodzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Juba</td>
<td>Adwoa</td>
<td>Adwoa</td>
<td>Adjoa</td>
<td>Adzoa</td>
<td>Adwoa</td>
<td>Adzoba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kubena</td>
<td>Kwabena</td>
<td>Kwabena</td>
<td>Kobina</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Kwabena</td>
<td>Kwamla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Beniba</td>
<td>Abena</td>
<td>Abena</td>
<td>Abenaa</td>
<td>Obenawa</td>
<td>Abena</td>
<td>Abra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kwaku</td>
<td>Kwaku</td>
<td>Kwaku</td>
<td>Kweku</td>
<td>Kwaku</td>
<td>Kwaku</td>
<td>Kwaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Kuba</td>
<td>Akua</td>
<td>Ekuu</td>
<td>Kweku</td>
<td>Akua</td>
<td>Akua</td>
<td>Akuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kwau</td>
<td>Yaw</td>
<td>Yao</td>
<td>Kow</td>
<td>Yawo</td>
<td>Kwao</td>
<td>Kwau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Aba</td>
<td>Yaa</td>
<td>Yaa</td>
<td>Aba</td>
<td>Yaa</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Yaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>Kofi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Fiba</td>
<td>Afia</td>
<td>Afua</td>
<td>Efua</td>
<td>Afua</td>
<td>Afua</td>
<td>Afiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kwaamin</td>
<td>Kwaam</td>
<td>Kwaame</td>
<td>Kwamena</td>
<td>Kwame</td>
<td>Kwam</td>
<td>Kwami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Mimba</td>
<td>Ama</td>
<td>Ama</td>
<td>Amba</td>
<td>Amba</td>
<td>Amba</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.6: African day-names in Bajan (Handler & Jacoby, 1996), Sranan and Jamaican (DeCamp, 1967)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Jamaican</th>
<th>Bajan</th>
<th>Sranan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kwashi</td>
<td>Kwashi</td>
<td>Kwasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Kwashiba</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Kwasiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kojo</td>
<td>Kojo</td>
<td>Kodyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Juba</td>
<td>(A)juba</td>
<td>Adyuba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kubena</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Kwamina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Beniba</td>
<td>Beneba</td>
<td>Abeniba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kwaku</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Kwaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Kuba</td>
<td>(A)kuba</td>
<td>Akuba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kwau</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Aba</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>Kofi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Fiba</td>
<td>Fiba</td>
<td>Afiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kwaamin</td>
<td>Kwaamin(a)</td>
<td>Kwami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Mimba</td>
<td>Mimba</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seeing that the Jamaican system cannot be derived from a single African system, an alternative explanation could take the Jamaican system to be a local innovation constructed cafeteria-style by taking one African system as its base and supplementing it with appropriate forms from other varieties. Pursuing this explanation, we could derive the Jamaican system from the Vhe dialect of Gbè, the system with which it is most similar. The few differences between the two systems could then be explained by borrowing from other systems, or by change. Unfortunately, this explanation is tenuous in light of the information in Table 7.6 which illustrates that the Jamaican system is almost identical to the systems attested in Barbados (Bajan) and Suriname (Sranan). This means that whatever ad hoc processes created the Jamaican system would have had to apply in two other cases, producing the same results. The probability of this happening strikes me as extremely low.

Since we have rejected the possibility that the Jamaican system was constructed by drawing different names from different languages, only one other plausible explanation remains. The Jamaican system might actually be the reflex of an African system that predates the modern systems we have access to. This hypothesis can be tested by reconstructing the day-names. Unfortunately, we possess sufficient data to do the reconstruction for Akán alone, but hopefully the discussion below will show that this is all that is needed.
Table 7.7: Reconstructed Âkán day-names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Proto-Âkán</th>
<th>Jamaican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>*kwasI</td>
<td>kwafí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>*akwasIba</td>
<td>kwafíba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>*kwadwa</td>
<td>kədʒa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>*adwaiba</td>
<td>dʒóba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>*kwabEna</td>
<td>kəbəna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>*abEnaba</td>
<td>bəniba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>*kwakU</td>
<td>kwakU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>*akUba</td>
<td>kəbə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>*kwaw2</td>
<td>kəwò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>*ayaba</td>
<td>a ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>*kwafI</td>
<td>kəfí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>*afIba</td>
<td>fíba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>*kwamEna</td>
<td>kwamünk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>*a(mɛ)mEnba</td>
<td>mɪmba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Christaller (1933, p. 599) informs us that each day of the week is named in honour of a personal being (probably somewhat like a guardian spirit). The names of the beings and the days to which they correspond are: Ayísi (Sunday), Adwó (Monday), B’énã (Tuesday), Wukú (Wednesday), Yàw (Thursday), Afí (Friday), Améŋ (Saturday) (Christaller, 1933, p. 599). The male day-names are created by adding the prefix kwa- < akoá ‘male, man’ to the name of the personal being who oversees the day. Therefore, a male child born on Sunday (Kwàsí) is literally a male of/belonging to Ayísi. The female versions also use the names of the personal beings as bases but historically they contain a prefix a-, and a suffix -ba which is probably derived from ə-báa ‘woman, female’. Therefore, Yawá is a daughter of Yàw. Based on this information we can reconstruct the proto-system of Âkán. Table 7.7 contains the Jamaican day-names alongside the reconstructed Âkán forms.

As Table 7.7 shows, reconstructing the Proto-Âkán forms by applying the morphological processes suggested by Christaller (1933, p. 599), has produced a system that resembles the Jamaican one more closely than any of the modern systems we have encountered (cf. Table 7.5). We will recall from Table 7.6 that the Jamaican system was almost identical to the systems found in Bajan and Sranan. This sort of consistency militates against multiple origins for the Caribbean systems.3 The evidence

3Note also that these day-names have also been attested in the US (Jeffreys, 1948, p. 571). Christian Oldendorp in his 18th history of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John records the names
suggests that the system was passed from Bajan to Sranan, and from both of them to Jamaican. The most likely timing of this transmission would have been around the last quarter of the seventeenth century when settlers from Barbados and Suriname relocated to Jamaica (§2.3.1).

If the Àkán were able to pass on a day-name system in Barbados (and Suriname), it may be argued that this contradicts the conclusion reached in §6.7 that many of the Àkán items in Jamaican might actually be post-formative. To believe that acceptance of one aspect of a group's culture automatically means acceptance of other aspects, takes too simplistic a view of cultural phenomenon. It is equivalent to expecting to find heavy American linguistic influence on Jamaican because almost every parish has a KFC restaurant.

7.6 Conclusion

The current chapter has identified and discussed four interesting observations based on the end product of the etymological analyses carried out in this thesis. Very regular patterns were discovered for the retention or deletion of noun-class prefixes as words passed from Nyo and Bantu languages into Jamaican. The chapter also looked at iterative types exhibited by the African-derived words in chapter 5 and pointed to the need for research on any possible impact the high number of Àkán-derived iterative words might have had on the phonology of iteratives in Jamaican. A brief look at semantic phenomena showed that Jamaican gained quite a few taboo items from African languages (mostly Àkán), and that the general feeling among scholars that pejoration was frequently employed as a strategy of semantic change is an over-estimation. Finally, historical onomastic work was done in order to find the most suitable source for the system of day-names once active in Jamaica. A reconstruction of the Àkán names based on available information on their diachronic morphology produced a Proto-Àkán system which was virtually identical to Jamaican.

Quaschiba, Atjuba, Kotjoh, Akuba, Kommena, Afiba, Amimba as having been in use (Oldendorp, 2000, p. 417).
CHAPTER 8

TRACING COMPOUNDING PATTERNS: A BRIEF MORPHOLOGICAL EXCURSUS

8.1 Introduction

In chapters 3–7 we were chiefly concerned with the method and practice of assigning secure etymologies to putative Africanisms in Jamaican. The current chapter provides a brief excursus into the territory of morphology with a view to discovering whether we can trace several interesting compounding patterns found in Jamaican to specific African sources. While the chapter has benefitted from the work of Lefebvre (1998), Kouwenberg and LaCharité (2004), and Braun (2005), it is the first comprehensive attempt to trace compounding patterns in Jamaican to substrate sources.

Section 8.2 outlines the theoretical approach which is adopted here in attempting to determine whether a pattern is substrate or not while §8.3 mentions some of the most significant works from which Jamaican, English and African data have been drawn. §8.4 provides a very brief overview of compounding in Jamaican with a view to presenting all compounding patterns which have been identified so far. This is followed by §8.5 which provides detailed discussions of select compounding patterns in an attempt to demonstrate whether or not the evidence is robust enough to establish
a substrate origin for the pattern.

8.2 Tracing structural patterns: criteria

Since many of the claims about African contribution are based on lexical evidence, it follows that the lexical/morphological component should be the first place where we look for substrate transfers. However, as far as I am aware, this approach has never been taken in creolistics. Most of the works which attempt to identify substrate transfers concentrate on syntax (cf. Boretzky, 1983, 1993), and only a few researchers (cf. Lefebvre, 1998; Kouwenberg & LaCharité, 2004; Braun, 2005) have done work which attempts to locate substrate models for morphological patterns in creoles.

It is still an open question in contact linguistics (cf. Boretzky, 1993) whether it is possible or not to borrow a morphological rule directly or whether one has to borrow complex words and work out the rule. It is worth pointing out that calques provide evidence of the ability to borrow pattern without material. What most researchers are agreed on is that bilingual speakers are generally the agents of structural transfer (cf. Guy, 1990; Ross, 1991). We can assume that in the context of Jamaican creolisation enslaved individuals who spoke an African language as L1 and had varying degrees of competence in the creole language were more likely to be responsible for the transfer of structural features from their mother tongues to the creole language. Given the power relations and the sociolinguistic landscape throughout much of the plantation era, there was not much motivation for Jamaican-born creole-speaking slaves to learn African languages (pace Alleyne, 2002). This line of reasoning suggests that ‘interference’ was introduced by African-born slaves. In this scenario the innovator is shifting from L1 to L2 and in the process of shifting, copies rules from his L1 into his L2 grammar. This approach is open to the possibility that interference from the first languages of enslaved Africans can enter Jamaican at any time during the period of contact provided the right circumstances are present.

Over the past several decades, creolists have taken several approaches to establishing substrate transfer. Some researchers have approached the quest with a predetermined substrate language, and have been satisfied with identity between the creole form
and the form in the ‘pet substrate’ to the exclusion of other potential substrate languages (e.g. Lefebvre, 1998). This approach has been followed up by the works of researchers such as Parkvall (2000) and Kouwenberg and LaCharité (2004) which set up objective criteria for establishing substrate transfer. While the criteria established by Kouwenberg and LaCharité (2004) can provide useful guidelines for this type of work, they were specifically designed for work on reduplicative processes. A more general set of criteria such as the one given by (Parkvall, 2000) is general enough to be applied to other aspects of grammar, compounds included. In outlining his criteria Parkvall (2000, p. 24) states that:

We are dealing with a certain substrate transfer iff the feature is present in the substrates, absent from the lexifier, cross-linguistically uncommon and not generally present in other, unrelated P/Cs.

To apply this to the phenomenon being looked at in this chapter we could say that a compounding pattern is likely to be a case of transfer from an African language if it is absent from the lexifier, cross-linguistically uncommon, and not semantically transparent. Note that I have attempted as much as possible in this thesis to avoid the term substrate since it is used loosely by many creolists working on Atlantic creoles to mean ‘African language’. While this could work at the idiolectal level, a Yorùbá feature entering Jamaican in the late eighteenth century cannot be seen as a substrate feature. Such a feature is better considered as adstrate rather than a substrate one. That said, it is impossible in most cases to identify the specific time in which a feature entered the creole.

### 8.3 Sources and general dearth of data

The English data on which the chapter is based are drawn from OED2 and OED3 in addition to Marchand (1955, 1960); Selkirk (1981); Allen (1979); Lieber (1983); Bauer (1983, 1998); Plag (2003); Peitsara (2006). Typological work on compounding such as Bauer (2001); Scalise and Guevara (2006) has also been useful in the preparation of the chapter.

Worldwide, the study of compounding has not received scholarly attention commensurate with the pervasive nature of this derivational strategy in the world’s languages.
There is much work on English and several other western European languages, but compounding in languages spoken in other parts of the world has largely been ignored. The case of Africa is dismal since most of the early descriptions say nothing at all about compound formation, or they mention it in passing. The situation is so dismal that up to about the 1990s the existing works made Kuperus’s (1985) four-page description of compounding in Londo look like a goldmine. Today, more scholars are paying attention to compounding but most have not yet even scratched the surface. Some of the more notable ones are W. E. Welmers and Welmers (1969); Awoyale (1981); Ihionu (1992); Oluike and Nwaozuzu (1995); Táiwò (2009); Lefebvre and Brousseau (2002).

8.4 Overview of compounding in Jamaican

Cassidy (1961a, p. 69) points out that compounding is one of the productive word-formation strategies in Jamaican. Unfortunately, except for a very brief treatment of specific compounds in Farquharson (2007a), there is still no thorough study of this morphological device in the language. While it is beyond the ambit of the current thesis to provide the comprehensive treatment of Jamaican compounding that is needed, this chapter presents a concise overview which can serve as the stimulus for future work. Therefore, the catalogue of patterns given in this section is unlikely to be exhaustive.

8.4.1 Primary compounds

From the examples in Table 8.1 it can be seen that compounding in Jamaican involves all major lexical categories (nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions). All categories have been attested as both first and second elements in compounds but adjectives show up more often as the leftmost member of compounds, combining with words of varying lexical categories. With regard to frequency of occurrence as the rightmost member of compounds, verbs appear to be the preferred category.
Table 8.1: Catalogue of compounding patterns in Jamaican

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal compounds</th>
<th>han-beli</th>
<th>hand-belly</th>
<th>‘palm’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun-noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective-verb</td>
<td>uol-sok</td>
<td>old-suck</td>
<td>‘a blood-sucking witch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun-verb</td>
<td>ans-pick</td>
<td>ant-pick</td>
<td>‘arrow-headed warbler’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective-noun</td>
<td>red-yai</td>
<td>red-eye</td>
<td>‘envy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb-noun</td>
<td>chruo-wod</td>
<td>throw-word</td>
<td>‘a quarrel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb-verb</td>
<td>ded-lef</td>
<td>die-leave</td>
<td>‘inheritance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb-preposition</td>
<td>pup-iina</td>
<td>fart-in</td>
<td>‘second-hand clothes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectival compounds</th>
<th>bad-loki</th>
<th>bad-lucky</th>
<th>‘unlucky’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adjective-adjective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective-noun</td>
<td>red-yai</td>
<td>red-eye</td>
<td>‘jealous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective-verb</td>
<td>aad-pie</td>
<td>hard-pay</td>
<td>‘reluctant to pay debts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun-adjective</td>
<td>iez-aad</td>
<td>ear-hard</td>
<td>‘stubborn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal compounds</th>
<th>bata-bruuz</th>
<th>batter-bruise</th>
<th>‘to bruise by battering’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb-verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective-verb</td>
<td>bad-taak</td>
<td>bad-talk</td>
<td>‘to speak evil of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preposition-verb</td>
<td>uova-nyam</td>
<td>over-eat</td>
<td>‘to overeat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4.2 Synthetic compounds

In addition to primary compounds, Jamaican possesses synthetic compounds, i.e. noun-noun compounds in which the head is a deverbal noun and the non-head satisfies the internal argument of the verb (11). The deverbal noun is derived by attaching the agentive suffix -a (< English -er) to the verb.

(11) Synthetic compounds

- **bul-boka** (bull-but-er) ‘a bully’
- **dopi-kangkara** (ghost-conquer-er) ‘a bully’
- **dopi-kecha** (ghost-catch-er) ‘a ritual specialist’
- **kapi-skecha** (copy-sketch-er) ‘a plagiarist’
- **obia-woka** (sorcery-work-er) ‘a ritual specialist’

8.4.3 Recursive compounds

So far, our focus has been on bimorphemic compounds, but Jamaican also possesses compounds which comprise more than two morphemes. The current section will deal with recursive compounds, and the following section (8.4.4) will look at phrasal compounds.
The recursive compounds we will look at here are a sub-type of primary compounds. The only difference between these compounds and the primary compounds described in §8.4.1 is that these contain three (or more) lexemes (12). Although they contain more than two elements, Jamaican recursives are still binary branching and are therefore the result of two separate compounding operations. The most popular configurations of Jamaican recursives are \([A \[N N\]], [N \[N N\]], [[A N] N],\) which all respect the right-hand head rule (cf. E. Williams, 1981; Trommelen & Zonneveld, 1986). As the examples in (12) show, recursive compounds are common among plant (and animal) names.

(12) Recursive compounds

- \textit{dopi-flai-chrap} (ghost-fly-trap) ‘the plant \textit{Aristolochia grandiflora’}
- \textit{braadliif-kalalu} (broad-leaf-calaloo) ‘\textit{Amarantus viridis’}
- \textit{blak-dyuuk-kuoko} (black-duke-coco) ‘a type of coco’

8.4.4 Phrasal compounds

As mentioned in the previous section, Jamaican also possesses phrasal compounds. Not all of these compounds can be explained by appealing to the lexicalisation of syntactic structures because in some cases no such syntactic structure can be shown to have preceded the compound. Example 13 contains some of the more popular members of this class, but I suspect that the list is far from exhaustive. Nevertheless, it is not possible at this time to make any pronouncement on the productivity of phrasal compounds in Jamaican.

(13) Phrasal compounds

- \textit{kom-tu-elp-os} (come-to-help-1PL.ACC) ‘a saviour’
- \textit{kyari-go-bring-kom} (carry-go-bring-come) ‘gossip’
- \textit{lik-an-tan-op} (lick-and-stand-up) ‘a large mat’
- \textit{neva-si-kom-si} (never-see-come-see) ‘a neophyte’
- \textit{nyam-an-go-we} (eat-and-go-away) ‘one who leaves after eating’
- \textit{nyam-an-lef} (eat-and-leave) ‘one who leaves after eating’
- \textit{piti-mi-likl} (pity-1SG-be.little) ‘a small red ant’
- \textit{sorch-mi-aat} (search-1SG-heart) ‘the herb’
8.5 Tracing specific compounding patterns

It is not possible to conduct a search for all the compounding patterns outlined in §8.4. Therefore, I have narrowed the search to patterns for which African provenance has been claimed by previous researchers. The reader will notice that in most if not all cases, the difference between the Jamaican pattern and its English counterpart is not at the level of morphosyntax, but at the lexical-semantic level. For this reason, the labels of the subsections which follow have a lexical-semantic bias.

8.5.1 Gender assignment in humans

The first Jamaican compounding pattern that will be tackled in this subsection involves the very productive subset of noun-noun compounds that combines the words *man* (<*man*) and *uman* (<*woman*) with nouns from a broad range of semantic domains. Mittelsdorf in commenting on the combining form *man* claims that it could ‘be regarded as the typical Jamaican agential suffix’ (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 95). However, it should be noted that its lexical-semantic profile includes much more than agentivity, and so I will adopt the terminology of Braun (2005, p. 208) by referring to the combining form as a person marker.¹

When the person markers *-man* and *-uman* are concatenated with toponyms, the resulting compounds designate a man or a woman who is a native or inhabitant of, or associated with the place referred to by the first element. In example (14) I refer to this subset broadly as ethnic labels (14a). The second set comprises compounds which refer to professionals and other skilled workers (14b). For this set, the person markers attach to simplex bases such as *nors*, but many attach to bases which in their source language, English, were already complex *tiicha, laaya*, but generic. Hence, the compounding process serves to mark the gender of the professional designated by the other constituent. Finally, there is a broad associational group (14c) where a multiplicity of semantic relationships can hold between the head and the non-head. I have presented only the most typical sense of each compound. However, *guot-man*, for example, could refer to a goatherd, a man who sells goats, a man who smells like goats, a man who can make goat sounds, a man who has sex with goats, a fictional

¹Note that Braun (2005) is on the morphology of early Sranan.
half-man-half-goat beast, etc.
a. Ethnic labels

*Ingglan-man* (England-man) ‘an Englishman’

*Ingglan-uman* (England-woman) ‘an English woman’

*Kingston-man* (Kingston-man) ‘a male Kingstonian’

*Kingston-uman* (Kingston-woman) ‘a female Kingstonian’

b. Occupational

*dakta-man* (doctor-man) ‘a male doctor’

*dakta-uman* (doctor-woman) ‘a female doctor’

*laaya-man* (lawyer-man) ‘a male lawyer’

*laaya-uman* (lawyer-woman) ‘a female lawyer’

*nors-man* (nurse-man) ‘a male nurse’

*nors-uman* (nurse-woman) ‘a female nurse’

c. Associational

*guot-man* (goat-man) ‘a male goatherd’

*guot-uman* (goat-woman) ‘a female goatherd’

*kou-man* (cow-man) ‘a male cowherd’

*kou-uman* (cow-woman) ‘a female cowherd’

*yam-man* (yam-man) ‘a man who sells/plants yams’

*yam-uman* (yam-woman) ‘a woman who sells/plants yams’

d. Appositional

*man-dakta* (man-doctor) ‘a male doctor’

*uman-dakta* (woman-doctor) ‘a female doctor’

*man-laaya* (man-lawyer) ‘a male lawyer’

*uman-laaya* (woman-lawyer) ‘a female lawyer’

*man-nors* (man-nurse) ‘a male nurse’

*uman-nors* (woman-nurse) ‘a female nurse’

As the examples in (14) show, the compounds formed in this way are generally gender-specific. However, I have heard *dopi-man* (ghost-man) used for both male and female ghosts, and Silvia Kouwenberg (p.c.) reports that she has heard *mad-man* (mad-man) used in reference to a woman. While I admit that these two isolated examples may be relics of an older system in which *man* compounds were gender-neutral, we do not yet have sufficient diachronic evidence to propose such a stage.

The presence of compounds in English formed via the concatenation of words from
a broad range of semantic domains with either man or woman in second position is well documented (e.g. Marchand, 1960; Peitsara, 2006). In fact, all of the sub-patterns listed in (14) have ready models in English where the pattern is extremely productive.

Notwithstanding the vibrancy of this pattern in English, Cassidy (1972, p. 4) claims that the second element in Jamaican compounds such as myuuzik-man (music + man), obia-man (obeah + man), baam-man (balm + man) ‘sorcerer’, represents a loan translation of the Àkán suffix -fó, reinforced by the corresponding English process which creates compounds such as postman, policeman, boatman. There are two main problems with Cassidy’s claim.

First, as pointed out already, the process of concatenating man and woman with other nouns to create gender-denoting words referring to humans is extremely productive in English. Therefore, this compounding pattern fails to meet the criterion that a pattern must be absent from the lexifier in order to provide a convincing case for substrate transfer.

Second, Àkán -fó is gender-neutral while Jamaican -man is gender-specific and has a feminine counterpart in -uman. The important question is why speakers of Àkán would co-opt a gender-specific item to translate a gender-neutral one from their language.

Admittedly, the fact that (modern) Jamaican makes a gender distinction could be explained away by appealing to diachronic change. Essentially, the gender distinction exhibited by modern Jamaican could be treated as a later development caused by decreolisation. This argument hinges on the point mentioned above that dopi-man and mad-man have been attested in reference to both males and females, and that

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2 Cassidy’s view that Jamaican myuuzik-man constitutes an innovation was probably based on the fact that OED1 which was the edition used by the DJE, has 1866 as the first attestation of the compound music-man in English. The draft revision (OED3) for the same entry completed in 2003, records four attestations of the word before 1866 with the earliest being 1569.

3 I have come upon only one instance in Christaller’s dictionary of -fo being used to mean ‘man’ n-paajka-fó ‘horsemans’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 400). Christaller’s entry suggests that the word occurs in the Àkán translation of 1 Kings 9:19: ‘And all the cities of store that Solomon had, and cities for his chariots, and cites for his horsemen, and that which Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and in all the land of his dominion’ [emphasis mine]. Not only does this show that Àkán -fó is gender-neutral, it also demonstrates that it is plural (i.e. horsemen). To be faithful to the grammar of Àkán we would have to read the Biblical text as referring to ‘horsepeople’. It is the Àkán cultural context that would tell us that those people are men.
they are probably relics of an older system. Unfortunately, the etymology of the combining element -fó in Àkán does not bear out this argument. Àkán -fó derives from a gender-neutral word meaning ‘people’. It is not clear why speakers of Àkán would have co-opted the gender-specific morpheme man to calque this gender-neutral morpheme, when they could have used a gender-neutral morpheme such as English somebody (Jamaican smadi). Hence, if we were to look for an African source for this pattern Àkán would not be the most plausible candidate. The most obvious candidate would be a language in which the free morphemes meaning ‘man’ and ‘woman’ are co-opted as person markers in compounds.

Example 15 compares free and combining forms equivalent to man/male and woman/female in the top three contributors of African lexis to Jamaican. Example (15a) shows that the combining elements used in comparable Àkán compounds are not homophonous with the free morphemes for (wo)man. The pattern observed in Àkán is typical of other Kwa languages such as Yorùbá, Ìgbo, etc. Gbè (15b) exhibits a pattern which is close to Àkán, but its combining forms are historically related to the free morphemes. It should be pointed out though that the combining forms in Gbè are historically related to the words for ‘father’ and ‘mother’, respectively, not ‘man’ and ‘woman’. Of the lot, only Koongo contains combining forms that are homophonous with the free forms meaning ‘man’ and ‘woman’, respectively (15c).

(15)  
a. Àkán  
i. Free morphemes: gbārímá ‘man’ & obéa ‘woman’  
ii. Combining morphemes: -fó ‘person, people’ & -ní (oni) ‘person’

b. Gbè  
i. Free morphemes: njútsù ‘man’ & nyônù ‘woman’  
ii. Combining forms: -tó ‘male’ & -nó ‘female’

c. Koongo  
i. Free morphemes: eyakala ‘man’ & nkento ‘woman’  
ii. Combining forms: -eyakala ‘male’ & -nkento ‘female’

It has already been established that the existence of this compounding pattern in English weakens any African explanation. The search has not been totally fruitless
though because we have found that if any African language could be claimed to have had a reinforcing influence on this compounding pattern, Koongo would be the most suitable candidate, not Àkán as has been previously claimed.

8.5.2 Gender assignment in flora and fauna

The second pattern we will be treating consists of noun-noun compounds which are formed with (u)man- ‘(wo)man’ as the leftmost member of the compound, and whose rightmost member is either a plant or animal. The combining elements derive from the Jamaican free morphemes man ‘man’ and uman ‘woman’, but the feature profiles of the combining elements are quite different from those of their etyma. Examples (16) and (17) illustrate that while the free morphemes are specified for the semantic features human and adult, these features do not figure in the profile of the combining forms. This suggests that the forms which occur as members of compounds are semantically bleached and cannot be analysed as mere copies of their freer counterparts. Therefore, this compounding pattern involves the concatenation of an animal or plant name with the morphemes man- and uman- which are specified for semantic feature –/+FEMALE, respectively.

(16) a. man [+human +adult +male]
    b. uman [+human +adult –male]

(17) a. man- [−female]
    b. uman- [+female]

When concatenated with the names of animals (u)man- refer(s) to natural gender. When uman- is compounded with the name of a plant, the resulting compound refers to a softer or smaller variety of the plant, or more commonly, the fruit-bearing variety. The concatenation of man- with the name of plants designates a variety that is bigger or coarser than normal, or more commonly, one that (may even flower but) does not bear fruit. Compounds formed on this pattern are extremely productive in Jamaican. Novel compounds such as man-dinasuor ‘a male dinosaur’ may sound strange to native ears but are not ungrammatical. Example (18) provides a selection
of compounds referring to fauna, while example (19) is a selection of those referring to flora.

(18) Fauna

- man-aas (man + horse) ‘stallion’
- uman-aas (woman + horse) ‘mare’
- man-daag (man + dog) ‘male dog’
- uman-daag (woman + dog) ‘bitch’
- man-dangki (man + donkey) ‘jackass’
- uman-dangki (woman + donkey) ‘jenny ass’
- man-foul (man + fowl) ‘rooster’
- uman-foul (woman + fowl) ‘hen’
- man-kou (man + cow) ‘bull’
- uman-kou (woman + cow) ‘cow’

(19) Flora

- man-afu (man + afu) ‘yam sp.’
- man-biifwud (man + beefwood) ‘male beefwood tree’
- uman-biifwud (woman + beefwood) ‘female beefwood tree’
- man-dandilaiyan (man + dandelion) ‘male dandelion’
- uman-dandilaiyan (woman + dandelion) ‘female dandelion’

OED2 documents the use of man as a first element in a few appositive compounds such as man-dog, man-cattle, man-fly, but these belong to the class of English compounds of the ‘half man half X’ type, where X is the second element of the compound. In addition to this pattern, OED2 also notes that man meaning ‘male’ occurs occasionally as an initial element in combination with names of animals. It is this second pattern which is of immediate interest to us. The pattern is illustrated in OED2 by two examples: man-mackerel, man-seal.

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4OED2 only records two words which employ man as a designator of masculine gender in animals: man-mackerel [1624], man-seal [1901]. Only man-mackerel occurs early enough to be relevant to the discussion and it was a pejorative descriptor for a person, not a designation for a male mackerel. The OED’s first quotation is man-seal from Rudyard Kipling’s The Seven Seas (1896). The next relevant quotation is from a U.S. magazine (1901) in which the words man-seal and lady-seal appear. For the use of woman as a designator of feminine gender in animals, the OED lists four attestations: woman-wolfe [1625], woman-tiger [1672], woman-monkey [1889], and woman-fish [1893]. Here only the first two are relevant since they coincide with the early period of the formation of Jamaican.
We have seen that in English the concatenation of man- with names of animals to produce the meaning ‘male X’ where X is the head of the compound, appears to be marginal. Additionally, my search for English compounds which combine woman- with the names of plants to produce ‘female X’ where X is the head of the compound, produced no examples. Seeing that this compounding pattern has only been marginally attested in noncolonial varieties of English, an African explanation for its presence in Jamaican becomes more tenable.

As far as I am aware Cassidy and Le Page (1967) make no claims that this compounding type is African in origin and Mittelsdorf (1978) does not mention the pattern at all. However, Allsopp (1996, p. 367) states explicitly that man- is a ‘probable calque from West African languages many of which have such gender-marking compounds’.\(^5\) As examples, he gives Mandinka di-j-ke (child-male) ‘man-child’, and Igbo nwamne-nwoke (relative man) ‘brother’. While these two examples might be indicative of the broader pattern (see §8.5.1), they cannot account for the type that is of particular interest to us in this section. Allsopp himself provides examples from various Anglophone Caribbean varieties where man- concatenates with nouns from various semantic domains: humans (e.g. man-child), flora (e.g. man-pawpaw), and fauna (e.g. man-rat).

Alleyne (1980, p. 173) infers African origin for the compounding pattern involving flora and fauna by pointing to what he considers to be parallel structures in Yorùbá.

From the close analysis below (20) of structures in several probable substrate languages, we will see that not only does Alleyne (1980) overstate the suitability of Yorùbá as a source for the Jamaican pattern, but also that the African situation is slightly more complex than most researchers have acknowledged.

From a cursory look at the examples in (20) we can see that the African case is more promising than the English one. Evidence was found in all the languages listed in (20) for the presence of a compounding pattern involving the concatenation of an animal name with a gender-assigning morpheme. The existence of a corresponding pattern for plants is explicitly mentioned for Àkán, Gbè (Vhe), Yorùbá, and Èfik (Christaller,

\(^5\)I have replaced Allsopp’s abbreviations with their full forms.
While all of these languages agree with the Jamaican pattern on the level of lexical semantics, a look at the structural properties reveals some differences which need to be taken into account.

First, the pattern in several of the African languages resembles the Jamaican pattern in that the gender-assigning elements are preposed. This is the case for Yorùbá, Ìgbo, and Èfik. Languages such as Idoma, Ibibio and Tiv exhibit the same pattern. The interesting thing about this group of languages is that they are spoken in the Bight of Benin and the Bight of Biafra, two of the top regions which supplied slaves to Jamaica during the formative period (1655–1700).

(20) a. Àkán
   oponkoníni (horse-male) ‘stallion’
   oponkobéré (horse-female) ‘mare’

b. Gã/Dangme
   tsinánì (bovine-man) ‘bull’
   tsinányò (bovine-woman) ‘cow’

c. Gbè (Vhe)
   koklo-tshú (chicken-male) ‘cock’
   koklo-no (chicken-female) ‘hen’
   agotsú (fan palm-male) ‘männl. Fächerpalme’
   agonò (fan palm-female) ‘weibliche Fächerpalme’

d. Yorùbá
   akọ éjà (male-dog) ‘male dog’
   abọ éjà (female-dog) ‘female dog’
   akọ ibépe (male-paw-paw) ‘male paw-paw’
   abọ ibépe (female-paw-paw) ‘female paw-paw’

e. Ìgbo
   ok’e at’ubuyi (man-goat) ‘ram’
   nne eghú (woman-goat) ‘she-goat’
   ok’e éhiti (man-bovine) ‘bull’
   nne éhiti (woman-bovine) ‘cow’

f. Èfik
   ayarà enà (male-bovine) ‘bull’
   uman enà (female-bovine) ‘cow’
Returning to our original plan of searching for languages that mirror Jamaican in co-opting the free morphemes for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ as gender-assigning elements in compounds designating specific plants and animals, we find only two. Most of the languages surveyed use dedicated morphemes as gender-assigners in compounds. For some, like Yorùbá, the free and combining forms are historically related, but the combining forms never occur as independent morphemes. The two languages that match the morphosyntactic and etymological aspects of the Jamaican pattern are Gã and Koongo. Unfortunately, neither of the two falls into the group identified above which contains right-headed structures.

The concatenation of \textit{(u)man} with plant and animal names finds several close models in languages spoken in the Bight of Benin and the Bight of Biafra. These languages combine morphemes meaning roughly ‘man’ and ‘woman’ with plant and animal names in order to denote gender. Gã and Koongo present the closest match with the Jamaican pattern by containing gender-assigners which are homophonous with the free morphemes man and woman.

That two of the Jamaican patterns have been identified in Koongo is probably indicative of a deeper role played by Koongo in this domain. However, this remains to be proven.

### 8.5.3 Body-part terms

In the semantic field of body-parts, Jamaican exhibits a striking tendency towards compound forms. It appears that body-parts that occur most frequently in conversation, e.g. \textit{beli} ‘belly’, \textit{ed} ‘head’, \textit{tong} ‘tongue’, \textit{yai} ‘eye’ generally have simplex forms, while those which designate parts of larger ones, e.g. \textit{jaa-kaana} ‘corner of the jaw’, \textit{mout-kaana} ‘corner of the mouth’, \textit{yai-kaana} ‘corner of the eye’ tend towards complex forms. These complex body-part terms can be divided into 3 broad categories as shown in Table 8.2. Fluids which are secreted from the body have been included in the final division of Table 8.2 since African provenance has also been
claimed for them.

Table 8.2: Jamaican body-part terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meronymic terms</th>
<th>Jamaican terms</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>fut-bak</em></td>
<td>foot-back</td>
<td>‘ankle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fut-batam</em></td>
<td>foot-bottom</td>
<td>‘sole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>an-beli</em></td>
<td>hand-belly</td>
<td>‘palm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>an-migl</em></td>
<td>hand-middle</td>
<td>‘palm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nek-bak</em></td>
<td>neck-back</td>
<td>‘nape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nuoz-uol</em></td>
<td>nose-hole</td>
<td>‘nostril’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hed-skol</em></td>
<td>head-skull</td>
<td>‘skull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yai-biebi</em></td>
<td>eye-baby</td>
<td>‘pupil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iez-bel</em></td>
<td>ear-bell</td>
<td>‘eardrum’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pleonastic terms</th>
<th>Lebanese</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>an-elbo</em></td>
<td>hand-elbow</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ed-skol</em></td>
<td>head-skull</td>
<td>‘skull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mout-lip</em></td>
<td>mouth-lip</td>
<td>‘lip’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secreta</th>
<th>Lebanese</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mout-waata</em></td>
<td>mouth-water</td>
<td>‘saliva’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yai-waata</em></td>
<td>eye-water</td>
<td>‘tears’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

English does make some use of compounding in the creation of body-part terms, e.g. *eardrum, eyebrow, eyelash, knee-cap*.

However, the process appears to be much more restricted in English than it is in Jamaican. This tendency towards composite structures in this semantic domain could be due either to structural transfer from African languages, or language universals.

Various scholars (e.g. Cassidy & Le Page, 1967; Allsopp, 1996) have claimed African provenance for one or more of the body-part compounds listed in Table 8.2. The typical method is to find a few parallel structures in African languages and conclude that these structures are indicative of a general African tendency to having compounds in this semantic domain. Such an approach is not sound, and is equivalent to claiming that the existence of German *Augenhöhle* ‘socket of the eye’ and English *eyebrow* show a Germanic preference for compound terms in body-part terminology.

Structures paralleling some of the Jamaican body-part terms have been identified in Niger-Congo and Chadic languages. However, no one African language has been identified which exhibits a degree of frequency in this particular lexical-semantic

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domain similar to Jamaican. This lacuna might be due to the absence of (adequate) descriptions of compounding in African languages (§8.3), or to a lack of knowledge about the derivation of some African words which although now opaque were once transparent compounds.\footnote{A good illustration of this is the English word \textit{hussy} ‘a pert girl’ which is derived from the compound \textit{house-wife} $\ll$ M.E. \textit{huswife} (Skeat, 1993, p. 210).}

Since we cannot find any one African language which could have triggered a preference for compounding in this specific lexical-semantic domain, only one other substrate explanation remains. Scholars such as Allsopp (1996) have proposed that these compounds are probably calques of corresponding structures in African languages. There are issues with this explanation. Most immediate is the fact that no African model has yet been identified for some of the compounds (e.g. \textit{hed-skol, mout-lip}), therefore, African provenance is still speculative. This brings us to multiple possible substrates and the Cafeteria Principle but such an explanation violates the law of parsimony. The final explanation is that many of these compounds are reflections either of language universals or universals of language contact. We are not yet in a position to test these last explanations since the former needs a worldwide sample for a study on lexical typology and cognitive semantics, while the second requires data on the morphological profile of body-part terminology in contact languages.

\textbf{8.5.3.1 Undesirable human characteristics and emotions}

The final compounding pattern that we will look at creates words denoting undesirable human characteristics and emotions. The compounds which belong to this group are formed by concatenating an adjective in initial position with a body-part term (21).
(21) Emotions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>big-yai</td>
<td>(big-eye) ‘greed; greedy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chrang-fisik</td>
<td>(strong-physic) ‘hot-tempered (nature)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chrang-mout</td>
<td>(strong-mouth) ‘insolence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chrang-yai</td>
<td>(strong-eye) ‘coveteousness; domineering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aad-iez</td>
<td>(hard-ear) ‘disobedience, disobedient’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aad-yai</td>
<td>(hard-eye) ‘disobedient’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jrai-yai</td>
<td>(dry-eye) ‘barefaced’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lang-beli</td>
<td>(long-belly) ‘greedy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lang-got</td>
<td>(long-gut) ‘greedy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad-main</td>
<td>(bad-mind) ‘malicious; ill-thinking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red-yai</td>
<td>(red-eye) ‘envy; envious’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swiit-mout</td>
<td>(sweet-mouth) ‘flattery’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While English makes productive use of the adjective-noun compounding pattern to create nominals, e.g. *blackboard, greenhouse*, many of them refer to tangible objects, some refer to abstract concepts, e.g. *white lie*, and the others are bahuvrīhi compounds which refer to people, e.g. *redneck, white collar*. This contrasts sharply with the Jamaican pattern being discussed since it creates mostly abstract concepts referring to undesirable human emotions and characteristics. In fact, English compounds which refer to human emotions and characteristics are typically adjectival, and formed via the composition of a simplex adjective with a derived one, e.g. *hard-hearted, hard-headed, stiff-necked*.

One might argue that the Jamaican compounds could be derived from the English ones via the phonological reduction of the consonant cluster created by the final sound in words followed by the consonantal derivational suffix -d. This seems plausible since loss of derivational affixes appears to be a typical casualty in creole genesis. However, if the Jamaican pattern were the result of consonant cluster reduction, we would expect Jamaican to have *aad-aat, aad-ed, and tif-nek* with the meanings of their respective English etyma. On the contrary, these constructs do not exist in Jamaican, and if we look back at example (21) we will notice that semantically the Jamaican words appeal to different cognitive perspectives, e.g. stubbornness is a
human characteristic associated with the head in English, while it is associated with the ears in Jamaican.

Given that this pattern has not been attested in the lexifier language of Jamaican, it seems worthwhile to pursue an African explanation. One possible African explanation is that this type of adjective-noun compounding reflects direct transfer of a productive compounding pattern present in one or more African languages. While we can identify parallel structures for some of the creole forms in several African, especially Kwa languages, I have not encountered any descriptions of these languages that could help us ascertain whether the pattern is productive or not.

The next best explanation is the one provided by Cassidy and Le Page (1967) and Allsopp (1996) who take many of the Jamaican forms to be calques of the African ones (22, 23, 24). From here we can assume that the presence of these calqued forms acted as a trigger for the creation of a compounding pattern which concatenates adjectives and nouns to form words referring to undesirable human characteristics and emotions. Therefore, we have at least a contact-induced pattern.

It is worth pointing out that all the African languages place the body-part term (i.e. the non-modifying noun) in initial position, while Jamaican has it on the right. This is interesting seeing that both English and Jamaican have noun-adjective compounds, which would provide a better fit for the N-X linearisation observed in the African forms. It should be noted however, that noun-‘adjective’ compounds tend to produce adjectival constructs in both English and Jamaican, e.g. English stone-deaf, Jamaican iez-aad (ear(s)-hard) ‘stubborn’.

(22) Àkán
   a. ànì-bere ‘covetousness’ (eye-red)
   b. ano-dé ‘flattery’ (mouth-sweet)

(23) Gbè
   a. ñkú biá ‘covetousness’ (eye-red)

(24) Ìgbo
   a. anya ukwu ‘greed, rapacity’ (eye-big)
b. anyaqjoq ‘hostile look’ (eye-bad)

c. anya ik’ë ‘boldness’ (eye-strength)

While suitable African models have been identified in the literature for some of the Jamaican compounds listed in (21), no (reliable) sources have been found for the others despite claims of probable African provenance. Provided that no direct African sources exist for these compounds—which have not yet been discovered—they could still be attributed to Africa as cases of contact-induced change. The explanation would be that enslaved Africans calqued several words for emotions and human characteristics on a Kwa pattern. These calques then became the model for a local derivational strategy resembling the Kwa one—a strategy which continued to be reinforced by the constant introduction of speakers of relevant Kwa languages during the plantation era (see chapter 2).

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an introductory attempt to trace specific compounding patterns of Jamaican to African models. The chapter maintained that patterns which are present in the lexifier make poor candidates for proposals regarding transfer. Four compounding patterns were surveyed: compounds that are formed by concatenating -(u)man to various nouns to create words referring to humans; compounds that are formed by concatenating plant and animal names with (u)man-; body-part compounds, and adjective-noun compounds that refer to undesirable human characteristics and emotions.

While the first set is clearly English, the second set points to plausible models in Gã and Koongo. Whereas African provenance could not be determined for the tendency towards compounding in body-part terminology, it was argued that compounds referring to human characteristics and emotions, if not directly African, could at least be accounted for by the local creation of a pattern extrapolated from several items calqued on a Kwa model. These tentative results still need to be checked against universals since patterns which are cross-linguistically frequent, or which occur in pidgins and creoles of non-African extraction, cannot plausibly be attributed to African languages.
CHAPTER 9

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE THESIS

9.1 Summary of contributions

The reader will recall from §1.2 that the thesis set out to achieve five main objectives which I have restated here. The objectives have been reordered so that they can be addressed in an order more consistent with this stage of the research.

1. To set a standard for assigning etymologies in creole studies

2. To ascertain the volume and nature of the contribution of specific African languages to the lexicon of Jamaican

3. To reassess the contribution made by African languages to the lexicon of Jamaican

4. To explore issues related to tracing morphological patterns found in creoles to the languages involved in their formation

5. To reconstruct the (socio)linguistic situation of early English Jamaica

With regard to objective (1), one of the most significant contributions of the current thesis is that it sets a new standard for etymological work in creole linguistics. It is the first book-length work to be devoted solely to the African lexis in Jamaican. Far
too often, the existing literature proposes etymologies or alternatives to previously proposed ones without discussing the plausibility of either. The present work not only draws on a set of best practices in the field of etymology (ch. 4) to help in assigning specific Jamaican words to specific African sources, but also applies these principles in a transparent manner so that readers can understand how each choice was arrived at (Appendix B).

In order to achieve objective (2) there was a need for a solid body of data which could form the foundation of such work (cf. also Farquharson, 2008). The work to gain reliable data was carried out in Appendix B through detailed etymological analyses of 505 putative Africanisms. For quick reference, the results of this work are given in tabular format in chapter 5 where the 289 items assigned secure African etyma are presented alongside their lexical categories, source languages/language groups, African regions of origin, and year of first attestation.

The data in chapter 5 was used in chapter 6 to ascertain the volume and nature of the contribution of specific African languages and reassess the contribution made by African languages to the lexicon of Jamaican, thus accomplishing objectives (2) and (3). As promised in chapter 4, the results were presented in a transparent manner, making a necessary distinction between words that have been traced to a single source and those which have been traced to multiple sources. By presenting the data in this way, it was possible to make more secure pronouncements on the specific contribution made by a language such as Ákán as opposed to any role it might have played by virtue of being a member of an areal or genealogical group in which cognacy or borrowing factored into the picture.

This thesis presents the most comprehensive treatment to date of the volume and nature of the African lexical contribution to Jamaican. Previous works such as Cassidy (1972) and Mittelsdorf (1978) tend to present figures for and discussion on only the chief contributors. This approach makes it difficult to get a sense of the overall picture and the role played by other languages, no matter how marginal. Therefore, African languages are included in the final count (ch. 6) whether they contributed scores of words to Jamaican, only one, or are only mentioned as one of several probable sources.
The approach taken in this thesis has produced extremely revealing results since only 61 words have been assigned Àkán-only etymologies. Compare this to Cassidy’s 122 ‘certain’ Àkán etymologies and Mittelsdorf’s 73.\footnote{Mittelsdorf’s list of 73 includes many words which I have assigned multiple etymologies. My list includes many items from the DJE or elsewhere which were overlooked by Mittelsdorf (1978).} Cassidy (1972) identifies only 13 Koongo etymologies, a figure which includes certain, probable, and possible etyma. Mittelsdorf (1978), despite claims of having improved significantly on Cassidy’s number of Koongo etymologies, really contains only 13 Koongo etymologies, 20 if we include multiple etymologies. See §3.3.5 and §6.2.2.2 for elaboration. Contrast these figures with those of the current thesis where 33 words have been securely assigned to Koongo alone.

More evidence that Koongo played a greater (lexical) role in the development of Jamaica than previously thought came from attestations in writing. By the end of the eighteenth century 25\% of the words traced specifically to Koongo had been attested in print, compared to only 5\% of the words assigned Àkán-only etymologies. Although attestations are ‘historical accidents’, it is interesting that more Koongo than Àkán words should have been recorded at a time when, according to previous researchers, Àkán speakers dominated Jamaican society both numerically and linguistically (cf. §2.3.4). This piece of linguistic evidence, coupled with the sociohistorical evidence suggests that Àkán dominance in these two areas is misapplied; hence, corroborating the conclusion reached by Kouwenberg (2008, 2009).

A small seventeenth-century (African lexical) stratum for Jamaican was determined based on attestations of these words in that century. This stratum contains mostly words referring to food and 50\% of the words belong to Ingredient X. No word that can be traced to Àkán alone is to be found on the list, but the small collection of words suggests negotiation rather than dominance by any one linguistic group.

As far as I am aware, the very first reconstruction of the system of Àkán day-names is provided within these pages. It was found that the Jamaican versions of the day-names resemble the Proto-Àkán forms much more closely than do the modern Àkán forms. The presence of strikingly similar systems in Barbados and Suriname strongly suggests that the system in its current form pre-dates the formation of Jamaican
and so cannot be used as evidence of direct Àkán influence on the development of Jamaican.

Since the ground-breaking work of Le Page (1963) on the demographic profile of Jamaica during the plantation era, and his discussion of the impact each group might have had on the emerging cultural and linguistic practices at the time, the current thesis is the first work to provide an overview of the full period and show how the demographic dynamics influenced the development of Jamaican in each successive period. Much of the recent work by linguists tends to focus on one period to the exclusion of others. For example, Mittelsdorf (1978, pp. 6–14) and Kouwenberg (2008, 2009) focus on the formative period (1655–1700) while Mufwene (2002) focuses mainly on nineteenth-century population movements within Jamaica.

The panoptic perspective of this thesis has revealed not only the very strong impact that an albeit small group of transplanted Creole-speaking Africans were able to exercise on the development of Jamaican, but also the ability of groups who came on the scene later to add to the lexical stock of the general language (e.g. the Àkán in the eighteenth century), or to a restricted variety of the language (e.g. Koongo speakers in the nineteenth century). The presence of Ingredient X in general Jamaican, plus the correspondences between Sranan and the Maroon Spirit Language of the Windward Maroons were taken as evidence of Proto-Jamaican being an off-shoot of Bajan and/or Sranan which due to the linguistic mix in its new environment diverged significantly from its parent form. Starting with a common variety that underwent change in its new environment but kept several aspects of its ancestral state seems much more logical to me than the approach taken by Kouwenberg (2009) which does not account for the large number of structural and lexical similarities among the AECs.

9.2 African structural influence in the lexicon

Whereas the lexicon has been the basis upon which most linguists have argued for the dominance of one African ethnolinguistic group over the others, the lexicon has largely been ignored in the search for structural transfers from African languages. This has changed recently with the work of Kouwenberg and LaCharité (2004) which attempts to trace specific patterns of reduplication to Niger-Congo languages. In
chapter 8, the current thesis provides the first broad overview of compounding in Jamaican and the first focused attempt (cf. Mittelsdorf, 1978, pp. 51–5) to trace Jamaican compounding patterns to substrate languages. Two patterns were found for which an African origin seemed plausible. The research pointed to Gã and Koongo as the most likely sources of compounds denoting gender in flora and fauna, while the creation of compounds referring to undesirable human characteristics and emotions was identified as an instance of a contact-induced innovation (more than likely Kwa-influenced).

9.3 Implications for future research

We have consistently seen that comparison with a single potential substrate yields promising results. We now have more secure evidence upon which to base the hypothesis that African languages that made the greatest lexical contribution to Jamaican, also contributed to its syntactic and phonological components. This hypothesis should now be checked by conducting detailed comparisons of aspects of Jamaican syntax and/or phonology with aspects of the syntax/phonology of Àkán, Koongo, and Gbè. Since we now have fewer languages to deal with, the analyses can go beyond the identification of surface similarities between Jamaican and these Niger-Congo languages (cf. Alleyne, 1980) to looking at micro-paramaters (cf. Migge, 2003). As far as I am aware, no research exists which does this for Jamaican syntax or phonology.
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Appendix A

TYPOGRAPHIC AND ORTHOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

A.1 Typography

Seeing that the alphabets of several African languages include characters which are not found in the roman alphabet, a standard IPA-based font has been used throughout the thesis to represent African words. This was done by using the \TeX\ IPA (TIPA) package which accompanies \LaTeX.\footnote{http://www.ctan.org/tex-archive/fonts/tipa/} When African words are used in isolation they appear in bold text, but bold text is not used when they are part of phrases and sentences. Jamaican words appear in bold italic font (e.g. \textit{fala-fashin}), while words from English and all other non-African languages, pidgins and creoles included, are written in regular italic font (e.g. \textit{eyebrow}).

A.1.1 Orthography

The orthographic system used for representing Jamaican in this thesis conforms to the guidelines in \textit{Writing Jamaican the Jamaican Way/Ou fi Rait Jamiekan} published by the Jamaican Language Unit (JLU), at the University of the West Indies, Mona. I only deviate from this system when a word is historically attested but we have no record of its pronunciation, or where eye-dialect spellings are crucial in working out an etymology.
A.1.2 Diacritics, fonts, and punctuations

The writing system outlined above does not make use of diacritic marks, but the reader will notice that some of the headwords in Appendix B bear accent marks. These have been copied directly from the DJE where the acute accent (´) is used to show primary stress, and the grave accent (´) is employed for secondary stress (see Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. xv).

Reduplicated words in Jamaican Creole are here represented in two ways which depend on our knowledge of the diachrony and synchrony of these words. Reduplicated words with corresponding simplex forms are written with a hyphen between the base and the reduplicant in order to show that the word is morphologically complex. Those with no simplex forms will be written as one word without hyphen. The “no hyphen” convention will also be applied to reduplicated forms with simplex counterparts, but where the simplex word is known to be a later development created through back-formation, e.g. Jamaican palapala > pala.

A.2 Niger-Congo classification and language labels

Up to the 1980s, the genealogical sub-groups of the Niger-Congo (NC) language family were determined by Greenberg (1955) whose revision of Westermann’s (1911, 1927) classification proposed six branches: West Atlantic, Mande, Gur, Adamawa-Eastern, Kwa (which included Kru and Ijo), and Benue-Congo. In the late 1980s, Williamson (1989) proposed some new sub-groupings based on the lexicostatistical work of P. R. Bennett and Sterk (1977) and lexical innovations in particular branches. The most significant changes implemented by Williamson (1989) included removing Kru and Ijo from Kwa and having them form separate branches, and the creation of the controversial groups ‘New Kwa’ and ‘New Benue-Congo’. New Kwa comprised Greenberg’s western Kwa languages (Potou-Tano, Ga-Dangme, Ka-Togo, Na-Togo, Gbé), while New Benue-Congo comprised Greenberg’s eastern Kwa languages such as Yoruboid, Nupoid, Idomoid, Igboïd, plus the traditional Benue-Congo groups such as Cross River, and Bantoid.

Although Williamson’s classification has become popular among many Africanists and other linguists, it has been rejected by some linguists (e.g. Güldemann, 2008a) who still use Greenberg’s classification as their point of reference. To further cast doubt on the New Kwa, New Benue-Congo groupings, Williamson and Blench (2000) present a diagram where *South Volta-Congo (=Proto-Benue-Kwa) is represented as a dialect continuum (using double lines) comprising Nyo, Left Bank, West Benue-Congo, Ukan, and East Benue-Congo (which includes Platoid, Cross River, and Bantoid). Williamson and Blench’s presentation can be interpreted as a ‘silent compromise’ and the precursor to more overt retractions by Roger
The name Benue-Congo has had a rather chequered history. Originating with Westermann’s *Benue Cross-Fluss*, it became the usual term to refer to the noun-class languages of east-central Nigeria, reified in the Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist. During the 1980s, the evidence for remnant noun classes in former Eastern Kwa, Yoruboid etc., seemed persuasive enough to merge the two into an enlarged Benue-Congo. This framework still appears in many reference texts. However, the linguistic, as opposed to typological evidence for this was always slight. I now consider that we should revert to the original definition, which I have called ‘East Benue-Congo’ provisionally.²

Therefore, based on the foregoing arguments, and on the advise of several Africanists, I have rejected Williamson (1989) and Williamson and Blench’s (2000) New Kwa and New Benue-Congo. Outside of these two subgroups, I have accepted the Niger-Congo classification proposed by Williamson (1989). The label Kwa used in this thesis is essentially Greenberg’s (1955) Kwa minus Kru and Ijo. The languages mentioned in this thesis that belong to Kwa are Akán, Èdó, Gà, Gbè, Guang, Nupe, Idoma, Igbo, Nzema, and Yorùbá. Benue-Congo splits off into Cross River (e.g. Èfik, Ibibio) and Bantoid languages (Northern Bantoid, and Southern Bantoid (also referred to as Wide Bantu). The Wide Bantu group contains the Narrow Bantu languages, which are the most relevant languages in the group for this thesis. The combination of Kwa and Benue-Congo is referred to as Benue-Kwa, which was the term first used for this grouping by Givón (1975). The label ‘African’ is used in this thesis to refer to words that can be traced with equal plausibility to languages belonging to two or more phyla on the continent (cf. §4.3.4). For example, African would be used for a word that has plausible etyma in Akán (a Niger-Congo language) and Hausa (an Afro-Asiatic language).

Other matters which cause confusion in the literature are the multiple names used by the same or different authors (within and across publications) for the same African language, and the existence of variant spellings of the same language name. It is often difficult for the reader to keep track of all the variants. To solve this problem, I have adopted the *Ethnologue* (Gordon & Grimes, 2005) names for all languages, including languages mentioned in quotations. For those occurring in quoted material, my editorial adjustments are enclosed within square brackets. I only depart from the *Ethnologue* system by including tone marks where these are known.

²Taken from Roger Blench’s website [http://www.rogerblench.info/Language\%20data/Niger-Congo/Benue-Congo/East\%20Benue-Congo\%20page.htm](http://www.rogerblench.info/Language%20data/Niger-Congo/Benue-Congo/East%20Benue-Congo%20page.htm).
The Kwa language labelled in the current thesis as Àkán is referred to in previous studies by Africanists and creolists by various names such as Twi, Fante, Ashanti-Twi, Twi-Fante. In keeping with current practice among Africanists, I use Àkán consistently to refer to the language as a whole while Agona, Akuapem, Akyem, Asante, and Fante refer to dialects of Àkán. Likewise, whereas previous scholars referred to the major language cluster spoken in Benin, Togo, and eastern Ghana as Ewe (i.e. Vhe), I use Gbè as the name of the language (see Capo, 1991) with dialects Vhe, Gê, Fon, etc. Koongo and Mbundu are used to identify the languages Kikôngò and Kîmbündû, respectively. Appendix C provides a list of all languages (African and non-African) which are mentioned in this thesis.
Appendix B

ETYMONOLOGICAL ANALYSES

It [etymology] is only a special application of the principles that relate to synchronic and diachronic facts. It goes back into the history of words until it finds something to explain them (de Saussure, 1966, p. 189).

B.1 Introduction

This Appendix provides detailed etymological analyses of Jamaican lexical items for which African etymologies have been proposed in previous works, in addition to those which have not received etymological treatment before, but for which secure African etymologies have been found. The Appendix is the result of the synthesis of the critical overview of previous works undertaken in chapter 3, and the methodological guidelines for assigning etymologies outlined in chapter 4.

Section B.3.1 contains detailed etymological analyses of 505 putative Africanisms which have been attested in Jamaica. The section is further sub-divided into lexemes which are a part of general Jamaican (§B.3.1), covering entries 1–435, anthroponyms, ethnonyms, and toponyms (§B.3.2) which cover entries 435–469, and words which have only been attested in the restricted codes of the Maroons (§B.3.3, entries 470–487), Kumina (§B.3.4, 488–499), and Nago and Etu (§B.3.5, entries 500–505).

B.1.1 Works on Jamaican Creole

For the sake of brevity, works on Jamaican which are cited frequently are referred to by three- or four-letter initialisms based on their titles. These abbreviations are included in the
list of abbreviations at the front of the thesis but they are reproduced in Table B.1.1 for convenience.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbrev.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Citation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DJE</td>
<td>Dictionary of Jamaican English</td>
<td>Cassidy and Le Page (1967)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARJC</td>
<td>African Retentions in Jamaican Creole</td>
<td>Mittelsdorf (1978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EJB</td>
<td>An Ethnolinguistic Approach to Jamaican Botany</td>
<td>Hall-Alleyne (1996)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B.2 Structure of entries

The etymologies in §B.3 are treated individually in blocks which resemble dictionary entries. At the beginning of each entry is the entry number which uniquely identifies the entry, and provides a count for the total number of African etymologies that are dealt with in the current work. The maximal entry comprises four sections which, all but the first, are identified by small numbers enclosed within circles: ②, ③, ④.

The first section is the headword section which is not marked with a section number so as not to clash with the entry number. This section contains the headword, which is the lexeme being treated and all recorded senses of that lexeme. Where a particular lexeme has several pronunciations, all variants are listed and set off by commas. These variant pronunciations may have several sources. The majority of them are reproduced directly from the pronunciation section of the corresponding entries in the DJE or DCEU. Other variants are taken from other works which include variants not recorded in the two dictionaries mentioned. The remaining pronunciation variants account for instances in which the DJE headword uses eyedialect. Where there is sufficient evidence, the pronunciations have been reconstructed from the illustrative quotations in the DJE taking into account English orthographic practices and Jamaican phonology.

Most of the senses which come after the headword have been copied directly from the DJE in the order in which they are given in that work. As is common for dictionaries on historical principles, many senses in the DJE are arranged chronologically in the order in which they were attested. However, the reader should bear in mind that the first meaning attested in writing is not always the original meaning of a word. Senses for lexemes which are not treated in the DJE, but are treated in other works are copied directly from those works. This leaves those entries which have not been dealt with in previous works, and have been added by me. For these ‘first-time’ entries the sense(s) listed represent(s) my own native-speaker usage.

The second section, labelled ② gives the African etymon which has been accepted for the Jamaican lexeme. The reader should note that not all entries possess a section ②. The section is missing in entries where no suitable African etymology has been found (including instances of nursery words, sound symbolism, and some interjections). This has been done to keep the purpose of the section focused and uncomplicated, and to ensure that the reader can retrieve the African etyma easily. Etymologies are given starting with the language, followed by the dialect, where relevant, enclosed within parentheses. If several words are listed in this section, it means that they are equally plausible on both formal and semantic
Table B.1: African regions of slave/word origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbr.</th>
<th>Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SEN</td>
<td>Senegambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIE</td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIN</td>
<td>Windward Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOC</td>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIA</td>
<td>Bight of Biafra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCA</td>
<td>West-central Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEA</td>
<td>South-east Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

grounds as the source of the Jamaican lexeme, i.e. they are multiple possible etymologies. African words are presented in bold IPA font. The word is followed directly by its meaning, and the source of the data. I have taken the etyma from the original African sources even when one (or more) of the previous works on Jamaican agrees with and provides the same etymology.

The third section is labelled ③ and is the longest part of most entries. This section provides a discussion of etymologies which have been proposed for the lexeme in previous works, and represents the implementation of the methological principles outlined in chapter 4. For conciseness, the discussion does not always mention all the etymologies which have been proposed in the past, especially in cases where the proposal is clearly tenuous. If a word is found to have a non-African etymology, it is mentioned in this section.

The final section in the entry is labelled ④. This section contains the African language or group of languages to which the etymology has been assigned. See Appendix A.2 for a full explanation of the system which is used here. The language (group) assignment is followed by the region in which the source language of the word is/was spoken. These regions of word origin (see Table B.1) correspond to the regions of slave origins which were introduced in §2.2.1. If no (suitable) African etymology has been found for the Jamaican lexeme, then a brief note will be placed in this section which informs the reader of the status.
B.3 Etymologies

This section presents etymological analyses of 505 words, phrases, and proper names for which African etymologies have been suggested in previous works, plus a few that either have not been studied before or whose etymologies were unknown or uncertain, but for which secure African etymologies have now been established.

Subsection B.3.1 (entries 1–436) contains 436 lexical and grammatical items which have been attested in Jamaican Creole. Anthroponyms, ethnonyms and toponyms for which African sources have been suggested in the existing literature, are dealt with in subsection B.3.2. Items only attested in Maroon communities are treated in subsection B.3.3 (entries 471–487); those attested only among the practitioners of Kumina are dealt with in subsection B.3.4 (entries 488–499), while those attested only in the Nago and Etu communities of western Jamaica are treated in subsection B.3.5 (entries 500–505).

B.3.1 Lexical Africanisms found in Jamaican

1. **Aachi** ‘codfish cakes, fritters’. ② Gbè (Vhe) **atsí’** a river fish’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 1), Gà **ati** ‘a large kind of sea fish, mermaid (?), dolfin (?) [sic.]’ (Zimmermann, 1858a, p. 22). ③ The question marks are from the original work, and represent Zimmermann’s uncertainty about the exact reference of the Gà word. However, he seems to be sure that it is a kind of fish. ④ Although the consonant in the Gà form is an alveolar stop as opposed to an affricate, there are a few recorded cases in Jamaican of /t/ varying with /tʃ/ before the high front vowel (in unstressed syllables), e.g. **titibu ~ tichibu** ‘firefly’. The Gbè candidate is also supported by the fact that loss of nasalisation is quite regular in the transfer from African languages to Jamaican (see item 22). ④ Kwa: Gà, Gbè (GOC).

2. **Abà** as in ‘Poor ketch Abba a low groun’ him tun servant fe dorg’, (quoted in the DJE from a 1935 source; not attested separately). ② Guang (Gua) **ab’a** ‘government, ruling class’ (Asihene, c. 1999, p. 13). ③ The DJE treats this word as a semantic extension of the African-derived day-name **Abà** (see entry 437), hence the editors gloss the proverb as, ‘When poverty catches Abba on low grounds, she becomes servant to a dog’. However, the circa 1935 illustrative quotation provides evidence for the Guang etymon proposed here. In light of the Guang etymology, the meaning of the proverb would be ‘When poverty strikes the rich man, he becomes servant to a dog’, hence the more likely meaning of **aba** in Jamaican would be ‘rich person’. ④ Guang (GOC).

3. **Abe1, Aba, Abi, Ebi** ‘the African oil-palm, *Elaeis guineensis*, and its fruit’. ② Àkan **a-bé** ‘palm, palm-tree, the species of palm from which palm-wine […] and palm-oil […] is obtained’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 11), Guang (Anana) **abe**, (Aputu) **a-br**, (Larteh) **e-be**, (Nkonya) **a-br**, (Krachi) **a-br** (J. M. Stewart, 1966, 21, Westermann, 1922, 170), Anufo **a-bé** ‘the oil palm’ (Krass, 1970, p. 1). ③ The form from the Larteh dialect of Guang is retained since there are other words in the present list of Africanisms which exhibit alternation between /a/ and /e/. ④ Tano: Àkan, Guang (GOC), Anufo (GOC, BEN).

4. **Abe2** ‘broadleaf seed’. ② Àkan **aba** ‘seed’ (Berry, 1960, p. 114). ③ The DJE lists this word under the headword **abray** (**abe1**, entry 3) ‘African oil palm’. It should be treated as a separate lexeme, probably with phonetic influence from **abe1** which resulted in the raising of the final vowel. ④ Àkan (GOC).

5. **Abeng** ‘(a) a cow’s horn used as a musical instrument and for signalling, especially among the Maroons; (b) a conch-shell or any other form of Maroon bugle’. ② Àkan
(Akuapem) **abeny** ‘horn of animals; horn; flute, whistle, wind instrument, musical instrument’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 14). 3 The Ákán etymon was also accepted by the DJE, ARJC, and the DCEU.

Although the abeng is associated primarily with the Maroons, it appears that it was also used by non-Maroons too. The earliest quotation [1890] which the DJE provides does not appear to be linked to the Maroons so I include it here tentatively as a part of the (older) lexicon of Jamaican.

Please note that the Fante dialect of Ákán has **abéen** ~ **améen** ‘horn’ (W. E. Welmers, 1946, p. 30). 1 Based on (W. E. Welmers & Harris, 1942, p. 320) and (Dolphyne, 1988, p. 47) Fante does not allow nasal in word-final position and so the word is likely to be from Akuapem or Agona which do allow the velar nasal in word-final position. 4 Ákán (GOC).

6. **ABU**₁ ‘a dark reddish-black or dun-coloured clayey earth occurring in shale-like formation in damp places; it has a sweetish taste and was once eaten by negroes’. 2 Ákán (Akuapem) **r-bó** ‘potter’s clay (of a gray colour)’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 30). 3 The DJE contains two homophounous entries for **ABU**. The editors list the first word with two senses. The current entry deals with only their first sense. I believe that the second sense is a different word with its own etymology (see entry 7). The DJE asks us to consider Ákán **r-bó** ‘grey potter’s clay’, and also Ákán **abo-abó** ‘stony’ < **abó** ‘stones, rocks’ as possible etyma. With the new sense disambiguation, it appears that **r-bó** can account for what the DJE supplies as sense (1) without recourse to the other suggested etyma. Note that the lowering of the open-mid front vowel [E] to the low vowel [a] is extremely rare on our list of Africanisms. I have come across only one other example provided by another Tano-derived word, i.e. **ebi** in **ebi-paam** (DJE **ebby-palm**) which is a variant of the more popular **abe** (see entry 3).

The fact that clayey soil is very different from stony soil, supports my decision to split the entry into two different words. The two eighteenth-century illustrative quotations which the DJE lists have **ABU** being used in the compound **ABU-ORT** (spelt aboo earth). The final attestation the DJE contains comes from mid-twentieth century fieldwork, and records the form **ABU** in the western parishes of Trelawny and St. James. 4 Ákán (GOC).

7. **ABU**₂ ‘stony, slaty soil’. 2 Ákán (Akuapem) **abo-abó** ‘stony’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 31). 3 The DJE contains two homophonic headwords **ABU**. The current entry represents sense (2) of the first homophone (see entry 6 for sense disambiguation). The sole attestation the editors provide notes only the parish, but does not provide the form. I think that Cassidy’s own 1952 attestation of **abo-stuon** (**ABU** + stone) which is given under sense (1) in the DJE, is more appropriately associated with sense (2). I concur with the DJE and ARJC that Ákán **abo** ‘stones, rock’ provides a suitable etymon for this term. 4 Ákán (GOC).

8. **ADOPI** ‘a hairy little creature said to live in the bush’. 2 Ákán (Akuapem) **adópé** ‘a species of ape’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 93), Gá **adope** ‘chimpanzee’ related to **asamankpa** ‘chimpanzee living on the islands of the river Volta, where the “sisaï” or ghosts are said to have their towns; dwarf’ (Zimmermann, 1858a, pp. 6, 20, Dakubu, 1999, p. 14). 3 This word and Jamaican **dopi** ‘ghost’ (entry 130) go back to the same etymon, however, I have not merged the two entries since both words have slightly different meanings and are slightly different in shape (i.e. the presence or absence of the initial vowel). Both the DJE and the ARJC accept the Ákán etymology. Note however, that there is a discrepancy between the dialectal assignment of this in the ARJC and that given in (Christaller, 1933). The ARJC assigns the word to Fante, while (Christaller, 1933, p. 93) points out that the Fante equivalent is **aboatia**.

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1In considering the Fante data, bear in mind that Welmers’ main informant was Kwame Nkrumah who was a second-language speaker of the language (Dakubu p.c.; W. E. Welmers & Harris, 1942, 318; W. E. Welmers, 1946, 3)
I assume that the ARJC’s information was supplied by one of Mittelsdorf’s informants, since her definition is a bit different from Christaller’s. ④ Nyo: Ákán, Gã (GOC).

9.  **ADUO** ‘outside, out of doors’, ② Ákán (Akuapem) **adiwo** ‘the yard of a native dwelling’, **adiwo ho** ‘out of doors, without’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 85). ③ The DJE derives this word from English *a-doors*, with probable reinforcement from Ákán **adiwo**. It turns out that the DJE’s claim regarding reinforcement (the matter of directionality aside) is on mark. However, it is worth explaining how that influence actually took place. Example (25a) below is a good illustration of the behaviour of this word which is directly influenced by Ákán. Here, the word means ‘outside’ and appears without a preposition (which would have been redundant), as opposed to (25b) which is the English-influenced version. Note the slight difference in meaning caused by the presence/absence of the preposition.

    DET child PL gone **aduo**
    ‘The children have gone out(side)/abroad.’

b. Di pikni dem gaan out aduo.
    DET child PL gone out **aduo**
    ‘The children have gone out(side)/*abroad.’

The EDD defines *a-doors* as ‘without the door or house, outside’, but this appears to be a misconception caused by the fact that the word *a-doors* seems to occur more frequently with the preposition *out*. However, the OED contains evidence to demonstrate that it can also follow the prepositions *forth* and *in*, a fact which suggests that the word itself does not refer to a location relative to the door, but may do so when combined with one of these prepositions. ④ Ákán (GOC).

10. **AFANA, AFENA, AFINI** ‘the Maroon word for a cutlass, machette’, ② Ákán (Akyem) **afaná** ‘sword’ with variants **afena, afona**, (Akuapem) **afóá** ‘the state-sword which belongs to the insignia of a king’, Guang **afőá, Gbè (Vhe) aflat** ‘Häuptlingsschwert’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 187). ④ The form from Guang and the Akuapem dialect of Ákán are poorer matches than the Akyem form, since it lacks the nasal which all the Jamaican forms possess. ④ Ákán (GOC).

11. **AFASIA, AFASYAH** ‘a kind of wild yam’. ② Ákán **afasé, afasedw** ‘an inferior kind of yam’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 118), Gã **afaseo** ‘winged yam, water yam, *Dioscorea alata*’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 15), Gbè (Vhe) **afased** ‘an inferior kind of yam’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 4). ③ The DJE gives the Ákán and Gbè etyma, while the EJB adds the Gã candidate to the list. ④ Kwa: Ákán, Gã, Gbè (GOC).

12. **ÁFU, ÁFO, HÁFU, HÁFO**, also in **AFU-YAM** ‘a common variety of hard yellow yam *Dioscoreaceae*. Sometimes the hard white yam, though this is usually distinguished as *white afu*’. ② Ákán **afun** as in **afum’-bayeré** a type of yam (97, p. see)69, 140[chrisdict]. ③ The DJE derives this word from Ákán **afúw** ‘plantation, cultivated ground’, a proposal that is taken over by the DCEU which adds that **afúw** may have been reinforced by words such as Ákán **afú-afú** ‘rough, rugged’ and **afúw** ‘cultivated ground’. The etymology accepted here—which matches the semantics of the Jamaican word better than the proposals given in the DJE and DCEU—is the one proposed by (Hall-Alleyne, 1996, p. 18) in the EJB. The word *afu* also occurs in several other compounds in Jamaican which designate types of yam: *afu-buosn, afu-luusi, afu-pumpum, red afu*, and *wait-afu*. ④ Ákán (GOC).
13. **AGANGA** 'lizard'. ② Dangme *agama*, Gbè (Vhe) *ağáma* 'chameleon' (Huttar, 1985, p. 52), Gbè (Fôn) *ağámmá* 'caméléon' (Höftmann, 2003, p. 69). ③ The DJE suggests English *iguana* or *agama* as possible sources of the Jamaican word. However, the normal Jamaican reflex of English *iguana* is *guana*, and we would need to account for the change of the initial vowel from /i/ to /a/ and the change of the diphthong to a monophthong. On the matter of English *agama*, OED2 informs us that it is the ‘native Caribbean name’ for ‘a genus of lizards’, which means that the Caribbean contributed the word to English and not vice versa. Note too that Ijọ (Okrika) has a form *ágám-ğánum* ‘male lizard’ (Sika, 1995, p. 2), that is cognate with the Adangme and Gbè forms but is a poor formal match for the Jamaican word. ④ Kwa: Dangme, Gbè (GOC, BEN).

14. **AHPETTI** ‘a spell; a charm’. ③ The DJE considers two etymologies for this word: Àkán *o-peyi* ‘a certain amulet’, and Àkán *opete* ‘vulture, deity’. The first proposal is implausible on formal grounds, since the sound change it implies is not attested elsewhere. The second proposal provides a better formal match but the meaning is too tenuous to make its acceptance anything but a guess. ④ No suitable (African) etymon found.

15. ÁI, ÁAI ‘(a) exclamation of sorrow, pain or distress; (b) exclamation of surprise or pleasure’. ③ The DJE claims that this word is probably from Àkán *ai, aai, aii* ‘ah me! alas!’, but asks us to also consider Spanish *ay*, French *aïe*, etc., and English *ay*. The DCEU asks us to consider West African parallels such as Àkán *ai, aai, aii* ‘ah me!, alas!, woel!’, Hausa *ai* ‘well! fancy! what!’. As with other exclamations, this one could have arisen from universal linguistic tendencies, as well as a form such as Spanish *Ay*! which covers the same functional range as the Jamaican expression. ④ Interjection.

16. **AJRU, AJRUU, AJU, HAJU** ‘a medicinal plant; especially in Jamaica *Cyperus articulatus*, a reed with a chive-like blossom which when crushed and mixed with rum is used as a dressing for fresh cuts and wounds’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) *adùru* ‘powder, medicine, drug, physic’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 100), Gbè (Vhe) *adrú* ‘moss used as a dressing for wounds’; (Fante) *edur* ~ *eduru* ‘medicine, drug, poison’ (Russell, 1910, p. 38; Kasahorow 2005), Guang *ad çuru* ‘Pulver’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 182), Krache *a-du* ‘medicine’ (J. M. Stewart, 1966, p. 33). ③ (Westermann, 1930, p. 194) glosses Gbè (Vhe) *ad çuru* as ‘moss’, while (Rongier, 1995, p. 466) provides *adrù* ‘algue, moisissure’. The Gbè (Vhe) etymon coincides with the plant meaning but I have not found a reference to its being used as a drug. On the other hand, the Ákán word has the ‘medicine meaning, but my sources say nothing about a plant. The five spelling variants in the DJE: *adrue, adru, adroo, hadrow, hadrue*, point to Gbè as a better source than Ákán or Guang since there are less steps from the Gbè form to the Jamaican one, however, the Ákán one cannot be ruled out totally. ④ Kwa: Ákán, Guang, Gbè (GOC).

17. **AKÁM, AKOM, HAKÁM** ‘a kind of wild yam which bears aerially on the vine; eaten when other food is scarce, *Dioscorea bulbifera*’. ② Ákán (Akuapem) *akám* ‘a species of wild yam, eaten in times of famine’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 223). ③ The etymon accepted here agrees with the DJE, ARJC, and the EJB. ④ Ákán (GOC).

18. **AKETE**, and *KETE* as in KETE-JROM ‘the drums used in BURU dancing’. ② Guang (Gua) *kete* ‘traditional music-drumming and dancing’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 71). ③ The DJE treats this word as a recently acquired sense of the Maroon word *akete* ‘bugle’ (see entry 473), however, the shift in semantics from ‘flute’ to ‘drum’ is too tenuous. (Zimmermann, 1858a, p. 149) also records Gã *kete* ‘a set of playing-instruments; a kind of musik made by them; a kind of dance’, but unfortunately he does not state explicitly which instruments make up the set. Additionally, if the Gã word refers to the entire set of instruments as opposed to the
19. ÁKI, HÁKKI, AKA, OKI, HOKI ‘(a) the tree Blighia sapida, introduced from West Africa about 1778; (b) the fruit of this tree’. ② Kru á-kee ‘a kind of wild cashew tree and its fruits’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 3), Akán (Akuapem) akyéá ‘a cashew-nut’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 287). ③ The DJE derives this word from the Kru etymon given in the previous section, but also asks us to consider Akán aŋkyé ‘a kind of wild cashew tree and its fruits’. The other Akán word in the current list of putative Africanisms, which has a VC nominal prefix (cf. Dolphyne, 1988, p. 82 for an explanation of this phenomenon) is antana (entry 22) whose shorter variant forms show loss of the entire VC prefix and not only of the nasal consonant. This makes aŋkyé, a somewhat unlikely source, and so in its stead I have proposed Akán akyéá ‘a cashew-nut’ as a more plausible source, if we assume two changes which are attested elsewhere in this list—both the nasal feature on the penultimate syllable, and the final (vocalic) syllable were deleted.

The ARJC does not include this word, the DCEU merely copies the DJE’s etymology, while the EJB mentions Yorùbá ishin which is clearly a poor etymon for the Jamaican word, and Akán ahyke. Even though EJB credits (Christaller, 1933) for its Akán etymon, the orthography of the form is not in keeping with the suggested source.

On the matter of how a word meaning “cashew”, Anacardium occidentale could come to designate “ackee”, Blighia sapida, a totally different fruit, it should be noted that both plants belong to the same order Sapindales. However, the aki belongs to the Sapindaceae family, whereas the cashew belongs to the Anacardiaceae family. It should also be noted that there is a slight resemblance between the unopened pod of the cashew nut and that of the ackee.

Note also that the African word is a Wanderwort, whose ultimate etymology is probably Yorùbá (see Abraham, 1949, p. 14). However, it is difficult, if not impossible, to say when the word was copied from Yorùbá into the other languages. In light of this difficulty, we list all the languages in which it has been found, as potential sources of the Jamaican form. That this word is a case of multiple etymologies is borne out by how its origin is treated in the DJE and ARJC which give several potential source forms. This contrasts with the DCEU which only provides a single etymon.

20. ÁKRA ‘a flat cake made from blackeye peas, fried in oil’. ② Yorùbá akàrä ‘an oily cake made from beans ground and fried’ (Abraham, 1958, p. 41), Igbo akàrà ‘cake (usually fried) made of beans, cassava, etc.’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 39). Efík akara (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 4), Hausa akarà ‘beanflour-cake’ (Abraham, 1949, p. 14), Ibibio akarà ‘a fritter made of blackeyed peas and pepper’ (Kaufman, 1985, p. 20). Igbo (Okrika) akarà ‘fried balls of ground beans’ (Sika, 1995, p. 4). ③ The word also exists in Gà as akala ‘fried bean ball’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 19) and Dangme as akla ‘fried bean ball’ (Dakubu, 1973, p. 116), however, since Jamaican and all other AECs have an inter-vocalic rhotic liquid and not a lateral, the Gà and Dangme candidates are poorer formal matches for the Jamaican lexeme. ④ Confirmed: Hausa (BIA); Yorùbá, Ijọ (BEN), Igbo, Efík, Ibibio (BIA).

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21. ANÁNSI, ANAASI, HANÁANSI, NAANSI, NÁNSI ‘a harmless spider, as distinct from spiders, which term in the dialect is frequently reserved for the black poisonous variety’. ② Akán (Akuapem) anánsé ‘spider’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 330), Guang (Gua) ananse ‘spider’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 33), (Akuapem) a-nááse, (Larteh) a-náánsi, (Nkonya) núú, (Chumburung) nàánsé, (Kracher) a-nàánsé ‘spider’ ((J. M. Stewart, 1966, p. 19), (Snider, 1989, p. 22)). ③ I have split the DJE entry ANANCY into two (see the other at entry 437) because I think we are dealing with two words which even though historically related in Jamaican and various Tano
languages, were already considered separate in the latter before the formation of Jamaican. In doing so, I follow the DCEU’s treatment which deals with them as two separate headwords. The ARJC omits the ‘spider’ meaning for the Jamaican word, giving instead only ‘spider hero of Caribbean folk tales’ but then provides both Ákán ananse ‘spider’ and Ananse ‘spider deity’ as etyma.

From the variant pronunciations in Jamaican, we note that both vowel-initial and consonant-initial forms exist. One possible argument would be to view the consonant-initial forms as the result of the loss of the vocalic prefix which happens in a few other words (see entry 18 and §7.2.1). However, a look at the list of etyma in the preceding section shows that Tano languages such as Guang (Chumburung & Nkonya dialects) also have consonant-initial forms. ④ Tano: Ákán, Guang (GOC).

22. **ANTANA, TANA, TENA TANU** ‘a large string bag for carrying weight on the back’. ② Ákán (Fante) atêñá ‘a travelling net’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 502). ③ In accepting the Ákán etymology I agree with the DJE and the ARJC, but there are two points which need to be made regarding this word. First, this appears to be a clear case of a copy from the Fante dialect, since the form in Akuapem, Akyem, and Asante is atrã (cf. Christaller, 1933, xiii, 502, 533). Second, we have the insertion of a homorganic nasal /n/ before the alveolar stop /t/, which provides further support for my choice in entries such as sampata (entry 360) based on my argument that insertion of nasals in this position could have taken place in Jamaica. ④ Ákán (GOC).

23. **ÀÓ, ÀÓÁ** ‘an exclamation of fear, surprise, acceptance, or comprehension of a statement, etc.; equivalent to English oh!’ ③ The DJE asks us to compare Ákán ãò ‘what! why! hey! ay! fie!’, which the editors state is ‘now rather countrified’. I have already outlined in §4.3.9.0.1 why African etymologies for these words have not been accepted in the current work. ④ Corporeal sound symbolism.


③ This entry merges two DJE headwords: APIMPE and PEM-PEM, PEMPENY. The DJE does not give a definition for the headword APIMPE, but almost all the illustrative quotations identify it as a type of grass. The editors suggest Madagascar ampembe, ampemby ‘sorgho’ as a possible source. As with several other plants on this list, it is likely that the name came to be applied in Jamaica not to the sorghum plant itself, but to a plant (probably inedible) which is similar to it. The DJE’s 1707 quotation from Sloane identifies the weed as the *Milium Indicum arundinaceo*.

The twentieth century quotations which the DJE furnishes for the headword APIMPE do not furnish sufficient evidence to prove that they refer to the same plant as the eighteenth century one mentioned by (Sloane, 1707). What we are certain of, is that (Sloane, 1707, p. 104) mentions the plant ‘ampembe’ and glosses it in Latin as the *Milium Indicum arundinaceo*, which is a member of the sorghum group of plants. Further evidence for the sorghum meaning comes from the word pempeni (DJE PEM-PEM), which is recorded in a nineteenth-century song in a story: ‘Mudfish shake himself, den begin fe sing—“Yerry groomer corn pempeny”’. I take the word ‘pempeny’ in the song to be a reference to corn. ④ Narrow Bantu: Gikuyu, Shambala, Zigula, Taita, Bemba, Yao, Mwera (SEA).

25. **ÀŠHÁM, HÀŠHÀM, ASHAN, ASASHAM, SHAMSHAM, SHAMSHUKU** ‘parched corn, finely ground and mixed with sugar’. ② Ákán (Akuapem) o-siäm ‘parched and ground corn’
ÁSUNÚ, ÁSUNU, ASÚNA, ASÚNUK, ASÍN, SÚNÚ, SÚNU-SÚNU ‘(a) the elephant, known especially as a character in Anancy stories; his identity is now often obscured; (b) a big, oafish, stupid man; a person who is very big and/or greedy (c) a very big corn dumpling’. ② Anyi (e)sóó ‘elephant’ (J. M. Stewart, 1976, p. 129), Àkán (Akuapem) e-sóno ‘elephant’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 470). ③ This entry consolidates two DJE headwords: asunu given with senses (a)–(c) above, and súnu with sense (b) only. I have merged them since we have several cases in the current list where a Jamaican word has variant forms with and without what was in the source language a vocalic noun-class prefix. The ARJC, like the DJE only gives the Àkán etymon, however, the preceding section shows that Anyi contains an equally plausible etymon. ④ Tano: Anyi, Àkán (GOC).

27. ATUU ‘a plant of disputed identity; chew stick’. ② Ìgbo (Ọweré) atu ‘chewing-stick’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 80), (Ịkà) atù ‘chewstick’, (Ịkwùnàì) ětu ‘chewstick’ (Williamson, 1968, p. 3, 33). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Ìgbo, but there is more than enough evidence to confirm an Ìgbo source for this word. The Ìgbo pronunciations match the Jamaican one, and the eighteenth century illustrative quotation which the DJE furnishes states that the slaves used the plant to ‘cleanse their teeth’, thus corroborating the ‘chewstick’ meaning. ④ Ìgbo (BIA).

28. BAABA, BABA ‘(a) father, grandfather, or senior male member of a household; used as a title and term of respect; (b) brother’. ③ Both the DJE and the DCEU suggest African sources for this word. It is not improbable that the baaba in Jamaican may be a direct copy from one or more African languages such as Mandinka béba ‘father’ (MED, 1995, p. 3), Bamanakan baba ‘affectionate term for father’ (C. Bird & Kanté, 1977, p. 1), Bagugu babá ‘Vater’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 142), Yorùbá bába ‘father, master’ (DYL, 2003, p. 52), Nupe bába ‘father’ (Banfield, 1914, p. 33), Gikuyu baba ‘my father’ (Mareka & Kirklady-Willis, 1953, p. 49), among many others. However, it was pointed out in §4.3.8 that the word for ‘father’ exhibits great formal similarity cross-linguistically even in languages that are not genealogically related. This increases the likelihood of such a word reflecting language universals rather than being a direct copy from one or more African languages. Seeing that we are interested only in cases where the African contribution can be clearly delineated, we will have to deny baaba provable African status for the purposes of this thesis. ④ Nursery term.

29. BÁAKINTI ‘(a) a ring-game or play usually constituting part of a nine-night or other funeral observance; (b) by extension, all ring play; (c) a funeral meeting characterized by ring play’. ② Mbundu -kina, -khina ‘bailar’ (da Silva Maia, 1964, p. 68); Koongo bakini ‘the dancers’ < kina ‘to dance’, Shira -xin- ‘to dance’; Shira-Punu baxini, Mbete bākēn, Teke & Chokwe-Luchazi bakīni which all mean ‘to dance’ (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 40). ③ The DJE derives the word from Bantu bakini ‘the dancers’, but does not specify which Bantu language the word is from. The DJES provides additional information by pointing to Puerto Rican baquiné, í and Dominican baquiní ‘the wake at the death of an infant’. By their
treatment, it is clear that the editors intend us to take the Puerto Rican and Dominican forms as possible etyma for the Jamaican word. However, given that no (significant) movement between Jamaica and these countries has been documented in the relevant period, plus the fact that the Jamaican form does not seem to have been restricted to wakes (for children), it is likely that we are dealing with separate cases of copying from Narrow Bantu languages. The association with a wake for a child might have been lost over time, and preserved only in one of the baakini songs which the DJE records: ‘baakil im pikini bakini kini oh!’. Apart from the exclamation ‘oh’, the only other words whose meanings are identifiable are im pikini (3SG child). ④ Narrow Bantu: Teke (BIA), Shira, Koongo, Mbundu, Chokwe-Luchazi, Mbere (WCA).

30. **BAAM** ‘(a) the “healing influence” experienced at a BALM-YARD; (b) the “treatment” applied to a patient at a BALM-YARD; (c) abbreviation for BALM-YARD’. ③ The DJE states that baam is probably from English balm. In addition to the English proposal, DJE2 asks us to consider Àkán abam ‘name of a fetish, etc.’. Deriving the Jamaican word from English balm is unproblematic, but whether it was influenced by the Àkán word is extremely hard to prove. Suffice it to say that the English word like the Jamaican one is associated with healing, while all we know about the Àkán one is that it is the name of a fetish. Not all African fetishes are associated with healing, a fact which undermines the suitability of the Àkán candidate. ④ African etymology rejected.

31. **BAANDI, BANDI** ‘(a) a type of coco [see **KUOKO** below]; (b) a large yam resembling coco-head’. ② Yorùbá bánjí ‘a type of yam’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 16). ③ This word represents two DJE entries: BAANDI with senses (a)–(b) for which the DJE asks us to compare the Yorùbá etymon accepted here; and BANDI which is given with sense (c) and a suggestion that it might be a nickname for BADOO. I have merged them on the basis that both badu and kuoko are close enough in character for the designations to be confused, and the first Jamaican variant is different from the second only in the length of the nucleus of the first syllable. The /dʒ/ → /d/ phonological change which this etymology suggests is attested in a handful of Jamaican words such as rejista ~ redista < English register. Note, however, that the Jamaican forms could possibly be from an earlier stage of Yorùbá. ④ Yorùbá (BEN).

32. **BABWA** ‘an exclamation; wonder!’. ② Àkán bóbóóóo ‘an interjection’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 34); Koongo bubwó ‘oui, justement; est-ce comme ça?’ (Laman, 1964, p. 60). ③ The DJE offers only the Àkán etymology, while the Koongo candidate is my addition. This exclamation is included because it does not seem to be a member of the (mostly mono-syllabic) iconic class. ④ Benue-Kwa: Àkán (GOC), Koongo (WCA).

33. **BÁDU, BÁDO** ‘a variety of coco with a large, light-red, rhizome or “head” that is eaten, *Colocasia esculenta*’. ② Hausa bado ‘the common water-lily’ (Bargery, 1951/1934, p. 56). ③ The DJE’s etymological note points out that the Hausa word refers to the ‘*Nymphaea lotus*, white water-lily; the starchy rhizome and seeds are edible’. The Hausa etymology is also accepted by the EJB. ④ Hausa (BIA).

34. **BÁFÀN, BÁFAM, BAFÁNI, BAFENE, BÁFINI, BÁFINI** ‘(a) a disfigured or crippled child; one who does not learn to walk properly’; (b) a freak; (c) a useless, clumsy person’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) báfàg, (Akyem) báfâñe ‘a child who did not learn to walk the first 2–7 years; rachitis, the rickets, a children’s disease; sluggard, lazybones’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 4). ③ The DJE treats this word under two separate headwords. The editors list bafan with what are given here as senses (a)–(c), and another entry bafini with sense (a) only. They derive the first headword from Àkán (Akuapem) báfàg (see above), and derive the second
from Àkán (Akyem) bafáne (see above), but asks us to also consider Fante mfina. Akuapem anyinna’a stunted person’. I have fused the DJE’s two headwords into one entry since their forms and semantics suggest that they are historically related.

Fante mfina. Akuapem anyinna’ are untenable on the basis that they differ too much in form from the Jamaican word. Additionally, Àkán/f/ never becomes /b/ in Jamaican. I agree with the DJE and the ARJC that this word is from Àkán, but the variant forms which exist in Jamaican suggest that cognate forms from various dialects of Àkán were copied into the creole. ④ Àkán (GOC).

35. **BAGABU, BOGABU, BOGABOGS** ‘(a) a ghost, spectre; (b) a general word for various insects, worms, and the like; specifically: (i) a termite, (ii) a caterpillar, (iii) a louse, (iv) a bed-bug, (v) a spider; (c) nasal mucus, especially when dry’. ③ The DJE asks us to compare English *bug, bugaboo, buggey-bo*, etc., with probable reinforcement from African words, e.g. Gbè (Fon) búbúb ‘insect’, Bamanakan buba ‘termite’, Gbè (Vhe) baba ‘termite’. The DCEU derives the word from English *bugaboo* ‘a fancied object of terror’. This word is also attested in other Anglo-African varieties such as Liberian English *bug-a-bug* ‘termite’ (Childs, 2000, p. xxii), and other African forms such as Mandingo *bagabaga* ‘termite’; Susu bogboxi ‘termite’ (Hancock, 1983, p. 257) have been proposed as etyma. ②

English *bugaboo* has a long and complex history which if given proper consideration can easily account for all the senses of the Jamaican word. Hence, no recourse to claiming African influence is needed. The English word *bugaboo* ‘a fancied object of terror; a bogy; a bugbear’ is a compound which includes the word *bucca* ‘hobgoblin, bugbear, scarecrow’, recorded in the dialect of Cornwall. OED2 suggests that it is probably cognate with modern Welsh *bgwn* ‘spectre’ which is obviously related to Welsh *bug* ‘a ghost’, and English *bug* ‘object of terror, bogle’. This is the source of English *bug* meaning ‘insect’ (OED2: 608, 626, 627). This shows that the English forms refer to a variety of despicable things and can readily account for the Jamaican word(s). ④ African etymology rejected.

36. **BAIYERI, and as in BÀIYÈRÍ-YÀM** ‘a variety of yam resembling YELLOW YAM’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) bàyère ‘a species of yam’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 11), Gã bayere ‘leaf-yams, an inferior kind of yams’ (s.v. bayare in Zimmermann (1858b, p. 27). ③ The DJE and EJB supply the Àkán etymon, but the EJB goes a step further by adding the Gã etymon to the list. The DJE only records the word in the compound baiyeri-yam, but the EJB, based on twentieth-century fieldwork, quotes an informant who uses baiyeri as an independent word. This word is not listed by the ARJC. ④ Nyo: Àkán, Gã (GOC).

37. **BÁKRA, BÓKRA** ‘(a) a white man or woman; (b) as a term of polite address, equivalent to sir, master, boss; (c) in reference to people of light enough colour to be associated with whites rather than negroes; (d) one who, although not white, lives like a white man or moves in white society; (e) for the white man or master, hence, of good (or the best) quality, excellent; (f) introduced to the negro by the white man, hence by the former considered as characterizing or pertaining to the latter; (g) used for the possessive, hence equivalent to *my* (the speaker’s sense of possession evidently makes him feel like a master; (h) a species of the genus *Phytolacca*; (i) probably the tree *Hernandia catalpifolia*’. ② Èfik mbakara ‘a European; a white man. White men generally. If from Kara, the term is applied to the white man not on account of colour, but because of their superiority in arts &c., and hence, black men practising the arts and customs of civilized life, are sometimes called Makara, or by way of distinction, Obubît makara, Black makara’ (Goldie, 1964, p. 167), Ibibio mbakara ‘European’ (Urua, Ekpenyong, & Gibbon, 2004, p. 75), Duala bakara

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‘white man’ (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 40). ③ The DJE assigns this word to Igbo and Efik, and gives (Turner, 1949, p. 191), as the source of this information. However, (Turner, 1949, p. 191) only lists Efik and Ibibio mbakara, and not Igbo as the DJE claims. It turns out that a close form does exist in Igbo mbakala ‘whiteman’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 386), but there is adequate reason to reject it as the source of the Jamaican word. Based on the data in (Parkvall, 1999), out of the fourteen Atlantic creoles which contain this word, only one has a lateral instead of a rhotic, Cameroon EC. It is very likely that the variant with the lateral is a recent copy into Cameroon EC, and is not reflective of a sound change.

In addition to the Efik etymon which is normally cited as the source of this word, the ARJC suggests Duala bakara, presumably with the same meaning. ④ Benue-Congo: Efik, Ibibio, Duala (BIA).

38. BALAFU ‘an African musical instrument: a kind of harmonicon’. ② Mandinka balafo ‘xylophone’ (MED, 1995, p. 5), Fulfulde (Liptaakoore) balafon ‘xylophone’ (de Wolf, 1995). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Bamanankan bala, Mandinka bala ‘xylophone’, but it is clear that formally these are not good etyma for the Jamaican word. Accepting them would lead us to assume the unmotivated insertion of an entire CV syllable which is unlikely. Bamanankan does have a word that is formally better than the one the DJE suggests, i.e. bala-fó ‘xylophone playing’ (< bala ‘xylophone’ + fó ‘speak’) (C. Bird & Kanté, 1977, p. 2). However, since it refers to the act of playing the xylophone as opposed to the instrument itself, the Mandinka and Fulfulde words listed in the previous section provide better matches for the Jamaican word. ④ Mande-Atlantic-Congo: Mandinka, Fulfulde (SEN).

39. BAM ‘an imitative sound suggesting a sudden action (though not necessarily an audible one)’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider Àkán b`am ‘expressing the sound of striking, clapping, lashing, falling . . . (b`am bam bam a good trashing’, Hausa bam ‘the sound of the slamming of a door’. I reject an African etymology for this word on the basis that it falls into the category of imitative sound symbolism. See §4.3.9.0.2 for further discussion. ⑤ Imitative sound symbolism.

40. BÁMI ‘a flat, round cake (about 1 in. thick) of cassava flour, baked in a heavy iron mould, or a pot or pan’. ② Gã bami ‘cakes or bread of cassada’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, p. 27). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown origin but asks readers to consider etymologies from several indigenous languages of the Americas: Tupi mbeiyá, Guarani mbeyu, Mainland-Carib meiá ‘a kind of cake made of manioc’, plus one African language, Gbè (Vhe) bampá ‘ground maize cooked in water’.

The Carib words are poor formal matches for the Jamaican one since none has the low vowel found in the Jamaican word, none contains the intervocalic bilabial nasal, and all end with back vowels while the Jamaican word ends with the high front vowel. The Gbè candidate is also unsuitable owing to the presence of the word-final low vowel, and the intrusive bilabial stop /p/. The DCEU presents a more convincing etymon from Gã which fits the Jamaican word both in form and meaning. Note, however, that the DCEU misquotes its source by claiming that bami ‘cakes or bread of cassada’ is from Gã-Adangme. (Zimmermann, 1858b) which the DCEU cites as its source mentions bami only in respect to Gã. The Adangme vocabulary at the back of the dictionary does not list any word which is diachronically related to Jamaican bami. ④ Gã (GOC).

41. BAM SUKI ‘(a) an imitative sound suggesting a sudden action (though not necessarily an audible one); (b) sound of a wooden foot’. ③ The DJE derives the first element of this word from bami (entry 40) plus the word *suki which they point out is of unknown origin. The editors suggest that the second element is perhaps partly echoic or from ‘some African
word’, however, no African source has yet been identified for *suki. I suspect that bam suki might have arisen via word play, which is quite typical for words denoting sudden action. Until evidence to the contrary emerges, I have included bam suki among the phonosymbolic words. Please see §4.3.9 for further discussion. ④ Imitative sound symbolism.

42. BANDUULU ‘crookery’. ② Koongo bandululu ‘distorted, dirtied’ (Warner-Lewis, 2004, p. 31). ③ The first scholarly work to mention this word is the RJW which marks the word as being of unknown etymology. Several years after, Warner-Lewis in the JCAH suggested Koongo bandululu ‘distorted, dirtied’, as the source. Unfortunately, I have not found the word anywhere in my Koongo sources, and Warner-Lewis does not include the source of her Koongo data. However, I have found in Koongo the verb bandula ‘to stain, to spoil, dirty, deface, disfigure, mar’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 250), which is undoubtedly related to the etymon proposed in the JCAH, and which provides supporting evidence for it. ④ Koongo (WCA).

43. BANG1 ‘a local name for Clupea pseudohispanica, a small fish of the herring family’. ② Àkán (Fante) e-báŋ ‘herring’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 6). ③ The DJE does not suggest an African etymology for this word, but asks the reader to compare Jamaican bangga ‘a small fresh-water fish’, which suggests the editors consider bang to be a clipped form of bangga. However, the Fante dialect of Àkán—as opposed to Akuapem and Asante which have nman and mmâne, respectively (Berry, 1960, p. 64)—provides a much better source for bang, both in terms of its form and semantics. ④ Àkán (GOC).

44. BANG2 ‘to swell up’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown origin, but includes the word ‘African’ with a question mark. However, no African source has yet been identified for this word. ④ No suitable (African) etymon found.

45. BANGA ‘(a) to sing; (b) a type of Jamaican dance’. ③ The DJE gives no explicit definitions for this word. The senses provided here are drawn from the 1943 illustrative quotations which form part of the dictionary entry. The editors ask us to compare Àkán báŋ ‘singing and dancing to a musical accompaniment’, as the source of this word, and point out that the Àkán word was copied from the English word band. While their Àkán etymology is not totally implausible, it is not entirely clear why Africans would have sought to repair through epenthesis a syllable structure (CVN) which is totally licit in Jamaican and in many Niger-Congo languages. Additionally, we have evidence from another Àkán-derived word (bang, entry 43), that there is no need for repair via epenthesis.

The DJE’s proposed Àkán etymology begs the question as to whether Jamaican bangga could not have been derived locally from English band. However, even this explanation fails to find support in the diachronic phonology of Jamaican. English words such as band, land, sand which end with the <nd> cluster consistently have the alveolar plosive deleted in Jamaican. After the deletion of the alveolar plosive, the /n/ is realised as a velar nasal only when the word is followed by another word which begins with a velar sound. These issues make the DJE’s Àkán etymology implausible. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

46. BANGGA1 ‘a small fresh-water fish like the English ‘tiddler’, about 2 in. long’. ② Grebo búnga ‘bonga, a fish’ (Innes, 1967, p. 14), Mende bóngá ‘a fish, bonga’ (Innes, 1969, p. 5). ③ The DJE asks us to compare Àkán (Fante) e-báŋ, (Akuapem) nmâŋ ‘a small species of herring’, Mende and Freetown Creole bóngá ‘a small fish’, while the DCEU suggests Mende bang ‘a fish’. As far as the Àkán etymologies go, we may omit the Akuapem form since its initial consonant is different from that of the Jamaican word and there are other candidates which are better in this respect. We have already argued above (banga, entry 45) that
there is no clear motivation for an epenthetic vowel. Therefore, the Fante candidate is unsuitable.

I should also point out that Ngomba does have *mbunga ‘sorte de poisson fumé’ (Kouhegnou & Satre, 2003, p. 15), but since I have come across no references to bangga in association with the process of smoking, the Ngomba candidate falls out on the basis of its very particular semantics. This leaves us with the Grebo and Mende etyma which match the Jamaican word semantically, and formally (even if with a minor sound change which is pervasive in the current list of words). ④ Atlantic-Congo: Mende, Grebo (SIE).

47. *BANGGA₂ as in BANGGA-MAKA, and *BANGGRA as in BANGGRA-MAKA ‘the macka-fat palm’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider Phillipine Spanish bonga (< Tagalog bunga, bonga) ‘the Areca Palm (Areca catechu) and its fruit’. The editors also add that the word ‘may, on the other hand, be African’ and refer the reader to another headword bongka. The DJE’s claim that this word may be African has so far not been substantiated. The link the editors suggest between *bangga in bangga-maka and bongka (entry 77) is not very helpful since the etymology they propose for bongka is itself tenuous. ④ No suitable (African) etymon found.

48. BANGGO, BANGGUA as in BANGGU-BAIQ ‘a long narrow bag made of thatch’. ② Koongo *mbanqo ‘basket (general)’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 341). ③ The etymon accepted here is the same accepted in the DJE and ARJC. ④ Koongo (WCA).

49. BÁNGKRA, BÔNGKRA ‘a square-cornered basket made of palm “thatch”, with a lid and handle’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) bôŋkârá, (Fante) boŋkraŋ ‘wicker-hammock or travelling-basket’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 38). ③ The etymology accepted here coincides with the one accepted in the DJE. Please note that the DJE copied the Fante form incorrectly from Christaller’s dictionary which it cites. Christaller has an /o/ as the nucleus of the first syllable of the Fante form, while the DJE has an /a/ in the same position. A look at the illustrative quotations under the DJE entry (bankra), shows one 19th century source whose spelling of the word (i.e. bunkra) suggests the pronunciation /bongkra/. The DCEU also asks us to consider the Àkán etymon. ④ Àkán (GOC).

50. BÁNJÀ, BANJO, BÁNJÍI, BÔNJAA ‘the banjo, especially in its primitive form made with a gourd as the resonance chamber’. ② Mbundu ka-mbanza ‘bandolim’ (da Silva Maia, 1964, p. 71). ③ The DJE suggests that this word is probably African, but provides no African form to substantiate that claim.

Some readers might believe that Jamaican banja is merely ‘corruption’ of English banjo, but the historical evidence suggests otherwise. Interestingly, OED2 claims that banjo is ‘a corruption of bandore, through Negro slave pronunciation’. OED2’s etymological treatment of bandore suggests that it is a foreign word which was borrowed into English from Spanish bandurria or Portuguese bandurra. However, OED2’s entry for bandore contains only 5 attestations of the word spread over 4 centuries. This is probably an indication that the name was not fully naturalised in English, and was not well known among Europeans.

Evidence for this conclusion comes from the DJE (for Jamaica), and OED2 itself. The DJE contains ten illustrative quotations for banja, and OED2 has nine for banjo. The quotations show that authors on both sides of the Atlantic regularly likened the banja/banjo to the lute and the guitar. No European author compares it to the bandore and none suggests that the name used by the Africans is a corruption of the English term. Such an oversight in the comparison strikes me as odd, and the absence of any reference to the bandore suggests that it was virtually unknown among Europeans. How then could Africans have corrupted a
word that few Europeans knew/used? These details lead us to pursue the etymology of both Jamaican *banja* and English *banjo* in some other place.

One common thread which runs through the illustrative quotations in the DJE and OED2, is the association of the instrument with Africans. This makes an African source probable, and Mbundu *ka-mbanza* ‘bandolin’ is the most likely candidate. The Mbundu word was also copied into Brazilian Portuguese and several French-based creoles of the Caribbean as *banza* ‘stringed musical instrument’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 26). In this regard it parallels the Bantu-derived word *zombie* which was copied into French-based creoles with the voiced alveolar fricative /ʒ/ as the initial consonant, but was copied into the AECs with the voiced alveopalatal affricate /dʒ̩/, i.e. *jumbi*. ④ Mbundu (WCA).

51. **BANJO, BANJU** as in BĂNJU-SIÉL ‘a public sale, a junk sale’. ② Mende *banjo* ‘a reduction; reduce (the price)’ (Innes, 1969, p. 2), Gbè (Vhe) *bandyo* ‘auction’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 26), Yorùbá *gbànjo* ‘auction, sale’ (DYL, 2003, p. 95). ③ The DJE derives this word from Gbè (Vhe), but a search of other sources available to me, reveals that this word ought to be included among the words with multiple etymologies. For the record, I should point out that the Fɔn dialect of Gbè, and Igbo have cognate forms of this word: Gbè (Fɔn) *gbáŋjo* ‘peu cher; à bon marché’ (Höftmann, 2003, p. 204), and Igbo *gbanwoo* ‘exchange, swap’ (Echeruo, 1998, p. 60). The Fɔn form is rejected on the basis that it is a predicate-type item while the Jamaican word is clearly referential. The Igbo candidate would suggest a /w/ → /dʒ̩/ change which we have no precedent for in our list of secure Africanisms (ch. 5) or elsewhere in the Jamaican lexicon. ④ Atlantic-Congo: Mende (SIE), Gbè (GOC), Yorùbá (BEN).

52. **BÁTI** ‘the buttocks’. ③ The JCAH is the first, and as far as I am aware, the only work to have suggested an African etymology for this word. The word is derived by the JCAH from Koongo *mbaasi* ‘cleft between the two buttocks’. I take this to be nothing but a felicitous coincidence in form and meaning, since the change from the voiceless fricative /s/ to the voiceless plosive /t/ which it suggests is cross-linguistically rare if not unattested.

The DJE notes that Jamaican *bati* is probably a hypocoristic abbreviation of *batam* (< English *bottom*), and adds that it may have been influenced by Scottish English forms such as *batie*, *bautie* ‘round and plump’, or the general English word *butt*. Phonetic influence from English *butt* is impossible since the back mid unrounded vowel [a] of English remains the same in Jamaican. In agreement with the the DJE, I believe that Jamaican *bati* is a hypocoristic form of *batam* via clipping and addition of the normal familiarising suffix -i. The clipped base of this word is present in the reduplicated words *batbat* and *babat* which both mean ‘buttocks, rump’ (s.v. *babat* in the DJE). ④ African etymology rejected.

53. **BEDE1, BEJE** ‘(a) a temporary bag made of grass or trash in the field; (b) old, ragged work clothes’. ② Akán (Akuapem) *a-brędew*, (Akyem) *abrède* ‘a kind of basket roughly made of palm branches’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 12–13). ③ What I have treated here as one word, is treated by the DJE under two separate headwords: *bede* with what is given here as sense (a), and *beje* with senses (a) and (b). I believe that sense 2 of the DJE headword *bede* is a different word, so I have listed it here as entry 54. The ARJC is also in agreement with the Akán etymology. ④ Akán (GOC).

54. **BEDE2** ‘palm-thatch used for anything’. ② Gbè (Vhe) *bedza* ‘a kind of grass used for thatching’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 4). ③ The DJE treats this word as the second sense of their headword *bede*. I have treated the first sense as an independent word (entry 53) with its own etymology, and I am also treating this second sense as a different word. While *bede1* refers to a basket or bag made of palm-thatch, *bede2* refers to the thatch itself which coincides
perfectly with Gbè (Vhe) bedza ‘a kind of grass used for thatching’. Gbè (GOC).

55. **BEJE** ‘a wooden bed; a rough or temporary bed; a *shakedown*. The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology and asks us to consider Àkán mpá-diá ‘beadstead’, mpáti ‘a short-legged bedstead’, with probable influence from a familiarised version of English *bed* (e.g. Scottish *beddie*). However, the contribution of Ákán to the history and development of Jamaican *bede* cannot be demonstrated since the Ákán candidates are different both in form and meaning from the Jamaican word.

On the other hand, English *bed* seems to fare better, especially when we find the form *bede* (see DJE *bede* (2)) attested in the Maroon community of Accompong with the same meaning. Added to this is the fact that Ákán *-bedéw* was copied into Jamaican as *bede* which subsequently underwent change to produce the variant *beje* (entry 53). This provides evidence for the following developmental history: *bed → bede → beje*.  

56. **BENI** as in **BENISIID** (*beni* + *seed*) ‘the tiny oval seeds of a soft-stemmed flowering herb (the sesame), which can produce a clear cooking or anointing oil; they are mostly used for sweetmeats; *Sesamum orientale* or *S. indicum* (*Pedaliaceae*). Mandinka *bene* ‘sesame’ (Allsopp, 1996, p. 94), Ijo (Nembe) *beni* ‘shrub used in cookery; wild beniseed’ (Kallai, 1964, p. 21). The only work which records this word is the DCEU from which both the meaning and the etymologies are taken. Atlantic-Congo: Mandinka (SEN), Ijo (BIA).

57. **BENTA, BENDA** ‘a musical instrument made with a stick, the ends of which are restrained by a slip of dried grass; the upper part of which is gently compressed between the lips’. Ákán (Akuapem) *-bentá* ‘a musical instrument consisting of a curved branch or stick with a cord made of the fibres of palm-branches, played in a doleful strain’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 15), Gã *obentá* ‘a kind of musical instrument consisting of a stringed bow which is stricken in playing’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, p. 246), Guang *òbantá* ‘ein Saiteninstrument’ [a stringed instrument] (Westermann, 1922, p. 170), Gbè (Vhe) *benté* ‘a musical instrument’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 4). The Jamaican pronunciation with the voiced alveolar fricative /d/ is more than likely the result of folk-etymology due to the influence of English *bend*.

Admittedly, the DJE’s definition of *benta* does not give sufficient information for us to determine whether or not it is a stringed instrument. Therefore, I have supplied a more recent and detailed description of the Jamaican instrument from an online source:

The most distinctive of the instruments is the “Benta”, a length of approximately 5ft. of the thickest part of the bamboo played horizontally with strings formed by slitting the bamboo and drawing pieces of the skin up from the body. Two to three people play the “Benta.” One rubs a calabash (a dry empty gourd) either straight or across the end of the strings producing a unique sound while two people hold the ends of the Benta.  

The Guang and Gbè forms are included since there is evidence in the lexicon of Jamaican for */a/ → */ɛ/ change, e.g. *bands* → *benz*, *thank* → *tengk*, *lanky* → *lengki*, and the rarer */ɛ/ → */a/ change, e.g. *yellow* → *yala*. Kwa: Ákán, Guang, Gã, Gbè (GOC).

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3 Please note that the form *bede* has been attested in Maroon speech, not in general Jamaica. However, I am working with the assumption that this intermediate form once existed in Jamaica, and probably still does, but has so far escaped documentation.

58. **BIBI, BIIBI** ‘(a) mistress, sweetheart; (b) an affectionate term of address to a friend, to a child, etc.; darling’. The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology but asks us to compare English *beebee* < Urdu बीबी ‘Hindustani name for a lady. (Now superseded in application to European ladies [. . .], but applied to Englishwomen of lower rank, to a (native) mistress, etc.’. The editors also ask us to consider Ákán (Fante) *abebe* ‘pet, favourite’, and French *bébé* ‘baby, darling’.

The French candidate would have had to enter Jamaican via a French-based creole or a nautical pidgin, but there is no evidence to support either of these derivations. The English and Urdu candidates are equally plausible. With regard to the latter, the word could have been brought to Jamaica by indentured labourers from South East Asia in the 19th century. The final proposal, the Fante candidate, does not exhibit any striking formal or semantic features which would help us single out its contribution to the Jamaican word from among the other probable sources. African etymology rejected.

59. **BIINI** ‘(a) tiny; (b) a “little one”, a child’. The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology but asks us to compare Gbè (Vhe) *bii* ‘narrow, slender, small, lying close’ and ni ‘it is, that is’. The editors also point readers to Jamaican *piini* (DJE *peeny*), *chiini* (DJE CHEENY), and English *teeny-weeny*, ‘which all suggest smallness phonosymbolically’.

Assuming a /w/ → /b/ change, deriving Jamaican *biini* from English *weeny* ‘very small, tiny’ (OED2), appears to be a convincing option. This proposal is supported by the /b/ ~ /w/ alternation which occurs in a handful of high-frequency Jamaican words, e.g. the anterior marker *behn* ~ *wehn*. The Gbè etymology suggests that the word originated from a Focus construction. While the order of the elements does reflect the order of the focused item and the Focus marker in Gbè (Vhe), we would have expected the predicate-type item to be reduplicated, as is the case in Gbè. Therefore, the English etymon remains the more plausible of the two proposals. The Gbè etymology was also explicitly rejected by the ARJC. African etymology rejected.

60. **BIMA, BIM, BIMBIM** ‘(a) an old sore or ulcer on the foot or leg which does not heal easily; (b) a sore foot or leg; (c) a person with a leg lame from sores’. Gbè (Vhe) *abimo* (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 43). The DJE marks this word as probably African but asks us to consider Gbè (Vhe) *abimo* ‘surface of a wound’, and Mende *gbalema* ‘a sore, an ulcer’.

A thorough etymological analysis of this word has already been provided in §4.3.3. The soundness of the Gbè etymology and the implausibility of the Mende one were demonstrated there. African etymology rejected.

61. **BIZI, BÍSI, BIZE** ‘the tree *Cola acuminata*, and its nut, valued for medicinal use’. Ákán (Akyem) *besé*, (Akuapem) *bisé* (Christaller, 1933, p. 18, 23), (Fante) *bísi* ‘kola nut’ (Balmer & Grant, 1929, p. 27), Gbè (Vhe) *ajbisí* ‘Kolanuß’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 16), Guang (Larteh) *bisi*, (Nkonya) *bsi* ‘colanut’ (J. M. Stewart, 1966, p. 22). The DJE, ARJC, EJB and the DCEU all contain the Akuapem etymology. The DJE also includes the Akyem cognate, while the EJB adds the Fante and Vhe cognates to its list. The Guang cognates are my additions.

The orthographic variants which the DJE provides for the Jamaican word (bichy, besse, biche, bissy, busy, bissey, bizzy), provide evidence for the etyma ending with the high front vowel /i/ and those ending with the mid vowel /e/. Note that the DCEU only lists this word in the compound *bizi-tii* (DCEU *bissy-tea*), but in a recent conversation, I have heard the word being used as an independent lexeme. Kwa: Ákán, Guang, Gbè (GOC).

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5Since the DJE got its definition for the Urdu word from the OED, I have chosen to copy the definition directly from the OED and not the abbreviated version supplied by the DJE.
62. **BLAM** ‘an exclamation showing that something fits where it is thrown’. ③ The DJE notes that this item is ultimately echoic but goes on to suggest that it is perhaps African. No African source has been found, plus it appears to be a member of a group of onomatopoeic words (§4.3.9.0.2) which have the same basic form but have numerous variants involving alternation of consonants or vowels, e.g. **bam, bram, blam, brap**. ④ Imitative sound symbolism.

63. **-BO** ‘suffix: a person of the kind, or possessing the quality, expressed in the element to which it is attached’. ③ The DJE presents two alternative etymologies for consideration. The editors claim that **-bo** perhaps represents Jamaican **beau** ‘a term of address to a man’, or possibly Àkán **-fó** ‘person, possessor’. We do not possess sufficient evidence to derive the combining element **-bo** from the term of address **beau**, seeing that the DJE itself only has two attestations of the use of the latter. The Àkán etymology is also implausible since both (Mittelsdorf, 1978) and the present thesis (§4.2.2.1) have shown that the regular reflex of Àkán **/f/** in Jamaican is **/f/**.

The DJE also cross-references its headword with **<grey-bo>**, **ha-buo**, and **kiebo**, which all refer to light skin colour. To the DJE’s cross-reference list I could add **redibo** ‘a red-skinned person’ (Cassidy, 1961a, p. 163). The final two syllables of this word are generally spelt ‘Eboe’ which suggests an origin in the African ethnonym Ìgbo. Sense 3 of the DJE’s headword **Eboe** states that the term is used to refer to ‘a person of light or yellowish colour’. Another association of the Ìgbo with light skin colour comes from the eighteenth-century historian Bryan Edwards who states:

> We are now come to the Bight of Benin, comprehending an extent of coast...of which the interior countries are unknown, even by name, to the people of Europe. All the Negroes imported from these vast and unexplored regions...are called in the West Indies Eboes...In complexion they are much yellower than the Gold Coast and Whidah Negroes; but it is a sickly hue, and their eyes appear as if suffused with bile, even when they are in perfect health (B. Edwards, 1793, 73 qtd. in Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, 168).

Confirmation that this association survived into the twentieth century is provided by a 1942 illustrative quotation in the DJE supplied by H. P. Jacobs whose female informant told him that in rural areas **Ibo** is the name given to people who are ‘red’. This is further confirmed by two entries from the *Gleaner’s* 1943 competition that define the term as ‘a red person’, and ‘a person of less colour than a mulatto’. Joseph Atóyèbí (p.c.) informs me that in modern-day Nigeria, the Ìgbo are considered by their neighbours to be lighter in colour, a view which indubitably gave rise to the Nigerian saying, ‘One hardly finds a dark-skinned Ìgbo lady’.

The foregoing discussion seems to suggest that since the Ìgbo were perceived to be lighter in complexion than other Africans, their ethnonym became synonymous with light skin complexion. In time, colours such as **red** and **grey** were concatenated with the ethnonym to create names referring to light-skinned people. A shortened form of the ethnonym was used in words ending in vowels to avoid the vowel hiatus which would have resulted from the composition, hence **ha-buo, kiebo**. What must have been a later development in this ethnonym’s movement towards genericness is reflected in Jamaican **blakibo** (< **black**) which refers to a very dark-skinned person. ④ All previous etyma rejected. More plausible etymon found in the ethnonym Ìgbo.

64. **BÔBÔ, BÚOBÔ** ‘(a) a fool; (b) a fish’. ③ The DJE derives this word from Spanish **bobó** ‘dunce, fool’ (**bobón** a great idiot or simpleton), but claims that there might have been influence from Àkán **bɔɔbɔɔ** ‘quiet, phlegmatic, dull, sluggish’. There are two arguments in
favour of the Spanish etymon. The first argument is based on the Jamaican word *boyo* ‘a type of cake, dumpling’, unmistakably Spanish in origin (see Spanish *bollo* ‘pieza esponjosa hecha con masa de harina y agua y cocida al horno’ (DRAE)), which has the variants /bóyo/, /búoyo/, and /bóya/ (s.v. *boyo* in DJE). These variants provide evidence for the long /o/ (of the stressed syllable) in a bisyllabic Spanish-derived word surfacing in Jamaican as either the monophthong /o/ or the diphthong /uo/. The first explanation does not rule out the second which derives the Jamaican word from Àkán. The long vowel in the first syllable of the Àkán word could also have undergone the same process of diphthongisation.

On the semantic side, the Jamaican word does not share any idiosyncrasies with the Àkán word which would indicate that the Àkán word definitely influenced its development. While I do not deny that lexical conflation is possible (see §4.3.5), there is not enough evidence for us to argue convincingly for it. ④ African etymology rejected.

65. **BÓGOBI, BÓNGGOBI** ‘a small round, fresh-water fish also called *gadami*’. ③ The DJE suggests a complex etymology for this word, and asks us to consider Mende *bóngá* ‘a small fish’, and perhaps Àkán *kóbi*, Gbé (Vhe) *kóbi* ‘species of river fish’. While the DJE’s suggested etymology is possible, it is still highly speculative, and unfortunately there is no attested intermediate stage such as *bonga-kobi* which would help to demonstrate at least a formal derivation from the Mende and Benue-Kwa words proposed. Note also that the Nilo-Saharan language, Furu has *mbóngóli* ‘poisson sp.’ (Boyeldieu, 2000, p. 358), however, a /l/ → /b/ change is unnatural and so the Furu candidate is also implausible. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

66. **BÓGRO, BOGROBROGRO, BOGRABOGRA, BÓGRU, BÚGRA** ‘coarse, fat, rugged’. ② This word is listed as an Africanism by (Russell, 1868, p. 10), but the DJE failed to find an African etymology for it. (Bartens, 2000, p. 87) provides the senses ‘nonsense, nonsensical, worthless, broken down’ for the Jamaican word—none of which are attested in the sources available to me—and asks us to consider Yorùbá *bóro-bóro* ‘nonsense, foolish talk’ as the etymon. However, the insertion of the voiced velar plosive [g] is unmotivated. The DJE lists two senses for this word, and eight illustrative quotations in all. Both senses and the quotations refer to coarseness and not to nonsense. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

67. **BOKI** ‘a man’. ② Koongo (Bakongo) *mboki* ‘mate, fellow, companion’ (Bentley, 1967/1895, p. 870). ③ The DJE treats *boki* as a morphologically complex word derived from English *buck* + -y. Evidence for the Koongo etymology is provided in David DeCamp’s note in the 1958 illustrative quotation which points out that *boki* is ‘now archaic and seldom heard any more except in the common proverb /e bri seki tu dem boki/’. In entry 365 below (*seki*) we establish that the most appropriate meaning for *seki* is ‘tramp, concubine’. If we consider the etymological meaning of *boki*, i.e. ‘mate, fellow’, the Jamaican proverb gains the clear meaning ‘every tramp has her mate/lover’. For being morphologically simplex and more specific in terms of its semantics, the Koongo candidate provides a better etymology than the English one. ④ Koongo (WCA).

68. **BÓLO**, and as in **BOLO-WOK** ‘relief work in hard times; emergency employment’. ② Gà * abol o* ‘half-hearted work; hard treatment’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 13). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology, but states that it is perhaps related to *bolow* ‘comrade, friend; sweetheart, lover’, in the sense of fellow-workers. From my own native-speaker knowledge *bolo* refers to low-paying jobs which require little skill’, a sense, which I believe makes a stronger case for the Gà etymology. ④ Gà (GOC).
69. **BOMA** ‘the lead singer in a group’. ② Gã **boma** ‘one who leads a shout or song’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 38). ③ The DJE suggests that this word is probably from English and Scottish **bum** ‘to make a droning sound, used of musical instruments, especially the bagpipes, also of a person singing or reading in a droning or indistinct manner; to hum loudly, to boom’ + -er. It was Warner-Lewis in JCAH who first proposed an African etymology for this word in the form of Koongo **bamba** ‘work as an agent, interpreter, commercial intermediary’.

Neither the formal nor the semantic evidence supports the Koongo etymology suggested by JCAH. The normal strategy used in Jamaican to adapt the (Bantu) prenasalised stop [mb] in word-medial position is to assign the nasal to the coda of the preceding syllable and the bilabial stop to the onset of the next. While the DJE’s etymology is somewhat plausible, it would have to undergo a derivational process (suffixation) in order to resemble the Jamaican word, and then the semantics of the derived word would have to shift from ‘one who sings, hums’ to ‘lead singer’. The Gã etymon on the other hand matches the Jamaican word perfectly in form and semantics. ④ Gã (GOC).

70. **BÔMBO, BUMBO** ‘the vagina; the anus’. ② Temne **a-bombo** ‘vagina’ (Todd, 1984, p. 107), Bembe & Nyanga **mbombo** ~ **bombo** ‘anus, arse’; Koongo **bombo** ‘wetness, clotted matter’, Mbundu **bombo** ‘cavity’, **mbumbu** ‘vulva’ (Warner-Lewis, 2003, p. 236), Zulu **fumbu** ‘pubes, pubic region; female mons Veneris’ (Doke & Vilikazi, 1972, p. 91). ③ The DJE asks us to compare Zulu **fumbu** ‘pubic region’, but claims that there has probably been concurrent influence from English **bum** and American Spanish **bombo** which both mean ‘buttocks, rump’.

The assumed influence of English **bum** which the DJE proposes cannot be justified, since on the formal side we would need to add a whole syllable to the English word. First, insertion is typologically less likely than deletion. Second, no Africanism whose etymology has been securely established provides evidence for the insertion of an entire syllable (unless the extra syllable is a derivational affix (see **wagati**)). On the semantic side, while the English word refers only to the buttocks, the Jamaican word can refer to both the vagina and the buttocks. It is quite probable that the Spanish word itself is an Africanism and we need only consider it if we cannot prove direct origin of the Jamaican term from Africa.

The ARJC does not list this word at all, and the DCEU only deals with it in the compound **bombo-klaat** (**bombo** + cloth) which is a Jamaican swearword. For the first element, the DCEU asks us to consider Èfik **mbumbu** ‘rotten, putrified, decomposed’. Unfortunately, this proposal appears to have been influenced by the meaning of the compound, i.e. ‘sanitary towel’, and not by the meaning of **bombo**. The most convincing etymologies so far are those from Bembe, Nyanga, Koongo, and Mbundu which Warner-Lewis proposes in CAC. ④ Atlantic-Congo: Themne (SIE), Bembe, Nyanga, Koongo, Mbundu (WCA), Zulu (SEA).

71. **BON** ‘a (big) drum’. ③ The DJE claims that this word is probably from English **band** as in **band drum**, and further notes that English **band** was copied into Mbundu as **báy** ‘a European soldier’s drum’. This word could easily have been derived from English **band** since word-final clusters comprising the alveolar nasal followed by the voiced alveolar stop are categorically broken up in Jamaican by deleting the stop. In addition, the /a/ → /ʌ/ change could be accounted for by hypercorrection. ④ African etymology rejected.

72. **BONA** ‘darling’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) **mpáñá** (Christaller, 1933, p. 407), (Fante) **mpona**, Nzema **bona** ‘sexual intercourse by stealth’ (Aboagye, 1992 [1965], p. 47). ③ The Nzema candidate presents the closest formal match with the Jamaican word by exhibiting identity in the word-initial consonant. The Akuapem and Fante dialects of Àkán present good semantic matches with the Jamaican word, but the formal match is less than ideal. I have retained them on the basis that they could easily be accounted for via a change in phonation. ⑤ Tano: Àkán, Nzema (GOC).
73. **BÔNCHI, BÔNCHAKI** ‘varieties of sweet-potato and of cassava that are supposed to resemble a bunch of keys, from the way the tubers spread out’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) ā-ɓajkyē ‘the cassava’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 7), Gā ɓantsi- ‘cassava, used only in compound names of varieties’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 33), Guang (Nkonya) ɓânke ‘Maniok’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 170), Ahanta bâñfì ‘cassava’ (Ntumy, 2002, p. 15), Anufo bâncì ‘cassava’ (Krass, 1970, p. 14). ③ This entry represents the consolidation of two DJE headwords BUNCH-O’-KEY with recorded meanings ‘cassada’ and ‘sweet potato’, and BUNCHY which refers to ‘a type of sweet potato’. The DJE derives the shorter form bonchi from the longer one bonchakii and merely asks us to note the Àkán form.

I have accepted the Àkán word as a plausible etymon and added to the list words from other Nyo languages which have related forms. My acceptance of the Nyo etymologies is based on my belief that the word was copied from these African languages as an alternative word for cassava and was later applied to sweet potatoes. The low vowel in the first syllable was changed to /ə/, a change which also took place with African-derived words such as babwa, and bakra. The link with English bunch or bunch-of-keys is hence a folk-etymological development based on the fact that cassava grows in bunches and sweet potatoes grow in clusters. ④ Nyo: Àkán, Gā, Guang, Ahanta, Anufo (GOC).

74. **BONG1** ‘a dirty, untidy house’. ② Yorùbá òbùn ‘dirty’ (Abraham, 1958, p. 503). ③ The DJE lists this word twice under two separate headwords (s.v. DJE bong and bung), but suggests the same etymology for them, i.e. Àkán ò-ɓôj ‘hole, hollow, cave, den of animals’. Mittelsdorf in the ARJC submits Koongo mbungu ‘hole’, but does not tell us why she rejected the DJE’s Àkán etymology which has the same meaning as the Koongo candidate she proposes. Although there may be some indirect semantic link between a hole (where an animal lives) and an untidy house, the Yorùbá etymon accepted here fits the Jamaican word in that it specifically refers to dirtiness. ④ Yorùbá (BEN).

75. **BONG2, *BOMBO** as in **AACHIBONG, AACHIBOMBO** ‘codfish fritters’. ② Guang (Gua) abongo ‘dried, cut pieces of fish’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 15). ③ The DJE considers this word to be a compound of aachi (see entry 1) + Jamaican bumbo and/or English slang bung both meaning ‘anus’. While I agree with the DJE that the word is a compound whose first element is aachi, we disagree on the origin of the second element. Since the Guang etymology that I suggest refers to dried, cut pieces of fish—which is reminiscent of codfish and how it is prepared to be used in fritters—it is a much better candidate than Jamaican or English etymologies which have nothing to do with food. Note too that Duala has mbongo ‘a sea-fish’ (Ittmann, 1976, p. 335), but the Guang candidate’s better semantic match with the Jamaican lexeme, triumphs over the Duala form. ④ Guang (GOC).

76. **BONGI** ‘(a) originally a large dugout canoe used for carrying freight; later applied to a built boat; (b) small boat’. ② Hausa bungu-bungu or bunguli ‘a canoe made from dum or deleb palm-wood’ (Bargery, 1951/1934, p. 130). ③ The DJE marks this word as probably African and proposes Hausa bungu-bungu as the source. They also ask us to consider (Latin) American Spanish bongo ‘a large dugout canoe and the tree (usually Bombaceae) from which it is made’. My research turns up bongo which refers to a canoe in Central American Spanish, and to a raft in Cuban Spanish, but no reference to the term in the major English dictionaries (OED, EDD, MWOD). Note, however, that the DJE mentions that it is listed in the DA as a copy from (Latin) American Spanish.

One possible conclusion is that the Hausa word was copied from Hausa into Latin American Spanish from which Jamaican got it. However, the final vowel makes a direct Hausa etymology more plausible for the Jamaican form. This is based on the fact that a /u/ → /i/ change is much more likely than a /ə/ → /i/ change. ④ Hausa (BIA).
77. **KONGA** ‘the cabbage palm tree, its branches, or the sheath or “bough” (lower part of the leaf or branch, which in growth is closely wrapped around the trunk and less developed sheaths); also applied to other palm trees and their branches’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider Àkán -bó ‘rind, bark’ + articulative -k- + the intrusive transition sound a. Our list of secure etymologies contains several instances where a nasal vowel in an etymon corresponds to a vowel plus nasal consonant sequence in Jamaican. However, it is not clear why speakers of African languages would have added an extra (non-functional) syllable to the word.

Moving to the semantic side, even if we were to assume that Àkán -bó is the source of this word, we are still hard-pressed to explain why the general Àkán word for rind, bark came to refer to the bough of the cabbage palm tree specifically, and not to the bark, rind, bough of any other flora-related entity. ④ No suitable (African) etymon found.

78. **BRABRA, BRABABABA** ‘(a) brawling or loud talking; (b) “bad language”, i.e. not grammatical English; (c) mistaken speech’. ② Urhobo brabra ‘bad’ (Ukere, 1986 [2005], p. 5). ③ The DJE lists these words as two separate entries but notes—as I have accepted—that the longer word is a ‘stretched form’ of the shorter one. The Àkán etymology which the DJE proposes is not supported by the evidence provided by other reduplicated words of this shape copied from Àkán or other African languages. I have not found any other cases of /E/ → /a/ change in reduplicated words when that vowel bears primary stress. In any case, we would have expected Àkán bêrebê to be copied as brebre.

It might also be suggested that the Jamaican word could have come from another Àkán word o-brabró ‘a deceitful, fraudulent person’ < abrá ‘falsehood, fraud, deceit’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 46, 47). However, the three senses associated with the Jamaican word(s) have nothing to do with deceit. On the other hand, the Edoid language, Urhobo provides an etymon which matches the Jamaican word in both form and semantics. ④ Urhobo (BEN).

79. **BRAMBRA** ‘the breadfruit’. ② Àkán (Fante) brámmbránn ‘big of growth’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 47). ③ The DJE suggests that brambra is probably derived from bread-fruit with iteration of the first part of the word, but also asks us to consider the Àkán etymology accepted here. The English candidate that the DJE mentions is phonologically unlikely since iteration of the first part of bread-fruit would have produced *bred-bred* or *brebre* and not brambra. While the Àkán word does not provide a direct semantic match, it becomes more plausible if we take into consideration that the only illustrative quotation which the DJE has for the word mentions that it refers to the biggest breadfruit and not just any breadfruit. Consider too the common Jamaican practice of using the breadfruit in comparisons to refer to bigness/fatness (26).

(26) Piita hed big laka bredfruut.
    Peter head big like breadfruit
    ‘Peter’s head is as big as a breadfruit.’

See also bufrobufro (entry 92). ④ Àkán (GOC).

80. **BRAMBRAM, BRANGBRANG, BREMBOREM** ‘kindling wood, small bits of stick or wood for burning’. ③ The DJE considers this word to be an ‘iterative formed on the base of Bramble, and probably with analogical influence from other iteratives of the same or similar meaning’. The editors also ask us to consider Àkán (Fante) brambrem, (Akuapem) främfräm ‘blazing, flaming’. The DJE derives its entry for Bramble ‘wood used as kindling for a fire’ from English dialectal (i.e. Northern Irish) Bramble ‘withered branches, twigs, &c., which are gathered for firewood’. The EDD from which the DJE extracted its information also lists brammle, bremble, and bremel as attested renderings of the word in dialects of English.

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The OED in expounding the form history of *bramble*, notes that it comes from Old English *brembel* and *bræmbel* which are later forms (with euphonic /b/) of *brémel*, brámél. Jamaican *brambram* can be easily derived from one of the English forms via a very regular morphological process whereby reduplicated hypocoristic words are formed by clipping longer forms to make them satisfy the requirement for a monosyllabic base. Given that there is no idiosyncracy that is shared between the Jamaican and Fante forms, it is difficult to determine what influence, if any, Fante could have had on the development of this word. ④ African etymology rejected.

81. **BREBRE**₁ ‘plenty’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) *ḇere ḇere ḇere* ‘in crowds or swarms’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 16). ③ The DJE derives this word from Àkán *bêbêree* ‘much, many, plentiful’. However, this etymology would require insertion of an /t/ in the first syllable, and deletion of the vowel in the second syllable. Since deletion is more common than insertion, Àkán *ḇere ḇere ḇere* ‘in crowds or swarms’ is a better source for the Jamaican word. ④ Àkán (GOC).

82. **BREBRE**₂ ‘flighty, flippant, loquacious’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) *ḇerḇere* ‘smooth, glib, voluble, flippant, loquacious’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 17). ④ As far as I am aware this word is not listed or treated in the existing literature. I heard it used in early 2005 by a University student (male, mid-twenties) who is from the parish of Clarendon. ④ Àkán (GOC).

83. *BRIDIM* as in **BRIDIM-BAM**, **BRIDIM-BIF** ‘imitating the sound of something tumbling (and with added element, falling hard)’. ③ The DJE notes that this word is ‘echoic, imitating the sound of something tumbling (and with added element, falling hard)’, but the editors go on to suggest probable concurrent influence from Àkán *bṟrim (bṟrim-bṟrim)* ‘a sudden fit, start; suddenly, at once’; *ohwee ase b*. ‘he fell down plump! bounce!’, *ḇ̱ridtwem* ‘all at once, suddenly’.

In addition to the echoic nature of this lexical item, which places it among the imitative sound-symbolic words (§4.3.9.0.2), accepting the Àkán etymology leads us to two other problems. First, there is the fact that we would need to assume the insertion of two syllables (CVCV, i.e. /g̱ḏt/) in the middle of the word which seems highly unlikely. Second, while Jamaican *bridim-*(-bam) is indicative of a sound that lasts for a while, e.g. tumbling, the Àkán words refer to one sudden and complete action. ④ Imitative sound symbolism.

84. **BUAW** ‘(a) devil; (b) bullock’. ② Tiv *ḇu̱a* ‘cow, bull’ (Abraham, 1968 [1940], p. 8). ③ This word was first recorded by (Long, 2002 [1774]a, p. 427) who labels it as being of Mandinka origin, but does not provide an etymon. The DJE suggests that it is ‘perhaps merely an inexact pronunciation of “bullock”’, however, the close phonetic and semantic match of the Tiv word makes Tiv a more plausible source. ④ Tiv (BIA).

85. **BUBA** ‘(a) the dry leaf or bough of a palm (coconut, cabbage); (b) thatch for roofing’. ② Koongo *mbuba* ‘sheaf, bundle of grass’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 344). ③ The DJE marks this word as probably African and asks us to consider Àkán *aḇóbòw* ‘the wicket or door in the fence of a native house, usually made of palm branches’. The meaning of the Àkán etymology is too narrow to be the source of the Jamaican word. It appears that DJE2 rejected the Àkán etymology because it is omitted in that version of the dictionary, and in its stead the editors suggest Guyana Arawak *buba* ‘the palm Irearta exhorrhiza’. However, the corresponding sense of Jamaican *buba* refers to only a part of the palm not the entire tree. The full semantic range of the Jamaican word points to the more general sense of the Koongo candidate than to the Àkán or Arawak words. ④ Koongo (WCA).

86. **BUBU** ‘(a) worm; (b) a frightened person; (c) nasal mucus’. ② Gbè (Fốn) *bubú* ‘insect’
Àkán *abubumabáa* ‘a kind of worm, caterpillar or moth’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 51), Guang (Gua) *abubumabaa* ‘a stick-insect, a caterpillar or cocoon-like insect that covers its body with tiny insects for protection or camouflage in the bush (Aishene, c.1999, p. 16), Gbè (Vhe) *bubú* ‘bogey man’, Koongo *mbiubu* ‘something frightening; terror’ (Bartens, 2003, p. 159). ③ The DJE asks us to compare Gbè (*Fọ*) *búú* ‘insect’, but adds ‘prob[ably] with coincidental English influence’. I have accepted the DJE’s Àkán etymology, but have added several plausible candidates from other Niger-Congo languages. The DJE’s claim regarding concurrent influence is credible in light of English-derived *bagabu* (entry 35) which can refer both to an object of terror and nasal mucus. ④ Benue-Kwa: Àkán, Guang (GOC), Gbè (GOC, BEN), Koongo (WCA).

87. **BUBUAFU** ‘a frightful or disfigured person’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) *o-búúfo* ‘a man lamed by sickness or palsy’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 51). ③ This word is mentioned in JT with the etymology accepted here, but is not listed in the DJE. ④ Àkán (GOC).

88. **BUBUBUBUBUBUBU** ‘suggests the sound of flight’. ③ The DJE derives this word from Mende *bubú* ‘to fly’, and I have identified Mende *bububu* ‘ideophone (of the sound of flapping wings)’ (Innes, 1969, p. 6). However the word belongs to the set of sound-symbolic words which are imitative, and are most likely to arise independently in languages (§4.3.9.0.2). ④ Imitative sound symbolism.

89. **BUDU** ‘a cake made of sugar, flour, butter, and spice’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) *abóódoó* ‘bread, baked bread of Indian corn’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 34). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology. ④ Àkán (GOC).

90. **BUDUF** as in **BUDUF-BAF** ‘a fat person’. ② Wolof *buduf* ‘idem’ (Baker, 1993, p. 149). ③ None of my Jamaican sources lists this word, and as far as I know, no African etymology has been proposed for it before. ④ Wolof (SEN).

91. **BUDUM** ‘(a) a loud sound; (b) loudly’. ② Àkán *búúm* ‘noise of something heavy falling to the ground’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 54), Wolof *burum* ‘fall (expression)’ (Dem, 1995, p. 4), Maninka, Bamanankan *būūm* ‘fall off, throw down’ (DáñEgafe, 1999, p. 204). ③ The DJE derives this word from the Àkán candidate in the list above. I have added the Wolof, Maninka, and Bamanankan candidates as equally plausible etyma. To account for the difference in the intervocalic consonant of the Àkán and Jamaican forms (see Dolphyne (1988, p. 42) who informs us that /r/ alternates with /d/ in some dialects of Asante and Fante. ④ Atlantic-Congo: Wolof, Maninka, Bamanankan (SEN), Àkán (GOC).

92. **BUFROBUFRO** ‘(a) clumsy, stout; (b) a nickname or “secret word” for a breadfruit’. ② Àkán *o-bó-fúro* ‘a lazy good-for-nothing-fellow; mean fellow, scrub’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 35). ③ The Àkán etymology selected here coincides with that of the DJE. The editors point out that sense (a) better suits *bufubufu* (entry 94), and *bufutu* (entry 95). While it is not possible to say whether these words did have an influence on *bufrobufro* or not, it is worth pointing out that it is common for fatness to be associated with clumsiness and laziness, as is made evident by the two words which the editors of the DJE point to. ④ Àkán (GOC).

93. **BUFU, BUFO** ‘big, heavy, and unwieldy’. ② Guang (Gua) *gbófo* ‘fat, obese, plump, overweight’ (Aishene, c.1999, p. 62), Àkán (Akuapem) *bóffó* ‘swollen’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 35), Gbè (Vhe) *bofaa* ‘broad and thick’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 76), Koongo *búufu* ‘gradeur’ (Laman, 1964, p. 62). ③ The DJE asks us to compare Gbè (Vhe) *bofaa* ‘broad
and thick’, and Àkán bōfō ‘swollen’. The ARJC and DCEU do not list this word at all, however, it appears in the JCAH which assigns it to Koongo būfu ‘big in size’. I consider all of these candidates to be equally plausible. ④ Benue-Kwa: Àkán, Guang, Gbè (GOC), Koongo (WCA).

94. BUFU-BUFU ‘very big, clumsy, stupid, worthless’. ② Koongo būfu-bufu ‘mute, silencieux; qui est tout émoussé’ (Laman, 1964, p. 62), Mbundu būfu ‘grandeur, émoussé, silencieux. id. na būfu-būfu (Swartenbroeckx, 1973, p. 28). ③ The DJE treats this word as an iteration of būfu (see above), which is a plausible etymology, but a closer look at the correspondence between semantics and form suggest a different story. ④ Narrow Bantu: Koongo, Mbundu (WCA).

95. BUFUTU, BUFITI, BUFITI ‘big, clumsy and of little value’. ② Mbundu būfutu ‘stupidité, bêtise, ignorance’ (Swartenbroeckx, 1973, p. 28). ③ The DJE suggests that this word represents Jamaican bufu (entry 93), with an unknown suffix *-tu. The proposal is not so far-fetched since this would parallel the development of Jamaican wagati (entry 416). The JCAH also mentions bufutu, but derives it from Koongo būfu ‘big’. As far as I am aware, DJE2 was the first work to suggest Koongo bufutu ‘stupidity’ as the etymon of this word, but the editors only include it for consideration. The longer Koongo form is fully accepted here. ④ Narrow Bantu: Koongo, Mbundu (WCA).

96. *BUGUBUGU as in BUGUBUGU-FLAI ‘a maggot fly’. ② Yala bugubu ‘oversized’ (Bunkowske, 1976, p. 176). ③ The DJE merely notes that this word is probably related to bagabu (entry 35), or bubu (entry 86). This Africanism has only been attested in the compound bugubugu-flai, which represents an attributive use of the word. Evidence for the Yala etymology can be found in the sole illustrative quotation which the DJE provides for the word, in which the bugubugu-flai is contrasted with the minimini-flai which is small. ④ Yala (BIA).

97. BUGUYAGA, BUGUYEGE, BUGUYANGA ‘(a) worthless, slovenly, clumsy; (b) old clothes, rags; (c) diseases; (d) chrysallis; (e) an indecent dance’. ③ The DJE claims that this is ‘a word of mixed elements, evidently compounded in Jamaica’, and asks us to consider Jamaican words such as bubu, bagabu, and bugubugu which all denote something ‘ugly, repulsive, unclean’, in addition to Gbè (Vhe) yaka, yakayaka ‘disorderly, confused, untidy, slovenly’, and Hausa buguzunzumi ‘a big fat untidy person’. Even if we accept that buguyaga is an etymologically complex word, the DJE’s proposals for the constituent elements still do not provide incontrovertible formal and semantic evidence to prove their relationship to the Jamaican word. ④ No suitable (African) etymon found.

98. BULA ‘(a) an insult; (b) a blow’. ② Koongo mbula ‘[a] blow’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 344). ③ The DJE mistakenly treats this word as a semantic extension (cf. senses 2 & 3 s.v. DJE bula) of the homophonous Jamaican word bula ‘a round, flat cake, sometimes with a hole in the middle’. Hence, the editors suggest American Spanish bollo ‘bread, roll’, as the source. I take bula ‘insult, blow’ to be a completely different word from the one designating the pastry item, and so Koongo mbula ‘[a] blow’ provides a much better source. ④ Koongo (WCA).

99. BUNGGUZU, BUNGGUZO, BUNGUSO ‘sorcery, obeah’. ② Koongo bungunuza ‘vocation, ministère, charge de prédicateur, de prophète’ (Laman, 1964, p. 79). ③ The DJE claims that this word is perhaps from Àkán bōnê ‘bad, evil, wicked’, and also asks us to compare Àkán b-bonsám ‘wizard, sorcerer’ + guzu (entry 172). All of these Àkán-based etymologies fail since they do not provide good phonological (or even semantic) matches for the Jamaican
word. The Koongo etymon accepted here is good both formally and semantically. The Koongo word contains the stem -unguza plus the derivational prefix bu-.

The first Jamaican variant given in this entry is the same as the DJE’s headword. The other two have been added by me based on the variant spellings found in the the DJE’s illustrative quotations for this word. None of my other Jamaican sources (most significantly, ARJC, CAC, JCAH) treat this lexeme. The word bungguzu also occurs in altered form in the compound bungguz-man ‘sorcerer’. See guzu (entry 172) for further discussion. ④ Koongo (WCA).

100. BÚOBÓ ‘(a) pretty; (b) a child’s dress’. ② Gbè (Vhe) bọbọ ‘smooth, sweet, effeminate’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 57). ③ The DJE suggests that this word probably arose via reduplication of French beau ‘beautiful’, with concurrent influence from the Gbè etymon in the previous section. It is not implausible that a word meaning ‘effeminate, smooth’ could come to denote prettiness, and the association with a feminine article of clothing is not far-fetched either. While the French candidate matches the first sense of the Jamaican word, we would have to assume reduplication, which while not impossible, makes it a less direct explanation than the one given for the Gbè etymon. ④ Gbè (GOC).

101. BÚOSÀN, BUOSN, BOSN ‘a type of yam, also referred to as PUMPUM YAM’. ② Àkán abosì ‘a species of yam’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 42). ③ While the DJE only asks us to consider the Àkán etymon accepted here, the EJB accepts it explicitly. Popular etymology normally links it with the English word boatswain, although no plausible semantic relationship has yet been established to account for the development. On the formal side, the word boatswain is pronounced /b@Us(@)n/ in some dialects of English (see OED2). This is close to the regular Jamaican pronunciation of the word /buosn/. It is worth pointing out too that the Jamaican word for ‘hernia’ is buosn, which is understandable considering the fact that buosn-yam is sometimes referred to as pumpum-yam (Hall-Alleyne, 1996, p. 21) because of its large size (entry 348). ④ Àkán (GOC).

102. BÚOSI, BUOSTI ‘(a) proud, vaunting, conceited; (b) showily dressed, well dressed, attractive’. ③ The DJE derives this word from English boast + -y ‘having the qualities of, inclined or apt to’. The editors also ask us to consider English dialectal boastive ‘boastful, presumptuous’ (EDD), and point out that ‘[c]oincidental influence of African words is also possible: cf. Yorùbá bósi [bosí] ‘to be all right, to be successful’. The semantics of the Yorùbá candidate while not totally unconnected to the sense of the Jamaican word, is not as direct as English boast + -y which replicates a morphological pattern attested in both Jamaican and English. ④ African etymology rejected.

103. BURU1, BRU-BRU ‘(a) disorderly, untidy—applied to a variety of things; (b) applied specifically to people: lower-class, of no account; (c) a type of dancing, sometimes vulgar, or an occasion upon which there is such dancing; (d) a place where wild or indecent dancing is done’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) bùrù ‘filthiness, dirtiness, uncleanness, slovenliness, sluttishness’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 54), Guang (Gua) aboro ‘wickedness’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 15), Yorùbá bùrù ‘wicked, bad, ill’ (DYL, 2003, p. 59). ③ This entry represents the consolidation of two DJE headwords: bru-bru and buru. The editors ask us to consider bru-bru as an iterated version of Àkán bùrù ‘slovenliness, sluttishness’, while they suggest the same Àkán word plus Yorùbá buru ‘wicked’ as potential sources of buru. I have accepted all of these as equally plausible etyma, and have added to the list the Guang candidate whose slight difference from the Jamaican word can be accounted for by /u/ → /u/ raising which is attested in other words on this list and in the general Jamaican lexicon. ④ Kwa: Àkán, Guang (GOC), Yorùbá (BEN).
104. **BURU** 

(a) a type of music—especially drumming—such as is used for buru dancing; also a drum, and a group of musicians who play buru dance music; (b) a cult similar to KUMUNA, in which wild dancing to drums is a prominent feature.  

2 Akán (Akuapem) **abúrukwu** ‘a small drum’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 54).  

3 The history of this word is intertwined with that of **BURU** because of the association of lewdness with particular dances. I propose that this association drove the folk-etymological process that clipped the name of the drum so it would come to resemble the other word which initially had nothing to do with it.  

4 Àkán (GOC).

105. **BUSUBUSU, WUSUWUSU, BUZUBUZU** ‘(a) big, lazy, fat, clumsy; (b) a person who is fat and clumsy’.  

2 Koongo **búsusu** ‘qui est large, étendu, vaste’ (Laman, 1964, p. 83).  

This entry unites two DJE headwords, **BUSUBUSU** which appears with what are listed here as senses (a) and (b), and **WUSU-WUSU** which is listed with sense (a) only. The third Jamaican variant **BUZUBUZU** (with sense (a)) has been added by me from my own native-speaker knowledge. I have combined all three to create one entry seeing that they appear to be mere phonetic variants of the same word.  

The DJE claims that **BUSUBUSU** is perhaps a reduplicated form of the word BUSU whose meaning is obscure but for which the editors consider Akán busú ‘mischief, misfortune, disaster’ (s.v. mmusú in Christaller (1933, p. 323)), as a possible etygon (cf. entry 476). However, this etymology is unconvincing from a semantic perspective since there is no direct link between fatness or clumsiness on the one hand and mischief on the other. For the headword WUSU-WUSU, the DJE states that it is ‘probably African but no source has been found’. The difference in shape between the Jamaican and Koongo forms can be accounted for if we assume that the Koongo word was changed through analogy to make it fit the CVCV-CVCV reduplication pattern common in both Koongo and Jamaican.  

4 Koongo (WCA).

106. **BUTU** 

(a) crass unseemly behaviour; person given to outlandishness; (b) a stupid(-looking), uncultured person.  

2 Ijo (Okrika) butú ‘ignorant, stupid’ (Sika, 1995, p. 24).  

3 The word **BUTU** does not appear as a headword in the DJE. The DCEU lists the word but does not provide an explicit etymology. However, the editor cross-references **BUTU** with Island Carib **bou** ‘a short, tough stick used as a weapon’. I take the cross-referencing as a suggestion that the two words are historically related. I reject the Island Carib suggestion since the word has been attested only in Caribbean territories with French and/or Carib influence. The more recent JCAH proposes Koongo **BUTU** ‘crowd, rabble’ as the source of Jamaican **BUTU**. While this proposal is closer to the mark than the one given by the DCEU, it is beaten by the Ijo candidate whose semantics is identical to that of the Jamaican word.  

4 Ijo (BEN).

107. **BUTU**, BUSU ‘to stoop down, to squat on the heels’.  

2 Nzema **butu** ‘bend the body forward; stoop’ (Aboagye, 1992 [1965], p. 52), Akán (Fante) butuw ‘to capsize, to kneel, to lean over’, Guang (Gua) butu ‘to bend down, squat, to turn upside down, capsize’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 48).  

3 The DJE asks us to consider Akán (Akuapem) butuw, (Akyem) butu, and Gbè (Vhe) butu ‘to overturn, turn upside down’. The DJE’s Akuapem and Akyem etymologies were also accepted by the ARJC, but I have rejected them on the basis that their meaning is different from the meaning of the Jamaican word. Despite this, Akán still figures in the etymology of this word since the Fante dialect possesses a form with a suitable meaning. Nzema and the Gua dialect of Guang also present plausible sources. The DJE points out that **BUTU** occurs in the compound verb **BUTU-DONG** (**BUTU** + down) which has the same meaning as **BUTU**.  

4 Tano: Nzema, Akán, Guang (GOC).

108. **BUZU** ‘luck (usually bad); obeah’.  

2 Akán (Akuapem) busú ‘mischief, misfortune,
disaster, misery, calamity’ (s.v. mmusi in Christaller (1933, p. 323)), Guang àbusuho ‘a person who brings bad luck to others, a mischievous person’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 16), Gbè (Vhe) busú ‘mischief, evil, guilt, abomination, curse’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 8). ③ The DJE only provides the Àkán and Gbè etyma, while the ARJC only gives the Àkán one. I have accepted the two previous proposals plus an additional one from Guang.

Interestingly, the ARJC says that busu is a ‘cult word meaning obeah’. The DJE makes no reference to this word being used in the Kumina “cult” or any other such groups. Please note that this word is the same as busu (entry 476), but I have moved the latter to the Maroon section since the variant with the voiceless fricative has only been recorded in the Maroon community of Accompong. ④ Kwa: Àkán, Guang, Gbè (GOC).

109. CHAKACHAKA ‘(a) disorder; (b) disorderly, untidy, irregular; (c) in a disorderly or irregular manner’. ② Ìgbo chákácháká ‘torn like something cut up with a sharp instrument; tattered; badly cut up’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 108), Yala chakachaka ‘unkempt’ (Bunkowske, 1976, p. 177). ③ The DJE treats this word as an iterated form of Gbè (Gen) tyáka, (Vhe) tsáká ‘to mix, to be mixed’. Although the semantic shift which this suggestion infers is not impossible, mixing does not necessarily entail disorderliness. The Ìgbo and Yala words, are accepted here as more plausible sources because they provide perfect formal and semantic matches for the Jamaican lexeme. Acceptance of the Gbè forms would require us to assume both semantic shift and reduplication. ④ Kwa: Ìgbo, Yala (BIA).

110. CHAKRA ‘untidy’. ② Gbè (Vhe) tsákáa ‘confused, entangled; extended’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 251). ③ The DJE gives no etymology for this word, but asks the reader to refer to Jamaican chakachaka, which is possibly an indication that the editors see chakra as a back-formation of chakachaka. Deriving chakra from chakachaka would require us to assume that the reduplicated form was clipped, leaving an unattested simplex form *chaka, which then underwent /r/-insertion. Pursuing a more economical etymology, I derive chakra from Vhe tsákáa, with /r/-insertion, which is attested in Jamaican in a few, especially phonosymbolic words, e.g. bap → brap ‘sound of a quick blow’. ④ Gbè (GOC).

111. CHAMBA, CHAMBA-CHAMBA, CHAMA-CHAMA ‘(a) to cut roughly, to disfigure; (b) cut up; furrowed; (c) to mince up; (d) to cut awkwardly or hack with a dull tool’. ③ This entry is a consolidation of DJE headwords chamba recorded with senses (a) and (b), and chamba-chamba with senses (c) and (d). I take the words to be related either through reduplication or back-formation.

The DJE derives this word from the ethnonym Chamba ‘a people of N-E Nigeria and Cameroon, who had a very striking method of tattooing or cutting the skin of the face’. Ornamental scarification and cicatrisation have been reported in numerous sub-Saharan societies, e.g. Ìgbo (Jeffreys, 1951), Tiv (Lincoln, 1975), Belgian Congo (Torday, 1913). While such an origin is not totally impossible, no ethnonym on the current list has been converted to a verb.

A more plausible source for the Jamaican word can be found in Ìgbo cham ‘sound of slash, cut’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 108), if we assume the same morphological development as Jamaican logologo ‘to move something heavy’ < English lug ‘drag or move with difficulty’. These reduplicated forms are probably indicative of an earlier tendency towards vowel harmony, and a preference in particular reduplicative processes for bisyllabic bases (on the latter cf. Kouwenberg & LaCharité, 2004). Based on this analysis, we could take chamachama to be the oldest attested Jamaican form.

Following this line of reasoning, the form chamachama was subsequently supplanted by chambachamba which is derived from the former by the insertion of the bilabial plosive /b/ after the nasal consonant. There is a precedent for this insertion in Jamaican words such
as tambrin < tamarind, and tambrik < tumeric. Therefore, chamba represents the latest form in this line of development, via clipping. In this respect it resembles other Africanisms such as nyaka and pala which are clipped versions of the reduplicated verbs nyakanyaka and palapala, respectively.

112. CHICHI *(a) the dry-wood termite Cryptotermes brevis; (b) the faecal pellets or “dust” of this termite; also called CHICHI DUST’. ② Gbè (Vhe) titi ‘small, tiny’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 2002, p. 101). The DJE claims that this word is ‘probably from some African form indicating small size, such as [Gbè (Vhe)] tyiti “to be close or tight like meshes”, or titi “small, tiny”’. The first Gbè proposal may be omitted since its meaning is unrelated to the Jamaican word under study.

The DJE’s comment about small size is worth pursuing though, considering that we find a series of Jamaican forms, similar to Gbè titi, which all refer to small creatures, especially insects. Jamaican has tichi ‘tiny creatures: ants’, chichi ‘the dry-wood termite’, titibu ~ tichibu ‘the (large) firefly’, <tichicro> ‘a small type of bird’ and titibo ‘the dry-wood termite’. Undoubtedly, it is the same element we find at the beginning of obviously composite words such as titi dompling ‘a finger-shaped boiled dumpling’, and titimus ‘the small finger’.

Taking the Gbè word as the etymon provides us with an unproblematic picture of the diachronic relationship these words share. The form titi /titi/, which is closest to the etymon, was copied into Jamaican as a general term referring to small size, but is now found only as the modifier in the few compounds listed above. The various Jamaican forms suggest the following phonological development: *titi → tichi → chichi. Despite the fact that the DJE treats all of these as separate headwords, the dictionary’s cross-referencing and etymological notes infer that they might all be ultimately related. ④ Gbè (GOC).

113. CHUOCÚO, CHOCHO, CHUCHO *(a) vagina; (b) the climbing vine Sechium edule and its fruit, eaten throughout Jamaica as a vegetable’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) twótwó ‘female genitals; vagina’ (s.v. twé in Christaller, 1933, p. 551). ③ Both the DJE and the DCEU record only sense (b) of this word. The DCEU does point out that chocho is used as a vulgarism for the female vulva in the colloquial Spanish of Cuba, Mexico, and Spain, but gives no indication that the word is used with this meaning in the anglophone Caribbean. I have added sense (a) from my own native-speaker knowledge, but the Àkán etymology was first suggested by the DCEU.

The DJE suggests several American etymologies for its headword: a Brazilian native term chuchu, Cuban (Oriente) chote < American Spanish chayote. The editors also point out that the latter forms are probably connected with another Jamaican word chuota which refers to the same vegetable. It is likely that we are dealing with a case of chance similarity here, and so the Àkán etymology is only meant to account for sense (a) of this entry. ④ Àkán (GOC).

114. COCKADEWIE ‘an unidentified bird’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) kwáákwáádabí ‘raven’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 279). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Àkán akóó- duóóduá ‘the yellow wagtail’, as the etymon of this word, however, the phonetic correspondence between the final two syllables is extremely poor. A much better match is to be found in Àkán (Akuapem) kwáákwáádabí ‘raven’, where all differences between the Jamaican reflex and the proposed source form can be plausibly accounted for.

The change from /b/ → /w/ is attested in a few Jamaican words, e.g. behn → wehn ‘marker of anterior tense’, and blingki → wingki ‘firefly’. Christaller (1964, p. 12) accounts for the /kwa/ → /ko/ change in pointing out that in Àkán ‘some combinations of three
sounds are reduced to one or two: kwa shortened into /ko/, in composition and reduplication. In addition, note that the general word in Àkán for ‘fowl’ is akóko (Christaller, 1933, p. 243). Christaller (1933, p. 279) marks the Àkán word as a copy from Gã, but the Gã form kwaakwaalabite ‘a large bird, the pied crow’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 96), like its Guang (Gua) counterpart kwaakwaalabi ‘a pied-crow, raven; also its cry’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 81), does not provide as good a match for the Jamaican lexeme as the Àkán candidate. ④ Àkán (GOC).

115. **CONTOON** ‘(a) a kind of heavy cloth (evidently used for work clothes); (b) a heavy woollen cloak made of this cloth’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) okuntú ‘wool, woollen cloth, flannel; woollen carpet, blanket’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 272), Gbè (Vhe) kuntu ‘woollen cloth, flannel, etc.’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 119)⑥, Guang (Gua) kuntú ‘blanket’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 80), Gã kuntú ‘wool; woolen stuff, blanket’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, p. 177). ③ The DJE derives this word from the Àkán and Gbè forms given in the previous section, however, the editors point out that the Jamaican word was probably influenced by English cantoon ‘a strong kind of fustian’.

Unfortunately, we only have written attestations, but they suggest pronunciations such as /kUntUN/, /kUntu:n/, and /kUntU/. As far as I am aware there has been no attestation in Jamaican of a form of this word with the low vowel /a/ in the first syllable. Forms which mirror the Jamaica word more closely have been found in three Kwa languages spoken in geographically contiguous areas. It is probable that English cantoon was copied into these African languages. However, a look at English through the lens of OED2 finds only two attestations of the word; one in the seventeenth century and the other in the nineteenth century. Given this low frequency of the word in English, it is more likely that Jamaican got it from African languages rather than from English. ④ Kwa: Àkán, Gbè, Guang, Gã (GOC).

116. **COONTOONG** ‘horrible looking’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) kuntúŋ ‘a nickname of the hyena’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 272). ③ The DJE assigns this word to Àkán (Akuapem) küntrim ‘large, bulky, huge; dark; clumsy’, however, the semantic match is sub-optimal. My search has found Àkán kuntúŋ which is a nickname for the hyena. Considering that ugliness appears to be one of the chief characteristics that many cultures use to identify the hyena, this candidate fares much better than the one the DJE proposes. Further evidence for this new etymon can be found in other Àkán constructions which involve the word, e.g. küntrim-siŋ ‘a headless and handless, sometimes feetless trunk of a human or animal body’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 272). ④ Àkán (GOC).

117. **DA, A** ‘to’ ③ The DJE derives this preposition from English there, and notes that there might be coincidental influence from Gbè (Vhe) da, de ‘to, towards’, while the DCEU gives only the Vhe form de for consideration. While there is a logical link between a demonstrative adverb denoting location and a directional/locative preposition, the grammaticalisation of demonstrative adverbs into prepositions appears to be uncommon (cf. Gensler, 2002). We would need more evidence to test the grammaticalisation implied by the DJE’s English etymology. On the African side the Gbè etymon suggested by both the DJE and the DCEU is tempting but at the moment we do not have enough diachronic evidence to assign this closed class item to an African source. The reader may consult Parkvall (2000, p. 108) for an initial discussion. ④ No suitable etymology found as yet.

118. **DA, A** ‘(a) a less common auxiliary of durative or progressive action, present, past,

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⑥ The form that Westermann (1973, p. 135) gives for Vhe is küntrü. Since the tone pattern is different from the form which the DJE gives, I assume that we are dealing with variant Gbè forms.
or future; (b) the equative copula; (c) a word introducing statements and giving emphasis: it is, there is, etc.’. ③ This entry represents the consolidation of several DJE and DCEU headwords (A, DA, DE), which appear to be mere phonetic variants of the same function word. The etymologies provided by these two sources range from the suggestion that the marker grammaticalised from English *there*, derived from Àkán *dé* ‘be’ or Gbè (Vhe) *dé* ‘to be’. marker as combinations of different Jamaican preverbal markers, but for all of them, provides Àkán *da* ‘lie, be situated, live, remain, rest, etc’ as an alternative source. It is common for markers of progressive aspect to emerge from locative constructions. ④ No suitable etymology found as yet.

119. **daadi** ‘a respectful name or term of address for a father, an older man than oneself, an elderly man’. ③ The DJE derives this word from English *daddy* but suggests that there is probably ‘coincidental influence from African words such as [Àkán] *finite* *dadaa, dadaw* “old”.’ The co-optation of kinship terms for mother and father as general titles of respect is cross-linguistically common, hence, it is impossible to prove semantic influence from Àkán as opposed to independent development. On the formal side, the match between the final vocalic element of the English word and that of the Jamaican word, makes it a more likely etymon than the Àkán candidate which not only has a different segment in the second syllable, but apparently a heavier second syllable. ④ African etymology rejected.

120. **dandan** ‘(a) a baby’s dress; (b) shirt without a collar (c) a man (evidently one who dresses up); (d) pretty, prettily dressed’. ③ The DJE claims that this word is probably from English *dandy* via reduplication of the first syllable, but asks us to consider Yorùbá *dàdà* ‘good, beautiful’. The DCEU lists the word but does not provide an etymology. The word appears in several of the AECs, and most creolists seem to have taken the etymology from (DYL, 2003, p. 60) or copied it from the DJE. However, the compiler of the DYL explains at the front of the dictionary that the tilde (which he calls a circumflex) is used to mark long vowels. This practice of marking long vowels in Yorùbá with a tilde is also mentioned by Bamgbosè (1965, p. 13) in his proposal for abandoning the practice. No doubt, previous scholars took the tilde as a mark of nasalisation, and so saw the Yorùbá form as a good formal match for the Caribbean word.

The African etymology breaks down in light of the absent nasal feature, and the difference in length between the Jamaican and African forms. On the other hand, the DJE’s first proposal which derives the word from English *dandy* via clipping and reduplication seems more promising in light of the fact that Jamaican also has *daandi* which refers to a well-dressed person or the attribute of being finely dressed. ④ African etymology rejected.

121. **deah-deah** ‘weakling’. ② Gbè (Vhe) *dèjè* ‘weak’ (Westermann, 1965/1930, p. 13). ③ The DJE claims that this word is phonosymbolic and probably African, but the editors provide no suggestions or arguments in support of their claim regarding probably African origin. It turns out that the word is indeed African and can be traced with certainty to Vhe *dèjè* ‘weak’. ④ Gbè (GOC).

122. **dege, dege-dege** ‘only, sole, single’. ③ The DJE lists this word with two senses; the first being the one copied as the meaning of this entry. The second sense, ‘small size; little, small’, appears to belong properly to another headword *dege* /dègr, dègr/ whose third sense is ‘a short man’. For the entry being treated here, the DJE asks us to consider Gbè *dekà* ‘single, alone, solitary’. I have not come across any alternation in the present-day Gbè dialects, or any Proto-Gbè form which could account for the /k/ → /g/ change which the DJE’s etymology suggests. In addition, the few instances of /k/ → /g/ on the current list are all in word-/syllable-initial position. Vhe does contain several other forms such as the
negative polarity item ðekè, ðekèðekè, or the sentential adverb ðeko ‘only’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 36), but in addition to the formal problem with these (which is the same as that for ðekà discussed above), their syntactic behaviour is different from Jamaican dege(dege). ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

123. **DENKE** ‘the real name of pumpum, a large round yellow yam, the same as böasun’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology and claims that it is probably African without suggesting an etymon. DJE2 follows up on the claim of probable African origin by asking us to compare Common Bantu *dèngè ‘pumpkin’. Nevertheless, there is no sensible semantic link between a yam and a pumpkin, and it is unlikely that persons who were familiar with both food items would have confused the two. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

124. **DEPA, DIPA** ‘an archaic term for negro yam’. ② Àkán adepá ne ‘a type of yam’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 69). ③ The etymology accepted here agrees with the DJE. The EJB also gives the Àkán etymon, but adds Gbè (Vhe) te which is not glossed, and gba ‘yam proper’. The EJB’s second proposal assumes a process of composition but it is hard to test its plausibility since the first element is un glossed. With regard to phonology, the concatenation of the two words would have placed the labial-velar in word-medial position. In all other cases on our list of Africanisms, the Jamaican reflex of word-medial labial-velars is the corresponding velar. Hence, we would have expected *tega, and not *teba. Additionally, the Gbè candidate would require voicing of the initial consonant and devoicing of the intervocalic one. All of this makes for a very complex, and still implausible etymology. ④ Àkán (GOC).

125. **DIBIDIBI** ‘mediocre, sub-standard, weak, unreliable’. ② Hausa di’didi’bi ‘a good-for-nothing person’ (Bargery, 1951/1934, p. 250), Èfik ndébe-ndébe ‘listless, facile, silly, passive, so that anyone can easily impose upon’ (Goldie, 1964, p. 200). ③ This word is not listed in any of the previous works, and as far as I am aware, this is the first time it is receiving scholarly attention. Note that Igbo also has the word dèbèdèbè ‘soft; not firm or hard; wobbling, quivering, shaking; fat person running’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 123), but its vowel makes it less suitable formally, and while softness can easily be linked to weakness, the Hausa and Èfik candidates provide more direct semantic matches with the Jamaican word. The Èfik form is plausible on formal grounds since word-initial prenasalised stops are replaced by the corresponding obstruent in the copying process from Niger-Congo to Jamaican. ④ African: Hausa, Èfik (BIA).

126. **DÍDI, DIDI** ‘(a) excrement, dung; (b) to defecate’. ③ The DJE points out that this term is probably euphemistic, and that no source has been found. Nevertheless, the editors submit Gbè (Vhe) dìdì ‘to let down, to lower’ for consideration. I have rejected the African etymology on the basis that this word is a nursery term. See §4.3.8 for the discussion explaining why nursery words are not given etymological consideration. ④ Nursery term.

127. ***DINDI** as in DINDI-ÓKRO ‘one of the local names of the common climbing cacti, of triangular or polygonal cross-section: Cereus triangularis, C. grandiflorus’. ② Koongo (Kingoyi, Bembe) dìdí ‘clitoris’ (Laman, 1964, p. 120). ③ In Jamaican, this word has only been attested in the compound dindi-okro. The DJE asks us to consider Gbè (Vhe) dìpà ‘sticky, viscous, slimy’ as a possible source. While the Gbè lexeme provides a good semantic match, the sound change it assumes has no precedence in the current list of Africanisms, or the lexicon of Jamaican in general. The Koongo etymon is justified if we consider that sliminess/stickiness is often associated with the vagina in Jamaica, which is demonstrated
by names for the vagina such as *stikiti an glamiti* (stickiness and gooeyness). Note too that this Africanism was also attested in the speech of Kumina practitioners, but with the pronunciation *jîn(i)* ‘vagina’ (Bilby & Kia Bunseki, 1983, p. 70, Carter, 1996a, p. 100).

128. **DINGKI, DINGKII**, and as in **DÎNGKI-MÎNI, JINGKI-MINI** ‘a kind of *ring-play* or dancing usually practised in connection with funeral ceremonies; also the ceremonies themselves’. ② Koongo *ndìngi* ‘plaintes, lamentations, cris de désespoir, sanglots (sur un mort); chant funèbre’ (Laman, 1964, p. 670). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology but asks us to consider Àkán *adéjkùm* ‘a women’s play’. DJE2 maintains the suggestion from the first edition but adds Koongo *ndìngi* ‘lamentation, funeral song’ for consideration.

The Koongo etymology is also accepted by the ARJC, but JCAH provides two new proposals, both from Koongo: *dingwinti* ‘a Koongo friction drum’, *ndungu* ~ *ndindi* ‘a type of drum used for funerals’. The etymologies proposed by the JCAH are problematic for several reasons. We have already had evidence of a form *ndindi* which had two realisations in Jamaica (*dindi* in Jamaican Creole, and *jinji* in Kumina).

There is no support for the /d/ → /k/ change which the etymology assumes. To accept the *ndungu* etymology we would have to assume a change in the nuclei of both syllables, and also semantic broadening. The much longer form dingwinti which JCAH proposes would at least account for the second element of the Jamaican compound which remains unidentified in the present work. However, it requires no less than three adaptation processes before it can resemble the Jamaican form. Going back to the Àkán word *adéjkùm* ‘a women’s play’, which the DJE offers for consideration, it is apparent that they selected it to account for the various types of *ring-plie* (ring-play) which are performed at some versions of the dingki, however, formally, it provides a much poorer match relative to the accepted Koongo etymon.

④ Koongo (WCA).

129. **DÔGI, DÔGE, DOGI-DOGI** ‘(a) short, small; (b) a short, stocky person; (c) a short-legged variety of chicken’. ② Manding (Bamanankan) *dôga* ‘be small’ (Dâñgafe, 1999, p. 242), Swahili *dogo* ‘small’ (Contini-Morava, 2006, p. 216). ③ The DJE provides the Bamanankan form and also Gã *atekê* ‘short’, and Àkán *atekê* ‘a short-legged fowl’ for consideration. All the African words here might very well be historically related, going back to Proto-Niger-Congo. However, the Gã and Àkán candidates are less likely to be responsible for the shape(s) of the Jamaican word. However, the match between the very specific meaning of the Àkán candidate and sense (c) of the Jamaican word suggests that the Àkán word had some influence here and we are looking at a case of lexical conflation. ⑦ Atlantic-Congo: Manding (SEN), Àkán (GOC), Swahili (SEA).

130. **DÔPI** ‘the spirit of the dead, believed to be capable of returning to aid or (more often) harm living beings, directly or indirectly; they are also believed subject to the power of obeah and its practitioners who can ‘set’ or ‘put’ a duppy upon a victim and ‘take off’ their influence’. ② Àkán (Fante) *adôpê* ‘a species of ape’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 93), Gã *adôpe* ‘chimpanzee’ related to asamanukpa ‘chimpanzee living on the islands of the river Volta, where the “sisai” or ghosts are said to have their towns; dwarf’ (Zimmermann, 1858a, pp. 6, 20, Dakubu, 1999, p. 14). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Bube *dupe* ‘ghost’, but I consider the Bube word to be either a loanword brought to Fernando Po (Bioko) by enslaved Africans taken from the continent to the island during slavery, or a loanword from Krio taken there

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7The simplex form of this word also occurs as the first element in several Jamaican compounds: *dogi-foul* ‘a small, short-legged variety of fowl’, *dogi-hen* ‘a small, short-legged variety of hen’, *dogi-fut* ‘a short leg, short-legged’, *dogi-man* ‘a short person’ (DJE2).
The Gã etymon helps us to understand how a word meaning ape could come to refer to ghosts. It is the association of the apes with the place where the spirits of the dead are thought to reside which gave rise to the semantic extension of the term. It is probable that Gã *adope* is a copy from Àkán, since Gã also has a native word (*asamanukpa*) which designates the same creature. However, we cannot tell exactly when the word was borrowed into Gã. Depending on when it was borrowed, the word might have been just as much Gã as it was Àkán.

**131. Dóti, Đorti** *(a) earth, soil; the ground; (b) excrement, dung* ② Àkán (Akyem) *dbó* ‘soil, earth, clay, mud’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 93). ③ It appears that *dirt(y)* was copied into quite a few African languages either from English directly, or via a contact variety. However, most of these mean dirt, rubbish or filthy which sets them off from Jamaican *dóti* which means ‘ground, earth’. ⑧

The DJE derives the word from the Àkán etymon accepted here but claims ‘influence from English *dirt, dirty*. In the case of Àkán we are either dealing with a case of accidental resemblance with the English adjective (cf. Cassidy, 1961a, p. 396, Cassidy, 1966b, pp. 212–13, Le Page, 1974, p. 49), or an English loan into Àkán. Evidence against the second option comes from prosody since we know that bisyllabic English words are regularly borrowed into Àkán with a High-Low tone melody (Devonish, 2002, p. 37–41). The Low-High tone pattern of the Àkán word makes an English derivation less plausible. ④ Àkán (GOC).

**132. *Dowdow* as in *PattooDowdow* ‘an ugly person’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) *dódow* ‘much, many’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 87). ③ The DJE correctly identifies the first part of this word as *patu* (entry 331), but claims that the second element is from Àkán *dódów* ‘to stammer, stutter’. No serious semantic link can be made between stammering and ugliness. As an alternative, I propose that the second element is derived from Àkán *dódow* ‘much, many’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 87).

We have already seen that in Jamaican *patu* is used as an epithet for ugliness. The addition of the quantifying element serves to exaggerate the quality expressed by the first element of the compound. There are two pieces of supporting evidence for the new etymology. First, the order of the items follows the order of nouns and property items in Àkán noun phrases and compounds (Marfo, 2005, p. 62). Second, the concatenation of *dódow* with a noun producing an intensificational reading is attested in Àkán, e.g. *nwura-dódow* ‘rubbish, sweepings’ (s.v. *dódowurá* in Christaller, 1933, p. 88), and Fante *ber dodow* *(be) overripe* (Berry, 1960, p. 89). ④ Àkán (GOC).

**133. Dufidáia** *(a) careless-going person; (b) a dwarfish stunted person*. ② Gã *adufudé* ‘intemperateness, excess’ or *adufüdeyelo* ‘intemperate person’ (Zimmermann, 1858a, p. 6), Gbè (Vhe) *açufoojì ~ ajofoojì* ‘parasitism, to sponge, be covetous, live at other people’s expenses’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 38, 43). ③ Although the DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology, it conjectures that it is perhaps African, but provides no possible source form. Plausible etyma have now been identified in Gã and Gbè. ④ Kwa: Gã, Gbè (GOC).

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134. **DUGUDUGU** ‘a euphemistic expression for sexual intercourse’. ② Manding (Bamanankan) *diguila* ‘sex’ (Dápragea, 1999, p. 242). ③ As far as I am aware, no academic work has dealt with this verb before. I have found one reference to it though by Reynolds (2005) who claims that the word is African in origin but provides neither meaning nor source language. The Bamanankan etymology accepted here is also a euphemism (Dápragea, 1999). ④ Bamanankan (SEN).

135. **DUKUNU, DOKUNU, DUKUNO, DOK, DOK** ‘a kind of pudding made of some ‘starch’ food (plantain, green banana, cassava flour, especially cornmeal) sweetened, spiced, traditionally wrapped in plantain or banana leaf, and boiled (in some localities baked or roasted)’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) *ɔ-dɔkɔno* ‘boiled maize-bread’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 88), (Fante) *dɔku* ‘cankey’ (Russell, 1910, p. 34), Guang (Guà) *ɔblade-dɔkonɔ* ‘food prepared with corn-flour and ripe plantain. It is then wrapped and cooked’ (DáñEgafe, 1999, p. 32). ③ As far as I am aware, no academic work has dealt with this verb before. I have found one reference to it though by Reynolds (2005) who claims that the word is African in origin but provides neither meaning nor source language. The Bamanankan etymology accepted here is also a euphemism (DáñEgafe, 1999). ④ Bamanankan (SEN).

136. **DUMA** ‘to thrash, flog, beat’. ② Wolof *duma* ‘to beat’ (Dem, 1995, p. 8), Hausa *duma* ‘beat’ (Abraham, 1949, p. 232). ③ The DJE and ARJC only mention the Hausa etymon, however, the Wolof candidate also matches the Jamaican word in both form and meaning. ④ African: Wolof (SEN), Hausa (BIA).

137. **DUNDO, DUNDU, DUDU** ‘a small type of drum used by slaves’. ② Maninkakan *dunda*, Kisi *dundóó* ‘a big round drum, base drum [sic.]’ (Childs, 2000, p. 91), Guang *odondo* ‘an hour glass-drum [sic.]’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 98), Anulo *dundó* ‘type of drum’ (Krass, 1970, p. 28), Gbè *(Ve)* *adundó* ‘small drum’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 163), Yorùbá *dundún* ‘a kind of drum’ (DYL, 2003, p. 67), Huasa *dundufa* (s.v. *tundara*) ‘a long, narrow drum’ (Abraham, 1949, pp. 234, 894), *ndundú* ‘tambour’ (Rood, 1958, p. 331). ③ The DJE provides the Gbè, Yorùbá, Hausa, and Ngombe forms for comparison. I have added other languages with forms that also match the Jamaican word formally and semantically. ④ African: Maninkakan (SEN), Kisi (WIN), Anulo, Guang, Gbè (GOC), Yorùbá (BEN), Ngombe (BIA), Hausa (BIA).

138. **DUNDUS, DUNJU, DUNDAP** ‘(a) an albino; (b) a freak, someone who is not up to the mark of normality’. ② Koongo *ndundu* ‘albinos, blondin; homme blanc, Européen’ (Laman, 1964, p. 675), Yaka *ndündú* ‘albinos, l’homme blanc’ (Ruttenberg, 1999, p. 149), Mbundu *bandundu* ‘nom de cité: les blancs, les albinos (jadis Banningville)’ (Swartenbroeckx, 1973, p. 9). ③ All previous works (DJE, ARJC, DCEU, JCAH) only mention the Koongo form but Yaka and Mbundu also provide good matches for the Jamaican lexeme. The final -s of the Jamaican form is probably the common familiarising suffix which appears in words such as *putu(s)* ‘darling’. ④ Narrow Bantu: Koongo, Mbundu, Yaka (WCA).

139. **ÉDO, EDI, HEDO** ‘the edible root or tuber of *Xanthosoma spp* and sometimes of *Colocasia esculenta*’. ② Nupe *èdu* ‘yam’ (Stahlke, 1975, p. 89), and *èdu* ‘a species of wild yam’ (Banfield, 1914, p. 105), Igbo *édè* ~ *edo* ‘coconut’ (B. F. Welmers & Welmers, 1968, p. 18). ③ The DJE suggests Àkán (Fante) *edwó(w)* ‘yam’, *ndwo(w)* ‘root’, as possible sources of this word. However, orthographic <dw> in Àkán represents a voiced pre-palatal affricate (Dolphyne, 1988, p. 37), a fact which rules it out as the best source of the Jamaican word. On that same basis, cognate forms in neighbouring languages such as Guang (Nkonya) *odzó* ~ *edzó* ‘Jams’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 184), would also be unsuitable. In addition to the Àkán candidate already discussed above, the DCEU also provides Ibibio *edomo* ‘potato yam’ for consideration. However, we can safely omit it here since there are other languages which produce less complicated source forms. ④ Kwa: Nupe (BEN), Igbo (BIA).
140. **EMBO** ‘an address to birds meaning “pitch there”, alight’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider two possible etymologies: Gbè (Vhe) **mbo** ‘good! just so!’, and Carambula **embó** ‘witchcraft’. While the Carambula etymology resembles the Jamaican word in form, it clearly has nothing to do with it semantically. Although the Gbè etymon is enticing, its meaning is too general to be useful in helping us to decide on the etymology of this word. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

141. **EYÉ** ‘yes’. ③ The DJE suggests that the Jamaican word may be from Northeast English dialectal forms of *aye* such as (Northumberland) *eye*, (Lincoln) *eye*, (West Riding of Yorkshire) *eea*, *eeah*, (New England) *ayuh*; or from Àkán *yée* and *yé* ‘a reply to a call, showing that it has been heard’. I should add that Gã also has *EhEE*, *hEE*, *yEE* ‘yes’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 226). However, the presence of English dialectal words which perfectly match the Jamaican one in both form and semantics, makes proving substrate origin extremely difficult if not impossible. In addition, the word is an example of corporeal sound symbolism (see §4.3.9.0.1). ④ Corporeal sound symbolism.

142. **FE** ‘an exclamation by which one accepts a challenge to fight’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) *féfé* ‘a challenge to fight and its answer’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 119), Guang (Gua) *fée* ‘an abusive or insulting reply intended to provoke a challenge to fight’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 59). ③ The DJE only supplies the Àkán etymology, but the Guang candidate is an equally plausible source for the Jamaican word. Although the Àkán etymology which the DJE proposes is a good match for the Jamaican word, *fe* is included neither in the ARJC’s list of accepted etymologies nor the list of rejected ones. Nzema has what appears to be a cognate form for this word, *fe* ‘struggle for the lion’s share in anything’ (Aboagye, 1992 [1965], p. 87). However, its status as a verb, plus the difference in meaning make it less suitable than the Àkán and Guang forms. ④ Tano: Àkán, Guang (GOC).

143. **FÈNÈ** ‘(a) to feel direct physical illness and show its effects: to vomit, to faint; (b) in a vaguer sense: to feel intense pain, discomfort, trouble; (c) to treat with disdain’. ② Àkán (Fante) *fená* ‘to faint’, *fená* ‘to trouble, to be troubled’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 122), Zulu *fene* ‘of exhaustion, faintness, loss of energy’ (Doke & Vilikazi, 1972, p. 203). ③ In addition to the Fante etymology which is accepted here, the DJE offers several other possible sources for this word: Bamanankan *fono* ‘to vomit’, Àkán (Akuapem) *fê* ‘to vomit’, *nê* ‘to cack’, *m-fênâ* ‘bile thrown up from the stomach’, Limba *feño* ‘to faint’, *feñoi* ‘to faint, gasp’, Gbè (Gê) *afênù, fênù* ‘filth’, *fênyi* ‘trance’. Guang (Nkonya) *fê* ‘spritzten, spucken [to squirt, to throw up]’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 185). Even today, in its most common usage, Jamaican *fene* is used as a synonym for *pyuk* ‘to puke’, which supports an etymology meaning ‘to vomit’. However, sense (b) of the Jamaican word can also be accounted for by several of the African candidates and there is really no need to assume semantic extension. ④ Benue-Kwa: Àkán (GOC), Zulu (SEA).

144. **FENGKE-FENGKE, FENGFENGKI, FENGKE, FRENKFRENGKA, FLENGKEFLENGKE** ‘(a) physically not robust; slight, puny, delicate; (b) cowardly, effeminate, prone to tears; foolish, fussy, making difficulties’. ② Mende *fengergê* ‘(of abdomen) sunk in’ and its simplex form *fenge* ‘very thin, lanky’ (Innes, 1969, p. 11). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology, and points out that its reduplicated form is suggestive of an African origin, but the editors provide no African form to support that claim. They also ask us to consider English *finicky* as a possible source. The semantic shift suggested by the English proposal (*finicky*) is quite plausible. On the formal side, the suggested phonological development, *finicky* → *fingki* → *fingkifingki*) is also possible. Note, however, that an English derivation does not account for why there are more alternate forms with /e/ than with /i/. Additionally, the numerous operations (apocope of a word-
medial vowel, reduplication, vowel lowering) that the English word would have to go through in order to resemble the Jamaican form, make the Mende word a more optimal candidate.

④ Mende (SIE).

145. **FERE** as in the proverb ‘/di tik we nak a jege wi nak a fere/ The stick which will hit a rag will hit a jag, i.e. Don’t gloat over another’s misfortune: you may be the next victim.’

② Ækán (Akuapem) e-fère ‘pot-sherd, piece, fragment of a pot’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 123).

③ This word was treated as a reduplicated version of *fererefere* by the DJE. Please see entry 335 below for the disambiguation. ④ Ækán (GOC).

146. **FINIFINI** ‘thin, bony, sickly-looking person’. ② Zulu fíni ‘grow stunted, grow slowly, have retarded growth, show signs of weakness’ (Doke & Vilikazi, 1972, p. 207).

③ The DJE asks us to consider Gbè (Vhe) finya-finuya ‘soft, weak’, as a possible source for this word. I have not been able to find this word in any of my Gbè sources, and I have come across only two other words (both ideophones) in Gbè (Vhe) featuring bisyllabic bases and the palatal nasal occurring inter-vocally: minyaminya ‘stealthily’ and fanyafanya ‘clumsily’ (Ameka, 2001, p. 32). I have come across no evidence in Gbè which could support the change of finya-finuya to /fínIfinI/. Jamaican has two words, both referring to thinness, which almost resemble the Gbè word: menyamenya ‘slender’ and wenyawenya ‘thin’.

That the form minimini ‘very small’ exists in Jamaican might lend support to the DJE’s etymology. However, this appears to be random phonological variation since there is no corresponding *winiwini* for wenyawenya. So far, Zulu fíni ‘grow stunted, grow slowly, have retarded growth, show signs of weakness’, provides the best etymon for the Jamaican word. ④ Zulu (SEA)

147. **FINI** as in **FINI-MAN, FINIFINI** ‘(a) a diabolical personage; specifically an obeah-man; (b) obeah.

② Koongo ífini ‘celui que exécute l’action fina’ (Laman, 1964, p. 527).

Laman (1964, p. 150) defines the verb fina as ‘ensorceler son ennemi secrètement et par des maléfices; pendant qu’il dort’. ③ This entry represents the consolidation of the DJE’s headword PHINNEY MAN (recorded in that work with sense (a) only) and sense (2) of the headword FINI-FINI for which the DJE’s quotation gives definitions corresponding to senses (a) and (b) above.

The DJE marks PHINNEY MAN as being of unknown etymology, but points the reader to FINIFINI, for which the editors suggest Gbè (Vhe) finya-finuya ‘soft, weak’ as a possible etymon. The Koongo etymology accepted here matches the form and semantics of the Jamaican word perfectly. The reduplicated form, finifini, appears to be an innovation which took place in Jamaica. ④ Koongo (WCA).

148. **FOM, FOM-FOM** ‘(a) to beat or flog; (b) a flogging, a beating.

② Ijo (Kalahari & Ibani) fon ‘beat (person)’ (Williamson, 2004, p. 320).

③ The word treated here is the DJE headword FUM. Based on the evidence supplied in the illustrative quotations, I believe that what the DJE lists as sense 2 of the headword FUM, should really be a sense of headword FUM-FUM (entry 152), and sense 1 of headword FUM-FUM should be a sense of headword FUM. Therefore, the senses given above reflect this arrangement. The DJE claims that the word is probably onomatopoeic but possibly influenced by an African word. The suggestion of onomatopoeia breaks down in light of the very close semantic match between the Ijo and Jamaican words since specifically they both mean to beat, flog and not just to strike. ④ Ijo (BEN).

149. **FRAHFRAH** ‘gossip’. ② Ækán frafrà ‘to mingle oneself or associate with’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 136–7). ③ The Ækán etymology fits if we consider that generally gossip is associated
with ‘mix-up’, i.e. rumours spread through (the wrong) people associating with each other. The DJE is not sure whether the Jamaican word is a noun or a verb. This indeterminacy exists because the single illustrative quotation the dictionary has does not provide sufficient evidence for word class membership. ④ Àkán (GOC).

150. FROFRO ‘fire, matches’. ③ The DJE states that frofro is perhaps from Spanish fósforo ‘a friction match’, but asks us to consider Àkán fráfrá ‘brightly (burning)’, and fráfrá ‘blazing, flaming’. However, the variant spellings in the dictionary’s illustrative quotations appear to argue in favour of the Spanish etymology. The 1943 quotations give ‘fu-furo’ and ‘fru-fru’. The first is obviously closer to the Spanish form in its trisyllabic shape, but with loss of the sibilant, while the bisyllabic variant suggests analogy with CCV-CCV reduplicated words such as brabra, and prapra. ④ African etymology rejected.

151. FÚBA ‘of fruit: unfit, forced ripe, hence withered’. ② Koongo mfúba ‘qui est mal mûr, […] fruit vert; qui n’a pas fini sa croissance’ (Laman, 1964, p. 554). ③ The DJE’s etymological treatment suggests that this word is a compound of Àkán fuá ‘lay hold of’ and -ba ‘small, little dwarfed’. The ARJC in rejecting the Àkán etymology points out that Àkán morphology does not allow the concatenation of a verb with the diminutive suffix. DJE2, obviously having rejected the Àkán etymology of the DJE, asks us to consider the candidate which seems to have been first suggested by the ARJC. ④ African: Hausa (BIA); Wolof (SEN), Mende (SIE, WIN), Grebo, Kpelle (WIN), Limba (SIE), Àkán, Gã (GOC), Gbè (GOC, BEN), Yorùbá (BEN), Koongo, Mbundu (WCA).

152. FUFU, FUMFUM, FRUFU ‘(a) starch food boiled and pounded; it may be eaten so, or further prepared and cooked; (b) in a looser sense: mashed or grated food’. ② Wolof fufú ‘cassava dough’ (Dem, 1995, p. 12), Mende fufú ‘foofoo, a dish prepared from grated fermented cassava’ (Innes, 1969, p. 15), Àkán (Àkuapem) fufú ‘a common food of the natives, prepared of yam or plantains (or cassada, or amankanu) cut into pieces and boiled, (in which form the plantains are called ampesi), are then pounded in a wooden mortar (ówaduru) till they have become a tough doughy mass. This, in the shape of a round lump, is put into the soup’ (Christaller, 1933, pp. 139–40), Gã fufú, fufui ‘a favourite food of the natives, a dough of mashed yams, cassada or plantains, eaten to soup’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, pp. 3–4), Koongo fufum ‘flour, cassava meal, prepared cassava root beaten into flour’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 348), Mbundu fûmû ‘farine = mûmû, fûfu’ (Swartenbroeckx, 1973, p. 82). ④ African: Hausa (BIA); Wolof (SEN), Mende (SIE, WIN), Grebo, Kpelle (WIN), Limba (SIE), Àkán, Gã (GOC), Gbè (GOC, BEN), Yorùbá (BEN), Koongo, Mbundu (WCA).

153. FUKUFUKU ‘lungs’. ② Yorùbá fûkûkû ‘lungs’ (DYL, 2003, p. 91). ③ This word is not listed in any of my primary Jamaican sources, however, it is listed in ISS (Bartens, 2000, p. 91) as Jamaican, without any indication of the source of the data. I have decided to leave it in. The ISS also suggests candidates such as Mende fukuk ‘lungs’, Gbè (Vhe) fukefuke ‘of breathing heavily’, and Guang (Gua) ofulututu ‘lungs’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 98). However, these are sub-optimal for formal and/or semantic reasons. ④ Yorùbá (BEN).

9The wide distribution of this word within Africa as a food item may be due to copying, however, it is likely that the word goes back to a Proto-Niger-Congo word meaning ‘to beat, crush’ (see entry 148). This is reflected in Gbè (Fon) fûmû ‘pulvérisé’ (Höftmann, 2003, p. 181), Koongo fûmû ‘to powder’ and fûmû ‘to reduce, pound, beat to powder, pulverize’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 279), and Zarma fuku ‘crush, grind’ (Parker, 2005).
154. **FUNJI, FONJI, FUNJU** \((a)\) corn or cassava meal boiled down till it is hard—now more often called cornmeal pone, *musa*. Other ingredients may be added; \((b)\) coconut milk boiled with cassava flour to a porridge. \(\circ\) Koongo *nfundi* ‘vegetable food, eaten with meat and stews; pudding made of cassava meal’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 349), Mbundu *fungi* ‘cassava mush’ (Chatelain, 1964, p. 126). \(\circ\) In addition to the Koongo and Mbundu etyma accepted here, the DCEU suggests Ækán *fugyee* ‘soft, mealy (of boiled yam)’, and Yorùbá *funje* ‘something given to eat’, as possible sources.\(^{10}\) The ARJC only lists the Mbundu form. 

\(\circ\) Narrow Bantu: Koongo, Mbundu (WCA).

155. **GANGGANG** ‘familiar form addressing an old woman; granny’. \(\circ\) For the etymology of this word, the DJE suggests French *gan-gan* ‘granny’, by hypocoristic iteration of *grand(mère)*, while the DCEU proposes Efik *ñi-kam* “grandmother, a common title by which any old woman is addressed” and Ibibio *ñkam* “my grandmother”, perhaps reduplicated for affectionate address with resulting voicing and assimilation < *ñkamñkaj*. Like all of the kinship terms in this list, I treat it as a nursery word which could have arisen due to universal tendencies (see §4.3.8). \(\circ\) Nursery word.

156. **GARAGARA** ‘tall, out of shape’. \(\circ\) Yorùbá *gágara* ‘tall, high’ (DYL, 2003, p. 92). \(\circ\) The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology, however, a plausible etymon has been found in *gágara* which appears to be a member of the class of polysyllabic ideophones described by (Awoyale, 1989, p. 27). This assignment is based on the assumption that the shape of the Yorùbá word was changed to make it fit the regular Jamaican CVCV-CVCV reduplication pattern. \(\circ\) Yorùbá (BEN).

157. **GASHY** ‘a wild yam’. \(\circ\) The DJE asks us to consider Ækán *ode-kwasea* ‘a type of yam’ as the possible source of this word. This implies that Ækán /k/ was changed to /g/ in Jamaican, and that the labial segment was deleted. This is unlikely since the regular reflex of Ækán /kw/ in Jamaican is /kw/ (see entries beginning with /kw/ below). \(\circ\) No suitable (African) etymology found.

158. **GOBGOB** as in **GOBGOB-PIIZ** ‘the peanut’. \(\circ\) Koongo *ki-guba-guba* ‘a small peanut’ (Daeleman, 1972, p. 29). \(\circ\) The DJE makes no claim that this word is African, neither does it give any etymology for the word (only a cross-reference to American English *goober*). The DCEU does not mark this word as being used in Jamaica, but claims that it is probably from Koongo *nguba* ‘kidney; peanut’, and notes that the DJE also lists the word. Several other Narrow Bantu languages possess cognate forms of this word: e.g. Mbundu *nguba* ‘amendoim’ (da Silva Maia, 1964, p. 32), Umbundu *oloên-gupa* ‘ground-mut’ (Johnston, 1919, p. 354), Yaka *ŋyùba* ‘arachide’ (Ruttenberg, 1999, p. 152). Rather than selecting any of these simplex forms as the etymon of the Jamaican word, I have accepted Koongo *ki-guba-guba* which matches the meaning of the Jamaican word perfectly and accounts for its reduplicated form. The slight difference in shape between this Koongo word and the Jamaican word can be explained via the well-attested process of clipping in Jamaican whereby a CVCV-CVCV word becomes CVC-CVC (§7.3). \(\circ\) Koongo (WCA).

159. **GRANGGRANG, GRANGGAN, GRANGGRAN**, and *GRAGRA* as in **GRAGRA-WOOD**. \((a)\) bits of stick, dried shrubs; brambles, etc., used as kindling; \((b)\) rubbish. \(\circ\) The DJE asks us to consider Ækán *krann* ‘wild, entangled’, as a possible etymon for this word. In agreement with the ARJC, I reject this etymology. The word is more plausibly derived from

\(^{10}\) Joseph Atóyèbí informs me that *fún* ‘to give’, and *je* ‘to eat’ is not a proper noun unless it can be nominalised, which he cannot do.
Jamaican *krangkrang* (see *krengkreng* below) by voicing: *krangkrang → granggrang → granggran → grangran*. ④ Direct African etymology rejected.

160. **GRANKE** ‘the cockroach’. ③ This word is marked as African by Russell (1868), but like the DJE, I have found no proof to support this claim. Note, however, that words for ‘cockroach’ in several West African languages are borrowed from European languages such as Dutch *kakkerlak*, e.g. Ákán (Fante) *kakraka* ‘a cockroach, a moth’, *kakrada* ‘cockroach’ (Russell, 1910, 55; Berry, 1960, 25). ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

161. **GRUGROO** ‘valueless, worthless’. ③ The DJE, while marking this word as being of uncertain etymology, claims that it is perhaps African. No etymology has yet been found for it. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

162. **GUDOGUDO** ‘the leafstalk of a kind of palm’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology but suggests that it is probably African. No etymology has been found to date. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

163. **GÜMA, GUMBA** ‘the plant *Solanum nigrum*, which grows wild and is eaten as *calalu*, and also used medicinally; in strong doses it is cathartic and somewhat narcotic’. ② Yorùbá *ogumo*, Ìgbo *ugumakbe* ‘*Solanum nodiflorum*’ (Hall-Alleyne, 1996, p. 23). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Bamanankan *gumbi* ‘a herb causing in horses an infectious diarrhoea’. Apart from the fact that the DJE’s Mende etymology varies from the Jamaican word in terms of its final vowel, the definition does not give enough information for us to establish a secure connection between the Jamaican plant and the Bamanankan one. The Yorùbá and Ìgbo etyma suggested by the EJB provide better formal matches and refer to the same family, Solanaceae, as Jamaican *gum(b)a*. ④ Kwa: Yorùbá (BEN), Igbo (BIA).

164. **GUMBA** 1 ‘mucilaginous or slimy juice’. ② Luba-Kasai (also called Tshiluba) *kungumbo* ‘*okra*’; Mbundu *kingombo* ‘*ochro*’ (Warner-Lewis, 2003, p. 101). ③ The DJE gives no etymology for this word, neither does it suggest an African origin. The Mbundu etymon was proposed by the JCAH, to which I have added the equally plausible Luba-Kasai candidate. ④ Narrow Bantu: Luba-Kasai, Mbundu (WCA).

165. **GUMBA** 2 ② Ngbandi *ngzambi* ‘soort mandoline met platte langwerpigrondige houten schotel en een houten klavier. De “*gbene*” felijkt er enigszins aan, doch haar kas is een grote schildpadschelp en de toetsen zijn uit ijzer.’ (B. Lekens, 1958, p. 716), Ngombe *ngzambi* ‘instrument de musique, barrettes en fer sur bloc en bois creux, xylophone’ (Rood, 1958, p. 341). ③ As far as I am aware, this word is not treated in the existing literature on Africanisms in Jamaican. The reason for this is that the few references to the instrument were mistakenly treated by the DJE (s.v. *gombay*) as references to the drum called *gumbe* (entry 166). A fresh look at the quotation from Edward Long’s historical account of 1774, which is normally taken as the first reference to the drum *gumbe* provides evidence that we are dealing with a separate instrument/word. (Long, 2002 [1774]a, pp. 423–4) writes:

> The goombah, another of their musical instruments, is a hollow block of wood, covered with sheepskin stripped of its hair. The musician holds a little stick, of about six inches in length, sharpened at one end like the blade of a knife, in each hand. With one hand he rakes it over a notched piece of wood, fixed across the instrument, the whole length, and crosses with the other alternately, using

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11The bibliographic details for the Luba-Kasai information have been misplaced.
both with a brisk motion; whilst a second performer beats with all his might on the sheep-skin, or tabor.

Long appears to be describing not one but two different instruments, played by two different 'performers', but one instrument is 'fixed across the [other] instrument'. From my reading of the extract, the first instrument is a 'hollow block of wood, covered with sheepskin stripped of its hair'. This description perfectly fits the current and historical accounts of what the GOMBAY DRUM (see entry 166) looks like (Logan & Whylike, 1982; Bettelheim, 1999; Bilby, 1999a). The second instrument is 'a notched piece of wood' across which the musician rakes a stick which is sharpened at one end. From the description, this second instrument appears to be xylophone-like. What is certain is that it could not be the drum, because all observers are agreed that the GOMBAY DRUM has always been played with the hands, not with sticks.

Further evidence that the gumba is a separate instrument from the gumbe comes from the DJE's 1818 quotation which in one sentence mentions the 'drums and gumbies'. It would have been strange for the writer to say 'drums and gumbies' if the 'gumbies' referred to drums. Ngbandi and Ngombe provide good etyma for this word both in terms of form and meaning. The confusion appears to be due to the phonetic closeness of the word to gumbe, the name of a type of drum, and the fact that the playing of the gumba/gumbi accompanied the drum. ④ Volta-Congo: Ngbandi, Ngombe (BIA).

166. GUMBE, GOMBÉ, GUMBA, KUMBÉ ‘(a) a drum; various types have borne the name, but all seem to be played with fingers rather than with sticks; (b) a very black person; (c) funny music’. ② Yaka ngoma ‘tambour de danse à peau unique’ (Ruttenberg, 1999, p. 152), Koongo ngoma ‘drum’, nkumbi ‘a drum used when libations of blood are being poured out at the grave of a great hunter’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 373), Mbundu ngoma, mnngumba ‘tambor’ (da Silva Maia, 1964, p. 598), Oshiwambo, Herero, and Nkhumbi oî-n-goma ‘drum’ (Johnston, 1919, p. 352), Digo ngoma ‘drum; dance or ceremony in which drums are used, particularly involving spirit possession’ (Mwalonya, 2006, p. 134).

③ This entry represents the consolidation of two DJE headwords: GOMBAY and KUMBAY. The former is recorded in the DJE with what are copied here as senses (a)—(b), while the latter is associated with senses (a) and (c) only. The editors point out that KUMBAY is a variant form of GOMBAY. The DJE claims that gumbe is probably from Koongo ngoma, nkumbi ‘drum’. The ARJC explicitly accepts the Bantu etymology, but only provides nkumbi as the etymon.

The DCEU’s entry is more complex since it refers to two instruments: (i) a drum; and (ii) a stringed instrument. I will only mention the etymologies provided for the word meaning ‘drum’. The DCEU notes that ‘[m]ore than one Bantu lang[uage] source seems possible’, and asks us to compare Koongo ngoma ‘drum’. The JCAH also supplies only Koongo forms but includes Koongo (n)gumba which more closely resembles the Jamaican form containing the voiced velar plosive [g]. The forms from Yaka, Mbundu, Oshiwambo, Herero, Nkhumbi, and Digo which lack the voiced bilabial plosive [b] may be accepted if we consider that insertion of a labial plosive has been attested in a few other Jamaican words, e.g. English tamarind → Jamaican tambran.

The gumbe drum is also associated with the Accompong Maroons but not the Moore Town Maroons (Dickerson, 2004, p. 7, Lewin, 2000, pp. 177–9). In addition, it is associated with an Afro-Jamaican religious practice/group (probably now extinct) in Lacovia, in the parish of St Elizabeth (Bilby, 1999b). As far as I am aware, only the ‘drum’ meaning now exists among the Maroons, while the Jamaican Creole term refers both to a drum and a religious practice. However, Dickerson (2004, p. 37) informs us that the gumbe was traditionally used among the Maroons specifically for religious purposes: ‘to call their ancestors, both
legendary heroes and the recently deceased’.

Logan and Whylie (1982, p. 86) claims that the religious observance and the name of the group were adopted from the name of the drum. Such an etymology is not unlikely, and even if it is incorrect, Narrow Bantu languages such as Yaka, Ngonbe, Mbundu, Kwanjama, Herero, and Nkumbi, could still account comfortably for the drum meaning. However, the presence of the Koongo and Digo words shows that the etymology might be more complex, since in these languages, the appropriate source forms refer to both a drum, and a religious practice involving ancestor worship. ④ Narrow Bantu: Yaka, Ngonbe (BIA), Koongo, Mbundu, Oshiwanmo, Herero, Nkumbi (WCA), Digo (SEA).

167. GUMBES ‘goat’. ② Yaka khóombo ‘chèvre’ (Ruttenberg, 1999, p. 215), Koongo nkombo ‘goat’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 95). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology, while DJE2 asks us to compare Koongo ngombo ‘goat’. The /k/ → /g/ change suggested by my accepted etymologies is attested in other Jamaican words (see entry 241). The -sh at the end of the Jamaican form is probably a phonological variant of the familiarising suffix -s. ④ Narrow Bantu: Yaka (BIA), Koongo (WCA).

168. GUNGGU₁, GUNGO ‘the pea Cajanus cajan, which grows on a shrub 4–10 ft high; the pea is roundish; it is favoured for soup and frequently cooked with rice’. ② Koongo ngóngo ‘haricot pour des nkisi’ (Laman, 1964, p. 692), (Vili) ngungu ‘peas’ (Allsopp, 1996, p. 275). ③ The DJE derives this word from the ethnonym Congo, but DJE2 omits this etymology and asks us to consider Koongo ngongo ‘pea(s)’. The DCEU asks us to consider ngungu ‘peas’ which is specifically from the Vili dialect of Koongo. Even CAC appears to be a bit more certain about the Koongo etymon in stating that it is ‘no doubt derived from ngungu (Ko), a type of pea (Cajanus cajan Druce)’. I concur with the JCAH in explicitly accepting the Koongo etymon.

As early as 1671 Ogilby writes about the “pease of Angola” which are grown in the Caribbean. In 1756 Browne identifies “Angola Peas” as an alternative name for “Pigeon Peas”. Both terms show up as alternatives for gungo (peas) in Harris (1913). As further evidence of its Bantu origin, the pea is also referred to as Congo peas. The word is still used either on its own or in several compounds such as gunggu-pitz (< peas), gunggu-suup (< soup), gunggu-waak (cf. OED3 walk n1 12b ‘a plantation’). ④ Koongo (WCA).

169. *GUNGGU₂ as in GUNGGU-FLAI ‘any of various small flies, especially those which fly over the face, open cuts, etc., and annoy one’. ② Gbaya (Sango, Ngbaka mabo) ngungú, (Monzombo) núngū, (Gbanzili) núngū, (Ndunga-le) njínjí ‘mouche’ (Monino, 1988, p. 123). ③ The DJE treats this word as a (locally created) variant of jinji, but the Gbaya lexemes leave no doubt that we are looking at a separate word. Note also Ngbandi ngungu ‘moustique’ (P. B. Lekens, 1952, p. 289), which matches the Jamaican word formally, but does not provide as perfect a semantic match as the Gbaya candidates. ④ Gbaya (BIA).

170. GÚULA ‘a crayfish, lobster’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology. I draw the reader’s attention to the word njólo in the Nilo-Saharan language Furu which refers to a ‘termite sp. (rouge, sans aile) (aussi employé avec une valeur plus ou moins générique?); poisson sp. (gros siluride) (Boyeldieu, 2000, p. 370), and Koongo ngulu a maza ‘a fish, the flesh of which is red like beef, and contains an exceptional amount of fat’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, pp. 374-5). Digo ngulu ‘kingfish (large fish with powerful smell)’ (Mwalonya, 2006, p. 134), Yaka ngólá la ‘poisson (gén[erique]); esp[ecie] de poisson de rivière’ (Ruttenberg, 1999, p. 152).

These are all semantically close to the Jamaican word because of their reference either to
a type of fish/aquatic animal, or to the red colour of the fish. The latter could provide the necessary connection to the lobster, some varieties of which are red. However, the two creatures which the Jamaican word refers to are crustaceans. This aspect of the semantics is not matched by any of the African candidates. An African source for this word seems promising, but I have postponed assigning the word an African etymon in light of what I consider to be a crucial mismatch between the semantics of the Jamaican word and all potential etyma. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

171. **GUTU**, and as in **SAN-GUTU** ‘(a) a small, dark fish: Gosse’s “Sand Gootoo” [...] which he names *Tetraodon annomercryptus*; (b) a variety of parrot, usually GUTU PARROT:’ ② The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology but asks us to consider Mende gutu ‘short’. The editors probably chose the Mende etymology because the gutu is described as a small fish, however, since the Mende etymon has nothing to do with fishes, selecting it as the etymon would be nothing short of a guess. Hence, I have rejected it pending further evidence. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

172. **Guzu**, **Gusu**, **Guzum**, **Guzung**, **Gunzu**, **Gungguz**, **Guzu-Guzu**, **Guznik** as in **guznik-man** ‘(a) an act of obeah, or witchcraft; (b) an obeahman’ ② The DJE asks us to compare Àkán kántam gu. . . so ‘to conjure’ and Mbundu nguzu ‘strength, power, force’. I take the suspensive dots in the proposed Àkán etymology to mean that it is normal for other material to be inserted between the two elements. In that case, the Àkán proposal fails on the phonetic level to provide a suitable match for the Jamaican word. The Mbundu candidate provides a perfect formal match with the Jamaican word and thus is an enticing choice, however, we have evidence from another Koongo-derived word bungguzu (see entry 99) in which the Koongo stem ngúnsa ‘prophet’, was copied into Jamaican as guzu. ④ Koongo (WCA).

173. **GYAASHANI**, **GARSHANI**, and as in **garshan-bul** ‘a bull in a well-known folk tale’. ② Àkán gyaaseni ‘one of the domestics or attendants’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 155), related to Àkán gyaase-héne ‘overseer of the king’s household, captain of the body-guard’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 155), Guang (Gua) gyasenehe ‘the leader or the sub-chief who acts as the body-guard of the kind [sic. = king] and is also in charge of the king’s domestic affairs’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 63). ③ The DJE provides no etymology for this word. Evidence for the Tano etymologies comes from the DJE’s illustrative quotation taken from (Bates, 1896, p. 128) where the story is summarised as: ‘Garshan Bull, How a boy kills a bull, and marries the king’s daughter (a confused fragment of märchen)’. ④ Tano: Àkán, Guang (GOC).

174. **GYANAGYANA** ‘flabby, loose, bloated’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider two Gbè etymologies for this word: (Vhe) ganyaa ‘bulging’ and gânaqâna ‘stiffly bowed, curved, bent’. Whereas we could have accepted gânaqâna with the palatal glide insertion that is common in Jamaican when /g/ is followed by the low vowel /a/, ① the word refers to something that is stiff, which is opposed to the sense ‘flabby, loose’ of the Jamaican word. For the other candidate we would need to assume metathesis and reduplication which make it sub-optimal. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

175. **HANEN** ‘the ant’. ② Àkán hânii ‘a black ant’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 167). ③ The DJE

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12 The word *parrot* here refers to fish of the families *Sparisomidae* and *Scaridae*, s.v. DJE *parrot* (fish).
13 Note, however, that application of the glide-insertion rule is sensitive to the origin of the low vowel (cf. Patrick, 1999, p. 100).
proposes that this word is perhaps basically < English ant but probably coincidentally influenced by Akán hánni ‘a black ant’. Accepting the English etymology would present problems in explaining how and why a -VC combination was added to the end of the word. There is a more plausible explanation to support the adoption of the Akán etymology. Formally, the Jamaican word may very well be closer to the historical Akán form, than the Akán form recorded by (Christaller, 1933, p. 167). ④ Akán (GOC).

176. HANGKRA ‘(a) a hoop, rack, or the like, of metal or basket frame hung above the fireplace to cure and preserve meat or fish; (b) a side-bag of canvas, crocus, or thatch’. ② Akán (Akuapem) hânkâre. (Fante) hânkara ‘circle, any thing circular, made of string, cloth, iron; hoop’ (Christaller, 1933, pp. 167, 322), (Akyem) haŋkâra ‘hearth, fireplace’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 219), Guang (Gua) hânkra ‘loop, knot, hoop; rope, string, cloth, etc. made into a circle’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 65). ③ Both the DJE and the ARJC mention only the Akán etymology, but the Guang candidate added here is equally plausible on formal and semantic grounds. In any case one has to assume multiple etymologies since the meaning of the Jamaican word appears to incorporate meanings from different dialects of Akán. ④ Tano: Akán, Guang (GOC).

177. HANYAHUO ‘a very foolish person’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology and asks us to consider Akán o-nya ‘slave’, and wóó ‘terrified, afraid’. Although the suggested compound does follow compounding patterns in Akán (cf. Marfo, 2005, p. 95), there is not enough evidence to make this etymology more than a guess. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

178. HOKALENA ‘Sesamum orientale’. ③ The DJE does not propose an etymology for this word but the editors include the word African in the entry followed by a question mark. I have not been able to find an etymology for it. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

179. HUODIAS ‘terrible’. ③ The DJE derives this word from English odious, but claims that there may be concurrent influence from Akán ahú-de ‘a fearful thing; terrible things’. The DJE’s suggestion of concurrent influence is most certainly influenced by the fact that both the Jamaican and Akán words have the meaning ‘terrible’. However, the English word could have developed this sense independently, since a semantic change from ‘odious’ to ‘terrible’ is not implausible. ④ African etymology rejected.

180. HUROHURO ‘cow tripe’. ② Akán (Fante) hurowhurow ‘the lungs’ (Russell, 1910, p. 51), Ahanta hulbuly ‘lungs’ (Ntumy, 2002, p. 19). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology, however, my research has uncovered two Tano languages, Akán and Ahanta which have plausible source forms. While the Akán candidate provides a closer match with the Jamaican word, I have included the Ahanta word since 1 ~ r is attested in a few Jamaican words. ④ Tano: Akán, Ahanta (GOC).

181. IBER ‘to travel’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology but asks us to consider Akán berá ‘come, let us go!’. Like the ARJC, I reject this etymology. While it is not impossible for a word to arise out of a conventionalised phrase (see entry 502), there is nothing that I am aware of that would motivate the insertion of a word-initial -i- in the Jamaican word.

The only cases I am aware of where insertion of a word-initial -i- takes place involve words in which a nasal prefix is attached to a consonant-intial stem, or where the stem begins with a co-articulated stop (see Jamaican imba and Maroon essau below). In such cases, the vocalic element is used to break up what from the perspective of Jamaican phonology would have
been a consonant cluster. Instead of deleting the nasal consonant (which is the more common strategy), the vowel is inserted in order to create a VC syllable. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

182. **IMBA, HIMBA, YIMBA** 'a kind of edible wild yam that grows in shady places in the high woods, (*Rajania cordata*). ② Duala mbá ‘Jams’ (Meinhof, 1912, p. 91), Akoose mbaá ‘yam’, Geviya mbáá ‘*D. alata*’ (Maniacky, 2005, p. 168). ③ The DJE, ARJC, and the EJB all derive this word from Ìgbo, but none of them provides the source of the information. I have not been able to confirm their etymology from any of my Ìgbo sources (informants or published works). On the basis that the Ìgbo candidate refers to the root of the yam and not the yam itself, coupled with the fact that the etymology cannot be confirmed, I have omitted it. My own research has turned up several other plausible etyma which have been accepted here. ④ Narrow Bantu: Duala, Akoose, Geviya (BIA).

183. **JAGAJAGA** ‘unequal or untidy’. ② Àkán (Fante) gyaka, gyaka-gyaka ‘confused’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 154), Gbè (Vhe) dyaga-dyaga ‘stretched out, spread, sprawled’ (Westermann, 1954), Yorùbá ṣàgbàṣà ‘confusedly’ (DYL, 2003, p. 39), Ìgbo jàghàjàghà ‘be in shattered, splintered state, splintered; in very small pieces’, jàghàjàghà ‘untidiness; disordered state or condition’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 270), Ijo (Okrika) jàkàjàkà ‘rough, disorderly; not in good condition’ (Sika, 1995, p. 59). ③ The DJE suggests that this word is probably a variant of JAG-JAG (see entry 190) but asks us to compare Gbè dyaga-dyaga ‘stretched out, spread, sprawled’. Entry 190 contains evidence to show that jogajog is another word. The Jamaican word can be traced to plausible sources in several Ijo-Congo languages including Gbè. ④ Ijo-Congo: Ijọ (BEN), Àkán, Gbè (GOC), Yorùbá (BEN), Ìgbo (BIA).

184. **JAM** ‘to force in something pointed; to prick, pierce’. ② Wolof jam ~ jamE ‘to pierce, to stab, irritate, annoy’ (Dem, 1995, p. 16; Diouf, 2003, p. 158). ③ The DJE suggests that this word is perhaps an altered form of [Scottish] English jab ‘to thrust with the end or point of something; to poke roughly; to stab’ (OED2). I have come across no cases where a final /b/ in an English-derived word becomes an /m/ in Jamaican. However, a good etymon has been found in Wolof jam ~ jamE which matches the Jamaican word in both form and meaning. ④ Wolof (SEN).

185. **JAMA** ‘(a) a folk song, in Jamaica sung primarily to accompany communal field-digging (e.g. when planting yams), secondarily to accompany dancing and games at wakes, etc. The singers are led by a bomma, and the song comments on local happenings; (b) a digging implement, especially one adapted to digging yams; (c) a fence post’. ③ The DJE suggests that this word is probably from a number of similar or related African words referring to social gatherings, singing, etc.’. In support the editors ask us to consider Bamanankan jama ‘an assembly, company’, Mandinka djama ‘many’, Àkán gyàm ‘to console with, express sorrow, grief or sympathy at the death of someone’s relation’, e-dwóm ‘song, hymn, etc.’, Ngombe jamba ‘refrain’, gyama-dúdu ‘a large kind of drum’.

From my personal experience, a jama-sang is a secular song, which speaks against deriving the word from an etymon which merely means ‘gathering, company’, because worship services are also gatherings, but they are not secular. It is quite possible that this word is from the Jamaican verb jam ‘to plant out yams’ which I believe is derived from entry 184 above. Following this line of argument, the verb jam ‘to prick, pierce’, was extended to a method of planting. In time, the digging songs which accompanied such work were named using a derivative of the verb formed by adding the agentive suffix -a, i.e. jama. Since the songs were associated with work, and their lyrics included community affairs, they stood in contrast to the religious songs used in worship, and so the name got extended to most types of secular music. While the etymology of the base is ultimately African, the derived form is a Jamaican
innovation. ④ African etymology rejected.

186. **JANGGA, JONGGA** ‘a kind of crayfish, the river prawn *Macrobrachium jamaiicense*’. ② Duala (Bakwiri) *njanga* ‘crayfish’, Oroko (Kundu) *njanga* ‘kleine Krebs’, *njonga* ‘großes Krebs’ (Ittman, 1971, p. 227). ③ The DJE only asks us to consider the Duala etymon, while the word *jangga* is not treated in the ARJC at all. The Oroko etymon has been added by me since it is equally plausible. (Ittman, 1971) points out that the Oroko word is a copy from Duala, but since we do not know how early or late it was borrowed, I include it here as a possible source. ④ Narrow Bantu: Duala, Oroko (BIA).

187. *JANGKO* as in **JANGKO-FIES** ‘a mask worn in the JOHN CANOE celebration’. ③ The DJE derives the second element of this compound from English *face*, an etymology with which I am in agreement. However, the editors’ assignment of *jangko* to Gbè (Vhe) *dzOj’ko* ‘a sorcerer’, is questionable. Recent studies by (Bilby, 1999a) and (Bettelheim, 1999) have convincingly demonstrated that there is a link between *jangkunu* (DJE *John Canoe*) and the magico-religious practice of maiyal, and hence, the DJE’s proposal that *jangkho* is from a word meaning sorcerer is worthy of consideration. Note that *jangko* is not an independent lexeme in Jamaican, and is not attested in any other combinations, and its meaning is not known.

The DJE provides no description of the mask(s) referred to by this name, and the sole illustrative quotation states *dem put an jangko fies* which the fieldworker translated as ‘they put on masks’. The sketchy nature of the evidence renders assignment of this word to the Gbè source nothing but speculation. ④ No suitable (African) etymon found.

188. **JÁNGKUNU, JÀNGKUNÚ, JAN'KANUU** ‘(a) the leader and chief dancer of a troop of negro dancers. He wears an elaborate horned mask or head-dress, which, by the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries, had developed into or been replaced by the representation of an estate house, houseboat, or the like (never a canoe). The celebration takes place during the Christmas holidays, the John Canoe leading the other masqueraders in procession singing and dancing, with drums and noisy “music”, and asking for contributions from bystanders and householders; (b) the house or houseboat carried by the John Canoe dancer; (c) the festival or celebration centering about John Canoe. Originally this was African, but elements of the English morris-dances and especially of the French carnival “sets” were absorbed into it, and certain characters from all these sources became established; (d) a buffoon, a foolish person; (e) foolishness; (f) ugly; (g) to have a John Canoe celebration’.

③ Numerous folk-etymologies have been proposed for this word. Many of these have been expertly dismissed by Cassidy (1966a, pp. 47–51) and so I will focus only on those given in the DJE, the DCEU and the JCAH. The DJE offers two possible etymologies for this word, both from Gbè, but involving different processes. The first proposal suggests an origin via folk-etymology involving Gbè (Vhe) *dzOj* ‘sorcerer’ + *k’unu* ‘something deadly, a cause of death’. The second proposal takes the term to be a composite of Gbè (Vhe) *dzOj’ko* ‘sorcerer’s name for himself’ + *nu ‘man’ producing the meaning ‘witch-doctor’. These etymologies appear enticing given the strong link between *jangkunu* and the Afro-Jamaican religious practice called maiyal (see below), which Bilby’s (1999a) work has uncovered. In fact, the main head-dress is constructed by a spiritual leader, however, the general trend in *jangkunu* is that the mask determines the name of the wearer and not the other way around. Therefore, the cultural evidence does not support the DJE’s Gbè etyma.

For its part, the DCEU claims that *jangkunu* is:

Most likely of Yorùbá origin […] in which many features of the costumes and conduct of the annual Egungun (Masquerades) festival correlate with features of
the Junkanoo. Note also [...] ‘maskers [who] run after those they wish to flog [are] a violent sub-class called janduku ‘hooligans’. Cf. also Yorùbá jo ‘dance’, n-n-kon (general word for ‘things, spells, feats’, also jankon-jankon ‘noteworthy’ (i.e. person).

It is indeed intuitive to look for the roots of Jamaican jangkunu in an African society that has a vibrant masquerade culture, but making allowance for hybridisation under creolisation, different societies probably contributed to the practice, and our aim here is to find the etymology of the name, not so much the origin of the practice. The first DCEU etymon, i.e. janduku ‘hooligans’ is implausible on both formal and social/semantic grounds. Even if we assume that the last syllable and the penultimate one were metathesised to produce *jankudu, we would not expect the intervocalic /d/ to change to /n/, but to /r/ on the analogy of patterns such as that > dara, another > nara, the other > tara, and what > wara.

On the social/semantic side, the sociohistorical evidence suggests that the word jangkunu emerged as a term that referred to the leader of the group alone, which was later extended to the group as a whole. The DCEU’s janduku seems to apply to the entire group. In fact, Bilby’s research has revealed that it is the head-dress that the leader of the group wears that is called the jangkunu. This fact dismisses the two complex etymologies which the DCEU provides since they have nothing to do with the head-dress.

As pointed out before, the work of Bilby (1999a) has shed some light on the practice of jangkunu. Most spectators are familiar only with the parading of the masked costumers, but there is a whole lot more to jangkunu than this public display. The practice appears to be linked to ancestor worship, and centers on the construction, public presentation, and destruction of the main head-dress, the jangkunu, which takes the form of a paste-board house with dolls inside representing various members of society (e.g. policemen, soldiers, etc, and in the plantation era, slaves), mirrors and other decorative items.

The building of the jangkunu is done or supervised by a maiyal-man ‘ritual specialist’, and the whole construction process is conducted in a guarded manner. Bilby gives us the most vivid description of the building process, which shows how important the spiritual element is:

First, a small hut or shed, called the Jangkunu house, must be built to shelter the headdress while the latter is still under construction. During the process of construction, this hut receives frequent visits from vigilant ancestral spirits (sometimes referred to as “watchman”), some of whom may manifest themselves from time to time in the form of an animal, such as a lizard or a toad. Because of the potential danger posed by this concentrated spiritual presence, entry into the Jangkunu house is restricted to those who are immediately involved in construction of the headdress. When not being worked on, the headdress is normally covered with a sheet, and thus remains hidden from view (Bilby, 1999a, p. 57).

In addition to these, several religious ceremonies called ‘Gumbay Plays’ (see gumbe above) are held while the jangkunu is being built, and a major Gumbay Play is held the night before the jangkunu is brought out into the public. Interestingly, gumbe and maiyal are derived from languages spoken in West Central Africa, and so it would not be surprising if it were found that jangkunu itself is from this region.

To date, Warner-Lewis (2003, p. 224) has proposed the most plausible etymology; one which appears to support the sociocultural facts. Warner-Lewis has derived Jamaican jangkunu from Koongo nza ‘world, universe’ + a ‘of’ + (n)kunu ‘ancestors, spirits’. This Koongo
etymology has been accepted here. In addition to the works already cited, see Rea (2007) for more information on jangkunu. ④ Koongo (WCA).

189. **JEGE₁, JEGEJEGE** ‘(a) a rattling noise; (b) something that makes a rattling noise’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) gyégyégyé ‘noise, bustle, alarm, tumult’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 158), Guang (Gua) gyégyégyé ‘noise, confusion, tumult’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 63). ③ The DJE labels this word ‘onomatopoeic’, and so provides no etymon for it. My own research has uncovered two Tano languages which contain words which are so similar to the Jamaican word in form and semantics, that the sound symbolic explanation is discredited.

Jamaican has both a simplex and a reduplicated form with the same meaning, while the Tano source forms are triplicated words. Since there is no morphological triplaction in Jamaican, ④ the most plausible development in moving from the form of the etyma to the reflex, is to assume that the triplicated input was altered, possibly under the influence of Jamaican’s preference for bi-syllabic bases in reduplicated words (cf. Kouwenberg & LaCharité, 2004, p. 297). ④ Tano: Àkán, Guang (GOC).

190. **JEGE₂ JENGJENG, JENNEN, JENGGEJENGGE, JENGAGENGA, JAGJAG, JAGAJA, JEGEGJEJEJEJE, JEGJEJEJEJEJE** ‘(a) miscellaneous objects, stuff; (b) lopped branches of trees and bushes, used for firewood when dry, for mulch when green; (c) rags, tatters, torn clothing and the like; also adjectivally, ragged, torn; (d) (ironically) flashy finery; (e) the small rubblishy objects which an obeahman uses’. ③ This entry represents the consolidation of four DJE headwords: JEGE (the first homonym) for which the DJE gives senses (b)–(c); JEN-JEN with senses (b)–(e); JENGAGA-GENGA with sense (a); and JAG-JAG with senses (b)–(c). They have been merged since they are obviously phonetic variants of the same word.

For two of the entries, the DJE provides etymologies by cross-reference, suggesting that one is a variant of the other. The dictionary provides independent etymologies for the other two: JEN-JEN and JAG-JAG. The editors propose that JEN-JEN is a nasalised variant of JAG-JAG, but claims that there is perhaps concurrent influence from Ngombe jengé ‘disorder’. However, the substantive uses of the Jamaican word appear to be the primary ones, with the adjectival uses being later developments.

On that note, the word is more responsibly derived from English dialectal jagger ‘a rag or shred of raiment; gen[erally] in plu[ral]—rags, tatters; splinters; a branch of broom or gorse; a large bundle of briars’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 240), which accounts for almost all of the senses associated with the Jamaican forms. Further evidence for the English etymon is provided by Jamaican raga-raga ~ rag-rag ‘old ragged clothes; in rags, ragged; to pull to pieces’ which are created by reduplicating English rag. Taking English jagger as the source, we can assume the following phonological development: jag → jaggajag ~ jegjeg → jagajaga ~ jegjejeje → jengjeng → jengejenge → jengajenga. ④ African etymology rejected.

191. **JÉMPE** ‘irresponsible, unstable, half-mad’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology buts asks us to consider Àkán gyé ‘frenzy, madness’. The Àkán word does not account for the second syllable of the Jamaican word, and the addition of an entire syllable is very unlikely. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

192. **JETICI** ‘a drink made from the sweet-potato by American Indians’. ③ The DJE

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Note, however, that Jamaican does have triplication in its syntactic component:

(27) Piita waak waak waak sotel im taiyad.
Peter walk walk walk so-until 3SG tired
‘Peter walked on and on until he was exhausted.’
suggests that the source of this word is probably Amerindian, but asks us to consider Gbè (Vhe) dzete, dzetéé, dzeti, (Gê) adyete ‘sweet-potato’. These Gbè etymologies are close to the Jamaican word in semantics, but unfortunately, they lack an entire syllable which we cannot account for via either phonological or morphological motivation. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

193. *Jimmy as in Stupid Jimmy ‘(a) the bird little tom fool, Blacicus caibaes pallidus; (b) the Stolid Flycatcher’. ② Gâ jini ‘go mad, be silly, be stupid’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 74), Guang (Gua) gyini ‘to be foolish, stupid, senseless’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 64), Gbè (Vhe) džini ‘dumm sein [to be stupid]’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 25). ③ The DJE derives this whole compound from English stupid + Jimmy ‘personal name’, with the second element being a folk-etymologised version of Àkán gyini ‘to be stupid, foolish, senseless’.

While it is not uncommon for proper names to be used in compounds designating birds, it is uncanny that in this case speakers of Jamaican just happened to have selected a name which is homophonous with a Kwa word meaning ‘silly’. Since stupidity or silliness is the bird’s claim to fame, it is more plausible that what we are looking at is actually the Kwa word which has been reanalysed through folk-etymology as the proper name Jimmy. This then would have created a somewhat pleonastic expression, which is not an uncommon phenomenon as far as Africanisms are concerned (cf. Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 52). ④ Kwa: Àkán, Guang, Gâ, Gbè (GOC).

194. jínal ‘a clever person; hence especially a crafty, tricky person: a “crook”’. ③ The DJE derives this word from English general, pointing to other varieties such as Texas English where the word is pronounced [dʒiŋal]. While this accounts for the phonetic form, no evidence has yet been presented to account for the change in meaning.

As far as I am aware, an African etymon was first suggested for this word by the JCAH which proposes Koongo dinzinga ‘hypocritical action, duplicity’. While the Koongo word matches the meaning of the Jamaican word, its phonetic form rules it out as a suitable candidate. The first syllable appears to be the class 7 noun-class prefix of Koongo (cf. Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 547), so I will only analyse the stem. Other words on this list show that the /nz/ combinations in Bantu-derived words were consistently adopted into Jamaican as /z/. However, since Koongo shows z ~ dʒ dialectal variation, we can assume for a moment that the word was copied from a dʒ-dialect. Even with this allowance the Koongo word still fails as a plausible etymon, because we would need to assume insertion of /l/, and the loss of /g/ word-medially. The latter is particularly unlikely since in all the other relevant Bantuisms, /ng/ gets re-syllabified to form a syllable ending with a nasal coda followed by another with a velar in onset position. ④ African etymology rejected.

195. *jinji, *ginggi, *gënggi, and *jonjo as in jinji-flai, ginggi-flai, gënggi-flai, and jonjo-flai respectively ‘any of various small flies, especially those which fly about the face, open cuts, etc., and annoy one’. ② Duala njìnggi, njìngi ‘die Stubenfliege’ (Dinkelacker, 1914, p. 69), Gbaya (Ndunga-le) njìngi ‘mouche’ (Monino, 1988, p. 123), Koongo (Vivi) nji ‘fly’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 377), Mbundu njíngji ‘moscas’ < inji ‘mosca’ (da Silva Maia, 1964, p. 431). ③ The DJE derives this word from the Jamaican word gënggi ‘small’, for which it supplies no etymon. Although the Jamaican term refers specifically to flies that are small, the African etyma proposed in the previous sections are still good because they denote flies. In addition, a variety such as the Laadi dialect of Koongo which has a /dʒ/ ~ /ʒ/ ~ /g/ variation which appears to be context-sensitive (Jacquot, 1982, p. 16), can account for the /dʒ/ variants we see in Jamaican. Here, I agree with the JCAH which assigns Koongo and Lingala etymologies, but I have also added two other etyma from Mbundu and the Adamawa-Ubangi language, Gbaya. ④ Volta-Congo: Duala (BIA), Gbaya (BIA & WCA), Koongo, Mbundu (WCA).
196. JÖKOTÔ, JÖKATÔ, JÖKATÜ, JÖKATÁ, JÖKOTÜ, JÜKOTÔ, JÜKUTÔ ‘wild plant used green in soup, Phytolacca rivinoides and P. icosandra’. ③ The DJE asks us to compare Àkán ɔ-dǒkotó ‘growing wild’, and Gbè (Vhe) dzukuwi, dyukuwi ‘a plant of Solanum type, used in soups’. We may safely omit the Gbè candidate since its final syllable is different from the Jamaican word. The EJB claims that the Àkán candidate is a likely etymon for the Jamaican word because it refers to wild growth. However, the formal side cannot be supported by the available evidence. Of the over one hundred DJE headwords beginning with the sequence /dɔ/ none shows variation with or change to /dʒ/. On this basis I reject the Àkán etymology. ④ No suitable (African) etymon found.

197. JOMBÍ, JUMBÍ ‘a ghost’. ② Tsogo nsumbi ‘devil’ (Chatelain & Summers, 1893, p. 538), Koongo (Bwende) nz˝ambi a euphemism for ‘cadavre’ (Laman, 1964, p. 821), Mbundu nzumbi ‘fantasma’ (da Silva Maia, 1964, p. 283). ③ The DJE supplies no etymon for this word, but DJE2 asks us to compare Common Bantu, e.g. Batanga njambé ‘God’. DJE2’s suggestion of deriving the word from a Bantu word meaning ‘God’ was taken up by the DCEU which, as evidence for multiple possible etymologies, suggests Mbangala nsambi ‘God’, nsumbi ‘Devil’, Kota inšambil ‘God’, ndšumbi ‘Devil’.

I believe it is inaccurate to derive jombi from a word meaning God, since it appears that Africans in Jamaica generally made a distinction between a Supreme Being, and various beneficient and/or maleficient supernatural forces or ancestral spirits. An origin in the word for ‘devil’ is very plausible, and probably even an origin in the word for “cadavre”. In support of the latter, note that Jamaican dopi ‘ghost’ is also used to refer to a corpse. However, seeing that jombi has not been recorded with the meaning ‘corpse’, this remains just a speculation for the moment. ④ Narrow Bantu: Tsogo (BIA), Koongo, Mbundu (WCA).

198. JÔNGKOTÔ, JÔNGKUTO, JOKOTO ‘(a) to stoop down; (b) a stooping position’. ② Mandinka jonkoto ‘to squat; while squatting, in a squatting state’ (MED, 1995, p. 34), Maninkakan jokonto ‘s’accroupir, accocorar-se’ (Rougé, 1988, p. 75; Quint-Abrial, 1998). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Àkán adwoNku-tÔ ‘limping, walking lame’, which is accepted by the ARJC. Note, however, that the ARJC defines the Jamaican word as ‘stooping, limping position’, which appears to be an error since the DJE only has the meaning ‘stooping’. It is probably this copying error which led Mittelsdorf to accept the Àkán etymon. The Mandinka and Maninkakan etymologies accepted here agree with the Jamaican lexeme both in form and semantics. It is worth pointing out the existence of Wolof jonkon ‘to squat’ (Dem, 1995, p. 18), and Yorùbá djóko ‘to sit’ (D. Taylor, 1977, p. 168). However, the first is short one syllable and so cannot account for the shape of the Jamaican word, and both the form and the meaning of the Yorùbá word are inadequate. ④ Manding: Mandinka (SEN), Maninkakan (SEN & SIE).

199. JÔNJÔ, JÚNJÔ, JÜNJU ‘(a) any kind of fungus-like plant, edible or inedible, growing on the ground or on wood; (b) mould, mildew; (c) the Ascidia nigra, a black Ascidian’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology. The editors go on to elaborate that ‘the word appears in various parts of the Caribbean, always as a dialectal word and in association with negroes, implying African origin; no clear proof of this has been made, however, and a contrary theory derives the word < French champignon’. Cassidy (1961c) has already argued effectively against the French etymology.

For the mushroom sense of the word, the DCEU asks us to compare Krio jonjo ‘mushroom’, but it is not clear whether the Krio word is being offered as the etymon. For the other sense of the word the editor asks us to compare Igbo njonjo ‘bad, ugly, not good’. The Igbo etymology is enticing but given the many Caribbean creoles which have related forms of this word meaning ‘mushroom’, it would be surprising if the word did not originate from some
word meaning ‘mushroom’. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

200. JUK ‘(a) to prick, pierce, poke, jab, stab; (b) to have sexual intercourse with (a woman); (c) a jab, stab, prick; (d) a hypodermic injection’. ② Fulfulde (Eastern dialects) jukka ‘to poke’ (de Wolf, 1995, p. 146). ③ The DJE asks us to consider the Fulfulde etymon accepted above (for which it gives the meaning ‘spur, poke; knock down, as fruit’), in addition to Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) čuk ‘injection’, and čuk-am ‘prick, pierce, etc.’. We can safely omit the CPE candidate since CPE developed much later than Jamaican (Echu, 2003).

The DCEU claims that the word has ‘phonetic correlates in a number of African languages’ and supplies in addition to the Fulfulde etymology of the DJE, Mende jákɔ ‘to enter, go in’, Hausa duká ‘to have intercourse with a woman’, Tsonga jukula to dig up grass when clearing land’, Ijo (Nembe) joku ‘to jut out, protrude, etc.’. The fact that Hausa duma was copied into Jamaican as duma seems to speak against the Hausa etymology. There is only a handful of cases in Jamaican of /d/ → /dʒ/ before the high back vowel, but the change appears to be contextual, either when the vowel is in an unstressed syllable, e.g. dun dus → dunju, or when the alveolar plosive had already been palatalised, e.g. dyuuk kuoko → juuk kuoko.

The other etymologies are either too long or contain the wrong vowel, and several compound this problem by having a meaning which is only indirectly related to the Jamaican word. So far, Fulfulde provides the best etymon in terms of its form and the direct match between its semantics and the basic meaning (i.e. sense a) of the Jamaican word. All other senses may be derived from this one via regular processes of semantic change. ④ Fulfulde (SEN).

201. JUKUMPENG ‘(a) an imitation of the sound made by a wooden-legged person walking; (b) an unidentified part of the anatomy which is one of the seats of emotions such as (extreme) pain’. ② Àkán adwoŋku-béŋ ‘a protuberance on the hip-bone; pains in the hip; coxalgia’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 108).③ The DJE only contains sense (a) of this word, sense (b) has been added by me from my own native knowledge. The DJE claims that jukumpeng is ‘apparently onomatopoeic, though by folk-etymology juk [‘to pierce’] may be present in the first element, and perhaps underlying the whole, [Àkán | a-dwoŋku-béŋ, pains in the hip, coxalgia (which causes hobbling)’]. The claims for an origin in onomatopoeia and folk-etymology seem counter-intuitive in light of the closeness of the Àkán word to the Jamaican in form and meaning. Switches in the phonation of the bilabial stops is attested in a few Africanisms (see bona above), and the insertion of homorganic nasals before bilabial stops occurs in a few Jamaican words, e.g. sampata < Portuguese sapato. ④ Àkán (GOC).

202. KÁBAKÁBA, KÓBAKÓBA ‘(a) poorly done, worthless; (b) someone or something that is worthless’. ② Yorùbá kábakába ‘confusedly, not smooth’ (DYL, 2003, p. 135). ③ The etymology accepted here is the same as that proposed by the DJE. Strangely, this word is not included in either the accepted or rejected list of etymologies in the ARJC. ④ Yorùbá (BEN).

203. KABANGKA ‘to leave one fretting on his lover’. ② Koongo kabangana ‘partir les mains vides’ (Laman, 1964, p. 198). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown origin, but a suitable etymon has been found in Koongo. The final syllable of the Koongo word has been dropped. ④ Koongo (WCA).

204. KACHIMBA, KOCHIMBA, KOCHI ‘a (clay) pipe’. ③ The DJE derives this word from American Spanish cachimbo ‘a smoking pipe’ and notes that the Spanish term is ultimately
from Mbundu quixima, kixima, but does not provide a gloss for the Mbundu word. Owing to the arrangement and punctuation of the information in the DJE, I cannot tell whether the editors intend the Mbundu form as an alternative etymology for the Jamaican word or they are presenting it as the source of the Spanish form.

The DJE’s 1956 illustrative quotation, drawn from fieldwork in the parish of Manchester gives the form /kachímba/ and notes that it means pipe ‘in Cuban language’. A Spanish link is not totally out of the question since a related form has also been attested in Palenquero (Schwegler, 2003, p. 190). Megenney (1999, p. 198) records the word cachimbo/a ‘pipa de fumar’ in the Spanish of Venezuela and traces it to Nyanja (Manganja) kašimbo and/or Mbundu kašimbu which both mean ‘pipa de fumar’. Also in 1956 the Spanish link was further corroborated by an informant in the Maroon community of Accompong (St Elizabeth) who claimed that /kachímba/ is the Spanish word, and /kachimbu/ is the Kromanti word.

While there is no doubt that the etymology of this word is ultimately African, and specifically Bantu, it throws up several problems in terms of its immediate source in Jamaican. That it is known by both Maroons and non-Maroons might be an indication that it stretches back to the earliest stratum of Jamaican, however, the fact that both Maroons and non-Maroons point to some kind of Spanish link might be an indication that the word is a twentieth century import into Jamaica. However, I have not ruled out the possibility that the Maroons have retained the word from the Spanish era, and that the word was later brought to Jamaica again in the twentieth century by Jamaicans who went to work in South and Central American territories. Ultimately African, but immediate source in Jamaican uncertain.

205. **KAKA** ‘(a) a widely known word for excrement, filth, or anything dirty. The noun, by itself, is used as an interjection; (b) the act of passing ones [sic] stool’. The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology but still suggests that the source might be multiple. For comparison the editors provide Spanish and French caca ‘excrement’, Mende ka ‘waste matter’, and Àkán k´akàNk´àN ‘stinking’, as possible sources. From this list of proposals, the Romance candidates provide the best matches with the Jamaican word both formally and semantically.

The DCEU gives the same Spanish and French words for comparison and adds to the list Portuguese caca ‘faeces’. It goes a step further by pointing out that the Romance forms go back to Latin cacare ‘to go to stool’, and notes that the ‘word is likely to have gained its widely established currency and very low status in the New World from early Portuguese dominance of the West African Slave Coast’. The DCEU’s arguments in favour of a Romance origin have already nullified the word’s status as an Africanism. However, I am convinced that this word should be included in the list of nursery terms (see §4.3.8). Nursery word.

206. **KÁKATI, KÁKITI** ‘(a) boastful, proud, selfish; (b) a boastful, selfish person; a fussy, pernickety person’. The DJE assigns the etymology of this word to Àkán kákate ‘unmanageable, unruly’, with possible influence from English cockety ‘lively, vivacious, pert; disposed to domineer’. On the formal side, the merger which the editors of the DJE assume is quite plausible. There are other instances in this current list where a word-final /e/ in Àkán was raised to /i/ in Jamaican (see anansi, entry 21), and through regular rules of adaptation, English cockety would become Jamaican kakati via the lowering of the open mid back vowel to /a/ and the conversion of the word-medial schwa to /a/. However, on the semantic side, the claim for Àkán origin, cannot be sustained, because to be unruly and unmanageable is not the same as being selfish and proud. In fact all senses attached to the Jamaican word can be more reliably derived from English cockety. African etymology rejected.

207. **KÁLALU, KÁLILU, KÓLALU** ‘(a) the name given to several plants having edible leaves, eaten as greens, in soups, medicinally, etc.; the kinds are BRANCHED, GREEN, MOUNTAIN,
PRICKLY, SMALL-LEAVED, SPANISH, SURINAM CACALU; (b) a thick soup (the usual Spanish American meaning); in Jamaica this is usually CALALU SOUP; (c) in recent use (especially among the folk) the word is further generalized to include any leaves eaten as greens. ② Mandinka colu 'an edible herb resembling spinach' (Allsopp, 1996, p. 130). ③ The DJE derives this word from American Spanish calalú, Portuguese caruru 'a rich soup or stew in which one or more kinds of calalu leaves are the chief ingredients' < Tupi caíruru 'a fat or thick leaf'. The editors go further to point out that a word such as Gbè (Gen) kalalu 'broth, soup', is probably a loan from this.

The DCEU, based on cultural evidence, argues for an African origin. Quoting his own translation of Ortiz (1924), the editor of the DCEU states that the deities of the Afro-Cuban religion Lucumí eat calalú, and they 'only eat the cooked and seasoned foods of their “homeland” this being one of the most respected ritual requirements'. Seeing this as sufficient evidence for African provenance, the editor then goes on to provide several possible sources (suggested by him and others): Maninkakan kalalu ‘many things’, Mandinka colulu ‘an edible herb resembling spinach’, Yorùbá ko-ra-lu ‘mix several bought things together’, Hausa kararuwa ('herbaceous) stalks’, and kalu ‘soup’, which itself is a loanword from Kanuri kalu ‘leaf’. ④ Mandinka (SEN).

208. *KALANGGA, *KANANGGA as in KALANGGA-WAATA, kananga-waata 'a liquid substance used in various ritual practices to ward off evil'. ③ This word does not appear in the DJE, but is listed in the RJW which claims that the etymon is perhaps Kikongo kalunga ‘lake, sea, ocean’. Having been convinced of the Koongo etymon, I too accepted it in (Farquharson, 2006).

It turns out that the Jamaican compound is merely a Jamaicanisation of the international brand name Kananga water, whose first element is derived from the scientific name of the plant Cananga odorata, which is used to make the perfumatory substance. The Cananga odorata is native to the Indo-Malayan region and is common throughout Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia (Manner & Elevitch, 2006). The plant was introduced to Jamaica in the nineteenth century and was grown on commercial Kananga plantations (Yronwode, 2008). ④ African etymology rejected.

209. KALÉMBE, KALIMBE, KELEMBI, KALEMSHA ‘a dance of African origin, and the music and song that went with it’. ③ The DJE asks us to compare Gbè (Gun) kàlimo ‘a slave’ (hence, perhaps, a slave dance), and American Spanish calèmbé ‘rags, tatters’. The editors also point out that ‘cognate with the Gun word is Fon kanumo ‘a slave’, which is probably the source of American Spanish candombe ‘a boisterous negro dance’.

All of these etymologies fail to meet even the basic criterion of close similarity in form and meaning with the reflex. We have evidence of the names of instruments being extended to the dance which accompanies the music, but a semantic development from ‘rags’ or ‘slave’ to ‘a type of dance’ is not only improbable, but impossible to prove. ⑤ No suitable (African) etymology found.

210. KAM ‘(a) the sound of a gun that fails to fire; (b) suggesting something of little or no substance’. ③ The DJE’s treatment of this word suggests that the editors think it is chiefly onomatopoetic, since they note that it is ‘an exclamatory sound imitating a sudden, short noise’, but they also ask us to compare Àkàn kám ‘used with a negative, it has the force

15In volume 3 of his history of the (West) Indies, Dessalles (1847, pp. 296–7) describes the kalenda as ‘a gathering of Negroes where they dance in their own style all together to the sound of a drum and an instrument they call banza’ (qtd. in Epstein, 1975, p. 351). While this word is much closer to Jamaican kalembe than are the Spanish and Gbè words that the DJE suggests, the formal match is still imperfect.
of “hardly”. There is not enough syntactico-semantic information to link this word to the proposed Ákán etymology. Additionally, the Jamaican word is clause-final while the Ákán one is not, and we have at least one case (see kananapo, entry 216) where Jamaican maintained the syntactic position of an idiosyncratic Tano expression. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

211. KÁNA ‘(a) a vessel or wire device by which meats are hung over a kitchen fire to preserve them (by smoking); (b) a temporary field bag made by trash’. ② Ákán haŋk˘ ar˘ ‘hearth, fireplace’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 219). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology, but claims that it is probably African. I take this to be a clipped form of the word hangkra which is another name for the same item. This derivation is not totally strange since hangkra and krengkreng were copied from Ákán into Jamaican as designations for the same object.

The Akyem dialect of Ákán presents the best form (i.e. haŋk˘ ar˘ ‘hearth, fireplace’), with its final two syllables unreduced as opposed to forms in the other dialects (cf. Dolphyne, 1976). Dolphyne (1976, p. 27, ff. 1) mentions that a few words in General Brong have intervocalic /r/ where other dialects have /n/, but this is not sufficient to prove the supposed change from the etymological /r/ → /n/ that is being proposed for this Jamaican word. More compelling evidence comes from another Ákán-derived word karanapo which has a variant kananapo (entry 216). ④ Ákán (GOC).

212. KÁNDA, KÓNDA ‘(a) a palm bough, especially the large lower sheath which holds it to the tree; (b) cabbage skin; (c) = BUBA-MAT’. ② Koongo nkanda ‘skin, hide, peel, rind, bark, crust, covering’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 379), and kanda ‘la partie inférieure d’une latte de palmer’ (Laman, 1964, p. 212). Mbundu kikonda ‘a casca’ (Veira Baiao, 1940, p. 40), Luba-Kasai mu-kanda ‘skin’ (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 42), Hemba mkanda, Comorian kanda, Nyungwe khandá, Manyika ma-kanda, Bemba niŋ-kanda, Ila lu-kanda, Matumbi lu-kanda ‘skin’ (Guthrie, 1970a, p. 265), Digo kanda ‘skin (of fruit)’ (Mwalonya, 2006, p. 71). ③ The DJE asks us to compare Mende kanda ‘skin’ and Cameroon Pidgin English kanda ‘skin, hide, bark’. I am ignoring the Mende and Cameroon Pidgin English etymologies since I believe the word was copied into these varieties via Krio. The word is also present in Nigerian Pidgin English (Joseph Atóyèbí p.c.) but no cognate form exists in any of the indigenous Nigerian languages for which I have sources. The ARJC offers the Koongo and Luba-Kasai etymologies given in the section above, but does not inform us why the DJE’s two etymologies were rejected. ④ Narrow Bantu: Luba-Kasai (BIA), Koongo, Mbundu, Hemba (WCA), Comorian, Nyungwe, Manyika, Bemba, Ila, Matumbi, Digo (SEA).

213. KANGGATUONI ‘(a) applied by fishermen to various similar fish; (b) a worm, often used for fish bait’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology but claims that the first element is probably derived from CONGO ‘used to suggest blackness’, and ‘the second element is perhaps connected with the [Gbè (Vhe)] base tɔn- [Fɔ tɔnì ‘a water spirit’ [Gun, Fon, Geñ] tɔn ‘a stream, etc.’, [[Vhe]] tɔnì ‘an earthworm which by night stings sleepers’. DJE2 adds Koongo nkamba, ntandi ‘eel’ to the list.

Most of the etymologies proposed by the editors of the DJE suggest that kanggatuoni is the result of the concatenation of the ethnonym Congo with another word which refers to some type of aquatic creature. In none of these cases do we possess sufficient evidence to support the suggested compound. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

214. KANTU, KYANTU, CANTA ‘any of several trees whose resinous wood burns easily and is used for torches (Amyris species; Pellosigma peteloides.’). ② Ákán ɔ-kántó ‘candle-wood, a certain tree and its wood which is burned as a candle or torch’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 227).
Despite the very good formal and semantic match between the Jamaican word and the Àkán etymon which the DJE proposes, this Africanism is not included in ARJC’s accepted or rejected list. This lexical item is one of the few African-derived words in which the palatal glide [j] has been inserted between the voiceless velar plosive [k] and the low vowel [a]. Note also the loss of nasalisation. Àkán (GOC).

215. KARAKARA, KAROKARO, KOROKORO, KROKRO, KURUKURU, KRUKRO ‘(a) rough, rocky, bony, etc.; (b) something rough or rocky’. Àkán (Okrika) kárákárá ‘rough, thorny, not smooth and regular’ (Sika, 1995, p. 63). Ìgbo kárákárá ‘scratchy, showing marks of scratching’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 288), Hausa kárak’ara ‘rough plastering of a building prior to the final smoothing off’ (Bargery, 1951/1934, p. 561). While the DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology, the editors suggest that the form ‘appears to be African’ and asks us to compare Hausa kárak’ara ‘rough plastering’. I believe we are dealing with a case of multiple etymologies where similar forms (possibly cognates), in several African languages, bearing different but obviously related meanings, are copied into Jamaican. 

Àkán: Ijö (BEN), Ìgbo (BIA); Hausa (BIA).

216. KARANAPO, KÁRANAMPÓ, KÁRANAPÚ, KÁRANAPÚM, KÁNANA, KÁNANAPÚ, KÁNANAPÓ, KÁNANAPÉ ‘a marked silence; a failure to answer a question asked’. Àkán (Akuapem) kráná, kránáá, kránanana ‘silent, absolutely still, perfectly quiet’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 264), Gã kráná ‘silence, silent, silently’ (Zimmermann, 1858a, p. 173; Akrofi, Botchey, & Takyi, 1996/1968b, p. 246). This entry unites three headwords in the DJE (i.e. kánanapo, kánanapó, and káranapo), which all have the same meaning. The DJE gives the Àkán etymology under the headword káranapo, points out that kánanapo is a variant of káranapo, but provides no etymological note for kánanapo.

It is quite obvious that all forms are alternations of the same basic word. No etymology has been found so far for the final syllable po ~ pum ~ pe which occurs at the end of most alternants, and it is probably an innovation. Nevertheless, Àkán pọ ‘expression imitative of the sound of beating, knocking’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 396) is not an implausible source. If for the moment we take Àkán pọ as the source of the second element, káranapo would be figurative: ‘I hear nothing but silence knocking’.

Although the Gã word is shorter than the Jamaican one I have accepted it on the assumption that the Jamaican word is derived from an older, fuller version of the Gã word. To complete the list of previous etymologies, the JCAH submits Koongo kana ‘to judge, to resolve’ + na po ‘it’s finished’ for consideration.

The Nyo languages provide better sources for the Jamaican form on two counts. First, it is not certain whether the combination proposed by the JCAH is permissible in Koongo and it is not obvious what morphological or syntactic pattern in Jamaican could have motivated its creation. Second, the examples in (28) illustrate that the behaviour of the word in Jamaican and Àkán is similar.

(28) a. Àkán (Christaller, 1933, p. 264-5)
   Wōko, na kránanana.
   3PL-go, and silence
   ‘They have gone and nothing has been heard of them since.’

   Him hax tarrà one, caranampo.
   3SG ask other one silence
   ‘He asked the other one, and received only silence in response.’

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The syntactic behaviour of the Gã word mirrors that of its Àkán counterpart Zimmermann, 1858a. In all three languages, the word appears in utterance-final position and is ideophonic.

217. **KOSKOS, KASKAS, KYASKYAS** ‘a dispute or quarrel; a “row”’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) _akasakášá_ ‘dispute, contest, altercation, wrangling, quarrel’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 229). ③ The DJE derives this word from the Àkán verb _kasákáša_ ‘to dispute, contend in words’, and notes that the Jamaican word is ‘identified often with English dialectal _cuss_ < _curse_’ through folk-etymology. While the DJE assigns the word to the Àkán verbal form, the DCEU derives it from the related nominal _akasakášá_ ‘dispute’ which is the etymology accepted here, since the Jamaican word is used as a noun and never as a verb.

The Jamaican form with the low vowel can be derived unproblematically from the Àkán noun by positing the clipping of the CVCCV _/kasakasa/ _etyymological form to CVCCVC _/kaskas/_, a process which is attested in other African-derived forms such as _potopoto > potpot_ (entry 343). The Jamaican pronunciation with the palatal glide is my addition to the list from personal experience. I believe that there is enough internal evidence to support the Àkán etymology. ④ Àkán (GOC).

218. **KÁSHA, KYÁSHA** ‘(a) the shrub or small tree _Prosopis juliflora_ (and similar species); it is extremely prickly and is used chiefly for fence posts; (b) any prickly shrub’. ② The DJE claims that this word is presumably from English _acacia_ but asks us to compare Àkán _kasé_ ‘thorn’. The DCEU, in a more liberal etymological treatment claims that the word is probably ‘a coincidence or convergence of Carib and African terms, further helped by British English botanical name _acacia_.’ The editor further asks us to compare Carib _cachi_ ‘arbres avortés...parce que la terre ne vaut rien (trees stunted...because the soil is worthless)’, Àkán _kase_ ‘thorn’, Gã _kose, kuse_ ‘bush (land)’.

The Carib candidate may be omitted since its semantics does not reflect that of the Jamaican word, and its form assumes two sound changes, which make it sub-optimal: [i] → [a], and [tʃ] → [ʃ]. While the consonantal change is plausible, the vocalic change would require too big a jump in the vowel space. The Gã etymologies suffer a similar fate. This leaves us with the Àkán and English proposals. Àkán _kasé_ ‘thorn’ does seem like a plausible source for the Jamaican word, however, the move from fricative [ʃ] to affricate [ʃ] before the vowel /e/ is not paralleled in other Àkán-derived words where the front vowel is preceded by /s/ (see _anansi_ < _anansé_, entry 21).

A more straightforward etymology is provided by English _acacia_ which several of the illustrative quotations in OED2 describe as a thorny shrub. A pronunciation such as British English [ækɛ(t)ɪə], points to English as the most likely source of the Jamaican word. ④ African etymology rejected.

219. **KATA, COTTA** ‘(a) a circular pad (about 6 in. diameter), traditionally made of plantain-leaf but also of twisted cloth, placed on the head to protect it and to steady a load borne on it. It was formerly used also in token of divorce; (b) the crest or top-knot of a bird; the knot of a woman’s hair’. ② Bangi _ŋ-kata_.16 Koongo _nkata_ ‘pad (of leaves, &c., to place under a load carried on the head or shoulder)’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 380), Luba-Katanga _ŋkata_, Tetela _e-kata_, Luba-Kasai _ŋ-kata_, Bemba _ŋ-kata_, Ila _ŋ-kata_, Nyanja (Manganja) _ŋ-khata_, Zulu _ŋ-katha_ ‘headpad; (coil)’ (Guthrie, 1970a, p. 268), Swahili _kata_ ‘a round pad, usually made of leaves, grass, or a folded strip of cloth, placed on the head when carrying a load, water-jar, &c.’ (Johnson, 1939, p. 177).

③ The DJE asks us to consider two African etymologies, the Koongo one given above,

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16The bibliographic details for the Bangi information have been misplaced.
and Ákán katá ‘to cover, overspread, protect, etc.’, ŋkata-hó ‘cover, covering’. The same etymologies are given by the DCEU for comparison, with one minor difference which appears to be a copying error—Ákán ŋkata is glossed as ‘a covering’ and attributed to (Christaller, 1933), however, I have not been able to find this meaning in that source. Christaller (1933) only lists the DJE’s complex form ŋkata-hó. The ARJC, fully convinced of the Bantu origin of this term omits the Ákán etymology of the DJE and provides plausible forms from five Bantu languages.

Here I am in agreement with the ARJC that the word is a Bantuism, and that it is probably a case of multiple etymologies. I have added several other plausible sources from Guthrie (1970a, p. 268) and Johnson (1939, p. 177). Narrow Bantu: Bangi (BIA, WCA), Luba-Katanga, Luba-Kasai (BIA) Tetela, Koongo, Luvale, Bemba, Ilã, (WCA) Nyanja, Zulu, Swahili (SEA).

One nineteenth century observer writes that, ‘[a]n incessant hammering was kept up on the gombay, and the cotta (a Windsor chair taken from the piazza to serve as a secondary drum)’. Here, the makeshift instrument is only likened to a drum. The mention of hammering seems to suggest that sticks were used, which makes sense in light of an obviously related Kumina word, kata-tik (second element from English stick). The compound kata-tik is glossed by the DJE as a ‘percussion stick’ which is ‘played by striking it against the center pole of the dancing booth’.

All the evidence so far center on the action of striking, as opposed to a fixed type of instrument like the gumbe. This does not mean however that the kata is not an identifiable instrument in the musical ensemble of Jamaica. In fact, it appears that the kwata mentioned and photographed by Bilby (1999a) is the most recognisable form of the kata. The kwata in Bilby’s photographs is a board which is played by striking it with two pieces of stick. Based on the foregoing, the word is best derived from Koongo kãata ‘frapper avec qch.’, via a change in lexical category. Narrow Bantu: Bangi (BIA, WCA).

221. KATAKATA ‘(a) to scatter; (b) scattered’. (a) Yorùbá kätákätá ‘here and there; widely dispersed, scattered at intervals’ (DYL, 2003, p. 137), Igbo kätäkata ‘disorder, confusion, trouble’, kata kata ‘confused, disorderly; in disorderly manner’, and kpätäkpätá ‘widely scattered, scattered in great numbers; (adv.) scatter widely’ (Igwe, 1999, pp. 290, 316). The DJE derives this word from English ‘scatter reduced to kata and iterated. The English etymology is also accepted by Kouwenberg, LaCharité, and Gooden (2003, p. 107), however, the evidence provides little support for an English origin.

Accepting scatter as the etymon would require us to assume the creation via reduplication of an adjectival from a non-stative verb. This process is either non-existent or extremely rare in Jamaican since the only example which Kouwenberg et al. (2003, p. 107) provide is the word now in question. There is, however, evidence for the African etyma suggested above. Categorically, English-derived words with initial /ka/ sequence become [kja] in Jamaican. Had katakata been from English scatter the expected Jamaican reflex would have been kyata-kyata. We have sufficient evidence from our list of secure Africanisms that African-derived words with initial /ka/ tend to be resistant to the glide-insertion rule. Kwa:
222. KEKE₁ ‘a croaking-lizard’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) Àkán keke ‘a species of iguana, between Omampam & denkyem in size, having bumps about the head’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 288). ③ The DJE claims that the word is echoic but asks us to consider Àkán keke ‘bark, cry, scream, howl, etc.’, as a possible source. While it is not uncommon to name animals after their distinctive cry (cf. DJE JOHN CHEWIT), Àkán Àkán keke is a much better etymon in that it applies specifically to a type of lizard.

Note that the only illustrative quotation which the DJE has comes from the parish of St Elizabeth. This is interesting since the form krekre with intrusive /r/ has been attested in the Maroon community of Accompong which is in the same parish. It is likely that this is a term that is restricted to the Maroons, but since I do not have any evidence to support this claim, I leave it in tentatively. ④ Àkán (GOC).

223. KEKE₂ ‘to laugh, giggle, titter, cackle’. ③ The DJE states that this word is echoic, a conclusion with which I agree. Nevertheless, I should point out that Mende has kerekrere ‘(of laughing) heartily’ (Fyle & Jones, 1980, p. 171). The Mende word is taken from Parkvall (1999, p. 72) who in turn got it from Fyle and Jones’s (1980) proposal for a similar word in Krio. While the Mende word is a very likely source for the Jamaican word, its imitative nature makes it very difficult to determine whether we are dealing with an actual copy from Mende, as opposed to an independent development triggered by sound symbolism (see §4.3.9). ④ Imitative sound symbolism.

224. KEMA as in KEMA-WIID ‘the weed Chaptalia nutans’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology but asks us to consider Mende kema ‘a magician’. The two illustrative quotations the editors supply associate the plant with the healing of wounds, but the quotations do not provide enough evidence for us to accept the Mende etymology. The semantic development which is assumed is possible, but it is so broad that anything could be admitted. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

225. KÉNGGE, KENDE ‘(a) a sore on the foot; (b) a ball roughly hewn out of wood; (c) low, undisciplined people’. ② Ijo (Okrika) kengge ‘to carve or shape a marble from the shell of nángúbú (líja)’ (Sika, 1995, p. 62). ③ This entry combines two DJE headwords: kende (DJE KENDEH) recorded with what is given here as sense (b), and kenguin which is listed with all three senses provided here. The Ijo etymology only applies properly to sense (b), and I suspect that senses (a) and (c) might actually belong to separate words. Although the DJE notes that the etymology of this word is unknown, the editors mark it as probably African. ④ Ijo (BEN).

226. KETAKETA, KETEKETE ‘(a) small fish, another name for bangga; (b) any small thing occurring in clusters, e.g. fish’. ② ketekete ‘small, very small, tiny’, Koongo -akëtékëte ‘very fine’ < -akete ‘small, slight, little, fine’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 294). ③ The DJE only gives the variant ketaketa with sense (a), I have added ketekete, associated with sense (b) from my own native-speaker knowledge.

The DJE asks us to consider both Àkán kétewa ‘small’ and kétéke ‘small, very small’. Though the two Àkán words have the same root, the non-reduplicated one is a less plausible source for the Jamaican word. In addition to the DJE’s Àkán etymology, I have added

17In Ijo (Okrika) the word líjá is a ‘game where the empty termite shell, carved into a shape, is used; it is twisted with the fingers to revolve in a dug out hollow to crack out a challenger, and nángúbú is a ‘shell fish in marble’ (Sika, 1995, pp. 54,79).
Koongo -akëtekëte ‘very fine’, which provides an equally good match for the Jamaican word. ④ Benue-Kwa: Àkán (GOC), Koongo (WCA).

227. KITIBÚ, KIKIBÚ, KICHIBÚ, KYITIBÚ, CHICIBÚ, KITIBOG, TICHIBÚ, KITABU ‘(a) the click-beetle or firefly, Pyrophorus plagiophthalmanus with two luminous spots on its thorax often mistaken for eyes; (b) a meddlesome person’. ③ The DJE suggests that this word is perhaps derived from Àkán kété, kétékete ‘bright, brightly, in full lustre’, plus Àkán (Fante) bübú ‘insect’, probably with coincidental influence of English bug. The editors may be right in proposing a complex etymology for this word, however, *kiti* does not occur as an independent lexeme in Jamaican, and the compound does not respect Àkán rules of composition (cf. Marfo, 2005). ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

228. *kitty* as in kitty-up ‘a bed’. ② Àkán kétÉ ‘a mat, the usual bed of the natives’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 235), Koongo ki-tí ‘chaise; ce sur quoi peut s’asseoir, s’appuyer contre; chaise longue’ (Laman, 1964, p. 293). ③ The DJE asks us to consider the Àkán etymology. Although the raising of [e] to [i] is very common cross-linguistically, it does not seem to happen that frequently in Jamaican, but there are a few recorded cases, e.g. getop ~ gitop ‘to get up’, gelop ~ gilop. The second element of the Jamaican word appears to be the English preposition up. While Àkán is a highly plausible source, Koongo ki-tí also matches the form and semantics of the Jamaican word perfectly. ④ Benue-Kwa: Àkán (GOC), Koongo (WCA).

229. KÔBI ‘a variety of yam grown in the cockpit country of St James’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) kóbi ‘a species of yam’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 241). ④ Àkán (GOC).

230. KÓJO1 as in BANAAANA-KÓJO ‘the Spanish Hogfish, Bodianus rufus, in its dark colour phase, with yellow tail and belly, and dark back’. ② Guang (Gonja) kodu ‘banana’ (Snider, 1989, p. 24), Anufo kódù ‘banana’ (Krass, 1970, p. 43), Gbè (Vhe) akóã ‘banana’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 129). ③ The DJE treats kojo in this compound as a semantic extension of the day-name Kójo (see entry 449) to produce the meaning ‘black’. The proposed semantic extension is speculative since neither the DJE nor (DeCamp, 1967) records this meaning for the name in question. Nonetheless, the DJE editors’ hunch that the name of the fish is linked to its colour appears to be correct. The fish is predominantly yellow which appears to be the source of the link to the (ripe) banana. Contrary to the information given by the editors, the other prominent colour of the fish is blue, not black.

Cognate forms exist in neighbouring Kwa languages, e.g. Àkán kwádú ‘banana’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 278), Gá akwadu ‘banana’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, p. 13), and Guang (Chamburung, Krache) k*adu (Snider, 1989, p. 24). However, I have rejected these since there is overwhelming evidence in our list of Africanisms that /kw/ sequences were copied without change into Jamaican. ④ Kwa: Guang, Anufo, Gbè (GOC).

231. KÓJO2 ‘keep one’s mouth closed; not tell what one knows’. ③ The RJW is the only work to list this word; and it treats it as a semantic off-shoot of Àkán (Fante) Kodwo ‘male born on Monday’. The semantic relationship between the day-name and keeping a secret is not clear, hence this proposal is speculative. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

232. KOKOBE ‘a kind of leprosy or elephantiasis’. ② Nzema kokobre ‘leprosy’ (Aboagye, 1992 [1965], p. 100). Àkán (Akuapem) kokobé ‘leprosy’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 244). ③ The DJE, ARJC, and the DCEU all derive this word from Àkán alone. However, my search has uncovered plausible forms in neighbouring Nzema which I accept as a suitable etymon. ④ Tano: Àkán, Nzema (GOC).
233. **Kómbolò, Kombalo** *(a)* a traditional African song-dance; *(b)* a comrade, companion, friend; *(c)* a sexual partner; *(d)* an old machete (to the Jamaican country-man, his machete is a constant companion). ② Ngombe-**kombolo** ‘caresser de la main, cajoler’ (Rood, 1958, p. 194). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology but proposes several possibilities founded on the editors’ interpretation of the sentence ‘We all a Combolò’ to mean ‘We are all dancing the Combolo.’ They point out that **kombolo** (DJE **COMBOLO**), is here being used as a verb, but this is at variance with their own treatment since they only classify it as a noun.

I propose that the sentence on which the editors base their evidence reflects a mesolectal structure rather than a basilectal one. Hence, I gloss it as shown in example (29) where the quantifier **all** has scope over the Subject **we**. This would have been rendered in basilectal Jamaican as **aal a wi** ‘all of us’.

(29) *we* all a Combolo  
1PL all COP Combolo  
‘We are all friends.’

Regarding the dance and its etymology, I propose that what the DJE lists as the fourth sense of its headword, i.e. ‘a sexual partner’ (sense *(c)* above) is the earliest sense of **kómbolò**. The meaning of the word then changed from reference to intimate, sexual companions, to very good friends. Evidence to support this etymology comes from the Jamaican expression glossed in (30) where a term referring to sexual intimacy is used to show general friendship.

(30) Mi an yu naa rap op.  
1SG and 2SG NEG.PROG wrap up  
‘You and I are not (close) friends’.

For the sake of completeness I should point out that the JCAH suggests Koongo **kombula** ‘to assemble, to group’, while the DJE suggests American Spanish **cumpa**, Mexican Spanish **compa**, which are common abbreviations of **compadre** ‘fellow, companion’, Spanish **compañero** ‘comrade, mate’, Mbundu **camba** ‘comrade’. All of these proposals fail to provide good formal matches for the Jamaican word. Most of them are too short and the Koongo candidate lacks the reference to friendship/intimacy. ④ Ngombe (BIA).

234. **Koo-Koo** ‘one type of **jangkunu**, or a member of a **jangkunu** band’. ⑥ For an etymology, the DJE asks us to consider Hausa **k’uk’u** ‘the sound made by the intestines in a scrotal hernia, the sound made by a horse that is a a “roarer”’, and **kuka** ‘rumblings in the abdomen’. This etymology appears to be based on evidence provided by the sole illustrative quotation that the DJE has for this word. I reproduce it here for convenience.

Through the kindness of a friend, we are enabled to furnish the following derivation of the term **Koo-Koo**. It appears that many years back, this John-Canoe performed in pantomimic actions only, consisting of supplications for food—as being demanded by his empty stomach. At each request, an attendant chorus repeated ‘Koo-Koo’, this was intended in imitation of the rumbling sound of the bowels, when in a hungry state (explanation to plate 5 in Belisario (1837)).

Although the Hausa etymology is enticing, the echoic nature of the word makes it difficult to rule out chance resemblance. ⑥ Imitative sound symbolism
235. **Kôngkôngsá, Kôngkôngsé, *Kongaso, *Kongoso** ‘(a) deceit, flattery; (b) a deceitful person; one who shows unfair partiality’. ② Ákán (Akuapem) **nykôngkôngsá** ‘falsehood, duplicity, double-dealing, dissimulation, hypocrisy’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 251), (Fante) **nkôngkôngsá** (Russell, 1910, p. 70), Guang (Gua) **nkôngkôngsá** ‘double-dealing, hypocrisy [sic.], double-tongue, falseness’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 74), Gâ **kokôngsá** ‘hypocrisy, lying’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, p. 157), Anufo **kôkôsá** ~ **kôkôsá** (noun) ‘gossip’ (Krass, 1970, p. 44). ③ The DJE, ARJC, and the DCEU only mention the Ákán etymon, but the other sources listed in the previous section are equally plausible.

The DJE lists three lexical categories for this word (noun, verb, and adjective). From the illustrative quotations provided by the DJE for the verbal and adjectival uses of this word, we could probably reduce class membership to two, i.e. noun and (intransitive) verb. In any case, this is interesting since all African candidates identified are referential and not predicative. ④ Nyo: Ákán, Guang, Anufo, Gâ (GOC).

236. **Kôngkôngtê, Kôngkotê, *Kongkongta** ‘(a) flour made from cassava, plantain, or green banana; it is eaten as porridge, in the form of dumplings, etc.; (b) a word denoting toughness, hardness’. ② Ákán (Akuapem) **kokôntê**, plural **NkoNkôntê** ‘cassada or plantains cut in pieces and dried’, Gâ **kokôntê** ‘cassada dried in the sun and afterwards made into flour etc.’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, p. 157), Guang (Nkonya) **kôntê** ‘Maniok-Fufu’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 197), (Gua) **kokonte** ‘plantain or cassava flour which is prepared and eaten with soup’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 72), Anufo **kunkuntê** ‘dried cassava’ (Krass, 1970, p. 44). ④ Nyo: Ákán, Gâ, Guang, Anufo (GOC).

237. **Kopi** ‘a small packy (a calabash cut down and used as a drinking or eating vessel), probably decorated for table use’. ② Gbè (Vhe) **akôbídê** ‘a small calabash’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 125). ③ The DJE derives this word from English cup + diminutive or familiarizing suffix -y, with possible coincidental influence from Gbè **ákôbídˇE** ‘a small calabash with a handle’. While the derivation from English which the DJE proposes is quite plausible on the formal plain, the very specific meaning of the Jamaican word makes the Gbè candidate a better match. Admittedly, I have not come across any data in Capo (1991) to suggest that the Jamaican form is a retention of a form from another Gbè dialect. However, evidence does exist for change from /b/ → /p/ (see **jukumpeng**, entry 201). Hence, if the English word played any role in the history of this word, it is later and not earlier than the African influence. ④ Gbè (GOC).

238. **Kótokúu, Kótakú** ‘(a) a field-bag or basket made of woven palm-thatch (sometimes of canvas, hemp, etc.), usually with a cover, hung at one’s side from a strap over the shoulder. It is used by hunters and cultivators. Some associate it with the obeah-man as the container for his “things”; (b) a thatch bag in which grated cassava-root is pressed to expel the juice and produce the meal for making banny (see **bami** above); (c) applied more generally to baskets of various kinds’. ② Ákán (Akuapem) **kotokú** ‘bag, sack, pouch, pocket’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 260), (Asante) **kotokuo**, (Fante) **kotoku** ‘bag, sack, pouch, pocket’ (Berry, 1960, p. 12), Gâ **kotoku** ‘pocket bag’, etc.’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, p. 160), Guang (Awutu, Larteh) **kotoku** ‘sack’ (J. M. Stewart, 1966), Gbè (Vhe) **kotokú** ‘bag’ (Westermann, 1930, p. 35). ③ The DJE, ARJC, and the DCEU only mention the Ákán etymology. I have added several equally plausible forms from Gâ, the Awutu and Larteh dialects of Guang, and the Vhe dialect of Gbè. ④ Kwa: Ákán, Guang, Gâ, Gbè (GOC).

239. ***Koving** as in **Jengkoving** ‘a musical instrument’. ② Gâ **kofén** ‘cornet of an elephant tooth used by kings for music and signals in war’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, p. 155), Gbè (Vhe) **akôfê** ‘trumpet, flute’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 130). ③ The DJE traces the two last syllables of this word to Gâ **kofeŋ** ‘a horn which one blows; a blown horn’. To this
etymology, I have added the Vhe dialect of Gbè which has an equally plausible word. No etymology has yet been found for the first syllable of the Jamaican word. ④ Kwa: Gã, Gbè (GOC).

240. KRAKRA ‘nervous; therefore erratic, clumsy, careless, etc.’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) krà kra ‘restless, excited, deranged in mind’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 263), Guang (Guã) krakra ‘wild, restless, abnormal’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 79). ③ Both the DJE and the ARJC agree on the Àkán etymology, however, the Guang candidate’s equally plausible form and semantics place this word in the group of words with multiple etymologies. ④ Tano: Àkán, Guang (GOC).

241. KRENGKRENG, KEKRIKE, KRANGKRAN, KRANKKRAN, GRENGGRENG ˈ(a) branches (presumably as fit for use as kindling wood); (b) an old basket; (c) specifically, a basket or similar container hung above the fire from the roof of a kitchen where it will receive the smoke, used to preserve and store meat or fish’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) kyérêkyê ‘basket’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 296), which is related to kyêŋkyêŋ ‘basket pannier, made of palm-branches and reeds, to carry palm-wine’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 292). ③ The DJE editors ask us to consider the Àkán etymon, although the DJE entry provides sufficient evidence to accept it. Senses (b) and (c) echo the semantic range of another Tano-derived word, hangkra (entry 176). ④ Àkán (GOC).

242. KÚBUKÚBU ‘stolen factory rum’. ③ The DJE derives this word from Àkán kobi ‘a kind of rum or brandy’, via reduplication. Although the semantic match is good, I have not encountered any cases involving /i/ → /u/ change, only examples of change in the opposite direction. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

243. KÚ ‘an exclamation to make a donkey move forward’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) kô < kò ‘to go; to go along, to walk’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 238). ③ The Àkán etymology accepted by the DJE is quite enticing. However, the fact that the word is ‘usually phonetically negligible’ coupled with its being sound symbolic, makes the assignment of an African source questionable (see §4.3.9.0.2). ④ Imitative sound symbolism.

244. KUKU ‘a mixture of cornmeal, okras (and sometimes peas) and butter, boiled and stirred with a cou-cou stick, until firm enough to be shaped into a ball’. ② Gbè (Yehwe) kkú ‘corn dumpling’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 2002, p. 135). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Gbè (Yehwe) kukú ‘corn dumpling’, but points out that English cook has been adopted into several African languages: Àkán, Gbè (Vhe) k̀kkù, Hausa kuku, etc., and may have played a role in the history of the Jamaican word.

The DCEU asks us to consider Àkán njkuku ‘a species of yam’, the same Àkán and Hausa etyma suggested by the DJE, in addition to Yorübá kuku (from English) ‘a European’s cook’. The editor of the DCEU claims that the wide occurrence of the food kuku in the southern Caribbean ‘strongly suggests a West African origin’, and adds that ‘sources are uncertain or unconvincing’. Notwithstanding this reservation, he singles out Àkán njkuku ‘a species of yam’, as ‘a more likely origin’.

I reject this Àkán etymology since it refers not to a dish made with cornmeal, but with yam. Cornmeal appears to be the earliest and most common base for this dish. In addition, we can safely reject all the other proposals which point to African words referring to a cook. Throughout the Caribbean, the semantic stability of the word kuku in referring to a type of food, is sufficient evidence against deriving it from a word referring to a person who cooks. Fortunately, the DCEU’s definition of kuku provides enough evidence to support the Gbè etymon accepted here. The definition states that the cornmeal mixture is stirred until it is
firm enough to be shaped into a ball’. It is easy to establish a semantic link between this ‘ball’ and the cornmeal dumpling of the Gbè etymon accepted here. ④ Gbè (BEN).

245. **KUKUMKUM** ‘a very skinny person’. ③ As far as I am aware, the JCAH is the first work to list and suggest an African etymology for this word. The JCAH proposes Koongo **kukuma** ‘to shake as if about to fall’, as the source. While this etymology is promising, it fails to match the Jamaican form precisely in either its form or its meaning. Therefore, it is rejected here. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

246. **KULUKULU**₁ ‘(a) weak and lacking energy; (b) clumsy, awkward’. ② Koongo **kúlu** ‘faim, inanition, abattement, faiblesse’ (Laman, 1964, p. 328). ③ This word has been added from my own native-speaker vocabulary, and does not appear in any of my Jamaican sources. Admittedly, there are no attested cases in Jamaican of nouns being reduplicated to form adjectivals (cf. Kouwenberg et al., 2003), but we have evidence from another Koongo-derived word (see entry 247) which exhibits similar morphological derivation and word class change. ④ Koongo (WCA).

247. **KULUKULU**₂ ‘(a) plenty, plentiful; (b) pure rum’. ② Koongo **ìkúlu** ‘quantité, abundance’ (Laman, 1964, p. 732). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown origin but claims that it is probably African. In support of their claim about the probable African provenance of this word, the editors offer Yorùbá **k̀əl̀u** ‘to collect together’, for consideration. To collect things together suggests that there are several but does not necessarily mean that there is an abundance. Therefore, the Yorùbá etymology is questionable. The Koongo etymology accepted here only accounts for sense (a) of the Jamaican word. No source has yet been found for sense (b) which even the DJE suggests may actually be a different word. ④ Koongo (WCA).

248. **KÓKOMÁKA, KÓKUMÁKA, KÚKUMÁKA, KÚKUMAKYÁK** ‘a heavy stick or bludgeon (originally one made from the cocomacao tree)’. ② The DJE assigns this word to American Spanish (Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.) coco macaco, or French coco-macaque which both refer to ‘the tree Bactris plumeriana, and the stick made from its trunk or stem, noted for its hardness’. The DCEU also suggests a Spanish etymology, but this time from Spanish coco meaning ‘face’ or ‘hard’ + macaco ‘ugly’. The DCEU etymology fails to account for the Jamaican word’s reference to a stick and so it may be omitted from the list of candidates.

The JCAH suggests a possible origin in Koongo **kooky** ‘a bamboo branch or rod’, or a related form in the Vili dialect of Koongo which refers to ‘a travelling stick’. The work goes further to claim that this first element appears to be compounded with Koongo **makaaka** ‘cruelty, courage to kill’, or the related Mbundu word **makoko** ‘iron rod’. There is not sufficient evidence to accept the compound which the JCAH suggests. The Spanish and French etymologies suggested by the DJE appear to be the most robust so far. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

249. **KÚNU**₁ ‘a fishing boat, a canoe’. ③ The DJE derives this word from Bamanankan **kunu** ‘a boat’, but claims that it was probably reinforced by English canoe. OED2 notes that the pronunciation of English canoe is [kembali] with stress on the first syllable. Since Jamaican does not have a schwa, this vowel would have been a prime candidate for change. On the semantic side it is worth pointing out that the Bamanankan and English words mean exactly the same thing, so it is impossible for us to assign it an African etymology without introducing bias. ④ African etymology rejected.
250. **KUNU**₂ ‘ugly’. ② Gbè (Vhe) **kūnu** as ‘something deadly, dangerous’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 135). ③ The DJE only asks us to consider the Gbè etymon, but a stronger claim can be made for accepting it. First, there is a universal propensity for cultures to associate evil things with ugliness. Second, the Gbè word was also copied into Saramaccan as **kūnu** where it means ‘revengeful spirit of someone who was caused to die’. ④ Gbè (BEN).

251. **KUOBI**₁, **KOBI** ‘a kind of sweet potato’. ③ The DJE claims that the etymology of this word is linked to the colour of the sweet potato, and so the editors provide Gbè (Vhe) **kóbi** ‘ochre-coloured earth’, as a possible source. Since the DJE points out that there is **wait-kuobi** (white + **kuobi**) and **yelo-kuobi** (yellow + **kuobi**), it is very likely that the word **kuobi** is not related to the colour of this tuber at all. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

252. **KUOBI**₂, and as in **KUOBINANSI**, **KOBANANSI**, **KOMANANSI**, **COBY-WOOD** ‘(a) probably at first applied to *Swietenia mahogani*, but evidence is lacking; the place name *La-cova* (St Elizabeth) is thought to preserve it; (b) applied generally to *BASTARD MAHOGANY*, *Matayba apetala*, which has a red wood similar to that of mahogany; (c) ?a mistaken identification: *Sideroxylon foetidissimum‘. ③ The DJE claims that the shorter Jamaican word **kuobi** is probably Spanish *caoba* ‘mahogany’, while the longer version is from the older Spanish form *caobana*. They also point out that **kuobi** might owe its form to Gbè (Vhe) **kOb ˜ ı** ‘ochre-coloured earth’. The presence in Jamaican of *ca wobena* which refers to the mahogany, makes the Spanish words the most plausible etyma for the bisyllabic Jamaican form and the variants without the diphthong. No account can be given for why the tree became associated with *(a)nansi* ‘spider’, as the last part of the longer variants suggests. The editors’ suggestion that **kuobi** was influenced by Gbè (Vhe) ‘ochre-coloured earth’ is certainly based on the red wood mentioned in sense (b) above. However, folk-etymology involving the name Coby—which would be rendered as /kuobi/ in Jamaican—is equally plausible. ④ African etymology rejected.

253. **KUOKO**₁, **KOKO** ‘(a) the plant *Colocasia*, especially *C. esculenta*, and its edible tuber; (b) a general term for many plants having leaves like those of *Colocasia*’. ② Mende **koko** ‘a kind of cocoyam’ (Innes, 1969, p. 47), Nzema **ekoko** ‘cocoyam’ (Aboagye, 1992 [1965], p. 156), Àkán (Akuapem) **kókó** ‘an edible root of three kinds; one came from Jamaica, the two others are also called **amanjani** and **antwibo**’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 243), Guang (Guá) **kooko** ‘the edible tubers of wild cocoyam found near rivers; the wild cocoyam plant’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 73), Gâ **koko** ‘a plant with roots like the yam, and eaten like it’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, p. 156), Yorúbá **kóko** ‘any yam’ (s.v. **isu** in Abraham (1958, p. 324), Nupe **kôkôkúmá** ‘a species of yam’ (Banfield, 1914, p. 264).

③ The DCEU asks us to consider the Mende, Àkán, and Gâ etymologies presented in the previous section, and refers the reader to the DJE which has a more complex etymology. The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain origin, and outlines several possible etyma for it: ‘(1) A Polynesian name imported with the plant (cf Hawaiian *koko*, fifth generation of a *taro* plant; Rarotongan *taro-koa-koa*, a variety of *Colocasia*; (2) a new formation made by West Indian negroes…; (3) A West Indian dialectal form of *Colocasia*. The editors also point to Àkán **kóokó** (see previous section) but points out that Christaller (1933) considers it to be a loanword.

As far as we know, Europeans arrived in Hawaii for the first time in 1778, while the first Jamaican reference to **kuoko** antedates it by 38 years [1740]. OED2 makes no mention of a Hawaiian origin. It merely points out that *coco* is a tuber eaten in the West Indies. If the

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18http://www.sil.org/americas/suriname/Saramaccan/English/SaramEngDictIndex.html
word had been created in the West Indies, it would have been brought to Africa by English seamen coming from the West Indies. Had the word been borrowed into Àkán and Yorùbá via the speech of English slavers, we would have expected an HL tone pattern which is typical of English loanwords into these African languages (Devonish, 2002, pp. 37–44). Therefore, the African etymologies are still the most plausible ones so far. 4 Niger-Congo: Mende (SIE), Nzema (WIN, GOC), Àkán, Guang, Gã (GOC), Yorùbá, Nupe (BEN).

254. **KUOKO**₂ ‘a lump which develops rapidly on the head, neck, etc., following a blow’. 2 Àkán (Akuapem) **kókó** ‘haemorrhoids, the piles’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 243), Yorùbá kóró ‘any protuberance, kórí ‘bump on one’s head’ (Abraham, 1958, p. 379), Nupe kókó ‘lump, swelling’ (Banfield, 1914, p. 264). 3 The DJE suggests that this word is perhaps a semantic extension of **kuoko**₁, but claims that it may also be a reference to **coco**(nut) = head. The editors also ask us to consider Bolivian Spanish **bicoque** ‘a bump on the head, a blow given on the head with the knuckles’. The DCEU only mentions coconut as a tentative etymology.

The DJE’s Bolivian Spanish proposal provides a very good semantic source for the Jamaican word, but the formal changes which it implies strike me as implausible. The coconut etymology is trumped by the African forms which all provide perfect matches for the Jamaican word in both form and semantics. 4 Kwa: Àkán (GOC), Yorùbá, Nupe (BEN).

255. **KURUKURU** ‘sores; scarred flesh’. 2 Bamanankan **kùrù-kùrù** ‘friser, avoir pustules, des boutons’ (Bailleul, 1996, p. 240), Àkán e-kùrù ‘a sore, wound’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 274), Yorùbá ëkùrù ‘disease of men and animals, mange’ (von S. Bradshaw, 1966, p. 66). Although the Bamanankan etymology provides the most straightforward match with the Jamaican form owing to its reduplicated shape, the others are not implausible sources. It is not uncommon for sores to be referred to in the plural, and Jamaican does reduplicate some nouns for multiplicative purposes, i.e. to indicate several as opposed to just more than one instances of the thing. 4 Atlantic-Congo: Bamanankan (SIE), Àkán (GOC), Yorùbá (BEN).

256. **KUSHAKUSH** ‘a type of yam’. 2 Hausa **kush-kush** ‘the food kus-kus ‘a wheaten food’ (Abraham, 1949, p. 569). 3 This word is not listed by the DJE, but it is treated by the DCEU which proposes the Hausa etymon which is accepted here. The Jamaican word **kushakush** was first recorded in 1880 in an Anancy story published by Andrews (1880). In the story, Anancy asks his wife for some yams, and she asks him to tell her the real name for yam first. Anancy’s first response is cooshacoosh, which his wife rejects. She then sends him off to his mother to find out the right name. His mother informs him that yam’s real name is **nyampinya**, which appears to be a variant of yampi (entry 428). The DCEU makes the connection between the creole word and the Hausa etymon by pointing to ‘the floury nature of the boiled yam’. While the DCEU does not identify its headword as Jamaican, it notes that the yam is referred to as **yampi** in Jamaica. 4 Hausa (BIA).

257. **KUUBLA, KUBLATA** ‘a small or young calabash, or a portion of the shell, used as a drinking vessel, to make a pot-spoon, etc.’. 3 The DJE asks us to consider Gbê (Vhe) akobidé ‘small calabash with a handle’, as a possible source. However, the forms are too divergent phonetically for us to plausibly derive the Jamaican word from the Gbê one. 4 No suitable (African) etymology found.

258. **KUUTA, KUUT** ‘(a) a floating decoy made of cottonwood with a head to simulate a sea-turtle; (b) of sea-turtles and other reptiles: to copulate’. 2 Bamanankan **kuto** ‘decoy’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 121). 3 This entry consolidates two DJE headwords: cooter
which is a noun and corresponds to sense (a) above, and the related verb coot which corresponds to sense (b). The sole illustrative quotation given for the headword cooter gives the pronunciation /kuuta/, so it has been adopted as the phonemic spelling here.

OED2 lists the verb coot ‘of tortoises: to copulate’, but it has only three illustrative quotations for the word; two in the late seventeenth century, and one in the mid-eighteenth century. One of them is from a work about Barbados. Based on these pieces of evidence, and the fact that the word cooter ‘a salt-water turtle’, was also recorded in the southern US (which is one possible indicator of an African origin), I concur with the DJE when it states that:

The likelihood is that African slaves brought the noun kuto to the Caribbean, that it was later applied to land turtles in the southern US; and that the verb developed from the noun, was applied at first to sea tortoises (as it still is) and thence transferred to snakes, etc. (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 121).

Hence, the specific Bamanankan source which the DJE proposes is accepted here. ④ Bamanankan (SEN).

259. KWAAKU, KWAKU, KWAAKO ‘used of an unsophisticated negro by the more sophisticated: a rough, uncultivated person; an ignorant or stupid person’. ② Akán (Akuapem) o-kwakú ‘a species of monkey’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 279), Guang (Nkonya) okwakú ‘Affe’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 200). ③ The DJE treats this word as a semantic extension of the day-name Kwaaku (see entry 457), an analysis which is also adopted by the DCEU. However, the DCEU goes further to claim influence from English quack, and asks the reader to note Akán O-kwaku ‘monkey’.

Had the word been from English quack we would have expected it to be epenthesised to /kwak/ or less regularly /kwaka/, but not /kwako/. The other option which assumes semantic extension of the Akán-derived day-name would be convincing if other related cases of semantic extension had not been proven in this work to be cases of homophony (see kwaami, kwau). This leads us to accept as the etymology a word that the DCEU had supplied as an afterthought. The word for monkey in Tano languages such as Akán and Guang is phonetically similar to the day-name to the extent that they even share the same tone pattern. Apparently, this similarity in form continued in Jamaican the (near) homophony which had existed in the source languages. The monkey is still used in Jamaica as an epithet for stupidity in compounds such as mongki-fuul (monkey + fool) ‘an imbecile’. ④ Tano: Akán, Guang (GOC).

260. KWASHI, KWAASHI ‘(a) a peasant; a country bumpkin; (b) a stupid person, a fool; a backward person who refuses improvement; (c) in reference to peasant language—the speech of the common folk as opposed to educated speech’. ② Akán (Akuapem) o-kwaseá, (Fante) kwasía ‘fool, idiot, ignorant or stupid person, silly fellow’ with related kwaseá ‘foolishness’ stupidity’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 284; W. E. Welmers, 1946, p. 10); Guang (Nkonya) òkwaśea ‘Tor, Dummkopf’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 200), and (Gua) kwasea ‘a fool, a stupid or silly person’ (Ashene, c.1999, p. 81), Nzema koasea ‘foolish’ (Aboagye, 1992 [1965], p. 99), Gâ kwaśía ‘foolish; fool’ (Zimmermann, 1858a, p. 178). ③ The DJE and the ADJ treat this word as a semantic extension of the day-name Kwaashi (see entry 459). Both the DJE and the ADJ provide seven senses for this word. The three senses I have copied above represent senses 3–5 and 7 from the DJE and senses 2–6 from the ADJ. I believe the other senses belong to other words. The ARJC only treats the homophonous day-name.

As with kwaaku and kwau, I propose that what we have here is a case of conflation owing to the phonetic closeness of a common noun to the relevant day-name. One possible explanation for the merger is that as native-speaker competence was lost in these African languages,
speakers came to associate the semantics of different words with one form, even though etymologically they were distinct. Note too the existence of Jamaican kwaashi-taak ‘foolish talk’, which might have been influenced by a form such as Àkán kwaseasem (fool + talk) ‘foolishness’ (Kotey, 1998, p. 83).

261. KWÁU, KWÁO ‘(a) a stupid, ugly person; one from the remote country parts; (b) an albino negro’. Àkán (Akuapem) k-twáé ‘forest, wood, thicket, the wooded inland country, bush-country’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 279), Guang (Gua) kwæ ‘forest, bush, wood’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 106), (Nkonya) okwæ ‘Wald’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 200). This word is treated by the DJE as a semantic extension of the day-name Kwau (see entry 458). The editors give three senses for their headword. Sense (1) in the DJE is treated under entry 458 in this work, while senses (2) and (3) of the DJE entry are given here as senses (a) and (b). In addition to the claim regarding semantic extension, the editors also suggest that the word might have been influenced by the English dialectal verb quaw ‘to stare about foolishly or awkwardly’. The absence of the English word from the lexicon of Jamaican added to the fact that it is a verb while the Jamaican word is a noun, makes the link a bit tenuous.

The sense which identifies kwau as ‘one from the remote country parts’ is crucial to the etymology of the word, and I posit that this was once the primary meaning of the word. Evidence for this analysis is provided by the DJE’s 1943 illustrative quotation supplied by a person from the parish of Trelawney who identifies the word as meaning simply ‘mountain people’. From here it is not difficult to make the link to the sense which eventually came to dominate, i.e. ‘a stupid person’, because it is typical in many cultures for rural dwellers to be perceived as stupid or backward. This notion is still current in Jamaican where bush (<bush), and konchri (< country) both mean ‘rural area’, but also bear connotations of backwardness. The word konchri itself can also be used attributively and predicatively to mean ‘backward’.

I believe that this provides overwhelming evidence for the Tano etymologies accepted here. Note that this word also joins the ranks of kwaaku and kwaashi for which semantic extension was also proposed. Tano: Àkán, Guang (GOC).

262. KYAMFA, and as in KYAMFA-YAM, KYAMFYA-YAM, WÚMAN-KYÁNGFYÁ ‘yellow yam’. Àkán (Akuapem) nkámfo ‘a species of yam, of yellow colour’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 224), Guang (Gua) nkamfo ‘yellow yam’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 91), Gá nkamfo, Gbè (Vhe) kägfo ‘Dioscorea dumetorum’ (Hall-Alleyne, 1996, p. 25). Both the DJE and the EJB point out that folk-etymology has associated this lexeme with the English word camphor owing to the phonetic closeness of the two words. The presence of the palatal glide in the second syllable of the Jamaican alternants has no ready explanation seeing that glide insertion is not an attested process in Jamaican phonology. (Dolphyne, 1988, p. 43) indicates that the Fante dialect of Àkán palatalises /f/ before front vowels, but there is no mention of palatalisation before /a/. Glide insertion in this environment is allowed in Ìgbo (Joseph Atóyèbí p.c.). Kwa: Àkán, Guang, Gbè (GOC).

263. KYNANDO ‘name of a Bass drum’. Yorùbá kanango ‘smallest hour-glass shaped drum’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 2002, p. 268). The Yorùbá etymology which is accepted here was first suggested by the DJE. My Yorùbá informant, (Joseph Atóyèbí), who is a drummer informs me that perceiving the kanango as a bass drum is not a totally strange concept. Regarding the formal differences between the Yorùbá and Jamaican words, there are two things to note. Assuming that the stress fell on the heavy penultimate syllable

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19 Note also Àkán (Akuapem) word kwáém ‘up country’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 279)
20 The DJE derives this word from a putative Àkán form nkámfé ‘a type of yellow yam’. The final /e/ might be a typographical error, since all sources I have seen contain a word-final /o/.
of the Jamaican word, this could account for the change of the /a/ → /i/ (represented orthographically by ‘y’) in the unstressed first syllable. On the second point, there are attested cases in Jamaican of words which exhibit variation between /ng/ and /nd/, e.g. *kengge* ~ *kende* (entry 224). ④ Yorùbá (BEN).

264. **LABA-LABA, LABA** ⑴ to talk; ⑵ talkative; ⑶ a talkative person; ⑷ an excessive, wasteful amount of anything’. ③ This word unites three DJE headwords which I believe to be etymologically the same word. In alphabetical order, the first of the DJE entries we encounter is *laba* a verb for which the editors provide no definition but which they derive from English *lab* ‘to blab’, and *lab* ‘a chatterbox’, with a note that the Jamaican form might be ‘in part echoic’. The second is *laba-laba* which is labelled both as a noun and an adjective (senses ⑵–⑷ above).

The JCAH suggests Koongo *laba* ‘to talk carelessly’, as the source of this word. However, the categorial distribution of the English word, in addition to its phonetic and semantic similarity to the Jamaican word, make it difficult to identify the specific Koongo contribution. Note also German *labern* ‘schwatzen’ [to blab] which might be evidence of an echoic origin. ④ African etymology rejected.

265. **LAGALAGA, LEGELEGEO, LOGOLOGO** ⑴ plenty; ⑵ in great amounts’. ② Mende *lagbalagba* ‘plenty’ (Bartens, 2000, p. 96). ③ This word unites what are treated in the DJE as three separate headwords. The DJE lists the noun *laga-laga* with what is given as sense ⑴ here; the adverb *logo-logo* with one sense which I have reproduced as sense ⑵; and the noun *lege-lege* with three senses. The DJE’s first sense for the headword *lege-lege* corresponds to my sense ⑴, but I doubt if the other two senses rightly belong to the same word. The Mende etymology accepted here falls in with a general pattern whereby labial-velar stops in word-medial position are changed to their velar counterparts (cf. entry 337). ④ Mende (SIE).

266. **LEBBY** ‘full, heavy breast’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology. I point readers to Bartens (2000, pp. 96–7) who in her etymo-typological work furnished various African forms mostly referring to softness and suppleness. These are mainly adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, but none matches the nominal sense of the Jamaican word. ④ No suitable (African) etymon found.

267. **LEELEE1** ‘to delay, hesitate, waste time’. ② Gbè (F`O) *lélé* ‘to go back and forth’ (cf. Huttar, 1985), Èdó *lele* ‘to roam, wander’ (Agheyisi, 1986, p. 92). ③ None of my Jamaican sources lists this word. I have added it from my own native lexicon. ④ Kwa: Gbè, Èdó (BEN).

268. **LEELEE2** ‘(a) retribution; (b) a cataclysmic event’. ② Gbè (F`O) *lélé* ‘affliction, errance’ (Höffmann, 2003, p. 284), Ngombe *lélé* ‘douleur, peine’ (Rood, 1958, p. 207). ③ This word has been added to the list by me. As far as I know, neither the word nor its etymology is treated in the existing literature. ④ Benue-Kwa: Gbè (BEN), Ngombe (BIA).

269. **LEGELEGEO** ‘fat, loose skin’. ② Ngombe *légelegé* ‘vol zijn, vol lopen, zich vullen’ [to be full, be filled, fill oneself] (Rood, 1958, p. 206). The DJE asks us to compare the Ngombe etymon accepted here and also Gbè (Vhe) *logoo* ‘fat, paunchy’. The Gbè etymon is less suitable because it contains the rounded back vowel /o/ as opposed to the front vowel /e/ in the Jamaican word, and the fact that it is not reduplicated. ④ Ngombe (WCA).

270. **LENGKI** ‘meagre, thin’. ③ The DJE derives this word from English *lanky* but claims
that there is perhaps concurrent influence from Gbè (Vhe) leNgee ‘tall, thin’. Since the semantics of the English and Gbè words are the same there is no way of proving or disproving the DJE’s claim of concurrent influence. However, from a phonological perspective, the English word can adequately provide the source of this word without recourse to the Gbè word. The raising of [a] to [E] has been attested in a few cases in Jamaican, e.g. English thank you > Jamaican tengki, and English rank ‘having an offensively strong smell’ (OED2) > Jamaican rengk. ④ African etymology rejected.

271. LONI, LÜONI ‘(a) of a baby: standing or just learning to stand alone; (b) of a baby: to stand or to demonstrate that it can stand alone’. ② Mende loni ‘he stands’ (J. Edwards, 1974, p. 16). ③ The DJE derives this word from a combination of English lone ‘alone’ + hypocoristic-forming suffix -y. Had the history of the word been as the DJE proposes we would expect l(u)oni to be a noun meaning ‘one who does something on his one’, as opposed to an adjective or verb which are the word classes the DJE lists for this word. The Jamaican pronunciation /loni/ is the earlier one, with /luoni/ being a later development through the common phonological process in Jamaican of converting the lengthened version of the monophthong /o/ to /uo/. ④ Mende (SIE).

272. LUMOTUVO ‘your belly is big’. ③ The DJE only makes a tentative suggestion that this expression might be African, while the DJES asks us to consider Common Bantu *-t`umb`ó ‘belly’. The word might ultimately turn out to be African but more information is needed to account for the entire string. In any case, formal reasons such as the /b/ → /v/ change suggested by the Common Bantu etymology strike me as unlikely. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

273. LUNDY ‘ulcer’. ② Luba-Katanga ki-londa, ‘sore’, Songe e-londa ‘sore’ Ngundi cì-londa ‘sore’, Chokwe (fj-londa ‘sore’ (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 43), Zulu -londa ‘sore, painful spot; wound’ (Doke & Vilikazi, 1972, p. 463). ③ The DJE asks us to compare Zulu londa ‘a sore or wound’, but the word has cognates in other Bantu languages and thus should be treated as a case of multiple etymologies. The ARJC lists all the etymologies given in the preceding section with the exception of Zulu. The author also adds Koongo londa ‘to bandage a sore wound’ to her list which I reject on the basis that it is a verb, and it refers to the act of bandaging as opposed to wounding. ④ Narrow Bantu: Luba-Katanga, Songe (BIA), Ngundi, Chokwe (WCA), Zulu (SEA).

274. MAFINA, MOFIINA ‘a poor, ineffectual person for whom nothing turns out well and who is resigned to paltriness’. ③ The DJE derives this word from Portuguese mofina ‘miserable, wretched, unfortunate, paltry’, but claims that it was perhaps reinforced by Àkán (Fante) mfina ‘a stunted person’. It is impossible to prove whether or not the Fante etymon had anything to do with the semantics of this word, but we can be certain that it had no phonetic influence on it since none of the consonantal prefixes of Àkán survived in the copying process from Àkán to Jamaican. Had the word been from Àkán, we would have expected *fí(i)na or *imfí(i)na and not mafina. ④ African etymology rejected.

275. MAFUUTA and MAFUUTU as in MAFUUTU-WAIT ‘(mafooootoo with) the cacoon vine Entada gigas, or Mimosa scandens’ ② Koongo ma-fúti ‘liane des bois Entada scandens’ (Laman, 1964, p. 477). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Àkán (Fante) e-má ‘very, plentifully’ + futuw ‘rank, abundant, thickly grown’. This etymology is unlikely since modifiers normally follow their heads in Àkán.

The JCAH discusses a possible etymology for the Jamaican toponym Mafoota, which designates ‘an area toward the eastern boundary of Montpelier Estate’ in the parish of St James.
The author suggests that the name probably derives from the Koongo and Mbundu plural prefix *ma-* and the Koongo word *futa* ‘to become overgrown with bush’. She points out that the Koongo verb is cognate with Mbundu *futa* ‘a deep abandoned site’. For the name of the climbing plant, I have accepted Koongo *ma-fúti* ‘liane des bois Entada scandens’ as the etymon. I believe that this Koongo word is also the source of the toponym which shows an association between the plant itself, and the place where it grew abundantly (cf. Browne, 1756, 362). My preference for this etymology over the one proposed by the JCAH lies in the fact that the JCAH’s proposal is a reconstructed form which depends on a (deverbal) derivational process for which no evidence is given. Note that the plant was first mentioned in 1756 under the name CACOON, but the name *mafúuta* was not recorded until 1814.

### 276. MAMA, MAAMA, MAAMI ‘mother, a term of address to any woman’. ③ This entry consolidates two DJE headwords: *maama* and *maami*. The DJE states that the etymology of *maama* is probably dual and asks us to consider Àkán *mmá*, *mmáa* ‘woman’ coinciding with English *mamá*, or US *máma*. The DCEU marks the word as ‘probably English reinforced by West African sources’. Similar forms occur in a wide cross-section of African languages, but this item is likely to be a nursery term. Assigning it to an African source is therefore questionable.21 ④ Nursery word.

### 277. MAIYAL ‘(a) a form of witchcraft not clearly distinguished from *obia*; though some nyalists sought to represent themselves as the undoers of the evil done by *obia*; (b) in recent use by Kumina practitioners and similar cults: formal possession by the spirit of a dead ancestor, and the dance done under possession’. ② Koongo *mayele* ‘intelligence, witchcraft’ (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 43). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Hausa *maye* ‘sorcerer, wizard; intoxication; return’, with a note that ‘all of these senses are present in the Jamaican use of the word’. The DCEU, following the DJE’s lead, points to Hausa *maye* whose feminine form is *mayya* ‘a sorceress’, and the verb *maye* ‘to relieve’. The DCEU editor suggests that perhaps the pronunciation ‘/mayal/ is a connected dialectal form’. The major problem with these proposals is that they fail to account for the presence of the /l/ in the Jamaican word, a problem which the DCEU tries to account for by appealing to an unattested Hausa dialectal form.

The word is treated by Carter (1996a, p. 112) since it is also used in Kumina where it refers specifically to ‘possession by a spirit’, and is used in the phrase *kech maiyal* (catch maiyal) ‘to become possessed’. However, Carter points out that ‘it almost certainly antedates’ Kumina. Carter notes the Hausa etymology supplied by the DJE, and although she states that a Koongo or Mbundu etymon is unlikely, she provides Koongo *mayílama* ‘... sorte de danse avec les mouvements promptes, lestes’, the verbs -*yáalá* ‘govern, rule’, -*yála* ‘spread’, and the noun *mw-ala* with its plural *my-ala* ‘accès, attaque’. We will return to the plausibility of these etymologies later, but

The *mayele* ‘intelligence, witchcraft’

Long (2002 [1774]a, p. 416) recorded the *maiyal-daans* (maiyal dance) in the eighteenth century. It involved the consumption of a brew made from a particular herb (probably the *maiyal-wiid*), which caused the person who had consumed it to fall into a trance during the dance. The most important point made by Long is that the dance made the participant ‘invulnerable by the white men’, which is certainly a reference to its protective

21 African languages which contain similar forms are: Mende *mama* ‘middle aged woman, old woman, grandmother; respectful term of address to a woman’ (Innes, 1969, p. 78), Àkán (Akyem) *míámá*, (Akrofi, Botchey, & Takyi, 1996/1968a, p. 38), Gua *mama* ‘name for mother’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 86), Laadi *má́má* ‘mai: belle-mère, mère, personne respectable’ (Jacquot, 1982, p. 99), Herero *mama*, Ndonga, and Kwanyama *m-me*, Umbundu *mai* ‘mother’ (Johnston, 1919, p. 355)
In the twentieth century, Kerr (1952, p. 141) reports that, it is interesting that myal now means dancing with a spirit in a trance. It may be a new development of the word or it may be that the old writers never got the real meaning of the word.

However, the eighteenth century maiyal-daans described by Long (2002 [1774]a) proves that the aspect of maiyal which contains trance was an early part of the practice, and in any case Waddell (1863, p. 191) describes a nineteenth century maiyal session as being characterised by ‘fearful paroxysms, bordering on insanity’, which is undoubtedly his outsider’s perspective on spirit possession. It was also Waddell (1863) who made the first unambiguous references to the healing aspects of maiyal.

Farquharson (2007b) basing his conclusion on the pronunciation which the DJE provides (i.e. /mail/) Mende mayili ‘(of Moslems) ‘make “medicine” to help someone’ (Innes, 1969, p. 81). While it would be foolhardy to rule out hybridisation, Bilby (1999a) has demonstrated a very close link between gumbe, jangkunu, and maiyal.

On the phonetic side, the DJE provides the pronunciation /mail/ for its headword myal. We find an etymon that can account for /1/ in the Jamaican word, and also the common perception that maiyal deals mainly with curative magic. Apart from the DJE proper, there are only three other works that I am aware of that record the /mail/ pronunciation—(Moore, 1953; Mittelsdorf, 1978; Carter, 1996a, p. 112). It is very likely that Mittelsdorf (1978) and Carter (1996a) copied the pronunciation from the DJE. The DJE’s pronunciation is either a copy from Moore’s work (which is quoted in the entry), or represents a typographical error, since Cassidy (1964, p. 274) spells the word /maial/.

It is possible that the Jamaican term mayaal (generally spelled myal) derives from mayala, the physical representations of power. In a secular context mayala are agents of a paramount chief’s authority. The abstract power mayala wield is called kiyaazi, a Yombe cognate of the term nkisi’ (Warner-Lewis, 2003, p. 190).

278. MÁJO, MÁJU, MANJO, MANJU, and as in MAJO-BITA, ‘the shrub Picramnia antidiesma’. The DJE based on a 1726 quotation notes that this word is said to be a personal name, but the editors ask us to consider also Mende majo ‘the leading woman of the Sande, a female society into which nearly all the girls are initiated’. At the current moment, there is not enough documentary evidence to link this medicinal herb to the Sande society, and so the Mende etymology is rejected pending further evidence.

279. MAKÁKA, MAKÁKO, MAKÁKO, MAKÓKA, MAKÓKO, MÁKAKÚ, MAKWÁKA, MAKWÁKWA, MAKÁNGKA, MAKÓNNGGO ‘in early use, a large wood-boring beetle and especially its grub that was considered a delicacy; now any grub or grub-like worm’. Koongo makoka the plural of ekoka ‘scarabæus beetle’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 268). The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology but states that the word is probably African. To support their African claim, the editors furnish the Koongo etymon accepted here.

However, they go on to suggest that a connection with Spanish macaca ‘monkey’ is not impossible, but I think that this association is tenuous. The editors also point out that ‘in
the Guianas, *macaco*, "ca is a worm (larva of a fly) that gets under the skin of men or animals". ④ Koongo (WCA).

280. **MAKI, MOKI** ② Àkán (Akuapem) *makyé* ‘good morning!’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 303). ③ The DJE does not provide a definition for this term, but their 1955 illustrative quotation claims that the word means ‘howsdy-do’. The editors only ask us to consider the Àkán etymology which is accepted here, and claims that the word may have arisen ‘by back-inference from macky-massa: ‘good, fine’. The evidence provided by the 1955 quotation proves that the ‘good morning’ meaning is the earliest one, and that all others represent later developments, including the sense of the word in *maki-maasa* (s.v. DJE MACKY-MASSA). ④ Àkán (GOC).

281. ***MAKONGGO** as in **MAKONGGO-TORKL**. ② Mono *bākongô* ‘turtle’ (Olson, 2005, p. 272). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology, and asks us to consider Koongo *makongo* ‘persons having some physical deformity’. The DJE does not provide a definition for its headword but the sole illustrative quotation places the Koongo etymology in doubt. The quotation, which is taken from (Rampini, 1873, p. 167) states: ‘There was a Macongo turtle caught at Negril in 1843, which weighed a ton’.

The illustrative quotation does not imply that the turtle was deformed in any way, just that it weighed a ton—a weight which is not unheard of in turtles. The Mono etymology being proposed at present is based on the fact that it is common for African words designating a particular thing, to have their semantics narrowed so that they come to refer to a particular type of the same entity (e.g. *depa* above). ④ Mono (BIA).


283. **MAMPÁALA, MAMPÁALO, MÁMPALA, MAMPI** ‘(a) a man deficient in his masculinity: impotent, effeminate, homosexual, etc.; (b) a man that meddles in women’s business; (c) a male crab’. ② Koongo *mû-mpala* ‘jeune homme en général; juvénilité; beauté’ (Laman, 1964, p. 605). Although the semantic relationship is not quite clear, Koongo *mû-mpala* appears to be from *mpála* ‘adultère; rivalité (p. ex. entre les femmes d’un même mari’), which itself is related to Koongo *ki-mpala* ‘esprit querelleur (entre concubines)’ (Laman, 1964, p. 573, 256). ③ Both the DJE and the DCEU derive this word from American Spanish (Colombia, Cuba) *mampolón* ‘a common cock, not a fighting-cock’. However, the absence in Jamaica of any link between roosters and the word *mampala* places the proposed Spanish etymology in doubt. The Koongo etymon accepted here was first suggested by the JCAH. The semantic link between quarrelling concubines, and a man who loves to meddle in women’s affairs, is more plausible. ④ Koongo (WCA).

284. **MAMPI** ‘fat, chubby, a fat person (especially a woman)’. ② Koongo *ma-páala* ‘grand, gros, gras (personne)’ (Laman, 1964, p. 502). ③ The JCAH is the only Jamaican source which treats this word, and the etymology selected here concurs with the one proposed in that work. We witness the insertion of homorganic nasals before plosives in a few other Jamaica words such as *jukumpeng* and *sampata*, where the etyma had none. The difference in length between the Jamaican and Koongo words can be accounted for by appealing to a common morphological process in Jamaican by which a polysyllabic word is clipped and then the familiarising suffix -*i* is attached to it. ④ Koongo (WCA).

285. **MAPÉMPE, APÉMPE, PÉMPEM** ‘Various species of Spurge used medicinally’. ③ The
DJE marks this word as being of unknown origin, but notes that it is African in appearance. No etymon has been found for the word as yet. ✗ No suitable (African) etymology found.

286. **MARÁNTA, MAROMTA** ‘mulatto’. ✗ The DJE proposes that this word is probably from Àkán o-murató ‘a mulatto’, which is derived from either Portuguese mulato or English mulatto with the same meaning. The editors of the DJE probably made their decision based on the presence of the word-medial nasal consonants /n, m/ in the Jamaican forms which could be the consonantal realisation of the nasal feature in the Àkán word. However, we have numerous cases such as Annobón Creole, Jamaican Maroon Spirit Language (Bilby, 1983), Palenquero, Sáo Tomé Creole, Saramaccan (Daeleman, 1972, p. 28), and Sranan (Hancock, 1969), where nasals have been inserted before stops in words of non-African origin. Therefore, the inserted nasal is not enough proof of African provenance.

If not African origin, one could argue for African influence in the presence of the /r/ as opposed to the /l/ which occurs in European versions of the word. However, several Niger-Congo languages could have been responsible for this phenomenon, since not only Àkán, but also Urhobo, Èfik, Tiv, and Ngwe do not have a lateral approximant (Parkvall, 2000, p. 36). ✗ African etymology rejected.

287. **MÁSU, MASHU, MASSLE** ‘to lift, pick up’. ✗ Àkán màsu ‘raise, lift’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 297). ✗ Both the DJE and the ARJC accept the Àkán etymology. Two features of this etymology which are important for other cases, is the loss of nasalisation from both syllables of the etymon, and the affrication of /s/ before the high back vowel /u/. Interestingly, (Akrofi et al., 1996/1968b, p. 155), gives the Àkán form as ma so without nasalisation, which is probably an indication that the nasal was subsequently lost in Àkán also. ✗ Àkán (GOC).

288. **MATUKLA** ‘an obeah-man’. ✗ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology but claims that it is probably African. The editors propose no etymon to support their claim of probable African origin, neither have I found any. ✗ No etymology found.

289. **MENYAMENYA, MINYAMINYA** ‘slender’. ✗ The DJE states that ‘the form appears African, but no source word has been found’. Nevertheless, the editors go further to propose a contradicting etymology by suggesting that the word is perhaps reduplicated from French menu ‘slim, spare’. There is no evidence to prove that French menu has ever been available to speakers of Jamaican, so the French etymology remains speculative. Also see *finifini* and *wenyawenya* on this list. ✗ No suitable (African) etymology found.

290. **MI, MII** ‘the first personal pronoun singular, without distinction of case: I, me, my’. ✗ The DJE claims that the etymology of this word is probably multiple, and gives in support of that statement the following putative etyma: ‘English me (in its full and reduced forms [mi:], [mi]) coinciding with Àkán (Akuapem) me, (Fante) eme ‘I, me, my’, which assimilate to mi before verbs with close sounds’.

The DCEU overtly derives the word from English me, but claims probable reinforcement by phonic and functional coincidence of 1st person singular forms of a number of West African languages, e.g. Àkán (Akuapem) me I, me, my’, Gà-Adangme mi I, me, my’, Igbo mi ‘I, me, my’, Èfik am, mi I, me, my’, etc. To the list of possible African sources given by the DJE and the DCEU, I could add: Fula mi ‘I, me’ and disjunctive min ‘I’ (F. W. Taylor, 1953, p. 25), Gà mi ‘I, me, my’ (Wilkie, 1930, p. 196), Wolof man ‘I [emphatic subject]’, na ‘objective’, suma ‘possessive’ (Gamble, 1963, p. 141), Kpelle mi ‘ich, mich, mein’ (Westermann, 1969, p. 237), Guang (Gua) me ‘me, I, my, mine’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 86), Fang me, meni ‘moi’
Five of the six personal pronouns of Jamaican are derived from English. The only African-derived pronoun (2nd person plural, unu) is motivated by the fact that it helps maintain a distinction between the 2nd person singular and plural pronouns which are homophonous in English. Therefore, the only thing that could have motivated the retention of the first person pronoun from African languages is the phonetic similarity of African forms to the English objective form me. This is not enough to establish African origin for the pronoun, so we need to look for idiosyncracies shared by the Jamaican and African forms but not by the English one.

On the last point, it should be noted that Jamaican mi is used as Subject, Object, and possessive, while English me is used as Object only. Jamaican shares this feature with African languages such as Àkán, Gà, Umbundu, hence, an African explanation for this feature is plausible. Several dialects of (British) English employ me as possessive adjective (Trudgill & Chambers, 1998, p. 7), and so an African explanation for this aspect of the use is significantly weakened.22

With regard to the origin of mi as Subject, note that English me is the pronominal form that is used in elliptical contexts. This could account for how it came to be used as Subject in Jamaican. Additionally, the 3rd person singular (im) and plural (dem) of Jamaican are etymologically derived from English Object pronouns. These facts point to the English pronoun as the most plausible source.23 ④ African etymology rejected.

291. MINGKI, BLINKKI, WINGKI ‘a small firefly’. ② Koongo minikamalenge ‘firefly’. The Koongo word is a complex lexeme derived from the verb minika ‘to shine; to give light’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 350). ③ The DJE claims that this word is a phonetic variant of blingki (< blink + -y) which refers to the same insect. Here I take mingki to be immediately descended from the Koongo word, and treat the other variants as later developments influenced by English-derived wingk (< wink) and blingk (< blink) via folk-etymology. ④ Koongo (WCA).

292. MINIMINI ‘(a) very small; (b) small, shining specks of water vapour; (c) small flies; (d) the kind of small, bright ‘spots’ that one seems to see when struck on the head or as an effect of smoking ganja’. ② Àkán miniminá ‘small, stinging flies, nesting in doorlocks & other hollow places’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 315). The DJE states that the etymology of this word is probably multiple, and provides the following African forms as possible sources: Àkán miniminá ‘small, stinging flies’, Hausa mínini ‘emphasizes smallness’, which is the plural of míninì. The editors also point to Latin minimus ‘smallest’, and similar forms in languages such as English.

Despite these resemblances, the precise match of the Àkán word with sense (c) of the Jamaican word, plus the identity they share in their reduplicated structure, make Àkán the most convincing etymon, but only with regard to this narrow sense of Jamaican minimini. ④ Àkán (GOC).

293. MOTOMPY ‘refuse of the eye’. ② Venda matope which is the plural form of dope

22 Please note that Trudgill and Chambers (1998) treat me as a possessive pronoun, but it is more appropriately treated as an adjective since it cannot occur on its own, and is only used adnominally.

23 Greenberg (2000, p. 61–7) notes that *m is the most common first-person pronoun in Eurasiatian languages.
‘mud’ (Doke, 1954, p. 157), Digo matope ‘mud’ (Mwalonya, 2006, p. 96), Nyanja matope ‘mud’ (Price, 1970/1957, p. 71). ③ The DJE proposes a complex etymology for this word via the concatenation of Àkán mm`OtO ‘fresh’ + mp´e ‘matter found sometimes, especially after a nights sleep, in the corner of the eye’. This would suggest a structure in which the property item precedes the verb. However, the overwhelming majority of compounds involving nouns and property items (i.e. intransitive verbs) in Àkán, have the property item in second position (cf. Marfo, 2005). Deriving the Jamaican word from cognate forms in several Bantu languages meaning ‘mud’ is supported by the use of a word meaning ‘mud/shit’ in several French-lexified creoles to refer to the rheum secreted by the eyes, e.g. caca yeux ‘rheum, dirt in the eyes’ (Parkvall, 2000, p. 113). ④ Narrow Bantu: Venda, Digo, Nyanja (SEA).

294. **MOUTAMASI** (a) one who talks too much; (b) a hypocrite’. ③ The DJE rightly derives this word from mouth + have + mercy, the final two words having already been fused into one form in the exclamation amasi ‘exclamation of surprise, consternation, etc’. However, the DCEU ventures Àkán mmasa-mmasa ‘confused’ for consideration. This Àkán etymology is not only speculative, it is also not true to the spirit of the Jamaican word. To derive the second element from a word meaning ‘confused’ is to neglect the agentivity which the Jamaican term moutamasi connotes—a moutamasi is such not because the person is confused, but because (s)he has a deliberate intention to make mischief through gossip. ④ African etymology rejected.

295. **MUDU, MUDUK** (a) a freak; (b) an albino negro’. ② Hausa muduk ’uk ‘a person of unprepossessing appearance, ugly, dirty, unkempt’ (Bargery, 1951/1934, p. 796). ③ The DJE only asks us to consider the Hausa etymology. I have accepted the Hausa proposal on the assumption that the Jamaican form is a clipped version of it. The word is not included in the ARJC’s accepted or rejected list of etymologies. ④ Hausa (BIA).

296. **MUMU, MUUMU** (a) dumb; slow of speech; stupid; (b) a stupid person’. ② Maninka múmu ‘hearing impaired person, deaf-mute’ (DàñEgafe, 1999, p. 277), Malinke muunnee ‘dumb’, Mandinka muunnee ‘a dumb person’, Mende múmu ‘dumb person, be dumb’ (Innes, 1969, p. 89), Gola mumú ‘deaf and dumb’ (Westermann, 1921, p. 151), Guang (Nkonya) múmú ‘stumm sein’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 211), Àkán (Akuapem) múmu ‘deaf and dumbness’, e-múmu ‘a person who is deaf and dumb’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 322), (Fante) múmú ~ múmú ‘dumb, stupid’ (LGF 1990:30), Gâ numú ‘deaf-mute’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 109), Avatime múmú ‘deaf and dumb’, Delo o-múmu ‘deaf and dumb’ (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 44), Gbè (Vhe) múmu ‘mute, deaf and dumb’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 172). ③ Most previous works that have treated the etymology of this word, have recognised that multiple etymologies exist. I have added several additional ones to those found in the existing literature. ④ Atlantic-Congo: Maninka, Malinke, Mandinka (SEN), Mende, Gola (SIE), Àkán, Guang, Gâ, Delo, Gbè, Avatime (GOC).

297. **MÚSA, MÚSE** (a) a dish made basically of turned meal or flour, with or without other ingredients. Cassava appears to be the most widely used, banana and cornmeal also; (b) symbolic of something soft’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology, but claims that it is probably African. In support of the claim for a probable African origin, the editors provide Ngombe mosísímbú ‘banana’, as one such source, and point out that the African forms are ultimately from Arabic mauzah ‘banana’. The editors note that ‘since the manioc was taken from America to Africa, the use of banana as a foodstuff came earlier in Africa’.

The explanation given by the DJE in support of its etymology is unconvincing on two counts. First, the other food names copied from African languages are semantically stable and none
shows the kind of semantic shift which the DJE’s proposed etymology suggests. Second, the argument that bananas were introduced into Africa earlier than cassava, does not explain why músa in Jamaica is more commonly made with cassava and not banana. Neither does the argument hold when we consider that a word for cassava (see bami) and a word for a type of bread made from cassava (see onchich) were copied from African languages into Jamaican.

298. NAHU ‘to sleep’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) ma-hó ‘a deep sleep’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 326).

③ No mention is made of this word by the ARJC even though the DJE’s etymology appears to be quite good on both formal and semantic grounds.

Àkán (GOC).

299. NÁMBU, NANGKU ‘(a) a field-bag, a NAMSACK; (b) a temporary bag, made in the field, of grass or trash’. ② Nupe námbo ‘a bag’ (Banfield, 1916, p. 28). ③ This entry consolidates the DJE’s headword nambu for which it gives senses (a)–(b), and nangku for which it gives sense (b) only. I have united them since they are clearly variants of the same word.

The DJE derives its headword nambu from the concatenation of Àkán e-nám ‘meat’ and ebúw ‘nest, coop, cage’. This etymology is problematic since Àkán ebúw refers to a nest and not a bag. For the second headword, the DJE asks us to compare Àkán anyán-kó ‘the action of going for wood or fuel’. However, there is no evidence to suggest that wood used as fuel was carried in bags. A more straightforward etymon has been found in Nupe námbo which means ‘bag’. Both Jamaican variants can now be accounted for if we assume a phonological development along the following lines: Nupe námbo → Jamaican *nambo → nambu → nangku. There are a few other cases of /-mb-/ ~ /-ng-/ variation on this list to support this development. ④ Nupe (BIA).

300. NÁNA, NĀANA, LALA ‘(a) grandmother or any old woman; (b) a midwife; a nursemaid, nanny’. ③ This entry unites two DJE headwords: nana which appears with what are given as senses (a)–(b) above, and lala with the meaning ‘grandmother’. The editors point out that lala is evidently a phonetic variant of nana. On the matter of etymology, the DJE derives nana from Àkán nānā ‘grandparent, grandfather, grandmother’. The DCEU gives a more detailed treatment of the etymology, asking the reader to compare the Àkán compound nana bea (grandparent + woman), and pointing out that in Àkán ‘the word nana alone can be applied to either gender’. The editor of the DCEU goes further to suggest that in ‘slave society the more significant role of the female grandparent is likely to have focused use of the term on her, gradually excluding the male sense’, but not before pointing out that in some other languages closely related to Àkán, such as Nzema the word was used to refer to the female grandparent alone, e.g. Nzema nana ‘grandmother’.

As pointed out in §4.3.8, it is common cross-linguistically for languages to possess terms for (grand)mother, (grand)father which feature bisyllabic reduplicated forms with nasals and/or (bi-)labial sounds. In fact, the DCEU lists a second nana found in Guyanese and Trinidadian English Creole meaning ‘maternal grandfather’ which is ultimately derived from Hindi naanaa ‘maternal grandfather’. ④ Nursery word.

301. NÁNGKA ‘the Jamaican yellow snake’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) ó-nánká ‘a large horned snake’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 329). ③ The etymon accepted here coincides with the DJE etymology. ④ Àkán (GOC).

302. NAPOOSHO, NAPOOSI, NARPOOSE, NAPÓ ‘(a) to sleep; (b) sleeping place; (c) finish; (d) stupid, dim-witted’. ③ The DJE gives an explanation concerning the complex semantics of this word, but the editors provide no definitions. The senses above have been extracted

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by me from the illustrative quotations. The forms <narpoose> and related <napoosi> are associated with senses (b) and (a), respectively. The form <napoosho> is associated with sense (c), but it is difficult to say how it is related to the first two senses. The final form, napó is associated with sense (d), which might be a different word altogether.

The DJE tentatively suggests that the etymology of the word might be mixed, and provides for consideration, Âkán nnnapá-óó ‘Sleep well!’, mú ‘sleep’, English slang napoo ‘finished, done for’. Given the etymological maze that this entry presents, it makes more sense to just focus on the consistent aspects. Since Jamaican <napoosi> and <narpoose> both make reference to sleeping, I will focus on them and the longer Âkán etymon which the DJE proposes. Admittedly, the closeness in form and semantics between the Jamaican and the Âkán word makes an Âkán etymology tempting. However, there is no motivation for the /s/ which occurs in the Jamaican forms and there is no precedent for (word-medial) /s/ epenthesis in Jamaican.

303. NEHNNEHN ‘grandmother’. ③ The DJE points out that this word is a variant of nana (see entry 300), and asks us to consider Âkán náná ‘grandmother’, and Èfik n’né ‘term of address to an older woman’. The same arguments apply here as for nana, and the reader is referred to §4.3.8 for a more thorough discussion of why African origin has been rejected here. ④ Nursery word.

304. NEENE ‘filth’. ③ The DJE derives this word from Âkán nēnē ‘to discharge the bowels’, an etymology which is accepted by the ARJC. I could also add Mbutu ku-nene, Kishi-Lange ku-niriina ‘to evacuate faeces’ (Chatelain & Summers, 1893, p. 537). Note that the Jamaican word is a noun while all the African candidates are verbs. This fact does not rule out the putative African etymologies, but I will reject them on the basis that this concept belongs to a semantic domain that makes it a likely candidate for nursery word origin. See §4.3.8 for further discussion. ④ Nursery word.

305. NGA ‘mouth’. ② Guang (Gua) anwá ‘the nose; of animals— trunks; spout, hoes or beaks of objects’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 35), (Efutu) ánú ‘mouth’. ③ The DJE provides no etymology for this word. ④ Guang (GOC).

306. NINGGENINGGE, NINGGININGGI ‘(a) very small thing, especially a lot of them together; (b) the high-pitched whine of mosquitoes’. ③ Koongo nìngi-ningi ‘petite mouche qui s’agite dans les endroits humides’, and nìngi-ningi ‘étroit, mince’ (Laman, 1964, p. 703). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Èfik nǹgí-ǹgí ‘a small quantity of something’, and American Spanish nengue ‘a very small child’. The Èfik etymology is unsuitable because it refers to smallness in quantity which is opposed to the semantics of the Jamaican word which refers to things which are small in size but large in quantity. The Spanish candidate is also unsuitable because of its lack of reference to large quantity.

While the DJE gives only sense (a) for this term, the JCAH gives sense (b), with which I am also familiar, and suggests Koongo nìngi-ningi ‘a little fly that inhabits humid places’, which I consider to be a more successful etymology. The DJE’s 1943 illustrative quotation states explicitly that nìnggeningge is used to refer to ‘small, meagre children’ and to ‘very small flies’. These two senses point in turn to the two Koongo words given in the preceding section. ④ Koongo (WCA).

307. NINYAM ‘yam’. ③ Âkán ânyinam ‘a species of yam’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 360). ③ The DJE suggests that ninyam is the result of the reduplication of the verb nyam ‘to eat’.

24 The bibliographic details for the Efutu information have been misplaced.
However, this suggestion must be attributed to a confusion with the term *nyamnyam* ‘food’. I take the use of *ninyam* to refer to food in general to be a later semantic extension influenced by *nyamnyam* which was created via deverbal reduplicated. ④ Ìkán (GOC).

308. **NUKO, NUKU, NUKONUKO** ‘(a) short; (b) small thing’. ② Ìkán (Akuapem) **nnuku-nnúkuwa** ‘small pieces of cloth’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 353). ③ For the etymology of this word, the DJE asks us to consider Ìkán **nnuku** ‘small pieces of cloth’ and Gbè (Vhe) **nükè** ‘smallish’ as possible etyma. The ARJC supplies the same Ìkán candidate given by the DJE but omits the Gbè one. The Gbè etymology which the DJE proposes is good semantically but the vowel change from /e/ → /o/ or /u/ which it suggests is unlikely.

While I agree with the DJE and the ARJC that Ìkán is the source language, I do not agree that the etymon is **nnuku**. None of my Ìkán sources lists **nnuku** as a free lexeme, and Christaller only records it in the complex word **nnuku-nnúkuwa**. According to Christaller (1933, p. 353), **nnuku-nnúkuwa** is the diminutive plural of the word **dúkúú** ‘handkerchief’. My decision to derive the Jamaican word from the more complex Ìkán form is supported by the reduplicated form **nukonuko** in Jamaican, which I take to be the oldest form of the word representing a slightly clipped version of the Ìkán etymon. The reduplicated form was later reanalysed as containing a base **nuko**. ④ Ìkán (GOC).

309. **NUKU** ‘a ghost’. ② Gbè (Vhe) **nökú** ‘Mother Death’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 324). ③ The Gbè etymon accepted here is the one proposed by the DJE, and also accepted by the ARJC. ④ Gbè (GOC).

310. **NUNU** as in **NUNU-BUSH** ‘a bush used in obeah practice, a kind of basil’. ② Ìkán (Akuapem) **o-nunúm** ‘an aromatic plant used like **ênú**’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 354). Christaller (1933, p. 311) explains that **ênú** is a ‘mint, Menta, an aromatic herb used as a medicine’. ③ The Ìkán etymology is also accepted by the DJE, EJB, and the DCEU, but the word is not listed at all by the ARJC. ④ Ìkán (GOC).

311. **NYAAMS1, NYAMS, NYAM, NYAMPS, NYANS, NYAAS, NYAAM, NAAM** ‘(a) yam of any kind; (b) food’. ② Jula **nyami** ‘igname sauvage (comestible)’ (Bracconnier, 1989, p. 629), Mende **nyamisi** ‘yam (general name)’ (Innes, 1969, p. 118). ③ The editors of the DJE list numerous spelling variants for this word which were taken from the entries in the 1943 Gleaner competition (§3.3.2), but they omit the meanings. Only three of their illustrative quotations contain definitions or contextual material and all three cases seem to refer to yam rather than food in general. The 1877 quote mentions ‘new nyams’ which I take to refer to the new crop. One of the entries in the Gleaner competition defines the word as ‘yam of any kind’, and an informant recorded in 1956, speaks about ‘nyaams’ being ripe. Despite these bits of evidence, the DJE merely points to Mende **nyamisi** ‘yam (general name)’, and goes on to claim that:

No single form can, however, be taken as the etymon; not only did many forms come to Jamaican from various African languages, but there is much overlapping among the languages themselves as between words for eating, for meat (animal flesh), for food in general, and for specific foods. (Jamaican) folk use of the word *food*, incidentally, reflects the basic position that yam held in the diet of West Africans and continues to hold among Jamaicans today (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 325).

I reject the DJE’s argument that African words for ‘eating’ or ‘meat (animal flesh)’ and for ‘food’ played a role in the development of this word. See my treatment of the word **nyam** below for more discussion on this point. The Jula and Mende etymologies accepted here set
themselves apart from other proposals by their direct reference to yams. In addition, the Mende candidate provides an excellent source for those Jamaican variants with an /s/. None of the African words which refer to eating, flesh, or food can account for the /s/. ④ Mande: Mende (WIN), Jula (WIN).

312. NYAAMS₂, NYAMPS, and nyaamps as in SALID-NYAAMPS '(a) foolishness, nonsense; something of no value (often exclamatory); (b) somebody who talks nonsense; an oaf; a weakling; (c) to make a frightening face'. ③ This entry consolidates two DJE headwords: NYAAMS with senses (a)–(c), and SOLID-NYAAMPS with sense (b) only. I have placed the latter under this entry since NYAAMPS in this compound apparently carries the same basic meaning as the free form.

The first element of the complex word salid-nyaamps is from English solid. The DJE points out, rightly I believe, that the similarity of form with nyaams 'yam' (entry 311) is not coincidental given the existence of the compounds nyaamz-hed (nyaamz + head) and kuoko-hed (kuoko + head), where the English-derived word hed is concatenated with the name of a tuber to designate ‘a stupid person’. Despite the overwhelming evidence for a yam-related etymology, the editors of the DJE still ask us to consider Àkán ny´ámoo ‘lean, meagre, feeble, poor’, any´ámé ‘disgrace, disparagement’, and Gbè (Vhe) nyama ‘disorderly’, which are less plausible on semantic grounds. ④ Etymology same as entry 311.

313. NYAKANYAKA₁ ‘(a) disorderly, untidy, dirty; (b) muddy, sloppy’ ② Mandinka ŋäkäŋäka ‘to scatter untidily, to put food disorderly’ (MED, 1995, p. 72). ③ This entry should be considered with entry 314 since the DJE treated them as variants of the same word (under the headwords NYAKA-NYAKA and NYEKENYEKE). I have separated them on the basis that a separate etymon can be identified for each. The semantic pivot of nyakanyaka₁ is untidiness and sloppiness, which makes the Mandinka etymon a perfect match. On the other hand, nyakanyaka₂ appears to be primarily a verb whose semantic focus is cutting. This makes the Àkán etymon a neat match for the second word.

This etymological treatment does not deny that there might be some perceptual overlap between the two terms since disorderliness may be viewed as the result of cutting. This is also compounded by the phonetic similarity of both etyma. However, I believe that the phonetic similarity is coincidental. There are other cases such as kuaashi where the phonetic similarity of separate words copied into Jamaican led speakers and researchers to assume that they were dealing with one word which underwent semantic change. ④ Mandinka (SEN)

314. NYAKANYAKA₂, NYÉKENYÉKE, NYAKA ‘(a) reduced to small mixed pieces; (b) to hack or mangle (something) with a dull tool (c) of an animal: to gnaw or rend; (d) descriptive of something torn by a dog, a crow, etc.’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) ny´ákä-ny´ákä ‘to cut into pieces’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 356). ③ See entry 313 for word disambiguation and discussion. ④ Àkán (GOC).

315. NYAM, YAM ‘(a) to eat, especially roughly or voraciously; (b) food, a meal; (c) to taste’. ② Wolof ñam ‘gûter’, ñam ‘àliment, nourriture’ (Diouf, 2003, p. 266). Fula nyaama ‘eat’ (de Wolf, 1995, p. 7). Serer-Sine nyam ‘eat’ (Greenberg, 1949, p. 195). ③ The first two senses listed above are taken from the DJE, while sense (c), the intransitive verb usage (31), was added by me based on my native-speaker knowledge:

(31) Di det green plantain no nyam gud.
    DET green plantain NEG eat   good
    ‘The green plantain doesn’t taste good.’
Previous works on Jamaican which treat the etymology of nyam provide multiple proposals of African words which mean ‘to eat’, e.g. Wolof ñam, or ‘meat, flesh’, e.g. Koongo nyama, or words having some relationship to eating, e.g. Hausa pam Pam ‘cannibal’. I contend that many of these are inappropriate because they fail to match the Jamaican word either phonetically, or semantically, or in terms of lexical category. In fact, Mittelsdorf (1978, p. 45), completely ignoring the Wolof etymon in the DJE’s list, provides a list of Bantu words which are all nouns meaning ‘meat’. Those who argue that the source is pan-African, have failed to produce evidence that nyam has ever been used to mean ‘meat, flesh’ in the Caribbean. Given the large number of Niger-Congo languages that contain words phonetically similar to Jamaican nyam, and which refer to ‘meat, flesh’, it is surprising that the ‘flesh’ sense did not make it into any of the Caribbean creoles. This absence strongly suggests that the forms meaning ‘flesh, meat’ are not relevant.

Admittedly, a semantic relationship between meat and food is not very strange, and is attested in the history of English. However, a look at the OED2 entry for meat shows that the ‘food’ sense was recorded long before the ‘flesh’ sense. We would need to assume the opposite development for Jamaican nyam. Based on these arguments, the candidates which refer specifically to eating or tasting are selected here as the most plausible etyma for this word. Senegambian: Wolof, Fula, Serer-Sine (SEN).

316. NYAMINYAMI ‘(a) a greedy person; (b) greedy; (c) eaten away, chewed; (d) to eat in random spots’. The DJE asks the reader to compare NYAM (entry 315), ninyam (entry 307), and Gbè (Vhe) nyami-nyami ‘smacking the lips’. We can ignore ninyam since it has nothing to do with greediness. The nyam proposal will be discussed later. The Gbè word provides a perfect formal match for the Jamaican word, but its meaning is not as good. While it is not inconceivable that smacking the lips (in expectation of food) might be an outward expression of greediness (for food), the association is not necessarily true.

Whatever hope existed for the Gbè etymology dwindles in light of the fact that Jamaican nyaminyami could have arisen independently with all its current meanings via reduplication of the verb nyam ‘to eat (voraciously)’. The word nyaminyami resembles the output of the process which Kouwenberg et al. (2003, p. 107) refer to as X-like reduplication. This process creates adjectival words from adjectival, nominal and verbal bases. Kouwenberg et al. (2003) do not mention the creation of nouns via this process. Nominal outputs are not completely absent, as exemplified by mouti-mouti ‘a chatterbox’ (< mouth), but appear to be rare. Additionally, we have at least one other instance in which an African-derived verb (i.e. juk) formed the input for X-like reduplication: juk ‘to pierce’ > jukijuki ‘prickly’. Therefore, a Jamaican origin seems to be the most plausible option for nyaminyami. African etymology rejected.

317. NYAMNYAM, NINYAM ‘any foodstuff; food prepared for eating; a meal; the action of eating’. The DJE treated this word under the headword ninyam (see entry 307). Explanations have already been provided in entry 307 for why I treat nyamnyam as a separate word. We will recall that we found plausible etymologies for Jamaican nyam (entry 315) in several Atlantic languages (Wolof, Fula, Serer). Mc Laughlin (2006) describes a productive reduplicative process in (Northern) Atlantic languages which creates nouns from verbs. Taking this into consideration, it seems plausible that Jamaican nyamnyam was created in Africa and taken to Jamaica by speakers of Atlantic languages.

However, we cannot rule out the possibility of nyamnyam being a Jamaican innovation. Jamaican makes use of verb reduplication to form nouns (although Kouwenberg et al. (2003, p. 108) say that the process is unproductive), and nyamnyam could have arisen in this way. In this case, both the African and local etymologies seem equally plausible, and no unbiased choice can be made for one over the other. Jamaican and African sources equally
plausible.

318. **NYANGGA, YÁNGGA, WANGGA, WENGGA** ‘(a) pride; (b) a person proud of himself; a dude (c) to show oneself off, walking proudly or provocatively’. ② Mende nyanga ‘(especially) of women’ ostentation, style, giving oneself airs’ (Innes, 1969, p. 118). ③ This entry represents the consolidation of four DJE headwords: NYANGGA, YANGGA, the second recorded as a verb only (sense (c) above), and WANGGA and WENGGA (s.v. DJE WENGGA). A careful reading of the DJE’s 1943 and 1955 quotations under the verb YANGGA reveals that they really belong under the headword NYANGGA. The word YÁNGGA is treated as a separate entry (429) below, and so the current entry is concerned only with the etymology provided by the DJE for its headword NYANGGA.

The DJE asks us to consider Mende nyanga ‘ostentation, style, giving oneself airs’, plus Cameroonian Pidgin English (no form is provided by the editors), and Ngombe nyangájála ‘pride’. The DCEU also asks us to consider the Mende etymology, but asks us to note a possible Bantu connection in Nyanja nyang’aanyanga ‘walking softly on tiptoe’.

The Nyanja candidate refers to a manner of walking but it appears to be a more appropriate reference for someone who does not want to be noticed. In this sense it contrasts with the Jamaican word whose senses all connote display and a desire to be noticed. The Ngombe word refers to height (French hauteur in the original), although the editors of the DJE translate the French word as ‘pride’. The association of pride with height/highness is not strange, in fact, the English word haughty ‘proud’ is ultimately from French haut ‘high, lofty, tall’. However, we would need to propose both a semantic shift and clipping to make the Ngombe form acceptable. The Mende candidate is accepted as the sole etymon because it matches the Jamaican word perfectly in both form and semantics. ④ Mende (SIE).

319. ***NYÁTA** as in **NYÁTA-NUOZ** ‘(a) a very flat, broad nose; (b) a person having a flat broad nose’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology, but claims that the word is presumably African. The editors’ hunch that this word is an Africanism is justified, given that all Jamaican words beginning with the palatal nasal [ɲ] followed by the low vowel [a] are African-derived. The only exception is Jamaican nyapa (see DJE NYAPA) < Spanish ñapa ‘gift of little value which the seller gives to the buyer’. Nevertheless, no etymon has been found for *nyata as yet. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

320. **OBIA, UOBIA, WOBIA, HOBYA, OBYA, OBI** ‘(a) the practice of malignant magic as widely known in Jamaica. Its origins are African; in practice it has never been clearly distinguished from MYAL: though the latter was supposedly curative of the ills caused by the former, both have shared the same methods to a great extent; (b) the “magic” so designed and supposedly achieved or “worked” upon or in behalf of someone; (c) the amulet containing the “magic things” used by the obeah-man—a horn, box, pouch, or the like, full of rubbish; the contents of such an amulet. The form OBI may have been preferred for this.; (d) the obeah materials, supposed to have magical powers, actually set out for the purpose of harming someone. In some cases the magical powers are supplemented with actual poisons derived from herbs; (e) to work witchcraft against (someone)’. ② Igbo ndi oba (Handler, 2000, p. 84), ⑥ Ibibio abia ‘specialist, practitioner’ (Urua et al., 2004, p. 9). ③ The final variant (obi) of the Jamaican word appears to be a clipped version which acts somewhat like a combining element in words such as obi-haa (obi+horn), obi-ring (obi+ring), obi-wnid

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25 Note that Ijo (Okrika) has the word yàngá ‘appearing well clad and pretentiously showy; attitude of bluff; pride; showy attitude’, however, (Sika, 1995, p. 117, 121), marks it as being copied from Nigerian Pidgin English.

26 The modern Igbo term is dibìa ‘native doctor; a member of the professional corporate group of traditional medicine men and diviners’ (Williamson, 1972, p. 60).
Note the DJE’s statement that this form might have been preferred for sense (c) of obia.

The etymology of this word has been the source of much speculation and contention. With a note that the derivation of the word is probably multiple, the DJE asks us to consider Èfik ìbíò ‘a thing or mixture of things, put in the ground, as a charm, to cause sickness or death’, plus Àkán ò-bayífù ‘witch, wizard, sorcerer’. The DJE’s Àkán etymology can be omitted on the basis that it matches the Jamaican word neither in form nor in meaning. In addition, it is common for poly-syllabic words of Àkán origin to be copied into Jamaican without the noun-class prefix (§7.2.1).

The DCEU points out that ‘no precise origin has been determined, but some items especially in West African languages, suggest a connection’. The editor provides several forms for consideration: Ijọ (Nembe) obì ‘sickness, disease’, Êgbò obì a ‘this (particular) mind, will’, Êbìbìo abìa ‘practitioner, herbalist’, plus the Èfik and Àkán etymologies discussed above. While the Ijọ candidate is a good formal match for the Jamaican form obì, it means ‘sickness, disease’ and not witchcraft. Although one could make a connection since sickness is often viewed as the result of witchcraft, such a source is still speculative. The Êgbò etymology is too tenuous as it is derived from two morphemes and appears to refer to some general state of mind, as opposed to something which could unequivocally be linked to witchcraft. The Êbìbìo etymology is formally and semantically close to the Jamaican form, but it refers to the practitioner as opposed to the practice. This is not so strange as we have a case where a Koongo word meaning ‘prophet’ came to designate both a ritual specialist and the practice in Jamaican. With this in mind, I have also accepted the related Êgbò word. ④ Benue-Kwa: Êgbò, Êbìbìo (BIA).

321. ODUM ‘silk cotton tree’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) o-ìdùm ‘the Odum tree, a large tree; the wood is used for timber, furniture, fuel’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 99), Guang (Gua) odùm ‘a large forest tree used for timber or furniture’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 98), Gà odùm ‘a tree, Chlorophora excelsa, its timber’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 127), Gbè (Vhe) oqùm ‘the odum tree, African oak’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 43). ③ The DJE does not give a definition for this word, but its 1934 illustrative quotation identifies it as the silk cotton tree. The editors only ask us to consider the Àkán etymology. I concur with the ARJC in accepting the Àkán etymology without reservations, but I have also accepted several other Kwa sources which are equally plausible. ④ Kwa: Àkán, Guang, Gà, Gbè (GOC).

322. OKRO, OKRA ‘(a) the plant Hibiscus esculentus, grown chiefly for its edible pods, but also having medicinal and other uses; (b) in the names of other plants which, like okro have a very mucilaginous nature’. ① Êgbò (Ogbà) ãkwìrì ‘okra’ (Blench, 2005, p. 64). ③ The DJE claims that this word is African in origin, but states that the exact form (of the etymon) is not known. The editors ask us to consider Àkán ñ-krùmà and Êgbò okùro. The Àkán etymology was still held to be plausible by Cassidy (1983, p. 81, fn. 9) although it had been explicitly rejected by the ARJC, which provides no alternative source.

So far, Êgbò has provided the best match with the Jamaican word. Note that the Òníchà dialect of Êgbò has ãkwìlì (Williamson, 1972, p. 282). However, the fact that this word has an intervocalic rhotic and not a lateral in all the AECs in which it occurs, suggests that it is descended from a form with the rhotic. To account for the /kw/ sequence in modern Êgbò forms above, see Manfredi (1991, p. 52) who points out that the major source of CwV sequences in modern-day Êgbò is *KU, which means that the Jamaican word preserves the older Êgbò form much better than many modern Êgbò dialects. The Jamaican form may be from one of the more conservative dialects such as Àbò where the velars remain non-labialised before round vowels. It is worth pointing out too that the word okra does occur in English, but the earliest quotations given in OED2 are all from works on Jamaica. ④ Êgbò
323. **PAKI** ‘(a) the calabash tree (*Crescentia cujete*) and its spherical or oval gourd-like fruit; (b) the calabash fruit usually dried, scooped out and used as a container or vessel for carrying liquids, food, etc.; it may be the entire shell, or only a part of it, often a cup or dish; (c) the head or skull’. ② **Àkán** (Akuapem) *apákyi*, (Akyen) *apakye* ‘a broad calabash with a cover; also the gourd from which the calabash is made’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 371), **Guang** (Gua) *akpakyi* ‘a large calabash or gourd container with a cover’ (Asihene, c. 1999, p. 26), **Gã** *akpaki* ‘a large callabash [sic.] for measuring things’ (Zimmermann, 1858a, p. 12). ③ The DJE and the ARJC derive this word from the Àkán etymon given in the list above. The stem-initial labial-velar plosive /kp/ of the Guang and Gã candidates does not rule them out as possible etyma since this segment regularly changes to the voiceless velar plosive /k/ in the copying process from Niger-Congo to Jamaican. ④ **Nyo**: Àkán, Guang, Gã (GOC).

324. **PALAPALA, PALA** ‘(a) badly washed or polished; (b) to half-wash’. ② **Yorùbá** *pála-pála* ‘uneven’ (Abraham, 1958, p. 541). ③ The DJE claims that this word is a reduplicated form of **PALA**, which is of unknown etymology. The Yorùbá etymology proposed and accepted here suggests that the reduplicated form is diachronically earlier, and that the simplex form is a later development via back-formation. ④ **Yorùbá** (BIA).

325. **PAMPAM, PLAMPLAM** ‘(a) flogging; (b) a beating’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider **Àkán** *pám pám* ‘to persecute’, *pám* ‘chase away, rout, dismiss, expell’. The DJE does point out that the word is ultimately echoic. This makes it impossible to assign it a secure African etymology. Admittedly, the idea of flogging is not unconnected with that of persecution. However, when another explanation is equally plausible (in this case sound symbolism), it would be best to have an exact match in the form and meaning of the proposed etymon. ④ Imitative sound symbolism

326. **PASAPASA** ‘a quarrel, row, confusion resulting from rumours’. ② **Àkán** *apásá* ‘fraud, deception, falsehood, lie’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 378), **Gã** *apasa* ‘falsehood, lie’ < *pasa* ‘to commit falsehood, be false, lie, gossip’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, 19, Dakubu, 1999, 133), **Gbè** (Vhe) *apása* ‘Falscheit’, and *apásanyà* ‘falsche, unaufrichtige Rede’ (Westermann, 1954, p. 574). ③ This word has not been recorded or dealt with in any of the existing academic works. It appears to have been restricted to conservative varieties for some time, until recently when it returned to mainstream usage through popularisation in dancehall songs. The Jamaican word is apparently a reduplicated form of the etymon taken from one or more Kwa languages. It is common for nouns and verbs referring to speech to be reduplicated to form words referring to gossip, rumours, and the resulting quarrels, e.g. *chat-chat* (< *chat*) ‘talkative’, *mouti-mouti* (< *mouth*) ‘a gossip’, etc. ④ **Kwa**: Àkán, Gã, Gbè (GOC).

327. **PÁTA** ① ‘a wooden paddle for beating clothes’. ② **Mende** *pata* ‘a flat stick with which clothes are beaten during washing’ (Innes, 1969, p. 122). ③ The DJE suggests that this word is from English *paddle* or North-country *pattle*. However, the English etymologies are not plausible since word-final English [dl] and [tl] sequences categorically become [gl] and [kl], respectively, in Jamaican. Further evidence is provided on the African side where Mende *pata* has corresponding forms in several languages such as Nzema *kpataa* ‘flat’, *kpata* ‘strike someone on the head’ (Aboagye, 1992 [1965], p. 102), Igbo *pàtìpàtà* ‘flat, flattened’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 708), Nupe *pàtì* ‘flat’ (Banfield, 1914, p. 372), and Koongo *mbata* ‘a blow with the open hand’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 341). ④ Mende (SIE).

328. **PÁTA** ② ‘a rough bed’. ② **Àkán** *mpáta* ‘litter, carrying frame’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 379), **Guang** (Gua) *akpaka* ‘a king’s hammock or palanquin’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 26). ③ The
editors of the DJE treat this word as sense 8 of their headword PATA, and hence as a semantic extension of that word. However, Ákán and Guang provide straightforward sources for the word since both forms denote types of sleeping or reclining apparatuses. ④ Tano: Ákán, Guang (GOC).

329. PÁTA₃, PÁDA ‘(a) a framework hung in the kitchen or set up outside as a barbecue, on which food-crops, meat, and fish can be smoked or dried; (b) a rough wooden kitchen table of boards or the like, for washing up, etc., sometimes outdoors; (c) a wooden frame to shade or protect young plants; (d) an outside kitchen or wash-place; (e) a rough hut used for shelter at a cultivation; (f) a fowl-coop, a stand or other framework to hold a fowl nest’. ② Ákán (Akuapem) pátá ‘a scaffold made of sticks on which plantains and other fruits are preserved; shed, hut’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 379), Gà kpata ‘open shed, kitchen, open hall, roof’ (Zimmermann, 1858a, p. 165), Anufo kpátá ‘shed (without wall)’ (Krass, 1970, p. 4), Ígbo akpata ‘shelf for storing’ (Williamson, 1972, p. 20), Oshiwambo, Nkhumbi r-pata ‘house’ (Johnston, 1919, p. 354). ④ Benue-Kwa: Ákán, Anufo, Gà (GOC), Ígbo (BIA), Oshiwambo, Nkhumbi (WCA).

330. PÁTA₄ ‘temporary bag made of grass or trash’. ② Gbè (Vhe) apáká ‘travelling-basket, litter, basket for carrying loads’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 204). ② Gbè (Vhe) akpete ‘bag’ (Akrofi et al., 1996/1968b, p. 19). ③ This word is treated as sense 9 under the DJE’s headword PATA. I have separated it since I believe it is a different word. Several African words exist which appear to be related to the Jamaican word, e.g. Gbè (Vhe) akpete ‘bag’ (Akrofi et al., 1996/1968b, p. 19), apáká ‘travelling-basket, litter, basket for carrying loads’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 204), Èfik akpasa (Goldie, 1964, p. 9); Ígbo åkpá (Williamson, 1972, p. 19), Ijọ (Okrika) åkpá ‘bag, pocket’ (Siika, 1995, p. 4), Kenyang akpásà ‘basket: a type’ (Mbuagbaw, 1998, p. 11). Although they match the Jamaican word well in terms of meaning, all candidates suffer from one or more formal problems which rule them out as suitable sources for the Jamaican word.

The Èfik and Kenyang candidates with their intervocalic /s/ are unsuitable since we would have to propose a sound change /s/ → /t/. I am not aware of any attestation of such a sound change cross-linguistically. Along the same lines, the first Gbè proposal akpete ‘bag’ is rendered unsuitable because of the absence of attested changes of /e/ → /a/ in stressed syllables. There are numerous examples in this list of change in the opposite direction. The Ijọ and Ígbo candidates are too short and would require the unmotivated addition of a CV syllable. This leaves us with the second Gbè form apáká which features the voiceless velar plosive /k/ instead of the alveolar plosive /t/ of the Jamaican word. The change from /k/ → /t/ is cross-linguistically rarer than /t/ → /k/, but is attested. An alternative explanation is that Jamaican has preserved an older form of the Gbè word. Hence, Gbè apáká is taken as the most likely etymon. ④ Gbè (GOC).

331. PATU, PATUK ‘(a) properly applied to the bird Nyctibiis griseus related to nightjars, but very widely applied also to owls; (b) an ugly person’. ② Nzema kpadule ‘owl’ (Aboagye, 1992 [1965], p. 203), Ákán (Akuapem) patú ‘owl’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 380), (Asante) patuo (Berry, 1960, p. 89), Gà patu ~ kpatú ‘owl’ (Zimmermann, 1858a, 255, Dakubu, 1999, 133), Guang (Gua) kpátú ‘an owl’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 75). ③ The DJE, ARJC, and the DCEU only mention the Ákán etymon, however, equally plausible forms have been discovered in Nzema, Gà, and Guang. Note too that the DJE gives /patuk/ as one of the pronunciations of this word. I believe that the variant with the intrusive /k/ was influenced by a phonetically similar word, patuk (entry 332), which is the name of another bird. In the entry for patuk an explanation is given for the split of the DJE’s headword PATU into two entries here. ④ Nyo: Nzema, Ákán, Guang, Gà (GOC).
332. **PATUK** ‘(a) a bird; (b) a foolish person’. ② Guang akpatukple ‘a bird, a bush-pigeon which is not very cunning and therefore vulnerable to hunters’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 26). ③ This word is treated by the DJE as a phonetic variant of *patu* (entry 331). The senses given here are not those given by the editors of the DJE. They have been gleaned from one of the illustrative quotations in the DJE which I believe provide evidence for the Guang etymon and my treatment of it as a separate word.

The illustrative quotation which comes from an informant in the parish of St. Andrew (see sense 2 of the DJE headword *patu*) mentions that ‘/patuk/ is a bird but they call people so /wen im fuufuul/’ which means ‘Patuk is a bird but they also use it to refer to foolish people’. It would appear that *patuk* in the past referred to a totally different bird from the owl (i.e. *patu*). However, due to the phonetic closeness of the names the two became conflated. Note, that while the name of the owl is commonly used as an epithet for ugliness, I have not come across any references to it being used in reference to stupidity. ④ Guang (GOC).

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333. **PEHN** ‘to experience some form of distress’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) pí ‘[to] vomit’ (J. M. Stewart, 1976, p. 148). ③ None of my existing sources on Jamaican lists this word. It was added to the list by me from my own native-speaker lexicon. As far as I am aware, the word is now only used in a few set expressions such as the one in (32a).

1SG lick 2SG 2SG suffer
‘If I hit you you will really suffer.’

b. A lik yu yu pyuk.
1SG lick 2SG 2SG puke
‘If I hit you you will really suffer (to the point of vomiting).’

The alternative isomorphic expression in (32b) provides further evidence for the Àkán etymology. ④ Àkán (GOC).

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334. **PEMPEM** ‘plenty, plentiful’. ② Àkán (Fante) mpempem ‘thousands’ < apém ‘a thousand’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 385). ③ The DJE only asks us to consider the Àkán etymon that I have accepted here. The Àkán etymology was also explicitly accepted by the ARJC. ④ Àkán (GOC).

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335. **PEREPERE, FEREFERE, FREFRA** ‘(a) small things; scraps, things of little value; (b) ragged, dishevelled; (c) remnants, left-overs; (d) small’. ② Yorùbá pèrèpèrè ‘in pieces or bits or rags (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 195), Ìgbo pèrìpì ‘flimsy (of e.g. a cloth material)’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 709), Tiv pere pere ‘light in weight’ (Abraham, 1968 [1940], p. 217). ③ This entry consolidates three DJE headwords: FERE(-FERE) for which the DJE gives what are copied above as senses (a)–(c), FRE-FRA with sense (a) and PERE-PERE with senses (a), (c), and (d). Under its headword FERE(-FERE), the DJE also includes a simplex form FERE which only occurs in a proverb, and which I take to be a separate word (see entry 145).

The multiple etymologies accepted here from Benue-Kwa languages spoken in present-day Nigeria and Cameroon fit closely the semantics of the Jamaican forms. I take *perepere* to be the older form, and those with the fricative to be later developments based on a sound change which has been attested in other languages. The assumed order of development is *perepere* → *fererefere* → FREFRA. ④ Benue-Kwa: Yorùbá (BEN), Ìgbo, Tiv (BIA).

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336. **PIABA, PÍABA, PIYAABA, PYABA** ‘a mint-like wild herb (*Hyptis pectinata*) much favoured in folk medicine’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) peaba (Hall-Alleyne, 1996, p. 27). ③ The
DJE treatment of this word clearly suggests that the editors believe it to be a compound of Àkán (Asante) **piaa** ‘wild herb, *Hyptis brevipes*’ + the suffix -**ba** ‘young, small (of plants, etc.).’ The EJB gives Àkán (Akuapem) **opea ~ peaba** (Asante) **piaa** which provides a more plausible source for Jamaican **piaba**. Since the EJB provides no separate meaning for the Àkán words, I assume that they mean the same as Jamaican **piaba**. ④ Àkán (GOC).

337. **PIMA** ‘vulva’. ③ Only Parkvall (1999, p. 118) lists this word as being Jamaican, but the Jamaican ascription appears to be an error. This error apparently arose from a misreading of Hancock (1969, p. 71, fn. 467). In the main text of Hancock (1969, p. 61), **pima**, is only listed for Krio, Sranan, and Cameroonian Pidgin English, but not for Jamaican. ⑥ Not a Jamaican word.

338. **PÍNDA, PINDAL, PINDAR** ‘groundnut or peanut’. ② Koongo **mpinda** ‘ground-nut (arachis hypogoea)’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 355). ③ The DJE, ARJC, EJB, and the JCAH also derive this word from Koongo. I take **pindar** to be a hyper-correct version of the Koongo word under the influence of English, since word-final [Ç] in English regularly produces Jamaican /a/. The other consonant-final form provides more evidence of the /r/ ~ /l/ variation which has been attested in a few Jamaican words. ④ Koongo (WCA).

339. **PÔKOMÍIA, POKOMIINA, POKOMÍNHA, POKO** ‘a cult mixing revivalism with ancestral-spirit-possession’. ⑦ The DJE states that the origin of this word is obscure, but goes on to state that:

> ... the present established form is due to false hispanizing of a probably African form which may be *po* (unidentified) + *kumona*, of which dances wildly performed under possession by “ancestral spirits”, and induced catalepsy, are the prominent features; another possibility in [Àkán] **po**, to shake or tremble + **k`om**, to dance wildly in a state of frenzy + **myal**. Some combination of these is even possible; the forms of attempted spellings imply considerable variation (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 356).

This is certainly a prime semantic domain for an Africanism, however, the etymologies proposed so far are either poor formal sources for the Jamaican term, or are speculative in terms of the proposed semantic development. One interesting point is that despite the widespread distribution of **pokomiina** throughout the island, it was not mentioned in print until 1929. This may suggest that we are looking at an old religion under a name coined in the twentieth century. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

340. **POKOPOKO** ‘untidy, soft and squishy’. ② Ìgbo **p`o`ko`p`o`ko** ‘soft and wet or juicy’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 712). ③ The DJE treats this word as a phonetic variant of **potopoto** (s.v. DJE **pyaka-pyaka**). This suggestion is plausible since there are recorded cases in Jamaican of /t/ → /k/ change and variation, e.g. **putu(s)** ~ **pukus** ‘darling’. However, a look at the DJE’s illustrative quotations reveals that **pokopoko** is not a mere phonetic variant of **potopoto** since it has only been attested with adjectival meanings/uses whereas, **potopoto** has both nominal and adjectival uses. The Ìgbo etymon accepted here agrees with the Jamaican word in phonetic, semantic, and morphosyntactic range. ④ Ìgbo (BIA).

341. **PORO, PURU** ‘trouble’. ② Àkán (Fante, Akuapem) **purów** ‘to snap one’s finger at one, to challenge by a stroke with the finger; to disgust one, provoke one’s dislike, excite aversion in someone’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 412). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology and asks us to consider the Àkán etymon accepted here. The suitability of the Àkán etymon is made clearer by considering the full range of senses of the Àkán
word, and that challenging or provoking someone is essentially asking for trouble. ④ Àkán (GOC).

342. **Pongorong** ‘the sound made by something heavy falling and rolling or thumping to a stop’. ③ The DJE points out that this word is echoic but still asks us to consider Àkán pòntònn-pòntònn ‘imitative of the sound of drumming or of felling trees’. In addition to the fact that the Jamaican word appears to be motivated by sound symbolism, the DJE’s Àkán etymology matches it neither in form nor in meaning. ④ Imitative sound symbolism

343. **Potopoto, Potapota** ‘(a) mud; (b) muddy; (c) construction of a house with wet clay applied to wattle; (d) of foods: cooked too moist or soft; (e) of people: reduced to nothing’. ② Wolof pòtopoto ‘clayish, muddy; mud’ (Dem, 1995, p. 35), pòtopo-pòtopo ‘muddy location’ (Ka, 1994, p. 121), Mende potapato ‘very wet mud in a swamp’ (Innes, 1969, p. 127), Àkán pòtopota ‘thick, inspissated; slimy, muddy, miry; slimy sediment of anything’, mpòto-mpòto ‘soft mass, squash, pulp’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 404, 405), Gà kpòtokpòto ‘thick, muddy, doughy, over-ripe, rotten’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, p. 173), Guang (Guan) pòtopoto ‘mud, mire’ (DYL, 2003, p. 198), Nupe kpòwwòkkpòwwòvòvò ‘muddy’ (Bauflie, 1916, p. 160), Ìgbo kpòtokpòto ‘filthy; muddy’ (Kaliai, 1964, p. 184), Ìgbo potopoto ‘pottage (made with yam, cocoyam, plantain), pòtòpòto ‘very wet mud in a swamp’ (Innes, 1969, p. 369), Koongo pòto-pòto ‘mon, peu compact, moelleux’ (Laman, 1964, p. 853). ④ Atlantic-Congo: Wolof (SEN), Mende (SIE), Àkán, Gà, Guang (GOC), Yorùbá, Nupe, Ìjọ (BEN), Ìgbo, Yala, Ngombe (BIA), Koongo (WCA).

344. **Prapra** ‘(a) to pick up; to sweep things up into one’s possession; (b) to lift one’s opponent in wrestling; (c) taking possession of goods’. ② Àkán prà-prà ‘to gather’ < prà ‘to sweep; to drive or carry along or off’ (Christaller, 1933, pp. 406, 408). ③ Both the DJE and the ARJC accept the Àkán etymology. ④ Àkán (GOC).

345. **Prepre, Prekprek, Preprek** ‘(a) loss of self-control; hysteria (b) uncontrolled; (c) forward, precocious (d) to have diarrhoea; to void the bowels excessively’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) pèrepere ‘impatient, rash, hasty, precipitate’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 390), pèrèpèrè ‘forward, pert, rash, hasty’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 389). ③ The DJE only suggests the second Àkán etymology given here. The Jamaican variant prepre is the oldest which can be derived from the Àkán word through the very common process of unstressed vowel syncope. The other forms are later developments that show insertion of /k/ probably on the analysis of a few other Africanisms, e.g. **muduk**, and **patuk** which contain a word-final /k/. This word is not treated by the ARJC. ④ Àkán (GOC).

346. **Puka**, and as in **Puka-Yam** ‘a round, hard, white yam’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) apùka ‘a species of yam’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 410), Guang (Guan) akpuka ‘soft, white yam, water-yam’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 28), (Krache) puka ‘bump, protuberance’ (Snider, 1989, p. 25). ③ Only the Àkán etymology is mentioned by the DJE, ARJC, and the EJB. I have added forms from the Guà and Krache dialects of Guang which are equally acceptable. The Àkán and Guà forms have been accepted on the basis that bisyllabic Nyo-derived words may retain or delete vocalic noun-class prefixes (§7.2.1). In addition, the labial-velar /kp/ when it occurs in word-initial position is generally changed to /p/ in the copying process from Niger-Congo to Jamaican. ④ Tano: Àkán, Guang (GOC).

347. **Puki** ‘a fish found in shallow water, *Holocentrus ascensionis*’. ② Guang (Guan) akpuka
‘a red, large fish (sea-food)’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 28). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain etymology but conjectures that it is perhaps from English pooka ‘hobgoblin (since the colour of the fish is blackish); -i is probably a familiarizing element; the word has the effect of a personal name or nickname such as is frequently given to fish, birds, etc.’. Evidence for the Guang etymology accepted here comes from the DJE’s 1950 illustrative quotation which identifies puki by the scientific name Holocentrus ascensionis. Lexic.us defines the Holocentrus ascensionis as the ‘bright red fish of West Indies and Bermuda’, and so the DJE’s statement about the blackish colour of the fish is off the mark.27 ④ Guang (GOC).

348. PUMPUM ‘(a) something large and round, seeming swollen; (b) the vagina’. ② Àkán pumpuNi < pùNy ‘to become or to be tumid, turgid, swollen, enlarged or distended’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 411). ④ The DJE only provides sense (a), while the DCEU only lists sense (b), which is the one that is now most common in Jamaica. The DCEU states that pumápum meaning ‘vagina’ is probably of African origin and asks us to consider two Krio words pámbo ‘the female vulva’, and pumápum ‘a foolish/stupid person, one who is easily duped’. ②8 However, the form of the first candidate rules it out as a suitable source for the Jamaican word, and the semantics of the second makes it unacceptable. Hence, we are left with Cassidy & Le Page’s etymology which derives Jamaican pumpum from an Àkán word meaning ‘turgid, enlarged’. The match is perfect both formally and semantically, but we still need to account for sense (b) of the Jamaican word.

Both senses can be reliably linked to the Àkán etymon which the DJE supplies. Evidence for this proposal comes from another Àkán-derived word, punu ‘vagina’ that is derived from pûnu which also means ‘to become tumid or turgid’. In fact, in Àkán pampunj is merely a reduplicated form of pûmu. ④ Àkán (GOC).

349. PUNASH, PUNAANI ‘the vagina’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) mpumpum-as’è ‘a subterranean water-course, channel or canal’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 411). ③ This word is not listed in any of my sources on Jamaican. It has been added by me from my own native-speaker knowledge. It appears that the Àkán term was adopted as a euphemism for ‘vagina’. ④ Àkán (GOC).

350. PUNU, PUNI ‘the vagina’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) pûmu ‘to become tumid or turgid’ (s.v. pùNy in Christaller (1933, p. 411), Guang (Nkonya) pûná ‘schwellen, geschwollen sein’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 223), (Gua) kpúne ‘to push in, thrust into; the act of having sex’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 78), (Chumburung) jimpun ‘anus’, and ki-ki-pun ‘bump, protuberance’ (Snider, 1989, p. 14). ③ The Àkán etymon is the only one which the DJE asks us to consider, but Guang provides equally plausible sources for the Jamaican word. Several of the Guang candidates account for the variant púní which is now the most common form in Jamaica, and they also establish the link between the swollen state expressed by the verb, a body-part and sex. See also pumpum (entry 348) which is derived from the reduplicated form of Àkán pûmu. ④ Tano: Àkán, Guang (GOC).

351. PUPU ‘a sea slug’. ③ The DJE derives this word from English poop ‘dung’, but claims that it was perhaps influenced by African words such as Àkán popoe’ewó ‘the first feces of infants’. The meanings of the two candidates which the DJE proposes bear no relation to

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28As in other cases, I am not sure whether Allsopp by providing Krio forms is claiming Krio as the source of the Caribbean forms, or is merely pointing the reader to the fact that similar words exist in Krio.
the meaning of the Jamaican word, and so both etyma have been rejected.

352. **Pyakapyaka** ‘muddy, untidy, messed up’. ② Igbo pyàkàpyàkà ‘soft and sticky to the touch (of e.g. badly made fufu)’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 715). ③ The DJE treats this word as a phonetic variant of *potopoto*. However, the Igbo etymon accepted here provides a better source for Jamaican *pyakapyaka* in terms of its semantics, and the presence of the palatal approximant /j/ and the velar plosive /k/.

353. **Saaka-Saaka, Saka-Saka, Sukú-Sukú, Saaka** ‘to cut with a dull tool, hence, cut badly, saw poorly’. ② Àkán (Fante) sàkàsàka ‘confused’ (Balmer & Grant, 1929, p. 86), (Akuapem) sàkàsàka ‘disorder, confusion […] unarranged, irregular, -ly (Christaller, 1933, p. 421), Guang (Gua) sàkàa ‘disorderly, disorganized’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 111), Gà sàkàsàka ‘disorderly; disorder, roughness’ (Zimmermann, 1858a, 257, Dakubu, 1999, 136), Yorùbá sàkàsàka ‘with rough surface’ (Fordyce, 1983, p. 270), Koongo sàka ‘to cut off a part, lop off, cut through or off at one stroke’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 411). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Koongo sàka ‘to cut off’, Ngombe sàkà ‘sharp (of a knife)’, and Àkán sàkàsàka ‘disorder, confusion, turmoil’. The DJE’s treatment suggests that the editors view this as a case of lexical conflation, an analysis with which I am in agreement. I disagree, however, with their inclusion of the Ngombe word, since its meaning appears to be antonymic in relation to that of the Jamaican word (i.e. sharp vs. dull).

I take the Jamaican lexeme to represent a crossing of the forms and meanings of the Koongo and Kwa words given above. The Koongo word contributed a simplex form and the ‘cut’ aspect of the meaning, while the Kwa words contributed reduplicated forms, and the reference to ‘roughness’. There is no way of accounting for the etymology of this word without appealing to both language groups, since the Koongo word simply means to cut. The references to cutting with a dull implement and to cutting in a haphazard way are unexplainable semantic developments, which only make sense in light of the Kwa etyma. ④ Benue-Kwa: Àkán, Guang, Gà (GOC), Yorùbá (BEN), Koongo (WCA).

354. **Sabo** ‘the antidote cocoon bean, *Fevillea cordifolia*, valued as a remedy against poison’. ③ The DJE claims that this word is probably from Àkán asaabó ‘kidney’. I have not been able to establish any link between the seeds of this plant and the kidney, either in terms of shape or as a remedy for kidney-related ailments. Hence, the Àkán etymology is rejected pending further evidence. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

355. **Sagwa** ‘a medicine show, or the like; a carnival; amusement’. ② Àkán nsàguá ‘a place where drinkers are assembled; the place where a king or chief holds a public reception’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 420). ③ The DJE and the ARJC both concur with the etymology accepted here. ④ Àkán (GOC).

356. **Saku** ‘a piece of canvas or burlap used for carrying a load’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider Koongo nsaku ‘sack, bag’ which is itself from Portuguese *saco* [saku], and claims that the Koongo word was coincidentally reinforced in Jamaica by English *sack*. The editors also point out that the same form is found in Gullah. That both African and European sources are equally plausible makes our task of identifying the specific African contribution impossible. In addition, *saku* might have entered Jamaican via an early pidgin in the same way as *pikni* ‘child’, and *sabi* ‘to know’. ④ African etymology rejected.

357. **Samba**1 ‘a hut with wattle walls and banana trash roof’. ② Koongo nsàmpa ‘maison-abri pour porteurs, tireurs de vin de palme dans la forêt’ (Laman, 1964, p. 756). ③ The
DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology, but DJE2 asks us to consider Koongo nsampa, which is the etymon accepted here. ④ Koongo (WCA).

358. SAMBA ②. ‘firm, strong’. ② Koongo nzamba ‘elephant’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 68), Mbundu n-zamba ‘elephant’ (Chatelain & Summers, 1893, p. 537), Sama, Bolo, Songo, Mbundu n-zamba, (Ngola) n-tsamba ‘elephant’ (Johnston, 1919, p. 367), Digo samba ‘for sure, surely’ (Mwalonya, 2006, p. 161). ③ The DJE tentatively suggests an origin in Jamaican sambo which refers to the plant Cleome because of its huge roots. I derive samba from the Bantu word for elephant, since the elephant is generally associated with strength, which is reflected in Karanga, and Tswana -simba ‘to be strong’. ③ I take the Digo candidate to be descended from the Bantu word for ‘elephant’. However, this assumption is not necessary for accepting the Digo word. ④ Narrow Bantu: Koongo, Mbundu, Sama, Bolo, Songo (WCA), Digo (SEA).

359. SAMFAI, SANGFAI, SANFAI, SAMFI ③. (a) an obeahman, or other person professing magic powers; (b) one who tricks others by supposed magic powers; a confidence man; (c) the trick of a samfai man; (d) a monkey or ugly person; (e) to practise pretended witchcraft so as to trick people; (f) dishonest, deceiving’. ③ Various etymologies have been proposed for this word, but all fall short when the basic formal and semantic criteria for assigning etymologies are applied.

The DJE states that the etymology is probably African, notes that no certain form has been found, but givesGbè (Vhe) samédzì ‘magic sign’, and Àkán asūmìnfo ‘owner of a charm, magician’ for consideration. The DCEU also claims that the word is probably African, and provides Àkán asamafo ‘goblin, apparition’, asumanfo ‘sorcerer, magician’ for comparison. The JCAH departs from the previous two works by suggesting a Bantu source in Koongo sa mambìa ‘to be sly, cunning’. While all of these etymologies capture one part or other of the meaning of the Jamaican term, none provides a good formal match with the Jamaican word. The Gbè candidate would require a /dʒ/ → /t/ change, the Àkán candidate would require an /o/ → /a/ change, and the Koongo candidate would require a /p/ → /t/ which are either rare or not attested in Jamaican. ④ No suitable (African) etymon found.

360. SAMPATA, SAMPLATA, SHAMPLATA, SHUMPATA, SANPLATA, SLAMPATA ④. (a) a sandal with sole of wood or leather, more recently of automobile-tyre rubber, held on to the foot by leather or other straps; (b) old or shabby shoes; (3) anything old or broken down’. ③ The DJE derives this word from Portuguese sapato and/or Spanish zapato, with possible influence from one or more African forms such as Àkán asepätèré ‘shoe’. The DCEU also recognises it as a Hispanicism but claims that the term was gained in the Caribbean via diffusion by labourers returning from Venezuela, Panama, and Santo Domingo. The DCEU’s etymology cannot cover the Jamaican case since samplata was first recorded in Jamaica in 1823 with the spelling ‘sand-patta’, long before the event(s) to which the DCEU makes reference.

The word is ultimately of Romance origin, but it was copied from Portuguese into several African languages including Àkán: Gà asepåterè ~ asipåtre ‘shoe, boot’ (Zimmermann, 1858b, p. 20), Koongo which has nsampàtu ‘boot, shoe, slipper, sandal’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 391). Based on form the Koongo word makes a much better source than the Kwa ones, but we cannot be sure whether this is a direct copy from Koongo since there are several cases in Jamaican of epenthesis involving homorganic nasals. Jamaican sampata could also have been copied from Portuguese or Spanish via a trade jargon, after which the nasal was inserted. ④ African etymology rejected.

29 The Karanga and Tswana data are from page 151 of a work whose bibliographic details I have misplaced.
361. **SÀNGKÚKU, SÀNGKÚTU** ‘to stoop, sit on one’s heels’. ② Koongo **sàngkúku** ‘é. descendu, décroché’ (Laman, 1964, p. 876). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown origin, but ARJC assigns it to Koongo **zàngguka** without providing a gloss for the Koongo word. Unfortunately, the ARJC’s Koongo etymology appears to be off track since Bentley (1967/1887, p. 477) states that Koongo **zàngguka** means ‘to be raised, lifted, elevated, to rise’. It is likely that the second pronunciation provided above for the Jamaican word was influenced by Àkán **koto(w)** ‘to squat’ (Berry, 1960, p. 122). Also see **jongkoto** (entry 198). ④ Koongo (WCA).

362. *SAW* as in **hipsa w** ‘a hip-shaking dance’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) **saw** ‘to dance; to shake’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 431), Guang (Awutu, Krache) **ca**, (Larteh & Nkonya) **tsa** (J. M. Stewart, 1966, p. 50). ③ This Africanism has only been attested once [1790] in a song sung by a slave girl, and is found only in the compound **hipsa w**. The DJE correctly derives the word from Àkán **saw** ‘to dance, to shake’, however plausible etyma also exist in various dialects of Guang. ④ Tano: Àkán, Guang (GOC).

363. **SE** ‘(a) after verbs such as **think**, **know**, **believe**, **suppose**, **see**, or others involving communication, as, **tell**, **hear**, **promise**, introducing the object clause: virtual equivalent to **that**; (b) elliptically, without the object clause; (c) introducing direct speech’. ③ The senses listed above are all taken from the DJE which does not give a full treatment of all the uses of **se**, and only lists those uses that are different from (Standard) English. The DCEU provides more senses, but its treatment lumps together the uses of **say** in most (or all) of the Caribbean varieties it treats. For fuller treatment of **se** in Jamaican see Jaganauth (2001); Durrelman-Tame (2008).

Claims of African origin for this word have generally centered on its use as a complementiser. We might eventually discover that other functions of **se** are African in origin, but this discussion will focus on its complementiser use since there are several competing explanations. Jamaican **se** has been analysed by different researchers as being either a borrowing from Àkán (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 396), the result of grammaticalisation (Parkvall, 2000, p. 64), or the result of polysemic copying. ③ Cassidy and Le Page (1967, p. 396) derives Jamaican **se** directly from Àkán. The fact that polysemic copying (see below) also provides a plausible explanation for the behaviour of this morpheme, undermines a direct Àkán etymology for it.

It has been proposed that **se** in the AECs (including Jamaican) arose via ‘instantaneous’ grammaticalisation, to use the terminology of Bruyn (1996, p. 42). Given that various African models have been pointed out, grammaticalisation is the weakest explanation since we cannot prove that the grammaticalisation of the Jamaican morpheme had absolutely nothing to do with the African models. On another point, it is dangerous to assume that the co-optation of **verba dicendi** as complementisers is a pervasive Niger-Congo feature. However, it should be noted that Gudemann (2002, 2008b) claims that many of the complementisers in African languages actually derive from similitative verbs or manner deictics, not from **verba dicendi**.

The final explanation derives Jamaican **se** from English **say** but the English word is a polysemous copy (i.e. calque) of a corresponding word in one or more African languages. To address this explanation, we need to identify the relevant African form that **se** is supposed to be a copy of. The general assumption is that the developers of Jamaican calqued English **say** on the pattern of Àkán **se**. The problem with this approach is that it involves a

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30 Allsopp’s (1996, p. 489) treatment is not completely clear but it seems to suggest borrowing from Àkán **se** accompanied by lexical conflation with English **say**. Cassidy (1961a, p. 63) suggests that the Àkán word was reinforced by English **say**.
verb meaning ‘to say’ calquing an Àkán verb meaning ‘to be like’.\textsuperscript{31} Lord (1993, p. 180) demonstrates effectively, that contrary to popular belief, the Àkán morpheme se which acts as complementizer is derived from a (similative) verb meaning ‘to be like’. She shows that whereas another phonetically similar verb se is a speech-act verb, its use does not extend to complementizer function. It is therefore clear that Jamaican se cannot be a calque of any of these Àkán morphemes since syntactic calquing requires basic lexical equivalence.

These disappointments, notwithstanding, an idiosyncracy in the behaviour of Jamaican se might point to a more appropriate source. Complementiser se in Jamaican cannot act as subordinator for main verb se ‘to say’. This is peculiar because the co-occurrence of other phonetically similar items such as de (cop) and de (adv) is not prohibited (Durrelman-Tame, 2008, p. 93). Àkán does not provide a suitable model here because it places no restriction on the complementiser following the verb it is historically derived from. However, such a restriction exists in the Vhe dialect of Gbè (Kinyalolo, 1993, p. 203), and at least for some speakers of Fon (Lefebvre & Brousseau, 2002, p. 116).

More work needs to be done on this morpheme, but we can say at this point that Àkán seems to provide the least suitable source for the Jamaican word. The syntactic behaviour of the morpheme points in the direction of a language such as Gbè. \(\#\) Àkán etymology rejected.

\textsuperscript{31}This is the result of a genuine confusion of the Àkán complementiser sê ‘that’ with the verb sê ‘to say, to tell, to command’, which was probably caused by Christaller (1933, p. 433) who derived the complementiser from se ‘to say’.

364. \textbf{SECKY} as in the proverb ‘evri seke gat im jege’ [Every beggar has his bundle of rags.]. \textsuperscript{2} Gã srkr ‘madness’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 139). \textsuperscript{3} This word was not identified by the editors of the DJE who in fact treat it as seki (see entry 365), by including the proverb as one of the illustrative quotations for the headword seki. The English equivalent of the Jamaican proverb makes it clear that the Gã etymology is more suitable, thus the meaning of seke would be ‘vagabond, tramp’. See jege (entry 190 above). \(\#\) Gã (GOC).

365. \textbf{SEKI} as in the proverb ‘evri seki tu dem boki’. \(\#\) Gbè (Vhe) asike ‘concubine’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 215). \(\#\) The DJE is uncertain about the exact meaning of the Jamaican word, and merely points to the Gbè etymon as a possible source. As far as I know, this word only occurs now in the proverb ‘evri seki tu dem boki’ [every seki to 3pl boki]. We have already discovered above (entry 67) that boki means ‘companion, mate’. In light of this piece of evidence, the best reading for the proverb would be ‘every tramp (i.e. loose woman) has her companion’, and so the Gbè etymology is on mark. \(\#\) Gbè (GOC).

366. \textbf{SENSÊ}, and as in \textbf{SENSE-FOUL} ‘a variety of chicken having sparse, ruffled and uneven feathers’. \(\#\) Àkán (Akuapem) asensê ‘a hen without a tail (a fowl with curled ruffled feathers)’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 443), Guang (Nkonya) asense ‘eine Hühnerart mit struppigem Gefieder’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 225). \(\#\) The DJE and the ARJC mention only the Àkán etymon, but an equally plausible source has been found in Guang. The word occurs more commonly in the compound sense-foul (sense + fowl) which has the same meaning as the African element. Note too that the Gua dialect of Guang also has a compound in which the word for fowl concatenates with osnsnr, i.e. akrEne-osnsE ‘a hen or a fowl with ruffled, curled feathers’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 28). \(\#\) Tano: Àkán, Guang (GOC).

367. \textbf{SEPRE} ‘a variety of the miedn plaantn’. \(\#\) The DJE asks us to consider Gbè (Vhe) seblee ‘thick, plump’. However, the Gbè (Vhe) etymon is unsuitable because its semantics is at variance with that of the Jamaican word. If the sepre is a variety of miedn plaantn (s.v.
DJE MAIDEN PLANTAIN), then it would be small, not big or thick. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

368. **SESE** ‘(a) quarrelling, a quarrel or argument; (b) gossip, idle, mischievous chatter, rumour(s)’. ③ Sense (a) of this entry is copied from the DJE, while sense (b) is copied from the DCEU which gives no definition for its headword SAY-SAY, proper, but refers the readers to the headword HEAR-SO, from which sense (b) has been copied.

The DJE claims that this word is a reduplicated version of Àkán sè ‘to say, tell, mention, speak of’, which itself is reduplicated in Àkán to produce sise. However, Jamaican sese could be a local creation based on the verb se ‘to say’, seeing that deverbal reduplication has been attested in Jamaican (Kouwenberg et al., 2003, p. 108). In addition, the reduplication of *verba dicendi* to create words referring to ‘gossip’ is not foreign to Jamaican, e.g. *chat* ‘to chat’ → *chat-chat* ‘gossip, gossipy, talkative’. The editors of the DJE also recognise the probability that the word might have been created in Jamaica from English-derived material.

Orthographic <e> in Àkán is adopted into Jamaican as /ɛ/ and/or /ɪ/ (see depa ~ dipa. ①. However, Jamaican sese is consistently pronounced [sɛsɛ] and never as [sɪsɪ]. Therefore, no clear proof exists to single out the Àkán influence in the history of this word. ④ African etymology rejected.

369. **SHAKA, SHIEKI, SHIEKA** ‘a rattle made usually of a calabash on a stick, with john-crow beads or other seeds inside, used as a musical instrument’. ③ It is tempting to derive this word from English shaker, but as the DJE points out, the normal reflex of ‘English shaker’ in the folk speech would be /shiəka/, or possibly /sheka/’. While the editors claim that the English word may have had some influence, they were more convinced that shaka must be from one or more African sources such as Yorùbá shrkerre ‘gourd’, Hausa chaki ‘a rattle’.

The second and third variants of the Jamaican word are clearly from English shaker, but shaka cannot be accounted for by English given the fact that /a/ epenthesis is only attested in (mono-syllabic) words in which /a/ or /ai/ is the nucleus of the base, e.g. blak → blaka ‘black’, rat → rata ‘rat’. Unfortunately, the proposed African etymologies also come up short since the Yorùbá candidate is much longer than the Jamaican word, it has a different vowel, and it means gourd as opposed to ‘rattle’. The Hausa candidate means ‘rattle’, but it provides a poor formal match for the Jamaican word. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

370. **SHÍESHE, SHÉSHE, SHASHA** ‘a lively vigorous dance that takes several forms’. ③ The DJE suggests that this word is probably an iterated form of French chassé, as in dancing, from which is derived US English sashay ‘to strut or move about in an ostentatious or conspicuous manner’ (MWOD), and Àkán (Akuapem) sàw, (Fante) saa ‘dance’. The reduplicated form of French chassé would have been *shaseshase*, unless we assume partial reduplication which is virtually absent from Jamaican. Regarding the Àkán etymology, we already have evidence that Àkán sàw was copied into Jamaican without any obvious segmental change (see entry 362). ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

371. **SHIMSHAM** ‘a (wild) dance’. ③ The DJE is uncertain about the etymology of this word, but suggests Àkán sinsâm ‘to strip off, pull, tear, etc.’, perhaps shasha (see entry 370), and the shimmy dance of the 1920s. Formally, the Àkán etymology is probable since the change of /s/ → /ʃ/ before the high front vowel is pervasive in Àkán, and we have Àkán o-siám which was copied into Jamaican as asham as a precedent. However, on the semantic
side, the meaning of the Àkán word is too general for the etymology to be anything but a guess. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

372. **SHUWA, SHWUWA** ‘the sound of frying’. ③ Although the DJE acknowledges that this word is ultimately echoic, it asks us to compare forms such as Koongo ṣhiʃ̣iʃ̣ia ‘to splutter in cooking’, and Zulu sc̣ḥwa ‘sound of water spurting’. Unfortunately, the Koongo candidate whose meaning is closer to Jamaican word has a form that is more distant, and the Zulu word which provides a better formal match with the Jamaican word has no association with cooking. In any case, this word should be placed among our sound symbolic items (§4.3.9.0.2). ④ Imitative sound symbolism

373. **SHÁSHWA** as in **SHÁSHWA-SNÁPA**. ③ The DJE does not provide a definition for this word but suggests via cross-referencing that it is the same as the *daaq-tiit snapa* (s.v. DJE dog-teeth snapper) which the editors note is a variety of snapper fish. They mark the word as being of unknown etymology, but ask us to compare Koongo shwuwa, shuwa ‘the sound of meal frying in water’, and Koongo ṣhiʃ̣iʃ̣ia ‘to splutter in cooking’. These do not provide sufficient evidence for us to assign an African etymology. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

374. **SI** as in **SIDONG** ‘to sit’. ③ (Cassidy, 1966b, p. 214) is the only work in which an African source is considered for the first element of the word sídong ‘to sit down’, and sipon ‘to sit upon’. Cassidy notes that ‘assimilation would account for the loss of /t/ before another stop’, but draws the reader’s attention to Àkán si, Banda se, both of which mean ‘to sit’. Cassidy’s assimilation explanation (which is better termed deletion) appears to be more plausible since it can be observed in other Jamaican words such as lego (< let go), and pudong (< put down). In addition, the suggested African etyma share no peculiar segmental feature or shade of meaning with the Jamaican form which would make their influence stand out. ④ African etyma rejected.

375. **SIMAN-KWENGKWE-MAN** ‘obeah man’. ③ The DJE rightly treats this entry as a complex word and tries to identify the etyma of various parts. The editors claim that the last syllable is probably from English man, an etymology with which I am in agreement. However, the etymologies of the remaining pieces are more difficult to identify, especially since they do not seem to correspond readily to other words in Jamaican.

The DJE editors believe that the final three syllables could possibly be accounted for by Hausa k’wânk’wamâi ‘evil spirits supposed to cause lunacy; certain charms supposed to harm one who touches them’, but there is not enough evidence to corroborate this etymology. For the first two syllables **siman**, the DJE asks us to consider Hausa simi, sumi ‘being silent because of fear’, which the editors inform us has a combining form, sumun-. Again, the available evidence is not sufficient for us to accept or reject this etymology. It is likely that **siman** comes from the concatenation of Jamaican si (< see) + man (< man), which would parallel Sranan lukuman ‘seer’ (Wilner, 1994, p. 95). ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

376. **SINGKUMA, SANGKUMA, ZINGKUMA** ‘(a) strong, big; (b) the name or part of the name of a bull in an Ananse story’. ② Hausa sungunẽ ~ sunk’uni (masculine), sunk’mâ (feminine) ‘huge, swollen’ (Abraham, 1949, Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, 410). ③ The DJE only supplies the Hausa etymology for comparison whereas I have accepted it explicitly. ④ Hausa (BIA).

377. **SOONGA** ‘same as wanggla’ (see entry 418). ② Ngombe sõngbâ ‘sésame graines’ (Rood,
1958, p. 386), Ngbandi sówba ‘sésame’ (P. B. Lekens, 1952, p. 312). ③ The DJE asks us to consider the Ngombe word. I have added the Ngbandi candidate since it is similar in form and meaning to the Jamaican and Ngombe words. ④ Volta-Congo: Ngombe, Ngbandi (BIA).

378. Sórósí, Sórōsi, Serum, Sorsi ‘Momordica charantia and M. balsamina; valued in Jamaica as a “tea-bush” to clear the blood, etc.; also noted for its bitterness’. ③ While the DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology, it offers French cédracé ‘waxy’, for consideration, but it is not entirely clear how to derive the semantics of the Jamaican word from that of the French one—waxiness has not been noted as one of the properties of the sórósí plant. The DJE also gives Àkán nsuró ‘a climbing vine’) as a potential source. Although the sorosi plant is a climbing vine, this sense is too general to rescue the poor formal match. We would need to assume that a whole syllable was added to the word. This goes against the typological grain since syllable deletion is more common cross-linguistically than syllable addition. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

379. su ‘an exclamation made when one is suddenly handing something to another’. ③ The DJE derives this word from Àkán su’a ‘to set, place, put’, however, the relationship between the meaning of the Jamaican word and that of the putative etym on is not very clear. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

380. Sósó, Súosó, ‘(a) of a thing: alone, by itself, unaccompanied by something that one might have expected with it; (b) mere, ordinary’. ② Igbo (Onicha) súosó ‘only’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 748). ③ The DJE claims that this word is probably from Portuguese African Pidgin, ultimately from Portuguese so ‘alone, sole, only’; with sense (a) perhaps being influenced by Yorùbá sho-sho. Although the editors of the DJE claim that the word may be of Portuguese African Pidgin origin, they do not give a form to back up their claim. There is a possibility that this word could have come from English so-so ‘in an indifferent, mediocre, or passable manner or degree; indifferently’ (OED2). However, the meaning of the English word is at variance with that of the Jamaican one. The Yorùbá etymon proposed by both the DJE and the DCEU is unsuitable on formal grounds since Yorùbá ş represents the voiceless alveo-palatal affricate and not the fricative that the Jamaican word has. We will also see shortly (in example 33) that the (modern) Yorùbá candidate is also unsuitable from the perspective of its syntactic behaviour when compared to the Igbo etymon accepted here. The Yorùbá and Igbo words appear to have a cognate in Gã so-n ‘mere pure; full of; merely throughout, entirely; nothing but...’. (Zimmermann, 1858a, p. 265). The Jamaican variant with the diphthong is the result of the regular process of diphthongising long /o/.

(33) Yorùbá 32
a. ó je ọgédé kan.
   3SG eat banana one
   ‘He ate one banana.’
b. ó je ọgédé kan sósó.
   3SG eat banana one only
   ‘He ate only one banana.’
c. ó je ọgédé nikan.
   3SG eat banana alone/only
   ‘He ate only bananas.’
d. * ó je sósó ọgédé.
   3SG eat only banana.’

32 The examples in (33) and (34) were provided by Joseph Atóyèbí.
(34) Igbo

a. ó ɾíɾí ọfu ünɛrɛ.
   3SG eat-PST one banana.
   ‘He ate one banana.’

b. ó ɾíɾí sòoṣò ọfu ünɛrɛ.
   3SG eat-PST only one banana.
   ‘He ate only one banana.’

c. ó ɾíɾí sòoṣò ünɛrɛ.
   3SG eat-PST only banana.
   ‘He ate only bananas.’

d. ô sòoṣò ünɛrɛ ƙa ó ɾíɾí.
   it only banana that 3SG eat-PST
   ‘He ate nothing but BANANAS.’

While the word meaning ‘only’ can co-occur with the numeral one in Yorùbá (33b) and Igbo (34b), it appears that co-occurrence of suoso with the numeral wan is prohibited in Jamaican. To express the idea ‘bananas and nothing else/more’ Igbo uses sòoṣò (34c) but Yorùbá (33c, d) uses a word that is not cognate with Igbo sòoṣò. More evidence for choosing the Igbo candidate over the Yorùbá one comes from focussing. In Jamaican, the entire constituent which contains suoso can be focussed. This syntactic behaviour finds a parallel in Igbo but not in Yorùbá (34d).

381. sunsum ‘the spirit, the force of emotions within’. ② Nzema sunsum ‘spirit’ (Aboagye, 1992 [1965], p. 227), Àkán sùnsùm ‘the soul or spirit of man’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 484), Guang (Gua) sunsum ‘spirit, soul, ghost’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 114)).

382. susu ‘to whisper (behind one’s back, to gossip, to speak ill; a confidential whispering’.

383. susúmba, sushumba, susuma, sesumba, sukumba ‘the very common wild and cultivated plants Solanum torvum and S. mammosum, used as a good bitter with salt-fish and in other dishes’. ② Gbè (Vhe) susurba ‘Solanum torvum, S. scalare’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider Gbè (Vhe) süsùm, süsümur ‘an aromatic plant used in preparing soups’ and
Àkán nsusùua ‘a species of pot-herb’ + mbá (plural) ‘the young of plants’. The DJE’s Àkán etymology is less than convincing since it refers to a pot-herb, whereas Jamaican susumba is a shrub which usually grows up to more than a metre.

For the Gbè etymon, also proposed by the DJE, since the editors do not identify the plant specifically, it is impossible to know if we are dealing with the same plant. The EJB positively identifies the etymology of this word as Gbè susruba which refers to two members of the genus Solanum, i.e. the Solanum torvum and the Solanum scalare. The insertion of nasal stops before bilabial ones is attested elsewhere in this list of Africanisms (see jukumpeng, entry 201). Thus, on the phonological level we can assume the following development: susruba → *susuba → susumba → sushumba. ④ Gbè (GOC).

384. TA₁ ‘father; also a title of respectful or affectionate address’. ③ The DJE notes that this word is an alternative of Jamaican tata ‘father’, probably suggesting that it is a reduced form of that word. The editors also ask us to compare Gbè (Vhe) atá. This word is best placed with our list of nursery words. In addition, there is a strong tendency for monosyllabic Kwa, especially Nyo-derived words to retain vocalic noun-class prefixes. The absence of the initial vowel strongly suggests that we are not looking at a Gbè-derived word. ④ African etymology rejected.

385. TA₂ ‘sister’. ③ The DJE proposes first that this word is a reduced form of Jamaican sta ‘sister’, but then asks us to consider Àkán ataá ‘twin sister’. Since the Jamaican word does not have anything to do with twins, the Àkán etymology is suspect. The Jamaican word can plausibly be derived from sta, which is itself a phonological reduction of sista ‘sister’ via the normal process by which word-initial /s/-stop clusters are broken up by dropping the sibilant. (Meade, 1995). ④ African etymology rejected.

386. TAA, and as in TAA-YAM ‘a variety of yam similar to afu’. ② Gbè (Vhe) tayi ‘a variety of yam’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 226). ③ The DJE suggests Àkán o-dé, Gbè (Vhe) te, tayi ‘a variety of yam’. The editors provide no gloss for Àkán o-dé and Vhe te, but Christaller (1933, p. 69) and Westermann (1973, p. 227) gloss the words as ‘yam’. The Gbè word is selected here as the most suitable etymon since it is closest to the Jamaican word in form. ④ Gbè (GOC).

387. TAATA, TATA ‘father’. ③ The DJE, ARJC, and the DJE all point out that this word is more than likely from multiple sources. Combined they give the following African forms: Gbè (Vhe) tatá, (Gen) tátá, Ibibio tata, taata ‘address form for father, grandfather’, Ngombe tatá, Koongo tata ‘father (used in calling only)’, Mbundu tata, Bobangi tata, Luba-Kasai tatu ‘father (sometimes grandfather)’. To their African list I could add Guang (Gonja) e-tuto ‘father’ (Snider, 1989, p. 16), Cambap tátá ‘father’ (Connell, 2002, p. 184), Zulu tate ‘father’ (Bryant, 1963, p. 149); Herero, Nkumbi, Ndome, and Umbundu tate; Ndonga, and Oshiwambo ř-tate ‘father’ (Johnston, 1919, p. 353). The DCEU also mentions Latin American Spanish tata ‘daddy’ from earlier Spanish taita ‘daddy’, and I could add Sanskrit tata ‘father’. This word belongs to the group of nursery words (see §4.3.8) and so will not be included in my list of secure etymologies. ④ Nursery word.

388. TACHRI, TATAZ ‘(a) salt fish fritters; (b) a small bammmy’. ② Gã tatale ‘fried ripe platains; plantain fritter’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 154), Gbè (Gen) tátale ‘banana pancakes’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 438). ③ The two forms of the Jamaican word given here, are treated as two separate words by the DJE. The first word tachri (s.v. DJE TATTRY) appears with what is given as sense (b), and the second, tataz (s.v. DJE TATAZ) appears with sense (a). The DJE derives tachri from tatter, or tata, but gives no meanings for these words. For
tachri, the editors propose the Gen word which is one of the etymologies accepted here. The phonetic and semantic similarity of the Gã word and the Gbè candidate which the DJE supplies includes this word among those with multiple etymologies. To justify my merging the DJE entries into one, I propose that two separate phonological developments of the same or similar source forms produced separate words with different but related meanings (35).

\[(35) \quad \text{tataz} \, \text{‘fritter’} \iff \text{tatale} \, \text{‘fritter, pancake’} \implies \text{tachri} \, \text{‘small bammy’}\]

The first development may be represented as tatale > *tatare > tachri, the first step of which can be attributed to the cross-linguistically common alternation between /r/ and /l/, followed by the Jamaican feature of affricating syllable-initial /tr/ clusters. The second development is tatale > tataz, which can be accounted for by clipping the final non-stressed syllable, and adding the familiarising suffix -s [z].

389. *tAM as in TAM-FUUL (a) formerly, the bird Saurothera vetula; (b) the Flycatchers Myiarchus stolidus (so called in the other English-speaking islands also), and Myiarchus barbirostris (found only in Jamaica)—the latter also called little Tom Fool, as is also Blacicus caribæus. ³ The DJE derives this word from English Tom Fool ‘a foolish person’, but also asks us to consider Àkán (Fante) o-t´am ‘a simple, silly fellow’. It is very common for the names of birds to include (male) human names, or for some unknown element to be folk-etymologised to a human name. Since the Àkán candidate’s meaning is identical with Tom Fool, empirically, there is no way of telling whether it had anything to do with the name of the bird. Note that in the case of *Jimmy in the bird name Stupid Jimmy (entry 193), there was no such semantic confusion with the English name Jimmy. ⁴ African etymology rejected.

390. TAMBO ‘a bow-shaped bird trap’. ² Koongo ntambu ‘snare, trap, gin; the stick which acts as a spring in a trap’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 396), Koongo (Laadi) ntâmbû ‘piège’ (Jacquot, 1982, p. 115), Bakum tambo, Tsogo vëtambôq, Bangi etambô ‘trap’ (Guthrie, 1970b, p. 90). This word goes back to Proto-Bantu *tâmbô ‘string’ (Guthrie, 1970b, p. 90). ³ The DJE only asks us to compare the Koongo etymology, but the DJES points to Guyana Arawak tambO ‘bowed fish trap’, and notes that the word might be a case of multiple etymologies. The ARJC does not list the word at all. Given the very close match in the form and semantics of the Jamaican and Arawakan words, it is hardly likely that we are dealing with words totally unrelated in their history. The widespread occurrence of this term in much of the Bantu-speaking zone speaks in favour of an African origin for the term. Its presence in the Arawakan language of Guyana may possibly be explained by interactions between autochthonous Caribbean peoples and enslaved Africans. The word could have been transported to Jamaica either by Africans coming directly from Africa, or by slaves taken to Jamaica from Suriname in the seventeenth century. ⁴ Narrow Bantu: Bakum (BIA) Koongo, Bangi, Tsogo (WCA).

391. TATU ‘a small house or hut, originally with a thatch roof’. ³ The editors of the DJE claim that this word is probably African but note that they found no source form for it. The CAC submits Koongo tutu ‘a little calabash for powdered pepper, a little box’, and also Mbundu katutu ‘small box’. It is not inconceivable that a word for box could be used to refer to a hut or a house, but the etymologies proposed also fail to provide straightforward formal matches for the Jamaican word. Thus they are twice removed from Jamaican tatu. ⁴ No suitable (African) etymology found.

392. TEBE ‘big’. ³ The DJE claims that this word is perhaps from Gbè (Vhe) têbee ‘full
to the brim’. However, the Jamaican word refers to size/dimension, while the Gbè word probably refers to quantity. There is not enough information to accept the Gbè etymology as secure. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

393. **TEKREKI** ‘a basket’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) **tekrekyí** ‘a bag or sack plaited like a mat’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 500), Guang (Gua) **tekrekyi** ‘a large basket or a gourd used as a container for clothes’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 116). ③ I concur with both the DJE and the ARJC regarding the suitability of the Àkán etymology. I have added the equally plausible Guang candidate which makes this word another case of multiple etymologies. ④ Tano: Àkán, Guang (GOC).

394. **TETE** ‘a temporary bag of grass made in the field’ ② Duala **mutete** ‘hamper’ (Guthrie, 1970b, p. 103), Njebi **moutete** ‘bagage’ (Muronì, 1989, p. 152), Koongo (San Salvador) **ntete** ‘carrier’s basket of woven palm fronds’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 398), (Laadi) **ntetè** ‘panier allongé porté sur la tête’ (Jacquot, 1982, p. 102), Bube **motetè**, Bangi **matetè**, Tetela **otete**, Mbundu (Angola) **mutete** ‘basket’ (Megenney, 1983, p. 8). ③ The long form **intete** is used by the Portland Maroons while the clipped form (i.e. without the noun-class prefix) is used in general Jamaican. ④ Narrow Bantu: Duala, Bube (BIA), Njebi, Koongo, Bangi, Tetela, Mbundu (WCA).

395. **TICI** ‘tiny creatures, e.g. ants’. ② Gbè (Vhe) **titi** ‘small, tiny’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 443). ③ The Gbè etymon accepted here was first proposed by the DJE. The semantic link is justifiable if we consider that in Jamaican, words referring to smallness also occur in the names of other insects, e.g. **piti-mi-likl** (pity-1sg-little) ‘a type of ant with a fierce bite’ (s.v. DJE *pity-me-little*). On the formal side, the affrication of /t/ before the high front vowel is well attested in several of the Gbè dialects (see Capo, 1991, pp. 44–5) as it is in numerous languages of the world, and occurs sporadically in Jamaican in unstressed syllables, e.g. **kitibu** ~ **kichibu**. ④ Gbè (GOC).

396. **TIKITIKI** ‘any of several small fish found in large numbers in Jamaican waters, esp[ecially] *Gambusia affinis* and *Limia caudifasciata*’. ② Duala **tikitiki** ‘very small’ (Ittmann, 1976, p. 596). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Gbè (Vhe) **tiikitiki** (Gê) **tyikityiki** ‘crowded, thronging’ as potential etyma for this word. The editors go on to suggest that ‘this coincides with an iterated dialectal derivative of English *thick* + -y ‘very thick, numerous, closely packed’.

Deriving the Jamaican word via a reduplication of English *thick* + -y ignores the rules of reduplication in Jamaican. The DJE’s proposal would make **tiikitiki** an example of the “X-like reduplication” which Kouwenberg et al. (2003, p. 107) describe. However, this pattern of reduplication regularly forms attributes and not nominals. The only nominals which exhibit this pattern exist alongside attributive forms, e.g. **blakiblaki** ‘characteristically black’, and **blakiblaki** ‘black spots’. This is not the case with the DJE’s proposal which would suggest a nominal form *tikitiki* ‘small fish’, but no corresponding attributive form giving the more common ‘characteristically X’ interpretation of this reduplicative process, where X is the base. In fact, the only reduplicated form of English-derived *thick* attested in Jamaican, is the intensive **tiktit** ‘very thick’.

The DJE’s Gbè proposals seem plausible enough given the fact that **tiikitiki** are generally found in large numbers. However, the need to assign this word to an etymon which refers to numbers or crowdedness is trumped by words on this list such as *ketaketa, minimini*, and *ningeninge* which all referred to small size etymologically, but came to refer to small animals/insects occurring in large numbers. On this basis, Duala **tikitiki** ‘very small’ appears to be the most plausible source. ④ Duala (BIA).
397. **TIMBIM** ‘a sore or lame foot’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider Àkán **tim** ‘a sound suggesting heaviness’ and Jamaican **bima** ‘sore ulcer’ (entry 60). Jamaican **timbim** might very well contain **bima** in it, but one has to stretch the semantics beyond credibility in order to link a sore foot to a sound of heaviness. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

398. **TIMITIMI** ‘the wild plant Rivina humilis, also called DOG-BLOOD’. ③ The DJE derives this word from Àkán **tuméti** ‘a species of fern, with fine flat fronds or leaves’. I have found no evidence to suggest that the Jamaican and Àkán plants resemble each other or are closely related. Therefore, the DJE’s etymology is speculative. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

399. **TITA** ‘father, and as a term of address’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider Gbè (Kpândò) **tité** ‘father’ as a possible source of this word. This Gbè etymon is enticing, but the word still belongs to the set of kinship terms which are similar cross-linguistically in languages that are not genealogically related (see §4.3.8).④ Nursery word.

400. **TLOOLOOLOOPS** ‘fragments of meat’. ③ The DJE claims that this word is a variant of **flululups**. The meaning of **tloolooloops** fits sense (2) of the DJE headword **flululups** ‘rubbish, the remnants or left-over bits of anything—e.g. meat, paper, etc.’. The editors also point out that it is phonosymbolic, but is reminiscent of an African pattern. In support of their claim of African provenance, the editors provide Gbè (Vhe) **gblulululu** ‘the tripping run of a stiff-legged animal’.

It should be noted that the Gbè word is presented by the editors not as the etymon of the Jamaican word, but as a possible source of the pattern upon which it is constructed. Further evidence for the phonaesthetic nature of the word is found in the word-initial /tl/ consonant cluster which is otherwise disallowed in Jamaican. Generally, in sequences containing /t/ and /l/, the /l/ acts as the nucleus of the syllable, but recent investigations have shown that ideophonic words sometimes exhibit non-canonical phonological behaviour (cf. Elders, 2001, p. 98).④ African etymology rejected.

401. **TOMTOM** ‘minnows or other small fresh-water fish’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider Gbè (Vhe) **tom** which it says is the ‘base of many words having to do with water’. An association with water is not sufficient evidence to establish the etymology of a word meaning ‘small fresh-water fish’. Hence, the DJE’s etymology has to be rejected pending further evidence. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

402. **TUKTUK, TUKUTUKU** ‘a calabash or gourd’. ② Gbè (Vhe) **takuu** ‘the noise of slapping like water in a pot’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 452). ③ The DJE points out that the word is claimed to be echoic, i.e. ‘imitating the sound made when water is poured out’. Nevertheless, the editors ask us to consider Àkán **o-díku** ‘small cask, barrel, keg’, and Gbè (Vhe) **takuu** ‘the noise of slapping like water in a pot’. The Àkán etymon is unlikely if we consider the huge difference between a cask or keg and a gourd made from a calabash. But there is evidence for the Gbè etymon since one informant specifically identifies the **tukuk** as a water gourd, and another points out that the name is derived from the sound the gourd makes when water is poured out of it. These aspects of meaning link it to the Gbè candidate. On the formal side, we have evidence from other Africanisms in which the low vowel [a] (even in a stressed syllable) changes to [u], e.g. **Takuma → Tukuma**. ④ Gbè (GOC).

403. **TUKU-TUKU, TUKU** ‘short, small, stocky’. ② Gbè (Vhe) **tíku, tíku-tíku** ‘small, tiny, a little’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 248). ③ The DJE merely asks us to consider the Gbè etymon, but the perfect formal and semantic match leaves no doubt that the Gbè etymon is
404. **TUMBA, TUMBE** *(a)* a large drum; *(b)* a dance done to the accompaniment of the drum’. *Àkán* (Akuapem) *atumph* ‘the big drum played before the king (beaten to call dead kings, and to “speak” to the people)’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 542). *Dangme* *atupani* ‘a drum’, *Gà* *atupani* ‘a large drum; a type of court music associated with this drum’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 30). *Dakubu* (1973, p. 117) and *Dakubu* (1999, p. 30) note that the *Gà* and *Dangme* words are copied from *Àkán* but as with most copies, we are not able to tell when the transfer took place. *DJE* asks us to consider two etymologies; the one from *Àkán* given in the previous section, and *Gbè* *(Vhe)* *timbó* ‘drum’. Although the *Gbè* candidate is similar to the Jamaican word in having the voiced bilabial plosive /b/, it is poorer than the others selected here because of the difference in the initial vowel. The main difference between the multiple etymologies accepted here and the *Jamaican* form is the phonation of the bilabial plosive, but we have other secure etymologies on the current list that exhibit this correspondence. *Nyo: Àkán, Gà, Adangme* *(GOC)*.

405. **TUMBOZOO** ‘a big foot, elephantiasis’. *DJE* asks us to consider *Gbè* *(Vhe)* *timbó* ‘drum’ + *zO* ‘foot, leg’, and also points us to *timbim* (entry 397). The *Gbè* etymology is weak, being both complex, and dependent on a tenuous relationship between elephantiasis and a drum. The *timbim* etymology is equally implausible since it requires us to clip *timbim* and add an entire VCV syllable.

A more promising African etymology can be found in *Gbè* *(Vhe)* *tubOÔ* ‘swollen, projecting’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 247) + *zO* ‘foot, leg’, where we need only assume the insertion of the homorganic nasal /m/ before the bilabial plosive. However, this formation violates the morphosyntax of *Gbè* which has postposed modifiers. Another explanation is that the word is a ‘distorted’ version of *tombl-bruz* (tumble + bruise), which is a small colourful insect that is claimed to cause the foot to swell if it is stepped on. It is possible that the insect name is a folk-etymological formation linking the first two syllables of the obscure *tumbozoo* to the first element of *tombl-tod* (tumble + turd) ‘a large black horned beetle which rolls and buries dung’. *Nyo: Àkán* *(Sen)*.

406. **TUMTUM** ‘= FUFU; plantain or any similar food pounded until it forms a sort of paste’. *Àkán* (Akuapem) *tüm tum* ‘imitative of the sound of pounding “fufuu” in a wooden mortar’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 541). *DJE* marks this word as being of uncertain etymology but asks us to consider *Gbè* *(Vhe)* *t̩ot̩oe* ‘roasted’, and Spanish *torta* ‘round cake’. The meaning of the *Fante* candidate is too broad and as far as I am aware, Jamaicans generally make a distinction between roasting and baking. Pending further evidence, Spanish *torta* appears to be a more likely etymon for this word. *Nyo: Àkán* *(GOC)*.


408. **TUOTO, TUOTA, TUOTUO** ‘a small cake (about 3 in. diameter and \( \frac{1}{2} \) in. thick) made of flour and brown sugar, sometimes with shredded coconut’. *DJE* marks this word as being of uncertain etymology but asks us to consider *Àkán* *(Fante)* *tōtōe* ‘roasted’, and Spanish *torta* ‘round cake’. The meaning of the *Fante* candidate is too broad and as far as I am aware, Jamaicans generally make a distinction between roasting and baking. Pending further evidence, Spanish *torta* appears to be a more likely etymon for this word. *Nyo: Àkán* *(Sen)*.

409. **TUSH** ‘to have a movement of the bowels’. *DJE* does not supply an etymology.
for this form, but the DJES asks us to consider Mbundu 
tuṣi, and Zarma 
tosi ‘human excrement’. However, this word is definitely a nursery word, and similar forms can be found
in non-African languages such as American English 
tushie which Feinsilver (1962, p. 205) says
is derived from Yiddish 

toches or 
tuches ‘rump’. See §4.3.8 for a discussion on why nursery
words are not accepted as secure Africanisms in the present study. ④ Nursery word.

410. 
	TUT ‘an intensifying, concluding exclamation’. ③ For the etymology of this word, the
DJE asks us to consider Gbè (Vhe) 
tútu ‘closed’. This suggests that the editors see the
Jamaican form as a grammaticalised version of the Gbè lexical item. Nowhere in the literature
on grammaticalisation that I am familiar with is mention made of the grammaticalisation of
words meaning ‘closed’ into intensifying markers (cf. Heine & Kuteva, 2002, 2005). ④ No
suitable (African) etymology found.

411. 
	TOOTO ‘to urinate’. ③ The DJE asks us to compare Hausa 
tu:tu ‘human excrement’, as
the etymon of this word. However, the Hausa word is a referential item while the Jamaican
one is predicative, plus they do not refer to the same type of excretion from the body. In
addition to these points, this is a nursery word and it has already been explained in §4.3.8
why nursery words provide poor evidence for (specific) African contribution. ④ Nursery
word.

412. 

us to consider Yorùbá ìlẹ ‘thief’ which is cognate with the Ìgbo etymology accepted here.
The final vowel of the Ìgbo candidate makes it a better phonetic match for the Jamaican
word. ④ Ìgbo (BIA).

413. 

UNGGÚRU ‘an albino negro’. ② Tiv ingorough ‘carelessly done work or a slapdash
person (Abraham, 1933, p. 126). ③ The DJE proposes Àkán 
gúrów ‘to break down, to lan-
guish’, as a tentative etymology, but this proposal does not account for the initial VC syllable
of the Jamaican word. Given the numerous derogatory names for albinoes in Jamaican the
Tiv etymon accepted here provides a credible semantic match, plus it accounts fully for the
shape of the Jamaican word. ④ Tiv (BIA).

414. 

UNU, UNO, UNA, UNI, HUNU, WUNU ‘(a) you (regularly in the plural); (b) you
(occasionally in the singular); (c) you, one (indefinite pronoun)’. ② Ìgbo 
ünù ‘pron[noun] 2rd [sic.] pers[on] plur[al], unemphatic, subject or objec-
t: you’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 785). ③ The
DJE derives this word from Ìgbo, but Mittelsdorf (1978, p. 29) contests this etymology based
on the fact that the overall lexical contribution of Ìgbo to Jamaican is not very high. See
§3.3.5 for further discussion. ④ Ìgbo (BIA).

415. 

VUTA ‘yam that has run wild’. ② Koongo 
vutu ‘sweet potatoes’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 211). ③ This word was recorded in three separate years in the twentieth century, all in the
parish of Portland. It is possible that it was contributed by post-Emancipation immigrants
but since Carter (1996a) does not list it as part of the lexicon of Kumina practitioners I have
left it in. ④ Koongo (WCA).

416. 

WAGATI ‘clumsy’. ② Yorùbá wágawága ‘clumsy, awkward in shape or in motion’
was first suggested by the DJE, which derives the Jamaican word from the Yorùbá one via
clipping followed by the addition of the English-derived suffix -ti. This probably took place
on the analogy of another African-derived word, 
bufutu ‘bulky, fat and clumsy’, in which
the final syllable was reanalysed as the suffix 
-ti to produce the variant 
bufiti. Although the
Nupe candidate does not mean clumsy, I have accepted it in light of a very strong tendency in Jamaican to associate large size/fatness with clumsiness and stupidity. ③ Kwa: Yorùbá, Nupe (BEN).

417. WAGAWAGA ‘plentiful, plentifully’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology but claims that it is probably African without providing any suggestions. Although wagawaga is used with more general reference, it is most often used today in reference to food available in excessive amounts. Two African languages contain potential etyma in terms of form: Yorùbá wágàwàgà ‘disorderly’ (Fordyce, 1983, p. 270), Yala wágàwàgà ‘uneven fashion’, but unfortunately none of them provides a very direct semantic match. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

418. WÁNGGLA, WÁNGGRA, WOLONGGO, WONGGALA, WANGGOLA, WANGGLO, VANGLA, VANGLO ‘(a) the small climbing Sesamum orientale, formerly valued for its oily seeds and other parts; (b) a sugar cake made with wangi seeds; also, latterly, one made with nuts—peanuts, cashew nuts; (c) the plants or its seeds as used in obeah practices’. ② Koongo wáangila ‘sesame (sesamum indicum)’ (Laman, 1964, p. 1092). ③ The DJE, ARJC, and the DCEU all accept the Koongo etymology. ④ Koongo (WCA).

419. WARI ‘nickers or nickals—used in playing the game’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) wàre, (Fante) əware ‘a certain native game played with small balls or globules passed into the holes of an oblong draught-board or table, as in backgammon the men are played into the points of the tables’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 558). ③ The Àkán etymon accepted here coincides with the DJE’s. The obvious match provided by the Àkán word makes the absence of this word from the ARJC’s list of accepted etymologies unexplainable. ④ Àkán (GOC).

420. WENYAWENYA ‘thin’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider Gbè (F’Ou) winiwindi ‘fine, thin’, however, the supposed change cannot be attributed to Jamaican phonology, and Capo (1991) does not describe any such change or alternation in Gbè. ④ No suitable (African) etymon found.

421. WEREWERE₁ ‘torn garments, anything ragged’. ③ This entry and entry 422 are treated as one word by the DJE, but the differences in meaning suggest they are two separate words. Based on the illustrative quotations, I have assigned werewere₁ the second sense given by the DJE, and assigned the DJE’s first sense to werewere₂. The editors ask us to consider Àkán wèrô-wèrô ‘carelessly, negligently’, and Yorùbá wèrèwè ‘small, diminutive’. While one could argue for a semantic link between something that is torn or ragged, and doing something carelessly, it is still highly speculative. Therefore, we have to reject the Àkán etymon. The Yorùbá word is accepted as the etymon of the next entry. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

422. WEREWERE₂, WIRIWIRI ‘meagre and small’. ② Yorùbá wèrèwè ‘small, dwarf, diminutive’ (DYL, 2003, p. 228). ③ See discussion under entry 421. ④ Yorùbá (BEN).

423. WOWATÔ ‘to make much of a person’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) awáwá(a)túú ‘welcoming by embracing’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 559). ④ Àkán (GOC).

424. WUROWURO, WURUWURU ‘bramble, hair’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) wúrú ‘weed(s), grass, bush, wood... whatever grows wild’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 568). ③ The DJE derives this word from Yorùbá wúru-wúru ‘untidy, rough, in a confused mass’. However, the Àkán
etymon proposed and accepted here is a noun and has senses which more closely match those of the Jamaican word. ④ Ákán (GOC).

425. **YAYA, YAAYA** ‘an affectionate term of address to one’s grandmother, or to one’s mother’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider several Niger-Congo forms while the JCAH presents only the Koongo candidate that I have copied in the list below.③

Here I reproduce all previous proposals and add a few others to the list. Themne ɑ-yɑ ‘mother, Mrs., aunt’ (Summer, 1922, p. 138), Gbè (Gun) iyà ‘Mutter’, (Fàn) ya ‘mother’ (Westermann, 1954, p. 764), Igbo iyà ‘mother, mum’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 269), Yorùbá iyà ‘mother; any kinswoman of the same generation as one’s parents’ (Abraham, 1958, p. 331), Efik iyà ‘mother’ (Goldie, 1964, p. 547), Gbàrì eyà ‘mother’ (Rosendall, 1998, p. 66), Koongo yaya ‘mother, also mother’s sister and other maternal relations’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 471).

This list demonstrates that there is a high level of formal similarity among Niger-Congo languages as far as this word is concerned. This might be due to its being a nursery word (see §4.3.8). It is not impossible that its presence in Jamaican is due to Niger-Congo languages, however, since it is not possible to rule out language universals as a contributing factor, the word is not accepted here as a clear-cut Africanism. ④ Nursery word.

426. **YABA** ‘a native-made heavy earthenware vessel of any size (quite small bowls up to cooking pots holding several gallons); sometimes the clay material itself’. ② Ákán (Akyem) ayawà ‘earthenware vessel, dish’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 582), (Fante) yabá (W. E. Welmers, 1946, p. 10), Anufo ayába (Kras, 1970, p. 12). ③ The DJE, ARJC, and the DCEU give only the Akyem etymon, but the forms from Anufo and the Fante dialect of Ákán provide closer formal matches for this word than the (modern) Akyem form. ④ Tano: Ákán (GOC), Anufo (GOC, BEN)

427. **YAI, YAIJ** ‘eye, eyes’. ③ The DJE derives this word from English e, ye, eyes by palatalisation of the initial vowel, but claims that there may be concurrent influence from African languages via forms such as Bamanankan ɲɛ ‘eye’, ye ‘to see’, Kpelle ɲɛ ‘eye’, Nupe eye ‘eye’. The case for an African origin is weakened by two facts. First, the vowel of the English word matches the vowel of the Jamaican word better than the vowels of the African candidates. Second, all other basic body-parts, e.g. nuo ‘nose’, iez ‘ear’, tiit ‘tooth’, are derived from English. ④ African etymology rejected.

428. **YÀMPI, YÀMPII, YAMPY, YAMPOY** ‘a small variety of yam (Dioscorea sp.).’ ② Mende jambi ‘wild tuber root’, Dyolof pambi ‘manioc’, Wolof nàmbi ‘manioc’ (Cissé, 1998), Mandinka nyàmbò ‘yam’ (Koelle, 1963 [1854], p. 108). ③ The DJE and the EJB suggest Vai dzambi ‘wild yam’ as the etymon of this word. While the general principles of phonological change make this a potential source for the Jamaican word, we have more evidence for n → j in our list of Africanisms, than we have for dʒ → j. ④ Atlantic-Congo: Dyolof, Wolof, Mandinka (SEN), Mende (SIE).

429. **YÀNGGA, YONGGA, WANGGA, WENGGA** ‘(a) to move (in dancing or in walking) in a shaking or swaying manner that is “stylish” or provocative; (b) a dance’. ② Proto-Bantu *-yàng- ‘dance about in joy’ as reflected in Yambasa bì-yàgà ‘joy’ (Guthrie, 1970b, p. 150), Yaka yànanga ‘qqn dans un groupe de chasseurs qui a tiré une bête’ (Ruttenberg, 1999, p. 178), Koongo yangatala ‘to be pleased, feel happy, be glad, content, joyful, delighted,

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③ The ARJC’s treatment of these kinship terms is inconsistent because it includes taata ‘father’ and yaaya ‘mother’, but excludes maama ‘mother’.
to rejoice' (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 470), Mbundu -yang- ‘dance about (especially as a sign of joy)’ (Guthrie, 1970b, p. 150), Nyanja yangala ‘to dance to oneself’ (Allsopp, 1996, p. 617).

This entry represents a consolidation of four DJE headwords: wangga, wengga, the verb yanga and the noun yanga.

The phonetic history of this entry is intertwined with nyangga (entry 318), but the difference in their meanings suggests that we are dealing with two separate words. While I have kept the DJE’s sense (1) for the headword yangga, I believe that it really refers to a type of dance or the action of dancing, and the sense which refers to a type of walking rightly belongs to the word nyangga (entry 318).

The DJE in its etymological treatment of its headword yanga claims that the word is ‘probably related to nyanga’, asks us to compare Limba nyanka-ki, yanka wo ‘the names of dances, perhaps with influence from America Spanish yanga ‘uncontrolled, carelessly done’.

The Bantu etymologies listed above provide good formal and semantic matches for the Jamaican word. I take the Limba words to be cases of chance similarity but which had nothing to do with the Jamaican word. The DJE’s Spanish etymology, while good on formal grounds, is poor on the semantic side. The DCEU claims that this word is ‘probably of Bantu origin’, and asks us to compare Nyanja nyanganyanga ‘walking softly on tiptoe’ and yangala to dance by oneself’. Neither of these etymologies matches the meaning of the Jamaican word.

430. YERIYERI, YEREYERE, YERAYERA ‘(a) very small fish; (b) small children; (c) small food’. This entry merges two DJE headwords:erry-erry with senses (a) and (b) above, and yera-arya with sense (c). There are other cases where one word is used to refer to a wide variety of small things which normally occur in groups, such as flies, fish, children (see ketekete, ninggininggi, minimini). Therefore, I treat yerayera as a phonetic variant of yereyere.

The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology but asks us to consider Yorùbá yerí yerí ‘sparklingly, brightly’. No convincing link can be established between the meanings of the Jamaican and Yorùbá words, and so we must reject the Yorùbá proposal. No suitable (African) etymology found.

431. YÚBA ‘a not very good variety of sugar-cane’. The DJE proposes that this word is probably a phonetic respelling of Uba. The editors point out that the Indian and Hawaiian varieties of Uba were brought to Barbados in 1933–4. However, in DJE2 the editors ask us to consider Common Bantu y`uba ‘sugar-cane’, as a possible source. But the proposed Bantu etymon refers to sugarcane in general and not to a particular type, which I will show is crucial to tracing the etymon.

The first etymology proposed by the DJE is extremely plausible since the Uba was introduced into several sugar-producing countries because of their resistance to diseases, etc (cf. Sartoris, 1940, p 515, Tinley & Mirkowich, 1941, p. 538). The DJE’s illustrative quotations identify Jamaican yúba as being tough and of poor quality. By 1952, according to one of the quotations, they were getting rid of the species. Hence, based on the DJE’s note on ‘phonetic respelling’ and the fact that the semantic associations of Jamaican yúba closely resemble those of the Uba, the English source seems more plausible. African etymology rejected.

432. ZELA ‘a nine-night celebration sometimes with an element of pocomania added’. The DJE asks us to consider Gbè ( Fon) zeli ‘a funeral drum’, as a possible source for this word. The semantic derivation is quite plausible, but the suggested change from /i/ to /a/ is unlikely. No suitable (African) etymology found.
433. **zunggu** as in **zunggu-pan** ‘a large metal container normally used for washing clothes—also called **zingk-pan** (< English zinc). ② Koongo **nungu** ‘a pot, boiler, caldron [sic]’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 408). ③ I have not encountered this word in any of my Jamaican sources, but it forms a part of my active vocabulary. ④ Koongo (WCA).

434. **zuzu** as in **zuzu-man** ‘an obeahman’. ② Igbo **zuzu** ‘magic’ (Echeruo, 1998, p. 114). ③ The DJE provides no etymology for this word, however, my own research has uncovered Igbo **zuzu** ‘magic’ which matches the form and semantics of the first element of Jamaican **zuzu-man** perfectly. ④ Igbo (BIA).

435. **zuzu** as in **zuzu wap** ‘a children’s game in which one player (named Zuzu Wapp) chases others, beating them. ② Igbo **zuzu** ‘behaving foolishly or stupidly or unwisely; foolishness, stupidity, foolish or stupid behaviour’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 545), Koongo **zuzu** ‘cheerfulness, [...] vivacity, playfulness, merriment, [...] seldom used except of children’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 408), Digo **zuzu** ‘stupid, foolish’ (Mwalonya, 2006, p. 201). ③ In agreement with the DJE, the second element is from English **whop** ‘to beat, strike’, however, I disagree with the editors’ suggestion that the first element is probably from Jamaican **zuzu** ‘obeahman’. Several Benue-Kwa languages provide better sources with phonetically similar words referring to childishness, cheerfulness, or stupidity. Since players in the game are beaten by **Zuzu Wap** the name appears to be both a taunt and a reference to the fact that the beating is just for fun. ④ Benne-Kwa: Igbo (BIA), Koongo (WCA), Digo (SEA).

B.3.2 Anthroponyms, ethnonyms, and toponyms

436. **Aba** ‘name for a female born on Thursday’. ③ Àkán (Akuapem) **Yawá, Yaá** (Christaller, 1933, p. 582), (Fante) **Aba** (Agyekum, 2006, p. 214), (Bono) **Yaa** (Ansu-Kyereme, 2000, p. 22), Guang (Nkonya) **Yá, Yáwa** (Westermann, 1922, p. 246), (Gua) **Yaa** (Asihene, c.1999, p. 123), Gbè (Vhe) **Yáwa** (Westermann, 1973, p. 288). ④ See §7.5 for discussion.

437. **Anansi, Anaansi, Nansi** ‘the central character of numerous fables, West African in origin, and extremely popular in Jamaica and many other parts of the West Indies. Anancy, the spider, pits his cunning (usually with success) against superior strength; he also symbolizes greed and envy’. ③ **Ananse** ‘a mythic personage, generally called **agyé Ananse** to whom great skill and ingenuity is attributed (but who is usually caught in his own snare), a personification of the spider’ (s.v. **ananse-sém** in Christaller (1933, p. 330)). ④ Àkán

438. **Baalimbo** ‘a word of uncertain meaning, perhaps a name, used in the refrains of songs’. ③ The DJE points out that this is ‘a word of uncertain origin, probably ultimately African’. The name appears in the song which accompanies a game I am personally familiar with called ‘**Skipin in di ring**’ (< skipping in the ring):

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Leader: Skipin in di ring
Chorus: Yes, Baalimbo/Barista
Leader: Skipin in di ring
Chorus: Yes, Baalimbo/Barista
Leader: Chuuz di wan yu lov
Chorus: Yes, Baalimbo/Barista
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As indicated in the text of the song above, the name **Baalimbo** can also be replaced with the word **Barista** (< barrister), which is interesting since the Fante dialect of Àkán has
the word mbranyinfo ‘lawyer’ (Berry, 1960, p. 74), which appears to be close in form. If Barista is a true synonym for Baalimbo, then the sense match is perfect, however a closer look at the formal correspondence presents several problems.

As with all other Àkán-derived words on this list, the nasal prefix would have been dropped. From here, the logical assumption would be that the rhotic /r/ was deleted, the palatal nasal represented by <ny> was changed to /n/ and then to /l/, and the voiceless fricative /f/ was changed to the voiced bilabial plosive /b/.

However, in addition to the fact that too many steps are needed to get from the Àkán to the Jamaican form, there are several other problems with the individual changes proposed. First, it must be pointed out that all the African-derived words on the current list with initial /br/ cluster are of Àkán origin. This means that there is no motivation for the reduction of this cluster since speakers maintained it in all other Àkán-derived words, and most English-derived ones. In fact the only example I am aware of where an initial /br/ cluster is reduced is the high-frequency title baada ~ brada < English brother. Assuming the possible three-step change /ny/ → /n/ → /l/, that leaves us with only one final change to account for: /f/ → /b/. It has been demonstrated by Mittelsdorf (1978, p. 28) and in §4.2.2.1 that the normal Jamaican reflex of Àkán/f/ is /f/.

The DJE’s 1940 illustrative quotation provides evidence for a local etymology for the name:

Bahlimbo—A personal name found in Songs. Marion connected it with a children’s game in which one of the characters was called the Limber Lawd. A tale about Limber-Limber-Lawd is a version of “Drop, you drop”. (Astley Clerk: [Before 1 April 1940] a teacher told me that the word means Bro: Chatty, from Ba, Bah, meaning Brother, and limbo = talkative—both words he said were African.)


439. Beneba, Beni ‘the day-name given to a female child born on Tuesday’. 4. See §7.5 for discussion.

440. Beyakuuta ‘(a) in Westmoreland is the settlement named Abbeacuta, (b) rock. 2 Yorùbá abeokuta ‘beneath the rock’. 3 This toponym is from the Yorùbá compound (itself a toponym) which the DJE suggests: abé ‘the lower part, bottom’ + ôkûta ‘rock’ (DYL, 2003, pp. 2, 171). Westmoreland is the only place where the ‘rock’ meaning was recorded and it is very likely that this meaning and the place-name represent nineteenth-century imports. 4 Toponym (Yorùbá)

441. Bónggo ‘(a) an insulting term meaning very black; ugly; stupid; a country bumpkin; African, etc.; (b) attributive as in bungo bee, bungo man, bungo talk, etc.’. 2 Hausa bunugu ‘a nincompoop, country bumpkin; often also applied to one of unprepossessing appearance’ (Bargery, 1951/1934, p. 130). 3 Both the DJE and the DCEU ask us to consider the Hausa etymon accepted here and the Central African ethnonym, Bongo. Unlike the Congo (see entry 450), I have found no evidence in the early literature to prove that the ethnonym Bongo was in use in Jamaica. The JCAH derives the term from the Koongo phrase muntu a mbongo ‘person bought with money’, which the author claims ‘in Jamaica was a label for any African, indicating that the person had been enslaved or was a slave descendant’ (Warner-Lewis, 2004, p. 25).

DJES notes English dialectal bungow ‘an idiot’ which the EDD records in south-west Lancashire. Since the term was/is often used by blacks to refer to blacks specifically, an African
source is probable and the African ethnonym Bongo would be the most likely. ④ Ethnonym.

442. Champong ‘(a) a personal name; (b) part of the name of a Maroon village’. ② Àkán akýéampøj ‘a personal name’. ③ The DJE points out that for the Maroons this word means ‘the oldest ancestor of the Maroons, a bully’. The name also occurs within other names such as Champong Tong (< town) and Champong Nani (prob. < personal name Nanny). ④ Anthroponym (Àkán)

443. Chuku, Chuku Hana ‘a far-away place; a long distance away; a place far away; hence a vague “country”’. ③ This entry represents the consolidation of two DJE headwords which have similar meanings: chookoo and chucu Hannah. The DJE proposes that chookoo is from Jamaican chok ‘which usually suggests a long distance away’ + epenthetic -u. The editors derive the first element of chucu Hannah from chok and through an accompanying question mark, cautiously ask us to consider Àkán ahànnú ‘two hundred’ or ahànnúm ‘five hundred’ as a possible source of the second element.

However, Jamaican Chuku is most certainly derived from:

Ègbo Cukwu ‘Great Ci (= “ci ukwu”), or the amalgam of the individual “ci”; appears now mostly in personal names, many of them associated with the Aròcukwu oracle–Nuacukwu = son of Cukwu; child born by grace of Cukwu; Almighty God, in Christian usage; […] used by the Arò as name for Ibn Úkpábi, the supreme god located at the oracle of the “Long Juju of Aròcukwu” (Echeruo, 1998, p. 35, original italics).

Shaw (1987, p. 7) notes that the cult of Cukwu became influential from the seventeenth century onwards and shrines were constructed in many Ègbo villages. However, people still travelled long distances to consult the oracle (Long Juju) at Arù (Manfredi, 2004, p. 259).

For the longer form Chuku Hana, the DJE derives the first element from Chuku, and reservedly suggests Àkán ahànnú ‘two hundred’, ahànnúm ‘five hundred’ as the possible source of the second element. Since the first element turned out to be an Ègboism, Ègbo might be the best place to search for the second component. My search led me to Ègbo àlù ‘land, ground, soil’ (Igwe, 1999, pp. 57-8), which in the Ènìchá dialect would possibly be rendered as ana. However, the resulting compound would mean something like ‘God’s land/ground’, and Victor Manfredi (personal communication) finds this etymology to be out of tenor with Ègbo culture since Cukwu is a sky god and has never been associated with the ground. Instead, Manfredi proposes that Jamaican Chuku Hana is likely to be a garbled version of Ègbo chuku abiaama which is the Arùchukwu expression meaning ‘god the great deity of the strangers’. ④ Ègbo.

444. Fiiba, Fìiba ‘a female day-name now little remembered; it corresponded to the male name Cuffee, for a child born on Friday’. ④ See §7.5 for discussion.

445. Hitó ‘a man or woman of the Hittoe people’. ③ The DJE claims that this is an ‘African tribal name, probably the same as Ito, “a small section near Arochuku” (i.e. near Calabar) speaking a dialect of Ibibio influenced by Ègbo (Westermann & Bryan, 1952). ④ Ethnonym

446. Jiko ‘a day-name’. ③ The DJE claims that this name is ‘evidently African (but not listed by Christaller)’. No African source has been found for this word as yet. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.
447. *Juba* ‘(a) the day-name for a female born on Monday; (b) symbolic of various traits of character, apparently including caution, imitativeness, etc.’. ④ See §7.5 for discussion.

448. *Kofi* ‘(a) the day-name for a male born on Friday; (b) one of the captains of the Maroons; (c) a derogatory term: a backward or stupid person, unable to speak clearly; one easily fooled’. ④ See §7.5 for discussion.

449. *Kojo* ‘(a) the day-name for a male born on Monday; (b) a slave-driver’. ④ See §7.5 for discussion.

450. *Konggo, Kanggo, Kangga, Konggu* ‘(a) the African country of origin of many Jamaican negroes; (b) a negro from the Congo region; (c) used to suggest blackness (cf CONGO FLY, etc), stupidity, backwardness, and other mostly unfavourable qualities; (d) a fish’. ② The ethnonym *Kongo*. ③ The DJE gives no explicit etymology for this headword, but under sense (3) in that work, the editors ask us to consider Bantu *nkongo* ‘slave’. While this suggestion is possible, we must consider that there is no recorded evidence of the word *Konggo* being used in Jamaica as a general term meaning ‘slave’. What we do have is evidence from Long (2002 [1774], p. 353) informing us about several groups: ‘[t]he Congo’s, Arada’s, Quaqua’s, and Angola’s, particularly the latter, who are likewise most stupid’. This demonstrates that slaves from the Congo region were seen as slow, and this certainly led to the use of the ethnonym for general reference.

The DJE and the DCEU both attribute the pejorative senses of the word to slaves from Congo having arrived later than others. The DCEU even states that this is a historical fact. However, we have already seen in chapter 2 that slaves from West Central Africa were among the earliest groups of Africans shipped to Jamaica in the seventeenth century, hence late arrival is out of the question. Notwithstanding my rejection of the DJE and DCEU’s claim regarding late arrival, I accept their suggestion that the ethnonym has undergone pejoration. In this respect, it parallels the pejoration of the ethnonym of the *Slaves*, whose name produced the modern English word slave (OED2). ④ Ethnonym: Kongo (associated with WCA).

451. *kota* as in *kotawud* ‘Cottawood is a Jamaican place-name not found elsewhere’. ② The DJE conjectures that the first element in this toponym might be from Àkán *katí* ‘to cover, conceal, protect, etc.’. ④ It is possible that the editors of the DJE considered the Àkán word as the source of this toponym based on the fact that the woods provided protection or concealment for runaway slaves. However, it is impossible to prove this relationship without further evidence. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

452. *Kròmánti* ‘(a) the place of origin of many of the slaves brought to Jamaica in the late 17th and early 18th centuries; (b) a negro brought from and identified with this area; in Jamaica, those who escaped and joined the MAROONS came to dominate them and gained a reputation for fierceness; (c) the “secret language” of the Maroons; (d) a local name for the tree Mataayba apetala, which grows in the hills and is reputed for its tough wood’. ② < the toponym *Cor(o)mantine* which was a fort on the Gold Coast. ④ *Cor(o)mantine* (Toponym)

453. *kronggo-yam, kronjo-yam* ‘a type of wild yam’. ③ The DJE derives the name of this yam from the ethnonym *Crongoe*. Crongoe refers to an ethnic group which mostly inhabits northern Sudan and speaks an unclassified Nilo-Saharan language with the same name (Gordon & Grimes, 2005). Given what we know about the source region for enslaved Africans (see chapter 2), it is quite unlikely that this is a reference to the northern Sudan
Ethnic group. A more plausible source is the ethnic name Kongo with the intrusive /r/ attested in other words/names such as Krúki (entry 454). ② Kongo (Ethnonym)

454.  Krúki ‘the wife of the trickster-hero Ananse’. ② Hausa k’ok’i ‘wife of spider hero Gizo’ (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 41). ③ The DJE marks this name as being of unknown origin but states that it is ‘conceivably an alternation of Àkán K’órîn’ ‘the name of Ananse’s wife (e-K’ónnàre ‘a species of spider’)’. While the Àkán etymology might ultimately be related to the Hausa etymology accepted here, it is a poor formal match for the Jamaican name. The Hausa etymology was first proposed in an anonymous article published in 1934 in the Journal of American Folklore (Anonymous, 1934, pp. 393-4). ④ Hausa (BIA)

455.  Kúba ‘(a) the day-name of a female born on Wednesday; (b) a servant (c) a womanish man, (d) sometimes slut’. ④ See §7.5 for discussion.

456.  Kubena, Kubina ‘the day-name of a male born on Wednesday’. ④ See §7.5 for discussion.

457.  Kwáàmín (a) the DAY-NAME for a boy born on Saturday; this sense is now virtually out of use; (b) = Quaco① (2) though not as common: a bumpkin; a stupid person; (c) an eel (Probably intended as a derogatory term.’). ④ See §7.5 for discussion.

458.  Kwaku Kwaaaku, Kwako ‘(a) the DAY-NAME for a boy born on Wednesday; this sense is now virtually out of use; (b) used of an unsophisticated negro by the more sophisticated: a rough, uncultivated person, an ignorant or stupid person’. ④ See §7.5 for discussion.


460.  Kwaashi, kwashi ‘a DAY-NAME for a boy born on Sunday’. ④ See §7.5 for discussion.

461.  Kwashiiba ④ See §7.5 for discussion.

462.  Mimba ‘the day-name for a girl born on Saturday’. ④ See §7.5 for discussion.

463.  Mongola ‘(a) an African tribe name related to Angola; (b) an African of Mongola origin’. The DJE points out that ‘like other African tribal names, it has survived only in unfavourable senses, implying ignorance, stupidity, backwardness’. The first syllable appears to be the Mbundu class 1 prefix (mu-) which is attached to nouns referring to humans (Pedro, 1993, p. 113). ④ Ethnonym

464.  Nago, Nangga ‘(a) a Yorùbá-speaking people, many of whom were brought as slaves to Jamaica; (b) an individual of this origin; (c) a term of contempt originally applied by Creole blacks to African-born slaves; now signifying a very black, ugly, or stupid negro’. ② Gbè (Vhe) anagó ‘a Yorùbá negro’ [Note: Àkán (Fa) anago = night], Guang (Nkonya) anañkó, anaìngó ‘Joruba’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 212), (Fon) nágó ‘le pays Nago (Yoruba)’ (Höftmann, 2003, p. 307). ④ Benue-Kwa: Guang (GOC), Gbè (GOC, BEN).

465.  Popo (a) as a ‘tribal’-geographic name: the area west of Whydah, in Dahomey in which the people called Papaw dwelt, the port from which they were shipped, or the people
themselves (references are often ambiguous); (b) a slave of this origin'. ③ (Le Page, 1960, p. 37) points out that this was ‘the name applied by Europeans to any slave coming from the Slave Coast west of the Yoruba country, the region in which the Ewe [i.e. Gbè ] languages and their related dialects are spoken’. ④ Ethnonym and Toponym.

466. **Takuma, Tukuma(n), Tekuma** ‘in Anansi stories, the son of Anansi most often named. His character is not very distinctive, but he is sometimes seen in opposition to Anansi’. ② Àkán nítikúmá ‘a species of spider’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 514) and in stories, ananse’s son (Christaller, 1933, p. 330). ③ The alternative, but now rarer pronunciation /tekuma/ might represent the intermediate stage between the change from the high front vowel [i] to the low vowel [a]. The 1896 Bates illustrative quotation which the DJE gives is possibly evidence that the name was once used to refer to spiders just like anansi ④ Àkán (GOC) Anthroponym

467. **Taki** ‘a personal name’. ② Àkán Takyí ‘proper name’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 491), Gá Taki ‘proper name of males’ (Zimmermann, 1858a, p. 285). ③ Zimmermann (1858b) states that the Gá form is probably from Àkán. ④ Tano: Àkán, Gá (GOC)

468. **Timini** ‘an African tribal and language name from Sierra Leone’. ② < Themne. ③ The epenthetic vowel could have been inserted before the name was transported to Jamaica. Two of the variant pronunciations that Westermann and Bryan (1952, p. 13) provide for the name of the ethnic group are Timene and Timmannee. ④ Timene (Ethnonym & Glossonym)

469. **Waawii** ‘one of the ‘tribal” and language names of negroes brought to Jamaica’. ③ The DJE proposes that this name is ‘probably Vai, from the coast of West Africa south of Sierra Leone’. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to accept this etymology. ④ Ethnonym (etymology unidentified)

**B.3.3 Lexical Africanisms attested only in Maroon communities**

The words treated in this section are those for which the DJE suggests African etymologies, but which have only been attested in Maroon communities. The entry numbering continues from the pervious sections so that we can get an overall idea of the number of words/names for which African origin has been proposed in previous works. Those interested in Africanisms used in Jamaican Maroon communities, or more general aspect s of Maroon language may consult Bilby (1981, 1983); Bilby (2006), Hall-Alleyne (1984), Alleyne (1986), and Hall-Alleyne (1990). Each entry closes with an indication of the community in which the word was recorded.

470. **AAPETEBI USAKA** ‘the crows will eat you (when you are dead)’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) a-pé té ‘vultures’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 391) + bi ‘a, an, a certain, one, some’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 20) + nša ká ‘to obtain, receive, get’ (s.v. nša in Christaller (1933, p. 416)). ③ The etymology accepted here is the one provided by the DJE, which I have double-checked in Christaller (1933). ④ Àkán [Moore Town]

471. **ABU** ‘the jasmine, especially when used medicinally’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) o-bówe ‘a thick climbing plant’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 45). ③ The DJE asks us to consider the Àkán etymon accepted here, plus the Àkán word bów ‘odour, scent, smell’. Apparently Christaller was unable to identify the plant specifically but noted what must have been its most striking characteristics, i.e. thick foliage, and climbing. That the plant identified by Christaller is most probably the jasmine, lies in the fact that most jasmines, *Jasminum* are climbing vines and are aromatic. A tea can be brewed from the plant in order to treat ailments such as sore
throat, coughs, and bronchitis. This last piece of information points to the medicinal uses which the DJE mentions. ④ Àkán [Accompong]

472. **ABÚJA, BÚJA** ‘a firefly’. ② Àkán (Akuapem, Asante) **obogya**, (Fante) **bogya** ‘glow-worm’ (Berry, 1960, p. 60), Guang (Gua) **obogya** ‘a glowing-fly (that comes out in the night)’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 97). ③ The DJE and the ARJC only list the form which is associated with the Akuapem and Asante dialects of Àkán, however, I have added the Fante form which is a possible source for the variant without the initial vowel. Also, the form in the Gua dialect of Guang is identical to the Akuapem and Asante forms. ④ Tano: Àkán, Guang [Accompong and Windward]

473. **AKÉTE, AKÉTA, KETTAY** ‘another name for the ABENG: the horn of a goat or cow used as a bugle, chiefly by the Maroons’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) **kête** ‘a flute or pipe made of [a reed], played before kings and accompanied by other instruments [...] drums and bells’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 235), Gbè (Vhe) **kête** ‘a flute’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 120), (Gun) **okete** ‘flute’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 6). ③ All etymologies presented in the previous section, are also to be found in the DJE. ④ Kwa: Àkán, Gbè [Accompong, Windward]

474. **BANG-KITTY** ‘all right’. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of uncertain origin, but asks the reader to compare Vai **ban** ‘to be finished’, a **ban** ‘it is finished’, Bamanankan **ban** ‘to finish’. Since the meaning and source of the second element of the compound have not yet been identified, it is difficult to say how it contributes to the overall meaning of the expression. Once this remains the case, the etymologies cannot be but speculative and tentative. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

475. **BRACHO** ‘a pig’. ③ The illustrative quotation for this *hapax legomenon* can be found under the DJE’s headword **aboukani**. The DJE suggests a probable source in Àkán **p‘rako** ‘hog, swine, porker’, which itself is derived from Portuguese **porco** ‘pig’, however, I have not come across any other cases where /k/ is affricated before a back vowel. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found.

476. **BUSU** ‘ignorant, quarrelsome, objectionable person’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) **busú** ‘mischief, [...] a thing that causes mischief’ (s.v. **mmusu** in Christaller (1933, p. 323)), Gbè (Vhe) **busú** ‘Übel, Unheil, Fluch [evil, ill-luck]’ (Westermann, 1954, p. 38), Guang (Gua) **âbusuho** ‘a person who brings bad luck to others, a mischievous person’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 16). ③ It appears that this word has only survived in one fixed phrase in Maroon speech, /búsu fúul púl yu músu/ ‘stop your foolishness’. See entry 485 for the other Africanism in this fixed expression. The DJE merely asks us to consider two Àkán compounds containing the base **busú**, but does not make a final statement on the etymology. ④ Kwa: Àkán, Gbè, Guang [Accompong]

477. **BUTTA** ‘a bow and arrow used for shooting birds; the arrow being made from cane arrow’. ② Koongo **bu-tá** ‘arc fusil; arme’ (Laman, 1964, p. 83). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology, but the Koongo word supplied in the previous section provides an excellent etymon. ④ Koongo [Accompong]

478. **EDOH-EDOH** ‘a call used by hill people’. ③ The DJE asks us to compare Àkán **adwó éé** ‘a call for attention’. However, on the formal side, there is no evidence to support the proposed Àkán etymology. We would have expected Àkán <dw> either to remain [dʒ] or be changed to [dʒ]. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found. [Accompong]
479. **Íisaa** ‘rum, especially white rum’. ② Ákán (Fante) *nsá* ‘liquor’ (W. E. Welmers, 1946, p. 32). (Asante) *nsa* (Berry, 1960, p. 76), Guang (Gonja) *ns-a* ‘wine’ (Snider, 1988, p. 153). ③ The DJE derives this word from the Biblical name *Esau*, suggesting that the Jamaican Maroon word is the result of a folk-etymological analysis of the proper name with possible ‘allusion to Esau’s loss of his birthright’. The word is better derived from the Tano etymology provided here which have the same meaning as the Maroon word. The Maroon form also contains vestiges of its formal development. The initial vowel was no doubt inserted to break up the consonant cluster formed by the nasal and the fricative (*íinsaa*). Subsequent loss of the nasal, which is attested in several African words in Jamaican, resulted in the change to *íisaa*. ④ Tano: Ákán, Guang [Moore Town]

480. **JANIBIJANI** ‘common greeting of one Maroon to another’. ③ The DJE asks us to consider Gbè (Vhe) *dzáni* ‘to be beautiful’, and Ákán *gye ani* as possible sources. It is not implausible for a word meaning beautiful to be a part of a general greeting, but to the best of my knowledge, the shape of the Maroon word cannot be accounted for by the morphology of either Ákán, Gbè, or Jamaican. The shape is reminiscent of a particular type of reduplication in Igbo where an infix with the shape CV is inserted between the base and the fricative (*-bi-*). However, I have not been able to find any -bi- infix in Igbo. ④ No suitable (African) etymology found. [Moore Town]

481. **JUNGA** ‘a fishing lance’. ② Koongo *dyóna* ‘javelot, lance, pique’ (Laman, 1964, p. 142). ③ The DJE does not give an etymology for this word, but the Koongo source accepted here was proposed by the JCAH. The word is not marked as Maroon in the DJE and its sole illustrative quotation is from the Gleaner competition of 1943. However, the word has only been attested since in Maroon contexts (Warner-Lewis, 2004, p. 27). ④ Koongo [Windward]

482. **JUMA** ‘to shake (someone)’. ② Koongo (Kisantu) *dyuma* ‘. . . en pleine activité, . . . agité’ (Laman, 1964, p. 143). ③ For the etymology of this word, the DJE asks us to consider Ákán (Akuapem) *àdúmá* ‘work’, however, any semantic link between shaking someone and working is extremely tenuous. In addition, the etymon which the DJE proposes is a noun, while the Maroon word belongs to the lexical category of verbs. The Koongo etymology provided here is a better etymon since it matches the Jamaican lexeme in both form and meaning, and belongs to the same lexical category. ④ Koongo [Accompong]

483. **LENGALENGA, LENGE-LENGGE, LENGGILENGGI** ‘(a) tall, slender; (b) a tall, slender person’. ② Gbè (Vhe) *leggee* ‘thin, slender’ (Westermann, 1973, p. 153). ③ The DJE asks us to consider the Gbè etymology accepted here, in addition to Hausa *langa-langa* ‘a tall person of slight build’. However, the Gbè form can account economically for all three alternants. I assume the following formal development: Gbè *leggee* → *lenggelengge* → *lenggilenggi* → *lenga-lenga*. The form *lénggeléngge* ‘tall and thin (person)’ was recorded in the Maroon community of Accompong. All the alternants which the DJE provides for this word were attested either in St Elizabeth (Accompong) or in St. Thomas. Since this word is not attested elsewhere, its geographical distribution, suggests that it is a Maroon word. ④ Gbè [Accompong, Windward].

484. **MANGKISHIM** ‘death’. ② Koongo *mukishi* ‘ancestral spirit’ (Warner-Lewis, 2003, p. 132), *min’kisi* ‘charms’ (MacGaffey, 1977, pp. 179, 183). ③ The inclusion of the second form is justified in light of MacGaffey (1977, p. 185) who informs us that the dead may also be incorporated in *min’kisi*, fabricated “charms” used for life-giving purposes by magicians and

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34 Also, cf. Umbundu *ê-kisi* ‘ghost’ (Johnston, 1919, p. 353).
for death dealing by witches'. ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology but points out that it ‘has the appearance of being an Africanism’. The Koongo etymology accepted here was first suggested in CAC. ④ Koongo [Moore Town].

485. **Musu** as in búsu fúul púl yu músu ‘stop your foolishness’. ② Àkán (Akyem?) **mmusú** ‘mischief, misfortune, disaster, misery [ . . . ]; a thing that causes misery’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 323), Gá **musu** ‘ill luck, abomination, evil’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 109), Guang (Guá) **mmusu** ‘misfortune, bad-luck, disaster’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 89). ③ The DJE notes that this word is apparently only used in the fixed expression given above, and asks us to consider Àkán **mmusú** as the etymon. I concur with the DJE on this Àkán etymology, but add two other Nyo languages which possess equally plausible cognates. ④ Nyo: Àkán, Gá, Guang [Accompong].

486. **Obrafo** ‘town crier’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) **ɔ-bráfó** ‘executioner, hangman, forerunner’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 47). ③ This etymology concurs with the one provided by the DJE. I should point out that the Gua dialect of Guang also has **ɔ-bráfo** ‘executioner’ (Asihene, c.1999, p. 102), but since I do not know if executioners were also employed as forerunners/heralds in Guang societies, I will accept only the Àkán etymology pending further information. ④ Àkán [Moore Town].

487. **Obrouni, Brouni** ‘white man’. ② Àkán (Akuapem) **obúro-ní** ‘European, white man, mulatto’ (Christaller, 1933, p. 54), Guang (Guá) **obúroní** ‘Europäer’ (Westermann, 1922, p. 177). ③ The DJE and the ARJC mention only the Àkán etymon, but the Gua dialect of Guang has an identical form. ④ Tano: Àkán, Guang [Moore Town].

B.3.3.1 **Summary**

Of the 16 Maroon items which are dealt with in this section, research cumulating with the present work has been able to establish secure African etymologies for 12. Considering only these 12 secure Africanisms, 4 were attested only in Accompong, while 5 were attested only in Windward communities such as Moore Town. The remaining 3 have been attested among both the Accompong and Windward Maroons. Interestingly, only western Kwa languages (Àkán, Guang, Gá, Gbè) and Koongo account for these Africanisms.

B.3.4 **Lexical Africanisms attested only in Kumina communities**

Those who have a greater interest in the speech of Kumina practitioners and the Africanisms which have been attested should consult Bilby and kia Bunseki (1983), Carter (1996a, 1996b), Warner-Lewis (2003, 2004).

488. **Banda** ‘barritone drum’. ② Koongo **bando** ‘a type of drum’ (Bilby & kia Bunseki, 1983, p. 66). ③ The single quotation which the DJE gives for this word is taken from Moore (1953) which is a study of Afro-Jamaican religions. ‘African’ is placed in parentheses, which in the general practice of the editors points to Kumina-related words. This is confirmed since the editors cross-reference the headword with sense 2 of their headword **African** which specifically relates to the Kumina group.

The editors ask us to consider Nafaanra **bendo**, Vagla **bendere**, Jula **bennde** ‘a large drum’. The Koongo etymon is more likely since we know that Kumina language and practices were shaped by speakers of Koongo, and to a lesser extent Mbundu. In choosing the Koongo etymology, I concur with the ARJC and Bilby and kia Bunseki (1983). ④ Koongo.
489. *BILAH as in BILAH SONG ‘a type of song sung at kumuna and other such ceremonies’. ② Koongo nbila ‘a summons, a call’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 342). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology but suggests Mbundu nbila ‘grave, sepulchre’ as a possible etymon. DJE2 adds one more to the list by proposing Koongo nbila ‘call’. Lewin (2000, p. 227) explains that bilah/baila songs are used ‘at the early stages of the [Kumina] ceremony, mainly to attract the spirits’. Therefore, the Koongo word appears to be a better etymon since we can interpret the bilah songs as songs used to call the spirits. ④ Koongo.

490. BEEZIE ‘flesh’. ② Koongo mbizi ‘viande, chair, animal dont on mange la chair; bête’ (Laman, 1964, p. 532). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology but suggests that it ‘may be an invention, or an irrecoverable corruption’. By DJE2, the editors were aware that the word was neither an invention nor a corruption and supplied instead the Koongo etymon accepted here. ④ Koongo.

491. BUTA ‘a man’. ② Koongo mbuta ‘one who is older, an elder, senior, senior relative [. . .] an adult’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 345). ③ The DJE marks this word as being of unknown etymology, but the editors subsequently found and included the Koongo etymon accepted here in DJE2. ④ Koongo.

492. DIBU ‘maternal blood relation’. ② Koongo ndibu ‘matrilineal Kongo tribe’ (Mittelsdorf, 1978, p. 41). ③ The DJE only notes that the word is said to be ‘African’, but supplies no African etymology. The etymology accepted here was proposed by the ARJC which traces the word to a matrilineal ethnic group in West Central Africa. ④ Koongo.

493. KUMAMA ‘calling dead mother’. ② Koongo -kumama ‘come, arrive’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 2002, p. 136). ③ The DJE states that this word is possibly from English come, which in Jamaican is often pronounced as /kum/, + mama ‘mother’. This etymology appears to be consistent with the meaning given by Moore (1953) who defines kumama as ‘calling dead mother’. However, DJE2 asks us to also consider Koongo -kumama ‘come, arrive’, which is not an implausible etymon. It is possible that the Kumina word derives from the Koongo verb -kumama ‘come, arrive’, and that via folk-etymology it was associated with the Jamaican words kom ~ kum ‘to come’ and mama ‘mother’. ⑤ Koongo.

494. KUMUNA, KUMONA, KUMINA, KRUMUNA ‘a religious dance ceremony held on the occasion of a birth, betrothal, NINE-NIGHT, memorial, etc., at which the dancers are believed to become possessed by ancestral spirits; they perform difficult feats, fall unconscious, etc.’ ③ The DJE notes that the etymology of the word is not clear and that ‘two or more words of related meaning are prob[ably] combined’. The editors ask us to consider Akán kóm ‘to dance wildly in a state of frenzy or ecstasy ascribed by the natives to the agency of a fetish’. This etymology is implausible on several grounds. On the formal side, it is too short to be the source of the Kumina eponym, and would require the addition of an entire VCV syllable. On the semantic and cultural side, the dance movements which are most often associated with Kumina are not wild or frenzied, but stately (Lewin, 2000, pp. 235–6). More to the point, it would be very strange to find an Akán word naming a rite which was founded by Central Africans.

495. LANGGE ‘tall, straight, long’. ③ The DJE provides no etymology for this word, but from its cross-reference suggests an origin in the English-derived Jamaican word lang ‘long’, to which an epenthetic vowel has been added. DJE2 adds another suggestion in Gbè (Vhe) lege ‘tall, thin’. The lowering of [e] → [a] in a stressed syllable is not as common as the raising of [a] → [e], which makes the Gbè etymon tenuos. Notwithstanding the competing
English etymology, the word may ultimately be African, and from the Gbè word, but would have entered Kumina via Jamaican (cf. entry 494). ④ Etymology uncertain.

496. **LONGGA, LANGGA** ‘water’. ② Koongo **nlangu** ‘water’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 388), Tonga **mulonga** ‘river’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 2002, p. 500). ③ The DJE does not give an etymology for this word, but DJES asks us to consider Tonga **mulonga** ‘river’. The Koongo candidate was proposed by the ARJC ④ Narrow Bantu (Koongo, Tonga).

497. **MALAVA, MALAWA** ‘rum’. ② Koongo **malavy** ‘palm-wine, spirit, wine generally’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 336), Luba-Kasai **maluvu** ‘palm wine or other spirits’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 289). ③ The etyma accepted here concur with those proposed by the DJE. ④ Narrow Bantu (Koongo, Luba-Kasai).

498. **MUNDELLA WEZA** ‘white man is coming’. ② Koongo **mundele** ‘white man’ + **u-iza** ‘he comes’ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p. 311). ③ The DJE points out that this is a ‘preserved Africanism’, and asks us to consider Ngombe **mond’E’E’** ‘white man’ and **w´asaw´asa** ‘the noise made by shuffling feet’. The editors later rejected this etymology and supplied in its stead Koongo **mundele** ‘white man’ + **u-iza** ‘he comes’ (DJE2). Cognate forms for ‘white man’ exist in Nkhumbi **mumondele** (Johnston, 1919, p. 358), Ngombe **mond’E’E’** (Rood, 1958, p. 294), but so far, only Koongo has presented an etymology that accounts for the entire string in Kumina. ④ Koongo.

499. **SUSU** ‘a fowl’. ② Koongo **nsusu** ‘chicken, fowl, poultry’ (Bentley, 1967/1887, p. 395). ④ The DJE proposes tentatively that this word might be a variant of Jamaican **sensay fowl** (entry 366), while the DJE2 merely asks us to consider the Koongo etymon accepted here. ④ Koongo.

**B.3.5 Lexical Africanisms only attested in Nago and Etu**

500. **ABÚRU** ‘a turned cornmeal mush, highly seasoned with country pepper’. ② Hausa **aburu** ‘a cereal similar to **acca** (s.v. **iburo** in Bargery (1951/1934, p. 472)). ③ African: ④ **Akán** (Akem) **abúró**, (Akuaqem) **abíuro** " (Christaller, 1933, p. 53), (Fante) **eburo** ‘maize’ (Balmer & Grant, 1929, p. 50). ③ The DJE asks us to consider the Hausa etymology, while the ARJC only provides Akán **aburu** which Mittelsdorf glosses as ‘cereal’. Both are accepted here based on the fact that they are equally plausible on formal and semantic grounds. ④ African: Akán, Hausa [Etu, Nago]

501. **AGÍDI** ‘(a) among the “Guinea people” of Hanover: A dish prepared from yellow yam, grated, mixed with flour and fried in oil; (b) among the “Guinea”, “Congo”, and “Nago” people of Hanover and Westmoreland: A pudding made from the fine sediment of grated cornmeal, seasoned and boiled in a banana-leaf’. ② Mende **agidi** ‘a preparation of maize fufu’ (Innes, 1969, p. 1), Gà **agidi** ‘a food made of husked and ground corn, suitable for sick people’ (Dakubu, 1999, p. 17), Yorùbá **agidi** ‘a prepared meal of Indian corn, (like blanc-mange) as a staple food’ (DYL, 2003, p. 14), Ijo (Okrika) **agidì** ‘solidified pap’ (Igwe, 1999, p. 17), Hausa **agidi** ‘a blancmange-like food made with maize flour’ (Bargery, 1951/1934, p. 9), Ibibio **akirí** ‘a dish similar to **máímáí** but made of maize’ (Kaufman, 1985, p. 22). ③ The DJE derives this word from Yorùbá only, but it is a Wanderwort in West Africa, hence the large number...
of languages which are given here. ④ Africa: Mende, Gã, Yorùbá, Ijo, Îgbo, Hausa, Ibibio. [Etu, Nago]

502. BAYAWO ‘are you married?’. ② Yorùbá gbé iyawó? ‘of a man: to be married’ (Victor Manfredi p.c.). ③ The DJE derives this set phrase from Yorùbá gbe ni yawo which they do not gloss, and whose meaning and grammaticality I have not been able to confirm. The expression is better derived from Yorùbá gbé iyawó ‘have you taken a bride yet?’. The word iyawó means ‘bride’, while gbé means ‘to lift’ (DYL, 2003, pp. 130, 96).

The elision which resulted in the loss of the initial vowel in iyawó is a regular process in Yorùbá phrasal phonology (cf. Oyelaran, 1972). Yorùbá gbé iyawó is an idiomatic expression which refers to the practice in Yorùbá culture whereby ‘a bride is lifted onto the shoulder of a former bride of her husband’s idile [residential compound] and carried to her bridegroom’s compound’ (Victor Manfredi, personal communication).

Victor Manfredi informs me that questions in Yorùbá generally take a sentence-initial question particle, se, but this particle is optional, as shown in example (36).

(36) Yorùbá

(Sè) o ti gbé iyawó?
Q 2SG PRES.PERF lift wife

‘Have you taken (at least one) wife (already)?’

④ Yorùbá [Etu].

503. ETU ‘a funeral celebration involving great expense and usually a feast’. ② Yorùbá ėtutù < ėtutù ‘atonement’ (Abraham, 1958, p. 168). ③ The DJE asks us to consider Àkán tow ‘to cast away’, tow poN ‘give a banquet or entertainment’, and etòw ‘tribute, toll, tax; to collect taxes’, the last of which was accepted by the ARJC as the source of the Jamaican word. Semantically, the Àkán etymologies can only be linked to the Jamaican word in an indirect way, however, the Yorùbá candidate accepted here matches the form and meaning of the Jamaican word in a more direct way.

Yorùbá phonology also accounts for the VCV structure of the Jamaican word since in Yorùbá ‘it is of frequent occurrence that when we have two syllables on the same tone-level separated by a consonant, that this consonant drops out, often accompanied by a preceding or following vowel’ (Abraham, 1958, p. xxiii). Further evidence for the Yorùbá etymon comes from the Afro-Cuban religion Lucumi where etutù is a ‘ceremonia que tiene por objeto contentar a un muerto, consultando su voluntad por medio de los caracoles, para cumplir fielmente sus deseos’ (Cabrera, 1957, p. 126).

Incidentally, Èfik contains čkù which is probably cognate with Yorùbá ėtutù. In Èfik, īkù refers to ‘funeral ceremonies […]’ Hence used in Calabar as the name of the lamentation or cry made at the beginning of an ikpo’ (Goldie, 1964, p. 76). Goldie (1964, pp. 128–9) gives two related senses for the Èfik word ikpo→(1) mourning for the dead; (2) the public funeral ceremonies performed at the conclusion of the mourning’. The perfect semantic match between the Jamaican and Èfik words, plus the fact that a few instances of /k/ → /t/ change are attested in Jamaican, e.g. sangkuku → sangkutu, make the Èfik word a plausible contender. However, the facts of history do not support the Èfik etymon. The practice of etu is associated exclusively with the descendants of Yorùbá-speaking indentured labourers, hence the Africanisms in their speech, excluding those which they share with general Jamaican (Creole), are all from Yorùbá (Adetugbo, 1996). ④ Yorùbá [Etu].
504. **Oka** ‘a thick turned cassava mush, served with a sauce boiled down from meat and okra’. ② Yorùbá **okà** ‘corn, food made from prepared yam-flour, cassava, or other flour’ (DYL, 2003, p. 184). ④ The etymology accepted here concurs with the one given by the DJE and the ARJC. ④ Yorùbá [Etu].

Appendix C

Languages mentioned in this thesis

This appendix provides a complete list of all the languages mentioned in this dissertation. Where languages have separate names or spellings, only one has been selected for mention here. The second column gives the ISO-639-3 codes for each language. The third column gives the region of slave origin within which the language falls and so is really only relevant to the African languages consulted. Column four is the language phylum and the last column is the particular branch. In most cases the language names correspond with the Ethnologue labels.

Generally, names of African languages have been regularised throughout the thesis for consistency, even when sources have a different name or spelling. I follow the latest version of Ethnologue except for accents and tone marks in names.

The student of African linguistics is faced with several issues with regard to naming and classification of NC languages. The problem of naming/identifying the languages is a messy issue but is much easier to solve than the classification. Often confusion exists some languages are known by different names, or different spellings and pronunciations of the same name. To avoid the confusion, the names suggested by Ethnologue (Gordon & Grimes, 2005) have been employed here regardless of what names are given to the languages in the NC works from which I draw my data.

While researchers have used the name Twi interchangeably to refer to the entire dialect cluster, or all dialects minus Fante, I break with that tradition. In fact, the term Twi is not used in this dissertation. The language/dialect cluster is here referred to as Akan, which has several dialects which include Akuapem, Akyem, Asante, Fante. The language which is popularly called Ewe is referred to here as Gbe, and Ewe is merely a dialect alongside Fon, Gun, Ge, etc. Mande refers to a group of languages spoken in Mali, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Sierra, Leone, and Liberia (with communities in other countries). The group was called Mandenga by Koelle (1963 [1854]) and Mandingo by Greenberg (1955). Here I adopt Steinhthal’s (1867) now generally accepted “Mande” for the group of languages. The names Mandekan, Mandingo and Mende are only employed to designate individual languages within the group.

The matter of linguistic genealogy is a bit trickier since it assumes a particular theoretical assumption. There are many competing alternatives of how to sub-divide NC languages (see Greenberg, 1963, 6-41; P. R. Bennett & Sterk, 1977; Williamson, 1989; Williamson & Blench, 2000 for overviews). Since it is not within the scope of this dissertation to deal with the theoretical ramifications of each contending proposal, the most plausible one will
be selected and followed consistently here. The classification of NC languages used in this work follows the proposal presented in Williamson and Blench (2000).

The version of the ISO 639-3 codes for languages...
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