Loanwords in Saramaccan, an English-based Atlantic creole of Suriname

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1. The language and its speakers

1.1. Sociohistorical background

Saramaccan is an Atlantic creole spoken primarily in Suriname, though there are also speakers in French Guiana as well as a substantial diaspora population in the Netherlands. The fifteenth edition of the Ethnologue estimates that there are about 26,000 speakers of the languages. It is a maroon creole—that is, a creole spoken by descendants of slaves who escaped from plantations (see Price 1976 for an overview of the history of the maroons of Suriname). Accordingly, most Saramaccan villages lie in the Surinamese rain forest away from the coast which was the center of the colonial plantation economy. These villages are situated along two rivers, the Suriname River and Saramacca River. (The populations found along the Saramaccan River, speaking the Matawai dialect, are sometimes classified as a distinct group from the Saramaccans.) All of the data discussed here, and included in the loanword database, comes from dialects spoken along the Suriname River, of which two are traditionally distinguished, a Lower River dialect, spoken closer to the coast, and an Upper River dialect spoken further in the interior.

In addition to Saramaccan, there are two other creoles spoken in Suriname, Sranan and Ndyuka, that are generally believed to be genetically related to Saramaccan (see, for example, Smith 1987b:150–169, 2002:135–136, McWhorter 2000:101–105, and Migge 1998:45). There is also good evidence that the Surinamese creoles, in turn, are part of a larger genetic unit comprising all Atlantic English-based creoles (Smith 1987b:103–112, McWhorter 2000:41–98). Ndyuka, like Saramaccan, is a maroon creole. Sranan, the urban and coastal creole of Suriname, repre-

sents a continuation of Surinamese plantation creole varieties and serves as a lingua franca for the country. Figure 1 gives a map showing the Saramaccan-speaking area, in addition showing the locations of the other Surinamese language communities. Two important languages of Suriname, Sranan and Dutch are not specifically located on the map, as their use is widespread through the country.

[Insert map about here—when it exists. The Ethnologue one is good for this area.]

Permanent European settlement in Suriname began in 1651 when an English colony was established along the Suriname River. English control of the area was relatively short-lived and Suriname came under the control of the Dutch in 1667. Despite the relatively short period of English control, the lexicons of the Surinamese creoles show heavy English influence and are generally considered English-lexifier creoles, though the Saramaccan case is quite complex since the language shows a significant Portuguese element in its basic vocabulary (see Smith 1987b:116–125)—this issue will be discussed in more detail below in this section and in section 3.

Of the Surinamese maroon societies, Saramaccan's is the oldest, with 1690 generally being given as the year of a first mass escape of slaves who would form the group's founding core. Price 1976:30 gives 1712 as the date of the last significant influx of escaped slaves into the group. By 1770, the oldest maroon societies in Suriname had signed treaties with the Dutch, which made them officially—and probably largely—closed to new recruits (Price 1976:29–31, Bakker, Smith & Veenstra 1995:168–169). Early stages of the Saramaccan language are comparatively well documented, with records going as far back as 1762 (Arends 2002b:201–205).

Lexical evidence indicates that substrates drawn from two clusters of languages, Bantu languages spoken around the former Kingdom of Loango (which would not necessarily have formed a genetic unit; see section 2) and Gbe languages, were especially influential in Saramaccan's development (see, for example, Daeleman 1972 for Bantu and Smith 1987a for Gbe). This evidence is consistent with known demographic facts of the Surinamese slave trade, which show that most slaves who were transported to Suriname were taken from parts of Africa where languages from those two groups are spoken (see Arends 1995:268, based largely on Postma 1990). However, it should be noted that the recent work of Price (2007) (see, especially, the chapter of Price 2007 entitled "Reflections from the verandah") has suggested that the linguistic background of imported slaves may have been more heterogeneous than has been recently believed. This is because, even though much of the demographic input to the colony in its early history came from ships departing from only a few coastal areas of Africa, there is evidence that the "catchment" areas for those slaves were fairly large, encompassing not only linguistic groups in close proximity to the relevant ports but also some that were relatively distant from them.

A further point regarding the demographics of the Surinamese slave population is that, as described by Arends (1995:268), "[t]he rate of nativization among Suriname's black population was very slow: more than one hundred years after colonization still more than 70% of the black population was African born." This demographic skewing is connected to the role Suriname had as a sugar plantation colony, since sugar production not only required a large labour force but, at least in the Suriname case, was also associated with an inordinately high mortality rate, meaning that new imports of slaves were not only necessary for the expansion of plantations but also for their maintenance (Arends 2002a:115–116, Price 1976:9).

Therefore, at any given point in time in early Surinamese history, native-born Africans would have predominated in the slave population. "Indeed, during the sixty years following the Dutch takeover of 1667, the number of Africans imported in each ten-year period amounted to between 110 percent and 220 percent of the total slave population at the beginning of the decade. . . " (Price 1976:9). These demographic patterns are probably largely responsible for the fact that Saramaccan shows a comparatively high degree of African influence in its lexicon. In fact, as will be discussed in section 6, Kramer 2002:622 goes so far as to state that modern Saramaccan much more closely resembles Fon Gbe than the eighteenth-century variety of the language did, indicating that the African element in Saramaccan is not only the result of "creolization" but is also due to later contact-induced change.

The Saramaccans to this day clearly belong to a society clearly distinct from that of coastal blacks and non-blacks of Suriname, but one that has continuous contacts with those communities over the centuries (Price 1983:12).

1.2. The development of the Saramaccan lexicon assumed here

Determining what lexical elements in creoles constitute "loanwords" is necessarily problematic, since their origins as contact languages do not obviously point to a single genetic parent and, thereby, a single ancestral lexicon. What is crucial is to devise a system of vocabulary classifica-tion which is concrete enough to reliably capture interesting patterns but, at the same time, is not so inextricably tied to a particular theoretical conception of creoles that it will cease to be of value if theoretical fashions change. Indeed, in the ideal case, the database could be used to shed light on the various theoretical controversies regarding creole formation, which requires taking as minimal a theoretical approach as possible.

One crucial theoretically-driven assumption has been made about the Saramaccan lexicon for the purposes of this project. This is that *it represents a continuation of the lexicon of English* which branched off from that of standard English varieties at some point before the formation of Saramaccan itself. The theoretical position most closely associated with this assumption is one what can be called the "superstratist" perspective which treats creoles as varieties of their superstrate lexifiers (see McWhorter 1998:788-790 for overview discussion). This basic position is also adopted by the other creole language database that is part of this project, Seselwa (Michaelis & Muhme).

While the theoretical position that creoles represent a continuation of their lexifiers is controversial (see, again, McWhorter 1998 for critical discussion), it is a useful one in the present context for several reasons.[1] The first is purely practical in nature: It is simply easier to determine if a word is of superstrate origin than substrate origin, making the superstrate lexicon a good "baseline" which loanwords are conceived of as adding to. Related to this is the fact that, since all of the superstrates have associated standard varieties, they serve as worthwhile reference points for diverse researchers. An additional practical advantage in adopting such a model is that, for a given creole, the superstrates are few—most typically there is only one superstrate—while the substrates are many, making the superstrates a simpler choice as representing the inherited lexicon.

These things being said, it is important to point out that the forms in the database have been coded in ways to mitigate any problems this theoretical position may cause for those adopting other positions, and, for practical purposes, this assumption results in only one crucial effect: The loanword information fields of the database are left empty for words assumed to represent a con-

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[1] It would seem to be worth noting here, that, in general, I do not personally believe that superstratist approaches provide the best models for the development of Saramaccan, even though I adopted this conception for the database.

tinuation of English vocabulary. However, since these words are all explicitly marked as belong to an *Early English Stratum* of vocabulary, they can still be readily identified. Furthermore, I have included comments in these words in the database indicating their English source to assist those not familiar with the sound changes that have affected English lexical items in Saramaccan. Therefore, if one, for example, wanted to treat all early English words as loanwords, contrary to what is assumed here, it would be relatively straightforward to isolate them and recode them as such.

Of course, it is important to point out here that, in the case of Saramaccan, there is an additional complication regarding the idea of adopting the superstratist view: It is a rare instance of a creole a so-called mixed lexifier creole, showing prominent early contributions from two superstrates, English and Portuguese (Bakker et al. 1995:165). So, it is necessary to comment on the choice of the English lexicon as being privileged, in some sense. There are two reasons for this, one analytical and one practical. On the practical side, in order to ensure that the database was coded for maximum number of possibly interesting distinctions, it seemed advisable to choose only one language as contributing the parent lexicon, as opposed to two. Since the English and Portuguese elements have been coded quite distinctly—one set as inherited, the other as loans— they are easily identified on their own, allowing the database to be used to test a range models for the development of Saramaccan with relatively straightforward modifications. On the analytical side, as discussed in section 1.1, Saramaccan is generally believed to form a genetic unit with two other Surinamese creoles, Sranan and Ndyuka, both of which are uncontroversially English-based creoles. It, therefore, seems reasonable to assume that the English vocabulary represents inherited items while the Portuguese element represents a later intrusion. This is the rea-

son why, given that it made practical sense to choose only one superstrate as contributing the original lexicon, English specifically was chosen over Portuguese.[2]

There is one crucial respect in which the assumption that the Saramaccan lexicon is continuation of the English lexicon has not been followed to its logical conclusions, here however. Words that are taken to be part of Saramaccan's early English stratum are never treated as loanwords, even if they are uncontroversially considered loanwords in standard English. For example, the Saramaccan word *famíi* 'relatives' from English *family* is not classified as a loanword, even though it was borrowed into English from Latin *familia*. Strictly speaking, if the Saramaccan lexicon is considered simply to be the lexicon of one of many varieties of English, then *famíi* should be considered a loanword. There are various reasons for not classifying such words as loans. The first and foremost is that clearly what is of interest in a study of Saramaccan loanwords are the loan patterns particular to the development of the creole itself, not the loan patterns of English in England before the colonial period. There is also the matter of expertise. My own background is not in the study of the history of English but, rather, synchronic and diachronic aspects of the Saramaccan lexicon (see, e.g., Good 2004; Good 2008+). Given that a separate study of English loanwords was also undertaken for this project (Grant), it seemed ill advised for me to also conduct research into the source of early English elements in Saramaccan.

Given this background, in table 1, I give the three-stage historical model for the Saramaccan lexicon assumed in the coding of the database. Any element believed to have entered the Saramaccan lexicon from stage 1 onwards was considered a loanword.

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[2] However, it should be noted here it has been suggested that the Portuguese lexical element in Saramaccan is significant enough to classify it as a Portuguese-based creole (see, e.g., Perl 1995:244, though this is clearly a minority view (Smith 2002:146).

STAGE	DESCRIPTION
Stage 1	Early English-based Atlantic creole lexicon splits from English Lexicon
Stage 2	Surinamese creole lexicon splits from Early English-based Atlantic creole lexicon
Stage 3	Saramaccan lexicon splits off from Surinamese creole lexicon

Table 1: Developments en route to the Saramaccan lexicon

1.3. Notes on transcription

The Saramaccan transcriptions system used in the database follows that found in Rountree, Asodanoe & Glock 2000, with the segmental transcription summarized below in table 2. (However, see Smith & Haabo 2007 for the possibility of a contrast between plain voiced and implosive stops in Saramaccan not represented in this system.) The conventions are largely straightforward. However, a few clarifications are in order. With respect to the consonants, a *j* on its own represents a palatal glide, the digraphs *tj* and *dj* represent alveopalatal affricates, the digraph *nj* represents a palatal nasal, sequences of nasal followed by a voiced stop (e.g., *mb*, *nd*, *ndj*, *ng*) represent prenasalized stops (where *ng* corresponds to IPA [ŋg]), and *kp* and *gb* represent labiovelar stops which, in some dialects, can be realized as *kw* and *gw* respectively. With respect to vowels, *ë* and *ö* represent lax mid vowels (i.e., IPA [ɛ] and [ɔ]).

CONSONANTS					VOWELS		
p	t	tj	k	kp	i		u
b	d	dj	g	gb	e		o
mb	nd	ndj	ng		ë		ö
m	n	nj				a	
f	s			h			
v	z						
w	l	j					

Table 2: Saramaccan segment inventory

Saramaccan additionally has contrastive vowel length, transcribed as two vowels of the same quality (as in, for example, *jaa* [jaː] 'to sling') and contrastive vowel nasalization, transcribed as a "coda" nasal consonant (as in, for example, *hön* [hɔ̃]) 'uproot'. Finally, though the details are complicated, Saramaccan also employs contrastive tone and/or pitch accent (see Good 2004). Surface high-tone vowels are transcribed with an acute accent, and surface low tone vowels are left unmarked. An effort has been made to give surface transcriptions of tones throughout the database, which, in some cases, has led to a degree of normalization from other sources. Finally, there is dialectal variation in Saramaccan which would result in some of the forms having different pronunciations from those transcribed for certain groups of speakers.

2. Sources of data

Fortunately for a project such as this one, Saramaccan's status as the most "African" English-based Atlantic creole has led to fairly extensive investigation into African elements in its lexicon, and its classification by some as a mixed lexifier creole has led to detailed investigation of the

Portuguese element in the language. In addition, there are a number of good dictionaries and word lists for the language. Finally, consultation of easily available Sranan and Ndyuka dictionaries was also useful in some cases, as was Smith's (1987b) comparative study of the Suriname creoles. I discuss each of these classes of sources in more detail in turn.

Two works, in particular, Daeleman 1972 and Smith 1987a were the primary sources of African etyma indicated in the database. Daeleman 1972 is titled by its author as study of "Kikongo" elements in Saramaccan. It seems to me, however, to be more accurate, at least in some cases, to not classify these elements as being specifically of Kikongo origin, but rather of more general Bantu origin. This is because a number of the elements Daeleman identifies as being of Kikongo origin match the Saramaccan forms only imperfectly, in a way that suggests that, while they are clearly be of Bantu origin, they may not be direct borrowings of the precise forms given by Daeleman. Therefore, for those Saramaccan words which Daeleman treated as having Kikongo etymologies that appear in the Loanword Typology Project list, I have given their source not as Kikongo but rather, *Loango Bantu,* a label I use for Bantu varieties (not necessarily forming a genetic unit) spoken in and around Loango, a kingdom located around coastal areas of present-day Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), whose primary language was a Kikongo dialect and which was the center of the slave trade of the area (see Martin 1972 for a history of the kingdom). Undoubtedly, some of the Loango Bantu elements are of Kikongo origin, but, since it also seems likely others are not, the more general label seemed appropriate.

Smith 1987a is a valuable unpublished, comparative Gbe–Saramaccan word list, which was the source of all elements given as Gbe loanwords in the database. The word list itself contains words from various Gbe languages, including Fongbe and Ewe. (The Gbe language cluster is currently given as comprising twenty or so languages in the fifteenth edition of the Ethnologue.)

Fongbe appears to have had an especially strong influence on Saramaccan, though Gbe elements may have come from other varieties as well, which is why such elements are simply classified as having a Gbe origin here without further specification. (In the database itself, a Gbe word not associated with a particular language is from Fongbe, following Smith 1987b, and Ewe forms are indicated as such in their gloss.) With respect to the identification of Portuguese loanwords, I have largely relied on Smith & Cardoso 2004, the most up-to-date existing survey of the Portuguese-element in Saramaccan.

In addition to works with a specific focus on loanwords in Saramaccan, a number of good dictionaries and word lists were used both to determine how best to fill out each entry and to detect and identify further loanwords, in particular loanwords from Dutch and Sranan, which have not been the subject of extensive work (largely because they have relatively little to add to the study of the origins of Saramaccan). For basic reference, I relied most heavily on Rountree, Asodanoe & Glock 2000 due to the fact that it is available in electronic form, which facilitated searching.[3] When this source was insufficient, I generally consulted de Groot 1977, an extensive Dutch–Saramaccan wordlist and de Groot 1981, a Saramaccan–Dutch wordlist. For Sranan, my primary source was Wilner 2003, again due to its availability in electronic form.[4] At various points, I also consulted Shanks 2000, a dictionary of Ndyuka, which contained etymological notes on Ndyuka which, in some cases, were also relevant for Saramaccan.

Various other minor sources also contributed to the formation of the database, including Taylor 1964, a review of Donicie & Voorhoeve 1963, containing a range of etymological comments,

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[3] This wordlist can be found at http://www.sil.org/americas/suriname/Saramaccan/English/SaramEngDictIndex.html.

[4] See http://www.sil.org/americas/suriname/Sranan/Sranan.htm.

and Bruyn 2002 (both of which are singled out here since they are referenced in the database itself).

3. Contact situations

As a contact language, Saramaccan owes its very existence to a complex set of historical contact situations, some of which, in all likelihood, stretch back to Africa itself. Of these, two contact situations stand out as having had an especially profound influence on the development of the language's lexicon: contact with Portuguese or a Portuguese-based creole and contact with Sranan. Less striking but still noteworthy in this regard was contact with Gbe and Bantu languages and Dutch. These situations are discussed in more detail below, followed by a brief discussion of other, less consequential (from a lexical perspective), types of contact coded in the database.

3.1. Contact with a Portuguese variety

In comparison with its two relatives in Suriname, Sranan and Ndyuka, one of the most striking features of Saramaccan is the extent of its Portuguese-derived vocabulary. For example, Smith 1987a:119–120 examined the etymology of Saramaccan and Sranan words found in a 200-word Swadesh list and found that around thirty-five percent of the Saramaccan entries were of Portuguese origin compared to around four percent of Sranan entries. Particularly striking are the presence of a number of Portuguese-derived function words in Saramaccan, including, for example, *akí* 'here', *alá* 'there', and *ku* 'with', and the large number of Portuguese-derived verbs, including basic concepts like *bebé* 'drink', *kë́* 'want', and *kulé* 'run'.

Uncontroversially, the presence of this extensive Portuguese element in Saramaccan is due to distinct aspect of its early history as compared to the histories of Sranan and Ndyuka. However, beyond this there is little consensus. Two crucial issues are: (i) What was the nature of the speech variety from which the Portuguese elements entered Saramaccan? and (ii) How did this speech variety get to Suriname? With respect to the first question, what is not clear is whether or not the relevant speech variety was some version of Portuguese or was, instead, a Portuguese-based creole. With respect to the second issue, the central concern is whether or not the Portuguese element can, in some way, be traced to Brazil. There is not sufficient space here to discuss these debates in detail, and I refer the reader to Arends 1999, Ladhams 1999, and Smith 1999 for full discussion.

Relatively less controversial is the belief that the presence of Portuguese or a Portuguese-based creole in Suriname was connected, in some way, to the presence of Portuguese-speaking Jews who established plantations in the early Suriname colony (Smith 2002:146). Especially noteworthy in this regard is that fact that, as discussed in Price 1983:51–52, the origins of the senior Saramaccan clan, the Matjáu, can be traced from a mass slave escape from a Portuguese Jewish plantation. It is not clear what those slaves spoke precisely, but it clearly would have been influenced directly or indirectly by Portuguese and a good candidate would be that it is what is referred to by early sources as *Djutongo* (i.e., Jew Tongue) and was described as a mixture between "Negro" English and Portuguese (Smith 2002:140). If this is the case, then the Portuguese borrowings would have actually entered Saramaccan on the plantations before marronage, and the Saramaccans would represent the last community speaking what was once a competing plantation speech variety with the variety that would become Sranan.

Because of the controversial nature of the source of the Portuguese elements in Saramaccan, in the database I have indicated their source as *Suriname Portuguese*, as opposed to *Portuguese*, to indicate that their source may not have been Portuguese, per se, but rather a Portuguese influenced speech variety spoken at some point in Suriname.

3.2. Contact with Bantu and Gbe languages

As discussed above, of the possible African substrates for Saramaccan, Loango Bantu languages and the Gbe languages have been singled out as being especially significant. Languages from both groups have contributed a noteworthy number of lexical items to the language. In the database, the contact situations leading to the introduction of these loanwords into the Saramaccan lexicon (as conceived here—see section 1.2) have been labeled *Loango Bantu contact situation* and *Gbe contact situation*. However, the use of these labels masks the fact that, under conventional views of the development of creoles, we may, in fact, want to distinguish between two types of contact involving substrate languages. The first would be what is typically discussed under the rubric of "creolization"—i.e., the process through which a full-fledged language develops from a contact variety. The second would be contact between speakers of an early variety of Saramaccan and Africans newly arrived to Suriname, many of whom would natively speak Loango Bantu or Gbe languages (see section 1.1). This second type of contact would be contact of the "usual" sort insofar as it would not produce new contact languages but, rather, result in borrowing among languages. Practically speaking, I am not aware of any generally-accepted criteria for distinguishing between words which may have entered Saramaccan as the result of one or the other type of contact. So, they were not distinguished in the database.

3.3. Contact with Sranan and Dutch

As the coastal and urban creole of Suriname, Sranan serves as a lingua franca for the country and it is, thus, an unsurprising source of loanwords in Saramaccan. Similarly, Dutch served as the colonial language of Suriname for several centuries and still serves as the official language of the country and, thus, also, unsurprisingly has served as a source of loanwords (see de Kleine 2002 for a discussion of the status of Dutch in Suriname). Important in this context is the fact that it has been quite typical for around a century for Saramaccan men to spend significant portions of their working lives in coastal areas (see Price 1975:65–74). While this has not generally caused them to lose their Saramaccan identity in any significant way, it would have meant that they would have had extensive contact with Sranan speakers.

As a close relative of Saramaccan, it can be difficult to detect Sranan loanwords in the language since the two languages also share many words due to common inheritance. Therefore, it is likely that some Sranan loans into Saramaccan have gone undetected in the database, being inappropriately treated as common Surinamese creole elements when, in fact, they represent transfers into Saramaccan after it broke off from Sranan. More problematic, however, in this regard is the difficulty in determining whether a word of ultimate Dutch origin entered Saramaccan directly from Dutch or through the intermediation of Sranan. For example, the Saramaccan word *wéˋti* 'law, regulation' is clearly ultimately from Dutch *wet* 'law', but I am unaware of any evidence that would bear on whether or not it was borrowed into Saramaccan directly from Dutch or via the Sranan word *wèt* 'law'. Given the sociolinguistic situation wherein Saramaccans generally have more extensive contact with Sranan than Dutch, in such cases, I treated the relevant word as being borrowed from Sranan, sometimes noting a Dutch borrowing would also seem possible. A related problem in this regard is that, if I could not find a Sranan word corresponding

to a given Dutch etymon in Wilner 2000, my primary source on Sranan vocabulary, I treated the Saramaccan element as entering directly from Dutch, even though it seems likely that in some cases the absence of the relevant etymon in Wilner 2000 represented an accidental omission not a true gap in the Sranan vocabulary. Because these issues, the database in its present form cannot be considered reliable to be a reliable a source as to how Dutch loans into Saramaccan may pattern differently from Sranan loans. For this to be done, it would be necessary to recode the database to clearly distinguish between unambiguous Sranan loans, unambiguous Dutch loans, and loans which could plausibly have entered Saramaccan from either language.

Fortunately, in many cases, there are good reasons for believing a Saramaccan word of ultimate Dutch provenance entered the language via Sranan or directly from Dutch. For example, the Saramaccan word *olóísi* 'watch, clock' ultimately appears traceable to Dutch *horloge* 'watch', but shows a much closer formal and semantic correspondence to Sranan *oloisi* 'watch, clock', strongly indicating Sranan was, in fact, the source for this word. Similarly, the Saramaccan word *zé* 'ocean' seems likely to have been borrowed directly from Dutch *zee* 'sea' since the relevant Sranan form is *se* 'sea, ocean', giving the Saramaccan form a closer formal match to the Dutch one.

3.4. Minor contact situations

In addition to the contact situations described above, there are also a number of other contact situations coded in the database, classified as "minor" here since they are associated with relatively few loanwords. One such contact situation was that between Saramaccan and speakers of various Amerindian languages (see Carlin & Boven 2002 for overview discussion of the historical and contemporary Amerindian populations of Suriname). There is evidence of fairly intimate

contact among the Saramaccans and Amerindian groups from early stages of the development of Saramaccan society, including the taking of Indian women in the Saramaccan community (Price 1983:80), as well as extensive trade relations (Carlin & Boven 2002:26). The database probably underestimates the social impact of this contact situation since there are a number of words of Amerindian provenance found in Saramaccan (see, e.g., Taylor 1964:37) with meanings that are used for specific species of animals not present in the database. For example, there is a word for a specific deer species in Saramaccan *kusaí* that appears to be a loan from an Arawakan language (Taylor 1963:437), but the database only contains the general meaning 'deer' whose Saramaccan equivalent is not of Amerindian provenance. The semantic specificity of many of the Amerindian loans, of course, makes them inherently unlikely to appear in a database of general meanings like the one employed here, even though such terms may be quite salient to a specific culture.

In addition, it is worth noting here that I have little familiarity with the relevant Amerindian languages, and the Amerindian element in the Saramaccan lexicon has not to my knowledge been discussed in detail in any published work, making it more difficult to find Amerindian loanwords than those of other languages. My primary source for Amerindian loans was Courtz 1997, a Carib-Dutch dictionary. A more cursory inspection of the Arawak wordlist in Pet 1987 did not reveal the source of loans for any words currently specified as having an unknown origin in the database. I did not systematically verify whether any of the Carib loans may have represented words found generally among Amerindian languages of the area, and my reliance on Courtz 1997 reflected ease of access rather than previous suggestion that Carib may have been a particularly prominent source of loans in Saramaccan. Therefore, the extent of the vocabulary marked as being specifically of Carib origin in the database should not be construed to mean that contact with Carib was more or less extensive than contact with other Amerindian languages.

Rather, it is an artifact of the process of data collection and should be taken more as indicative of general Amerindian contact than specific Carib contact. Properly assessing the relative prominence of the contributions of individual Amerindian languages to the Saramaccan lexicon will have to await further research.

Another minor contact situation found in the database is labeled *Early AEC contact situation*, where AEC refers to Atlantic English-based creoles. This refers to a putative stage in the development of the English-based Atlantic creoles before they all branched off from a common contact variety (Smith 1987b:103–112, McWhorter 2000:41–98). There is some controversy surrounding the issue as to whether or not such a variety ever existed. Nevertheless, some of the evidence for it is a set of lexical items widely distributed among Atlantic English-based creoles whose presence is difficult to attribute to chance—and some of these lexical items are found in the database. For the purposes of this project, this contact situation is not of particular importance, yielding only a handful of loanwords, but due to its importance in the literature on the origins of the Atlantic English-based creoles, it seemed worthwhile to code them as resulting from a different contact situation from the others.

The other minor contact situations coded in the database are contact with either French or French-based creoles (possibly resulting from the fact that many Saramaccan men have found work in French Guiana over the last century [Price 1976:65–66]) and contact with modern products where there was difficulty in locating a specific source language for a given word for whatever reason, but which clearly represent recent borrowings (e.g., *gási* meaning 'stove that uses bottled gas').

4. Numbers and kinds of loanwords

The database contains around 1000 distinct words associated with about 1200 meanings, with approximately 350 meanings not associated with a word most typically because there was insufficient information to locate the relevant word or because the meaning was irrelevant to speakers of Saramaccan. Somewhat less than 400 words were treated as borrowed. Around 300 words were treated as belonging to an Early English stratum of vocabulary—that is, they are taken to represent the continuation of the English lexicon into Saramaccan (see section 1.2). Around 200 words were analyzable (e.g., compounds, phrasal idioms) that were not inherited from English, and thus represent innovations to the Saramaccan lexicon after it split off from the English lexicon (though not necessarily after the point at which we can consider Saramaccan as a language distinct from the other Surinamese or English-based Atlantic creoles). The remaining 100 or so words are of unknown origin. Some may represent unidentified African or Amerindian elements, while others may represent true Saramaccan monomorphemic innovations. Of the approximately 400 loanwords coded in the database, around half were from Suriname Portuguese, somewhat more than a quarter were from Sranan, with the bulk of the remaining words more or less evenly divided among Gbe languages, Loango Bantu, and Dutch, each with roughly thirty loanwords, followed by a smaller number of Amerindian loanwords, and one loanword each for English, French, Igbo, Mende, and Wolof.

4.1. Loanwords and semantic word class

Table 3 summarizes the distribution of loanwords across source language and semantic word class.

		Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	Adverbs	Function words	Total
	Carib	2.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
	Dutch	4.1	1.2	2.2	0.0	1.2	3.0
	English	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	French	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
	Gbe	1.8	2.5	2.2	0.0	2.3	2.0
Source language	Igbo	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.1
	Loango Bantu	3.2	2.1	5.4	0.0	0.4	2.9
	Mende	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	Sranan	12.2	6.4	9.7	16.7	10.4	10.5
	Suriname Portuguese	12.7	30.1	18.5	33.3	11.8	17.3
	Wolof	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	Total loanwords	36.8	43.1	37.8	50.0	27.3	37.7
	Nonloanwords	63.2	56.9	62.2	50.0	72.7	62.3

Table 3: Loanwords in Saramaccan by semantic word class (percentages)

The figures in table 3 underscore the remarkable fact about Saramaccan, already known from earlier work, that its lexicon has been exceptionally strongly influenced by Suriname Portuguese. Not only is a large portion of the language's vocabulary of Portuguese origin, this element is significant in all word classes, and even more pronounced for verbal meanings than nominal ones. In fact, the true influence of Suriname Portuguese is slightly underestimated here since it is known that, in a few cases, Portuguese elements were actively used in Saramaccan in the late eighteenth century which are no longer in use today. For example, Schumann's 1778 (Schuchardt 1914) wordlist gives the word *flamma* 'flame' as a Saramaccan word, representing a borrowing of the Portuguese word *flama*. However, this word has fallen out of use in contemporary Saramaccan and, therefore, does not figure in the database.

The only language with a comparable lexical impact to that of Suriname Portuguese in Saramaccan is Sranan. But, we must recall that Saramaccan has been in contact Sranan continuously since it came to exist as a separate language while, it has had no such continuous contact with Portuguese or a Portuguese-based creole. Whatever the contact event was between

Saramaccan and Suriname Portuguese, it was certainly intense and remarkable in nature. The figures from the database clearly show the logic behind Saramaccan's classification as a mixed lexifier creole by some sources.

The other loanword figures in table 3 seem to be more or less in accord with the relevant contact situations. There is a fairly wide distribution of Sranan elements throughout the lexicon, which is not surprising given the continuous contact between Sranan and Saramaccan over the centuries and given the fact that words for new concepts often enter Saramaccan via Sranan. While not particularly numerous, the Loango Bantu and Gbe contributions are spread over various word classes, which likely reflects the fact that they would have been brought into Saramaccan by native speakers of the relevant languages.

As discussed in section 3.3, there are problems in clearly determining whether words of ultimate Dutch origin entered Saramaccan directly via Dutch or through the intermediation of Sranan. It therefore seems inadvisable to come to strong conclusions based on the distribution of Dutch elements in table 3. While table 3 indicates the Carib contribution included at least one verb, in fact, the relevant verb *maaní* 'screen, sieve' appears to have been borrowed as a noun and its use has been extended to a verbal sense in Saramaccan. Thus, the Amerindian element appears to be confined largely to nouns, which is consistent with a scenario wherein the primary pathway through which Amerindian elements entered Saramaccan was as names for flora, fauna, and other objects present in the local environment that were unfamiliar to imported Africans.

4.2. Loanwords and semantic word field

Table 4 summarizes the distribution of loanwords across source language and semantic field.

	Carib	Dutch	English	French	Gbe	Igbo	Loango Bantu	Mende	Sranan	Surinam e Port.	Wolof	Total loans	Non-loans
1 Physical word in its larger aspects	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	7.5	0.0	3.7	23.9	0.0	40.7	59.3
2 Mankind: Sex, age, family relationship	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	7.6	0.0	0.0	15.1	0.0	25.2	74.8
3 Animals	11.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	9.6	0.0	28.8	71.2
4 Parts of the body; bodily functions and conditions	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	5.2	0.0	3.1	24.1	0.4	35.6	64.4
5 Food and drink; cooking and utensils	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.1	25.1	0.8	44.4	55.6
6 Clothing; personal adornment and care	2.6	0.0	2.6	0.0	2.6	0.0	2.6	0.0	25.6	18.8	0.0	54.6	45.4
7 Dwelling, house, furniture	0.0	6.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	19.3	3.2	0.0	30.0	70.0
8 Agriculture, vegetation	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	2.5	2.5	7.5	20.5	0.0	40.5	59.5
9 Miscellaneous physical acts etc.	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	7.4	0.0	2.8	0.0	12.0	23.1	0.0	49.0	51.0
10 Motion; locomotion, transportation, navigation	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	1.7	0.0	6.6	23.1	0.0	37.9	62.1
11 Possession, property, and commerce	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	0.0	18.8	16.5	0.0	37.4	61.6
12 Spatial relations: place, form, size	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	2.8	0.0	1.2	0.0	6.5	36.5	0.0	49.0	51.0
13 Quantity and number	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	17.3	7.8	0.0	25.1	74.9
14 Time	0.0	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.9	14.2	0.0	30.0	70.0
15 Sense perception	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	2.9	0.0	6.8	16.5	0.0	32.0	68.0
16 Temperamental, moral, and aesthetic notions	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.5	18.8	0.0	28.7	71.3
17 Mind, thought	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	5.1	0.0	2.6	0.0	14.4	7.2	0.0	31.8	68.2
18 Vocal utterance, speech; music	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.1	0.0	22.8	15.9	0.0	43.7	56.3
19 Terr,, soc., and pol. divisions; social relations	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.3	5.8	0.0	22.9	77.1
20 Warfare and hunting	4.9	4.9	0.0	0.0	4.9	0.0	4.9	0.0	4.9	4.9	0.0	29.3	70.7
21 Law	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	32.0	8.0	0.0	40.0	60.0
22 Religion and belief	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	23.3	76.7
23 The modern world	0.0	27.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	46.3	1.4	0.0	74.8	25.2
24 Function words	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	30.0	0.0	43.3	56.7
25 Miscellaneous	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Total	1.4	3.0	0.1	0.2	2.0	0.1	2.9	0.1	10.5	17.3	0.1	37.7	62.3

Table 4: Loanwords in Saramaccan by semantic word field (percentages)

Given Saramaccan's contact situations and the patterns already seen in section 4.1, no particularly surprising patterns emerge from the examination of loanwords across semantic field. Suriname Portuguese words are spread over a wide range of categories, and, where they are poorly represented, this is not particularly surprising given the timing of the contact. For example, the lack of any Suriname Portuguese elements in the field of religion and belief reflects, among other things, the fact that Christian missionaries came to Saramaccan communities after the Suriname Portuguese contact and were not themselves Portuguese-speaking. Similarly, those

cases where the Sranan component is greater than the Portuguese component in a given field can be largely explained by the fact that Sranan is the most typical donor language for "modern" concepts. This is obviously the case for the *Modern world* field, and is also the case for fields like *Dwelling, house, furniture* where many of the concepts, if not specifically modern, represent relatively recent imports like 'window', 'bed', and 'pillow'.

The patterning of loanwords across semantic field for the other languages also appears more or less expected given the timing and nature of the relevant contact situations: the African element is found in more traditional spheres, the Dutch element is found in more modern spheres, the Amerindian element is found in spheres relating the South American environment, and the Sranan is element is widely distributed. All semantic fields show a relatively high degree of borrowing, with even those with fewer loanwords showing around a quarter of the vocabulary as borrowed. Not surprisingly, the field *Modern world* shows the highest proportion of loanwords reflecting the fact that Saramaccans have generally been recipients of modern culture rather than producers of it. All told, the figures suggest that there does not seem to be any noteworthy cultural prohibitions against borrowing in any semantic domain.

5. Integration of loanwords

The main processes through which loanwords have been integrated into Saramaccan have centered around adapting loanwords to the language's phonotactics, most prominently by inserting epenthetic vowels within consonant clusters found in words from the donor language to create simple CV syllables. In addition, segments in loanwords not found in Saramaccan are replaced with phonetically similar segments that are found in the language. The forms in (1) give illustrative examples, all involving loans from Sranan (which are ultimately of Dutch origin).

(1)

SARAMACCAN		SRANAN	
sikópu	'narrow shovel'	*Skopu*	'spade'
wo˙lúku	'cloud'	*Wolku*	'cloud'
suwálufu	'match'	*Swarfu*	'match'
we˙ti	'law'	*Wèt*	'law'
baáu	'blue'	*Blaw*	'blue'

The factors governing the choice of epenthetic vowel are somewhat complex and apparently not always completely regular. The qualities of the neighboring vowels and consonants can play a role as can the location of the epenthetic vowel within the word. The time of borrowing can also be a factor, and it is possible in some cases to identify different historical layers of vocabulary on the basis of what phonological adjustments words have been subject to. For example initial sibilant-stop clusters in the vocabulary inherited from English tend to lose their initial *s*, as in, for example, *píki* 'answer', from English *speak*, while the *s* is retained and followed by an epenthetic vowel in such clusters in words borrowed from Sranan as in, for example, *sitááti* 'street' from Sranan *strati*. Though not specifically focused on loanwords, Smith's 1987b:338–399 discussion of the development of liquid clusters in the Surinamese creoles addresses a number of issues relevant to understanding the nature of the vowel epenthesis processes affecting Saramaccan words (see also Smith 2003:47).

The last word in (1) illustrates the effects of a sound change that began to affect Saramaccan sometime before the end of the nineteenth century (Smith 2003:32–3) wherein intervocalic liquids were lost in many words. Thus, the Saramaccan word *baáu* 'blue' can be understood to have gone through an intermediate stage along the lines of *baláu* with the loss of the intervocalic *l* producing the long *a* seen today. This sound change often obscures the relationship between a loanword in Saramaccan and its original source. Not all words undergo this sound change, and the conditioning factors are complex, governed largely by the quality of the two vowels adjacent to the historical liquid (see Smith 1987b:323–325). An open question is whether or not the application or non-application of this sound change can be used to determine a word's probable entry date into the language. Liquid deletion does not consistently apply in even the relatively old Suriname Portuguese stratum of the lexicon (see, for example, the words listed in Smith 1987b:321–322), making it difficult, without further study, to determine the significance of the presence or absence of intervocalic liquids in more recent borrowings. With respect to integration of loanwords, it is furthermore not clear if intervocalic *l* deletion may be part of an integration strategy in some cases, in addition to being a historical sound change.

For discussion of the historical interpretation of the presence of tone in Saramaccan with respect to different lexical strata, see Good (2008+). Roughly speaking, high tones in Saramaccan loanwords of European language or Sranan origin correspond with accent in the donor languages, representing a fairly minimal phonotactic adaptation. With respect to the integration of tonal African words into Saramaccan, there is evidence for a special African-derived stratum of the language's vocabulary with different prosodic behavior from the rest of the lexicon. This suggests that, in at least some cases, such words were not closely integrated into the language's existing prosodic system but, rather, their tones were left intact.

A final note about loanword adaptation in Saramaccan should be made regarding the sequence *kw* in words from donor languages. As discussed in section 1.3, *kw* can alternate with *kp* in some dialects. In some cases this variation has resulted in *kw* sequences in words of European origin to be changed to a *kp* in the transcribed dialect. Thus, for example, the word *sakpí* 'shake out' in the database (which is also found as *sakwí*) is derived from Suriname Portuguese *sacudir* 'shake'.

6. Grammatical borrowing

While there has not been extensive work on the topic of grammatical borrowing per se in Saramaccan, there has been work done under the rubric of substrate influence, which depending on one's theoretical viewpoint could be construed as a kind of grammatical borrowing. (See McWhorter 2000 119–123 for summary discussion of substrate features identified in the Atlantic English-based creoles.)

While assessing the various controversies regarding creole genesis to determine what would or would not constitute grammatical borrowing during that process would clearly take us far astray from the issues of primary concern here, there has been work that has claimed that Saramaccan proper (i.e., stage three in table 1) has been influenced by grammatical borrowing, and such research is clearly of more direct interest here. The most extensive work on this topic is Kramer's (2002) study of "substrate transfer" in Saramaccan from Fon Gbe. A striking fact about Saramaccan syntax is that the earliest recorded varieties of the language are grammatically less similar to Fon Gbe than later varieties (Kramer 2002:622). This is almost certainly connected to the low rate of nativization of Suriname's black population discussed in 1.1. Saramaccan's early population undoubtedly included many native speakers of Gbe languages who would have ac-

quired Saramaccan as a second language and who must have also imported features of their native languages into the creole. Good (2008+) adopts a view similar to Kramer's with respect to the presence of a special tonal stratum in Saramaccan's lexicon, thus arguing that some of the tonal features of Saramaccan are the result of grammatical borrowing. Other work along these lines includes Kramer (2006) and Kramer (2007).

7. Conclusion

Despite its relatively short history, the Saramaccan lexicon has been greatly affected by borrowing. Not only does the lexicon show a surprising Portuguese element, but it also shows extensive borrowings from a related creole, Sranan, as well as a good number of borrowings from African languages and a colonial language (Dutch) as well as having a salient Amerindian element. In many cases, the borrowings are the result of the same basic sociohistorical factors responsible for the creation of the creole itself: (i) contact of Africans with Europeans, (ii) contact among diverse groups of Africans or individuals descended from Africans, and (iii) contact among communities from the western Atlantic and eastern Atlantic areas. In addition, Saramaccan's status as a maroon creole resulted in another important kind of contact not found among creoles generally: contact between two different creole-speaking communities.

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Carib

píngo	'the boar'
maisi	'the freshwater eel'
máku	'the mosquito'
kaluwá	'the lizard'
akalé	'the crocodile or alligator'
maaní	'to sieve or to strain'
maáun	'the cotton', 'the thread'
piiwá	'the arrow'
tookóo	'the quail'
walilí	'the anteater'
kujaké	'the toucan'
sipaí	'the stingray'
káima	'the crocodile or alligator'
saasáa	'the prawns or shrimp'

Dutch

zé	'the sea', 'the ocean', 'the lake'
ë̋ísi	'the ice'
tánda	'the tooth'
baási	'the blister'
gási	'the stove'
déigi	'the blanket'
háíki	'the rake'
mánda	'the basket'
bë̋të	'the chisel'
dóki	'to dive'
jáka	'to pursue'
zéi	'the sail'
njő̋nku	'young'
jáa	'the year'
kő̋tö	'cold'
më̋sítë	'the teacher'

sodáti	'the soldier'
páíti	'the priest'
sösútu	'the nurse'
kalán	'the tap/faucet'
minísíti	'the minister'
leibeweisi	'the driver's license'
bánku	'the bank(financialinstitution)'
beéi(2)	'the spectacles/glasses'
sigaléti	'the cigarette'
talán	'the train'
dóu(2)	'through'
té(2)	'the tea'
dáka	'the day(2)'
baláki	'to vomit'
beénki	'the tin/can'

English

fékísi   'the ointment'

French

lakwá   'the cross'

nasíön   'the people'

Gbe

zonká   'the embers'

bése   'the frog'

logoso   'the turtle'

gogó   'the buttocks', 'the end(1)'

tatí   'the pestle'

këkë́   'the spindle'

azö   'the nettle'

agó   'the knot'

fɛ̆n   'to tear'

zín	'to press'
agbágba	'to carry on head'
logoo	'round'
bë	'red'
lëgëdë	'to lie(2)'
andí	'what?'
ambë́	'who?'
lö́	'the clan'
agama	'the chameleon'
ba	'to draw water'
aviti	'the trap'
më́	'to thresh'

Igbo

un	'you (plural)'

Loango Bantu

pötöpötö	'the mud'
pululú	'the foam'
mutjáma	'the rainbow'
bundji	'the fog'
taatá	'the father', 'the father's brother'
tatá	'the old man'
böngö	'the descendants'
pukusu	'the bat'
zaun	'the elephant'
ahalala	'the centipede'
kóla	'the snail'
töönsö́n	'the brain'
tutú(2)	'the horn', 'the throat', 'the horn or trumpet'
tekútekú	'to hiccough'
lё́kíti	'weak'
pё́nё́pёnё	'naked'

muungá	'the bracelet'
ndekú	'the fish poison'
kőpö	'the copper'
tónto	'to limp'
bandja	'the wall', 'beside', 'the side'
laú	'mad'
tjaká	'the rattle'
bakisi	'the fish trap'
sibá	'to curse'
pindi	'the statue', 'the idol'
tolá	'to damage'
malë̋ngë	'lazy'
fulufulu	'soft'
djukú	'to vomit'

Mende

njámísi   'the yam'

Sranan

wǒlúku   'the cloud'

suwálufu   'the match'

deési   'the medicine'

sikǒtííki   'the cup'

boón   'the dough', 'the flour'

gulúntu   'the vegetables'

nóto   'the nut'

mě́íki   'the milk'

kási   'the cheese'

wín   'the wine'

nái   'to sew'

jápo   'the (woman's) dress'

hě́mpi   'the shirt'

kóto	'the skirt'
buúku	'the trousers'
köúsu	'the sock or stocking'
bánti	'the belt'
könöpu	'the button'
djamátísítónu	'the jewel'
kámba	'the room'
söötö	'the lock'
fënsë	'the window'
kúnsu	'the pillow'
mésema	'the mason'
sikópu(2)	'the shovel'
apeesína	'the citrus fruit'
pampú	'the pumpkin or squash'
láki	'the glue'
goútu	'the gold'
lóto	'the lead'
féífi(1)	'the paint', 'to paint'

sikópu(1)	'to kick'
lë̋i	'to drive'
boóki	'the bridge'
pená(2)	'poor'
lantimőni	'the tax'
wojowójo	'the market'
wě̋nkë	'the shop/store'
búnkópu	'cheap'
wégi	'to weigh'
kándi	'to pour', 'to lie down'
paáta	'flat'
fökánti	'the square'
lín	'the line'
djéi	'similar', 'to seem'
në̋ígi	'nine'
ëlúfu	'eleven'
tuwálufu	'twelve'
dúsu	'a thousand'

fuúku	'early'
júu	'the hour'
olóísi	'the clock'
léi	'to show', 'to learn', 'to teach'
baáu	'blue'
guúun	'green'
kölö́ku	'the good luck'
piizíi	'happy'
főútu	'the mistake'
fusután	'to understand'
djeési	'to imitate'
sikö́ö	'the school'
sóifi	'certain'
kőnku	'to betray'
nőútu	'the need or necessity'
wőutu	'the word'
sikífi	'to write'
lési(2)	'to read'

pampía	'the paper'
pĕ́ni	'the pen'
foloíti	'the flute'
gwenti	'the custom'
wĕ́ti	'the law'
kotóígima	'the witness'
sitááfu	'the penalty or punishment'
bútu	'the fine'
kéíki	'the religion'
otó	'the car'
bési	'the bus'
opaláni	'the airplane'
péíki	'the pill or tablet'
sipóiti	'the injection'
mataási	'the mattress'
lánti	'the government'
sikŏ́utu	'the police'
biífi	'the letter'

sukúfu	'the screw'
kúku	'the candy/sweets'
kínö	'the film/movie'
óli	'the petroleum'
masíni	'the motor', 'the machine'
baisígi	'the bicycle'
sitááti	'the street'
söndö	'without'
kofí	'the coffee'
féki	'to wipe'
sáka	'to go down'
báka(2)	'to roast or fry'
híi	'all'
póbíki	'the idol'
sitéifi	'strong'
suwáki	'sick/ill'
kaábu	'to scratch'
fölúku	'the fork'

lelibúba	'the belt'
báíki	'the beam'
kĕ́ti	'the chain'
pobiki	'the statue'
séíbi	'seven'
gáu	'fast'
nŏíti	'never'
kumadéi	'to command or order'
feántima	'the enemy'
séépi	'the fishnet'

Suriname Portuguese

téla	'the land'
lío	'the river or stream'
matú	'the woods or forest'
páu	'the wood', 'the tree'
líba	'the moon', 'the month', 'above'

teéja	'the star'
sómba	'the shade or shadow'
vĕntu	'the air', 'the wind'
ʈjúba	'the rain'
síndja	'the ash'
tjumá	'to burn(1)', 'to burn(2)'
wómi	'the man'
mujë́ë	'the woman'
mií	'the child(1)', 'the child(2)'
tío	'the mother's brother'
pái	'the father-in-law (of a man)', 'the father-in-law (of a woman)', 'the son-in-law (of a man)', 'the son-in-law (of a woman)'
kaabíta	'the goat', 'the he-goat', 'the kid'
bulíki	'the donkey'
ganían	'the hen', 'the chicken'
gabián	'the hawk'
gééja	'the gill'
lë́un	'the lion'
makáku	'the monkey'

bítju	'the worm'
kákísa	'the skin or hide', 'the leather', 'the bark'
puúma	'the body hair', 'the feather'
lábu	'the tail'
wójo	'the eye'
búka	'the mouth', 'the beak', 'the edge'
gangáa	'the neck'
máun	'the arm', 'the hand', 'the branch'
húnjan	'the fingernail', 'the claw'
pantéja	'the calf of the leg'
hánza	'the wing'
bíngo	'the navel'
básu(1)	'the spleen'
tiípa	'the intestines or guts'
suwá	'to perspire'
gumbitá	'to vomit'
lëmbë́	'to lick'
babá	'to dribble'

duumí	'to sleep'
lonká	'to snore'
sunján	'to dream'
miindjá	'to piss'
diiná	'to shit'
tumá	'to have sex'
tëëmë́	'to shiver'
vívo	'to be alive'
fë́bë	'the fever'
katáu	'the nasal mucus', 'the cold'
kulá	'to cure'
opión	'the poison'
kúa	'unripe'
póndi	'rotten'
bebé	'to drink'
tjupá	'to suck'
gulí	'to swallow'
fiidjí	'to roast or fry'

kujë́ë	'the spoon'
fáka	'the knife(1)', 'the knife(2)'
buuká	'to peel'
lalá	'to crush or to grind'
fuúta	'the fruit'
súki	'the sugar'
óbo	'the egg'
agúja	'the needle(1)'
saapátu	'the shoe'
kaapúsa	'the hat or cap'
andélu	'the ring'
kónda	'the necklace'
pénti	'the comb'
sipéi	'the mirror'
sikáda	'the ladder'
djaaí	'the garden'
kiijá	'to cultivate'
sakpí	'to thresh'

foló	'the flower'
tabáku	'the tobacco'
pípa	'the pipe'
batáta	'the sweet potato'
dobá	'to fold'
matjáu	'the axe/ax'
latjá	'to split'
feegá	'to rub'
tëndë̋	'to stretch'
paajá	'to spread out'
peetá	'to squeeze'
baí	'to sweep'
basőö	'the broom'
peégu	'the nail'
félu	'the tool', 'the iron'
káma	'the mat'
biá	'to turn around'
lolá	'to roll'

toosá	'to twist'
kaí	'to fall'
buwá	'to fly'
koogá	'to slide or slip'
bajá	'to dance'
kulé	'to flow', 'to run'
subí	'to go up', 'to climb'
baziá	'to go down'
tooná	'to come back'
fusí	'to disappear', 'to flee'
dendá	'to enter'
mandá	'to send', 'to command or order'
panján	'to grasp'
panjá	'to hold'
dá	'to give'
disá	'to leave', 'to let go'
paká	'to pay'
déndu	'inside'

básu(2)	'down', 'under', 'the bottom'
kamían	'the place'
butá	'to put'
fiká	'to remain'
paatí	'the island', 'to share', 'to separate', 'to divide'
jabí	'to open'
tapá	'to extinguish', 'to shut', 'to cover', 'to forbid', 'to prevent'
tjubí	'to preserve', 'to hide'
töötö	'left', 'crooked'
zúntu	'near'
lóngi	'far'
nasí	'to be born', 'to grow'
maaká	'to measure'
gaán	'big'
pikí	'small'
fitjá	'narrow'
fínu	'thin '
fúndu	'deep'

baáku	'the hole'
tooká	'to change'
túu	'all'
ʧiká	'enough'
gaándi	'old'
awáa	'now'
biingá	'to hurry'
kabá	'last', 'the end(2)', 'to finish', 'to cease', 'ready'
didía	'the day(1)'
amanján	'tomorrow'
sabá	'the week'
sëndë́	'to shine', 'bright'
mö́i	'cooked', 'soft'
línzo	'smooth'
munján	'wet'
kéndi	'hot', 'warm'
límbo	'light(2)', 'clean', 'clear'
baasá	'to embrace'

pená(1)	'to regret or be sorry'
giitá	'to groan'
buusé	'to hate'
fédja	'the envy or jealousy'
kë́	'to want'
ganjá	'the deceit'
búnu	'healthy', 'good'
sábi	'to know'
poobá	'to try'
kandá	'to sing', 'the song'
ngáku	'to stutter or stammer'
kondá	'to count', 'to tell'
pidí	'to ask(2)'
niingá	'to refuse'
búja	'the quarrel'
lánza	'the spear'
djulá	'to swear'
saí	'to be'

akí	'here'
alá	'there'
óto(1)	'other'
kú	'the vagina'
kaapátu	'the tick'
avó	'the grandparents'
ku	'and', 'with'
jasá	'to roast or fry'
mángu	'thin '
djëmë́	'to groan'
poosián	'the poison'
sukúma	'the foam'
súndju	'the dust'
sugúu	'the darkness', 'dark'
fëëbë́	'to cook', 'to boil'
nján(1)	'to bite', 'to eat'