

# **A preliminary list of probable Kikongo (KiKoongo) lexical items in the Surinam Creoles**

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## **1. Introduction**

In this article, I will try to sum up the present state of our knowledge concerning the presence of vocabulary items of Kikongo origin in the creole languages of Surinam. The obvious reason for the presence of a comparatively large number of Kikongo lexical items in the Surinam Creoles is the early importation of a large number of slaves from West Central Africa.

### 1.1. Importation figures

Only in the final years of the English colonial power in Surinam do importation figures for slaves begin to appear. In my earlier chapter on the early history of Surinam, I give figures for the slave trade with West Central Africa, supplied by the Voyages Database (2009).

### 1.2. Sources

The list of circa 185 Kikongo words represents the largest number of words identified so far in the Surinam Creoles, from any single African language source. However, this is partly due to the fact that Daeleman, a student of Kikongo, made an early study of the Kikongo words he found, or suspected, in the Saramaccan language (Daeleman 1972). This list was augmented for Ndyuka by Huttar (1985, 1986).

As is the case with the other list given here (on the Gbe lexical contribution to the Surinam Creoles), the Kikongo list is preliminary. That it is incomplete is evident. There are a fair number of items (around 20) that look as if they might begin with Bantu noun-class prefixes, and thus correspond to the characteristic pattern of class prefixation that appears with most nouns in Bantu languages. In contrast to nouns, verbs appear either in their bare stem form, or

occasionally with Kikongo derivational suffixes (known as verb extensions in Bantu linguistics). They are thus more difficult to identify.

I have drawn most of my cited data from the three above-mentioned sources. Daeleman (1972) compares Saramaccan items of putative Kikongo origin with the Kikongo dialect that he himself studied most intensely – Ntandu, providing other relevant dialect attributions from time to time. In fact, Ntandu is probably not the precise direct source, or even the only source, of the Kikongo words in Saramaccan. There is a fairly consistent difference in development as regards one particular phonological feature. This concerns Kikongo nouns in */-ia ~ya#/. In Ntandu these tend to end in /i#/. This feature does not appear in Saramaccan. The Ntandu development could of course post-date the period of the slave trade.*

(1)	Nr	Saramaccan	Ntandu	Other Kikongo	gloss
	010	<i>bandya</i>	<i>m-baánsi</i>	<i>m-báansya</i>	side
	094	<i>mayaya</i>	<i>(ma-)dyaádi</i>	<i>(ma-)dyaadya</i>	sp. grass

## 2. Nouns

Kikongo, as a Bantu language, has a partially semantically based noun-class prefix system, with (normally) pairs of singular and plural prefixes in each class. In the default case, nouns have been transferred into the Surinam Creole languages in the form prefix+noun. In Smith (2009), I discussed a potential model of transference for Saramaccan, which could be extended to all the Surinam Creoles.

These class prefix+noun stem forms “borrowed” into Saramaccan are now holistic stems, but there is some evidence to support a position that, during the formative period of Saramaccan language, such words were seen as dimorphic and that this was the default pattern for the incorporation of Kikongo nouns. Certain singular class prefixes had been lost under certain circumstances. In these cases, then, the form with the corresponding plural prefix was normally adopted instead (cf. Smith 2009).

To illustrate the general class prefix idea, I give Daeleman’s account of the Ntandu noun-class system in Table 1. Note that Ntandu does not realise the singular prefix of gender 5/6, unless it is followed by a nasal cluster. Similarly (although not illustrated here), in Laman’s (1964) Central Kikongo (identified as Mazinga by Söderberg (1985)), the singular prefix of gender 7/8 is similarly largely unrealised (p.c. T. Schadeberg). Daeleman (1972) notes more generally that the class 5 marker normally does not appear before a single

consonant initial in Ntandu, Ndibu or Yaka, while the same applies to the class 7 marker in Yombe and Ndibu

In Saramaccan, we see a similar pattern to that obtaining in Ntandu. Additionally, however, we also find cases illustrating the Mazinga pattern, although in this case there are exceptions. Without a fuller knowledge of the realisation of Kikongo noun class systems we cannot, for instance, say that the Ndibu dialect played a significant role in the Kikongo part of the ethnic background of Saramaccan Maroons.

There is also one possible example of a singular prefix in Kwinti of a word of gender 5/6 that would have none in Ntandu. This is *isanga* ‘work shed’ (Van der Elst 1975: 17), where other lects have the form *masanga*, which clearly displays the Kikongo plural prefix for this gender.

Table 1. The Ntandu noun-class system

Class	Noun prefix	Number	Realization restrictions
1	<i>mu-</i>	singular	Ñ- before C
2	<i>ba-</i>	plural of 1	
3	<i>mu-</i>	singular	Ñ- before C
4	<i>mi-</i>	plural of 3	Ñ- before C
5	<i>di-</i>	singular	<i>di-</i> only before NC
6	<i>ma-</i>	plural of 5, 14, 15	
7	<i>ki-</i>	singular	
8	<i>bi-</i>	plural of 7	
9	N-	singular	
10	N-	plural of 9, collective of 11	
11	<i>lu-</i>	singulative	
13	<i>tu-</i>	plural of 11	
14	<i>bu-</i>	abstract nouns	
15	<i>ku-</i>	infinitives	
16	<i>ga-</i>	locative (surface)	
17	<i>ku-</i>	locative (distance)	
18	<i>mu-</i>	locative (inside)	
19	<i>fī-</i>	diminutive	

### 3. Verbs

The verbs that have been borrowed into the Surinam Creoles are largely disyllabic, and less frequently trisyllabic or tetrasyllabic. Most of the verb forms end in a final /-a/. This corresponds to the default final inflectional verb ending of Bantu languages. Disyllabic verbs in /-a/ all correspond to a monosyl-

labic Kikongo stem plus this final vowel. Most trisyllabic forms in /-a/ correspond however to a monosyllabic Kikongo stem followed by a so-called verb-extension followed by the final vowel. In contrast to the situation with nouns and their class prefixes, there is no evidence for assuming that the verb extensions were ever analysed as discrete morphemes in the Surinam Creoles. In Table 3, there are only a couple of examples at most of each extension.

#### 4. Relevant phonological aspects

In this section, I will only mention two aspects of phonology. Firstly, we have a form of Meinhof's Law forbidding sequences of nasal onset clusters. The rationale for mentioning this is that it does not appear to be in a form that has been reported from Africa. The second aspect concerns the so-called Kikongo Tone-groups.

##### 4.1. Meinhof's Law

A phonological restriction exists in the Saramaccan language against two successive sequences of nasal onset clusters. This was first noted by Daeleman (1972). Such a restriction also exists in many Bantu languages, where it is generally known as Meinhof's Law. This generally appears to operate differently from the way it applies in Saramaccan, however. I first illustrate some Saramaccan cases in (3):

(2)	Nr	Ntandu	Saramaccan	gloss
	008	<i>m-báambi</i>	<i>ɓámbi</i>	a large lizard
	019	<i>m-boóngo</i>	<i>ɓɔngɔ</i>	descendants
	041	<i>n-gáanda</i>	<i>gandá</i>	village
	042	<i>n-gáandu</i>	<i>gandú</i>	cayman (taboo)

Johnson (1979) reports the following variants of Meinhof's Law:

(3) Attested Forms of Meinhof's Law<sup>1</sup>

- a.  $NC_{vd} > NN / \_\_\_ V (V) N$
- b.  $NC_{vd} > N / \_\_\_ V (V) N$
- c.  $NC_{vd} > N / \_\_\_ V (V) NC$

As can be seen from (2), this differs from the Saramaccan treatment, shown schematically in (3d).

- (3) d.  $NC_{vd} > C_{vd} / \_\_\_ V (V) NC$

Yet another development can be found in the treatment of Kimbundu words in Angolar. This treatment is shown in (3e), and appears in a single case in Saramaccan.

- (3) e.  $NC_{vd} > C_{vl} / NC V (V) \_\_\_$

This resembles what happens in what Meinhof (1932) refers to as the Kuan-yama Law (in contrast to Meinhof's Law, termed by him the Ganda Law),<sup>2</sup>

- (3) f.  $NC_{vd} > C_{vd} / NC V (V) \_\_\_$

with the difference that the dissimilated cluster leaves a voiceless stop behind. Some examples from Maurer (1995):

(4)	Kimbundu	Angolar	gloss
	<i>ki-mbandji</i>	<i>mbandji ~ mbatxi</i>	side of body
	<i>m-binda</i>	<i>mbita</i>	calabash
	<i>n-danji</i>	<i>ndatxi</i>	root
	<i>n-gandu</i> (crocodile)	<i>ngandu ~ ngatu</i>	shark

1. I have modified Johnson's formulation slightly to reflect the fact that I consider the onsets here to be nasal clusters rather than prenasalized stops.

2. Quoted from Kim (1999).

Kikongo words in Angolar seem however to display the Ganda Law:

(5)	Kikongo	Angolar	gloss
	<i>m-bongo</i>	<i>mbogo</i>	descendant
	<i>n-gembu</i>	<i>ngebu</i>	bat

The case represented schematically in (3e), displaying what we could call the Angolar law, is the following:

(6)	Kikongo	Saramaccan/Matawai	gloss
	<i>m-púungu</i>	<i>a(m)púku</i>	forest spirit

#### 4.2. Tone in nouns

In Kintandu, the following distribution of groups of tone patterns with nouns occurs. These are termed Tone-groups by Daeleman & Pauwels (1983). Each Tone-group occurs in one of four Tone-cases. The four Tone-cases refer to various syntactic contexts on which we will not further elaborate as it is not of relevance here. What is relevant is to show the different tone patterns that occur in the different Tone-cases for each Tone-group.

Table 2. Ntandu Tone-groups and Tone-cases, adapted from Daeleman (n.d.)

stem syl.	case mora	tone-groups			
		a	b	c	d
	I	L-L (L) L	L-(L) H L	L-L (L) H	L-L (L) H
2	2	<i>ma-lafu</i>	<i>lu-ngwéni</i>	<i>ma-tutí</i>	<i>ma-kukú</i>
2	3	<i>ma-biibi</i>	<i>ki-wíina</i>	<i>ki-tuutú</i>	<i>è-tuutú</i>
3	3	<i>ki-menina</i>	<i>ma-kyéléka</i>	<i>ki-kálála</i>	<i>ki-kokilá</i>
	II	L-L H L	L-(H) H L	L-H (L/H) L	L-H (L) L
2	2	<i>ma-láfu</i>	<i>lu-ngwéni</i>	<i>ma-túti</i>	<i>ma-kúku</i>
2	3	<i>ma-bíibi</i>	<i>ki-wíina</i>	<i>ki-túutu</i>	<i>è-túutu</i>
3	3	<i>ki-menína</i>	<i>ma-kyéléka</i>	<i>ki-kálála</i>	<i>ki-kókila</i>
	III	L-L (L) L	L-(L) L L	L-L (L) L	L-L (L) L
2	2	<i>ma-lafu</i>	<i>lu-ngweni</i>	<i>ma-tuti</i>	<i>ma-kuku</i>
2	3	<i>ma-biibi</i>	<i>ki-wiina</i>	<i>ki-tuutu</i>	<i>è-tuutu</i>
3	3	<i>ki-menina</i>	<i>ma-kyeleka</i>	<i>ki-kalala</i>	<i>ki-kokila</i>
	IV	L-L H L	L-(H) H L	L-H (H) H	L-H (H) H
2	2	<i>ma-láfu</i>	<i>lu-ngwéni</i>	<i>ma-tútí</i>	<i>ma-kúkú</i>
2	3	<i>ma-bíibi</i>	<i>ki-wíina</i>	<i>ki-túútú</i>	<i>è-túútú</i>
3	3	<i>ki-menína</i>	<i>ma-kyéléka</i>	<i>ki-kálálá</i>	<i>ki-kókílá</i>

In this paper, I have not attempted to identify a single Tone-case as being the source of the tone-patterns in Saramaccan and Ndyuka nouns (Sranan only has lexical tone distinctions in ideophones). It may not even be relevant to attempt to do so. Daeleman (1972) made an attempt to relate Kikongo and Saramaccan tone-patterns, but this needs to be reviewed in view of the following more accurate list. However, this would involve too extensive an exercise to usefully carry out here.

#### 4.3. Tone in verbs

Verbs in Kikongo are divided into two types, H(igh-toned) bases and L(ow-toned) bases. The Kikongo verbs are given in their infinitive form, without the infinitival prefix *ku-*. The discussion of the part tones have to play in verb inflection goes beyond the scope of this article.

### 5. Abbreviations used in the list

The following abbreviations are utilized in the list:

- Tone marking and ideophones
  - H, ́: high tone
  - L, x, ̀: low tone
  - a/b/c/d: Kikongo noun tone-groups
  - ID: ideophone
- Kikongo dialects
  - NK: Northern Kikongo (Laman 1964)
  - WK: Western Kikongo (Laman 1964)
  - Kish: Kishikongo (Bentley 1887)
  - Be: Bembe (Jacquot 1981)
  - Cb: Cabinda
  - Nd: Ndibu
  - Nt1: first Ntandu meaning
  - Nt2: second Ntandu meaning
  - Vi: Civili
  - Yo: Yombe

- Other languages<sup>3</sup>
  - Kb: Kimbundu
  - Kit: Kituba
  - Ya: Yaka (H30)
- Surinam Creoles
  - Al: Aluku
  - Nd: Ndyuka
  - Ndg: Ndyuka (Guiane)
  - Kw: Kwinti
  - M: Matawai
  - Pr: Paramaccan
  - Sa: Saramaccan
  - Sr: Sranan
- Persons/Organisations/Sources
  - Enc: Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië (Benjamin & Snelleman 1914-1917)
  - DeG: De Groot 1977
  - Et: Joint State University of Leyden, Summer Institute of Linguistics & Surinam Ministry of Education Surinam Creole Etymological Dictionary Project [cardfile consulted with the permission of the late Professor Jan Voorhoeve]
  - H: Huttar
  - Lo: Lombé (village; Donicie and Voorhoeve 1963)
  - Li: Golío (village; Donicie and Voorhoeve 1963)
  - Prc1: Price 1975
  - Prc2: Price 1983
  - L: Laman (Kikongo dictionary)
  - SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics (online dictionaries)
  - Sw: Swartenbroeckx (Kikongo dictionary)
  - V: Vinije Haabo (Saramaccan manuscript dictionary)
  - [1778]: Schumann 1778 (Saramaccan)
  - [1783]: Schumann 1783 (Sranan)

The list is ordered alphabetically by the Saramaccan entries, as that is the language for which we have most Kikongo vocabulary. Lacking a Saramaccan word, an Ndyuka word is utilized, and lacking both, a Sranan word is utilized. The item on which the order is based is given in bold type. Implosive and plain voiced are ordered together. Voiced stops whose exact status is not

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3. Possibly, this refers to Yombe (abbreviated My in Laman (1964))



known are presented with underlining.

The Proto-Bantu forms represent a preliminary identification based on the online Bantu Lexical Reconstructions 3 (BLR3) database (Bastin et al. 2003). Daeleman (1972) sometimes gives Proto-Bantu forms that are not in BLR3. I have indicated these with [D].

Daeleman (1972) sometimes provides no separate gloss for Kikongo forms as compared to Saramaccan forms. In such cases, identity of or close approximation in meaning can be assumed. I have attempted to confirm this in these cases.

Items from Huttar (1985, 1986) and Daeleman (1972) are not separately referenced in order to avoid cluttering the table up further. In particular cases, items should be checked against these three publications to avoid false attributions to the present writer. I have also made grateful use of the index of vernacular plant names of Suriname (van 't Klooster, Linderman, and Jansen-Jacobs 2003).

Items identified as containing implosive [ɓ, ɗ] by Haabo (2009) have been adjusted in all modern citations.

## 6. The list

Table 3. Kikongo words in the Surinam Creoles

Nr	KiNtandu Daeleman sg/pl; (+Sw)	Other KiKoongo, Yaka, KiMbundu, etc.	gloss	Proto-Bantu: tone & noun class; BLR3 number; 'gloss'	Saramaccan, Matawai	Sranan, Ndyuka, Aluku, Kwinti, Paramaccan	gloss <sup>4</sup>
001	<i>n-káta</i> d (+Sw)	Yo: <i>khata</i> Nd: <i>nkáta</i> (Sw)	porter's pad	*-kata HL 9/10; 1728 'head- pad'	<b>akata</b> <i>agatta</i> [1778]		headpad for loads
002	<i>fúnda nkáta</i> , <i>n-káta</i> d	<i>fúnda nkáta</i> (Sw) Yo: <i>khata</i>	sit tailor- fashion, lap		<i>lólu akata</i>		sit tailor- fashion
003	<i>ki-mbólo</i> a (Sw)	<i>ki-mbólo</i> (Sw)	faux-gavial crocodile		<b>ambolo</b> , <i>amol/ò</i> [1778]		sp. large lizard
004	<i>n-yóka</i> d	Be: <i>nyókò/</i> <i>bá-nyókò</i> 9/2	snake (gene- ral)	*-yoka HL 9/10; 3536 'snake'		Nd: <b>anyooká</b> <sup>5</sup>	Sibon nébu- lata, sp. snake

4. Repeating header rows will be abbreviated on the following pages.

5. The form of this word, compared with the Bembe form, suggests that the /a-/ here is the plural prefix. This might also be the raison d'être for the /a-/ in the previous word.

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
005	<i>m-púungu</i> d	<i>m-púungu</i> (Sw) Kish: <i>m-pungu</i> <sub>N</sub> <i>am-pungu</i> <sub>A</sub>	powerful fetish, Kish: fetish- image Nt: All- highest		<b>apúku</b> , <i>Ma ampuku</i> (Prc1)	forest spirit	Sr: <i>apuku</i> , Nd, Al: <i>am- pukú</i>	forest spirit
006	<i>àkúlu</i> 1/2 d	<i>ba-kúlu</i> (Sw), <i>a-kulu</i> [1651] (pl) Yo: <i>ba-kulu</i> (pl), <i>mu-/ ba-kulu</i> (L)	ancestors, the dead	* <i>kudu</i> [D] 'adult, senior'	<b>bakúlu</b>	lower god, dwarf ghost	<i>bakrú</i> Nd: <i>bakúú</i>	ghost Nd: evil spirit
007	<i>lu-báamba</i> 11/12 d, <i>m-báamba</i> 10 d		sp. rattan Bot. Ere- mospatha haullevil- leana				Nd: <b>bambá</b>	vine for tying
008	<i>m-báambi</i> d (Sw)	<i>m-bámbi</i> (Sw)	monitor lizard	* <i>-bambe</i> HL 9; 82 'moni- tor'	<b>ǂámbi</b> , <i>bámbi</i> [1778]	sp. large lizard		
009	<i>báángúla</i>	<i>bàngúla</i> (Sw)	force (open), break open, pull down, disclose	* <i>-bang-ud</i> H V; 106 'open up'	<b>bangulá</b> , <i>bangula</i> [1778]	reckless, to trick, cheat, ID walking drunkenly (SIL), sway.	Al: <i>bangula</i> (Bi)	trip, stumble

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Stranan	gloss
010	[ <i>lu-baánsi</i> 11/10 <i>m-baánsi</i> pl. a]	<i>m-báanzi/si</i> (Sw) <i>lu-banzi/</i> <i>m-banzi</i> [1651] Nd: <i>m-báansya</i> Kb: <i>m-banji</i> ; <i>m-bázu</i> (L); <i>vémbe</i> (L) Kish: <i>e-vembe</i> Kb: <i>m-bembe</i>	rib, side	* <i>-banja</i> LL 11/10; 96 'rib, side of body' * <i>-banj/LH</i> 11/10; 98	<i>bandya</i> , <b><i>banja</i></b> [1778]	side, beside, ribs	Nd: <i>bánsa</i> Nd: <i>bánsa</i> <i>bón</i> Kw: <i>bandya</i> <i>bón</i>	Nd: side Nd, Kw: rib (lit. 'side bone')
011			fire!		<b><i>bazu</i></b>	grand fire		
012			purslane		<b><i>bembé</i></b> , <i>bembe</i> [1779]	purslane		
013	<i>ki-ídi</i> a 7/8		Bot. Cyrtosperma Se-negalense		<b><i>bilolf</i></b>	sp. moss, dirt, soil (SIL)		
014	<i>bi-loóngo</i> pl. 8 a [ <i>ṣ loóngo</i> a]	<i>bi-lóngo</i> pl (Sw) Vi: <i>bi-loongu</i>	remedies, medicines [remedy, spell, taboo]		<b><i>biango</i></b> (PrcI)	ritual ingre- dients	Sr: <i>bilongo</i> Al: <i>bilongo</i>	sp. amulet; medicine

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
015		Yo: <i>n-gúúngú</i> WK: <i>ki-n-gungu</i> (L)		*-gungu LL 3/4; 9/10	<b>ǃingúngu</b> (SIL); <i>ǃingúngú</i> (V)	stink bug	Nd: <i>gunguúngu</i>	sp. insect
016	<i>ki-s̃aa</i> a	<i>ki-sàka</i> (Sw)	wicker fun- nel Nt: rat-trap		<b>bisaka</b> , <i>bisakka</i> [1778]	reed fish-trap		
017	<i>m-b̃aa</i> a	<i>m-bòma</i> (Sw), <i>m-boma</i> [1651]	python	*-boma LL 9/10; 261 'python'	<b>ǃoma</b> , <b>ǃóma</b> , <i>aboma</i> (V), <i>boma</i> [1778]	water boa	Sr: <i>abóma</i> , <i>boma</i> , <i>abóma</i> [1778] Nd: <i>mbóma</i> Al: <i>mboma</i>	anaconda, water boa
018				*-bUmbU 7/8; 4230 'pubes'	<b>ǃóómba</b>	vagina	Sr: <i>bómba</i> , <i>bombo</i> [1783] Al: <i>bombo</i> Al: <i>bombo</i> <i>olo</i>	vulva
019	<i>m-boóngo</i> a	<i>m-bòngo</i> (Sw), <i>mbongo</i> [1651]	seeds, fruits, food, off- spring, descendants		<b>ǃonggo</b> , <i>bongo</i> [1778]	plantation, plant materi- al, seeds, offspring, descendants		vaginal ope- ning
020	<i>m-bóngo</i> d		large wood lizard		<b>boongó</b>	cayman	Nd: <i>bongó</i> Al: <i>bongo</i>	sp. armadillo

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
021	wáási c	<i>bwási</i> (Sw), <i>wázi</i> (Sw), <i>bwazi</i> (B)	leprosy Nt: a skin disease	*- <i>badi</i> HL (5/6); 47 'scar, lepro- sy'	<b>buási-ma</b> , <i>boassi</i> [1778]	leper, leprosy [1778]	Sr: <i>bwasi</i> , <i>gwasi</i> , <i>boassi</i> [1783] Nd: <i>bwási</i> , <i>gwási</i> Al: <i>bwasi</i>	leprosy
022		<i>m-bùubu</i> (L), <i>bùbù</i> (Sw)	dread, sth. dreadful, darkness		<b>bubú</b>	jaguar	Sr: <i>bubu</i> , <i>boebóe</i> [1855] Nd: <i>bubú</i> Nd: monster, bugbear [1855] Nd: jaguar	
023	<i>mbulukooóko</i>	<i>mbúlu-kóko</i> (Sw)	plantain-eater		<b>bukáko</b> (Lo), <i>mukáko</i> (Li)	black ibis	Nd: <i>mbukókó</i> , <i>mukókó</i> , <i>bukókó</i> Pr, Al: <i>bukókó</i> Nd: <b>bukú</b>	green ibis, flamingo
024		<i>buuku</i> (H)	mushroom					mould, mushroom
025	<i>m-buímba a</i>		mystery, secret		<b>búmba</b> (Prc I)	an important deity	Sr: <i>bumba</i> (Prc I) Nd: <b>bunduka</b>	an important deity lean over (e.g. of trees)
026		<i>bùnduka</i> (H)	fall down (of tree), be uprooted	*- <i>bund-uk-</i> V; 4334 'be thrown down'				

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
027	<i>buúngi</i> a	<i>búngi</i> (Sw) Yo: ( <i>di</i> -) <i>bungi</i> Vi: <i>m̀buunji</i>	fog (Sw + mildew)	*- <i>bUngi</i> /LL 11; 4455	<b><i>bungi</i></b>	cloud, fog, grey	Nd: <i>bu(w)íngi</i> Al: <i>bungi</i> Kw: <i>bungi</i> <i>somóko</i>	mist, fog, dust
028	<i>m̀buúngi</i> a	<i>m-búngi</i> (Sw) Vi: <i>m-buunji</i>	mildew (Sw + fog)	*- <i>bUngi</i> -L V; 4451 'to decay'	<b><i>bungi</i></b> , <i>bundji</i> , <i>bundji</i> [1778]	mold, mil- dew, mouldy [1778]		
029	<i>ki-búungu</i> a	( <i>ki</i> -) <i>búngu</i> (Sw)	earthenware pot, calabash		<b><i>búngu</i></b> , <i>bungu</i> [1778]	earthenware pot	Nd: <i>búngu</i> Ndg: <i>bunguu</i> Al: <i>bungu</i>	earthenware jug
030		Yo: <i>lu-buta</i> - <i>buta</i> Kish: <i>lu</i> - <i>butia-butia</i>	nightjar				Sr: <b><i>buta-buta</i></b> , <i>boetà-boetà</i> [1855]	nightjar
031		<i>mbwèbwe</i> (H)	something undeveloped	*- <i>bUece</i> 9; 4726 'unripe pumpkin' [?]			Nd: <b><i>buwebuwe</i></b> , <i>bwebwe</i> Al: <i>bwebwe</i> Kw: <b><i>diindi</i></b>	fontanelle
032		<i>ndíndi</i> (Sw)	clitoris					vagina

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Stranan	gloss
033		Kb: <i>n-zumbi</i> , body, an- cestral spirit; talisman <i>zumbi</i> (Sw) [ <i>m-vúmbi</i> (Sw) Ya: <i>m-vúúmbi</i> ] <i>fŷ(y)a</i> (Sw)					Sr: <b>dyumbi</b> , <i>djombi</i> , <i>djoembì</i> [1855]	spirit
	[ <i>m-vúmbi</i> c]							
034	<i>-fŷy-a</i>		bet, win bet		<b>fiá, fia</b> [1778]	compete, contradict		
035				*-pIng-a L V: 2541 'interlace. plait'	<b>fingá, finga</b> [1778]	to thread, lace		
036	<i>fóko c</i>		fold				Al: <b>kífoko</b> corner	
037	<i>m-fúbu d</i>		mat of pan- dan frondlets		<b>fúbu</b>	sp. plant	Nd: <b>fúbú</b> plant used to weave mats	
038		Ya: <i>fúkú- fúku</i>	loose soil	*-puk-L V; 2680 'dig'	<b>fuku-fuku</b>	soft, loose (soil)	Sr: <i>figu-fúgu</i> (SIL) loose, soft or shifting (sand)	
039	<i>-fúla</i>	<i>fúla</i> [1651]	blow	*-pud-a V	<b>fúlá</b>	spray with the mouth	Nd: <i>fúlá</i> spray water Al: <i>fúla</i> from mouth, Sr: <i>fúlá</i> blow	
040		Yo: <i>fúlu-fúlu</i>	loose (soil)	*-pud-L V	<b>fúlu-fúlu</b>	soft, loose (soil)	Al: <i>fúlufulu</i> spoiled, put- rid	



Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
041	<i>n-gáanda</i> c	<i>n-gánda</i> (Sw), <i>n-ganda</i> [1651], <i>ku-n-gánda</i> Yo: <i>n-gáanda</i>	open place in a village, court Nt: outside	*- <i>ganda</i> LH 9/10; 1324 'house, village, chief's enclosure'	<b><i>ganda</i></b>	village, clearing	Nd: <i>ganda</i>	open public parts of village
042	<i>n-gáandu</i> c	<i>n-gáandu</i> (Sw) Vi: <i>n-gaandu</i> Be: <i>n-gáandu</i> 9/2 Kb: <i>n-gandu</i> ;	crocodile Vi: cayman	*- <i>gandu</i> LH 9/10; 1326 'crocodile'	<b><i>gandú</i></b>	cayman (ta-boo)		
043	<i>ki-gáanga</i> d		pile of wood		<b><i>gangá</i></b>	fencing for resting head-loads on		
044	<i>ngéngéngéé</i>	Vi: <i>ñ-ngéngé</i> ; <i>ngé-ngé</i> (Sw)	ting-a-ling; ringing (Sw)	*- <i>gengede</i> LHH; 1365 'bell'	<b><i>gengé</i></b> , <i>djencjé</i> , <i>ginging</i> [1778] <b><i>gingi</i></b>	bell	Sr: <i>gengén</i> , <i>gingèh</i> [1783] Nd: <i>gengé</i>	bell
045	<i>ngíngígú</i>		firmness, steadiness			substantial, strong		
046	<i>n-gúba</i> c, <i>ki-ngúbá-ngúba</i> c	<i>ngúba</i> (Sw) Be: <i>ngúbu</i> (L) Be: <i>ngúbà</i>	peanut, small peanut		<b><i>gobo-góbo</i></b> , <i>gobbogobbo</i> [1778]	large peanut	Sr: <i>gobo-góbo</i> , <i>gobbo gobbo</i> [1783]	sp. large peanut

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Stranan	gloss
047	<i>ki-kodi-kódi</i> a	<i>kòdi-kòdi</i> (Sw) Kish: <i>kodiongo</i>	Adam's apple	* <i>kodo</i> LL; 1886 'throat, gullet'		Sr: <i>goro-góro</i> Nd: <b><i>golino</i></b> , <i>goligo</i> Kw: <i>goongóo</i> Nd: <b><i>goóngóon</i></b>	throat, Adam's apple
048	<i>n-goongólo</i> a	millipede		* <i>-gongodo</i> HLH 5/6 (9/10); 1453 'millipede'			millipede
049		<i>kám̄ba</i> (Sw), <i>ma-kám̄ba</i> (pl.)	scar		<i>kám̄ba</i> , <b><i>kamamba</i></b>		scarification
050	<i>ki-káandu</i> d	<i>káandu</i> (Sw) Yo: <i>bi-kandu</i> (pl.)	sign defen- ding against thieves		<b><i>káandu</i></b> , <i>kandiúú</i> (V), <i>kandu</i> [1778]	Sr, Nd: <i>kandú</i> Al: <i>kandu</i>	spell against thieves
051	<i>n-kátánga</i> c	<i>n-kátánga</i> (Sw) Yo: <i>khatanga</i>	cramp		<b><i>katangá</i></b>	Nd: <i>katanga</i>	cramp, foot asleep
052		WK: <i>ñkату</i> (L)	sp. tree		<b><i>katu</i></b>	Nd: <i>nkatú</i>	sp. large vine
053	<i>kédéé</i>		hit home		<b><i>kéjéé</i></b> ; <i>kéjéé</i> (V)		precisely, exactly; ID carefulness

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
054	<i>ki-bóto c</i>	Cb: <i>ki-bòto</i> (Sw)	sp. legume tree Nt: <i>Millettia laurentii</i> Nt: <i>Millettia versicolor</i>		<b><i>kimbótó</i></b> , <i>kombotto</i> [1778]	Bot. Sapotaria. sp. tree with edible yellow fruit, [similar leaves?]	St, Nd: <i>kimboto</i> Al, Ndg: <i>kimboto</i>	sp. tree with edible fruit, Bot. Sapotaria. sp. tree with edible yellow fruit, [similar leaves?]
	<i>m-bã a</i>	<i>m-bòta</i> (Sw)						Al, Ndg: Bot. S. pradosia
055		<i>kîna</i> (Sw) Yo: <i>kîna a</i>	taboo, rash		<b><i>kîna</i></b> , <i>tyîna</i> , <i>kjîna</i> , <i>tchîna</i> [1778]	taboo, leprosy	Nd: <i>kîna</i> Al: <i>kîna</i>	taboo
056	<i>nkódyá</i> , ( <i>ma</i> -) <i>kódi d</i>	<i>nkódi(a)</i> (Sw) WK: <i>kóola</i> (L)	snail Nt2: helix shell	*- <i>kóda</i> HH 9/10; (D) 'sp. snail'	<b><i>kóla</i></b> , <i>kolla</i> [1778]	snail with shell, snail-shell [1778]	<i>nkóla</i>	snail
057	<i>ma-kóongo d</i> , <i>kóongo d</i> , <i>ki-kóongo d</i> , <i>ba-kóongo</i>	Nd: <i>ma-kóongo</i>	ancestors, all the charms together; origin, kingdom; language of BK; BaKoongo tribe		<b><i>kóngo</i></b> , <i>mamákingo</i>	spell against thieves		

6. This is not in Daeleman (n.d.) although it is suggested that it is Ntandu in Daeleman (1972).

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Stranan	gloss
058	<i>kósúl-a</i>	Kit: <i>kòsula</i> (Sw), <i>kòso-</i> <i>kòso</i> , <i>kòsu-</i> <i>kòsu</i> (Sw)	cough	* <i>koc-Ud-H</i> V; 1870 'to cough'		Sr: <b><i>koso</i></b> (V), <i>kosokoso</i> (N); <i>kosò</i> (V), <i>kosò-</i> <i>kosò</i> (N) [1855]; <i>kossókkossò</i> [1783], Al: <i>koso-</i> <i>koso</i> Nd: <i>kookóo</i> , <i>koho kóho</i> Nd: <i>kukusa</i>	cough
059		Kb: <i>ka-kohokohò</i> (N) <i>kùku sama</i> (L) WK: <i>kūukunya</i> (L)	cough		<b><i>kaakw</i></b> , <i>kohokohò</i> [1778]		cough
060			large termita- ry				red mud
061			munch	*- <i>kUnkUny-</i> <i>a</i> V; 5044 'gnaw, chew'	<b><i>kukunyan-</i></b> <b><i>kukunyan,</i></b> <i>kukunja</i> [1778]		nibble, gnaw
062	<i>kula</i>	- <i>kula</i>	to cast off, drive off Nt: chase	*- <i>kUd-a</i> L V; 1994 pull	<b><i>kulá</i></b>	Nd: <i>kulá</i>	to pole a boat; boat pole

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Sranan	gloss
063		<i>ñ-kúlu</i>	quantity, abundance			Nd: <b>kulú</b>	group, crowd
064	<i>kulula</i>		shave short, <sup>7</sup> scale; bald;	*-kUd- L V; 1995 'scrape' *-kUd-Ud- L V; 1996	<b>kululu</b>		pluck empty, bare, eaten bare
	<i>ki-kulúka a</i>	<i>kúlu-kúlu</i> (Sw) <i>kúlúlu</i> (Sw)	bald, over- shaved; close- cropped hair	'scrape'; 4669 'shave'			
065	<i>ñkúmba d,</i> <i>kúmba d</i>	<i>nkúmba</i> (Sw)	navel, protruding navel			Nd, Al, Sr, Kw: <b>kumbá,</b> <i>gumbà</i> [1783] Kw: <i>kúmba</i>	navel
066	<i>ñkuúmbi a</i>	Kish: <i>nkumbi</i>	high dance drum	*-kUmbI 9; 4313 'sp. drum'	<b>kumbí</b> (Pre1)		serrated wooden cylinder scraped with piece of wood [Nasi clan]

7. In Daeleman (n.d.) given as 'lose'.

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Stranan	gloss
067		<i>kūndu</i> (Sw)	knot, nodule	* <i>kundo</i> HL 5/6, 7/8; 2130 'knot'		<b>kundú</b> , <i>koendóe</i> [1855]	swelling, lump
068	ṛlálu c, ṛlálu-ṛlálu c		okra, Bot. Crassocephala lum sarcobasis		<b>lalu</b> , <i>lalū</i> [1778]		okra
069		<i>Luangu</i>	place-name		<b>langu</b> (Prc2), <i>luāngo</i> (Prc1), <i>loango-</i> [1778]	Sr: <i>loango-</i> [1777]	Loango- (first element in com- pounds)
070	<i>ki-láwu d</i> ( <i>bu-</i> ) <i>láwu d</i>	Yo: <i>di-láawu</i> Kit: <i>ki-lau</i> <i>láu</i> (Sw) Kish: <i>lau</i>	mad madman madness, insanity, madden	* <i>dadULH</i> 7; 804 'mad- ness' * <i>dadUK-L</i> V; 794 'be mad'	<b>lau</b> , <i>lau</i> [1778]	Sr: <i>lau</i> , <i>láu</i> , <i>laē</i> [1855], <i>lau</i> [1783] Nd: <i>láu</i> , <i>law.láw</i>	mad, insane, crazy foolish, folly
071	<i>lávúla</i> <i>lébé-lébé</i>	<i>leboka</i> [1651]	long & thin		<b>lébé</b> , <i>lébé</i> - <i>lébé</i>		tall & thin; thin

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Sranan	gloss
072		<i>lèbé-lèbé</i> (Sw)	limp, tender, flabby, sup- ple	*- <i>debe</i> LL 14; 7748 'paralysis' < *- <i>debid</i> L; 881 'be slack, han- ging'		Sr: <b><i>lebelebe</i></b>	indolent
073	<i>n-kóongolo</i> d, <i>n-kóngóló-</i> <i>nkongolo</i> d	<i>n-kóngólo</i> (Sw)  <i>lu-kóngólo</i> (Sw)	circle, rain- bow, circum- ference, round; circle, rain- bow, halo, periphery	*- <i>kongodo</i> HHH 9; 6856 'rainbow'	<b><i>lokóngro</i></b> [1778]		halo round sun or moon
074	<i>lu-léngi</i> b	<i>lu-léngi</i> (H)	harmless green snake			Nd: <b><i>loléngi</i></b> Sr: <i>lotá, lotta</i> [1778], <i>lota</i> [1777]	sp. snake: Oxybeks aeneus, O. argenteus
075	[ <i>l-óotí</i> ] c	<i>lôta, lôte/</i> <i>lôtia</i> (Sw) Kish: <i>lotia</i> Yo: <i>lootyá,</i> <i>lôota</i>	skin disease [squamous skin disease]		<b><i>lontá, lotto</i></b> [1778]		spots on skin spots on skin, scorbutic spot

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Stranan	gloss
076	<i>vwáangi</i> c	Kish: <i>e-vwangi</i> , <i>vwáangi</i> (Sw)	thicket, brushwood		<b><i>lukpángi</i></b> (Lo), <i>ukpángi</i> (Li), <i>lukwándyi</i> (V), <i>lukwangi</i> [1778]	twigs of fallen tree, branch wit- hout leaves; bushes [1778]		
077		NK: <i>lu-kwèto</i>	mortising axe	cf. <i>*-kUadUdo</i> L_L; 4914 'adze'	<b><i>lukpetu</i></b>	adze	Kw: <i>lékwétu</i>	adze
078	[ <i>mása</i> ] (Sw); [ <i>mása</i> ]	Nd: <i>máza</i> (Sw) Lu: <i>madia</i> [1887]	water	<i>*-dia</i> HH 6; 1006 'water'	<b><i>madjaweh</i></b> , <i>madjawé</i> (DeG)	Grote Sara- maka River		
079	<i>ma-dúngu</i> d	Yo: ( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>dúngu</i> Kish: <i>e-dungu</i>	scrotal her- nia, serotoco- le		<i>manungú</i> , <b><i>madungu</i></b> [1778]	scrotal hernia	Sr: <i>mandungú</i> , <i>dungu</i> , <i>madóengoe</i> [1855], <i>madungu</i> [1783] Nd: <i>manungú</i>	scrotal her- nia, enlarged testicle



Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
080	<i>m-fingí</i> <sup>9/10</sup> c	Kish: <i>m-fingí</i>	rat Nt: smallest mouse	*-pingi; 5697 'mouse' [see also <i>pindyí</i> ]	<b>mafengé</b> (Lo), <i>masengé</i> (Li), <i>mafándjé</i> , <i>masengé</i> (SIL), <i>mafingé</i> [1778]	sp. mouse, small rat		
081	<i>ma-káku</i> c	Yo: <i>ma-kaáku</i> a WK: ( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>ká(a)ku</i> (L)	sp.Cercopith ecus		<b>makáku</b> [+1778]	monkey		
082	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>kíbu</i> a		thornfish		<b>makobó</b> , <i>makoobón</i> (Et)	sp. fish		
083	<i>kóonko</i> c	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>kónko</i> (L)	grasshopper				Nd: <b>makonkón</b>	grasshopper
084	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>kwaansya</i> <sup>8</sup> a, <i>ma-kwaánsa</i> a	Nd: <i>kwánza</i> (Sw) Kish: <i>e-kwanza</i>	pimpel, sca- bies	*-kUany-V L; 4925 'scratch, itch'	<b>makpánja</b> , <i>makwanyá</i> , <i>makonyo</i> (V)	pimples, rash		

8. In Daeleman (1971) it is implied (i.e. by non-indication of dialect) that /*ma-kwaansya*/ is an Ntandu form. However, Daelman (n.d.) states that the Ntandu form is /*ma-kwaánsa*/.

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Stranan	gloss	
085	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>kúku</i> d	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>kúku</i> , ( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>kúkwa</i> (Sw) Kb: <i>ma-kukwa</i>	hearthstones (from termi- tary)		<b><i>makúku</i></b> , <i>makúku</i> [1778]	earthenware potstand			
086	<i>ki-léembe</i> d		pepper, Bot. Piper umbellatum (Bois d'anisette)		<b><i>malembé-</i></b> <b><i>lembe</i></b> , <i>malembe</i> <i>toko</i>	P. margina- tum, P. arbo- reum	Nd Al: <i>malembe-</i> <i>lembe</i>	Bot. Piper marginatum liana/shrub, ( <i>Anesi</i> <i>wiwiri</i> )	
087		( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>pápi</i> 6 (Sw) Kish: <i>e-papi</i>	wing, Nt: to flap wings	* <i>pap</i> L_ 5; 6436 'wing' * <i>pap</i> - V L; 2407 'flap wings'	<b><i>mapápi</i></b> (DeG), <i>mapaapi</i> (SIL)	wing point (DeG); sp. rice that is easy to pound	Nd: <i>mapaapi</i> Al: <i>mapápi</i> (Hu)	wing of bird	
088		Kb: ( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>dimbondo</i>	sp. wasp					Sr: <b><i>marbonsu</i></b> , <i>marabónsoe</i> [1855], <i>malembonsse</i> [1718]	large brown wasp, Polli- soides (esp. Vespidae, O. Hymenop- tera)

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
–					<i>masenge</i> [see <b>mafenge</b> ]			
089	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>síla</i> <sup>9</sup>				<b>masiá</b> , <i>massila</i> [1778]	aftercrop of rice or pea- nuts	Sr: <i>masusá</i> , <i>masoesá</i> [1855] Nd: <i>masusá</i> Al: <i>masusa</i> Ndg: <i>masisa</i> , <i>gaan masusa</i>	Sr: Wood- ginger, Re- nealmia alpinia Nd: Rencalmia exaltata, etc.
090	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>susá</i> c	Yo: ( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>sisa</i>	Nt: Bot. Rencalmia Americana		<b>masisá</b> , <i>massisá</i> [1778]	sp. plant		
091	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>swá</i> d	Kil: <i>swá</i> (Sw) Kish: <i>e-swa</i> , <i>ma-swa</i>	netting, mesh	* <i>c-Ua</i> HH; 684 ‘grass’	<b>masuá</b> , <i>masuwá</i> (SIL), <i>masuáh</i> [1779]	fishtrap with net	Sr: <i>maswá</i> , <i>masoewá</i> [1856], <i>masóewa</i> [1855], <i>mansoa</i> [1777] Nd: <i>masúa</i> Al: <i>maswa</i>	reed fishtrap [1855], palm- stems (Enc.)
092		My: <i>ma-tunga</i> <i>nyundu</i> (L)			<b>matungá</b> , <i>madunga</i> [1779]	sp. thorny leaf	Nd: <i>matungá</i> <i>máka</i>	plant with thorns on leaves

9. Daeleman (1972: 12) indicates this as equivalent without glossing it.

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Stranan	gloss
093	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>tũ</i> a	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>tũtu</i> (Sw) Kish: <i>e-tutu</i>	mouse		<b>matutu</b>	sp. small rat		
094	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>dyaadya</i> a <sup>10</sup> , [( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>dyaádi</i> a]	<i>diádiá, diáriá</i> (Sw), <i>e/ma-riaria</i> [1651] Kish: <i>e-diádia</i>	elephant grass		<b>mayaya</b>	sp. grass; overgrown with weeds and bushes		
095		( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>yombé</i> <i>e-diádia</i>	Yombe peop- le; rhythmic dance to drums				Nd: <b>mayombe</b> (Prc1)	cult
096	<i>lu-báki</i> c 11/10	<i>nuni a m-</i> <i>báki</i>	bird of prey				Nd: <b>mbakí</b> Ai: <i>mbaki</i>	Nd: araçari Ai: green kingfisher
097		<i>m-bálu</i> Ya: <i>mbalu</i>	Nt: sparrow- hawk chips	<i>*-bad-Ud-L</i> V; 17 'split open'	<b>mbalu</b>	chips; ena- mel surface (V)	Nd: <i>mbalu</i>	wood splinter

10. Here is another case where the implied Ntandu form does not agree with that in Daeleman (n.d.). Here the explicitly Ntandu form is /*dyaádi*/.

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
098		<i>m-báluka</i> (L)	disease causing peeling of the skin	*- <i>bad-Uk</i> -H V; 41 'be split'	<b><i>mbalukpá</i></b> , <i>baluká</i> , <i>balukpá</i>	skin disease, peeling of skin surface (SIL)	Al: <i>mbaluka</i> (Hu)	rain-cloud
099		Kish: <i>m-beka</i>	precipice, cliff		<b><i>mbeka</i></b> (Et)	steep place, difficult		
100	<i>băva a</i>	<i>m-bowa</i>	love-lies-bleeding Bot. <i>Amaranthus viridis</i>	*- <i>boga</i> LL 9/10; 256 'vegetable'	<b><i>mboa</i></b> , <i>mbowa</i> , <i>boa</i> [1778]	sp. vegetable	Al Ndg: <i>mboya</i>	Bot. <i>Amaranthus spinosus</i>
101		<i>m-bulu</i> [1651] Nd: <i>m-bùlu d</i> (Sw)	eyebrows, forehead		<b><i>mbulu</i></b> , <i>buli</i> , <i>nblu</i> , <i>nbuli</i> [1778]	hairless corners of forehead		
102	<i>-biinda</i> , <i>-biindika</i>	<i>binda</i> , <i>bindika</i> (Sw), <i>mindá</i> (L)	knot together, bind	*- <i>bInd</i> -L V; 205 'plait' [variant of * <i>pInd</i> ]	<b><i>mindí</i></b> Mat: <i>mindí</i> , <i>mindí</i> [1778]	knot together, add to what has been said; +link [1778]		
103	<i>m-oóngo a</i>	<i>m-òngo</i> (Sw) Vi: <i>m-oongu</i>	hill, mountain	*- <i>dUng</i> UHH 3, 4495 'mountain'			Nd: <b><i>móngo</i></b> , <i>mungo</i> Al: <i>mongo</i>	mountain

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Stranan	gloss
104	<i>ĩsóni c</i>	Kish: <i>n-soyo</i>	Nt: thatching grass, Bot. Imperata cylindrica	*-cono H; 6565 'sp. grass'		Sr: <b>mosonjo</b> , <i>mosonjò</i> [1855]; <i>mússunja</i> , <i>sunja</i> , <i>mussungu</i> [1783]	sp. grass [+ inquisi- tor's trick 1855] [= <i>papa-tassi</i> 1783]
105	<i>m-péto d</i>	<i>m-péto</i> , <i>pheto</i>	trap Nt: ring	*-pet- L V; 2482 'bend, fold' *-pete HH 9/10; 2485 'ring' *- peto LL 3; 8084 'circle, bow'		Nd: <b>mpetó</b>	part of fish trap
106	<i>m-pÿa a</i>	<i>m-piya (H)</i>	red-billed dove			Nd: <b>mpiye</b> Al: <i>ampiye</i> , <i>mpiye</i> Ndg: <i>mpiya</i>	toucan with red beak front or bre- ast, Ramp- hastos vitel- linus ariel, Ramphastos sulfuratus

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Sranan	gloss
107	<i>â-kwáanga</i> c	<i>n-kwánga</i> (Sw)	sp. plant, rattle with loose seeds		<b><i>mukangá,</i></b> <i>mokwango</i> [1778]		sp. plant (seeds used for rattles)
108	<i>â-kúkutu</i> d	<i>mu-kūkutu</i> (H)	black ant Nt: large stinging ant			Nd: <b><i>mukukú</i></b>	sp. small ant
109	<i>mw-álála</i> c	<i>mwalála</i> (H) Kish: <i>mwala-</i> <i>la</i>	centipede			Nd: <b><i>mulála</i></b>	centipede
110	<i>ki-lóomba</i> b 7/8		Bot. Myrsti- caceae fami- ly			Pr: <b><i>mulomba</i></b>	Bot. Myrsti- caceae fami- ly
111	[ <i>â-lóomba</i> b] <i>â-únga</i> c	<i>n-únga</i> (Sw), <i>mu-únga</i> [1651]	[sp. grass] armband, bracelet, anklet		<i>muungá,</i> <b><i>mulungá</i></b> [1778]		armband; knuckle- duster
112	<i>â-sókó</i> 3/4	<i>mi-sókó</i> (H)	Nt: young leaf, tender young leaves			Nd: <b><i>musokó</i></b>	leaf charm at entrances; young palm leaves

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Stranan	gloss
113	( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>táma</i> b		cheek	*-tama HL 5/6; 2744 'cheek'	<b>mutáma</b> , <i>mattamma</i> [1778]	cheek	Kw: <i>mtamá</i> Nd: <i>mantámá</i>	cheek
114	<i>íténde</i> d 3/4, <i>ki-ténde</i> d 3/4	<i>n-téndé</i> (Sw), <i>mu-tende</i> <i>ki-ténde</i> d 3/4	pepperbush, Bot. <i>Capsi-</i> cum frutes- cens				Sr: <b>moetínde</b> <b>11</b> [1855]	sp. tree
115	<i>ítete</i> a	Kil: <i>n-tété</i> (Sw), <i>mu-tète</i> (Sw), <i>mu-tete</i> [1651]	carrier's palm frond basket		<b>mutete</b>	carrier's basket	Sr: <i>mutéte</i> , <i>moeítte</i> [1855] Nd, Al: <i>muteté</i> Kw: <i>ítéte</i>	basket
116	<i>n-kyáama</i> c	<i>n-kiáama</i> (Sw), <i>n-kyáama</i> (L) NK: <i>mu-kyáama</i> (L)	rainbow (serpent that climbs up the sky)		<b>mutyáama</b> , <i>mutjamma</i> [1778]	rainbow	Nd: <i>mutyáama</i> , <i>mutyáama</i> Al: <i>montyáama</i> (Hu)	
117	<i>veénda</i> 5/6 a	Nd: ( <i>ma-</i> ) <i>véeénda</i> , <i>vénda</i> (Sw) Kish: <i>e-vela</i>	baldness		<b>muvénda</b> , <i>mofénda</i> (Et), <i>lovénda</i> [1778]	hairless cor- ners of fore- head, rece- ding hairline, bald head		

11. In this source, orthographic *oe* refers to /u/.



Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
118	<i>mw-áaya c</i>	<i>mw-áya</i> (Sw) Kil: <i>mw-à</i> (Sw)	gape, yawn; space left by lack of inci- sors	*- <i>mUa</i> LL 3			Nd: <b><i>mwá</i></b> Al: <i>moá</i> (Hu) Nd: <i>muwaa</i> ID	yawn;
119	<i>-lama</i>	<i>nàma</i> (Sw) Yo: <i>-naama</i> Kish: <i>lama</i>	to stick	*- <i>dam</i> L V; 827 'to stick' (tr./intr.)	<b><i>namá</i></b> , <i>tam-</i> <i>mà</i> [1778]	to stick, touch	Nd: <i>namá</i>	to stick to, press against
120	<i>-lamika</i>	<i>nàmíka</i> , <i>làníka</i> Yo: <i>-naamika</i> Kish: <i>lamina</i> , <i>lamika</i> , <i>laminina</i>	to stick stick to cause to stick; stick well	*- <i>dami</i> k L V; 833 'to stick' (tr.)	<b><i>namii</i></b> , <i>tamii</i>	sticky		
121	<i>ñ-néku d</i>	<i>nekwa</i> [1651]	poison Nt: live bait		<b><i>ndéku</i></b> , <i>neku</i> [1778]	fish poison	Sr: <i>néku</i> , <i>nekóe</i> [1855] Nd: <i>nekó</i> Al: <i>neko</i>	poison from liana Bot. Lonchocar- pus sp. Le- guminosae fam. [Sr: also sp. wood; 1855 sp. wood]
122		<i>n-dika</i> (H)	trap, net				<b><i>ndiká</i></b>	fishtrap

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Stranan	gloss
123	<i>ndǎki a</i>	<i>n-dǎki</i> (Sw), <i>n-dǎki</i> [1651]	(be)witch(er) witchcraft	*- <i>dog</i> /LL 1; 7090 'witch' *- <i>dog</i> /LL 14; 1103 'witchcraft'	<b><i>ndǎki-má</i></b> , <i>dǎkkiman</i> [1778]		black magi- cian
124	<i>ki-ndǎki a</i>	Boma (B80): <i>n-dju</i> Fuumu (B70): <i>n-ju</i> (pl) Tyo (B70): <i>n-zu</i>	sp. peanut		<b><i>ndyu, ndyú</i></b> [SIL], <i>nju</i> , <i>dju</i> [1778]		sp. round peanut
125		Yo: <i>nóngó</i> , <i>nongo</i> [1651] Nd: <i>nóngo</i> (Sw)	saying		<b><i>nongó</i></b>	Nd: <i>nongó</i>	riddle, say- ing, parable proverb, story
126	<i>nzáá</i>		red ID		<b><i>nyaa, nyaan</i></b> [SIL], <i>njaê</i> [1778]	Sr: <i>nya, njáh</i> [1855] Nd: <i>nyaan</i>	red, shining ID red, yellow, glowing ID
127	<i>m-paanda</i>	Ya: <i>m-paanda</i>	fork, bough, stay	*- <i>panda</i> [D] fork	<b><i>panda</i></b>		lever
128	<i>mpémba a</i>	Kishi: <i>m-pemba</i> , <i>m-pémba</i> (Sw)	pipeclay	*- <i>pemba</i> HH 9 (11); 2443 'white clay, kaolin'	Mat: <i>pimba</i> <i>doti</i>	Sr: <b><i>pémba(-</i></b> <i>doti)</i> Al: <i>pémba</i>	kaolin white clay, kaolin

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
129	<i>ki-mpeníc</i> <i>mpéensa d</i>	WK: <i>mpéni</i> (Sw), <i>m-péne</i> (Sw) Yo: <i>phééné</i> Kish: <i>ki-mpene</i>	naked Nt1: nudity Nt2: bareness		<b><i>péniéé</i></b> , <i>páépene</i>	naked		
130	<i>pete-pete</i>	<i>pètè-pètè</i> (Sw)	soft, flabby, slimy		<b><i>pete</i></b> , <i>páé-pete</i> , <i>pete-pete</i> , <i>petee</i>	mushy ID, salve-like, mushy ID	Sr: <i>pete-péte</i> , <i>pétepete</i> [1855] Nd: softness of mud ID	wet ID, soa- king wet ID Nd: softness of mud ID
131	<i>píí</i>	<i>pí, píí</i> (Sw), <i>pi</i> [1651] Kish: <i>pi-i</i>	stillness ID		<b><i>píí</i></b> , <i>pí</i> [1778]	still ID	Sr: <i>píí</i> Nd: <i>píí</i> Al: <i>píí</i>	stillness ID
132	<i>pídíí</i>	<i>pídi</i> (Sw), <i>pípipídi</i> (L)	ID profound silence		<b><i>pííí</i></b>	still, husha- bye ID		
133	<i>m-pínda</i> (Sw) Yo: <i>phííndá</i>	<i>m-pínda</i> (Sw) Yo: <i>phííndá</i>	peanut		<b><i>pínda</i></b> , <i>pínda</i> [1778]	peanut	Sr Al Nd: <i>pínda</i> Sr: <i>piendá</i> [1855], <i>pínda</i> [1783]	peanut

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Stranan	gloss
134	<i>m-piindi</i>	Kit: <i>m-píndi</i>	fetish		<b><i>píndi</i></b>		image, idol, picture
135	<i>m-pingí</i> (Sw), <i>m-píngi</i> c	<i>phingi</i> (H) <sup>12</sup>	mouse, small- lest mouse	*- <i>pingi</i> ; 5697 'mouse'	<b><i>píndjǐ</i></b> (Li)	Nd: <i>pingí</i> (H)	mouse
136		<i>m-pongo-</i> <i>mpongo</i> <sup>13</sup>	creeper Bot. Cissus rubi- ginosa			Nd: <b><i>póngó</i></b>	fruit of a vine
137	<i>lu-mpukusu</i> , <i>lu-</i> <i>mpúlukusu</i> d	( <i>lu</i> -) <i>mpúkúsu</i> (Sw)	bat		<b><i>pukusu</i></b>	Nd: <i>púkúsu</i>	bat
138	<i>-pula</i>	Ya: <i>pulúlu</i>	Nt: to blow	*- <i>puč</i> - H V; 2672 'blow (oral)' *- <i>puč</i> -id H V; 3955 'blow (oral)'	<b><i>pululú</i></b>	<i>puulú</i>	air-bubbles in water
139		<i>puulá</i> (L)	eviscerate			<b><i>puulú</i></b>	small adze for hollowing out dugouts

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12. In Yombe an aspirated stop is equivalent to a nasal stop cluster in other Kikongo dialects.

13. Tones unknown.

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
140	<i>m-púumbu</i> d	<i>m-púumbu</i> (Sw)	Malebo Pool, ref. to (Ba)Humbu/Wumbu people		<b>púumbu</b>	a ritual language of the Saramaccan (Prc1)		
141	<i>mu-nsála</i> d	<i>nsala</i> (H), <i>ñsála</i> (L)	Nt: country of the Bawumbu lobster, shrimp		<b>saasáa</b>	shrimp	Nd: <i>saasáa</i> Sr: <i>sarasara</i> , <i>sarasára</i> [1855]	lobster, shrimp
142		<i>n-sákála</i> (Sw)	poverty (Sw)		<b>sákáa</b> , <i>sakáa</i> , <i>sakla</i> [1778]	rags		
143	<i>n-saku-nsáku</i>	Kish: <i>n-sakusaku</i>	Nt: lemon plant Kish: small round reed Nt: Bot. Cyperus articulatus (grass)		<b>sakasaku</b> (Li), <i>mamasakusa ku</i> (Lo), <i>masakusáku</i> (SIL)	sp. fragrant grass; sp. vine, Bot. Cayaponia jenmani		
	<i>lu-saku-sáku</i> a							
144	<i>saka</i> , <i>sakula</i>	Nd: <i>sákáta</i>	Nt: comb out, weed		<b>sakatá</b>	scratch, turn over ground, toss and turn		

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Stranan	gloss
144	<i>n-saku-nsáku</i>	Kish: <i>n-sakusaku</i>	Nt: lemon plant Kish: small round reed Nt: Bot. Cyperus articulatus (grass) bellows	<b>sakasaku</b> (Li), <i>mamasakusa</i> <i>ku</i> (Lo), <i>másakusáku</i> (SIL)	sp. fragrant grass; sp. vine, Bot. Cayaponia jenmanii			
145	<i>ñ-sakúsu</i> a	<i>n-sakúsu</i> (Sw), <i>mu-sakasu</i> [1651]		<b>sakusu</b> , <i>sakusu</i> [1778]	blow, bel- lows, spray			
146		WK: <i>(ma-)sanga</i> (Sw)	hut or shelter of greenery	<b>massanga</b> [1778] (noted as an Ndyuka word)	forest hut	Kw: <i>isangá</i> Sr: <i>masanga</i> , <i>massánga</i> [1855], <i>mas- sanga</i> [1783] Nd: <i>masanga</i>	Kw: works- hed, shelter Sr, Nd: forest hut	
147	<i>n-sátu</i> d		(revenge) hunger	<b>sátu</b>	revenge			

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
148	<i>n-séngelé</i> d, <i>n-séngélé m-</i> <i>béélé</i> ( <i>ki</i> -) <i>séngélé</i> (Sw), <i>ki-</i> <i>séngelé</i> d	Nd: <i>n-séngélé</i> (Sw) Nd: ( <i>ki</i> -) <i>séngélé</i>	handleless blade, hand- less knife, axe	*- <i>cedenge</i> H-; 7841 'handleless tool' *- <i>beede</i> LLH; 124 'knife' *- <i>beedi</i> LLH 9; 133 'knife'	<b><i>sengéé</i></b> , <i>sengbè</i>	mache- te/knife wit- hout handle;	<i>sengre-bére</i> , <i>singrebére</i> [1855] Pr, Sr: <i>sengenefi</i> Nd: <i>sengee</i> <i>how, sengee</i> <i>nafi</i>	handleless knife Nd: handle- less machete, handleless knife.
149		Vi: <i>sélingo</i>	ant		<i>scéngba</i> , <b><i>séringwa</i></b> [1778]	army ant		
150		<i>n-síba</i> (Sw)	whistle one carries	*- <i>ciiba</i> HH 11; 5726 'whistled signal'	<b><i>sibá, síba</i></b> [1778]	flute amulet, wooden whistle		
151	<i>-síba</i>	<i>siba</i> (Sw), <i>siba</i> [1651] Kish: <i>xíba</i>	invoke fetish Nt: curse		<b><i>sibá, síba</i></b> [1778]	curse		

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Stranan	gloss
152	-sík-a	<i>síka m-búdi</i> (Sw), <i>síka</i> (Sw) Vi: <i>síka m-</i> <i>budi</i> WK: <i>síka</i> <i>tsambi</i> Kish: <i>n-xinga</i>	play the trumpet, play instrument  WK: play organ (praying mantis) string, cord, liana, creeper, vine; fibre of palm stem, of elephant's tail; Nt: liana; fibre	<i>*-cinga</i> LL 3/4; 622 'string, body-hair'	<b>sikámbuti</b>		sp. beetle
153	[ <i>hšnga</i> a]	Kish: <i>n-xinga</i>			<b>sínga</b>		Maripa-palm leaves as dish; sisal, sp. fibre; protective Maripa-string arm-band
154	<i>di-n-singa</i>				<i>síngá-ási</i> , <i>sínga-</i> <i>muungá</i> <sup>14</sup>	Al: <i>sínga así</i>	agave fibre snare
155	<i>n-sóombi</i> d	<i>nsómbé</i> ~ <i>nsómbi</i> (Sw) Kish: <i>nsombe</i>	palm leaf-rib, also used as slipknot palm weevil, grub, horned beetle	see above	<b>sómbi</b> , <i>sombi</i> [1779]		palm worm
156	<i>n-sóngi</i> c	Kish: <i>nsonge</i>	Kish: snipe fish		<b>songé</b>	Sr: <i>songe</i>	sp. fish

14. *muungá* (see above) 'armband'



Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Sranan	gloss
157		Yo: <i>tsúusa</i>	footplay, sp. dance		<b>súsá</b>	Sr: <i>súsá</i> , soesà [1855] Nd: <i>súsá</i>	sp. dance or song
158	<i>n-súsu d</i>	<i>n-súsu</i> (Sw), <i>n-susu</i> [1651] Be: <i>n-súsù</i> , <i>bà-n</i> 9/2	hen	*-cUcUHH 9/10 (9/6); 698 'bird, chicken'	<b>súsu</b>		dance per- formed after burial taboo-name 'hen'
159	<i>téngú-téngu</i>		hopping		<b>téngú- téngú</b> ;		hop; lame, lim- ping
160	<i>ky-aáka a</i>	<i>kiáka</i> (Sw)			<b>tyaká</b> , <i>tschakka</i> [1778]		rattle (v/n)
161	<i>ky-áadi d</i>	<i>kiádi</i> (Sw), <i>ki-ari</i> [1651] Yo: <i>kiadi</i>	pity, compas- sion, sorrow	*-jadI 3; 9101 'tear'	<b>tyalí</b>		regret
162		Cab: <i>kí-anga</i> (Sw), <i>ki-anga</i> [1651]		*-ganga LL 14; 1334 'medicine'	<b>tyanga</b> ;		fenced-in
163	<i>-kéé</i>	<i>ké</i> (Sw), Yo: <i>-khécke</i> <i>ukeke</i> [1651] Ya: <i>tyólólóó</i>	too little, tiny, small		<i>tyangaa</i> (SIL) <i>tyátyé</i> (é)		ritual was- hing place undersized
164					<b>tyólólóó</b> , <i>tchorolò</i> [1778]		thin (of li- quid foods)

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Stranan	gloss
165	<i>ki-ménga</i> d	<i>ki-bénga</i> (Sw) Ya: <i>ki-bénga, ki-ménga</i> [1651]	Nt: frying-pan		<b>tyubénga</b> , <i>kibénga</i> [1778]	iron plate for baking cassava		
166		<i>kiubúka</i> (Sw) Kish: <i>kiubu, kiubuku</i>	Kish: ID swallow; jump about in water				Sr: <b>tyubun</b>	ID splashing
167	<i>tófü-tófü, -tófúna</i>	<i>tòfúna, tòfúka</i> (Sw)	spoil, crack; be spoilt, cracked		<b>tófü</b> (Lo), <i>tǎ</i> (Li), <i>toffo</i> [1778]	dried up, rotten, spongy		
168	<i>lú-ku/ tú-ku</i> c	<i>lù-ku/ tû-ku</i> (Sw), <i>lu-ku/ tu-ku</i> [1651]	Nt: cassava-root beaten > flour > bread		<b>tokú</b>	small cassava dumplings		
169		<i>tòla</i> (Sw) Yo: <i>tóla</i>	be fat, big, grow		<b>tolá</b>	misshape		
170		Ya: <i>tumbi-túmbi</i>			<b>tombí-</b> <b>tombí</b> (Li), <i>tópi-tópi</i> (Lo)	balding skull with hair in pigtails		
171		<i>ntóoto</i> (H) Yo: <i>thoóto</i> Be: ( <i>má-</i> ) <i>tótò</i> 5/6	ripe banana		<b>toto</b> , <i>totto</i> , <i>tuttu</i> [1778]	sp. banana	Nd: <i>tontón</i>	mashed bananas

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Sranan	gloss
172	[ <i>bu-tóonga</i> c]	<i>tónzo</i> (Sw) Yo: <i>tóonzo</i> c Vi: <i>bu-toonzu</i>			<i>tónzó</i> , <i>tónsá</i> , <i>tonso</i> [1778]	brains	Kw: <i>m-toonsó</i>	brains
173		Nd: <i>túmibi</i> (Sw) Kish: e-tumbi Kimb: di-tumbu	enclosed plot hillock raised bed Nt: to pile	*-tUmbi 5; 4276 'heap'	<i>túmbu</i>	garden-bed		
174	[-túmba] <i>túutu</i> d 5/6	<i>tátu</i> (Sw), e- <i>tutu</i> [1651] Kish: e- <i>tutu</i>	Nt: bamboo, tube, pipe, flute		<i>tutú</i> , <i>tutù</i> [1778]	horn	Sr: <i>tutú</i> , <i>toetóe</i> [1855], <i>tutu</i> [1783]; <i>tutu</i> , <i>tootoo</i> [1777] Nd: <i>tutú</i>	
175	<i>véné</i> 6 (= <i>mpéne</i> ) (Sw)	Yo: <i>véénéénéé</i>	Nt: naked		<i>vénénéé</i> [see 129]	naked		
176	<i>véléléé</i>	Yo: <i>vínínír</i> <sup>15</sup>			<i>véné'néé</i>	cleared off, nothing left		

15. Given by Daeleman (1972) as equivalent, but without giving the exact meaning.

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	gloss	Stranan	gloss
177	<i>m-vúla</i> d	<i>m-vúla</i> (Sw), <i>m-vula</i> [1651] Be: <i>m-vúla</i> / <i>má-m-vúla</i> 9/6 Kb: <i>m-vula</i> mvúmvu (Sw)	rain	* <i>buda</i> HL 9 368 rain	<b>vula</b> <sup>16</sup>	rain		
178			wasp		<b>vuvvu</b> ; <i>wumwu</i> [1778]	bee-eater	Sr: <i>wunwun</i> , <i>voenvóen</i> [1855]	bee, bumble bee
179		<i>wála-wála</i> (Sw) Yo: <i>di-walá</i> - <i>wála</i>	with a wide opening; large opening		<i>waaa</i> , <b>wala</b> - <b>wala</b> ; <i>war</i> - <i>rawatrà</i> [1778]	open, wide open		
180		My: <i>mw-ándi</i> Vi: <i>mw-andi</i> Punu (B.40): <i>mw-andji</i>	sp.wood		<b>wándji</b>	sp. wood (tall with sticky sap)		
181	<i>wáandu</i> c	<i>wáandu</i> (Sw), <i>lwandu</i> , <i>bwandu</i> ~ <i>ngandu</i> Kish: <i>wandu</i>	Bot. Cajanus cajan				Sr: <b>wandu</b> , <i>wandóc</i> , <i>wandóc-pési</i> [1855] Al: <i>wandu</i> <i>pési</i>	pigeon pea, Bot. Cajanus cajan

16. Noted as *báka-mátu-tágo* (backwoods language).

Nr	KiNtandu	other	gloss	Proto-Bantu	Saramaccan	Sranan	gloss
182	-yaambula	Yo: yáambíí	uncover, expose; open	*-jambu/d- L V; 8379 'undress, despoil'	<b>yaambo</b> , hambo [S]		ID wide open
183	yaangá		mockery	*-jang-a [D] 'to hate'	<b>yangá</b>		mockery
184	yáanga d	yánga (Sw)	ritual washing place Nt: pond, lake	*-janja LH 9/10; 3221 'lake'	<b>yangá</b>		fence for ritual ablutions
185	nyúundu c	Be: (mà-) nyúündù 9/6;	otter	*-jundu LH 9; 4358 'otter'	<b>yundú</b>	Nd: nyuundú; Al: yúndu	otter
186	n-zawu a	n-záu (Sw), n-zau [1651], Be: n-jágù [njáwù], bà-n-jágù 9/2	elephant	*-jogu LL 9/10 (9/6); 1607 'elephant'	<b>zaun</b>	Nd: nsaw (SIL), nzaw (H) Sr: asáw, azáw [1855]; asaù, isaù [1783], sauw [1780]	elephant

## **7. Concluding words**

It should not be thought that the sole influence claimed to be present in the Surinam Creoles from Kikongo is lexical.

Two instances of phonological influence have been suggested. Firstly, Smith (this volume on creole phonology) has suggested that the differing types of morpheme shapes in Kikongo and Fongbe has enabled differential effects in the expression of nasality to survive to the present day, particularly in Saramaccan. Kramer (2007, 2009) has suggested that Saramaccan tone-spread rules of Kikongo origin, applying to universal and non-universal quantifiers, coexist with other tone-spread rules of Fongbe origin, applying to serial verb constructions.

What lexical influence and phonological influence share is the fact that they are both aspects of form.