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[Liverpool, England]: Centre of African Studies, University of
Liverpool, 1992

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WEST AFRICAN
VOCABULARIES

OF c. 1680

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OF c. 1680

edited by P.E.H.Hair

prepared by the editor on behalf of the

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BARBOT'S WEST AFRICAN VOCABULARIES

Jean Barbot's vocabularies of four West African languages were for long known only through their inclusion in the printed version of Barbot's account of Guinea. This account he first wrote, in French, in the mid 1680s, but an enlarged version, in English, finalized at his death in 1712, was not published until 1732.¹ The vocabularies were actually collected during Barbot's two voyages to Guinea, in 1678-9 and 1681-2. His journal of the first voyage has survived, and when this was published in 1979 an earlier version of one vocabulary, the Gold Coast one, became available in print.² Earlier versions of all four vocabularies were copied by Barbot, apparently from journals of both voyages, into the French account, an edition of which will be published by the Hakluyt Society in 1992.³ That edition will not contain the vocabularies, which are instead printed and examined in the present publication.

The four vocabularies are of the Wolof and Fula languages of Senegal, of the Akan/Twi language of 'Gold Coast' (modern Ghana), and of the Ewe/Fon language of Dahomey (today 'Benin'). In his printed account Barbot also included a brief and hybrid vocabulary allegedly of a language spoken at New Calabar (in modern Nigeria), and this is discussed in Appendix A below. A vocabulary of Manding wrongly attributed to Barbot is discussed in Appendix B.

* * *

From their first arrival on the coasts of Black Africa, Europeans wrote down occasional terms in African languages, and from the sixteenth century onwards short lists of useful words and phrases in a few of the very many

¹ John Barbot, *A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea ...* (London, 1732), 414-20. To match the Hakluyt Society edition, this text will in subsequent annotation be cited as 1732.

² Gabriel Debien, Maurice Delafosse and Guy Thilmans, eds, 'Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678-1679', *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*, sér. B, 40 (1978) [1979], 235-395. To match the Hakluyt Society edition, the journal will in subsequent annotation be cited as 1679. The text of the vocabulary as given in this edition has been checked against that of the original manuscript (British Library, Add. 28788) by Dr Adam Jones and myself and a few errors in the edition have been detected. Hence certain terms in the list below vary slightly from the forms given in the edition.

³ Jean Barbot, 'Description de la Côte d'Afrique, depuis le Cap Bojador jusques à celui de Lopo Gonzalves' (Public Record Office, London, ADM 7/830 A and B; Adam Jones, Robin Law and P.E.H.Hair, *Barbot on Guinea: the writings of Jean Barbot 1678-1712*, 2 vols, Hakluyt Society, London, 1992. To match the edition, this text will in subsequent annotation be cited as 1688 (this being the date of its completion).

languages of the West African coast found their way into print.⁴ Jean Barbot, a young commercial agent aboard French slaving vessels, collected c.1680 vocabularies of five African languages. One vocabulary he mislaid and never recovered.⁵ But four fairly extensive ones he included in both his French and English accounts of Guinea. Substantial vocabularies of one of the languages, Akan/Twi, had been collected and put into print earlier in the century, and a publication in another of the languages, Ewe, had appeared. Barbot copied into his French account one of the earlier Akan/Twi vocabularies, and later printed it, together with his own vocabulary.⁶ But Barbot's vocabularies of

⁴ I have discussed the earliest collection by Europeans of terms in African languages, all known pre-Barbot vocabularies of western Africa, and various later collections of vocabularies, in the following articles: 'The use of African languages in Afro-European contacts in Guinea 1440-1560', *Sierra Leone [later African] Language Review*, 5 (1966), 5-26; 'Ethnolinguistic continuity on the Guinea coast', *Journal of African History*, 8 (1967), 247-268; 'An ethnolinguistic inventory of the Upper Guinea coast before 1700', 'An ethnolinguistic inventory of the Lower Guinea coast before 1700', *African Language Review*, 6 (1967), 32-70; 7 (1968), 47-73; 8 (1969), 225-256; 'The contribution of early linguistic material to the history of West Africa' in D. Dalby, ed., *Language and History in Africa* (1970), 50-63; 'Collections of vocabularies of Western Africa before the Polyglotta: a key', *Journal of African Languages*, 5 (1966), 208-217; 'The languages of Western Africa c.1770: a note and a query', *Bulletin of the Society for African Church History*, 1/1 (April 1963), 17-20; 'A further note on Oldendorp's informants', *Plantation Society in the Americas*, 2/3 (1989), 343; 'An introduction to John Clarke's "Specimens of Dialects..." 1848/9', *Sierra Leone Language Review*, 5 (1966), 72-82. The following articles are more specific in relation to individual languages; [with D. Dalby] 'Le langaige de Guynee: a sixteenth century vocabulary from the Pepper Coast', *African Language Studies*, 5 (1964), 174-191; 'An early seventeenth-century vocabulary of Vai', *African Studies*, 23 (1964), 129-139; 'A note on De La Fosse's "Mina" vocabulary of 1479-80', *Journal of West African Languages*, 3 (1966), 55-57; [with D. Dalby] 'A further note on the Mina vocabulary of 1479-80', *ibid.*, 5 (1968), pp 129-132; [with D. Dalby] 'A West African word of 1456', *ibid.*, 4 (1967), 13-14; 'The earliest vocabularies of Cameroons Bantu', *African Studies*, 28 (1969), 49-54; 'Early Kanuri vocabularies', *Journal of West African Languages*, 6 (1969), 27-29; 'Early Gold Coast vocabularies', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 11 1970, 123. For comparison of the West African experience with that of certain other regions of Black Africa, see the following articles: 'The brothers Tutschek and their Sudanese informants', *Sudan Notes and Records*, 50 (1969), 53-62; 'Milho, meixoeira and other foodstuffs of the Sofala garrison, 1505-1525', *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 17 (1977), 353-63; 'Portuguese contacts with the Bantu languages of the Transkei, Natal and southern Mozambique 1497-1650', *African Studies*, 39 (1980), 3-46; 'The earliest extant wordlist of Swahili, 1613', *ibid.*, 40 (1981), 151-153 (correcting William Payton to Walter Payton). For post-Barbot West African vocabularies, see also Edwin Ardener's edition of the 1972 reprint of John Clarke, *Specimens of dialects ...* (Berwick-upon-Tweed, 1848); and a series of articles on the vocabularies in S.W. Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana* (London, 1854; reprint Graz, 1963) appearing in *Sierra Leone [later African] Language Review*, vols 3-8 (1964-9).

⁵ "I would have given you another [vocabulary], that of the Quabes-Mounou, who occupy the banks of River Sess and the neighbourhood, but unfortunately I have mislaid my record of it ..." (1688, 2/193 (in translation); cf. 1732, 414, " ... have lost that paper"). The vocabulary was presumably one of Krao, or at least of one of the Kra languages, and it would have been the only substantial vocabulary of any of those languages before the nineteenth century - for an earlier collection of a few terms, see Dalby and Hair, "'Le langaige de Guynee" (previous note).

⁶ For the Akan vocabulary of P[ieter]. D[e]. M[arees], *Beschryvinghe ende historische verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Gunea* (Amsterdam, 1602), 125-9, the vocabulary reprinted by Barbot (in 1688, 194-5; cf. 1732, 415-6), see the English translation, ed. Albert van Dantzig

the two Senegal languages, Wolof and Fula, were among the earliest vocabularies of these particular languages to be collected and certainly the earliest to appear in print - even although they did not in fact appear until half a century after they were collected.⁷ For all four languages Barbot's vocabularies, despite their patent limitations and defects, provide valuable evidence of linguistic and cultural continuity and change. And, as it happens, these four languages relate to large ethnicities, important, in terms of the historical development of West Africa, not only in the past but also today.

Collecting the vocabularies

The vocabulary of the language Barbot termed 'Gold Coast', i.e. Akan/Twi, was collected in 1679, as indicated by the journal of the 1678-9 voyage, at an unstated place on the Gold Coast, on an unstated date or unstated dates, but most probably in February. Before inserting the vocabulary in his journal Barbot commented briefly thus. "As to their language, it is something like Bas-Breton ... Here are a few of the words more commonly used among them which I obtained from a slave who spoke Portuguese and which I have arranged alphabetically, apart from the numbers and a few other forms of speech which I have put one after the other, for quicker consultation."⁸ This is all that Barbot tells us about the mode of collection. He obtained the vocabulary from an African informant, presumably a speaker of Akan/Twi, but we are not told whether the informant was interviewed ashore, or aboard the ship, or even, if he was a slave for export, during the Atlantic passage. The reference to his speaking Portuguese is intriguing. Barbot's own command of that language seems to have been meagre and this may indicate that a third party translated for Barbot, a procedure which would most likely have

and Adam Jones, *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea (1602)* (Oxford, 1987), 246-59, which identifies the terms. For the Akan vocabulary of Wilhelm Johann Müller, published in 1673, see Adam Jones, *German sources for West African history 1599-1699* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 269-328, which identifies the terms and relates some to terms in Barbot's vocabulary. For material in Ewe, see Hair, 'Ethnolinguistic continuity', 257; 'Ethnolinguistic inventory ... Lower Guinea coast', 230 and note 57.

⁷ Only odd words of Wolof and Fula were collected, or at least were written down in extant sources, manuscript or printed. See Hair, 'Ethnolinguistic inventory ... Upper Guinea coast', 34-7. Substantial vocabularies of both languages were however collected by agents of a French *Compagnie Royale*, at an uncertain date c.1700, perhaps even in the later 1680s or 1690s (but probably not earlier because the set of nearly a dozen vocabularies collected for the company included vocabularies of several languages located south of River Gambia in a region only penetrated by the French after 1685). The Company vocabularies of Wolof and Fula are therefore later than 1682, the date of Barbot's collection. In content Barbot's vocabularies bear little resemblance to the Company's vocabularies. Barbot's vocabularies also preceded the Company's in print, the Company's vocabularies remaining in manuscript until the nineteenth century ([M.A.P. d'Avezac de Castéra-Maya], 'Dictionnaire de langues française et nègres dont se sert dans la concession de la Compagnie Royale du Sénégal', *Mémoires de la Société Ethnologique de Paris* 2 (1845), 205-67). In general, these vocabularies even today have not been adequately described or studied. But in the course of studying Barbot's Wolof vocabulary, M. Charles Becker of the Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique in Senegal, compared Barbot's terms with those of the Company vocabulary, and he reported (in a personal communication of 1986) that the latter was more reliable in its phonetic and semantic representation of Wolof terms.

⁸ 1679, 340.

introduced a further measure of phnoetic and semantic confusion. However, it is possible that by 'Portuguese' Barbot was referring to a simplified pidgin language thought to have been often spoken at the time in Gold Coast (and taking its name from the earlier Portuguese presence), whose Romance content derived from standard Portuguese may have enabled it to be grasped with fair ease by a Frenchman (and perhaps particularly one who also claimed to have some knowledge of Italian). It is plausible that verbal communication was helped out by sign language - as was normally the case in Afro-European contacts. Whatever the mode of collection, and although there appear to be occasional errors of meaning in the African terms, study of the vocabulary does not give the impression that its collection entailed regular and gross misunderstandings.

The other three vocabularies must have been collected on the 1681-2 voyage - the journal of which is not extant - although Barbot never actually specifies this or refers to the mode of collection. But since on his first voyage he did not visit either Senegal or any part of the coast where Ewe was spoken, there can be little doubt that these vocabularies were collected later than the Gold Coast vocabulary. Almost certainly the Wolof and Fula vocabularies were collected when Barbot visited the French base of Gorée Island (off modern Dakar), over a period of some weeks, in December 1681; and the Ewe vocabulary when he visited the port of Whydah, very briefly, in April 1682 - he terms the language that of "Juda and Ardres", i.e. Whydah and Allada, but never visited the latter place. Barbot was in contact with French officers, certainly at Gorée, as he related, and probably at Whydah, as he failed to relate; and it is very likely that he obtained the vocabularies through these contacts. Since at a slightly later date the French trading company in Senegal appears to have arranged for its officers to collect a series of vocabularies of local African languages, it is possible that already its officers were showing interest in the exercise of vocabulary collection.⁹

Whereas Barbot's statement about the Gold Coast vocabulary implies that he collected it orally, that is, he wrote down terms spoken to him by an informant, it is conceivable that the other vocabularies were not collected this way but were passed to him in writing, having been earlier collected orally by a French officer or French officers. The orthography of the African terms in all the vocabularies indicates that they were written down by someone used to writing contemporary French - and also that they had been heard by a French speaker's ear, although this is more difficult to prove - but this does not of course distinguish between Barbot and his compatriots.¹⁰ It can be argued that since Barbot went to the trouble of obtaining a vocabulary orally from an African informant in 1679 he was capable of setting himself to do so again in 1681 and 1682. Furthermore, the later vocabularies undoubtedly follow the Gold Coast vocabulary in the selection of terms to be listed, therefore

⁹ For the French Company vocabularies, see note 7 above.

¹⁰ Barbot wisely drew attention in his English account to the French orthography, hence 'pronunciation', thus: "... only I fear the pronunciation of the English alphabet may cause some difficulty to render the pronunciation as intelligible to the natives of those different countries, as it is when spoken by a Frenchman, according to whose pronunciation I writ this vocabulary." But he was of course mistaken, through lack of linguistic knowledge, in supposing that French 'pronunciation' was an adequate representation of African phonetics.

Barbot did not simply copy vocabularies handed to him by others. Yet there is one argument in favour of an unknown collector. Not only did Barbot collect a vocabulary of the Fula language but he acquired a certain amount of information about the Fula people. The Fula lived far inland, it is unlikely that any resident groups were to be found on the coast, and Fula slaves were uncommon. But the French company did have officers who had been up-country and had contacted the Fula. There can be no doubt that Barbot gained information about the Fula from a French informant, and thus the possibility that the Fula vocabulary was collected by Barbot, not directly from an African, but from a Frenchman, cannot be easily dismissed. This argument does not apply with the same force to the Wolof vocabulary, since the Jolof lived on the coast and Barbot is known to have been in contact with individual Wolof speakers. Nevertheless it cannot be ruled out that Barbot also gained this vocabulary from a Frenchman, possibly even the same Frenchman. However, a compromise viewpoint, indicating perhaps the most likely procedure, is that Barbot contacted French officers who provided him with African informants. These may have been their own interpreters, in which case it may well have been a single African who spoke Wolof and Fula, command of both languages being not unlikely in a local agent of the French.

In the case of the Ewe vocabulary, we have even wider scope for speculation about its mode of collection. Although Barbot supplied an account of Whydah, at no point in his two texts did he actually refer to his having visited there (but we know he did, from the marking on a map of the course of his ship). He recorded the presence at Whydah of a handful of Frenchmen, the agents of a French company, together with one missionary. Thus he may have collected the vocabulary either from or through one of these Frenchmen, or else directly from an African, and if the latter, either ashore or aboard ship.¹¹

We do not have the original form of any of the vocabularies. The Gold Coast vocabulary is first found in a clean copy of Barbot's voyage journal, prepared for presentation to his employers. But it must have been copied into this, from an original draft of the journal, if not directly from notes taken on the voyage; and it may have been copied twice, first from the notes into the rough journal and then again into the clean copy. The later vocabularies may similarly have found their way into a clean copy of a journal, but this is not extant, and they now first appear instead in Barbot's French account, into which they must have been copied either from the clean copy or, if Barbot was exercising care - which is doubtful - from his original notes. Thus the vocabularies as we find them, even in the earlier of Barbot's extant writings,

¹¹ Barbot was certainly willing to collect material orally from Africans. Apart from the Gold Coast vocabulary, he stated that he had collected a vocabulary at River Sess which he subsequently lost, and at this point on the coast there were no resident Europeans from whom he could have collected a written vocabulary or used as an oral informant. However, a further logical possibility needs to be considered, that the three vocabularies were not in fact collected on Barbot's second voyage but were supplied to him, therefore perhaps in writing, after his return to France, by acquaintances within the French company for which he worked, who had themselves collected them while serving in Africa. Barbot knew, for instance, a M. Mariage who it seems had served both in Senegal and at Allada, an Ewe-speaking district neighbouring Whydah. While this alternative mode of collection cannot be ruled out there is no evidence to support it and it seems very unlikely.

are copies, if not copies of copies. The significance of this is related to the nature of early vocabularies collected by Europeans. In general, Europeans did not understand the languages whose terms they were recording. Therefore, when copying they were copying what was to them so much gibberish, and they could not be guided, as when copying one's own language, by fore-knowledge when it came to deciphering what they (or others) had earlier written. That in Barbot's case mistakes occurred with each copying of sets of African terms can be proved by comparing versions of the same vocabulary, and in particular by comparing the two manuscript versions of the Gold Coast vocabulary, the one in the clean copy of the journal and the other in the French account written only half a dozen years later. And it is further suggested by comparing these versions with the version in the printed account of 1732, although of course here we must allow for misprints, the responsibility in this case solely of the printer and his proof-readers, since Barbot himself was no longer alive to check. As it happens, Barbot had a very clear hand, and no doubt because of this the number of proven miscopyings is limited. Nevertheless, what all this means is that, because we lack the original notes, it is more difficult to gain clues as to Barbot's mode of collection from an analysis of the vocabularies than it would otherwise be, since certain of the peculiarities may be the product not of the mode of collection but of the modes of transcription and transmission.

Why did Barbot collect vocabularies?

In the later version of his account Barbot included a vocabulary of Akan/Twi published, in 1602, in a Dutch work on Gold Coast by Pieter de Marees, a work Barbot extensively used for other information even in the earlier version of his account.¹² But Barbot's Gold Coast vocabulary first appeared in the journal of the 1678-9 voyage and this journal lacks evidence that at this earlier date Barbot was acquainted with the Dutch work. It would seem therefore that whatever persuaded him to collect a Gold Coast vocabulary in 1679, it was probably not the example of this particular earlier vocabulary or any desire to update the Dutch material. After his return to France in 1682, and after the generation of the idea that he should use what he had seen in Guinea and what he had recorded in his journals, in order to enlarge a proposed translation of the material on West Africa in a recent compilation on all Africa by another Dutchman, Olfried Dapper, Barbot began to read extensively in the early literature on West Africa in several languages. In these works, including that of De Marees, he could not fail to encounter examples of African terms and word lists of African languages.¹³ Yet there is no trace of any such reading in the 1678-9 journal - if the missing 1681-2 journal did contain traces this might indicate that he began his reading

¹² See note 5 above.

¹³ Barbot does not seem to have read German, or at least to have had any acquaintance with German writings, and there is no evidence that he knew of the Akan/Twi vocabulary in Müller's 1673 book. Dapper's work, in its section on West Africa which Barbot translated at length, quoted odd African-language terms and at one point ran through a large number, cited each separately within a text (see Hair, 'Vocabulary of Vai', note 4 above), yet it contained no formal vocabularies, not even the Akan/Twi vocabulary in De Marees, a work from which Dapper borrowed heavily.

during the course of his second voyage, and he certainly implies in the introduction to his later account that on this occasion he carried books with him. It is therefore plausible that the collection of a vocabulary in 1679 was his own idea. True, he was a man of some education, with a reading knowledge of several European languages, so that forming a vocabulary as a means of approaching an unfamiliar language would have been already part of his stock of ideas. Yet, since there is no evidence that he ever thought of acquiring competence in any African language, it is reasonable to ask why he troubled to collect African-language vocabularies.

It is plausible that Barbot collected the vocabularies partly out of curiosity, perhaps sharpened by the growing academic and scientific interest of the period in things exotic - he himself never explains his motives. But we can be sure that they included a firm practical one. In earlier centuries Europeans visiting West Africa had managed their contacts with the local Africans by means other than the acquisition of knowledge of African languages, that is, by sign language and by the Africans learning to speak 'broken' forms of various European languages or a mixed *lingua franca*.¹⁴ But possibly because of the increasing rivalry between the various European nations operating in Guinea, made concrete in the establishment of permanent bases and the building of forts, the seventeenth century saw among the Europeans a new interest in developing better informed and closer contacts with local Africans. This took various forms, one of which was a more systematic interest in the local languages. The French in Senegal, where they were well established on the coast and busy pushing inland, saw it worthwhile by the end of the century to collect extensive vocabularies of nearly a dozen African languages. But on Gold Coast the French were commercially and politically well behind their rivals, so that one of the aims of the second voyage on which Barbot served was to investigate, on behalf of the crown, the practicality of establishing for the first time a French base there. In fact Barbot collected his Gold Coast vocabulary on his first voyage, which had, as far as we know, no official content, but his journal proves that he was well aware that his nation was disadvantaged on Gold Coast by its ships having to deal with Europeans who were entirely non-French, and often enemies. He therefore collected his vocabulary partly to help French sailors and traders and to give them some advantage over their rivals. This is shown by his choice of phrases and terms, mainly those of practical use in Afro-European trading relations - although it must be conceded that he did not limit himself to what was immediately useful when selecting terms but was occasionally carried away by enthusiasm, since the vocabulary also contains a number of terms highly

¹⁴ For Africans acquiring European languages, see Hair, 'The use of African languages' (note 4 above). While visiting Europeans did not acquire African languages, those Portuguese who had very close contacts with Africans, particularly the hundreds who made their homes on the mainland and formed unions with African women, must have acquired a capacity to converse in the local languages, at least to some extent. But it is notable that no word lists in Guinea languages, and no attempts to describe any one language, appeared in Portuguese before Barbot's day, certainly not in print but also seemingly not in any known extant manuscript. Even the few Portuguese missionaries who served in Guinea, although some must have had at least a slight knowledge of the local language, failed to record any systematic knowledge. This is somewhat surprising, inasmuch as Portuguese missionaries in Congo/Angola did produce linguistic work (following the splendid example of their colleagues in Brazil) - as in fact did Spanish missionaries in Eswatini.

unlikely to enter into regular Afro-European verbal contacts. The later vocabularies used almost the same selection of phrases and terms as the first, yet it is possible that Barbot made a point of collecting a vocabulary at Whydah because French interests there were developing, and indeed he may have included the vocabulary in a report to the authorities which he says he made on his return.

The shape of the vocabularies

The Gold Coast vocabulary was organised in three sections, each containing items in French and in Akan/Twi equivalents or supposed equivalents. The first section is a list of 21 short phrases of the kind useful to a European visitor to Africa, particularly a sailor or trader. The second is a much longer list of terms, some 215, mostly simple single terms in French and Akan/Twi, generally represented by single words in each, although the French nouns are occasionally with a definite or indefinite article. The verbs, a smaller number of these than the nouns, are in the infinitive in French, and there are a few adjectives. The third section is a list of numerals.

The second list is arranged, as Barbot said, alphabetically, that is, by the French terms. There is no evidence that Barbot was copying a standard or earlier list and we presume that the selection of terms was his. This makes it plausible that his procedure was to draw up the list and then work through the items with an informant, to obtain the equivalents in Akan/Twi. But it is unlikely that at this stage the terms were arranged alphabetically since it would have been easier to ask about them if arranged in semantic groupings. However, since the later vocabularies followed the same list, which by 1682 Barbot had incorporated in alphabetic form in his 1678-9 journal, in collecting them he may have had to follow the alphabetic order, unless he retained his original notes or rearranged the terms. A fair number of the terms could be obtained by addressing the informant in sign language, especially those denoting parts of the body and common tools, and it may well be that Barbot used this technique with oral informants. Indeed some errors in the vocabularies suggest this strongly. If so, however, this does not of itself make it the more likely that in each instance Barbot dealt directly with an African informant, since such errors could have arisen when another European used sign language.

In both his accounts Barbot presented the four vocabularies in matched entries across the page, with the French phrases and terms appearing in an initial column on the left. This makes it clear that the later vocabularies were based on the earlier Gold Coast list of phrases and terms. However, a handful of Gold Coast terms were not found equivalents in the Senegal languages, apparently because they were not appropriate, or were thought to be not appropriate, to that region (e.g. terms for banana, orange, Guinea pepper, potato); hence blanks were left in the Wolof and Fula columns. Probably certain of the blanks in the Ewe column can be similarly explained (e.g. lead). Other blanks in all the later vocabularies were probably instead the result of the informant not knowing the correct word, or more likely, not understanding what Barbot was asking him. Conversely, Barbot showed some flexibility by adding a small number of terms to the later vocabularies, some of them terms thought peculiarly appropriate to the localities (e.g. for Senegal, terms for ostrich and couscous, and for Whydah the term for cowries),

others seemingly the result of fresh inspiration (e.g. thunder, sheep, nostrils). On the whole Barbot was successful in matching entries across the four vocabularies - three-quarters of the vocabulary items have an entry in each of the four columns.

No doubt the number of items in the Gold Coast vocabulary was determined by the length of time Barbot could devote to the exercise, and this number influenced the number of items in the other vocabularies. Although supplying only a tiny part of the total vocabulary of the languages, by the standards of the day in relation to African-language vocabularies Barbot's vocabularies were of unusual length. They were however to be exceeded in length very shortly after his collecting them, by the vocabularies collected in Senegal by the French African Company.¹⁸ But the company's collectors were (presumably) resident agents, whereas Barbot was a passing visitor, therefore his vocabularies remain of commendable length.

The selection of phrases and terms in them was reasonable, given his motives for the exercise. Barbot did not intend to present material illustrating the structure of the languages or the culture of the ethnicities, but was mainly aiming to provide a handy vade-mecum for use in current Afro-European contacts. His phrases included the following: 'come aboard', 'bring me a sheep quickly', 'I would sleep with a girl'. Among his terms, one third of the nouns denoted obvious trade goods, while a smaller proportion related to local produce, agricultural and mineral, and to animals, some of the animals being involved in trade, not least as food. A small proportion denoted tools, including weapons, which could or might be of use to Europeans. A very small proportion related to the status of individuals (man, woman, boy, etc) or to household effects, elements possibly of use to Europeans. A larger, but still small proportion covered miscellaneous items - the weather, celestial bodies, religious features, and certain artefacts that signalled the European presence such as ship, fort and flag. While most of the items were included because of their practical significance, a number appear to have reflected merely European curiosity about the exotic, for instance, the names of wild animals. Again, European systematising stretched at times beyond the useful -

Barbot supplied a substantial number of body terms and it is difficult to believe that terms for the navel or the toe nails had any practical value in Afro-European relations, not even in relation to the close body inspection that preceded the purchase of slaves.

Whether in the event the vocabularies were ever of any practical use is doubtful. Barbot may have used his 1679 vocabulary when he visited Gold Coast again in 1681-2, although he nowhere states this, but after 1682 he did not again visit Guinea. His vocabularies remained in his possession when he fled to England in 1685, and although he eventually translated the French terms into English the revised vocabulary was not published until 1732. By that date some of the trade terms were outdated, and in any case the vocabularies were imprisoned in a massive folio volume unlikely to be part of the equipment of a trading vessel. We have no evidence that they were ever used in Guinea. However, despite the half century delay between collection and publication, in 1732 Barbot's vocabularies were still either the fullest or among the fullest available in print for all four languages, and indeed were

¹⁸ For which, see note 7 above.

certainly the fullest available in accessible volumes throughout the eighteenth century (the works by De Marees, Müller and other collectors being comparatively unknown and rare). But academic interest in African languages did not develop significantly until the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, even if Barbot's vocabularies had been consulted for practical purposes, their value would have been limited. Like all early representations of non-European languages, they are inaccurate phonetically and sometimes crude semantically, and as such would have been of only very limited help to a novice European attempting to communicate with the relevant Africans in Guinea. Their ultimate value has been other than practical. In the later eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century the printed vocabularies perhaps did something to convince those few Europeans who read Barbot's folio volume (reissued in 1746 and 1752), if they needed convincing, that Black Africans had complex languages and that this suggested that they had rich traditional cultures and were fully human. Today the vocabularies have academic value, as a historical document whose study throws a little more light on the obscurities of the Black African past and the history of Afro-European relations.

Comparing versions of the vocabularies

Barbot did not number the items in his vocabularies but this has now been done. The Akan/Twi vocabulary contains, apart from the numerals, 236 items - 21 phrases and 215 terms. When we compare the version in the 1678-9 journal (hereafter 1679) with that in the French account written 1683-8 (hereafter 1688) - assuming the latter to have been copied from the former, although it is just possible that both derived from the same source, the original notes made on the voyage - we find the following differences, some significant. (For ease of reference we shall describe the French term as the 'gloss' although strictly speaking it is the African terms which are glosses on the French term.)

(1) Three items have wholly dropped out, presumably by miscopying. I have added these at the end of the list given below, as items 254-6.

(2) One term, item 124, is omitted while its gloss has changed from 'fers pour en forger' to 'des fers pour les piéz' - the omission may be due to miscopying or may relate to the changed gloss.

(3) Many other glosses are changed, although usually only slightly. The definite or indefinite article is regularly added to nouns and where 1679 gave the imperative of verbs in both the singular and the plural forms (e.g. *venés*, *viens*), 1688 gives it in only in the plural. Spellings are frequently varied. Changes which appear significant are noted in the list below (e.g. 'les bras' becomes 'le bras' and 'laver' becomes, misleadingly, 'laver les mains').

(4) Through miscopying, items 127-32 are wrongly lined in 1688 and set against the 1679 glosses here numbered 128-33. This has been corrected in the list below.

(5) Barbot adds in 1688, by deducing their shape from the numerals already given in 1679, the following numerals: 11-19, 1,000. He adds to the last 'Etc' and on a new line for 1,200 a remark which is partly illegible but perhaps reads 'de meme du reste'.

(6) Barbot adds in 1688 four new terms which seem to be borrowed from his printed sources, the terms for God, gold, cloth and maniguette

pepper.

(7) Many of the Akan/Twi terms change their spelling slightly, but it is not clear whether this was due to re-thinking the orthography or just careless copying.¹⁶ The changes include the addition of an accent or accents to a number of terms, in some instances an additional accent. But Barbot was so very slapdash in putting accents on French words that it is very doubtful whether the accents on African terms mean much.

While some of the miscopyings can be corrected and probably most of the changes are of little consequence, this comparison of the Gold Coast vocabularies serves as a warning that all the vocabularies are to some extent crude ones. Barbot not only failed to exercise sufficient care when copying but did not wholly understand what he was doing, such ignorance about linguistic niceties being inevitable at that time. Hence any conclusions to be drawn from this material must make allowance for its formal deficiencies.

The Senegal vocabularies contain, apart from the numerals, 224 Wolof items and 219 Fula ones, only slightly fewer than the Gold Coast vocabulary, omissions being partly made up by additions. Although for these vocabularies we do not have two manuscript versions to compare, as was the case with the Gold Coast vocabulary, nevertheless certain copying errors between the missing earlier version and 1688 can be detected. The Fula term 177 is the equivalent of gloss 176, and the Wolof term 169 is wrongly placed in the Fula column. In item 153 the original gloss in 1679, 'laver', interpreted as meaning to wash a material object, is correctly represented by the Fula term; but when, Barbot mistakenly conflated two sequential Akan/Twi items in 1679 to produce in 1688 the altered gloss of 'laver les mains', the new meaning of 'laver', to wash a person, is not that of the Fula term.

The Ewe vocabulary is much shorter than the other three. It contains, apart from the numerals, 160 items. It has one additional phrase (although this is only a variant on a phrase in the other vocabularies) and only one term additional to those found elsewhere. Presumably it was collected either more hastily - Barbot was in Whydah very briefly, probably only for two or three days - or else from a less well-informed source, or perhaps both. A few misplacements other than those noted above appear in this vocabulary which if not the result of miscopying into 1688 may have been slips in his original notes.

In the printed English version of his account, which Barbot was still finalizing at his death in 1712, the vocabularies were recast, with the French glosses being translated into English and the items rearranged alphabetically by the English terms.¹⁷ The English glosses occasionally clarify the exact meaning of a French term but the translation, almost certainly by Barbot

¹⁶ However, two spellings had already been provided in 1679 for no.4, linked by 'ou'; and alternative terms had been given for no.103. In 1688 an alternative term for Akan/Twi no.218 appeared, matching two terms for Ewe/Fon no.218.

¹⁷ The English version of Barbot's account was probably not begun until the 1700s and was therefore prepared some twenty years after the French account. It is unlikely that Barbot had retained his original notes and that he referred to them when preparing the English version of the vocabularies. Nothing in the vocabularies themselves suggests other than that he recast them by working from the version in 1688.

himself, cannot always be relied on. 'Bough' for 'bow', the weapon, seems to be a spelling error rather than an instance of the (admittedly flexible) contemporary English orthography. The English is rather more forthright than the French with impolite terms. But the printed version omits three items, wrongly lines up certain items, and otherwise simply repeats the African terms in 1688, sometimes copying them inaccurately. Apart from the English glosses, the printed version is hereafter ignored.

Identifying Barbot's vocabularies

The titles Barbot gave to his vocabularies leave no doubt as to which languages they were intended to represent. "La langue des Foules" is Fula, a language today spoken in isolated regions right across the grasslands belt of West Africa. We should expect Barbot's Fula to represent the dialect spoken today in Senegal, along the middle River Senegal. "La langue des Jaloffes" is Wolof, the language of the Jolof people, the major ethnicity of coastal Senegal. "La langue de Côte d'Or" is the Twi component of Akan, the major language of historical 'Gold Coast' as of modern Ghana. "La langue de Juda et Ardres", that is, of Whydah and Allada, is the language spoken today in that district of the state formerly known as Dahomey and recently (and absurdly) as Benin, the Ewe language, most probably in its Fon dialect. We must however be cautious about ascribing early vocabularies to specific modern dialects, since this tends to beg an important question. Linguists and historians study early vocabularies in an attempt to learn about the development of languages and cultures. But it is axiomatic that languages change over time, so that, among other features, their division into dialects may well have been not the same at the date of the early vocabulary as it is in more recent times of synchronic study.¹⁸ Furthermore, the limited content of early vocabularies makes it dangerous to draw from them other than broad conclusions. Although the phrases and terms in Barbot's vocabularies must be, and below will be, 'identified' in terms of modern lexical sources which often relate to specific dialects, it has seemed best to use language names in this introduction which are as broad as possible - hence, for instance, 'Akan/Twi'. It will be for later scholars more learned in African linguistics than the present author, a historian, to be more specific about the language provenance of Barbot's vocabularies - if indeed this proves possible. But after this caveat, it must be said that there is absolutely no doubt about the ascription of the vocabularies, if not to specific dialects, at least to the languages named above.

The purpose of the present publication is the 'identification' of individual items in Barbot's vocabularies. Little has been done in this way

¹⁸ In certain regions of Africa, notably the vast zone speaking the closely-related Bantu languages, one would have to be even more cautious, since the distinction between languages and dialects is one that is often debatable, and the division between 'languages' even over a mere three centuries might have changed. However, the longer-rooted languages of West Africa appear to be today in general more discrete, and hence it is likely that they were clearly distinguishable in Barbot's day.

previously.¹⁰ For each term supplied by Barbot an attempt is made to find some term in the appropriate modern language that appears to have a close phonetic and semantic resemblance. The relationship is indicated by the symbol =. But this should not be taken to mean that the modern term exactly represents or exactly corresponds to the vocabulary term. Apart from phonological and semantic changes in the language over the intervening centuries, the inexactitude of the early vocabularies, in particular their crude orthography, reflecting both an inadequate form of transcription and the failure of the collector to hear the phonetic peculiarities of languages other than his own, in itself makes it often difficult to be sure that a Barbot term is the same as a modern term. Equally, since the stated meaning of a Barbot term is sometimes too general, too vague, patently inaccurate, or culturally irrelevant because referring to an item outside the contemporary African experience, the matching of Barbot terms and modern terms is at times a good deal less than straightforward.

To be more specific. At best, the form of a term as it appears in Barbot's manuscript can only have been a crude representation of the actual term in the language as then spoken. Some of the reasons for this deserve to be spelled out.

(1) Barbot's handwriting is clear and in general transcription from his manuscripts is easy and reasonably secure. However, following to some extent contemporary usage, he failed to distinguish between /u/ and /v/, so that, for instance, 'oua' can be read 'ova'. On French words his marking of accents was not wholly regular or consistent, therefore his placing of accents on African terms may not be comprehensive, reliable or even meaningful. The accents on African terms appear to be only phonetic modifiers, not stress or tone indicators.

(2) Barbot spoke none of the African languages (indeed no African language) and had no knowledge of, or probably notion about, their structures. He simply wrote down what he heard, or thought he heard, and

¹⁰ In the papers cited in note 4 above I have occasionally suggested identifications of odd terms, and Dr Jones has done the same in his identification of De Marees's Akan/Twi vocabulary in Jones, *German sources* (note 5 above). Since Barbot's printed account has been widely used by twentieth-century historians of West Africa, it is plausible that odd terms in his vocabularies have been identified in other works. The most extensive reference to Barbot's vocabularies known to me is as follows. In a detailed study of the African-language terms in a collection of world-wide vocabularies published at St Petersburg in 1790 (P.S. Pallas ed., *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' vsech jazykov i narecij .../Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa*, 2 vols, 1787/1789; 2nd enlarged ed., ed. Theodor Jankowitsch de Miriewo, 4 vols, 1790-91), Fodor has commented on a small number of Barbot's Fula and Wolof terms, and tabulated about sixty terms in each of these languages with corresponding terms in nineteenth and twentieth century sources (István Fodor, *Pallas und andere afrikanische Vokabularien vor dem 19. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1975), 44-52, 79-81, 97-9, 100-103, Tables 1-5). While this material is of considerable interest, Fodor was only able to use 1732 for the Barbot items (and his references to Barbot's biography are not wholly correct). The identifications in the present publication were prepared independently of Fodor's work. That two of Barbot's vocabularies were still being cited in a work of 1790 as authoritative sources is noteworthy. But the St Petersburg editor extracted Barbot terms, not from 1732, but from a 1748 German translation of Churchill's *Voyages*, *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen*, which admittedly copied the African-language terms accurately. Thus he produced a transcript in Russian script of a German transcript of an English transcript of a French source, and so added another stage to the corruption of the original African-language terms.

was unable to correct the informant or check the result by means of previous knowledge of the rules of the language. There is little or no evidence that he gained that knowledge as he went along (exceptionally, he may have gained some insight into the construction of numerals). Thus, for instance, he was unable to seek a correction if an informant gave a plural form for a required single form. In other words, what he wrote down was to him, in the main and perhaps in toto, gibberish.

(3) Because the shape of most African terms was meaningless to Barbot, when he came to copy the words it was easy to miscopy.

(4) When Barbot sought a term from an African informant and had to address the informant himself, he presumably addressed him in either French or 'Portuguese', the latter having been most likely a form of pidgin easily acquired, and he probably backed up verbal address with sign language. It is unlikely that any African informant had a command of either language exactly matching Barbot's, so misunderstandings were likely to arise, as they also could with sign language. And Barbot would be unable to detect many such misunderstandings.

(5) There being no exact phonetic correspondence between French and the relevant African languages, Barbot misheard some of the sounds in spoken terms; and he misrepresented them further by adjusting them to forms in French orthography.

(6) Certain terms in contemporary French selected by Barbot had no exact semantic equivalent in the African languages, and equally certain terms in African languages proffered by the informant had no exact equivalent in French and therefore did not actually correspond to the gloss. There is evidence that the African informants at times employed some skill in casting about for near-equivalents. However this difficulty can be exaggerated. Afro-European contacts were not new, so that, by Barbot's day, those Africans involved in the contacts could most probably call up traditional near-equivalents - or even terms, traditional or novel, that were gaining acceptance within the languages as being full equivalents, at least in the context of those contacts.

Thanks to the ingenuity of the scholars concerned (who are listed below), the above and certain other difficulties have not prevented them from 'identifying' the majority of Barbot's terms. The identifications listed below, having the character of primary material only initially processed, are made available in this publication in the interests of further research. That is, in the expectation that they will allow, invite and encourage study of the vocabularies as evidence documenting important aspects of the historical development of Black Africa.²⁰ But scholars making this further detailed and intricate study will have to allow in their conclusions for the difficulties and defects of 'identification' noted above.²¹

²⁰ For instance, in the purely linguistic aspect, Professor Boadi has drawn attention to an extent of palatization in the modern language that appears to have occurred only since Barbot's vocabulary was collected.

²¹ M. Becker kindly supplied me in 1986 with an extensive report on Barbot's Wolof vocabulary, from which I quote the following remarks. "Les erreurs de transcription sont très nombreuses: elles s'expliquent peut-être par le fait que Barbot utilisait des documents recopiés

The scholars identifying the vocabularies

I am extremely indebted to the scholars who, during the mid 1980s, at my request, worked on the vocabularies and made identifications of most of the items. In some cases this involved lengthy discussion and correspondence. Since the 1960s, when in conjunction with Dr David Dalby a scheme for publishing all early vocabularies of West African languages had been proposed, I had made preliminary identifications of a proportion of the terms within Barbot's vocabularies, using the French Company vocabularies and a few later lexical sources available to me. These were now in most instances replaced and the number of proposed identifications enlarged, by firmer identifications from experts in the respective languages, some of them native speakers.

The items in Wolof were examined and identified by M. Charles Becker of the Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique in Senegal. The items in Fula were examined and identified by Professor David Arnott, formerly of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who in some instances was able to supply dialect variants. The items in Akan/Twi were first sought in a standard dictionary drawn up originally a century ago and therefore representing an older form of the language than its presentday form (J.G. Christaller, *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante language called Tshi (Twi)*, 2nd ed., Basel, 1933). But my non-expert attempt to trace words was followed up, in part corrected, and much supplemented, when, through the good offices of one of my collaborators in editing the Barbot account, Dr Adam Jones of the Institut für Historische Ethnologie, University of Frankfurt, the items were examined and a large number identified by three Ghanaian scholars, Professor Lawrence Boadi, Professor Kofi Sey, and Dr Albert van Dantzig. Finally, the items in Ewe were, through the good offices of my other collaborator in editing the Barbot account, Dr Robin Law of Stirling University, examined and many identified, in terms of Ewe/Fon, by M. Roger Gbegbonvi, Dr Anselmo Guezo, now of the University of Cape Coast, and Dr Law himself. The notes on individual vocabulary items were largely supplied by the scholars named above. The notes on Wolof and Fula were largely supplied by M. Becker and Professor Arnott, those on Akan/Twi by Professor Boadi and Dr Jones, those on Ewe/Fon by Dr Law.

Acknowledgement

I am indebted to my colleague, Alan Harding, for finding time, at short notice, to read through the above introduction and suggest an improvement.

plusieurs fois, par les personnes ne comprenant pas le wolof, et introduisait ainsi des graphies qui rendent les mots et les phrases difficiles à comprendre, sinon incompréhensibles. Il est certain que Barbot lui-même ne maîtrisait pas la langue wolof, tant les erreurs sont nombreuses et importantes. Ainsi ce document illustre largement le fait que les sources européennes de cette époque, et jusqu'au 19^e siècle, n'apportent que des informations très imparfaites sur les langues africaines ... Mais, d'une manière plus générale, des documents de ce type attestent à quel point la connaissance des réalités et des sociétés africaines restait partielle ... Toutefois, l'apport de Barbot - même à travers de telles pièces qui laissent le linguiste historien sur sa faim - est très important. En effet, les renseignements fournis et publiés par cet auteur sont remarquables et utilisables par l'historien après la critique et l'étude de toutes les pièces qui lui sont dues ou qu'il a rassemblées." While I question whether Barbot used a previous written vocabulary, and my overall assessment would be somewhat less severe, I am very much in accord with M. Becker in stressing the need of a "critique".

APPENDIX A

A vocabulary of Old Calabar

Barbot included in his English account, a vocabulary of a "few words of the Old Calabar language" (1732, 383). Barbot had never been to Old Calabar (modern Calabar on the Cross River), nor had his brother during his visit to New Calabar in 1699, but Barbot had collected some information about trading there from English acquaintances. The vocabulary may have been supplied to him by an acquaintance aboard a ship called the 'Dragon' which visited Old Calabar in 1698.

The wordlist - it hardly deserves to be termed a vocabulary - bears no comparison in correctness and value with the vocabularies he collected himself. It includes misprints, misreadings, gross mis-hearings, and clumsy transliterations. It almost certainly represents no single African language, although it contains items apparently of Efik, the indigenous language of Old Calabar, although the items are corrupt and mangled. However, since a few of the terms are found in earlier sources, and since some appear to derive from other coastal languages than Efik, it must be more than one collector's incompetent list. Instead it may have represented, at least to some extent, a trading vocabulary of the Gulf of Guinea, that is, a limited number of corrupt but accepted terms, the terms developed over time and used for communication between European and African traders, not only at Calabar but also along the coasts of Cameroons and Gabon. Doubts have, however, been expressed about the existence of such a 'trade language': see Edwin Ardener, 'Documentary and linguistic evidence for the rise of the trading polities between Rio del Rey and Cameroons, 1500-1650', in I.M. Lewis, ed., *History and social anthropology* (London, 1968), 81-126, on 101.

Barbot's vocabulary was first examined in M.D.W. Jeffreys, *Old Calabar, and notes on the Ibibio language* (Calabar, 1935), 34, which claimed that it contained little Efik. The Efik terms suggested in the tentative identifications below are from Hugh Goldie, *Dictionary of the Efik language* (Edinburgh, 1874, reprint Farnborough 1964). The apparently related terms appearing in a vocabulary in Leers 1665 (see 'Works cited in the Notes to the List' above), 319, were examined in Ardener, 119-122, and Hair, 'The earliest vocabularies of Cameroons Bantu' (note 4 above); and also by Jeffreys in *African Studies* 29 (1970), 55-56.

Other sources cited below are Koelle 1854 (see 'Works cited ...' above) and De Marees (see note 6 above).

Yo "Give me" (?? *nǒ* 'to give', Efik)

Tata, bobab "Speak" (? *da* 'I say!', or *te* 'to say', *būp* 'to ask', ?? *m̥būfū ōbūp* 'you plural ask', Efik)

Singome "Shew me" (*singo* repeated below; cf. *singa* 'komt' = 'come' language of Cameroons and Rio del Rey, Leers 1665; ? *sim* 'to reach to, come to', *ke* 'at/to', *mi* 'me', perhaps confused with *sōk mi* 'bring me' Efik)

Fay-fay "To truck" (?? *na fei* 'I sell' Mbe, a Cameroons language, Koelle 1854)

Yong-yong "Good and fair" (? *ofōn* 'good' Efik)

Qua-qua "Linen" (? , but note **ñqua** 'bead' Efik, a term listed below, perhaps confused with **ñkune** 'European cloth' Efik)

Basin "basons" (note that **bou-ūt** 'basin' Efik, is from English 'bowl')

Yallo "Beads" (? **u-yā** 'a bunch, as of beads' + ? Efik)

Labouche "A woman" (cf. **lobbosje** 'een vrou' = 'a woman' language of Cameroons and Rio del Rey, Leers 1665; ?)

Negro "A Black" (Portuguese)

Cokeriko "Chickens" (an onomatopoeic term, cf. French **coquerico**, 'cockadoodledo', with analogies in many African languages, e.g. variants of **koko/kuku**, 'hen' in many Bantu languages, but not in Efik)

Cakedeko "Tomorrow" (? **okut oko** 'a few days hence', **ke okut oko** 'in a few days hence', Efik)

Cakedeko fingo "After tomorrow" (+ ?)

Machinche "Yesterday" (? **mkprōñ** 'yesterday', Efik)

Singo me Crizake "Shew me the like" (? **kpa suk** 'the same' Efik)

Singo me miombo "Give me some strong liquor" (cf. **wynba**, probably a misprint for **mynba** 'wyn' = 'wine', language of Cameroons and Rio del Rey, Leers 1665; ? **■-imba** 'palm-wine' Bakweri, a coastal language of the Cameroons, Ardener)

Kinde nongue-nongue "Go sleep" (cf. **quando** 'gaet en wech' = 'go away', Cape Lopez language, De Marees, 123v; **kende** 'gaat' = 'go', **nanga** 'slapen' = 'to sleep', language of Cameroons and Rio del Rey, Leers 1665; ? **kéndé** 'go' Isubu, Ardener; **nanga** 'to lie down, sleep', Duala, Ardener)

Chap-chap "Eat" (**chop** 'food, eat', global English pidgin)

Foretap "All" (**ofuri** 'all', ?? **tep** 'many', Efik)

Meraba "Water" (cf. **mareba** 'water', Leers 1665; **madiba** 'water' Duala, Ardener, and forms close to this are found in other coastal Bantu languages of Cameroons and Gabon, but not in Efik).

APPENDIX B

An alleged Barbot vocabulary

Fodor in 1975 discussed at length a vocabulary of Manding he attributed to Barbot (Fodor, *Pallas* ... (see note 19 above), 80, Table VIII). Barbot's four vocabularies were reprinted in Astley's 1745 *New General Collection of Voyages*, vol. 2, 291-3, and the English editor included after them a Manding vocabulary from another source. When the English collection was translated into German, as the 1748 *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen* ..., the German editor mistakenly enlarged the attribution of the four vocabularies to Barbot to include the fifth (vol.3, 268-270). Fodor, who appears to have studied the Barbot vocabularies solely from the 1748 German work, was misled. I discuss the matter at greater length and identify the correct source of the Manding vocabulary in a note, 'John Barbot's alleged Manding vocabulary', *Africana Marburgensia* 20 (1987), 49-51.

KEY TO THE VOCABULARIES LIST

Words in bold in the four African-language columns are the proposed corresponding items or 'identifications'.

Words in quotes give the exact meaning of a proposed identification, when the meaning is significantly different from that of the French in Column 1. The meaning is given in English, except in Column 1 where it is normally in M. Becker's French, occasionally in my English.

A **query mark** indicates a missing identification, a doubtful identification, or a missing element in an identification.

An **asterisk** following an item in any column indicates a note, to be found under the number of item, followed by the number of the column (1 = French, 2 = Wolof, 3 = Fuɓa, 4 = Akan/Twi, 5 = Ewe/Fon).

The **Notes** are inserted at intervals in the list.

Column 1 The first **French** item is from 1688. Any subsequent French item in square brackets is the corresponding entry in 1679, but is only supplied when different. The **English** item is Barbot's own translation in 1732 of the French. Any subsequent English item in square brackets is a more correct or informative translation.

Column 2 Corresponding items in modern **Wolof**, almost wholly supplied by M. Becker.²²

Column 3 Corresponding items in modern **Fula**, almost wholly supplied by Professor Arnott.²³ Where two or more Fula items appear divided by slashes, these represent dialect variants.

Column 4 The spelling of **Akan/Twi** words was often slightly altered between 1679 and 1688, and when thought significant both forms are supplied, in that order, divided by a slash. Corresponding items in modern Akan/Twi/Fante are either from Christaller's nineteenth-century 'classical' dictionary or as supplied by the Ghanaian scholars named above. Orthographic conventions having changed, the list is not orthographically consistent. Broadly, the items with elements linked by dashes and with multiple diacriticals are from Christaller, those without these features from the modern scholars, and the latter tend to be in modern colloquial.

Column 5 Corresponding items in modern **Ewe/Fon**, almost wholly supplied by the named scholars.

²² In the course of his lengthy report on Barbot's Wolof vocabulary M. Becker stated that he had compared it with that of the Compagnie Royale, and had principally used the *Lexique wolof-français*, 4 vols (Dakar, 1976-81). But for difficult items he had also consulted the following older works: C. Becker, V. Martin and C. Mbodji, eds, *Documents inédits d'Adanson [c.1750] sur la langue wolof* (Kaolack, 1978); *Guide de la conversation français-volof* (Mission Catholique, Saint-Jeseph de Ngasobil, 1907); [Aloysius] Kobès and - Abiven, *Dictionnaire volof-français* (Mission Catholique, Dakar, 1923); A.P. Angrand, *Manuel français-oulof* (Paris/Dakar, 1952).

²³ In large part from his field notes. The standard printed source is Henri Gaden, *Le Poular: dialecte peul du Fouta Sénégalais: tome second: Lexique poular-français* (Paris, 1914).

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHIES AND CHARACTERS

African languages have been and are written and printed in varying orthographies. The African-language items below are presented in the orthographies favoured by the individual scholars and sources providing them, and are accordingly not consistent as between the languages. The scholars who supplied the identifications have employed the orthographies currently in use for that language in scholarship or in the relevant country. M. Becker, for instance, has used the orthography for Wolof latterly set out in a table of orthographies for the languages of Senegal by the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar.²⁴ For Akan/Twi, Christaller in the nineteenth century employed an elaborate orthographic system, with frequent diacriticals, whereas the modern Ghanaian and Ewe scholars employ a much simpler system. The tables below set out the Dakar and Christaller orthographies.

Non-linguists using the list below should be aware that a particular character does not necessarily represent the same sound in different African languages, and for precision a linguist specialising in the relevant languages may have to be consulted.

All the modern orthographies used in the list include characters not found in the English alphabet as standardly printed, or even in fonts for west-European languages. While there has been no problem with characters created by adding diacriticals to standard characters, I have been unable to reproduce, on the equipment available to me for the production of camera-ready copy, those few additional characters that vary wholly from the standard ones, generally by adding a hook or a tail. But to stand in for them I have produced distinct, albeit very inelegant, characters, as follows.

In Fula, the distinction between b and *ḃ*, d and *ḍ*, n and *ṇ*, y and *ȳ*, is represented by a distinction between b and *ḃ*, d and *ḍ*, n and *ṇ*, y and *ȳ*.

In Akan/Twi and Ewe/Fon, the distinction between e and *ɛ*, o and *ɔ*, n and *ɲ*, is represented by a distinction between e and *ɛ*, o and *ɔ*, n and *ɲ*.

In Ewe/Fon, the distinction between d and *ḍ* is represented by a distinction between d and *ḍ*.

Note that a diacritical, as in *é* or *ó*, when combined with a slashed character, as in *ê* or *ô*, may at times be difficult to distinguish. In Akan/Twi, Christaller frequently used two diacriticals on a word, as in *é-nám*, but on the equipment that printed the list I could regrettably only reproduce one (the nasal indicator *˜*), and had to add the second (the tone markers, *`* or *˘*) in hand.

Note also the distinction between the three diacriticals, *ē*, *ë*, and *ě*.

²⁴ To be found in the *Lexique wolof-français*, vol. 1.

KEY TO THE SOURCES CITED IN THE NOTES TO THE LIST

- Adanson C. Becker, V. Martin and C. Mbodji, eds, *Documents inédits d'Adanson [c.1750] sur la langue wolof* (Kaolack, 1978)
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Liste des graphes employés pour les principales langues
du Sénégal.

	Wolof	Sereer	Pulaar	Jola	Malinké (Mandinka)	Soninké (Sarakole)
1	'					
2	a	a	a	a	a	a
3	à	à				
4	b	b	b	b	b	b
5	6	6	6			
6	c	c	c	c	c	c
7	ç	ç				
8	d	d	d	d	d	d
9	đ	đ	đ			
10	e	e	e	e	e	e
11	é	é		é	é	
12	è	è		è		
13	f	f	f	f	f	f
14	g	g	g	g	g	g
15	g'		g'			
16	h	h	h	h	h	h
17	i	i	i	i	i	i
18	í			í		
19	j	j	j	j	j	j
20	k	k	k	k	k	k
21	l	l	l	l	l	l
22	m	m	m	m	m	m
23	n	n	n	n	n	n
24	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ
25	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
26	o	o	o	o	o	o
27	ó	ó		ó	ó	
28	p	p	p	p	p	p
29	p'	p'				
30	q	q	q			
31	r	r	r	r	r	r
32	s	s	s	s	s	s
33	t	t	t	t	t	t
34	t'	t'				
35	u	u	u	u	u	u
36	ú			ú		
37	w	w	w	w	w	w
38	x	x	x		x	x
39	y	y	y	y	y	y
40	y'	y'	y'			

The orthography employed in J.G. Christaller, *Dictionary of ... Tshi (Twi)* [1881]
(as set out in the second edition, Basel, 1933)

a) Vowels.

- a sounds like *a* in *Shah*.
 ȃ is narrow as in *hat*; in Fante as in *gay*.
 ɛ is an open *e* as in *let*; French *è*.
 e (full) sounds like *e* in *prey*.
 e (narrow) is between *e* & *i*; in some Fante dialects approaching to *i* in *püt*.
 i is like *i* in *believe* or *ravine*.
 ɔ has the sound of *o* in *not*.
 o (full) sounds like *o* in *November*; French *mot*.
 o (narrow) is between *o* & *u*; in some F. dialects approaching to *u* in *put*.
 u is sounded like *u* in *rule*.

b) Consonants.

	Plosives		Fricatives		Affricates		Semi-vowels	
	voice- less	voiced	voice- less	voiced	voice- less	voiced	nasal	pure
Velar	k	g	(hy)	h			ŋ	
Palatal	ky	gy	hy				ny	y
Dental	t	d	s		ts	dz	n	r (l)
Alveolar	t	d						
Denti-labial			f					
Bilabial	p	b					m	w
Labio-velar	kw	gw		hw			ŋw	
	kũ	gũ		hũ			ŋũ	
Palato-labial	tw	dw	hw=fw				ŋw̃	w̃

BARBOT'S VOCABULARIES

FRENCH / ENGLISH 1	'JALOFFES' = Wolof 2	'FOULLES' = Fula 3	'GOLD COAST' = Twi 4	'JUDA & ARDRES' = Ewe 5
1 taisez-vous, [fermés la bouche]* / shut your mouth	noppil = noppil	dé-you = deeyu/ deyyu	mohouano/mouàno = mūā waanō	namouné bazy = ? + n àbō 'be silent'
2 je le veux / I will [I want*]	doinaman = doy naa ma 'cela me suffit'	bido-hidy = mbiāo yiāi	méppé = mepé 'I want'	hann = ? en 'yes'
3 je ne le veux pas, [je n'en veux pas] / I will not [I don't want]	bainaman = bayyi naa ma 'il m'a laissé'	mi-hydà = mi yiāā	mimpé = mēmpé 'I do not want'	my-bé = mī gbē 'we refuse'
4 venez,[viens] / come	calay = kaay	argà = 'ar gaa	bráá/berà/braà = berà/bra	ova = wā (sing)
5 n'approchez pas, [n'approche pas, ne viens pas] / come not near	bouldick = bul dikk	da-rothon = ? taa yottam 'do not reach me'	mem-mahò = mma mba hō 'do not come here'	omà-ouà = ma wā 'do not come'
6 allez vous en, [va t'en] / go away	dock-hodem = ? dox, dem 'walk', 'depart'	hià = yah	sorecko/sorreckò = sārē, kò 'rise, go'	ozon = zòn 'walk'
7 votre serviteur / your servant			medottò = medō toto wō 'I humble myself before you'	
8 tirer un coup de mousquet [fuzil] / to fire a musket			ouàtoutourou = watow turu 'you have fired a gun'	

9	je vous [te] vois / I see you	guésnala = gis naa la	medo-hymà = miŋlo/meda yii maa	mangh-hou = mahu wo 'I have seen you', manhu wo 'I have not seen you'	my-mou = mi mōn 'you (pl.) see'
10	venez à bord [venes, viens] / come aboard			mocko-huénom = monkə hō nom '(you) go inside'	
11	il vente beaucoup / it blows hard	gallaou-barenà = gelaw bare na	hendou-hévy = henndu heewi		quio-honsousou = jān sūsu 'much rain'
12	comment vous portés vous, [comment te portes tu] / how do you do	ogyà-messà = ? jām nga am 'as-tu la paix?', ? na nga def? 'comment vas-tu?'	adàhégiām = aḍa he jam? 'have you well-being, peace?'	ounà-dassin = wo honam te sən? 'how is your exterior?'	namouné ebiou hain = ?
13	fort bien, [monsieur] / very well, sir	guandé-baré-sambà = jām bare, Samba 'paix, beaucoup, Samba' (a common forename)	medo-hegiām = miŋlo/meda he jam	eddéhié-chié/odhié = ete yie 'good', o yie 'it is good'	ebbyoin-d'aye = ? + ḍagbe 'well' 'greetings'
14	bon-jour, [monsieur] / good-morrow, sir	quarà-quaihou-sambà = ? mba dara xewul, Samba? 'est-ce-que rien de grave n'est arrivé, Samba?'	coffé = koofli 'greetings!'	aquicoos edappà = ḍa pa 'good day!' ? akyē 'morning-greeting!' ? à-gòò 'is anyone there?' (morning greeting)*	ofons-d'aye = a fōn ḍagbe 'have you woken up well?'
15	de bon matin / very early	lélégentel = lelek teel	soubacke-allau = subaka law	cou-querou-cou* = French coquerico, Twi kokurokoo 'imitation of cock-crow'	cré-cré = klé-klé 'quickly'

16. venez [viens] manger ? come to eat	calay-caeck-mané* = kaay lekk, moane 'venez, mangez, je dis'		braminkouridy/ braa-mincouyridy = bra ma yén ko didi 'come, let us eat'	
17. venez [vien] ça haut / come up	quià-quauou*= (fiéwal) ca kaw	argay = 'ar gaay 'come here'	bra/braà souron = berà 'come', sòrò 'up'	otà = wà 'come'
18. allez la bas / go down	ouà-quiéquasouf = wacc 'descendre', ca 'vers', suuf 'la terre'	hiallessé = yah les	couà-sasshy = kò 'go', asaase 'down', kò ase 'go down'	guiro-domé = ? + dôn 'there, down there'
19. allez marchez [aller, allez] / go walk			cò = kò 'to go'	ozò = zòn 'walk'
20. demain / tomorrow	aileg-ack agiam = èllég ak jamm 'demain, avec la paix'	soubackò = subaka/subakó 'the morning'*	ack-hénà = ø-kyèna	ezain = zanzan 'in the morning', sò zanzan 'tomorrow morning'*
21. bonne nuit, [monsieur] good night, sir	fon-angiam, sambà = fanaanal ag jamm, Samba 'passe la nuit en paix, Samba'	nihallay = nyalla spend the day'*	marinckhé- edappà = ma ade nkye'	ognoghon = ? nyàn 'be well'
22. grand mercy / I thank you	santenalà = sante na la 'je te remercie'	medo-hiétoma = miplo/meplo yettu maa 'I am thanking you'	midassi/midassay = medà ase 'I am much obliged'	acouà-non = a wà nú 'you have done something'
23. il pleut / it rains	d'atàou = da taw			
24. je m'en vais dormir / I got sleep [I am going off to] sleep]	nangrétery = maa ngi dem tèddi 'je vais me coucher'			myléfion = ?

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| 25. je voudrais coucher
avec une fille /
I would sleep with
a girl | pougué-namaté
acandâosan =
bégg na téddi
ag ndaw si
'je veux coucher
avec une jeune
fille' | médò lélohy =
miḡlo/meḡla lelloo
'I am lying
down'* | d'un-hoinené-ouà-
damel codemḡ
= ? + nyonnù 'woman'
d'amlon 'sleep' |
| 26. une maitresse /
a sweet-heart | soumack-hioré
= sama coro
'ma fiancée,
ma maitresse' | medò-danò =
miḡlo/meḡla ḡaanoo
'I am sleeping,
I sleep'* | |
| 27. allons nous promener
/ let us go walk | candoch hané
= kaay dōxantu/
kaay ŋu dōxantu
'viens te promener' /
'viens, nous nous
promenons' | harque guéhin
hilojade =
ar gaa, njahen
yiiloyaade
'come, let's
go walking' | lova-myzon =
? + mi zòn 'we walk , |
| 28. je m'en vais /
I go [I go away] | | méda lehò =
? miḡlo/meḡla yaha
'I am going',
? mi dillii
(yo) 'I've gone,
I'm off' | |
| 29. je ne m'en souviens
pas / I do not
remember [it] | bain-amaeck =
? ? baal naa
la àḡ 'j'ai
excusé ta faute'* | mi-fāhyacké =
mi faayake
'I am uneasy/
mistaken' | |
| 30. apportez moy un
mouton viteement /
bring me a sheep
quickly | iosima-omghargh
= indil ma benn
xaar gaaw | addou-nambalou
= 'addan-am
mbaalu 'bring me
a sheep' | din-elein-repona-
amya-lacon =
? + len(gbò) 'sheep'
ḡokpó 'one', ně mi
'give or fetch me'* |

NOTES TO ITEMS 1-30

- Item 1. column 1 Square brackets within the French glosses, here and below, indicate alternative or additional glosses in the Gold Coast vocabulary in the 1679 text - the African terms were however repeated without change in the 1688 text even when the gloss was altered, except in spelling.
- 2.1 Square brackets within the English gloss, here and below, indicate a more correct translation of the French.
- 12.1 Barbot's phrase seems to contain at least the term *jànn* 'peace'.
- 14.5 Other seventeenth-century sources give a form to the greeting nearer Barbot's, *ackyo*, *acju* (Jones 1983, pp.105,154).
- 15.4 The 1679 version has *koukeroukou*
- 16.2 A miscopying of *caeck* for *laeck* ?
- 18.2 For 'up', the Senegal Company vocabularies (hereafter SCV) have *kiako*.
- 20.3 As 'see you in the morning', i.e. tomorrow.
- 20.5 Des Marchais has *nasson* so (Labat 1730).
- 21.3 Used in evening greetings, *jam nyalli* 'have you had a good day ?' - Barbot's version may be incomplete.
- 21.4 For *edappa*, see 14.4.
- 25.3 See the next note.
- 25.4 Items 24-26 appear to be confused in the Fula vocabulary. The gloss of the last is perhaps misplaced from the first, and 'with a girl' and 'a sweet-heart' are not represented in the Fula.
- 29.2 The correct translation would be *fätte naa ko* 'je l'ai oublié'
- 30.2 The vocabulary phrase would seem to contain at least the term *xaar* 'sheep'.
- 30.5 The terms *elein repo* seem to represent *len(gbó) gókpo*. Barbot's *lacon* has not been identified, but Des Marchais has *elaquon* 'soon' (Labat 1730), which fits the gloss.

31. donnez moy à boire / give me some drink	mamanan = may ma maa naan 'donne-moi, je bois'	l'occan-hyadé = rokkam yarde*	nany-ahaàn = nã mi àhàn 'give me some drink/liquor'
32. je m'endors / I'm sleepy [I'm falling asleep]			my-domelò = mĩ d'amlon 'we sleep'
33. il fait chaud / 'tis hot		warn-hiendé = ? wulan hannde 'it's hot today'	
34. mettez le aux fers / put him in irons	guinguelà maguiou = jéngal ma diw 'enchaîne-moi tel individu'	ouàrguie hyelle cassédé = waf gefelle (e) kosje 'put shackles on legs'	mypoty guenda-fogh = ? + gan 'irons'
35. ameçons [ains] à pêcher / fishing hooks	délikà = ?*	ouandé = wande (sing.)	aquowa/aquou-và = ékwaba 'fishing hooks'
36. ananas [fruit] / ananas* [pineapples]	ananas	ananas	anansi yébodé = yovò 'white man' + ?*
37. aveugle / blind	bamonà = ?*	goundò = gumdo 'blind person'	nenny offourà = n'ani afura 'he is blind'
38. aiguille [à coudre] / needles (sic)	poursà = pusò/pursè/pursò 'needle'	messelael = meselal 'needle'	adrobba = dòr(ò)bà 'needle of local manufacture'
39. arc / bough [bow]	cahlah = xala	baharou = baaru/baharu/ kahru 'quiver'	ottà = é-ta*

1. autruche / ostrich		nedau = ndaw		
2. bananes, [fruit] / banana			obourady/ banani = ø -b(o)ɾɛ-dé 'foreign thing, plantain'*	
3. boiteux / cripple, lame	soghé = soox 'boiter'*	bosséré = ? booso 'cripple', ? woosere, 'lameness'	essy = e-sii 'shortness of one leg', nansin 'cripple'	
4. borgne / blind of an eye	patt = patt 'être borgne'		nenny-abbò = n'ani abɔ 'his eye/s is/are destroyed'	
5. bossu / crooked [hunchback]		lockò = dolkko 'one-eyed'*	affon = afū 'hunchback'	
6. je va me baigner [se baigner] / I will bathe myself [I am going to bath myself]	mangrésangou = maa ngi dem sangu 'je vais me baigner', maa ngi sangu 'je me baigne'		maghouary = m'aguare 'I have bathed'	ouamy lesin = na mi lè* 'I will wash' + ? sin 'water'*
7. boire / to drink	mangrénam = maa ngi naan	hyardé = yar-de	menomensà = me nom nsa 'I drink palm-wine'	nou = nù
8. la barbe / the beard	sequiém = sikkim	ouharé = wahare	aboggihé = abɔgye/abɔdwe	d'à = dà 'hair'*

48. battre, battre en guerre / [to strike, thrash in war]	mangrégure ack sonabour = ? maa ngi bere ag sama buur 'je me bats avec/contre mon roi '*	melohabédé = ? miolo/meyla habd(a) e 'I am fighting with...'	orack-houn = o -re-kò 'he is fighting'	hovévon = ?
49. batteau ou canot [un batteau] / a boat, canoe	galtouap = gaal tubaab 'embarcation européenne'		battrà/batérà* = batàdewà 'boat'	
50. la bouche / the mouth	guéminin = gémifi	hendoukò = hunduko	annon = anom 'in the mouth '*	nou-bein = nugben 'lips'
51. le bras [les bras] / the arms	smal lohò = sama loxo 'ma main'	guion-ghé = juringo 'arm'	mensà = me nsá 'my hand(s)/arm(s)'	aotà = awà
52. une bouteille / [a bottle]	guambetouap = gamb tubaab 'calebasse/ recipient européen '*	fhandou = faandu 'small gourd, if narrow-necked used as bottle'	bodéano = abideanno	enangou = gò 'bottle', ? ahan gò 'liquor bottle'
53. un barril / a barrel	pippà = Port. pipa 'cask'		pippà	
54. un beuf / an ox or bullock		nagué = nagge		
55. beaucoup / much	barénà = bare na 'il y en a beaucoup'	heuy = heewi(i)		sousou = susu

56. un burgaud / a winkle			ahouà = ø waa/ ɥ waa 'snail'	
57. du bois / wood	matt = matt 'bois de chauffage'	leggal = leggal	addackà = adàkà 'box'*	nà-qué = nàkí 'firewood'
58. une barre de fer / a bar of iron	barrà (win) = wen 'fer' + Port. barra 'bar'*	barrà	d'abban = ø -dabán 'iron bar'	appatyn = gankpótɥɪ*
59. une boîte [boette, coffre] / a box*	ouach-andé = waxande		boattà = ? boaaí 'bundle, package'*	appoty-vy = (see 68 below) + -vi (diminutive)*
60. bouges / boejies [cowries]				aguà = àkué*

NOTES TO ITEMS 31-60

- 31.3 A forced literal translation of the French.
- 35.2 Fish-hooks is **oos**.
- 36.1 The term **ananas** was borrowed into African languages from Portuguese.
- 36.5 The modern term for 'pineapple' is **àgondé** (cf. **ahgongdee**, Forbes 1851).
- 37.2 The modern term is **gumba/gumbo** (cf. the Fula term), yet SCV gave **boum**, close to Barbot's term.
- 39.4 Marees gave **otta**.
- 41.4 Christaller suggests 'foreign yam'. Barbot applied the term **bananes** to the plantain.
- 42.2 Possible confusion with **xooge/xuuge** 'être bossu', item 44 having no Wolof entry.
- 44.3 Either misplaced from 43.3, or confusion with **yukko** 'hunchback'. SCV correctly gave **docco** 'borgne'.
- 45.5 Note Adangme **me lesin** 'I bathe/wash myself' (Koelle 1854).
- 47.5 The term for 'beard' is **àtán**.
- 48.2 Not **yöbbu ndam** 'remporter la victoire' or **daan** 'terrasser, être victorieux'.
- 49.4 The first form is that in the 1679 version.
- 50.5 The term for mouth is simple **nù**.
- 52.2 The modern Wolof term for 'bottle' is from the French.
- 57.4 The Twi term would be correct for no.59, so perhaps some miscopying is involved.
- 58.2 The modern Wolof would be **bant u wën**.
- 58.5 The term given may involve miscopying or confusion with the next item.
- 59.1 See no.68, with a similar gloss, the same Wolof term and a similar Ewe term.
- 59.4 Perhaps a misunderstanding.
- 59.5 Diminutive of 68.5.
- 60.5 Cf. **aquoué** (Labat 1730).

61. brebis / a sheep [ewe]*		cédré = ? ? njawdiri 'ram'		elein = lèngbɔ 'sheep'
62. un citron [citron, fruit]/citron [lemon]			cancabà = akaykawá 'lime, lemon'	yé-bozuin = ? yovózen 'orange'*
63. chanter / to sing	ouà-yel = woyal 'chante !'	hyemdy = yim-de	cobbinsoum = ? akò-bén 'war-horn' + ?	gian = ji han
64. une civette [civette, bête] / civet-cat			caghan = ɔ-kaykay	
65. un crocodile / crocodile	gua-sick = jasig	noròvā = noorwa/norwa	addinckiam = ɔ-denkyam	
66. le coude / the elbow	smai-kuoton = sama conco 'mon coude'	somdon* = solɔndu	sassin = ? nsa 'arm', siɣ 'stump'*	
67. capitaine / a captain	capitan = Fr. capitaine*	loamde laampo 'chief'	opparé aené = ɔ-hene 'chief'*	hontan = hüntɔ 'captain of ship'*
68. un coffre / a trunk*	ouach-handé = waxande 'coffre, malle'	brétewal = beretewal	addack-hà = adákà 'box'	apoty = ?*
69. chier / to shit	mangré-douly = maa ngi day 'je suis en train de chier'	boudé = bun-de	ibbin = ɔ-biɣ 'excrement'*	n'hemy = nyen mi
70. cuivre rouge [cuivre] / copper	prum = pèrəm	hyack-ha'ovalé = ?	copri = Port. cobre*	gan banféfei = gan 'iron', vɔvɔ 'red'

71. coquin / a rogue	soch-horby* = sowor 'être méchant, cruel'	abondé = o bondo 'he is a rogue'	oghvā o-hūāfō 'beggar'	
72. cracher / to spit	toffli = tēfli/tufli	thoudé = tunt-de	tassou = ntasú	
73. cravatte / a cravat	smah cravatt = sama 'my'*	leffol = lefol 'strip of traditionally woven cloth'	boudgiābennā = àbogye 'jaw', bēnā 'strip of cloth'	cobla = kōla ? English 'collar'
74. canot / canoo		lahnā = laana/lahna	egghen = ē-hyēn 'vessel, ship'	ohon = hun 'boat (genericall
75. de la chair / flesh [meat]	yapp = yāpp	tehau = teewu/teew	eddnom = ē-nām 'flesh', edi nam 'you eat meat'	lin = lān*
76. les côtes / the ribs	owett = wet 'le flanc, le côte'*	chabiburdé = cabbi birle 'rib-cage sticks'	emfi = ēnfe 'ribs, midriff'	
77. couper / to cut	dogh-hol = dogal 'coupe !'	tay = tay-(u)-de	offosikuandekuen = ø fa sekan de (?) twaa/ku no 'he takes/took knife and (?) cuts with it 'kills him/it'*	bò = gbò
78. couteau / a knife	pack-hà = paaka	pake = *	osseikarn = ø-sekayl*	guy-by = jivi
79. chapeau / a hat			eck-hié/eckieé = ēkyē/ē-kyēw	

80. une chemise / a shirt	bough-touap = mbubb tubaab 'mbubb [smock] européen'	dolanke = dolokke 'long gown'	camisai/çamezà = kāmisaā *	ha-hou = awū 'clothes'
81. les cheveux / the hair	caghoular = kavar yi	soukendò = sukundu	ehuy = ehwī	dà = dā
82. le ... [con] / the c*** [cunt, female genitalia]	facéré (ou) saré = ?, sar*	cottò = kottu	aguhe/aqué = kwe/kwé	
83. le cul / the arse, or bum	taté (ou) guir = taat, ?*	rotéré = rotère 'buttock'	moutenn = mu tunn 'my buttocks'	mituy = ?*
84. une clef / a key	donouachandé = doom u waxande 'clé du coffre'	bidhò = bidho 'child, any small object related to a larger one, hence 'child' (of the lock)	sassi = safé *	
85. un canon / a canon [cannon]	bumbertà = *	fétel = fetel 'musket'	ottroukassi = o-tuo 'gun', kése 'big'	balilà = agbàliá
86. le ciel / the heavens	assanan = asamaan	hyallà = ? yalla/yaa Allah 'Oh God !'*	ahuyà = ? awia 'sun, sunshine'*	guy-ouléau = jī 'rain'*
87. un clou / a nail	dinguétit = renk + ?	pangal = pergal 'spike' for tethering animals'*	preghou = prego *	
88. une corde / a rope	boumé = buum	boghol = boggol	ahamà = a-hāmā	ocan/ocar = kàn

89. un chat / a cat	guénaapp = jenaap	oulonde = ullundu	aggirhaomòà = aginyamoa	
90. un chien / a dog	khaay = xaj	rahouandou = raweandu	ockuà = ø-twea	oñon = àvún

NOTES TO ITEMS 61-90

- 52.2 The modern Wolof term for 'bottle' is from the French.
- 57.4 The Twi term would be correct for no.59, so perhaps some miscopying is involved.
- 58.2 The modern Wolof would be *bant u wën*.
- 58.5 The term given may involve miscopying or confusion with the next item.
- 59.1 See no.68, with a similar gloss, the same Wolof term and a similar Ewe term.
- 59.4 Perhaps a misunderstanding.
- 59.5 Diminutive of 68.5.
- 60.5 Cf. *aquoué* (Labat 1730).
- 61.5 The same Ewe term appears under no.157 'mouton'. Also see no.92.
- 62.5 The term, derived from *yovó* 'white man', nowadays means 'orange', the term for 'lemon' being *klé*. Since Des Marchais gave *hyevoisin clou* for 'lemon' and *hjevoisin* for 'orange' (Labat 1730), Barbot's term may be incomplete.
- 66.3 Perhaps a miscopying of *somdou*.
- 66.4 The correct term for 'elbow' is *abatwér*.
- 67.2 Modern Wolof *kapiteen*.
- 67.4 *ø-pare* is a personal name, which has perhaps been confused with the title, *ø-panyin* 'elder, chief'.
- 67.5 Cf. *honga* 'Capiteyn van de Boot' (Leers 1665, p.310)
- 68.1 See 59.1 above.
- 68.5 Cf. *apoting* (Forbes 1851), but the term is not now recognised and seems to have been a borrowing from Yoruba *apoti* 'box'. See 59.5 above.
- 69.4 The verb is *nyē* 'to defecate'.
- 70.4 The modern term *kopre* means 'penny, small coin'.

- 71.2 SCV has **sokor**.
- 73.2 The term **karwat**, from the French, is still used.
- 75.5 Cf. **lan** (Des Marchais).
- 76.2 Confusion over the gloss: the term for 'rib' = 'la côte' is **faar**, 'ribs' **faar yi**.
- 77.4 The informant seems to have been influenced by the following term - perhaps a demonstration of both terms was made with a knife.
- 78.3 Not the normal term and apparently a borrowing from Wolof.
- 78.4 Apparently a borrowing from Portuguese **secar** 'to cut'.
- 80.4 From Portuguese **camisa** 'smock, shirt'.
- 82.2 Is **facéré** a miscopying for **fallere** 'hanche' (Adanson vocab.) ?
- 83.5 The modern term is **yonu** and since **mituy** is repeated as 'the eyes', item 252, it is perhaps an error. But **mĩ** is 'excrement'.
- 84.4 From Port. **chave**: Barbot has miscopied **sassi** for **saffi**.
- 85.2 Presumably a contemporary borrowing from Fr. **bombarder** 'to bombard'.
- 86.3 On the supposition that the informant mistook 'le ciel' for an exclamatory 'O ciel !', which he equated with '(O) God !'.
- 86.4 Or possibly **ewi-a** 'it is sky'.
- 86.5 Not modern **jixué**, literally 'house of rain'.
- 87.3 SCV has **pingual** 'clou'.
- 87.4 From Portuguese **prego** 'nail'.

91. un cheval / a horse	farss = fas	pouckiou = puccu	parkoà = pank -a 'a horse it is'	sò = s
92. un cabrit / a goat	bay = béy 'chèvre'	behévà = mbeewa	hougouan = o-guáñ	lein = ? *
93. les cuisses / the thighs	loup = lupp (sing.), lupp yi (plur.)	bouhal = buhal (sing.)	annen = an -nan 'lower limbs'*	
94. du couscou / couscou [local gruel]	aréquére = cere*			
95. un chaudron / a kettle [or cauldron]	cranghière = ? xanjar 'cuivre jaune'*	barmà = barne 'metal pot, cauldron'	euwà = awwà /ayéwà 'brass basin'	
96. un carquois / a quiver	smah-callah = sama xala 'mon arc'*			
97. un cochon [porc ou cochon] / a pig	droai = ? *	babalady = baaba ladde 'father of the bush'*	proccò = prakó*	ho-han = hàn
98. dents d'éléphant / elephants teeth [ivory]	guay-negnay = ? *	n'hiereghiouà = nyiiire nyiiwa 'an elephant's tooth'	essiunssé/ assounsse esun-se 'elephant's tusk'	
99. dancer / to dance	faické = fecc	hendé = 'am-de	oréssà = ore-saw 'he is dancing'	d'ou-myopon = du we + ? *
100. dormir / to sleep		dahnady = daan-aade	marcoddà = m re k o da 'I am going to sleep'	dcmelò = d'amlon

101. demeurer / to to stay or stop	guékiffi = dèkkał fi 'reste ici'	doradan = dar-aade 'to come to a halt'	transassy = trā ase 'sit down !'	noté = nonte
102. demander / to ask	lay = laaj		messéròhady = mesérè (wo hɔ) adé 'I ask you for something'	
103. le diable / the devil	guinnay = jinne*	guiné = ginni 'evil spirits'	adoppi (ou) sassan = sāsā 'evil spirit', ? adpè 'species of ape'	sou = ? *
104. Dieu / God	I hallà = yàlla 'Allah	allah = Alla(h)	jan-comé = o-nyànkòpɔn 'Supreme Friend, God'*	boden = vodɔn 'god (generically)'
105. les dentz / the teeth	smabenabin = sama bèn yi 'my teeth'	n'hiere = nyiire (sing.)	essin = e-sè	adou = adɔ
106. les doitz / the fingers	smà-baram = sama baaraam 'mon doigt'	fèdehendò = fèdeendu (sing.)	ensahuéré = nsà 'hand', awèrè 'body nail/s'*	alovi = alɔvi*
107. un éléfant / an elephant	gnay = fey	ghiouà = nyiiwa	assoum/assoun = e-sòno	
108. écorcher [écorchure] / to flea [flay], or pluck off the skin [to graze/a graze or abrasion]	maugrefaisce* = maa ngi fees 'je suis en train d'écorcher'	houttoudé = hutt-u-de	eckhourou/eckhaurou = e-kúru 'wound, sore'	d'yn-mipon = ?

109. éternuer / to sneeze	maugre tessely = maa ngi tisooli 'j'éternue'	hisséloudé = 'ils-u-de	ouhenssi = ph ānsi	
110. esclave / a slave	guamon = jaam	mackhioudou = maccud/o	ackhouba = akóá*	alabé = ? *
111. de l'eau / water	m'doch = ndox	d'hiom = ndiyam	insou = nsu	efin* = sin
112. une épée / a sword	guassy = jaasi	caffe = kaafa	affénam = afānā 'state sword'	gibybo = jivi gbó 'large knife'*
113. écrire / to write	bindé = bind	whindoudé = winnd-u-de	ockerahouma/ ockirā-houmā = o -kyerēw phoma 'he/she writes on paper'	een-ouay = ? *
114. de l'eau de vie / brandy	sangarā = sàngara	sangarā = sangaray/ 'alcohol'	brandiwin = Dutch brandewijn 'French brandy'	
115. fièvre / the fever	guernamā = ? *		mēhiary = me-yare 'I am sick'	
116. froid, il fait froid / it's cold	luinā = liw na 'il fait froid'	ghiaan-gol = jaangol 'cold (conditions)'	ahouédimy = aw de me 'I feel cold'	bibaut-huoy = āvivō gbē
117. du fil / thread	ouin = wēn	guārā-hié = gaaraaji 'threads'	ach hēmā = a-hāmā 'cord, string, rope'	alotin = ? *
118. du feu / fire	sasfarā = safara	giā-hingol = jayngol	odggiā = o-gya	zou zò

119. une femme grosse / a woman with child [a pregnant woman]	digin-gobirr = jigéen biir	deboiredò = debbo (e) reedu/ debbo reeduujo	anninsai = a-ninsai 'to become pregnant', aninsai 'she is pregnant'*	n'hoinéné was quivy = nyonnù 'woman', ? e 'who', ji 'bear', vi 'child'
120. une femme / a woman	digin = jigéen	debò = debbo	hobbà = b-bàa	n'hoiné = nyonnù

NOTES TO ITEMS 91-120

- 92.5 The same term was given for 'sheep', items 30,61,157. The modern term for 'sheep' is lèngbò, while 'goat' is gbò yaya, gbò being a generic term for both. But cf. kbo 'sheep', kbo boé 'goat' (Labat 1730).
- 93.4 In Fante the term normally means 'foot' and there is another term for 'thigh', but in Akwapem the term can cover the leg and thigh.
- 94.2 But requere appears in other early sources, e.g. rekere/lakere (Adanson voc.).
- 95.2 Not cin or kawdir/kàddir 'marmite'.
- 96.2 The correct term is tungaar.
- 97.2 Not the modern terms mbaam or mbaam xaux.
- 97.3 In Adamawa this is a nickname for the lion, but in the Senegal region it appears to have been the nickname for the wild pig. Note that SCV supplies the same term for 'pig'.
- 97.4 From Portuguese porco.
- 98.2 Not the modern term bèn yi fiéy. Barbot's term resembles gaynde Njaay 'lion, auquel on ajoute le patronyme royal Njaay', but there is no obvious explanation for this.
- 99.5 Barbot's term is perhaps a miscopying of d'ou-wyopon.
- 103.2 From Arabic jini.
- 103.5 Resembles Yoruba esu, a deity commonly identified with the Devil.
- 104.4 Barbot's term, which may be a shorter form of the modern term, was also recorded in the 1660s, see Jones 1983, p. 12.
- 106.4 The term for 'fingers' is nsa teaa : presumably the informant mistook the part of the hand pointed at.
- 106.5 Diminutive of alò 'hands'.
- 108.2 In this and the next item Barbot has patently miscopied 'maugre' for 'mangre'.
- 110.4 Since De Marees gives akoba, probably akoba/akowa was an earlier form of akoá.
- 110.5 The usual modern term is kannumòn (cf. kahnohmoh, Forbes 1851).
- 111.5 Probably a miscopying of esin.
- 112.5 'Sword' is dènkpe.
- 113.5 Barbot's term appears to be related to wema 'paper', but the modern term is wlan.
- 115.2 The nearest form is jeex na 'il est épuisé, amaigr', but note that SCV gives guiaor as 'fever'.
- 117.5 The modern term is avokán, and alatin is 'wrist'.
- 119.4 The modern term is o-ninsai 'pregnant woman'.

121. une [petite] fille / a maid	n'daouchdigin = ndaw jigéen*	souckà = suka 'child of either sex'	katoumessia = akatamassaba/ akatamaesia 'girl, virgin'	n'hoiné-vy = nyonnui*
122. une flèche / an arrow	smack-thonghar = sama tungaar 'mon carquois'*		agghien = agya	
123. une forteresse / fortress			abban = abay 'large strong building, fort'	
124. des fers pour les piéz [fers pour en forger] / shackles	gingué = jeng 'attache, menotte'	gué-hyelle = geyelle	honpockere* = mpokyere 'fetter/s'	ogen = gan 'iron (generically)'
125. un fourreau / a scabbard	sman barguaisy = sama bar jaasi 'mon étui d'épée'	ouanà = wana	afféna-bouchà = afānā 'sword', boha 'scabbard'	
126. un fuzil / a firelock [gun]		lossoul-fétel = loosol 'extended thin object, e.g. gun-barrel', fetel 'musket'		sou = sò 'thunder, gunfire'*
127. du goildron /tarr	sandol = sandal 'brai, résine, goudron'		*enghouà = (é)ngo 'oil', -ba (dimin.)	
128. une gudine de couteau [gaine de couteau] / the sheath of a knife	sman bar packhà = sama bar pakka 'mon étui de couteau'	ouanà = wana*	abboghà = bohā 'scabbard'	
129. grater / to scratch	hock-halmà = opal ma 'gratte-moi'	nanhyàdy = yaany-aa-de 'to scratch oneself'	ochhouanoggo = ouanoho 'he scratches himself'	

130. la gorge / the throat	sman pourouch = sama porox 'ma gorge'	dandy = daande 'neck'	oukonnu = kpa -mu 'throat'	croéro = ? *
131. les genoux / the knees	smà-hoom = sama ôom 'mon genou'	holbondou = hol/ hunde 'ankle'	monnontà ettouhai = ? *	
132. un garçon / a boy	ouassy = ? waa ji 'une certaine personne, quelqu'un' *	souka-gorkò = suka gorko 'male child'	aoffra = abofrà 'child of either sex'	lonon-vy = sónnuvi *
133. grand / great	maguèna = mag na 'il est grand'	mahodò = mawô 'great person'	osson = o-ô 'he is great/big'	zasi = ? *
134. gourmand / glutton		hadérorò = ? *		
135. les gentives / the gums		lakoudé = glakoudi / glakouye 'one set of gums/ both sets'		
136. haut de chausses / breeches	towapp = ? ? tubéy 'culotte, pantalon'	touhouba = tuuba	brouckou = ? *	blayà = vlaya 'skirt-like garment for fetish dances'
137. un homme / a man	gourgue = gôor gi 'l'homme, cet homme, "monsieur" comme interpellation'	gorko-mahodò = gorko mawô 'adult male'	eddin = ? *	sonnon = sónnu 'adult male'
138. un hamac / a hammock	todéap = ? *	lessò = leeso 'bed' *	hamanké = ahāmā/ ka *	havonso = āvō 'cloth' + ?
139. des herbages / herbs	miagh = fiāx 'herbe'			

140. jeter / to throw	sannir = sànni 'lancer, jeter'	uerlady = werl-aa-de	fackhuéné = fa-kyene 'throw away !'	blé = ? *
141. les joues / the cheeks	bekigh = ? *	cobé = ? *	ockhounan = ? ø hunam 'your skin'	lélé = kenlén
142. le jour / the day	lélegh = leleg 'le matin, l'aube' *	soubackà = subaka 'morning'	addà = èdà 'day'	onquen = ? *
143. un justaucôrs / a coat	boubou touap = mbuub tubaab 'habit européen, soit chemise, soit veste, etc'	dolanqué = dolokke 'long gown'	attary = atàdè 'any article of European clothing'	aous = amù 'garment'
144. les jambes / the legs	smap-paire = ? sama pooj 'ma cuisse' *	couassongol = koengal (sing.)	menonsa/menonsoà = me-nāy-sa 'my foot', naŋ 'foot, sometimes including leg'	afò = afò 'leg, foot'
145. jurement / an oath or curse*	smabockhanabai = sama bakkan baay 'sur le nez de mon père'	solde bamà (or) cottel youmà = soolde baamaa 'your father's penis', kottel yummaa 'your mother's little vagina' (obscene curses)		bodou-houy = vodunnunu 'to drink fetish (? to seal a pact)'

146. un lit / a bed	euntodou = ? fu fu tēdd 'où l'on se couche'*	lesson = leeso	empà = mpà 'mat, bed'	ensin-nò = ? zàn
147. ligne à pêcher / a fishing line	smaboudelinghà = sama buun u dolinka 'ma ligne à pêcher'	ouandè = wande 'hook'	achghamà = a-hāmā 'cord, string, rope'	ocan = kàn 'rope'
148. les lèvres / the lips	smatouin = sama tuñ 'ma lèvre'	tondò = tondu (sing.)	mannohoumà = mano phōma 'my lip/s'	nou-biên = nugben
149. la langue / the tongue	laming = lāmūn	d'hengal = de ngal	taghuihanà = te kyirama / te kyirama (Fante)	edé = dē
150. la lune / the moon	uhaaire = weer	léouré = lewru	osséran = o -sram	founou = sun*

NOTES TO ITEMS 121-150

- 121.2 The modern term is *ndaw si* and SCV has *ndaussi*.
- 121.5 Diminutive of *nyonnù* 'woman'.
- 122.2 The correct term is *fett*. See item 96 for related confusion.
- 124.4 The Twi term is omitted in Barbot 1688 and Barbot 1732.
- 126.5 The modern term for 'gun' is more commonly *tù*.
- 127.4 Items 127-132 are misplaced in the Twi column of the 1688 vocabulary, appearing against glosses 128-133.
- 128.3 As 125 above.
- 130.5 The modern term is *vyngo*.
- 131.4 The term for 'knee' is *nyakroma*: the term given appears to be related to *me-nay-tu* 'my calf', or *me-nay-tam* 'between my knees'.
- 132.2 Not *xale/xaleel* 'enfant', or *xale bu goor* 'garçon'.
- 132.5 Perhaps a miscopying, *lonon-vy* for *sonon-vy*.
- 133.5 'Great' is *daho*.
- 134.3 SCV gives *haidy namde* 'goulú' (? *haaj* 'need' + *myaamde* 'to eat').
- 136.4 Probably a derivative from Dutch *broek* 'trousers', just as the modern term is *trous* from the English, although there are other terms to denote various forms of a corresponding but more traditional garment.
- 137.4 'Man' is *o-banin*. The term given may well be *e-din* 'name', if we suppose that 'un homme' was misheard as 'un nom'.
- 138.2 Derivative from *tédd* 'se coucher, être couché'?
- 138.3 It is unlikely that the Fula ever used hammocks.
- 138.4 From Portuguese *hamaca*.
- 138.5 The usual term is *kpan* (cf. *pong*, Forbes 1851).
- 140.5 'Throw' is nowadays *nyi*, while *blé* means 'cheat' and *gblé* 'spoil'.
- 141.2 The correct Wolof term is *leex*. There may be an error in the gloss reflected in all the vocabularies. Yet the Ewe term may represent only a mis-copying.
- 141.3 In the Volta region *bokéis* used. Could Barbot's term be by metathesis?
- 142.2 The correct term is *bés*.
- 142.5 The correct term is *àzan*. An eighteenth century source gives *ayi ou*, which seems to be *ayihón* 'sunrise' (Labat 1730).
- 144.2 The correct term is *tànk* 'jambe, pied'.
- 145.1 The gloss confuses a judicial oath and a curse - the terms variously refer to one or the other.
- 146.2 The correct term is *lal*. Barbot's term appears to involve a miscopying of the first letter.
- 150.5 Miscopying of the first letter?

151. livre [livres] à écrire / writing-book	smackyet- gumarebiad = sama kayit gu maa wara bind 'mon livre où je dois écrire'*	deffé-terré = deffere 'book'	brohoumacratà/ brouhoumacatra = bôg -hōma 'foreign writing material, paper krātaā 'leaf of paper, sheet'	enhuioé canhoué = ? *
152. livre à l'ire / a book	smateregumare- janck = sama téere bu maa wara jàng 'mon livre que je dois lire'	torade-allah = tor-aa-de Alla 'pray to God'*		houé doubazy boden = ? *
153. laver les mains* / to wash the hands	raghen = raxas 'décrasser, laver certaines parties du corps', raxasu 'se laver les mains'	lahou-yongò = ? lanyā 'wash utensils, not hands', junngo 'hands'	coguòhary [zatiabà] koguara 'go and wash', nsá-téawa 'fingers'*	elò assy = ? lè 'wash', asi hands' *
154. marcher / to walk	doch-holl = daxal 'marche !'	médò-hyàhà = miò/meja yaha 'I am walking'	onanty/on-anssy = onantéw 'he walks'	ozon = zòn
155. malade / sick	raguénà = ràgg na 'il est très aminci'*	ognià-huy = o nyawii 'he is ill'	ohiarynewahou = nyare na wawu 'he is ill and has died'	my-gui-ozon = ? *
156. mort / dead	dé hainà = dee na 'il est mort'	mahy-ié = (o) maayii '(he) has died, is dead'	ouahou = wawu 'he is dead'	ecou = kú

157. mentir / to lye [tell a lie]	narnaà = nax na 'il trompe'*	hadarime = (h)ada rima 'you are inventing'*	minti = ? menté 'I do not understand'	ahouélailou = ? *
158. moucher / to blow the nose	nien-douu = fiend	n'giéto = nyitto 'blow your nose !'	ach-kuendor = ? hwen-nôre/ hwendor (Fante) 'nose-mucus'	
159. mahys [gros mil] / mahys or Indian corn	dough oub = dugub mil, céréales'*	mackary = makkaari	abbrouann = abûro/abûrow 'maize'*	hyelrau (or) lyhon = ? lin 'millet', lihan 'millet beer'*
160. mordre / to bite	matt = mât	n'haddé = yat-dé	ouakannò = ø-wa-ka no 'he has bitten him/her'	hendou = hânû
161. les mains / the hands	lohò = loxox	youngò = junngo (sing.)	zatiàbà = nsá-téawa 'finger/s'	alò = alø
162. les mamelles / the breasts	wu-haine = ween (sing.)	en'hòò = enndu (sing.)	ennoufou = nûfú 'female breast'	anò = ângh
163. une maison / a house	smán-uig = sama néég 'ma case, ma chambre'*	soudòò = suudu	ouffy = o-fi, wo-fi 'your house'	osin = sín (Hueda dial.)*
164. la mer / the sea	smandai = sama nòey 'ma mère'*	guiék = ?	eppò = épo	houéguy = ? + xû
165. un mousquet / a musket	faital = fetel/fetel	fetel = fetel	ottrou = o-túo/o-tur (Fante) 'gun'	sou = sò*

166. un matelas / a quilt [a mattress]	entedou = tèddi 'être couché' *	léssò = leeso 'bed'	ampà = mpà 'bed, mattress'	
167. un mouton / a sheep	ommghargh = sama xaar 'mon mouton'	balou = mbaalu		elein = lèngbè *
168. de la manigette/ Guinea pepper or malaguettes*			ehuissha/ehuisà = wisa 'special pepper'	
169. mes, mon, mien / my and mine	sman = sama *			
170. non / no	d'haair = dèdèet /dèet	alà = alaa	boghò = ghòò / ghòò 'no', bòò-uu 'by no means'	
171. nombril / the navel	smal-louut = sama lut 'mon cordon ombilical non coupé' *	houddò = wuddu	effroumà = f -fūnūmā	
172. le nez / the nose	smack bockan = sama bakkan 'mon nez'	héner = hinere	ochhtén = f -hwén	
173. la nuit / the night	goudinà = guddi na 'il fait nuit'	guiéma = jemma	addouffin = ? anadwo-fā 'late evening'	zamé = zan 'night', zanné 'in the night'
174. un navire / a ship	manguéna = ? *	randy = ? *	canganhié = kàyikāy 'European/ Portuguese', f -hyen 'ship'	hohon = hun

175. nager un canot / to paddle a canoe	giolbe-galgue = ? joow be gaal gi 'ramer jusqu'au navire'*	haod-guiou = aui-u-de	myconconnon = mĩ 'we', kũn 'paddle' + ? *
176. or, de l'or / gold*		canghé* = kanngé	chika = sika
177. une orange / an orange			abbrocke hanquabà = abrokye ankaba 'foreign lime'*
			yébo zuinbò = yovó zèn/ yovó gbo*
178. ouy / yes	wàou = waaw	ey = ey/eeey	i-ouhe/you-hai = yíé/yiw/ i-yeo (Fante)
			ans = en
179. les oreilles / the ears	smanoppe = sama nopp 'mon oreille'	noppy = noppi	assoubà = asowa 'ears'
			otà = tò (sing.)
180. les orteils / the toes	smahua-jetanck = ? sama 'mon', jeex 'terminer', tãnk 'le pied'*	peddely = peleeli 'fingers/toes'	ensahuéré = nsá 'hand', awérp 'nails'*
			otouy = afévi*

NOTES TO ITEMS 151-180

- 151.2 Not **tééré** 'livre, talisman écrit' but **kayit** 'papier, billet'.
 151.5 The modern term is **wema**, but cf. Yoruba **iwé** 'book, paper'.
 152.3 A possible explanation is that confusion resulted from an inquiry addressed to a man reading a religious book.
 152.5 See 151.5 for **iwé**. The last term may represent **vodun** 'god', so that the whole refers to a religious book.

- 153.1 The 1679 Gold Coast vocabulary has 'les mains' as a separate item following 'laver', and the other vocabularies apparently followed suit; but when copying these vocabularies in 1688, Barbot ran the two items together, hence the difficulty in 153.3. In 153.2, only the verb appears to have been supplied.
- 153.4 'Hand' is *nsa*.
- 153.5 Barbot's *elò* could alternatively be *alò* 'hands' (see 161.5).
- 155.2 The modern term *feebat* 'être malade' appears to be of European origin.
- 155.5 Des Marchais gave *guiazou* (Labat 1730), but the modern term is *àzinzonon*.
- 157.2 The correct term is *fen* 'mentir'.
- 157.3 The literal meaning of *rima* is 'give birth', but *rima fewre* is 'invent a lie'. SCV has *rimy* 'mentir'.
- 157.5 The modern term is *gonuvu*.
- 159.2 The specific term for 'maize' is *mboq*.
- 159.4 For 'gros mil' another seventeenth century source gave *abrui*, apparently ~~*aburo-wi*~~ 'foreign millet, wheat, probably maize' (Jones 1983, p.321). Barbot follows earlier sources in sometimes conflating under 'gros mil' both the traditional sorghum and the new maize.
- 159.5 Des Marchais gave *licon* for 'small millet' and *bado* for 'maize' (Labat 1730).
- 163.2 The general term for 'house' is *ker*.
- 163.5 The general term in Fon is *xué*.
- 164.2 The confusion between 'la mer' and 'la mère' presumably indicates that the term was obtained from an informant interrogated verbally.
- 165.5 See 126.5.
- 166.2 The term given appears to be derived from *tèdd*, whereas the modern terms, *pajaas* 'paillasse' and *matla*, are derived from French terms.
- 167.5 See 92.5.
- 168.1 This item is not in the 1679 vocabulary.
- 169.2 The Wolof term was placed wrongly in the Fula column.
- 171.2 The normal term is *jumbax*, but perhaps *lut* can be used loosely.
- 174.2 The modern term is *gaal*, but SCV gave *randi/raudi*.
- 174.3 This appears to be the same term as the one given by SCV for Wolof, and may indicate that the Wolof and Fula terms have been exchanged.
- 175.2 The correct term is *joow gaal gi*.
- 175.5 Could the last term be a corruption of *canot*?
- 176.1 This item is not in the 1679 vocabulary.
- 176.3 This term is wrongly placed against the next gloss, 'orange'.
- 177.4 The modern term is *abòràkkaà*.
- 177.5 Des Marchais gave *hyevoisin* (Labat 1730). The terms are from *yovò* 'white man', and *gbo* means 'ball'.
- 180.2 The correct term is *baaramu tànk* 'doigt du pied'.
- 180.4 That is, finger-nails. Confusion with the next item.
- 180.5 Diminutive of *afò* 'foot'. Barbot miscopies *otouy* for *ofouy*?

181. les ongles / the nails	huai = we yi	chegguen = segene/ cegeneeji* 'nail/s'	ensacougouloty = nsá kokuro- beti 'thumb'*	
182. un oyseau / a bird	arral = ? *	khiolly = colli 'birds'	aunomà = anómā	equévy = xévi
183. un oeuf / an egg	nen = nen	whocionde = kocoonde	griffibbà = kyeréfuwa	eny = ? *
184. pêcheur / fisherman	moll = mool	kiouballo = Cub(b)allo 'inferior caste serving as fishermen'	oppoffò = p-pofoni/ apofò 'fisherman/men'	houévitò = huevihuto
185. des patates [,fruit] / potatoes			boràguiho/ borà-gayò = boré 'European', gwyiw 'yam'	hà-ouelly = weli 'sweet potatoes' *
186. parler / to speak	ouaché = wax	halle = haal-de	orakassà = gerekasà 'he is speaking'	guéfio = ? *
187. des poux / lice	teings = teen 'pou'	bandy = bandi*	egh-huy = e-dwiw/n-dwiw 'louse/lice'	giò = jò
188. pisser / to piss	berouch = ? be ruq 'jusqu'au coin secret' *	haing-huié = ?	agghuenshò = gu-nsu 'make water' *	hovà-didò = d'adò
189. une putain / a whore	guélerbi = ? *	sakke = ? sakke 'member of inferior caste of leather- workers' *	abrickéré = pbaa/pbea 'female', akyére 'person await- ing sacrifice' *	heyn-sy = ? hē 'love' (in certain phrases), si 'wife' *

90. peter [faire un vent] / to fart	doch-hott = dosot	ridé = riiǵ-de	oattan = ø a tañ 'he has broken wind	n'héon = ny'awón
191. pleurer / to weep	d'goise = jooy	whohédé = woy-de	oressou/oressan = ø-re-su 'he is weeping	vià-vy = yà'ví
192. pagaye / a paddle	watt = wat 'grosse rame de direction		attabhoum/ ottabhounn = ø/a-tabôn 'paddle/s	
193. une pierre / a stone	doŋg = doj 'pierre, caillou	hayré = haayre/hayre	obbobà = ø-bôba 'grinding stone	
194. la peau [ou cuir] / the skin [or hide]	smagh-dair = sama der 'ma peau	gouré = nguru/guri 'skin/s, hide/s	ackhoumà = øhoma* 'skin, leather, paper	bazéŋ = ? *
195. du plomb / lead	bettaigh = beteex	ckaye = ? kaaye 'stones' *	sombouy = sūmpfi/sumbui (Fante)*	
196. pincer / to pinch	domp = domp	mouchioudé = øucc-u-de	ouétinounn = ø a ti nõ 'he has pinched him	henzy = ? *
197. les piéz / the feet	simatanck = sama tànck 'mon pied	cossédé = kosŋe 'legs	monaintignn = mø-nân-tij 'my heel/s	hafò = afø (sing.)
198. un pot / a pot	kingn = cin 'marmite	fahandò = fayan(n)de 'cooking pot	ettohà = toà 'gourd, pot, etc	hezein = zen
199. la pluie / the rain	taou = taw	tobbò = tojô	essou = o-sú	guyoccon = ? + jĩ 'rain

200. une pipe à fumer / a pipe to smoke tobacco	smananò = sama naano 'ma pipe'	hy-ardougal = jardugal 'wooden drink- ing vessel'*	aibiboà = abũro-búa 'imported (clay) pipe'	azozein = azp 'tobacco'*
201. un pavillon / a pavilion [flag]	rayà = raaya 'drapeau'	arhayhillan = ? *	frangà = frāykaā 'flag'	fiàò = ?
202. petit / little	néounà = néw na 'il est en très petite quantité, rare'	choukahiel = cukayel 'small child'	kissouwà = kétewa/ketsewa (Fante)	pevy = kpévi
203. plume / feather	doungué = dung	donguò = ? donngol 'crest of feathers or hair, cock's comb'	teckrà/teck-hrà = ntakrà/ ntek(y)eré (Fante)	eguefon = xéfun
204. papier / paper	cahait = kayit	barkol = ? *	aghounà = yhoua	houey = ? wema*
205. du pain / bread	bourou = mburu	bourou = buuru	brotò = brptuu 'hard biscuit'*	cammen = ? *
206. du poisson / fish	guenn = jèn	linghnò = linngu	ennam = g-nām 'fish/meat'	gambaui = ? *
207. un perroquet / a parrot	inquay = ? *	solerou = sooyru 'green parrot'	ahuiry = awirf	eguylé = ? kisé*
208. un pigeon / a pigeon	petteck = petax, pitax		abbronuouma/ abrounama = abörónónā 'domestic pigeon'	

209. une poule / a hen	gnaar = ginaar/ganaar	guertogal = gertogal	okokò = akókò 'domestic fowl'	couquelou = koklo 'cock'
210. un rat / a rat	guenach = janax 'souris'*	d'ambrou = doombrou	ockoura = akurá/okurá (Fante)	hofin = afin

NOTES TO ITEMS 181-210

- 181.3 Confusion between the singular and plural Fula terms ?
 181.4 Having given 'nails' for 'toes', the informant now misinterprets a request for 'nails' as one for 'thumb'.
 182.2 The term for a small bird is *pioc*, but each larger bird has its own name.
 183.5 The correct term is *azin*. This appears to be Yoruba *eni* - unless Barbot has miscopied *ezy*.
 185.5 The correct term is *dokuin*.
 186.5 The modern term is *ɗɗ*, but cf. Adampe me fonu 'I speak' (Koelle 1854).
 187.3 Senegal and South Mauritanian dialects.
 188.2 The correct terms are *saw* or *gaanuwaay*.
 188.4 The polite term, the correct term being *ɗwensɗ/ɗwunsɗ*.
 189.2 The correct terms are *caga* or *ganc*.
 189.3 A reference to the contemporary reputation of leatherworkers' womenfolk ?
 189.4 In this case, a ritually-dedicated prostitute, as noted in relation to Axim in Dapper, p.106/3 (*abrakee*).
 189.5 The modern term is *agalɛtɗ*.
 194.4 Possible confusion with *kómá/a-kómá* (Fante) 'heart' ?
 194.5 The term for 'skin' is *annd*.
 195.3 As in the expression *kaaye malta* 'lit. stones for gun', i.e. gun-loading which could include lead-shot.
 195.4 From Portuguese *chumbo*.
 196.5 The correct term is *nyon fen*.
 200.3 'Drinking' being the term for 'smoking' tobacco.
 200.5 The term for 'pipe' is now *azzukɗ*.
 201.3 This appears to be an attempt to pronounce the French term and is not Fula.
 204.3 Could this be a mishearing of *bataakewol* 'sheet of paper'? Yet SCV gave *barkour*, which is perhaps *barkewi* 'arbre dont l'écorce est utilisée en magie' (Gaden 1914), but perhaps the bark is also used for writing on ?
 204.5 See 151.5.
 205.4 Derived from Dutch *brood*.
 205.5 Similarly Des Marchais gave *counant/coman*, a term not identified (Labat 1730).
 206.5 The modern term is *hué/huevi*, and Des Marchais gave *hoié* (Labat 1730).
 207.2 The correct term is *oekku*.
 207.5 Possible miscopying of *eguylé* for *eguyse*.
 210.2 The correct term is *kaña*.

211. rouge [peinture] / red	logh-oueek = lu weex 'quelque chose de blanc'*	bodeghiounn = wodee/bozejum*	enckhuma/enckhiéma = (ɛ)ntwuma/(ɛ)twema 'red clay cosmetic'	fofai = vɔvɔ
212. rire / to laugh	raihal = reeal 'ris !'	ghialdé = jal-de	osséry = ɔserew 'he laughs/laughter'	cou-é-dé = kò + ?
213. le roy / the king	bourre = buur	lahamdé = laamdó 'ruler, chief'	oddikourou/ oddiékourouai = ɔ-dékùró/ɔ-dikùró 'town chief'	accazou = axɔsu
214. la reine / a queen	gaaihe = gaye*	guéfoulbé = jeefulbe 'title of chief wife of notable'	oddikourouai = ɔ-dékùró + ? ɔ-yé 'wife'	accouzouy = axɔsúsi/ axɔsi
215. de la rassade / bugles [tubular glass beads]	hyarack = ? jara 'bracelet de perles'	bourelly = ?		equé = jɛ
216. les enfans de la M.R. / the children of princes	domé guaihé = doom gaye 'fils de la reine'	byla-hamdé = kii laamdo 'child of chief'	oddikouroubà = ɔ-dékùró + ba (dimin.) 'child of chief'	accouzou-vy = axɔsú + vi (dimin.) 'child of king'
217. siffler / to whistle	owaylesté = weliis	houde = wuy-de	echguiramà/ eghuiramà = o-hwiremma 'whistling'	
218. serpent, coleuvre / a snake or serpent	gu'ann = jaan	boddy (or) gorory = mboddi 'snake', ngoroori 'adder'	ohouò = ɔ-wɔ	bodon (or) bodonbo vodún, vodún gbó 'god', 'great god'*

219. le sang / the blood	déret = deret	hy-hyam = yiiyam	moddgià = mógyá	hahonton = hùn
220. le siège / the seat	gangoné = gàngune 'trône, siège'	ghiodorde = joodorde 'sitting-place', joodorde 'chairs'		
221. du sel / salt	sockmatte = sowmat/sawmat 'sel de cuisine'*	lamb-dam = lamdam	anckin = akkyéne	equé* = jé
222. du suif (ou) graisse / tallow or grease [or lard]	diugunck = diw 'graisse' + ?	belléré = bellere	abbrouhouà/ abbrounhouà = abôro(wò) / wua 'imported lard'	giou = ju
223. des souliers / shoes	dalé = dall/dall yi 'chaussure/s'*	padé = pape	sapaty = asepâteré*	atopà* = afakpà
224. le soleil / the sun	ghiante-finkan = jant fenk na 'le soleil s'est levé'	nahangue = naange	ackhouai* = ? awuia/awia'	houé-qué = hué, ? hué-xuè 'house of the sun'
225. un singe / a monkey or ape	goloche = golo 'singe'	owandou = waandu	oschouann = o-sūa 'monkey of any species'	ezin = zin
226. du sucre / sugar	l'hem = lem 'miel'*	l'hyiomby = njuumri	chicry = asiléré*	yébogué = yovóje 'lit. whiteman's salt'
227. du sanglet / sanglet, or bran of millet boil'd		changle = ceyle		
228. se seoir / to sit	sôngàné = ? *	ghiodò = joodo	tranzassy = trā ase 'sit down !'	hynan = ? *

229. les sourcils / the eye-brows		hyam-hyankò = ? nyamambo/ waywayko*		
230. la terre / the earth [soil, land, world]	s'offi = suuf 'sable, terre, sol, bas'	léhidy = lehidi	assassi = asàsé	
231. troquer / to truck or barter	nanvéqui = na ñu wecci 'échangeons !'	sohodé = sood-de 'buy'*	ouessasan/ owessassan* = gasesā 'he has traded by barter'	
232. trembler / to tremble or quake	dénaloch = dinaa lox 'je vais trembler'	chinhoudé = sinny-u-de	meckhoum = me-kim 'I am (shaking) in a state of (religious) possession'	bibaut 'oumy = ? *
233. tuer [massacrer] / to kill [massacre]	ruy = rey	ouhardé = war-de	maikounou = me-kim-no 'I kill him'	mi-houy = mĩ hũ 'I/we kill'
234. de la toile / linen cloth	endymon = ? *	chomchou = ? comcol 'cloth or length of cloth'*	ainhuirā (or) foufou = aywérā 'white calico or linen' fufu 'white'*	avon = āvō
235. une trompette / a trumpet	bouffsa = buftē		abbourbenn = abōrō-bōrō 'European horn'	
236. tousser / to cough	socatt = səqat/səqēt	loghiomdé = ? gōjj-u-de	mobbaà = me bō wāw 'I cough'	
237. la tête / the head	snàbobb = sama bopp 'ma tête'	horé = hoore	itery = ē-ti/tiri	tacon = taká

238. une tasse [à boire] / a taster of cocoas* [a drinking cup]	tassà = *	hordé = horde 'small calabash, of use for drinking from'	eckouly = ? e-kúrúwá 'vessel for liquids'	aguonquà = ?
239. du tabac / tobacco	tmaghà = tamaaka*	tabà = taba	tabba = taw/tawa*	hazò = azò
240. une table / a table	gangonà = ? gāngune 'trône, siège'*	gangò = ? *	oppounu = o-pōpō 'door, table'	
241. de la toille peinte / painted callicoes [coloured cotton cloths]			ottam = o-tām 'cloth, garment', ntāmā 'cotton cloth'	
242. il tonne / it thunders	denadenò = dīna dēnu 'il va tonner'	d'hirry = diirīi 'it has thundered'		omasezou = ? + sē 'throw' + sò 'thunder'*
243. le tonnerre / the thunder		idem*		sou = sò
244. les veines / the veins	séditte = siddiit 'veine, nerf'	dadol = dādol (sing.)	entin/ensin* = ntīn 'root, vein'	
245. le ventre / the belly	smabir = sama biir 'mon ventre'	rhédo = reedu	affou = afuru/afur (Fante) 'stomach, belly'	adò = àdò
246. le ... / the p...k or yard [penis]	soull = sull 'prépuce'	soldé = soolde	cotty = kóté	enhōlen = nenkuin
247. une voile / a sail	wirr = wiir	oudherel 'hanà = wudere laana 'cloth of boat, sail'	aveddà = ? abraadaa	honson = hun 'boat' + soo*

248. le vent / the wind	gallàou = gelaw	hendon* = henndu	achhoum = ahóm 'strong wind'	guiòhon = jāhōn
249. du vin de France / French wine	m'sangò Touabb = sēng vin de palme', tubeab 'européen'*	chinck = ? *	ensan = nsā 'strong drink'	yébo = yovohàn 'whiteman's wine'
250. du vin de palme / palm-wine	m'sango Jalloffi (or) chinque = sēng 'vin de palme'*	chingué = ? *	ensappà = nsā-pā 'standard palm wine'	mévey-han (or) attan = mēvi han 'black man's wine', atàn
251. une vache / a cow			ednam ē-nām 'meat'*	
252. les yeux / the eyes	smabutt = sama bēt 'mon oeil'	hyterr = yitere (sing.)	agnibà = àniwā 'eye/s'	my-tuy = ? *
253. esleveure* [pimple, pustule]			essimba = ? sēwa 'small vesicle, scab'	
254. époucettes* [whisks]			offprahon = ō-fra prahō 'he takes (and) whisks it'	
255. un grand homme* [a large or important man]			ohouary = ōwāre 'a tall person'	
256. ruban* [ribbon, tape]			denty = ? ade-nwēne 'embroidery, lace'	

NOTES TO ITEMS 211-156

- 211.2 The correct term is xong.
- 211.3 The second term is the neutral class form.
- 214.2 This term is obsolete, the modern term being lingeër 'reine-mère, mère ou soeur d'un souverain'.
- 218.5 The correct term for 'snake' is oda, but the terms given allude to the royal python, Dangbe, the national deity of Whydah.
- 221.2 The general term is xorom and the specific term is little used.
- 221.5 Perhaps equé is a miscopying of egué.
- 223.2 But 'des chaussures' is ay dàll.
- 223.4 From Portuguese sapato.
- 223.5 A miscopying ?
- 224.4 A copying error for ackhouia ?
- 226.2 The modern term is saukar, from the French.
- 226.4 From Portuguese sucré.
- 228.2 Not sang 'attaquer'. The correct terms are toog 's'asseoir, être assis' and jekki 's'asseoir, se tenir tranquille'.
- 228.5 The correct term is jinjón.
- 229.3 Perhaps a variant in another dialect, nyanyamko ?.
- 231.3 One modern source records 'exchange'.
- 231.4 Barbot's orthographic change in the 1688 vocabulary from 'ou' to 'w', in this item only, may reflect his growing use of English.
- 232.5 The correct term is sísá. The term given resembles that given for 'il fait froid' (no.116).
- 234.2 SCV had endimón.
- 234.3 A form comcu 'cloth in general' is unrecorded but conceivable.
- 234.4 This term appeared in many earlier sources with the meaning of 'white cloth or linen', see Jones 1983, p.302.
- 238.1 The curious English gloss requires explanation. 'Taster' is an obsolete term for a small glass used in wine-tasting. In the Twi column in the 1688 version, Barbot inserted against 'une tasse', for no obvious reason, the additional gloss 'de cocos', i.e. a cup of coconut milk.
- 238.2 Barbot gives the French word, the modern term being kaas, also perhaps from the French.
- 239.2 Little used, the modern term being póón.
- 239.4 From Portuguese tabaco.
- 240.2 The modern term is taabal, from French.
- 240.3 The term gangu 'grosse tête mal formée (ironique)' (Gaden 1914) might just be a mocking name for a European table?
- 242.5 Perhaps 'zou' and 'sou' (next item) are miscopyings for zon/son.
- 243.3 That is, as 242.3.
- 244.4 Copied wrongly in 1688.
- 247.5 This term is in Forbes 1851 but is not now recognised.
- 248.3 Miscopying of hendou ?
- 249.2 The correct term is hiñi, from Portuguese vinho.

- 249.3 This term, also represented at 250.2 and 250.3, and recorded in earlier sources, appears to be a European version of the Wolof seng.
- 250.2 Barbot adds Jaloffi, i.e. Wolof. For chinque, see the previous note.
- 250.3 See 249.3.
- 251.4 The correct term is nantwi.
- 252.5 Apparently the same term as in 116.5, presumably in error. The correct term is nukón (cf. noucou, Labat 1730).
- 253-256 These items are in the 1679 Gold Coast vocabulary but are omitted in the 1688 and 1732 versions.

1	ben	benn	goó	go'ó/goo	biachou/ biaccou	biàkò	edde	(ò)ǎě
2	yaare	ñaar	didy	ǎǎǎ	abbien	abien	ouwe	(ò)wè
3	yet	ñett	taty	tati	abbiasa	abiessa	oton	atǎn
4	yanet	ñeent	naye	nay/nayi	annan	anǎn	hené	ǎnǎ
5	guérom	juróom	guiévé	jowi	annou	anóm	atons	atǎn
6	g.-ben	j. benn	guié-goo	jeego('o)/jeegom	assia	asiá	trépo*	aizén
7	g.-yaare	j. ñaar	g.-didy	jeedǎǎ	assoun	asóm	tiouhoué*	ténwè
8	g.-yet	j. ñett	g.-taty	jeetati	ackué/ ochkué	awotwé	tioton*	tánton
9	g.-yanet	j. ñeent	g.-nay	jeenay(i)	akounou	akróy	tiéné*	téné
10	fouck	fukk	sappo	sappo	eddou	e-dú	ahouay	wó
11	fouck-ack-ben	fukk ag benn	sappoe-goó	sappo-e-go('o)	e.-biaccou	e-dú-biàkò	houé reppo	wó ǎokpo
12	f.-a.-yaare	f.a. ñaar	s.-didy	s.-e-ǎǎǎ	e.-abbien	e-dú-abien	h. oawé	wewe/wo we
13	f.-a.-yet	f.a. ñett	s.-taty	s.-e-tati	e.-abbiasa	e-dú-abiessa	h. otons	wétón/ wo atón
14	f.-a.-yanet	f.a. ñeent	s.-naye	s.-e-nay(i)	e.-annan	e-dú-nnǎn	h. éné	wéné/wo ǎnǎ
15	f.-a.-guérom	f.a. juróom	s.-guiévé	s.-e-jowi	e.-annou	e-dú-nnóm	foton	afétón*
16	f.-a.-g.-ben	f.a.j. benn	s.-guié-goo	s.-e-jeego('o)	e.-assia	e-dú-nsiá	f.-répo	afétón nukún ǎokpo*
17	f.-a.-g.-yaare	f.a.j. ñaar	s.-g.-didy	s.-e-jeedǎǎ	e.-assoun	e-dú-nsóm	f.-oué	a.n. owé*
18	f.-a.-g.-yet	f.a.j. ñett	s.-g.-taty	s.-e-jeetati	e.-ockhué	e-dú-awotwé	f.-oton	a.n. atón*
19	f.-a.-g.-yanet	f.a.j. ñeent	s.-g.-nay	s.-e-jeenay(i)	e.-ackounou	e-dú-akróy	f.-éné	a.n. ǎnǎ*
20	nitté	nit*/ñaar fukk	soppo*	noogas/noogay	addounou	adu-onu	cou	ko
21	nitte-ack-ben	nit ag benn	soppoe-goó*	noogas e go('o)	a. biaccou	a.-o.-biàkò	c.-non-qui- répo	ko nukún ǎokpo
30	fonoair	fanweer	noggah*	capanle tati	a. assan	a.-àsǎ	oban	gbàn
31.							obanguiré	gban nukún ǎokpo
40	yanet-foucke	ñeent fukk	chapandetaty*	capanle nay(i)	a. annan	a. anǎn	cenré	kanzé
41.							c. qui re*	kanle nukún ǎokpo

50	guerám-foucke	juróóm fukk			a.-énou	a.-onóm
60	g.-benafoucke	j. benn fukk			a.-essiâ	a.-osiâ
70	g.-yaare-f.	j. ñaar fukk			a.-assoun	a.- assoun
80	g.-yet-f.	j. ñett fukk			a.-okué/ ockué	a.- nettwé
90	g.-yanet-f.	j. ñeent fukk			a.-ackoun	a. akró y
100	temer	teémér	teméderé	teemedere	ochkâ	ø-ha
101	temer-ack-ben	t. ag benn				
200	yaare temer	ñaari teémér	teméderé-didy	teeme ye ñidi	o. abbien*	ø-ha-abie y
300	yet temer	ñetti teémér	t.-taty	teeme ye tati	o. abbiassà*	ø-ha-abie ssà
1000	guné	junni/junne	t. sappò	teeme ye sappo	appiem	apém
1020	g.-ack-nitte	j. ag nit				
etc.						

N.B. ack, an adjective, with guné, for numbers to infinity, multiplying [sic] the same numbers above, with the adjective ack.

They number no higher. They stop at 40 and since they [then] count by hoēsjes [cowries], they thread 40 on a string they call a toque, and continue to count -

1	toque	cenre	kan é
2	toques	cen-oué	kanwe
3	t.	cen-òton	kantòn
4	t.	cen-éné	ké né
5	t.	foré	af é
		making a galline of 200 cowries, after which they continue -	

2	galines	fou-hove	af é we
3	g.	fou-haton	af é tòn*
4	g.	fou-héné	af é né
5	g.	fa-tons	afatòn
		Five galines are 1,000 cowries.	

10 galines	fahoos	af
20 galines	guinbale	dé
100 galines	guin-baton	dé
		ato

NOTES TO NUMERALS

*WOLOF The term *nit* is little used nowadays.

*FULA The numbers go wrong at 20,30,40 and 1020, partly by misplacement, probably because of a copying error. In 1732 version, Barbot inserts in the Fula list against the numbers 50-90, "this is lost".-

*TWI At 200 and 300 the 1679 version wrongly gives *appiem* and *appiemienna*, terms for 1000 and 2000, but this must have been by miscopying from a note, since the 1688 version corrects the 200 and 300 terms and puts *appiem* correctly at 1000.

*EWE An eighteenth century source gave for '6' the form *troupo*, this obsolete term being presumably derived from *glokpo*, i.e. '5' + '1' (Labat 1730); for the modern term, cf. *aeiza* (Robertson 1819). Another eighteenth century source gave terms in 'Wawu' and 'Papaa' for 7-9 similar to those given by Barbot - *atjuwe*, *tiaotong*, *tienee* (Oldendorp 1777). The term for '15' is literally 'three feet', a 'foot' being apparently used for a unit of five (? five toes). For numbers 16-19, cf. *foton croup*, *foton conolle*, *foton counton*, *foton kofene* (Labat 1730). The term for '40' is literally 'one string'. At 41, 'cénré qui re' appears to be a slip for 'cénré qui repo'. The term given for 3 galines is not used nowadays, to avoid confusion with the term for '15', and instead '600' is *nùòtton* 'three things'. The term given for 20 galines, *guinbale* 'one guinba', is nowadays unknown.

SUPPLEMENT TO BARBOT'S WEST AFRICAN VOCABULARIES : ADDENDA and CORRIGENDA

I am much indebted to Professor Arnott and Professor David Gamble who, since the preparation of this booklet, have pointed out some misprints and have sent me the following further material.

WOLOF

- 14 quara-quaihou-samba = ? jara keu 'good morning' (Kobès); samba 'male person, Sir)
- 16 calay-caeck-mané 'venez manger' - probably includes ak man 'with me'
- 30 iosima-omghargh 'bring me a sheep quickly' = ? yosi ma 'bring me' (Dakar peninsula dialect) am xar 'a sheep'
- 35 délikà 'fishing hooks' = dolinka (K)
- 69 mangré-douly 'to shit' = duul 'to shit' (K)
- 87 dinguétit 'a nail' = denkatit (K)
- 98 guay-negnay 'elephants teeth' = ? beñ u ñey 'tooth of elephant'
- 101 guéckiffi 'to stay or stop' = jekki fi 'stay here, remain here' (K)
- 115 guernamà 'the fever' = jer 'to be sick', + ?
- 144 snap-paire 'the legs' = per 'calf of leg'
- 157 narnaà 'to tell a lie' = nar 'to tell lies, be a habitual liar' (K)
- 175 giolbe-galgue - the fourth letter has been corrected and overwritten, and is uncertain: giol(?b?l?g)e
- 234 endymon 'linen cloth' = ndimo 'Guinea cloth' (K)

FULA

- 5 da-rothon = daro ton 'stand/stop there'
- 14 coffé = koofli 'greetings' (eastern Fula), koofnude 'to visit someone early in the morning' (Gaden)
- 21 The modern Fula night farewell is mbaalen jam 'spend the night in peace'.
- 33 warn-hiendé 'il fait chaud' = warnyu 'to sweat', hannde 'today',
- 44 For dokko read ðokko.
- 54 For nagge 'ox or bullock' read 'cow' (a separate word exists for 'ox or bullock').

- 70 hyack-haɔvalé 'copper' - SCV has guaraoualié and the Manding term is jawale
- 71 For bondo read bonɔ.
- 72 For tunt-de read tuut-de.
- 78 pake 'a knife' appears to be from the Wolof term, which in turn is probably from Portuguese faca: the traditional Fula term is laɓi.
- 97 babalady 'pig' = mbabba ladde 'donkey of the bush'
- 101 For ðar-aade read dar-aade.
- 106 feɣeendu = 'finger' in some Senegal dialects; elsewhere = 'finger nail'
- 109 For 'ils-u-de read 'isl-u-de.
- 110 For maccud/o read maccuɗo.
- 138 leeso = 'bed' or 'mat, probably in the sense of sleeping mat'
- 153 For lanyà read lau'ya.
- 157 hadarime = (h)ada rim 'you tell a lie'
- 187 For bandi read baɗɗi.
- 188 haing-huié = hanya-au-de 'to urinate'
- 201 Probably related to the Wolof term and Arabic.
- 211 For wodec/boɗejum read woɗee-/boɗejum.
- 213 For laamdô read laaɗɔ.
- 214 For jeefulbe read jeefulɓe.
- 216 For ɓii laando read ɓii laaɗɔ.
- 249 Apparently from the Wolof term.

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January, 1992

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