

The Fulfulde/Pulaar Provenance of Jaav (“Jive”)

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Abstract

Africanisms in Diasporic languages are important markers of cultural continuity and cultural resistance in the Transatlantic Holocaust. While research of Africanisms in the languages of the United States southeast seacoast, South/Central America, and the Caribbean is extensive, there is little preexisting research on veritable lexical Africanisms in the language of the Native Black American population of the United States mainland (extramural to the southeast seacoast and Louisiana) – as lexical Africanisms among this particular segment of the Native Black American population of the United States are generally thought to be negligible, if not non-existent. However, in this study, I will demonstrate that the language spoken by this segment of the Native Black American population is, in fact, endowed with a great many Africanisms of Fulfulde/Pulaar origin. By providing an analysis of the complex meanings of lexical items as attested by Native Black American informants and comparing these lexical items with 19th-, 20th-, and 21st-century texts of the Fulfulde/Pulaar language – with a particular focus on the source language’s complex system of radicals/root-stems and affixes – I will demonstrate that there is, in fact, a prodigious body of veritable Fulfulde-/Pulaar-derived words and phrases existing in the language of the Native Black American population of the United States mainland that negates the myth of African lexical scarcity in the language of Native Black Americans and connotes cultural continuity and cultural resistance.

Keywords: Jive, Africanisms, Fulfulde, Pulaar, Pular, Creole

1. Introduction

In 1829, after nearly half a century in captivity, Abdulrahman Ibrahim ibn Sori and his wife Isabella set sail for Monrovia, Liberia, en route to Timbuktu, Mali. It had been forty years since ibn Sori was abducted and trafficked to the United States as a victim of chattel slavery during the Transatlantic Holocaust; but this time, the ship carrying him was headed in the opposite direction – toward African shores. Tragically, he would never see his homeland of Timbuktu again. After over half his life spent in captivity, ibn Sori fell ill and perished – just after dropping anchor on African soil. The couple, parents to at least nine children, were only able to raise enough funds to pay the ransom for the release of two of their nine children, who eventually joined their widowed mother, Isabella, in Liberia. The couple’s remaining children were forced to remain in captivity and chattel enslavement in Mississippi, never to see their mother, father, or two siblings again.

Ibn Sori’s release and ultimate return to the African continent was highly unusual in the annals of the Transatlantic Holocaust. While ibn Sori would finally return with his wife to the African continent, an incalculable number of those who are often referred to by the Native Black American population of the United States as the *Old Souls* or *Great Ancestors* were forced to live out the rest of their days in toil, battle, or maroonage – or, in rare cases, as “free” persons – in an unfamiliar, foreign land called “America.” Such was the case for Omar ibn Said of Senegal, held captive and enslaved in Bladen County, North Carolina; and Yarrow Mamout of Guinea, held captive and enslaved in Washington, D.C. and Maryland – both of whom, as victims of the Transatlantic Holocaust, never saw their homelands or families again. Along with the atrocities of chattel slavery and human captivity, ibn Sori, ibn Said, and Mamout all shared one common thread: each of them, along with countless others, belonged to the ubiquitous African ethnic group known as the *Fulbe*.



(From left to right:) *Abdul Rahman Ibrahim ibn Sori*. Circa 1825. Copyright: Public Domain; *Portrait of Yarrow Mamout (Muhammad Yaro)* by Charles Willson Peale. Circa 1819. Photo Courtesy: Philadelphia Museum of Art/Wikimedia Commons. Copyright: Public Domain; *Omar ibn Said*. Circa 1850. Image courtesy of the Randolph Linsly Simpson African-American Collection, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University/Wikimedia Commons. Copyright: Public Domain.

The Fulbe – who speak a language called *Pulaar/Pular* (in the west) or *Fulfulde* (in the east) – are a historically nomadic ethnic group who have long occupied the vast, arid, northern region of Africa known as the Sahel. Along with their *jawdi* ‘cattle’, traditional Fulbe historically dwelled in the harsh region’s inland by practicing a long-standing ancestral tradition of transhumance – moving north or south as the seasons changed from dry to rainy in search of pasture for cattle grazing.

Ibn Sori, ibn Said, Mamout, and the countless other Great Ancestors of Fulbe origin left a clear and indelible mark on the ethnogenesis of the original African-descended population of the United States who, today, refer to themselves as *Ant Héga*, *Ant Héga Churin*, *Da Hud*, *Hed(z)*, *Memba(z)*, and (the less common) *Naahili* – or as the more formal *Native Black*, *Indigenous Black*, and *ADOS/DOAS/DAEUS* (*American Descendants of Slaves/Descendants of American Slaves/Descendants of Africans Enslaved in the United States*). This study will examine the Fulbe progenitors’ lexical

imprint on the Native Black American population of the United States mainland (extramural to Louisiana and the southeast seacoast) – who, in the interest of precision, are referred to in this study as they often refer to themselves: *[Mainland] Native Black Americans*.

The language of the Native Black American population features a broad array of veritable Africanisms deriving from the Fulfulde/Pula(a)r language (referred to in this study, henceforth, as “Fulfulde”), including the much-discussed Native Black American term *jaav/Jaav* ‘to joke, tease’, ‘banter’/’language of the Native Black American population’. Thus, in this paper, I will demonstrate that a portion of the Native Black American lexicon derives from the Fulfulde language. I will first review previous literature on the topic of Fulfuldeisms in Native Black American language, followed by an analysis of some of the challenges that hinder the discovery of Africanisms among the Native Black American population (section 2). I will then discuss the methods used to solicit the definitions provided by Native Black American informants (section 3.1). I will also briefly discuss orthographic issues and approaches in Native Black American language (section 3.2) and Fulfulde (section 3.3). Section 3.4 will address the organization, presentation, and inclusion of African loanwords featured in this article. In section 4, I will provide a detailed list of Fulfulde-derived Africanisms in Native Black American language, followed by a discussion (section 5) of phonological adaptation patterns observed in the transmission of these Fulfuldeisms and a collection of additional Africanisms of non-Fulfulde origin. Section 6 will address the phonological adaptation of non-Fulfulde transmissions. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion (section 7) of important cognates in the languages of Liberia and recommendations for the further study of Africanisms in Native Black American language.

2. Literature Review

There is scant preexisting literature in the corpus that provides any in-depth analysis of the Fulfulde imprint on the language of the Native Black American population of the United States. William Brown Hodgson provides the first in-depth analysis of Fulfulde-derived African lexical retentions in the United States. In his expansive *Notes on Northern Africa, the Sahara and Soudan* (1844), Hodgson publishes a letter penned by James Hamilton Couper in which the Georgia enslaver attests to the presence of Fulfulde speakers among the Africans held captive and enslaved on his property: “There are about a dozen negroes on this plantation, who speak and understand the Foulah language; but with one exception, they appear not to have been native born Foulahs; and to have acquired the language, by having been for sometime [sic] in servitude among that nation.” (Hodgson 1844, 68) Couper lists a sample lexicon of Fulfulde-derived words, phrases, and numerals¹ from the *Maasina* (Mali) dialect of Fulfulde as sourced from Salih Bilali², an enslaved *Pullo* (singular of *Fulbe*) in Georgia who “considers himself, as his language proves, a Foulah, and converses freely with the Foulahs, from Timboo and Foulah.” (Hodgson 1844, 70) Couper’s letter indicates that the informant is a native-born African enslaved on the Georgia plantation. Thus, Couper’s correspondence is quite useful in that it further establishes beyond any doubt that the Fulbe and Fulfulde-speakers were indeed enslaved in the antebellum United States.

Turner provides the first and most in-depth scholarly analysis of Fulfulde-derived Africanisms among the Native Black American population of the United States. Much like Couper nearly a century before, Turner details a Fulfulde-derived numeric system in place among the Native Black American population of the southeast seacoast, including the Gullah *jeta’ə* “eight” (from Fulfulde *jetati* “eight”), *sapə* “ten” (from Fulfulde *sapo* “ten”), and *sapo jetatə* “eighteen” (from Fulfulde *sapo e jetati* “eighteen”). Though Turner’s *Africanisms* (1949) surveys the language of the original African-descended population of the United States southeast seacoast exclusively –

thereby limiting its broader utility as it pertains to lexical items among the broader Native Black American population – it is nonetheless of particular importance to this study, as it provides irrefutable evidence of important Fulfulde lexical input in an African-derived creole language in the United States.

Nevertheless, there exists (albeit coincidentally) copious literature and discussion of individual lexical items of Fulfulde origin in Native Black American language – the most widely discussed being *jaav/Jaav* ‘to joke, tease’, ‘banter’/‘language of the Native Black American population’, *húdú/Húdú* ‘to curse, trick’, ‘any plant of medicinal or spiritual utility for the Native Black American population’/‘the Native Black American bush medicine tradition’, ‘a Native Black American spiritual tradition’, *hud* ‘a place in which the Native Black American population lives or settle(d)’, and *cheda* ‘money’, ‘any form of currency’. However, in most of these existing treatments – most notably Dalby (1977), Major (1994), Sheidlower (2004), Holloway (2005), McWhorter (2005), and Kambon (2015) – linguists and lexicographers either dismissed the notion of African etymologies, declared English the language of origin, or, in the cases of Dalby (1977), Major (1994), Holloway (2005), and Kambon (2015), misattributed Native Black American lexical items of Fulfulde origin to putative Wolof etyma.

For instance, Sheidlower (2004) contends the Native Black American *jaav* (anglicized “jive” in the literature) – along with the Native Black American *hep/hip* and *dig* – is not “likely to derive from African languages”. In the essay *Jive Etymologies*, McWhorter (2005) tacitly suggests England as the point of origin for the Native Black American term *jaav*: “Most Black English slang clearly traces to words that started out in Merrie England [...] There is no handful of cool black slang words that we are told trace back to Kikongo. Rather, the grand old HIP/DIG/JIVE trio stands out by itself, endlessly quoted over the decades.” Contrary to Sheidlower and McWhorter, Dalby advocates for the African origin of a number of African-derived lexical items in the

language of the Native Black American population, including *jaav*. However, Dalby (1977, 182) believes the Native Black American *jaav* to be derived from Wolof, attributing its origin to the Wolof *jəw* ‘to gossip’ (M&G 1991, 81) (rendered *jew* by Dalby) – a theory later advanced in the literature by Major (1994, 259) and Kambon (2015, 197) – despite the conspicuous lack of semantic correspondence. Like Dalby, Holloway (2005, 58) also suggests Wolof as the language of origin for the Native Black American *jaav*, citing the Wolof *jej* ‘to flatter’ (M&G 1991, 81) (rendered *jey* by Holloway), the semantic disparity notwithstanding.

In the essay *All the Jive Ain’t Gone*, El-Kati (2009) provides a semantic analysis of *jaav* and suggests an African point of origin, before finally postulating the alleged “plausib[ility] that the Africans might have corrupted the sound of a legitimate English word like *jibe*. It is also possible that *jive* belongs to none of the languages. It could have evolved from some related labor-type of activity that Africans performed.” (El-Kati 2009, 47) El-Kati’s analysis is burdened by the fact that the Native Black American *jaab* (anglicized “jibe” in the literature) ‘to agree, to be in or have conformity, to get along well, to match (in character)’, is not English in origin but is, in fact, an African retention derived from the Wolof *jubb*: ‘to agree’ (M&G 1991, 84), ‘to have conformity’ (Guy-Grand 1923, 498), ‘to get along well’ (Guy-Grand 1923, 278), ‘to match (in character)’ (K&A 1923, 85) – and is, thus, a completely different word having a chance phonetic correspondence to the Native Black American term *jaav*. (The Fulfulde origin of *jaav* will be discussed in-depth as this article progresses.)

In the article *Nabe or Hood? A Brief History of Shortening ‘Neighborhood’* for The Atlantic’s *Citylab*, Grabar (2012) contends: “Helped along in the popular imagination by countless gangsta rap verses and movies like *Boyz in the Hood* and *Don’t Be a Menace to South Central While Drinkin’ Your Juice in the Hood*, “the hood” came to define inner-city black neighborhoods from the South Bronx to Compton. [...] And though “hood” seems like so obvious a shortening of neighborhood that there’s no

point arguing over its provenance, nobody ever used it as such until a black Chicago gang -- the Blackstone Rangers -- did so in the 1960s.” Like Grabar, the Merriam-Webster online dictionary claims the Native Black American *hud* is “short for neighborhood”^a. Dictionary.com dismisses the Native Black American *hud* as “slang”, declaring it “neighborhood...by shortening”^b. Likewise, the Oxford English Dictionary declares the Native Black American *hud* a “shortening of neighborhood”^c. Interestingly Oxford, Merriam-Webster, and Dictionary.com make no mention of the Native Black American population while speaking of a distinctly Native Black American term that denotes ‘a place in which Native Black Americans live or settle(d)’. The absence of such crucial information is all the more perplexing when one considers that Native Black Americans actually use the term *Hud/Da Hud* as an idiomatic expression and ethnonym to refer to themselves as a specific people and stateless nation: *Da Hud ain’t come here wit no passport. Dé dragged us here in chéznz*. (2014 Oct 4 male age 54 interview) Furthermore, the origin myths proffered by Grabar, Oxford, Merriam-Webster, and Dictionary.com do not stand up to critical analysis. The English suffix *-hood*, for instance, occurs in countless English words, such as *childhood*, *manhood*, and *adulthood*. However, in no instance does the suffix alone represent an ethnically specific concept of the word to which it is customarily affixed. Moreover, *hud* and “neighborhood” are not necessarily used interchangeably by the Native Black American population. While among the Native Black American population,

^a *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. “hood,” accessed December 21, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20161221115433/https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hood>.

^b *Dictionary.com*, s.v. “hood,” accessed December 6, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20161206072744/http://www.dictionary.com/browse/hood>.

^c *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “hood,” accessed September 29, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160929034500/https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/hood>.

“neighborhood” refers to any area in which any person or population lives, *hud* speaks to the collective presence of Native Black Americans and – more often than not – specific living conditions. Finally, the term “neighborhood” is never used to speak of the Native Black American population, and it bears no ethnic implications. Using the term “neighborhood” in conversation offers the Native Black American listener absolutely no idea of what type of people live within it – or its living conditions. If “neighborhood” bears absolutely no ethnic implications for the Native Black American, why would its suffix *-hood* provide that ethnic clarity? The English origin myths proffered by Grabar, Oxford, and Merriam-Webster are implausible, given the inconsistency suggested by the aforementioned arguments (i.e., nowhere in the language of Native Black Americans does an affix take on an ethnically specific semantic meaning of the original word to which the affix is customarily affixed) and the rule-governed nature of Native Black American morphological adaptations (which I will discuss in detail as this study progresses).

In other literature, the Native Black American *hud* is simply cited as not a marker of Native Black American cultural continuity and cultural resistance but, much like Grabar’s treatment, a product of performance and entertainment – most notably Pichler and Williams (2016, 20). Coincidentally, Pilcher and Williams (2016, 24) also address the Fulfulde-derived Native Black American calque *fiyl* ‘to listen, understand, feel’, attributing it, as well, to entertainment: “In staves 21-22 ‘do you feel what I’m saying’ is a form of *you feel me*, that is, ‘do you understand me’, which appears borrowed from HHSS [“Hip Hop Speech Style”]...” Such treatments are particularly problematic as they 1) ignore the real-world utility of Native Black American lexical items and the broader linguistic environment in which they occur, 2) extricate Native Black American cultural artifacts from their complex narratives of linguistic ethnic identity, cultural continuity, and cultural resistance, and, 3) ultimately, reduce Native Black American linguistic artifacts (and their utility) to crude, stereotypical narratives of “thug life”

(Pichler and Williams 2016, 2), music, and performance. To wit, the origin and utility of Native Black American linguistic artifacts are reimagined as restricted to the settings or domains in which Caucasian Americans first encounter them (i.e., music and performance).

The Native Black American *cheda* is claimed to derive from an English toponym or a reference to “welfare benefits” and “government cheese” (Kohl 2014) – the latter theory deemed “*tempting*” by the Oxford Dictionary’s Kohl (2014). Finally, the Fulfulde-derived *Húdí* is dismissed by the Oxford Dictionary as “witchcraft” and “voodoo” – rendered in all lowercase by Oxford with the Anglicization “*hoodoo*” – before finally being declared “an alteration of VOODOO.”^d (Compare with the entry for “wicca”, which appears capitalized in the dictionary as “*Wicca*” and painstakingly defined as “a form of modern paganism, especially a tradition founded in England in the mid 20th century and claiming its origins in pre-Christian religions.”^e Though the term “wicca” means, quite literally ‘witch’ in Old English, the Oxford “wicca” entry makes no mention of the pejorative “witchcraft”.) As in the case of the previously discussed *hud*, Oxford makes no mention of the original African-descended population of the United States, reducing the Native Black American *Húdí* to simply “North American” – conspicuously devoid of any reference to the population to whom the practice is native or historically/authentically relevant. Thus, while there is indeed significant discussion in the literature on individual Fulfulde-derived lexical artifacts in Native Black American language, few, if any, of the existing treatments address the Fulfulde provenance of Native Black American language, specifically or extensively.

^d *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “hoodoo,” accessed May 14, 2019, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190514011404/https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/hoodoo>.

^e *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “wicca,” accessed April 22, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170422220501/https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/wicca>.

The study of Africanisms, specifically Fulfuldeisms, in Native Black American language is of particular importance, as such Africanisms are salient markers of cultural identity, cultural continuity, and cultural resistance. Moreover, given the extensive number of Fulfulde-derived Africanisms in Native Black American language, the study of Fulfuldeisms is a sine qua non for any informed discussion of African lexical survivals in Native Black American language. Nevertheless, the study of Fulfuldeisms in Native Black American language is exiguous, often impeded in scholarship by a number of important factors, including:

Absence of Africanisms Theory: Africanisms, particularly African-derived lexical artifacts, are commonly thought to be few and far between in the language of the Native Black American population. For instance, on the topic of the African origin of the Native Black American terms *hip*, *dig* (see pp. 14-15), and *jaav*, McWhorter (2005) states,

“We should expect that dozens of other Black English words had been traced to, say, Bambara, Mende, Twi, Yoruba, Efik, Umbundu, and so on. But they haven’t. Most Black English slang clearly traces to words that started out in Merrie England. No one proposes that a word like PHAT -- roughly equivalent to the once-celebrated use of BAD to mean GOOD -- just sounds like FAT but actually traces to Igbo. There is no handful of cool black slang words that we are told trace back to Kikongo. Rather, the grand old HIP/DIG/JIVE trio stands out by itself, endlessly quoted over the decades.” [emphasis mine]

Remarkably, Anglicists and Africanists are generally in agreement regarding the supposed scarcity of African lexical items in Native Black American language. Dillard (1973, 118), an advocate for Native Black American language, also presumes

a dearth of African-derived lexical artifacts among the Native Black American population: “In estimating the amount of African vocabulary in American English which was transmitted by the slaves, we will probably conclude that the number of words is small.” Like Dillard, Asante (2005, 67-68) also suggests the scarcity of African lexical survivals in the language of the Native Black American, believing Africanisms to instead exist in the “communication style” of the Native Black American people: “It is my contention that black [sic] Americans retained basic components of the African experience rather than specific artifacts. To seek the distinctive retention of African words in black [sic] America as Turner, Herskovits, and Romeo Garrett attempted to do is to search amiss. [...] It...often depends on the continuity of specific words from several ethnic regions of Africa. Although African lexical items may be found in limited supply among African Americans, they do not make the argument for a more general retention of African linguistic behavior...” As a practical case in point, of the 52 lexical items proffered as African lexical survivals in Kambon’s *Africanisms in Contemporary English* (2015), only one-third of the terms are native to Native Black Americans – the remainder being either newly adopted (i.e., *Kwanzaa* ‘a holiday of the original African-descended population of the United States’), novelty products of commerce (i.e., *kente* ‘a type of fabric’, *dashiki* ‘a type of garment’), specific to the lexicon of General American English speakers (i.e., *kwashiorkor* ‘a form of malnutrition’, *gnu* ‘an animal native to Africa’), or unknown and thus inconsequential to the vast majority of the Native Black American population (i.e., *ashoke* ‘woven cloth’, *rafiki* ‘friend’, *bwana* ‘mister’). While not explicitly stated, the disproportionately low number of Native Black American lexical Africanisms listed by Kambon (2015, 196-197) implicitly suggests that Africanisms among Native Black Americans are negligible and mostly limited to new, decidedly esoteric imports that are largely unknown to the Native Black American population. This widespread presumption of the alleged paucity of

lexical Africanisms in Native Black American language has the unfortunate consequence of inhibiting the discovery of veritable Africanisms among Native Black Americans.

Opposition to Sahelian Africanisms: Within scholarship, as it pertains to the language of Native Black Americans, there is an oft-held expectation of linguistic coherence with Anglophone Caribbean populations. To wit, Native Black American Africanisms of Sahelian origin, including Fulfulde and the closely-related Wolof language, are frequently overlooked or outright dismissed as Africanisms (pace McWhorter (2005) and Sheidlower (2004)), as the languages of the Anglophone Caribbean – with which Native Black American language is expected to be in coherence – do not bear any especial influence from the populations of the Sahel. This expectation of coherence is made clear by McWhorter (2005), who suggests that an alleged absence of Sahelian influence – namely Wolof – in Caribbean Creole English is indicative of the improbability of Wolof influence in Native Black American language:

“The Wolof etymology doesn’t even help if we look at earlier stages of African slaves’ varieties of English that fed into what happened here in America. A good portion of the slaves who helped to found the Charleston colony, for instance, were brought in after having served in Barbados, rather than directly from Africa. They spoke the Barbadian variety of Caribbean Creole English, such that Gullah is one more variation on that pattern. But Caribbean Creole English, again, exhibits no especial Wolof contribution. Its grammar, for example, reflects languages of Ghana, Togo, Benin and Nigeria -- but there is not a hint of Wolof’s very different structure.” (McWhorter 2005)

McWhorter fails to mention that within what is now the United States, enslavers chose their victims according to their specific skill set, the economic needs and interests of the region(s) in which Africans were held captive and enslaved, and the personal preferences of the captor/enslaver. Thus, as the ethnic distribution and numeric balance of populations enslaved in the United States were not identical to those enslaved in the English-speaking Caribbean – and as the original African-descended population of the United States is a culturally specific and unique ethnic group with its own particular history, culture, and ethnic makeup – it is unrealistic to expect Native Black Americans to be in lexical coherence with the English-speaking Caribbean. To wit, by regarding the Akan-saturated lexicon of Jamaica, for example, as the gauge by which one measures and identifies Africanisms in Native Black American language, one will invariably overlook the unique Fulfulde-saturated lexicon of the Native Black American population.

Widespread Apathy: A final factor impeding the discovery of Fulfuldeisms (and other Africanisms in Native Black American language) is the widespread apathy for and resistance to Native Black American narratives of cultural identity and cultural resistance in the United States. For instance, in a critique of David Dalby’s suggestion of an African origin for *hep/hip*, *jaav*, and *dig*, Sheidlower (2004) states, “Dalby also suggested West African sources for the American slang words *jive* and *dig*. Over time, Dalby’s proposal was taken as fact by many people, particularly those who wanted to find African origins for English words. [...] The African-American contribution to American culture – and in particular the African-American linguistic contribution to American popular culture – is robust enough without reaching back to putative West African borrowings.” The careful study of African languages reveals the veritable Wolof origin of the Native Black American *hep/hip* ‘stylish, en vogue, happening (when speaking of events)’ [from Wolof *xew*³ ‘stylish, en vogue,

to happen or occur (when speaking of events)'] and the Native Black American homophones *dig* ‘to understand, hear’ [from Wolof *deg:ə* ‘to understand, hear’], *dig* ‘to listen, pay attention’ [from Wolof *deglu* ‘to listen, pay attention’], *dig* ‘heed!/listen!’ [from Wolof *deglul* ‘heed!/listen!’], *dig* ‘to agree to (something)’ [from Wolof *dige* ‘to agree to’], *dig* ‘to get along well with, be in agreement’ [from Wolof *deg:ɔ* ‘to get along well, be in agreement’], and *dig* ‘to look at attentively, admire (hence, to like)’ [from Wolof *dəgmɔti* ‘to look at attentively’]. Nevertheless, Sheidlower’s unwarranted dismissal of the research of Africanisms in Native Black American language – which implicitly disempowers by shifting the discussion from one of cultural resistance to one of sufficient or insufficient “contribution” (Sheidlower 2004) – evinces a patent disinterest in Native Black American narratives of cultural continuity and cultural resistance. As a result of this widespread apathy, the idiosyncrasies of Native Black American language are routinely explained, not as markers of cultural identity, cultural continuity, and cultural resistance, but as products of an unknown European origin or the natural result of gross stereotypes – particularly that of “street culture” (Pichler and Williams 2016, 7) and entertainment/performance.

Thus, in this study, I contend that the origin of a significant portion of the Native Black American lexicon – including iconic terms such as *jaav/Jaav* ‘to tease, play with’/‘the language of the Native Black American population’, *cheda* ‘money, any form of currency’, *húdí/Húdí* ‘to trick, curse’; ‘a plant of medicinal/spiritual utility among Native Black Americans’/‘the Native Black American bush medicine tradition’; ‘a Native Black American spiritual tradition’, *hud* ‘a place in which the Native Black American population lives or settle(d)’, *fiyl* ‘to listen, pay attention, understand’, and much more – is not to be found in the oft-quoted tropes of rap music, “welfare benefits” (Kohl 2014), or English (McWhorter 2005). I will demonstrate that, in fact, these and

other icons of Native Black American culture and identity are the direct results of Native Black American cultural continuity and cultural resistance – more specifically, the enduring transmission of Fulfuldeisms in Native Black American language. By consulting 19th-, 20th-, and 21st-century texts of the Fulfulde language as spoken in Senegal, Mali, The Gambia, Guinea, Niger, and Nigeria – and, particularly, Fulfulde’s unique system of radicals, root-stems, and affixes – I will demonstrate that the Native Black American *jaav/Jaav*, *cheda*, *húdú/Húdú*, *hud*, *ffyl*, and more are enduring, Fulfulde-derived markers of Native Black American cultural identity, cultural continuity, and cultural resistance in the United States.

3. Methodology

3.1 Gathering and Defining Lexical Items

The lexical and phrasal items collected for this study, along with their definitions, were sourced from extensive field study and interviews with working-class, Native Black American informants between 47 and 93 years of age from New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Virginia, Missouri, Alabama, Georgia, and Washington, D.C. The overwhelming majority of informants either hailed from the rural south (extramural to the southeast seacoast and Louisiana) or were first-generation northern-born Native Black Americans whose parents fled to the north as refugees from the apartheid-era, rural south. To maintain authenticity, informants were restricted to those without known ties to the southeast seacoast or Louisiana. Lexical items and definitions attested by Native Black Americans of the north were compared with those attested by Native Black American informants in the south – and vice versa. Citations were drawn from a variety of samples, particularly social media (due to its public accessibility), to demonstrate the extensive usage and continued relevance of these Native Black American lexical items.⁴ Existing homophones with meanings that were either unknown or unattested by Native Black American informants surveyed for this

study (i.e., *hoodoo* ‘a rock formation’) were excluded from this article to maintain and reflect the authenticity of Native Black American lexical usage and understanding. In addition, recently imported loanwords (e.g., *Kwanzaa*, *dashiki*) and terms attested to as specifically Louisiana or Gullah in origin (e.g., *mayoun* ‘vagina’ via Louisiana, *dungu* ‘pepper’ via Gullah) were not included in this study in the interest of authenticity. In cases in which cognates or identical lexical items are shared by the Native Black American population of the United States mainland (extramural to the southeast seacoast and Louisiana), and the Native Black American population of the southeast seacoast or Louisiana, such words will obviously appear in this study along with any difference in meaning, where applicable.

Speech transcriptions and lexicons from *Merico* (spoken by the Americo-Liberian population), Liberian Creole, and *Kepama* (spoken in Cape Palmas, Liberia) were also consulted in the course of this study. (Hancock 1975, D&G 1979, and H&K 1975) Given the ethnic and historical ties between the original African-descendants of the United States and Americo-Liberians – whose divergence began in 1822 (American Colonization Society 1823) – the presence of shared lexical items among Native Black Americans and Liberians can provide greater insight into a given lexical item’s usage. For cases in which cognates or identical lexical items are found to have been preexisting in Merico, Liberian Creole, and Kepama, those terms and their definitions will appear in this study.

3.2 Orthography of Native Black American Language

The use of English orthography to study and depict the language and pronunciation of a people of African-descent was deemed inappropriate early on in this study. English orthography consistently made Native Black American language appear infantile and unrecognizable, particularly when juxtaposed with African etymon. Moreover, General American English orthography reflected White American

phonological standards – thus suiting the sensibilities of speakers of General American English – but rarely reflected Native Black American pronunciation. As such, an earlier devised orthography was employed for the purposes of this study to bring written Native Black American language in line with both, Native Black American pronunciation and African source languages, so that, for instance, what is often anglicized as “jive” in the United States appears in this study with the Native Black American orthography *jaav*. This orthography is not meant to represent a rigid standard of pronunciation and is still in development; however, for the purposes of this study, it is quite sufficient. Native Black Americans are a large ethnic group dispersed across the United States, with variation in pronunciation between Native Black Americans across the country. Thus, the orthography employed in this study is intended to reflect that diversity.

3.3 Fulfulde Source Materials and Orthography

Several Fulfulde dialects were surveyed for this study, including the Fulfulde dialects of Senegal, Mali, Guinea, The Gambia, and Nigeria. Particular attention was paid to the Fulfulde system of verb roots and radicals, with Seydou’s (1998) extensive *Dictionnaire pluridialectal des racines verbales du peul : peul – français - anglais [A Dictionary of Verb Roots in Fulfulde Dialects : Fulfulde – French – English]* consulted as a key source for lexemes and semantic analysis across the Fulfulde dialects. As this study progresses, these verb roots and radicals will prove crucial in identifying Native Black American lexical items of Fulfulde origin, and the many Fulfulde-derived calques embedded in Native Black American language. As a small number of the Fulfulde etyma included in this study typically do not appear in print or digital recordings of Fulfulde, Fulbe informants were also consulted to provide their unique insight and expertise.

It must be noted that the Fulfulde language is spoken in a large number of countries, including Senegal, The Gambia, Guinea, Mauritania, Mali, Cameroon, Chad, Burkina Faso, Guinea Bissau, Niger, Nigeria, and more. As a result of its omnipresence,

there is some variation in pronunciation, particularly concerning the Fulfulde standard orthographic symbol “j”. For example, Mukoshy (1991) attests that “j”, in Nigeria’s Fulfulde variety, represents the “voiced palatal fricative” or International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) [j]. Meanwhile, in the Fuuta Jalloo dialect of Guinea, the Fulfulde standard orthographic symbol “j” is attested as equivalent to the English “j”, i.e., the “voiced palato-alveolar affricate” or IPA [dʒ]. (see Caudill 2000, 3) Finally, earlier work by Turner (1949) attests to the “voiced palatal plosive” or IPA [j]. For the purposes of this study, Turner’s IPA [j] will be employed for all representations of the Fulfulde standard orthographic symbol “j” unless noted as otherwise in the source material of a given etymon or dialect.

3.4 Data Organization and Inclusion

All lexical items within this work are listed by word category – i.e., Nouns, proper nouns, and verbs that bear the same form are listed separately. Additionally, Native Black American lexical items derived from specific word forms in the African languages are listed separately, with their roots/radicals noted within the entry where applicable. There are instances in which only the basic semantic meaning of a given Native Black American lexical item is shared by a Fulfulde lexical item, while the former lexical item’s more complex, extensive semantic meaning is shared by a non-Fulfulde lexical item from a given African language. In such cases, the Native Black American lexical item will not be included in the Fulfulde-derived items list.

Lexical items sharing chance phonetic correspondence *and* identical semantic meaning with English word forms – e.g., Fulfulde *ma:nda* ‘bear in mind’ vs. English *mind* – will not be included in the Fulfulde-derived items list. However, in cases in which the Native Black American lexical item bears a consistent, specific, and distinct semantic meaning that is absent from a homonym of English origin but present in a sourceword of Fulfulde origin – e.g., Native Black American *pres(s)* ‘worry, be

uncomfortable, be disturbed, be in agony, literally “to press” < Fulfulde *bit*:- ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “worry, make uncomfortable, press (literal sense)”’ vs. English *press* ‘urge, have difficulty achieving’ – the African-derived form will be included in the wordlist with a note on the difference in meaning and usage among the Native Black American population of the United States.

Finally, some etymological entries also include a link to an audio file of a given sourceword spoken by a native speaker. In such cases, these links will be indicated by the “▶” symbol.

4. Fulfulde-Derived Items in Native Black American Language

bun /bʌn/ *v* [Fulfulde *ban*- ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to marry (said of a man)”’ Seydou 1998, 64; Fulfulde *bam*- ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to marry (said of a man)”’ Seydou 1998, 64] 1: Marry 2: Make one’s steady boyfriend or girlfriend 3: Make one’s fiancé/fiancée. **2012** Apr 15 Killa Kam @urbansociallight Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109195434/https://twitter.com/urbansociallight/status/191648758038147073> I was talking about how every guy I talk to wants to **bun** me all of a sudden. I mean I am a wifeable bitch but why the sudden interest. **2015** Mar 5 Mizz Smiles @2CUTE OFASMILE Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109195246/https://twitter.com/2CUTE OFASMILE/status/573607875584598016> I am always meeting a guy who want to **bun** me up and I go for it and he be some BS so I don’t want that.. I just want some me time

cheda /tʃɛdə/ *n* [Fulfulde *tʃe:de* ‘cowrie shells’ BS&J 2012, 15; Mukoshy 2014, 87; OD&D 1993, 305; SA&M 1971, 45; ‘money’ BB&G 1991, 56; Bah 2016; Mukoshy 2014, 87; OD&D 1993, 305; SA&M 1971, 45; ‘any form of currency’ OD&D 1993, 305 s.v. *ceede*] 1: Money 2: Any form of currency 3: Wealth. (Anglicized spelling:

cheddar) 2001 Khalil Amani *Ghetto Religiosity II: Uncovering the Naked Truth* 68 They were just like some of these preachers today that don’t like to see their followers patronizing another church because it cuts into their **cheddar** (money). 2003 Nov 14 Jay-Z “Public Service Announcement (Interlude)” *The Black Album* Roc-A-Fella Records I check **cheddar** like a food inspector. 2009 Dec 15 Stephan A. Chambersz @Sallen_X_ShadyO Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200109200012/https://twitter.com/Sallen_X_ShadyO/status/6691152193 Young niggas yall can’t hurt me watch learn and observe me learn how to build **cheddar** wit no empire 2017 Jul 31 Lorenzo Knight @AKidNamedZo Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109195945/https://twitter.com/AKidNamedZo/status/892113451417468928> Make that **chedda** and I ain’t talking about no cheese. Ya phil me?

chúchí, kúchí /tʃuːtʃi, kuːtʃi/ *n* [Fulfulde *tʃuːtʃi* ‘female pudenda’, ‘vulva’ Mukoshy 2014, 98 s.v. *cuuci*] 1: Female pudenda 2: Vulva. (Anglicized spelling: **choochie, coochie**) 2010 Jun 19 Ash Thee Terrible @swankness Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109200036/https://twitter.com/swankness/status/16593469893> #whydogirlsthen he gon respect yo **choochie** before yo brain ? yo momma aint taught you SHIT ! 2016 Sep 30 Upper Echelon @youbeenafan_04 Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200108223949/https://twitter.com/youbeenafan_04/status/781978168685047808 Let yo **choochie** heal before yall be going live on Facebook showing off the new baby 2017 Nov 6 Peanut_Butter @WhitTheShxt_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200108224230/https://twitter.com/WhitTheShxt_/status/927750304271077376 This **coochie** clean, I’m just ashy bro. That’s all. 2020 Jan 4 The Grooviest G @thac0ldstunna Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111093614/https://twitter.com/thac0ldstunna/status/1213714182048305152> Nigga got on army fatigue **coochie** cutters.

féd /fed, feid/ v [Fulfulde *fad*:- ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to beat”, “to beat to death”, “to transcend”, “to overtake”, “to get the better of (someone)”’ Seydou 1998, 156 s.v *fadd*-] 1: Beat, beat down 2: Surpass 3: Get the better of (someone). (Anglicized spelling: **fade**) **2010** Mar 9 Effortless_Beauty @1darkskinbeauty Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109200100/https://twitter.com/1darkskinBEAUTY/status/10251976843> im bout to **fade** his ass even doe he probably like 50 pds over me and 6ft idc **2015** Jan 20 Heat Nation @ScoePapi Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111135131/https://twitter.com/ScoePapi/status/557724509793685504> It’s this little white boy in Buffalo Wild Wings pointing the Big Buck Hunter shotgun at me. I’m bout to **fade** his ass. **2018** Apr 24 Cam Lowkey @CamLowkey_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200108231313/https://twitter.com/CamLowkey_/status/989011656771559424 “I’ll whoop errbody in this mf” Me ready to **fade** his ass up:

féd /fed, feid/ n [Fulfulde *fad*:- ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to beat”, “to beat to death”’ Seydou 1998, 156 s.v *fadd*-] 1: Beating. (Anglicized spelling: **fade**) **2020** Jan 13 . @truerself Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113192215/https://twitter.com/truerself/status/1216777706500698112> You say some crap like that to me and I’m paying for fucking jujitsu class. Imma train to beat your ass. Even if it’s a whole year later you gon catch the **fade**

fes /fes/ v [Fulfulde *fu:s*- ‘to balk (said of a horse)’ Seydou 1998, 212 s.v. *fuus*-] 1: Balk. (Anglicized spelling: **fess**) **1992** Jun 23 Eric B. & Rakim “What’s Going On?” *Don’t Sweat the Technique* MCA Records (<https://youtu.be/geMGNG1Ax7I?t=2m2s>) But every now and then, they give my knuckle game a test / But I won’t **fess** / I just get rid of the stress / And then shake hands like a man

fiyl /fi:l/ v [calque of Fulfulde *nana* ‘to understand’, ‘to listen’, ‘to feel’, SA&M 1971, 112; Fulfulde *ma:t-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to understand”, “to observe”, “to feel”’ Seydou 1998, 430; OD&D 1993, 214 s.v. *maat-*; Fulfulde *ma:ta* ‘to hear’, ‘to feel’ SA&M 1971, 104 s.v. *maata*; Hausa *d̥ji* ‘to understand (what is said)’ Hirokazu 2002; ‘to hear’, ‘to feel’, Skinner 1996, 123 s.v. *ji*; Twi *tse* ‘to understand’, ‘to hear’, ‘to feel’ Christaller 1933, 535] 1: Understand 2: Pay attention 3: Feel, literally “feel”. **2002** Jun 9 David Simon (writer) & Clark Johnson (director) “The Detail” (S1 ep2) *The Wire* HBO [Avon Barksdale (Wood Harris):] It ain’t on you, cuz. You **feel** me? It ain’t on you! **2018** Apr 10 #Libra Team MbM @RiahSingleWaven Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109200257/https://twitter.com/RiahSingleWaven/status/983769995900542976> But **Feel** Me If I Did And You See Something You Dont Like Welp No One Told You To Lurk Nigga Now Your Feelings Hurt

fiyl ___self /fi:l ___sɛ(l)f/ *idiom* [calque of Fulfulde *ma:tita* ‘to think a lot of one’s self’ [sic], ‘literally “to feel oneself”’ Mukoshy 2014, 359 s.v. *maatita* < Fulfulde *ma:ta* ‘to feel’ SA&M 1971, 104 + *-it-* ‘an allomorph of the reflexive Fulfulde verb infix *-t-*, denoting an action done to oneself for one’s own benefit’ Paster 2005, 160] 1: Think highly of oneself, literally “feel (one)self”. **2018** Mar 10 LifeAsLani @InHaLeMyROYalTy Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109200327/https://twitter.com/InHaLeMyROYalTy/status/972439701419413506> Love when my hair clients be **feeling theyself** Mar 16 M O N I @PapiCluloo Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109093700/https://twitter.com/PapiCluloo/status/974655255400075270> Exactly why i can’t stand light skinned niggas... always **feeling theyself**

hala /ha:lə/ v [Fulfulde *ha:la* ‘to speak’ SA&M 1971, 74; Mukoshy 2014, 204 s.v. *haala*; Reichard 1878, 34 s.v. *hala*; ‘to talk’ Mukoshy 2014, 204 s.v. *haala*; ‘to say’ Reichard 1878, 34 s.v. *hala*] 1: Speak, talk 2: Say 3: Confer. (Anglicized spelling: **holler**) **2009** Mar 17 Mr.Rascal @Rodre Twitter <https://archive.is/8LEcB> iv had my nap now. Im good. Finna go to my bruh house on dis break n chillaxxxx. But ima **halla** in a few. **2010** Bree Newsome (writer, director) *Wake* Vimeo <https://vimeo.com/12133650#t=1176s> [Bootsie (Geany Masai):] We thought we’d come by and **hala** at you for a bit. **2011** Aug 28 iMakeHitz @poohdiorr Twitter <https://archive.is/EdJN8> I’m about to run so ima **halla** wit chuu . . ! **2012** Oct 8 SwaggBeLive :) @SwaggCrazy365 Twitter <https://archive.vn/IG6Vg> Ima **halla** at yu tomorrow gorgeous!;) **2013** Jul 1 Bertrell (Dem) @bsmithisagent88 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109093834/https://twitter.com/bsmithisagent88/status/351627256176721921> What up Hops? My Folks in Philly are reworking some thangs. Keepin ya posted. Stay up. **Holler** soon **2014** Aug 22 MR.NICE GUY @DarrellRealest Twitter <https://archive.is/8uGBI> I fck wit u my nigga ¹⁰⁰ no flex ima **halla** at u in person **2015** May 19 David Banner ft. Big Krit “My Uzi” *The God Box* A Banner Vision (<https://youtu.be/JHqRawc4fd0?t=2m2s>) I been owned one since they killed Mike and the jury **halad** ‘not guilty’. **2016** Jul 6 Todd Tucker (executive producer) “Out with the Old, in with the New” (S3 ep1) *Hollywood Divas* Xfinity [Forrest Martin (Forrest Martin):] At this point, you just need to talk to em...go like, ‘yó, I’m just traana **hala** at cha, see what’s goin on, last time we saw each other wasn’t too cool’...” [Paula Jai Parker (Paula Jai Parker):] Maybe I need to **hala** at all three of em. [Forrest:] Well, **hala** at em. **2019** Feb 10 ←Day @daybroadway Twitter <https://archive.is/xZxc4> You at work, they aggressively tryna **halla**, you give them a number so they can go the fuck away....now you got problems. Guys, some women really just wanna be left alone.....k?

hala /hɑ:lə/ *n* [Fulfulde *ha:la* ‘talk’ BB&G 1991, 64; ‘palaver’ Mukoshy 2014, 204 s.v. *haala*] 1: Talk, palaver, something said. (Anglicized spelling: **holler**) **2013** Sep 29 male age 60+ interview But it ain’t nuttin new, dis da same **hala** from back in maa day.

Hala /hɑ:lə/ *prop n* [Fulfulde *ha:la* ‘to speak’ SA&M 1971, 74; Mukoshy 2014, 204 s.v. *haala*; Reichard 1878, 34 s.v. *hala*; ‘to talk’ Mukoshy 2014, 204 s.v. *haala*; ‘palaver’ Mukoshy 2014, 204 s.v. *haala*; ‘affair’, ‘matter’ SA&M 1971, 74 s.v. *haala*; ‘discourse’ Turner 2002, 92 s.v. *hala*; ‘talking’ ST&I 1965, 469 s.v. *haalaa*] 1: Native Black American resistance song tradition for covert communication within plain sight on or across plantations or between housing compounds using the voice, shells, or whistling to update one another on health, family, social condition, danger, or plans for escape; maintain social and familial ties across distances; and resist the social and psychological isolation imposed by the ruling class 2: Any song belonging to said tradition. (Anglicized spelling: **Holler**) **2014** Aug 26 juju jones @so_treu Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200109234625/https://twitter.com/so_treu/status/504351791493177344 just realized the hook for “No Flex Zone” is basically a field **holler**. **2015** Aug 30 female age 60+ interview I knowed em by dé **hala**. Each one got dé own **hala**.

Hala! /hɑ:lə/ *interj* [Fulfulde *ha:la* ‘to speak’ SA&M 1971, 74; Mukoshy 2014, 204 s.v. *haala*; Reichard 1878, 34 s.v. *hala*; ‘to talk’ Mukoshy 2014, 204 s.v. *haala*; ‘to say’ Reichard 1878, 34 s.v. *hala*; ‘talking’ ST&I 1965, 469 s.v. *haalaa*; ‘palaver’ Mukoshy 2014, 204 s.v. *haala*; ‘talk’ BB&G 1991, 64 s.v. *haala*] 1: Greeting or parting expression among the Native Black American population, “Come and talk to me”, “Let’s talk (soon).” (Anglicized spelling: **Holler!**) **2006** Nov 19 Eric Overmyer (writer) & Ernest Dickerson (director) “Misgivings” (S4 ep10) *The Wire* HBO

[Malik ‘Poot’ Carr (Tray Chaney):] And you with Prop Joe now...never would’ve thought. [Slim Charles (Anwan Glover):] Yeah, we’ll, life’s strange. [Malik ‘Poot’ Carr (Tray Chaney):] Yeah. **Hala!** (exits scene)

hops /hɑ:ps/ *n* [Fulfulde *hob:ε* ‘a form of address employed by the Fulbe to express “politeness and welcome” to a stranger’, ‘friends’, ‘countrymen’, ‘quasi-countrymen’ Reichard 1878, 52, 240 s.v. *hobbe* < Fulfulde *hod-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to be a guest”, “to live/settle at”, “to make one’s home”’ Seydou 1998, 288 + *-bε* ‘a Fulfulde plural class/suffix for humans’ OD&D 1993, 676] 1: Friend 2: Friendly term of address among Native Black Americans 3: Someone whose name one does not know or does not wish to mention. **2013** Jul 1 Bertrell (Dem) *@bsmithisagent88* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109093834/https://twitter.com/bsmithisagent88/status/351627256176721921> What up **Hops?** My Folks in Philly are reworking some thangs. Keepin ya posted. Stay up. Holler soon

hos /hɔ:s/ *v* [Fulfulde *ha:s-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to enrage”, “to derange”’ Seydou 1998, 239 s.v. *haas-*] 1: Enrage, infuriate 2: Annoy. (Anglicized spelling: **hoss**) **2014** Oct 4 male age 54 interview Dé sté traana **hos** yú wit dat mess!

hós, haus /ho:s, haʊs/ *v* [Fulfulde *ho:sa* ‘to take up’, ‘to take away’ Mukoshy 2014, 236 s.v. *hoosa* < Fulfulde *ho:s-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to take away”’ Seydou 1998, 298 s.v. *hoos-*] 1: Take, take away 2: Take something (from). (Anglicized spelling: **house**) **1990** Apr 24 X-Clan “Tribal Jam” *To the East Blackwards* Island Records I was sittin by the river with my warrior’s gun / A bunch of caveboys tried to **house** my drum **2013** Nov 19 Thurl *@ncr17* Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200109094524/https://twitter.com/_ncr17/status/402

991733438312448 “when someone take your phone [...] yooo he stay **housing** shit
Nov 27 Ju_Loc @Ju_Loc1000 Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110001545/https://twitter.com/Ju_Loc1000/status/405777044342321152 the hell with asking
I’m bruh man in my crib straight **housing** shit lmaooo 2018 Jul 23 Ralph
McDaniels *F.D.S #71 - RALPH MCDANIELS - FULL EPISODE* Youtube
<https://youtu.be/NvIWpvDNXMM?t=2533> Hot 97 slipped in and took everything.
They **housed** it!

hós, haus /ho:s, haus/ *v* [Fulfulde *ho:s-* ‘to plunder’, ‘to loot’ Seydou 1998, 298 s.v. *hoos-*] 1: Rob 2: Steal (usually in a rough, brash, or forceful manner). (Anglicized spelling: **house**) 2011 Apr 23 Slim @Ashantee_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200109200354/https://twitter.com/Ashantee_/status/62036223228784640 stole my good wood bracelet...he stay **housing** me for something... 2015 Feb 24 Afrika Baby Bam *Jungle Brothers - Nobody Believed Girl I House You Was Going To Be A Hit (247HH Exclusive)* Youtube <https://youtu.be/UAnUwSx7nwU?t=2m7s> When we say, “I’ll **haus** you”, it means we’re gonna jak you, we’re gonna take something off of you.

húd, hud /hu:d, hod/ *n* [Fulfulde *hodo* ‘village’ Bah 2016; V&V 2010, 96; Fulfulde *hod:e* ‘settlement’ Mukoshy 2014, 230 s.v. *hodde*] 1: Any area(s) in which the Native Black American population lives or settle(d). (Anglicized spelling: **hood**) 2016 Jul 6 Wanya Shirden @wanya_x Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200109235733/https://twitter.com/wanya_x/status/750719230513909760 When they killed off the Natives, enslaved us, or Regan putting crack in the **hood**? Cause I don’t know Oct 10 Le\$ane Crooks @LiviLaBella Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109100046/https://twitter.com/LiviLaBella/status/785641072714063872> its funny theyre well off but the dad came from the **hood** and tries to teach them hood values but it

just doesnt work **2017** Jul 30 Deity Xane @Deity_Xane Twitter
https://web.archive.org/web/20200109101237/https://twitter.com/Deity_Xane/status/942783063863451653 Jim Crow. Post slavery Terrorism. Oh I forgot slavery. Projects. The **hood** is a concentration camp, little mama. Oh yeah the new slavery *cough* mass incarceration *cough* free labor for white companies. Once again FOH **2019** Dec 8 putting the heaux in hopeless romantic @heaux4academia Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20191228150516/https://twitter.com/heaux4academia/status/1210716279708930049> Just got a hearty “FUCK YOU NIGGER” yelled at me while walking down the street And this is why I wish I did lived in the **hood**. The whites in Memphis can keep the burbs

húd, hud /hu:d, hʊd/ *adj* [Fulfulde *hodo* ‘village’ Bah 2016; V&V 2010, 96; Fulfulde *hod:e* ‘settlement’ Mukoshy 2014, 230 s.v. *hodde*] 1: Of or pertaining to the Native Black American population 2: Characteristic of where Native Black Americans reside 3: In accordance with Native Black American core or traditional values 4: Industrious, resourceful, enterprising, self-reliant, self-sufficient 5: Pertaining to industriousness, resourcefulness, self-reliance, self-sufficiency. (Anglicized spelling: **hood**) **2016** Oct 10 Le\$ane Crooks @LiviLaBella Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109100046/https://twitter.com/LiviLaBella/status/785641072714063872> its funny theyre well off but the dad came from the hood and tries to teach them **hood** values but it just doesnt work **2017** Jun 19 Tamiya @PrettyCute_Mook Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200109200416/https://twitter.com/PrettyCute_Mook/status/876783388367126528 Had to show some more **hood** skills at work today lol ain’t no shame in my game Sep 12 Verge @_Verge_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200109103729/https://twitter.com/_Verge_/status/907722547873157121 Hopefully my **hood** skills take me far in corporate America

Húd, Hud, (Da ~) /hu:d, hod/ *prop n* [Fulfulde *hodo* ‘village’ Bah 2016; V&V 2010, 96; Fulfulde *hod:e* ‘settlement’ Mukoshy 2014, 230 s.v. *hodde*] 1: Original African-descended population of the United States. (Anglicized spelling: **Hood, (The ~)**) **2012** Nov 6 Greed @WrathOfAnOlSoul Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110000205/https://twitter.com/WrathOfAnOlSoul/status/266056025529012224> They gone hate us no matter how exquisite we are. We was the shit b4 they enslaved us. Thanks for repping **the hood** **2014** Oct 4 male age 54 interview *Da Hud ain’t come here wit no passport. Dé dragged us here in chézn.* **2016** Apr 21 Lenard McKelvey *The Breakfast Club* Youtube <https://youtu.be/WnEvBcvF5f8?t=31m16s> **Da Hud** ain’t never accepted Don Lemon, bruh. So he ain’t got nowhere to go if [Caucasian-Americans] stop dealing with him. **2017** Aug 12 CreatiV @creativ_tm Twitter https://web.archive.org/save/https://twitter.com/creativ_tm/status/896554350851620864 We not in slavery days no more gun license on deck FOH like he said **the hood** ready **2019** Aug 25 #DontTellOnMe @RealLive_Motors Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113204411/https://twitter.com/RealLive_Motors/status/1165630570153545728 When is **the hood** ever going get its reparations???

húdú /hu:du/ *v* [Fulfulde *huda* ‘to curse’ Mukoshy, 2014, 240; SA&M 1971, 81; Fulfulde *hudi* ‘to curse’ Reichard 1878, 218 s.v. *hūdi*; Fulfulde *huda:de* ‘to bring a curse upon someone’ OD&D 1993, 148 s.v. *hudaade*; Fulfulde *hudugol* ‘to curse’ Bah 2016] 1: Curse someone, bring a curse upon someone 2: Cause someone misfortune 3: Use one’s own Native Black American tradition of harnessing spirits and working with nature and the dead to affect one’s fate or bring about justice. (Anglicized spelling: **hoodoo**) **1935** Zora Neale Hurston *Zora Neale Hurston : Collected Plays* 261 Let me catch Old Bishop ‘round my house and I’ll let him

hoodoo all he wants to while I run a railroad ‘round he neck. **1937** Hilliard Johnson *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves, Volume 1: Alabama Narratives* 229-230 But I’m tellin’ you de troof now some of de black folks knowed how to git away. [...] Dey calls hit **hoodoin**’ de dogs. **2011** Sep 15 Crystal ShepherdTH @Queen2BNVD Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110155318/https://twitter.com/Queen2BNVD/status/114238635892686848> We (women) know too many tricks lol....fuck around and **hoodoo** yo ass lol **2012** Jun 18 Ayee Thats ThugRiRi @Spongy_love Twitter <https://archive.is/O45ZL> Lmao she think I’M gone throw some **hudu** on ha

húdú /hu:du/ *n* [Fulfulde *huda* ‘to curse’ Mukoshy, 2014, 240; SA&M 1971, 81; Fulfulde *hudi* ‘to curse’ Reichard 1878, 218 s.v. *hūdi*; Fulfulde *huda:de* ‘to bring a curse upon someone’ OD&D 1993, 148 s.v. *hudaade*; Fulfulde *hudugol* ‘to curse’ Bah 2016; Cognate: Gullah *hudu* ‘cause bad luck to’] 1: Curse 2: Cursing. (Anglicized spelling: **hoodoo**) **1935** Zora Neale Hurston *Zora Neale Hurston : Collected Plays* 208 These white folks is raw-hide to their backs and they ‘round here throwing **hoodoo** at each other! **1994** Clarence Major *Juba to Jive* 240 Andrew going ‘round here swearing up and down he can fix anybody – make a wife leave a husband, make a child turn on a mother – like he got the gift of **hoodoo**. **1998** Loudell F. Snow *Walkin’ Over Medicine* 208 And they was **hoodoo** behind that baby; that baby died in six months without any cause! **2011** Sep 29 Rina @DeJaDoubleTake Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110153920/https://twitter.com/DeJaDoubleTake/status/119554944234823681> 3rd day in a row eatin chicken, I think #oomf put a **hoodoo** on me smh **2012** Jun 18 Ayee Thats ThugRiRi @Spongy_love Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200116102327/https://twitter.com/Spongy_love/status/214943603020140544 Lmao she think I’M gone throw some **hudu** on ha

Húdú /hu:du/ *prop n* [Fulfulde *huda* ‘to curse’ Mukoshy, 2014, 240; SA&M 1971, 81; Fulfulde *hudi* ‘to curse’ Reichard 1878, 218 s.v. *hūdi*; Fulfulde *huda:de* ‘to bring a curse upon someone’ OD&D 1993, 148 s.v. *hudaade*; Fulfulde *hudugol* ‘to curse’ Bah 2016] 1: Native Black American tradition of harnessing spirits and working with nature and the dead to affect one’s fate or bring about justice. (Anglicized spelling: **Hoodoo**) **2011** Katori Hall Plays – Plays: 1 Katori Hall *Hoodoo Love* 39 I do **hoodoo**, honey. I ain’t like them other two-headed doctors in the county. I does good with mines.

Húdú /hu:du/ *adj* [Fulfulde *kuddi* ‘a curse’ Bah 2016, OD&D 1993, 148; Fulfulde *kud:i* ‘a curse’ BS&J 2012, 94 s.v. *kuddi* < Fulfulde *hud-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to curse”, “to damn”’ Seydou 1998, 306] 1: Of or relating to the Native Black American tradition of harnessing spirits and working with nature and the dead to affect one’s fate or bring about justice. (Anglicized spelling: **Hoodoo**) **1935** Zora Neale Hurston *Zora Neale Hurston : Collected Plays* 246 Yeah, Spunk’s all right! Jim, thought your papa was such a good **hoodoo** man he could make a crooked road straight? Zora Neale Hurston *Zora Neale Hurston : Collected Plays* 261 I seen a **hoodoo** doctor up in Georgia put a man to barking like a dog. **1938** Lizzie Farmer *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves, Volume 13: Oklahoma Narratives* 100 “I’ve heered folks talk about conjures and **hoodoo** charms” **2010** Jun 12 Jaleesa J. @jaleesa_jo Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200116103245/https://twitter.com/jaleesa_jo/status/16017187064 RT @caramelfreckles: i figured out where that **hudu** lady is from assault on precinct 13 **2019** Aug 16 alreadywise @Bey4stallion Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110132503/https://twitter.com/Bey4stallion/status/1162429004349095936> Girl i’m about to leave this **hoodoo** group on Facebook.

Sick of women sleeping with these worthless men & be asking the group what magic to do to him so he can pay for it. Girl just let it go, heal, and move on or else you just racking up karma tryna hex that man. **2019** Sep 2 Black Mamba @AuxGawd_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20190912174525/https://twitter.com/AuxGawd_/status/1168495263280971776 No cap I found some **hoodoo** eggs in both of my cars. Someone “close” to me is on the fuck shit

húdú /hu:du/ *n* [Fulfulde *hodo* ‘trickery’ Bah 2016; Fulfulde *hodo* ‘deception’ OD&D 1993, 140] 1: Trickery, deception. (Anglicized spelling: **hoodoo**) **2013** Sep 25 yvette Nicole brown @YNB Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109200453/https://twitter.com/YNB/status/382860304553500672> That IS some kind of **hoodoo**! Our beloved Hough Bakery has been gone for DECADES! Don’t eat that trickery **2014** Dec 13 Jaquon Lee @MakinMoney20 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110000546/https://twitter.com/MakinMoney20/status/543922991214505984> My lil cousin tryna show my grandma a magic trick! She said I don’t wanna see dat **HooDoo** shit!

húdú /hu:du/ *v* [Fulfulde *hodugol* ‘to trick’, ‘to dupe’ Bah 2016 < Fulfulde *hodo* ‘deception’ OD&D 1993, 140] 1: Trick, dupe. (Anglicized spelling: **hoodoo**) **2015** Jan 26 Loctavia Butler @LovnMyLocs Twitter <http://archive.is/9KEw8> “No good trying to **hoodoo** somebody into going the way you want if they ain’t going that way” **2017** Apr 20 Stephanie @_StephieeNicole Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110002802/https://twitter.com/_StephieeNicole/status/855062847906349056 Mechanics always tryna **hoodoo** you into other shit bruh just fix my headlight

húdú /hu:du/ *n* [Fulfulde *hudo* ‘wild vegetation’ Reichard 1878, 43; ‘wild bush’ Reichard 1878, 248; ‘weeds’ BS&J 2012, 72] 1: Any plant of medicinal or spiritual utility to Native Black Americans 2: Medicine created with such plants. (Anglicized spelling: **hoodoo**) **2014** Aug 30 female age 60+ interview I grow my own **húdú**, jus like my mama did. **2015** Feb 4 Queen Catherine @iM_catty Twitter <http://archive.is/4a5s7> Moms.....what kinda **hoodoo** you into? Lol I’m kidding but yeah...medicine and doctors do not have the final say so in my book. **2019** Mar 19 HieroBody @hierobody Twitter <http://archive.is/asO0n> Generational #**hoodoo**. My mother’s #Rootwork when I’m not feeling well.

Húdú /hu:du/ *prop n* [Fulfulde *hudo* ‘wild vegetation’ Reichard 1878, 43; ‘wild bush’ Reichard 1878, 248; ‘weeds’ BS&J 2012, 72] 1: Native Black American bush medicine tradition. (Anglicized spelling: **Hoodoo**) **2018** Feb 16 l’Nasah Kiam Crockett @so_treu Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200109181334/https://twitter.com/so_treu/status/9646825506513018888 i was just reading up today about black walnut’s uses in **hoodoo** & folk medicine, too..... Dec 27 Myles @Allseeinpharoah Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109194351/https://twitter.com/Allseeinpharaoh/status/1078220376663048192> My family and friends come to me when they need quick natural remedies to heal. My **hoodoo** is getting stronger **2019** Nov 6 j. @journdanbabyyy Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20191106223218/https://twitter.com/journdanbabyyy/status/1192205814569881601> Also medical licenses came about because **Hoodoo** is a traditional medicine system and they were “cool” with it being a plantation thing. Civil War & Emancipation had them shook.

Húdú-Fúdú /hu:dufu:du/ *prop n* [Fulfulde *hudo* ‘wild vegetation’ Reichard 1878, 43; ‘wild bush’ Reichard 1878, 248; ‘weeds’ BS&J 2012, 72; Fulfulde *fudo* ‘synonym

of *hudo*’ SA&M 1971, 81; OD&D 1993, 99; Fulfulde *huda* ‘to curse’ Mukoshy, 2014, 240; Reichard 1878, 218; SA&M 1971, 81; Fulfulde *fad:ade* ‘to remove danger by working magic’ OD&D 1993, 76 s.v. *faddade*] 1: Native Black American tradition of using spirits, nature, the dead, specific rituals, and prayers to heal or affect one’s fate (whether positive or negative). (Anglicized spelling: **Hoodoo-Foodoo**) **2014** Aug 30 female age 60+ interview But, dis here dat ole taam **húdu-fúdu**.

humbug /hʌmbəg/ v [Fulfulde *ham:bugol* ‘to bother’ Bah 2016 s.v. *hammbugol*] 1: Bother, trouble. **2014** Oct 4 male age 54 interview If you ain’t **humbug** em ery now and den, dey forget you even here.

humbug /hʌmbəg/ n [Fulfulde *ham:bugol* ‘to bother’ Bah 2016 s.v. *hammbugol*] 1: Nuisance. **1931** Zora Neale Hurston *Zora Neale Hurston : Collected Plays* 205 Bertha: Dat’s all right too, pap, but if yo’ can’t make me tote dese clothes home, don’t bring de mess up. Yo’s e abstifically a **humbug**.

humbug /hʌmbʌg/ v [Fulfulde *habugol* ‘to fight’, ‘to go to war’, ‘to argue’ Bah 2016; C&D 2000, 4; Reichard 1878, 82 s.v. *habugol* + phonetic convergence with HUMBUG ‘to bother’] 1: Fight, clash in a major conflict 2: Argue. **2016** Aug 30 CoBody @TimCityCoBody Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110124906/https://twitter.com/TimCityCoBody/status/770714658047037441> I’m Done Arguing Or **Humbuggin** With Females.. Y’all Never Wrong May 13 Ali @DAGREATEST_ALI Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110125458/https://twitter.com/DAGREATEST_ALI/status/863582909319397376 I’m not **humbuggin** wit no nigga n damn sure not finna play crazy wit nan one of u bitches BIG P!!

jaav /dʒɑ:v, dʒɑrɪv/ v [Fulfulde *ja:b-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to play (with)”, “to tease”’ Seydou 1998, 324 s.v. *jaab-*; cf. Fulfulde *ja:bi* ‘the Fulbe joking tradition of ritualized mockery and insult’ Suleiman E.D.⁵, pers comm, Feb 22, 2020; Audio ►] 1: Play with, play around, tease 2: Joke 3: Engage in the Native Black American tradition of ritualized mockery and insult 4: Not be serious 5: Dance (to secular music) 6: Engage in recreational pursuits. (Anglicized spelling: **jive**) **1941** Cab Calloway & His Orchestra “Hep Cats Love Song” *Are You Hep to the Jive?* Legacy Recordings (https://youtu.be/oNGzv1V_LFk?t=1m31s) You may say that I’m **jiving**, but it’s you that I’m thinking of. **2000** Eddie Murphy (executive producer) *Nutty Professor II: The Klumps* [Sherman Klump (Eddie Murphy):] When you gonna stop **jivin** and tell everybody you got laid off? **2004** Apr *Ebony* 143-144 “I told Willie I wanted to do the CD, and he said, ‘I’ve been asking you about doing this CD for 18 years. You **jiving** me.” **2008** Charles R. Smith *Chameleon* 208 Twenty bucks? You **jiving** me. **2011** Jun 8 Antoine D.King @*RealElle* Twitter <http://archive.is/nrP7Z> I can **jive**,joan,joke, whatever you call it. **2013** Jan 6 Te’Ashia @*theBOMB_Iam* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110171552/> https://twitter.com/theBOMB_Iam/status/288077622758477824 she stay **jiving** a bih **2014** Oct 15 Familia Ante Omnia @*TheRayVolution* Twitter <http://archive.is/Vsd5Z> @IGGYAZALEA failed a test the other day. OUR culture always makes jokes towards one another: snapping, ranking, cracking Joaning, **jiving** **2017** Dec 10 Dope Soul @*SimplyKeni* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110171803/><https://twitter.com/SimplyKeni/status/939835238599020544> Let me get dressed and quit **jiving** **2018** Feb 12 MoneyMakinMitch @*Deeecrumptonn* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110171900/><https://twitter.com/Deeecrumptonn/status/963295802708975616> Sayless don’t **jive** me ni

jaav /dʒɑ:v, dʒɑrɪv/ *pl n* [Fulfulde *ja:bi* ‘banter’, ‘jokes’, ‘teasing’ Mukoshy 2014, 255 s.v. *jaabi*; Audio ►] 1: Banter 2: Jokes, joking, teasing 3: Talk or behavior that isn’t meant to be serious 4: Foolishness, mess (figurative). (Anglicized spelling: **jive**)
1943 Jul 21 Frederick J. Jackson (writer) & Andrew L. Stone (director) *Stormy Weather* 20th Century Fox [Cab Calloway (Cab Calloway):] What’s all of this, you never told me bout this **jive**. **1990** Dec 4 Brand Nubian “Who Can Get Busy Like This Man” *One For All* Elektra Records I’ll slap five to a brother who ain’t about no **jive**. **1993** Nov 9 Wu-Tang Clan “C.R.E.A.M.” *Enter the Wu-Tang (36 Chambers)* Loud Records <https://youtu.be/PBwAxmrE194?t=22s> I grew up on the crime side / the New York Times side / staying alive was no **jive**. **2007** Aug 21 Brand Nubian “Girls, Girls, Girls” *Time’s Runnin’ Out* Elektra Records We got no time for the **jive** / time to get live / cause you know we keeps it raw. **2010** Oct 25 ADTheArtist @AD_TheArtist Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110172627/https://twitter.com/AD_TheArtist/status/28763526039 And its funny how the raggedy Anne’s are the ones that talk down on “hoes”. Bitch cut the off-time **jive**
2018 May 16 C4mille D4sh @CBoogie4 Twitter <https://archive.is/W3UDM> I be doing the same **jive** every night 🙄

jaav /dʒɑ:v, dʒɑrɪv/ *adj* [Fulfulde *ja:bi* ‘banter’, ‘jokes’, ‘teasing’ Mukoshy 2014, 255 s.v. *jaabi*; Audio ►] 1: Jokey, silly, not serious. (Anglicized spelling: **jive**) **1975** Eric Monte (Writer) *Cooley High* [Cochise (Lawrence-Hilton Jacobs):] Preacha, I know you ain’t **jive**! **2013** Nov 11 Papoose “Jive Ass Turkey” *I Got Now (Mixtape)* (<https://youtu.be/zEwuWKtMLBY?t=1m57s>) Happy Thanksgiving, you **jive** ass turkey. **2014** Dec 19 I’m a LAYYYDEEEEE! @CallmeTeedyB Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110174427/https://twitter.com/CallmeTeedyB/status/545857892738662400> Everything doesn’t need a response or action, just wasted

energy. So I chill on they **jive** asses. **2015** Jun 24 Iceberg Slim @2_REAL_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110172409/https://twitter.com/2_REAL_/status/613697608314449920 Rozay fuck around and do time wit his **jive** ass
2016 Jan 28 Bj @MarquistK Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110174847/https://twitter.com/MarquistK/status/692953565778833409> you ain’t said nothing but a word jack. Meet me in the hallway you **jive** ass turkey **2020** Aug 2 Mr. Brown @Mr_Brown_Sir Twitter <https://archive.is/p4LLe> See, many men and women love to play the same **jive** ass games they saw Momma and Daddy play with each other. Oct 2 Eddie Brown @BEBrown247 Twitter <https://archive.is/2hdHf> That’s the same **jive** turkey ref that keeps calling nonsense calls smh #MIAvsLAL
 Oct 5 M. Davis @MykeLowry Twitter <https://archive.is/7C0yl> Y'all can't even give Butler his respect without creating some **jive** narrative lol

jaav /dʒɑ:v, dʒɑɪv/ v [Fulfulde *ja:bi* ‘banter’, ‘jokes’, ‘teasing’ Mukoshy 2014, 255 s.v. *jaabi*; Audio ►] 1: Banter. (Anglicized spelling: **jive**) **1980** John Langston Gwaltney *Drylongso* 234-235 I jus’ **jive** aroun’ with huh. You can’ talk nothing heavy with that woman. **2007** Soulja Boy Tell ‘Em “Yahhh!” *Enta Da Stage* Collipark (<https://youtu.be/Om4eqmF1hIM?t=96>) Everybody wants to talk, and everybody wants to **jive**/Everybody wants a handshake, or want a high five.

Jaav /dʒɑ:v, dʒɑɪv/ *prop n* [Fulfulde *ja:bi* ‘banter’, ‘jokes’, ‘teasing’ Mukoshy 2014, 255 s.v. *jaabi*; ‘Fulbe joking tradition of ritualized mockery and insult’ Suleiman E.D.⁶, pers comm, Feb 22, 2020; Audio ►] 1: Native Black American cryptolect that makes heavy use of word-play, metaphor, and the African-derived lexicon of the Native Black American population 2: Language spoken by the Native Black American people (referred to as “slang” by outsiders) 3: Native Black American joking tradition of ritualized mockery and insult (used for the maintenance of social

cohesion, conflict management, or as an expression/extension of real or fictive kinship) 4: Native Black American folkloric dance 5: Form of music to which the aforementioned dance is performed. (Anglicized spelling: **Jive**) **1943** Jul 21 Frederick J. Jackson (writer) & Andrew L. Stone (director) *Stormy Weather* 20th Century Fox [Cab Calloway (Cab Calloway):] We’re talking **Jive**. He says he’s glad to see you and he wants to shake your hand! **2008** The Roots “I Can’t Help It” *Rising Down* Def Jam Recordings Talk **Jive** with it. **2015** Mar 14 ITS MY BIRTHDAY @_jhonniemae Twitter <http://archive.is/0AeKa> Joan = **jive** 😂

jak /dʒak, dʒæk/ *n* [Fulfulde *jigo* ‘friend’ BB&G 1991, 981; OD&D 1993, 393; SA&M 1971, 161 s.v. *yigo*] 1: Friend (especially, though not always, of the male gender) 2: Term of address between Native Black Americans. (Anglicized spelling: **jack**) **1941** Cab Calloway & His Orchestra “Are You Hep to the Jive?” *Are You Hep to the Jive?* Legacy Recordings (<https://youtu.be/4ZJIZCmJ2u8?t=16s>) Listen here, **jack**. Take it slow, and you can learn just what I mean. **1943** Jul 21 Frederick J. Jackson (writer) & Andrew L. Stone (director) *Stormy Weather* 20th Century Fox [Gabe Tucker (Dooley Wilson):] Gimme some skin. Mella! Now throw your racket, **jack**. **1994** Black Moon “I Got Cha Opin” *Enta Da Stage* Nervous Records (<https://youtu.be/dceorz43MwY?t=109>) I be dedicated to the moon cause it’s black, resurrect, come back. Tell me about the other side, **jack**. **2016** Oct 7 Bruce Wayne @MinesTahj Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110175258/https://twitter.com/MinesTahj/status/784390677706575872> lmaoo you ain’t saying nothing but a word **jack**. **2018** Mar 27 \$hitBag B @swvnkkk_ Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110175005/https://twitter.com/shitbagB/status/978742722671595520> hell nah **jack** i turn 21 in June

jak /dʒak, dʒæk/ v [Fulfulde *jak*:- ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to assault”, “to fall upon angrily”’ Seydou 1998, 514 s.v. *nyakk*-] 1: Assault, fall upon angrily. (Anglicized spelling: **jack**) **1992** Kris Kross “Jump” *Totally Crossed Out* Nervous Records (<https://youtu.be/dceorz43MwY?t=109>) They tried to step to the mack, and they got **jaacked**. **1993** Apr 22 Martin Lawrence (writer) & Gerren Keith (director) “Your Arms Are Too Short to Box with Martin” (S1 ep24) *Martin* Xfinity [Martin Payne (Martin Lawrence):] What’s up, man? What happened? [Tommy Strawn (Thomas Mikal Ford):] I got **jaacked**.

jak /dʒak, dʒæk/ v [Fulfulde *jag*:- ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to grab”, “to seize”, “to hold on to”, “to arrest”, “to imprison”’ Seydou 1998, 331 s.v. *jagg*-] 1: Grab or seize someone or something violently 2: Seize 3: Grab hold of someone or something firmly or forcefully, grab and hold someone in place - thereby preventing movement or escape 4: Arrest 5: Force someone to stop with the intention of interrogation, harassment, robbery, or causing bodily harm. (Anglicized spelling: **jack**) **2002** Jun 9 David Simon (writer) & Clark Johnson (director) “The Detail” (S1 ep2) *The Wire* HBO [Avon Barksdale (Wood Harris):] Now, if you get **jaacked** again, I don’t wanna hear shit about you writing nothing to no one. Got it? Jul 21 David Simon (writer) & Joe Chappelle (director) “One Arrest” (S1 ep7) *The Wire* HBO [Detective James McNulty (Dominic West):] She corroborates him on most of the details, right down to the close-range shot. Plus, we got Omar saying if we **jack** Bird, we’ll get the gun. Aug 11 David Simon (writer) & Brad Anderson (director) “The Cost” (S1 ep 10) *The Wire* HBO [Detective Ellis Carver (Seth Gilliam):] They already know that he got **jaacked** on a reverse buy, right? Why wouldn’t they assume he’s snitching?

jam /dʒam, dʒæm/ *n* [Fulfulde *jimol* ‘song’ OD&D 1993, 393 s.v. *jimol* < Fulfulde *jim-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to sing”, “to compose a song”, “to sing the praises of” Seydou 1998, 858 s.v. *yim*⁻⁷ + *-ol* ‘a singular noun suffix (from the Fulfulde *ngol* noun class) employed for abstract nouns and nouns of action’ C&D 2000, 115; SB&J 2014, 89; Fulfulde *jimi* ‘songs’ OD&D 1993, 393 s.v. *jimi*] 1: Song, musical composition (especially one that is in line with Native Black American musical traditions and standards of quality). **1994** Black Moon “I Got Cha Opin” *Enta Da Stage* Nervous Records (<https://youtu.be/dceorz43MwY?t=196>) People tried to diss when your **jam** got cold. Used to be the man, now your band got old. **2016** Sep SammyLee @Fuka_UsernameB_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200111100825/https://twitter.com/Fuka_UsernameB_/status/774645692241293312 Don’t get me wrong, I listen to it all. But I prefer slow **jams**. **2017** Nov 2 T’PJ Green=Greatness @PJGI16 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111101214/https://twitter.com/PJGreenTV/status/926005890410582016> Go to sleep and wake up to the same **JAM**

jam /dʒam, dʒæm/ *v* [Fulfulde *jim-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to sing”, “to compose a song”, “to sing the praises of” Seydou 1998, 858 s.v. *yim-*; Fulfulde *jam-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to sing the praises of”, “to recite the lineage or family names of” Seydou 1998, 333 s.v. *jam-*] 1: Play music (well and in the tradition of the Native Black American population of the United States) 2: Sing (well and in the tradition of the Native Black American population of the United States), sing along 3: Hence, get into the groove, enjoy oneself to music and song. **2012** Mar 3 Privategosha @COZYBOIFERGG Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111101341/https://twitter.com/COZYBOIFERGG/status/175861885562929152> everybody asleep and im here **jammin** that new song by scholboy q Sep 17 iG : _deezyafool @XTrapNigga_ Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111101406>

[/https://twitter.com/XTrapNigga_/status/247873687242555392](https://twitter.com/XTrapNigga_/status/247873687242555392) Son was **jammin** the blues!

jef /dʒɛf/ *n* [Fulfulde *ndʒofo* ‘fool’, ‘idiot’, ‘nincompoop’ SA&M 1971, 122 s.v. *njofo*; Fulfulde *ndʒofo:dʒo* ‘stupid person’, ‘idiot’, ‘naif’ Bah 2016 s.v. *njofoojo* < Fulfulde *ndʒofo* ‘fool’, ‘idiot’, ‘nincompoop’ SA&M 1971, 122 s.v. *njofo* + Fulfulde *-dʒo* ‘a Fulfulde singular suffix denoting a human being (from the Fulfulde *o* noun class)’] 1: Fool, idiot, stupid person, naif 2: Anyone lacking style or sophistication 3: Caucasian. (Anglicized spelling: **jeff**) **1961** Ross Russell *The Sound* 144 Them **Jeffs** is workin’ together. **1969** Iceberg Slim *Pimp: The Story of My Life* 131 She sure had an appetite for the **Jeff** con. **2016** Feb 2 female age 41 interview Cain’t nobody make a **jef** out of my ass.

jef /dʒɛf/ *n* [Fulfulde *ndʒofoja:gal* ‘stupidity’ Bah 2016 s.v. *njofoyaagal* < Fulfulde *ndʒofo* ‘fool’, ‘idiot’, ‘nincompoop’ SA&M 1971, 122 s.v. *njofo*] 1: Stupidity. (Anglicized spelling: **jeff**) **2015** Sep 29 male age 51 interview Ain’t that crazy? His own **jef** saved him.

jef /dʒɛf/ *adj* [Fulfulde *ndʒofidugol* ‘(to be) stupid’ Bah 2016 s.v. *njofidugol* < Fulfulde *ndʒofo* ‘fool’, ‘idiot’, ‘nincompoop’ SA&M 1971, 122 s.v. *njofo*] 1: Foolish, stupid, idiotic 2: Lacking style or sophistication. (Anglicized spelling: **jeff**) **2012** Jan 3 #BeechaBoyy @Ima_LeviJunky Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200111003957/https://twitter.com/Ima_LeviJunky/status/154405328065265664 #Foolayshit wit his **Jeff** ass lol Apr 15 RAVENS Superbowl **2013** Jun 18 Iceberg Slim @2_REAL_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200111003944/https://twitter.com/2_REAL_/status/347198247783256064 GINOBLI MISSING FEEE THROWS WITH HIS **JEFF** ASS **2014** Dec 14 SASSY @badasssas Twitter

<https://web.archive.org/web/20200111003524/https://twitter.com/badasssas/status/544329608947310592> Shyaire dumbass just made the damn power go out she so **Jeff** **2020** @PeezzoTaughtYOU Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/2020011100328/https://twitter.com/PeezzoTaughtYOU/status/370342748034854912> Nd fuck this stereo. Im gettin a new one next week. This one be actin **jeff** sometimes

jef /dʒɛf/ v [Fulfulde *ndʒofidugol* ‘(to be) stupid’ Bah 2016 s.v. *njofidugol* < Fulfulde *ndʒofo* ‘fool’, ‘idiot’, ‘nincompoop’ SA&M 1971, 122 s.v. *njofo*] 1: (To be) stupid 2: Behave stupidly 3: Pretend to be less intelligent than one really is when addressing DA MAN to make them feel affirmed, less insecure, and superior (usually, with the intention of 1) protecting oneself and one’s community from White envy, White mob violence, and terrorism or 2) receiving some social, political, or economic reward) 4: Hence, attempt to ingratiate oneself with someone despite having contempt for said person (with the intention of receiving some reward). (Anglicized spelling: **jeff**) **2011** Jan 9 Creeping Pete @Bluechi1time Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111001203/https://twitter.com/Bluechi1time/status/24209000065138688> Bet plays = chucking and jiving , toming and **jeffing** **2017** Feb 20 Yusuf Ramadan @AYR58 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111000636/https://twitter.com/AYR58/status/833820771797577730> Stand up for your piece not the White House! The job is gone! Stop **jeffin** and shoe shining! You were 100% right!

jef /dʒɛf/ v [Fulfulde *ndʒofingol* ‘to deceive’, ‘to con’ Bah 2016 s.v. *njofingol* < Fulfulde *ndʒofo* ‘fool’, ‘idiot’, ‘nincompoop’ SA&M 1971, 122 s.v. *njofo*] 1: Deceive, lie 2: Con 3: Deceive any member(s) of the Caucasian-American ruling class by hiding one’s true resentment or contempt for said person(s) in an effort to thwart White mob violence, terrorism, or some other form of vengeful reprisal 4: Hence, deceive someone by hiding one’s true resentment or contempt for said person in social

interactions. (Anglicized spelling: **jeff**) **2011** Jul 10 Universal Man @ItsJusDru Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111001432/https://twitter.com/ItsJusDru/status/89984051678691328> **jeffin** as lyin ass hypocrite as mufucka’s **2016** Feb 24 shay @__Moneyteam_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200111001545/https://twitter.com/__Moneyteam_/status/702736124549029888 What ppl say about me is beyond my control but if you speaking on me don’t **Jeff** in my face like shit cool **2017** Jul 5 Dj 9 Eleven @iamdj9eleven Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111001740/https://twitter.com/iamdj9eleven/status/882711251503263747> People be **jeffin** hard asf all the while they really don’t like me. #Ireadpplverywell

jef, jeffin /dʒɛf/ *adj* [Fulfulde *ndʒofɪŋɡol* ‘to deceive’, ‘to con’ Bah 2016 s.v. *njofɪŋɡol* < Fulfulde *ndʒofo* ‘fool’, ‘idiot’, ‘nincompoop’ SA&M 1971, 122 s.v. *njofo*] 1: Deceitful, dishonest 2: Shady. (Anglicized spelling: **jeff, jeffing**) **2011** Sep 9 Dahling MiMi @Nurse_McSass Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200111000308/https://twitter.com/Nurse_McSass/status/112196160072056832 Look, I don’t speak for all women, ok? All women are not the same. But, there are some shady, **jeffin**, no good females out there. **2013** Nov 24 ZoeGang CountUpGang @BigBreadJrock Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110235447/https://twitter.com/BigBreadJrock/status/404748899623403520> nah rs call him he got that shit somewhere his **Jeff** ass **2014** Jul 1 Ashleeey @Ashhleyy___ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110235514/https://twitter.com/Ashhleyy___/status/483868520912920577 See this is why his **jeff** ass need to be here

jef /dʒɛf/ *n* [Fulfulde *ndʒofɪŋɡol* ‘to deceive’, ‘to con’ Bah 2016 s.v. *njofɪŋɡol* < Fulfulde *ndʒofo* ‘fool’, ‘idiot’, ‘nincompoop’ SA&M 1971, 122 s.v. *njofo*] 1: Con, deception. (Anglicized spelling: **jeff**) **2014** Jun 3 male age 28 interview But, she ain’t one to fall for da man **jef**,

jón /dʒon, dʒoon/ *v* [Fulfulde *jan-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to joke with”, “to tease”, “to be in a traditional ritualized joking relationship with” Seydou 1998, 838 s.v. *yan-*] 1: Engage someone in the Native Black American joking tradition of ritualized mockery and insult 2: Make jokes (about someone), make fun of (someone), tease (someone) 3: Joke. (Anglicized spelling: **joan**) **2011** July 24 California Pack ‘_’ @LoudLane_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110233201/https://twitter.com/LoudLane_/status/95173948311994368 Makeya Scary Lookin Ass Always Wanna **Joan** With The Same Joans Everytime We **Joan** **2013** May 26 Twitch @GoddessLxC Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110235024/https://twitter.com/GoddessLxC/status/338652589363187712> -_- when you start **joaning** about my big head That’s when I know we’re family smh **2017** Jan 15 Va\$co @lotusboyyy Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110234816/https://twitter.com/lotusboyyy/status/820710841226002432> fat boi. Boi you bout ugly as shit boi I’m bout to **joan** yo ass. **2018** Jan 22 RESTING RICH FACE @REESElaflare Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110233947/https://twitter.com/REESElaflare/status/955610839817404416> My homie @rosiflee got jokes .. he literally got the best joke off me when we was **joaning** ... he said I look like Squidward house L M A O Feb 20 K. @VIIXXX__ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110233630/https://twitter.com/VIIXXX__/status/966121421964443648 My boyfriend’s best friend married a 53yr old woman, now they’re separated and they over here **joaning** on her ass and cracking old folks jokes

jón /dʒon, dʒoon/ *n* [Fulfulde *jani:re* ‘joke’ OD&D 1993, 387 s.v. *yaniire* < Fulfulde *jan-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to joke with”, “to tease”, “to be in a traditional ritualized joking relationship with” Seydou 1998, 838 s.v. *yan-*] 1: Joke about one’s appearance, ancestors, or situation (made to ease preexisting tensions,

defuse conflict, or express/extend fictive kinship). (Anglicized spelling: **joan**) **2011** Mar 12 Accounts Receivable @IM_inVINCEable Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110233051/https://twitter.com/IM_inVINCEable/status/46803893178470400 Lol. I was just going alogg wit the **Joan**. Whoever y’all was talkin bout lmao July 24 California Pack ‘-’ @LoudLane_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110233201/https://twitter.com/LoudLane_/status/95173948311994368 Makeya Scary Lookin Ass Always Wanna Joan With The Same **Joans** Everytime We Joan **2013** May 8 Justin @DaGameChanger17 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110233207/https://twitter.com/DaGameChanger17/status/332357475405815808> I see him he better stop for I unleash all 37 of these **joans** on his ass **2014** Dec 26 N/A @DertbagBoog_ Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110233446/https://twitter.com/DertbagBoog/status/548445936582922240> Bruh you joan around a group of kids the will jump the shit out of you with corny **Joans** and win cause you can’t even say anything

Jón, Jónin /dʒon, dʒoun/ *prop n* [Fulfulde *jan-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to joke”, “to tease”, “to be in a traditional ritualized joking relationship with”’ Seydou 1998, 838 s.v. *yan-*] 1: Native Black American joking tradition of ritualized mockery and insult (used for the maintenance of social cohesion, conflict management, or as an expression/extension of real or fictive kinship). (Anglicized spelling: **Joan, Joaning**) **2014** Dec 3 artificial Intell @Ai_doesit Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110232001/https://twitter.com/Ai_doesit/status/540064690169077761 Yo why everyone from outside of California had a weird way of joking? They call it **joanin**... Its weird af **2016** Jan 28 Joey Nox @OfficalJoeyNox Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110232328/https://twitter.com/OfficalJoeyNox/status/692816919347376128> No hate jus straight snaps I bet they coo after the **Jone** session **2018** Mar 19 Gucci Ro @CeeLo_Ro Twitter

https://web.archive.org/web/20200110232325/https://twitter.com/CeeLo_Ro/status/975808958932938752 I remember one time our 8th grade drama class went on a field trip and on the bus a parent chaperone was in the back with us and said “y’all boring let’s play a game I used to play, it’s called **joanin**” I was in the back seat like y’all don’t wanna play this..

jónin /dʒonɪn, dʒounɪn/ *n* [Fulfulde *jan-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to joke with”, “to tease”, “to be in a traditional ritualized joking relationship with”’ Seydou 1998, 838 s.v. *yan-*] 1: Joking, teasing. (Anglicized spelling: **joaning**) **2013** Oct 6 M☺☺\$E @MvvsE Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110232814/https://twitter.com/Youknowmoose/status/386872243160350720> lol when will you just stop wit the **joaning** I really don’t want to do it to you **2016** Jul 25 Lo\$@ @N_Maxie Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110232624/https://twitter.com/N_Maxie/status/757620241115541504 God forbid I have some ugly kids all the **joaning** I did over the years

júba, jiba /dʒuːbə, dʒɪbə/ *n* [Fulfulde *ji:bu-ja:bu* ‘mixture’ Bah 2016 s.v. *jiibu-jaabu*; Fulfulde *ji:ba* ‘mix’ Mukoshy 2014, 271 s.v. *jiiba*; ‘mix (solid with liquid)’ SA&M 1971, 86 s.v. *jiiba*; Fulfulde *ji:bude* ‘mix together (as in a solid and a liquid)’, ‘torment’ OD&D 1993, 165 s.v. *jiibude* < Fulfulde *ji:b* ‘mix up, mix together (water and clay for building)’, ‘cause troubles’ Seydou 1998, 344 s.v. *jiib*] 1: Mixture that the ancestors of the Native Black American population of the United States were forced to eat, consisting of solid and liquid food scraps drawn from the plates of the enslavers of a given plantation 2: Slop. **2012** April 19 female age 60+ interview Dey make us eat da trash from dey plate, like dey animal. Mhm, we call it **juba**, you know!

júg, jug /dʒʊg/ *v* [Fulfulde *juk:a* ‘to poke’ Mukoshy 2014, 282 s.v. *jukka*] 1: Poke 2: Hence, have sex. (Anglicized spelling: **joog**) **1980** John Langston Gwaltney *Drylongso* 225 The dude who was **joogin’** her was married, so he had to come on like she wanted him to. **2014** Sep 13 Brother Larry *Sa Neter TV* Youtube https://youtu.be/XnQAZeong_U?t=1h12m46s You take the same word, and now it turns into a spear that you **jugin** people wit.

júg, jug /dʒʊg/ *v* [Fulfulde *juk:-it-* ‘the Fulfulde verb root meaning, “to provoke”, “to annoy”’ Seydou 1998, 361 s.v. *jukk-it-* < Fulfulde *juk:-* ‘the Fulfulde verb root meaning, “to spur (violently)”’ Seydou 1998, 361 s.v. *jukk-*] 1: Provoke 2: Annoy, tease. (Anglicized spelling: **joog**) **2011** Katori Hall *Katori Hall Plays: 1* 26 Hell, I’m just “**joogin**” you. [...] We can ‘**joog**’ like that.

kid, kíd /kɪd/ *n* [Fulfulde *kod:o* ‘countryman’, ‘friend’, ‘brother’, ‘a term used by the Fulbe “to show politeness and welcome” to a stranger’ Reichard 1878, 52 s.v. *koddo*; cf. Fulfulde *gidó* ‘friend’ Bah 2016; BS&J 2012, 60; Mukoshy 2014, 186; OD&D 1993, 449] 1: Friend, comrade 2: Term of address among the Native Black American population (regardless of age) 3: Someone whose name one does not know or does not wish to mention. **1994** Nov 17 Martin Lawrence (writer) & Gerren Keith (director) “Get a Job” (S3 ep10) *Martin* Xfinity [Hustle Man (Tracy Morgan):] I’m from Texas **kid**, I’m just traana get my hustle on. **2017** Dec 5 Mr. Cheeks *Mr. Cheeks on Forming The Lost Boyz, Meaning Behind His Name (Part 1)* Youtube <https://youtu.be/ODLMTT7ou98?t=2m31s> They call me Mr. Cheeks cause they respect my ass. You know what I’m saying? Cause they got the respect for the **kid**.

kúl, kól /ku:l, kool/ *adj* [calque of Fulfulde *fe:wgo* ‘suave’, Mukoshy 2014, 156 s.v. *feewgo*; ‘(to be) cool’, ‘(to be) cold’ T&Y 1998, 153 s.v. *feewgo* (in the Fulfulde

compound *fe:wgo-gik:u* ‘suavity’ Mukoshy 2014, 156 s.v. *fewgo-gikku* ‘literally “cool character/disposition”, “cold character/disposition”’ (from *fe:wgo* ‘to be cool’, ‘to be cold’ T&Y 1998, 153 s.v. *fewgo* + *gik:u* ‘character’, ‘disposition’ Mukoshy 2014, 187 s.v. *gikku*) < Fulfulde *fe:w-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “(to be) cold”’ Seydou 1998, 170 s.v. *few-*; OD&D 1993, 84 s.v. *few-*] 1: Cool, cold 2: Suave, debonair 3: Hence, charming, elegant, confident, literally “cool/cold”. **2009** Sep 12 \$iergio @Siergio Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111100536/https://twitter.com/Siergio/status/3941551046> MAKE SURE YOU COME OUT TO “BLACK ICE 3” TONITE...10:00 tonite. CAU STUDENT CTR. TICKETS AVAILIABLE. COME PARTY WITH THE FLY ICE **COLD** BROTHERS **2011** Jun 25 Sean Sumthin @ItPays2Discover Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111101841/https://twitter.com/ItPays2Discover/status/84651381197258752> She stay #FLY... Hair done... Nails done... Maaannn she jus #**COLD** wit dat thang!!! **2018** Nov 14 TellyMonster @TellyBaby22 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111102323/https://twitter.com/TellyBaby22/status/1062765134974717953> This is sad. He think he **cool** but can’t go nowhere without this much security.

kúl, kól /ku:l, kool/ *n* [calque of Fulfulde *fe:wgo-gik:u* ‘suavity’ Mukoshy 2014, 156 s.v. *fewgo-gikku* ‘literally “cool character/disposition”, “cold character/disposition”’ < Fulfulde *fe:wgo* ‘to be cool’, ‘to be cold’ T&Y 1998, 153 s.v. *fewgo* + Fulfulde *gik:u* ‘character’, ‘disposition’ Mukoshy 2014, 187 s.v. *gikku* < Fulfulde *fe:w-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “(to be) cold”’ Seydou 1998, 170 s.v. *few-*; OD&D 1993, 84 s.v. *few-*] 1: Suavity, debonairness, literally “cool”.

kúl /ku:l/ *adj* [calque of Fulfulde *fe:wi* ‘good’, ‘okay’, ‘just’ OD&D 1993, 84 s.v. *fewi*; Fulfulde *fe:w* ‘(to be) trustworthy’ BS&J 2012, 46 s.v. *few* < Fulfulde *fe:w-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “(to be) just”’ Seydou 1998, 169 s.v. *few-* +

convergence with Fulfulde *fe:w-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “(to be) cold”’ Seydou 1998, 170 s.v. *feew-*] 1: Good, okay, fine 2: Just 3: Right (when speaking of behavior or actions) 4: Trustworthy, literally “cool”. **1972** Dec 8 Marvin Gaye “Trouble Man” *Trouble Man (Motion Picture Soundtrack)* Tamla Records (<https://youtu.be/6kduvcqx-BU?t=9>) I come up hard baby, but now I’m **cool**/I didn’t make it, sugar, playing by the rules/I come up hard baby, but now I’m fine **2004** Aug 6 Michael Mann (Director) *Collateral* Paramount Pictures [Daniel (Barry S. Henley)]: He said one word: “**cool**”. [Vincent (Tom Cruise)]: “**Cool**”? That’s it? [Daniel (Barry S. Henley)]: Yeah. That meant “good”, but not ready. **2017** Sep 20 Tanya Hamilton (director) “Two by Two” (S2 ep15) *Greenleaf* OWN [Grace Greenleaf (Merle Dandridge)]: I’m sorry I can’t stay the night, but, you know, Sophia... [Darius Nash (Rick Fox)]: Nah, that’s **cool**. Nov 27 Santino 黒 @AHRefreshing Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111102316/https://twitter.com/AHRefreshing/status/935153505819643906> You nigga today **cool** with everything. Sexism; Racism; Slurs; Genocide; Poison; Corruption; False Media; Rape As long as y’all don’t get lynched by massa y’all gone stay jiving. **2018** Dec 29 coverboy @yourboy4riend Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111102644/https://twitter.com/yourboy4riend/status/1079136538909274112> only difference is they **cool** with china & north korea nem

kutí /kʌdi/ *n* [Fulfulde *kate* ‘sex’, ‘sexual relations’ OD&D 1993, 128] 1: Sex, sexual relations. (Anglicized spelling: **cutty**) **2010** Feb 15 N/A @letrice718 Twitter <http://archive.is/g5ga6> #cutthebullshit dont text me randomly saying you drunk thinkin about me, u just want some **cutty** NOT! **2011** May 23 freQuels @Chrli_Bltmre Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200111102823/https://twitter.com/Chrli_Bltmre/status/72858793721069568 So the noise cicadas make is a mating call. Them muthafuckers be looking for **cutty** all damn day then Jul 5

Fresh Prince @_Ghost9eezy Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200111104600/https://twitter.com/_Ghost9eezy/status/88342489131524096 I just got some cutty #sex **2014** Apr 12 Beautyishername @PYTisME Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111103117/https://twitter.com/PYTisME/status/455023502198714368> I’ve been trying to get in touch with Nisha I think her phone broke & she boo’d up now & getting that **cutty** lol **2015** Nov 3 E @MissESODMG Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111103127/https://twitter.com/MissESODMG/status/661730728468611072> It’s always like that. Most men just want the **cutty** and no lovey. #IfLovingYouIsWrong **2016** Apr 12 YFN x SMOKE @SmokeABully Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111104022/https://twitter.com/SmokeABully/status/720091993016295424> So I’m in the bed wit shawty right....trying to get me some **cutty**...shawty phone rings and she presses ignore “ I said who that?” **2018** Feb 21 Straight_Drop_Shawty @Bocell Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111103152/https://twitter.com/Bocell/status/966347406437703680> A nigga wuestioning me getting some **cutty** must be stuck in a marriage they dont want #SneakAttackAnswers

Memba(z) /mɛmbə, mɛmbəz/ *prop n* [calque of Fulfulde *himbe* ‘members’, ‘human beings’, ‘ordinary people as opposed to “pagans”’ Mukoshy 2014, 227; Fulfulde *gimdo* ‘singular of *himbe*’ Mukoshy 2014, 187] 1: the Native Black American people 2: any Native Black American person, literally “member(s)”. **1968** Max Roach “Members, Don’t Git Weary” *Members, Don’t Git Weary*. Atlantic Records **Members**, don’t get weary for the work’s mos done.

nújak /nudʒək, nudʒæk/ *n* [Fulfulde *jigo* ‘friend’ BB&G 1991, 981; OD&D 1993, 393; SA&M 1971, 161 s.v. *yigo* + English *new*] 1: Young member of the original African-descended population of the United States (specifically, one who is not yet an elder)

2: Hence, a (young) member of the original African-descended population who is a newcomer, lacking in experience, or not yet hip 3: Neutral/endearing form of address used by Native Black American elders (toward a younger member of said ethnic group).⁸ (Anglicized spelling: **newjack, new jack**) 1993 Dec 19 Martin Lawrence & John Bowman (writers) & Gerren Keith (director) “Holiday Blues” (S2 ep15) *Martin* Hulu [Ms. Geri (Jeri Gray):] **Newjack**, please! I’m a old woman...but if you don’t give me some of that samich, amma bus yo head open with this bag of nickles!

pres /pres/ v [calque of Fulfulde *bit*:- ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to worry”, “to harass”, “to make someone uncomfortable”, “to press (literal sense)”’ Seydou 1998, 73 s.v. *bitt*-] 1: Worry 2: Trouble 3: Harass 4: Make (someone) uncomfortable 5: Stress (someone) out, literally “press”. (In Native Black American language, the word *pres(s)* is either negative, insulting, or hostile (though not bellicose). It indicates an unwanted behavior and possesses none of the neutrality or (potential for) professionalism/politeness of the General American English *press* “urge, implore; make strong effort to persuade.”^f Moreover, while the General American English *press* connotes persuasion or a desired/expected/required outcome, the Native Black American *pres(s)* does not necessarily bear such connotation (such connotation, if existent, is only indicated by the context). Finally, it is very frequently reflexive, i.e., “*pres(s) oneself*”, unlike the General American English *press*. The precise semantic meanings of *pres(s)* in Native Black American language, the term’s precise correspondence with the Fulfulde sourceword, and the term’s exclusive usage among Native Black Americans (and within their spheres of cultural influence), along with General American English’s absence of this precise semantic meaning and nuance,

^f *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “press,” accessed Feb 21, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170221033505/https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/press>.

point to a Fulfulde point of origin for the Native Black American *pres(s)*.) **2014** May 7 TaydaWayda @*taydawayda* Twitter <http://archive.is/ZW4HJ> I Can’t **Press** or Stress Myself Over Somebody That’s Not My Option Or A Chose **2017** May 26 BBB @*fineechinaaa*__ Twitter <http://archive.is/BE8nq> Honestly it just feels good knowing I don’t have to **press** or worry about nobody doing nothing

pres(d) /pres/ *adj* [calque of Fulfulde *bit:agol* ‘(to be) troubled’, ‘(to be) disturbed’, ‘(to be) bothered’, ‘(to be) under stress’ Bah, 2016 s.v. *bittagol* < Fulfulde *bit:-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to worry”, “to press”’ Seydou 1998, 73 s.v. *bitt-*] 1: (To be) worried, (to be) troubled 2: (To be) disturbed 3: (To be) bothered 4: (To be) under stress, literally “pressed”. **1994** Mar 27 Yvette Lee Bowser (writer) & Rob Schiller (director) “U.N.I.T.Y. (a.k.a. Five Card Stud)” (S1 ep23) *Living Single* Hulu [Lawrence (Bobby Hosea):] I thought I’d wait for the second date. You know, to make it look like I’m not **pressed**? **1996** Feb 1 Yvette Lee Bowser (writer) & Ellen Gittelsohn (director) “Wake Up to the Break-Up” (S3 ep17) *Living Single* Hulu [Synclaire James (Kim Coles):] What if Michelle and Kyle hit it off? [Maxine Shaw (Erika Alexander):] Please...once you go Max, you never go back. [Khadijah James (Queen Latifah):] You tryna tell me you don’t give a damn? [Maxine:] I couldn’t be less **pressed**. **2011** May 1 Mr. Man @*FuggYoTweets* Twitter <https://archive.is/QxFcDI> like both Celtics-Heat so I ain’t **presd** about which one wins..but I kno Delonte West wouldn’t b near my moms for sure lol **2019** Dec 30 Dominique @*ExceptionalChic* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20191231211454/https://twitter.com/ExceptionalChic/status/1211568219808575488> She shared something intimate and it made ppl uncomfortable, so that means y’all should check y’all selves about being so **pressed** by that.

pres(d) /prɛs/ *adj* [calque of Fulfulde *bit:egol* ‘(to be) uncomfortable’ Bah, 2016 s.v. *bittegol* < Fulfulde *bit:-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to press”’ Seydou 1998, 73 s.v. *bitt-*] 1: (To be) uncomfortable, literally “pressed”. **2016** Jul 7 JOHN @johnmbi_ Twitter <http://archive.is/j0VtT> White people always feel **pressed**/uncomfortable whenever race is brought up.

pres(d) /prɛs/ *adj* [calque of Fulfulde *bil:-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “(to be) in need”, “to press”’ Seydou 1998, 72 s.v. *bill-*] 1: (To be) in need 2: (To be) poor, destitute 3: (To be) without, deprived of 4: Hence, desperate, literally “pressed”. **2013** Jun 3 P. @sheisskingg Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112143022/https://twitter.com/sheisskingg/status/341604340043231233> A nigga should never be desperate for a nut . Im sorry . If a nigga **pressed** for sex . You not welcome here lls **2016** May 14 Ψ Macaulay ● Sulkin @lordstoney Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112133732/https://twitter.com/lordstoney/status/731609633316425729> Why are white people so **pressed** to be oppressed?

pres(d) /prɛs/ *adj* [calque of Fulfulde *bil:a:re* ‘distress’ Mukoshy 2014, 58 s.v. *billaare* < Fulfulde *bil:-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to press”’ Seydou 1998, 72 s.v. *bill-*] 1: (To be) distressed, in agony, upset, literally “pressed”. **2015** Feb 1 J @wenttojarrett Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111123724/https://twitter.com/wenttojarrett/status/562030091983933440> Who the fuck thought it was ok to make that commercial....shit had me **pressed** **2016** May 11 Somebody’s Cousin @SomebodyCousin Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111123713/https://twitter.com/SomebodyCousin/status/730612128831410176> So I just had an argument with Angie and her sister on how weed isn’t addictive. Shit had me **pressed** like never before. Jun 20 dar bear @darionchelissee Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111131425/https://twitter.com/darionchelissee/status/74514092968256307>

2 I had to find out through Facebook and snapchat that my great uncle died and I’m **PRESSED**. Oct 7 *Kasei* @_ShawdeGotGiftz Twitter <https://archive.is/I3K4V> Bout to **press** myself looking at pics and stuff.. 2019 Jul 23 © @onlylifeslemons Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111125059/https://twitter.com/onlylifeslemons/status/1153843336043589632> Just know I’m really upset you never showed me how to do it. Now I have to learn from YouTube and I’m **pressed**. 2020 Jan 24 chelby @chelbyleanne Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200124011806/https://twitter.com/chelbyleanne/status/1220513320379277312> I don’t understand why other people get so mad & **pressed** when i say “My parents bought me...” “My parents paid for...” Like excuse me for having good parents that wanna take care of me!

réz, réz up /ɪɛz, ɪɛɪz/ v [calque of Fulfulde *hunf-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to raise”, “to leave (a place)”’ Seydou 1998, 310-311; OD&D 1993, 149 s.v. *hunc-*] 1: Leave (a place), depart, literally “raise”. 1993 Oct 10 Martin Lawrence & John Bowman (writers) & Gerren Keith (director) “You’ve Got A Friend” (S2 ep8) *Martin* Hulu [Martin Payne (Martin Lawrence):] (Both persons walking toward apartment door) Brother, brother, damn that! Yeah, this yo jacket, yeah? I think you better **raise up**, Wallace, yeah. [Wallace (Darryl Alan Reed):] What do you mean, man? [Martin Payne (Martin Lawrence):] What do you mean, what I mean, Wallace? Man, just...just...just **raise**. 1994 Sep 28 Bobby Smith, Jr. (writer) & Dough McHenry (director) *Jason’s Lyric* The Jackson/McHenry Company [Alonzo (Anthony “Treach” Criss):] Get up...**raise up**. (Persons addressed stand and exit the facility) Oct 27 Yvette Lee Bowser (writer) & Henry Chan (director) “Trick or Trust” (S2 ep8) *Living Single* Hulu [Khadijah James (Queen Latifah):] Let me find this bird so we can **raise** up out of here. 2002 Jul 28 David Simon (writer) & Gloria Muzio (director) “Lessons” (S1 ep8) *The Wire* HBO [Omar Little (Michael Kenneth

Williams):] **Raise** up and roll in here quick. **2012** Sep 13 u no he cnt save u rite? @babyboyru Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112144249/https://twitter.com/babyboyru/status/246453993524584449> i got an uncle dat live in st louis dat nigga be lying b. nigga tolme he knew nelly before he got famous ye aight nigga **raise up** out my face

Réz, Réz up /ɹɛz, ɹɛɪz/ *interj* [calque of Fulfulde *hunf-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to raise”, “to leave (a place)”’ Seydou 1998, 310-311; OD&D 1993, 149 s.v. *hunc-*] 1: Parting expression (or term of dismissal) among Native Black Americans 2: Good-bye, literally “raise”. **2015** Feb 7 Black Donté @CotteonSmooth Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112145328/https://twitter.com/CotteonSmooth/status/564076719276310528> “aight nigga. **Raise up.**”

smel /smɛl/ *idiom* [calque of Fulfulde *nan-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to smell”, “to understand”, “to listen”, “to hear”, “to feel”’; Hausa *dzi* ‘to smell’, ‘to understand’, ‘to listen’, ‘to feel’ Awde 1996, 73 s.v. *ji*] 1: Listen 2: Understand, literally “smell”. **2010** Nov 22 BooYang Le’Troy @CapHeightsKing Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112150541/https://twitter.com/CapHeightsKing/status/6810719144124417> U **Smell** ME Sis?? These Joints these Days are something else.. And they all need a Wake Up call. Dec 16 Reginald Q. Williams @TheRegWilliams Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112151704/https://twitter.com/TheRegWilliams/status/15440249677156352> But on da kool tho, ion think yall **smell me** bra... Few may, but overall i feel like yall on feel me **2012** Aug 18 *Mike_McLovin* @mike_mr_keys Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200112150716/https://twitter.com/mike_mr_keys/status/236845821688172545 **smell** me bra I ain’t wit it eitha believe dat. **2014** Dec 4 Pachino Blu @SoljazoffFortune Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112152053/https://twitter.com/Soljazoff>

ortune/status/540776462899363840 Spelled dat all wrong lol... But u **smell** me doe
2018 Mar 13 Sizzle @sethscott2 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112152147/https://twitter.com/sethscott2/status/973676381417738240> I be wanting a Gf up then i be like ehhe... I need a nice amount of time to evaluate u... cuz i’m tired of breaking up u **smell** me?

smel ___se(l)f /smɛl ___sɛ(l)f/ *idiom* [calque of Fulfulde *ma:tita* ‘to think a lot of one’s self’ (sic) Mukoshy 2014, 359 s.v. *maatita* < Fulfulde *ma’t* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to smell”, “to feel”’ Seydou 1998, 427 + *-it-* ‘an allomorph of the reflexive Fulfulde verb infix *-t-*, denoting an action done to oneself for one’s own benefit’ Paster 2005, 160] 1: Think highly of oneself, literally “smell (one)self”. **2015** Aug 13 HHMG @MvdDnell Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112153302/https://twitter.com/MvdDnell/status/631866627139764224> I ain’t never been a fake nigga. I keep it real with all my peoples. Niggas get a couple dollars and start **smelling theyself** **2017** Oct 18 Sista Mary Clarence @yaaaashunty Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112153407/https://twitter.com/yaaaashunty/status/920787397067051008> She **smelling herself** a lil too much with that new nose Nov 21 Ty Williams @Sk8djflyty Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112153432/https://twitter.com/Sk8djflyty/status/933179667502133248> #thechallengexx yo what the Fuk happened to @caramariaMTV. She use to be so humble but now she **smelling herself** a little too much! #UseToBeAFav **2018** Jan 25 Ty @Tksailor Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112153516/https://twitter.com/Tksailor/status/956521366890729472> She needs to go. As the old folks say “she **smelling herself**”

sté /stɛ/, stɛ/ *v* [calque of Fulfulde *jo:dake* ‘to live in, to inhabit’ Mukoshy 2014, 279 < Fulfulde *jo:d-* ‘the verb radical/root-stem meaning “to stay”’ Seydou 1998, 779] 1:

Live in, inhabit, literally “stay”. **2013** Jul 28 I’m Your Favorite @kduration_ Twitter <http://archive.is/hwqaE> When I used to **stay** in east Memphis I knew no one..now I live in Cordova and I know plenty of people in the east! **2017** Mar 4 BeeeJay @BenYeezus Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112154533/https://twitter.com/SymereWoodz/status/838185825171042305> What neighborhood do you live in — Why you wanna know where I **stay** at Jun 18 OfficialJackieO @NizhoniJay Twitter <http://archive.is/yZoLa> Yeah I can’t. I **stay** in a pretty nice area. I used to live in some horrible places but never again. It’s up from here I refuse to back track.

taat /ta:t, tait/ *v* [calque of Fulfulde *hib:a:de* ‘(to be) angry’, ‘(to be) tight’ OD&D 1993, 136 s.v. *hibbaade*] 1: (To be) angry, (to be) furious, literally “tight”. **2016** nekaa @NekaShenee Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112155318/https://twitter.com/NekaShenee/status/748689233460621312> I quit my job soo many times today in my head , they really had my ass **tight** **2018** Mar 18 ig:bush2011 @Wan2Times Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112155239/https://twitter.com/Wan2Times/status/975267965171101696> Deadass cuh and they talked the whole movie had me **tight** in there They was extra ratchet I would of had to fight them

taat /ta:t, tait/ *adj* [calque of Fulfulde *hib:ugol* ‘to be a close friend of someone’ Bah 2016 s.v. *hibbugol* < Fulfulde *hib:-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “(to be) tight”’ Seydou 1998, 277-278; OD&D 1993, 136 s.v. *hibb-*] 1: Close (in friendship), literally “tight”. **2018** Jan 9 ju @Princessjuu Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112155520/https://twitter.com/Princessjuu/status/950802278415441920> When I lose a friend I ain’t gone lie I sweat it like fuck we used to be **tight** doing everything etc etc, BUT THEN IM GOOD Feb 11 Daryona @YonnaaJ Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112155846/https://twitter.co>

m/DaryonaJ/status/962913472995561472 me and my granny really **tight** Asf doe lol that’s my everything

taat /ta:t, tait/ *adj* [calque of Fulfulde *fa:dude* ‘(to be) difficult (said of a situation)’, ‘to be tight’ OD&D 1993, 74 s.v. *faadude*] 1: Difficult (said of circumstances or a situation), ‘literally “tight”’. **1994** Sep 22 Yvette Lee Bowser (writer) & Ellen Gittelsohn (director) “Working Nine to Nine-Fifteen” (S2 ep4) *Living Single* Hulu [Khadijah James (Queen Latifah):] Max, I know things was kinda **tight** at work. But I’m sayin, it was a paycheck, right? **2019** Nov 6 Latoya @lalaluuu09 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20191106192756/https://twitter.com/lalaluuu09/status/1192157232026140672> Y’all really be dating grown men that don’t have cars? Lol it’s real **tight** out here. **2020** Feb 2 AB @moOJeezy Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200202114320/https://twitter.com/moOJeezy/status/1223807820103081986> It’s **tight** out here on love & people don’t understand that..

tóló /to:lo/ *n* [Fulfulde *to:lorde* ‘buttocks’ Bah 2016 s.v. *toolorde* (-*dé* ‘a Fulfulde plural noun suffix’ OD&D 1993, 676)] 1: Buttocks. **2014** Jul 20 female age 34 interview She said a lady don’t bend wit her **tóló** in the air.

wut it bí laak?, wut it look laak? *interj* [calque of Fulfulde *No wa’i?* ‘an informal greeting among the Fulbe’, ‘literally “what way/manner be like?”; “what way/manner look like?”’ < Fulfulde *no* ‘what way/manner’, ‘how’, ‘as’ Bah 2016; SA&M 1971, 113; Gamble & Baldeh 1981, 94 + *wa:* ‘to be like’ SA&M 1971, 148; Mukoshy 2014, 523 s.v. *wa’a*; ‘to look like’ SA&M 1971, 148 s.v. *wa’a*; Fulfulde *wa:y* ‘to be like’ BS&J 2012, 160 s.v. *waay* < Fulfulde *way-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to look like”, “to be like”’ Seydou 1998, 743] 1: Informal greeting among the Native Black American population; literally “what it be like?”, “what it

look like”? **2009** Dec 16 Mr. C Williams *@Mr_Cwilliams1* Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200112170152/https://twitter.com/Mr_Cwilliams1/status/6723215466 whatz good bruh....**What it look like** my dude? **2010** Jun 11 unknown *@snoopskywalker* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112164805/https://twitter.com/snoopskywalker/status/15965828736> man I’m koolin bruh, **what it look like** homie... **2012** August 26 cha. *@__ChaaChaa* Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200112234451/https://twitter.com/__ChaaChaa/status/239566205818634241 Cuhh”sup?” **What it be like** **2018** Oct 6 glizzy *@daziadej* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112170428/https://twitter.com/daziadej/status/1048562553461374976> what up with it baby, **what it be like?** Aug 28 Dj *@djdatruth* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112171621/https://twitter.com/djdatruth/status/1034513176803586048> **what it be like** bro?

ya herd? /jə hɜːrd?/ *interj* [calque of Fulfulde *A nani:?* ‘a frequent interjection used between every few sentences among the Fulbe’ Mamadou Bari⁹, pers comm, July 6, 2016; ‘Do you understand?’, ‘literally “You heard?”’, i.e. [[a] [[nan] i:]] < Fulfulde *a* ‘you’, ‘the Fulfulde second person singular’ + *nan-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning “to hear”’ + *-i:* ‘the Fulfulde past tense marker’] 1: Frequent interjection used between every few sentences among the Native Black American people, meaning “Do you understand?”, literally “You heard?” **2011** Nov 9 Foley *@SassayBrown* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112161704/https://twitter.com/SassayBrown/status/134404238003535872> Dunkin Donuts strawberry banana smoothie is crack **ya heard?!** **2019** Feb 13 Yung Spazz *@Spazz_yah3rd415* Twitter <https://archive.is/kbon2> Nigga B Goin Thru A Lot, Ima Get Thru Dis Shit Tho **Ya Herd** Feb 21 Mr. Saintistic *@Spoon1822* Twitter <https://archive.is/YUILh> Lol. Never was the smartest in school but, I passed this test with flying colors; **ya herd.**

yó, éyó /joː, ejoː/ *interj* [Fulfulde *jo*: ‘a cry of astonishment, surprise, excitement, or amazement’ Mamadou Bari¹⁰, pers comm, July 6, 2016] 1: Cry of astonishment, surprise, excitement, or amazement. (Anglicized spelling: **yo, ay yo**) **2017** Aug 31 *Best of Headless Man Prank!!!* Youtube <https://youtu.be/TaPJtrqipJs?t=3m37s>
Yooooooooo! You see this? **Yooooo...** He try to throw it at me! **Yooooo!** **Yooooo!**
 Yo, what the f***...**Yooooo!** What is going... Oh, sh**! **Yooooooooo!**
Éyooooooooo! Y’all need to cut that sh** out! What the f***! **Éyooooooooo!** This
 mothaf-! [...] **Yooooooooo!** Yo, what the f***! You serious?! **Yooooo!** Oh, I’m
 done! Yo, close this mothaf*****! **Yooooooooo!** **Yooooooooo!** **Éyooooooooo!**
 Wowwww...

yó, éyó /joː, ejoː/ *interj* [Fulfulde *jo* ‘an invocation or call’ Bah 2016 s.v. *yo*] 1:
 Invocation or call. (Anglicized spelling: **yo, ay yo**) **1993** Aug 29 Martin Lawrence
 (writer) & Gerren Keith (director) “Really, Gina Is Not My Lover” (S2 ep2) *Martin*
 Xfinity [Cole Brown (Carl Anthony Payne II):] **Yó, yó**, Tommy! I seen Vanessa,
 man, she lookin pretty good.

5. Further Discussion

Fulfulde-derived loanwords in Native Black American language display a number of discernible recurring features, including word-final vowel elision (e.g., Fulfulde *hodó* ‘village, settlement’ > Native Black American *hud* ‘an area in which the Native Black American population live(s) or settle(d)’), word-initial prenasalization elision (e.g., Fulfulde *ndzofó* ‘fool, idiot’ > Native Black American *jef* ‘fool, idiot’), and radical/root-stem isolation (e.g., Fulfulde *ja:bi* ‘banter’ > Native Black American *jaay* ‘banter’). The result of this accommodation is a body of Fulfulde-derived stems adapted to suit Native Black American phonology and morphology, which are then joined, when

necessary, to the appropriate affix(es) to conform with Native Black American morphological rules. (It should be noted, however, that there are indeed some cases in Native Black American language in which a given sourceword’s native affix is retained in transfer, as will be demonstrated in the section that follows.) The historical record indicates that the aforementioned modifications were already in development among native-born African Fulfulde-speakers enslaved in the antebellum United States.

For instance, within the manuscripts of the native-born Omar ibn Said – penned in Arabic script – one finds early examples of word-final vowel elision: “My name is Omar ibn Said. My birthplace was *Fut Tur* [from Fulfulde *fu:ta to:ro* ‘the historically Fulbe region of Fuuta Tooro, located between the Senegal and Gambia rivers’], between the two rivers.” [emphasis mine] (S&A, 2011, 61) Providing further evidence of early word-final vowel elision, Ibn Said pens the following (also in Arabic script): “O, my countrymen [of] Bundah, and *Phootoor* [from the above-mentioned *fu:ta to:ro*], and *Phootdalik* [from Fulfulde *fu:ta djalonke* ‘the Fulbe kingdom and former theocratic state of Fuuta Jallon, located in what is present-day Guinea’], give salaams.” [emphasis mine] (S&A, 2011, 146) Among Hodgson’s (1844) transcriptions of the Fulfulde vocabulary employed by native-born African captives on the Georgia enslaver’s plantation, one finds examples of word-initial prenasalization elision: *deum* ‘water’ (from Fulfulde *ndijam* ‘water’), as well as word-final vowel elision: *sap* ‘ten’ (from Fulfulde *sapo* ‘ten’), *iyatut* ‘eight’ (from Fulfulde *jetati* ‘eight’), *chapuntal* ‘thirty’ (from Fulfulde *cap:an:de tati* ‘thirty’), and *loor* ‘moon’ (from Fulfulde *lewru* ‘moon’). Thus, the historical texts by Ibn Said and Couper provide definitive proof that the modifications witnessed in the retention of Africanisms among the contemporary Native Black American population are not recent innovations; these modifications began in the United States’ antebellum period among native-born Africans held captive and enslaved in the antebellum United States.

In addition to the aforementioned phenomena, one also discerns a conspicuous pattern of phonetic leveling among Fulfulde-derived loanwords in Native Black American language in which the pronunciation of Fulfulde-derived loanwords is frequently adapted to suit the pronunciation of preexisting English lexical units bearing similar or identical phonetic structures (e.g., Fulfulde *ndʒofo* ‘fool’ > Native Black American *jef* ‘fool’), indicating an earlier, broad form of phonetic accommodation in the transmission and retention of Africanisms in the United States. This phonetic leveling is likely the result of a number of factors including 1) overt prestige of English forms among the country’s dominant class group; or 2) standardization of anglicized forms due to folk etymology (e.g., the apostrophizing and anglicization of *hud* - i.e., ‘hood – under the false assumption that the Native Black American *hud* ‘any place in which the Native Black American population live(s) or settle(d)’ is derived from the suffix in the English neighborhood). Whatever the impetus for these modifications, it is clear that many African retentions in Native Black American language have indeed been adapted to suit the phonology of preexisting English lexical items.

The semantic meanings of Fulfulde-derived lexical items retained by the Native Black American people are remarkably conservative, frequently reflecting the original semantic meanings of the Fulfulde sourcewords. While a small number of the Fulfulde definitions marginally evolved in the United States to reflect new Native Black American realities – e.g., Fulfulde *tʃɛːde* ‘cowrie shells, money, any form of currency’ > Native Black American *cheda* ‘money, any form of currency’ (to wit, in Native Black American language, *cheda* does not signify ‘cowrie shells’, as the cowrie is not a monetary unit among the Native Black American population (cf. the Akan *ntrama* ‘cowrie shells, money’ (also Asante/Fante *trama* ‘idem’) Christaller 1933, 534 > Native Black American *trim* ‘money’, ‘any form of currency’)) – the overwhelming majority of meanings attested to by the Native Black American population are identical or virtually identical to that of the Fulfulde etyma.

Moreover, as evinced in this study’s lexical items, Fulfulde-derived lexical items are actively employed by the Native Black American population to refer to many key aspects of the Native Black American worldview and everyday life, including Native Black American self-designating ethnonyms (*Memba(z)*, *Da Hud*), medicinal practices (*húdí/Húdí*), spiritual traditions (*Húdí*), places of residence (*hud*), economics (*cheda*), folkloric music/dance (*Jaav*, *Hala*), body parts (*chúchí/kúchí*, *tóló*), and intimacy (*kutí*). The fact that such important core elements of the Native Black American experience and world view are referred to by the Native Black American in Fulfulde strongly suggests the great influence and numeric presence of enslaved Fulbe among the progenitors of the Native Black American population.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that veritable Africanisms existing in the language of the Native Black American people are by no means limited to those of Fulfulde origin. In point of fact, the careful survey of the language of the Native Black American reveals Africanisms from a number of languages that have simply gone unidentified or overlooked by scholars:

bag /bæg, bag/ *n* [Wolof *ba:x* ‘habit’ M&G 1997, 13 s.v. *baax*, ‘custom’ M&G 1997, 13 s.v. *baax*; Diouf 2003, 57 s.v. *baax* ‘tradition’ Diouf 2003, 57; ‘belief’ Y. Fall¹¹, pers comm, Jan 17, 2020; Audio ►; Fulfulde (Senegal) *bak* ‘habit’¹² Faidherbe 1875, 110] 1: Habit 2: Custom, tradition 3: Way of life, way, modus operandi 4: Preferred activity 5: Belief, what one believes in. **1973** Oscar Williams (director) *Five on the Black Hand Side* Five Hand Company [Booker T. (D’Urville Martin)] Girl, when you gonna come out of that Doris Day **bag**? **2018** Mar 6 *deep, heavy, negro spiritual sigh* @smoochitworse Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200108214847/https://twitter.com/smoochitworse/status/971095643187007489> I don’t think I’ll ever get married. That just... ain’t my **bag**. **2020** Jan 6 Marge Sr. @margee227 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200108221513/https://twitter.com/margee227>

7/status/1214308339909320704 But actually festivals ain’t my **bag**. I hate sweat and mud

bun /bʌn/ v [Wolof *ba:ne* ‘to have sex (neutral)’ Diouf 2003, 56 s.v. *baane*] 1: Have sex (neutral). **2013** Jul 1 Frank. @CatalecticCam Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200112235328/https://twitter.com/CatalecticCam/status/351797903146233858>
Simply put, he wants to **bun** me.

chik /tʃɪk/ n [Wolof *je:k* ‘lady’, ‘woman’, ‘woman who is no longer a virgin’ Diouf 2003, 164 s.v. *jéeg*] 1: Lady or woman (with some sexual awareness, readiness, or experience). (Anglicized spelling: **chick**) **1943** Jul 21 Frederick J. Jackson (writer) & Andrew L. Stone (director) *Stormy Weather* 20th Century Fox [Bill Williamson (Bill Robinson):] You should see / that **chik** and me / strutting down the street

chiken, chikin /tʃɪkən/ n [Wolof *jige:n* ‘woman’ Diouf 2003, 170 s.v. *jigéen*; Audio ►] 1: Woman (neutral). (Anglicized spelling: **chicken**) **2010** May 1 Beth Pearson stan account @_misskj Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200112235601/https://twitter.com/_misskj/status/13216335747 Why is this dance # so long. Shulda stopped after the drill..nd imma throw a girdle @ some of dese **chickens** onstage **2012** Jul 25 Dat Thang € @Nesi_lulu Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200112235547/https://twitter.com/Nesi_lulu/status/228264864584433664 a couple of my friends look like some of dese **chickens** on hea!

funk, fónk /fʌŋk, fɒŋk/ n [Kikongo *mfunka* ‘(active) energy’ Bentley 1895, 747 s.v. *mfunka*; ‘force, power, strength’ Bentley 1895, 872 s.v. *mfunka*] 1: (Active) energy, force, “oomph” 2: Power, strength 3: Effort. **1990** Apr 24 X-Clan “Heed the Word of the Brother” *To the East, Blackwards* 4th & B’way Records **Funk** is a force I

exert. **1996** Dec 03 Three 6 Mafia “Good Stuff?” *Chapter 1: The End* Prophet Entertainment Knowin’ this **funk** / Guaranteed to keep you up / Make you hyper super crunk **2013** Mar 12 Schlepp Films *Story of the Harlem Shake (Real Harlem Shake) | Original Harlem Shake Dance | Do The Harlem Shake* Youtube <https://youtu.be/dKAjnYffoaE?t=104> The dance is all about soul, it’s about...it’s about your spirit, **funk**...you get funky like Soul Train.

Funk, Fónk /fʌŋk, fɔŋk/ *prop n* [Kikongo *mfun̄ka* ‘(active) energy’ Bentley 1895, 747 s.v. *mfun̄ka*; ‘force, power, strength’ Bentley 1895, 872 s.v. *mfun̄ka*] 1: Native Black American musical tradition comprised of energetic bass, horn, and drum compositions.

funkí, fónke /fʌŋki, fɔŋkɛ/ *adj* [Kikongo *mfun̄ka* ‘(active) energy’ Bentley 1895, 747 s.v. *mfun̄ka*; ‘force, power, strength’ Bentley 1895, 872 s.v. *mfun̄ka* + English -y ‘English adjectival morpheme’] 1: Energetic, forceful 2: Powerful, strong 3: Full of effort. (Anglicized spelling: **funky**) **1983** Feb 18 Michael Jackson “Beat It” *Thriller* Epic Records Showin’ how **funky** and strong is your fight... **2013** Mar 12 Schlepp Films *Story of the Harlem Shake (Real Harlem Shake) | Original Harlem Shake Dance | Do The Harlem Shake* Youtube <https://youtu.be/dKAjnYffoaE?t=104> The dance is all about soul, it’s about...it’s about your spirit, funk...you get **funky** like Soul Train.

gank /gæŋk, gɑŋk/ *n* [Kikongo *ngangu* ‘trick, artifice’ Bentley 1887, 371 s.v. *ngangu*; ‘lie, falsity’ Marichelle 1902, 132 s.v. *ngangu*; Audio ►] 1: Ruse, deception, trick 2: Fraud 3: That which is used to fleece or swindle. **2010** Aug 13 lady legasus @Your_Thighnes Twitter <https://archive.is/LDaUz> Deceitful ass phone.. Vibrating four times for one message.. #gank **2012** Apr 3 bricc @bricc_ Twitter

<https://archive.is/v7JxN> i remember wen i bought that josten shit that shit sholl was a straight **gank**

gank /gæŋk, gaŋk/ *v* [Kikongo *tekela e nganggu* ‘defraud, cheat, act deceitfully towards’ Bentley 1887, 912 s.v. *tekela e nganggu* < Kikongo *ngangu* ‘trick, artifice, craftiness, cunning, subtlety’ Bentley 1887, 371 s.v. *ngangu*; ‘lie, falsity’ Marichelle 1902, 132 s.v. *ngangu*; Audio ►] 1: Defraud, swindle, fleece 2: Rb, steal (especially in a slick, cunning, or indirect manner) 3: Deceive, trick, hoodwink. **1987** Aug 13 N.W.A “Dopeman” *N.W.A. and the Posse* Ruthless Records Man, I can't believe this shit, this bitch is tryin to **gank** me **1992** Dec 15 Dr. Dre “The Day the Niggaz Took Over” *The Chronic* Interscope Records Got a VCR/ in the back of my car/That I **ganked** from the Slauson Swap Meet **1994** Nov 3 Martin Lawrence (writer) & Gerren Keith (director) “Momma's Baby, Martin's Maybe” (S3 ep8) *Martin* Xfinity [Martin Payne (Martin Lawrence):] You sure that boy you talkin bout is yours? I mean, I hate to see you mess around here and get **ganked**.

ganka /gæŋkə, gaŋkə/ *n* [Kikongo *ngangi* ‘deceiver, liar, cheater, impostor, fraudulent person’ Bentley 1887, 371 s.v. *ngangi* < Kikongo *ngangu* ‘trick, artifice, craftiness, cunning, subtlety’ Bentley 1887, 371 s.v. *ngangu*; ‘lie, falsity’ Marichelle 1902, 132 s.v. *ngangu*; Audio ► + English *-er*] 1: Deceiver, cheater, fraudulent person, swindler. **1987** Aug 13 N.W.A “Dopeman” *N.W.A. and the Posse* Ruthless Records Gotta make a run / it's a big money deal / **Gankers** got the fake but / you can get the real

ham /hæm, ham/ *adj* [Twi *hæm, ham* ‘mad’, ‘wild’, literally ‘in the bush (i.e., woods/forest)’, ‘in the manner or fashion of the bush’ < Twi *ha* ‘bush’, ‘wood’, ‘forest’ + Twi *mu* ‘inside’, ‘in the manner or fashion of (when compounded with a

noun)'] 1: Mad, wild, crazy. **2009** May 12 Gucci Mane “Say Damn” *Murder Was The Case* Big Cat Records My necklace represent the fact I go **HAM** **2011** Jul 9 🤔👊👉 @JumpShotJohnny Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20191008154105/https://twitter.com/JumpShotJohnny/status/89881151652634624> I saw yo kinfolk mugshot on this website... She **ham** as hell lol. **2012** Jan 31 ①②①_@③④⑤⑥⑦ @rontayy Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20191008130243/https://twitter.com/rontayy/status/164488706240151553> Niggas in my lunch went **ham** 2day #wildin. **2017** Apr 11 Theon @EXTRABEEFY Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20191008125958/https://twitter.com/EXTRABEEFY/status/851867889338548224> I knew Westbrook would go crazy without Durant but good God. I never thought he would go completely **HAM**. **2018** Jun 18 Yvette Carnell *Equality Means Everyone Eats the Failure* Youtube https://youtu.be/8ww_aruPfJI All these Black pundits are like, going **ham** over [...] this migrant debate.

ham /hæm, ham/ *v* [Twi *hæm*, *ham* ‘to strive’, ‘to contend’, ‘to brawl’; cf. Twi *ɔham* ‘fight’] 1: Strive, contend, work hard 2: Fight, brawl. **2011** Jan 18 B.O.B. “Beast Mode” *No Genre* BE Music Group When I get to the booth I go **ham**, cause I gotta do what I can **2013** May 3 @Jalen_Elijah Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200109194735/https://twitter.com/Jalen_Elijah/status/330547006126845952 Aye class of 2015 Finna **HAM** on the juniors next year, and they gon work my class too **2016** Jan 12 @__SKYYBluee Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20191008133338/https://twitter.com/__SKYYBluee/status/686959408559996928 “you wasn’t Finna **ham** shit you ain’t cut like that .” If yall not gone fight mines well just stop arguing

hand /hænd, hand/ *n* [Kikongo *mwanda* ‘spirit’; ‘an *nkisi* (object forged by a traditional Kongo priest to serve as a receptacle for a spirit)’ Laman 1936, 645 s.v. *mwánda*,

Mwánda; cf. Kikongo *handi* ‘a traditional Kongo priest’s sophistication and knowledge in making *minkisi* (pl. of *nkisi*) Laman 1936, 188 s.v. *hándi*] 1: Spirit, especially one that works for its possessor 2: Object forged by a traditional Native Black American doctor or priest and infused with natural elements and a spirit who works for its possessor or can affect one’s fate 3: Member of the Native Black American population with the ability to make or harness the power of a HAND **1938** Henry F. Pyles *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States From Interviews with Former Slaves, Volume 13: Oklahoma Narratives* 245 “Old Bab Russ live about two mile from me, and I went to him one night at midnight and ask him to make me de **hand**.” Henry F. Pyles *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States From Interviews with Former Slaves, Volume 13: Oklahoma Narratives* 246 “It stirred up sech a rumpus everybody called me “**Hand**” after that until after I was married and had a pack of children.” **1979** Snow *JFI* 16:64 If you’re on her good side, she’ll leave her place and come with the midwife and she’ll be there to see there’s no **hand** put on the woman, when she’s pushing out the baby.

hed /hɛd/ *n* [calque of Kikongo *muntu* ‘human being’ Dereau, 1957, 84 s.v. *muntu*; ‘person’ Laman 1936, 619 s.v. *muntu* < Kikongo *mu-* ‘a Kikongo Class 1 noun prefix for human beings’ Mbiavanga 2008, 13 + Kikongo *ntu* ‘head’, ‘person’ Laman 1936, 799 s.v. *ntú*] 1: Any member of the original African-descended population of the United States, literally “head”. **2016** May 25 Life in Polo Slippers @CoolQuest184 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113083121/https://twitter.com/CoolQuest184/status/735583946986127360> I know **heads** be wanting to show the hood that they made it...but everyone ain’t always happy for you. **2018** Mar 15 Jalyn @j_perkins8 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113083236/https://twitter.c>

om/j_perkins8/status/974338584235868162 Rappers get their lines from old **heads** in the hood...

Hed(z) /hɛd(z)/ *prop n* [calque of Kikongo *bantu* ‘human beings’ Mbock 2015, 23; ‘people’, ‘human race’ Laman 1936, 1092 s.v. *bàntu*; ‘plural of *mùntu*’ (i.e., ‘people’, see HED) Laman 1936, 20 s.v. *bàntu* < Kikongo *ba-* ‘a Kikongo Class 2 plural noun prefix for human beings’ Mbiavanga, 2008, 149 + Kikongo *ntu* ‘head’, ‘person’ Laman 1936, 799 s.v. *ntú*] 1: The Native Black American people, a self-identifying ethnonym of the Native Black American population 2: Original African-descended population of the United States, literally “heads”. **2015** Aug 27 Wise Intelligent *The Real Reason Why Rap Music Was Turned Into Negative Gangsta Rap* Youtube <https://youtu.be/58sB3EFXbjE> When Rodney King got the beating, **Hedz** responded properly.

jak, jag /dʒæk, dʒak, dʒæg, dʒag/ *v* [Wolof *jaq:ə* ‘to ruin’, ‘to wreck’, ‘to mess up (literally or figuratively)’, ‘to mishandle a situation’ Y. Fall¹³, pers comm, Jan 17, 2020; ‘to damage’, ‘to corrupt’, ‘to pervert’, ‘to spoil’ Diouf 2003, 399 s.v. *yàq*; ‘to destroy’, ‘to waste (money, food, etc.)’ M&G 1997, 216 s.v. *yàq*; ‘to uglify’, ‘to deface’ Y. Fall¹⁴, pers comm, Jan 17, 2020 (i.e., *jaq:ə kanam* ‘to make one look ugly’, ‘to deface’, ‘literally “to uglify face”’ < Wolof *jaq:ə* ‘to uglify’ + *kanam* ‘face’ Diouf 2003, 181)] 1: Ruin, wreck 2: Mess up (literally or figuratively), mishandle a situation 3: Spoil (literally or figuratively) 4: Break 5: Lay waste to, destroy 6: Uglify 7: Deface, disfigure. (Anglicized spelling: **jack**) **2009** Aug 25 @RoMdAwoRm2 Roman H. @RoMdAwoRm2 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200121145955/https://twitter.com/RoMdAwoRm2/status/3545820674> Wow now this is truly messed up... SMH. Omg Now that’s **jacked** up! **2010** Apr 11 Kirk Franklin @kirkfranklin Twitter <https://archive.is/EOkdN> today u will sit by somebody just as

broken & **jacked** up as you. 2011 Dec 11 CLA_PRO @CLA_Pro365 Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200121224522/https://twitter.com/CLA_Pro365/status/146056681195966464 yea brodie i heard they **jagd** that game 2012 Dec 17 Swaggy B @BeautifulMonst3r Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200121154815/https://twitter.com/BeautifulMonst3r/status/280845883090800640> She ruined it by putting it on it had potential but she **jacked** it up RT @eatMAYtweetz: I do like Bambi’s lipstick color tho 2013 Feb 2 Kareem Baker @AgentReem313 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200121113511/https://twitter.com/AgentReem313/status/297848702771552256> This is non sense, The weather **jack** my plans to hangout with Creed crew at BWW for UFC 156. 2015 May 17 J A Y E L L E @jayellebee__ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200122122458/https://twitter.com/jayellebee_/status/600102684910301185 Iggy can’t even look at the camera cause she knows her face look **jacked** up 2018 Mar 11 TM_2288 @Twenty2eighty8 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200121161845/https://twitter.com/Twenty2eighty8/status/972890149704134656> Or he did care but you **jagged** it by doing entirely too damn much perhaps 2019 Jan 6 Chance the Rapper *Chance the Rapper On Working With R. Kelly and Assault Allegations | CASSIUSxCHANCE* Youtube <https://youtu.be/vYBOgiWSrsU?t=163> I can’t be right all the time. [...] Like, I **jag’d**. [...] I made a mistake. Feb 4 Ananda Lewis ~my DIY HAIRCUT FAIL-ish~ Youtube <https://youtu.be/pbQMq9migOw?t=445> Again, don’t try this at home. Don’t copy me , cause I don’t know what the hell I’m doing. [...] This one’s all **jak’d** up now, huh?

jamborí /dʒambəɪi, dʒambəi/ *n* [Mandinka *dzomboro*: ‘celebration’, ‘inauguration’ (also *dzumboro*:) Foday Suso¹⁵, pers comm, 2016 < Mandinka *dzombo* ‘celebrate’; ‘inaugurate’ (also *dzumbo*) + *-ro*: ‘Mandinka suffix that transforms an active verb to a noun’] 1: Celebration 2: Inauguration. (Anglicized spelling: **jamboree**) 1941 Work

Projects Administration *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves Texas Narratives* 11 Dey was rejoicin’ and singin’. Some of ‘em looked puzzled, sorter skeered like. But dey danced and had a big **jamboree**.

junt, jont, joint, jawnt /dʒʌnt, dʒont, dʒoʊnt, dʒɔɪnt, dʒɔːnt/ *n* [Kikongo *zandu* ‘the African market’, ‘the African marketplace’ Laman 1936, 1154 s.v. *zàndu*; Kikongo (Uige, Angola) *nzandu* ‘the African market’, ‘fun place’, ‘neutral place’ Martins 1958, 99 < Kikongo *n-* ‘a Kikongo Class 9 noun prefix used for animals or things’ Mbiavanga 2008, 13 + Kikongo *zandu* ‘the African market/marketplace’ Laman 1936, 1154 s.v. *zàndu*] 1: Any place in which goods or services are sold; a place in which one can find items of value 2: Any place of business, business establishment 3: Commodity 4: Hence, thing (literal or figurative); 5: Something one doesn’t wish to refer to by name 6: Any place that is fun, exciting or has recreational activities; the “place to be”; hence, something/someone fun, exciting, happening, or amazing 7: Neutral term for a place. (Anglicized spelling: **joint**) **1980** Apr 24 Funky Four Plus 1 “That’s the Joint” *That’s the Joint* Sugar Hill Records When I rap, Funky Four, I can never be the wack / And when you hear Sha-Rock / She’s **the joint!** **2009** Jun 25 Dee | Cookie Monsta @ByDEEZine Twitter <https://archive.is/DH5FE> At the corner **joint** for a bite to eat. They spinnin MJ. RIP **2010** Jul 22 FaDoof @ADIDASandLEAN Twitter <https://archive.vn/RxF9K> In the hardware **joint** wit mom dukes and my sis **2011** Feb 4 B Hard @ImBHard Twitter <https://archive.vn/i2ynz> Jus ordered sesame chicken from the Chinese **joint** **2012** Jul 15 BD wit da BullSht @FUKDAOPPS Twitter <https://archive.is/pATYe> I got my OWN **Joint** dont work for another nigga #BOSS **2014** Jul 1 ericson @SC00WAP Twitter <https://archive.is/325Di> Club penguin used to be **the jawnt!** **2016** Mar 5 ken. @__KennedyLeigh Twitter <https://archive.is/4tVdB> poppin shit was **the joint**

junt, jónt, joint, jawnt /dʒʌnt, dʒɔnt, dʒoʊnt, dʒɔɪnt, dʒɔːnt/ *n* [Kikongo *luzuntunu* ‘a gathering of many people’ Laman 1936, 464 s.v. *lu-zùntunu* < Kikongo *zuntana* ‘to gather together’ Laman 1936, 1177 s.v. *zùntana* < Kikongo *zunta* ‘being many, large in number’ Laman 1936, 1177 s.v. *zùnta*] 1: Party, gathering of people; 2: Slave labor camp; prison 3: Hell. (Anglicized spelling: **joint**) **1987** Howard Johnson (producer & director) *Fats Waller: This Joint Is Jumpin* Sammy Price: In the ‘20s and ‘30s, they had what we call ‘house-rent parties’, and usually to throw the police off, they would call them “**jonts**”. **2011** Feb 12 Steve YERRR @PhotosByRome Twitter <http://archive.is/zqnKu> Why people still pressing me about not being “invited” to my superbowl **joint**? Lol. I sent two texts **2012** Oct 6 Cap Shit @FukYoMamaCookin Twitter <https://archive.is/VpfAj> What’s The Best Spot To Have A Birthday **Joint** At In DC?? Nov 8 Best Life Ice @UPTOWN_ICY Twitter <https://archive.is/wJDkd> a birthday **joint** at vault wit Chloe...tryna do something crazy cus a nigga ain’t had a party since he was like 10 lol Dec 31 Doub Anthony Doncic @Doubdour Twitter <https://archive.vn/m1bGw> I would throw my own **joint** but dem gatherings neva go as planned..n I end up...nvm **2014** Jun 7 Nicole Lamour @Anorexic_soul Twitter <https://archive.vn/VkEgJ> did you go to the block **joint**?

kap /kæp, kap/ *n* [Wolof *kaf* ‘joke’ M&G 1997, 87 s.v. *kaf*, ‘funny jibe’ K&A 1923, 156 s.v. *kaf*; cf. Wolof *kafam bare* ‘to be a tease’; ‘to not be serious’ M&G 1997, 87 s.v. *kafam bare*] 1: Joke, mocking remark, funny taunt, teasing remark 2: Something said in jest 3: Something uttered that lacks seriousness or sincerity 4: Hence, nonsense, “bullshit”. (Anglicized spelling: **cap**) **2010** Dec 1 Erica P ADDICTED @DaRealEricaP Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20191008141348/https://twitter.com/DaRealEricaP/status/10157591770431488> My son **caps** be corny!!! He said I look like a first aid kit! **2011** May 5 Kesha Howell @Kesh_loyallove Twitter

https://web.archive.org/web/20200109194953/https://twitter.com/Kesh_loyallove/status/198797941157269504 My sister say the funniest **caps** i be weak every trip! **2019**
 Sep 2 Black Mamba @AuxGawd_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20190912174525/https://twitter.com/AuxGawd_/status/1168495263280971776 No **cap** I found some hoodoo eggs in both of my cars. Someone “close” to me is on the fuck shit
 Oct 7 MEECH @memphismeech Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20191008152746/https://twitter.com/memphismeech/status/1181233313543069696> **Cap cap cap...u** don’t love no China, ya’ll love dat 💰! So China regulatin free speech over there AND over here now huh.

kap /kæp, kap/ *v* [Wolof *kaf* ‘to joke’, ‘to tease’ M&G 1997, 87 s.v. *kaf*] 1: Joke, tease, engage in the Native Black American tradition of ritualized joking (usually for the maintenance of social cohesion, conflict management, or as an expression/extension of real or fictive kinship) 2: Say something one doesn’t really mean, say something lacking seriousness 3: Hence, say something that is untrue, lie. (Anglicized spelling: **cap**) **2006** Apr 24 The Coup “I Love Boosters” *Pick a Bigger Weapon* Epitaph Records Then in high school Langston Anderson would **cap** cause my jacket didn’t have a brand name on the back

Kap(in) /kæp, kap/ *prop n* [Wolof *kaf* ‘to joke’, ‘to tease’ M&G 1997, 87 s.v. *kaf*; cf. Wolof *kafam bare* ‘to be a tease’; to not be serious’ Gaye & Munro 1997, 87 s.v. *kafam bare*] 1: Native Black American joking tradition of ritualized mockery and insult (used for the maintenance of social cohesion, conflict management, or as an expression/extension of real or fictive kinship). (Anglicized spelling: **Capping**) **2014**
 Nov 18 Willie Beaman @Hood2NBA Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109195141/https://twitter.com/HOOD2NBA/status/534975418865295360> That **cappin** session was comedy earlier **2018** Apr D.Moore 7 @1TimeForTheCity

Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20191008151041/https://twitter.com/1TimeForTheCity/status/982776187763220480> When I was young the old heads use to say “**cappin**” like cracking jokes ok somebody

ké, nké, mké, óké /ke, kei, nke, nkei, mke, mkei, oke, oo'kei/ *conj* [Kikongo *nge / inga / ingeta* ‘so...’ Bentley 1895, 830; *interj* ‘okay’, ‘so be it’, ‘absolutely!’ Jean-Christophe Kuete, pers comm, Oct 12, 2020; ‘indeed’ Carter & Makoondewa 1987, 152 s.v. *ingeta*; ‘used to respectfully introduce a remark, express an opinion or give a polite reply to a governor, etc.’ Laman 1926, 196; ‘interjection which a respectful person adds to any remark or reply he makes to a great chief or to a call’ Bentley 1887, 282; ‘takes the place of interjective, polite affirmative’ Laman 1926, 196; ‘a respectful assent’ Bentley 1887, 282; ‘a respectful affirmative’ Bentley 1887, 699; ‘yea’ Bentley 1887, 242; ‘yes’ Bentley 1887, 243 (also *ika*) < Kikongo *inga* ‘yes’ Bentley 1887, 282 + *eta* ‘Kikongo particle implying great respect’, ‘your honor’, ‘your excellency’, ‘your majesty’ Bentley 1895, 830] 1: “So...” 2: Interjection to introduce a remark, express an opinion, or give a response 3: All right, so be it 4: Indeed 5: Statement of assent, agreement, or acquiescence 6: Polite response to a call made by someone one hasn’t seen for some time (usually when responding from a distance). (Anglicized spelling: **kay, unkay, mkay, okay**) **1768** John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth *A Tour in the United States of America (Volume 1)* 121 **Kay**, massa, you just leave me, me sit here, great fish jump up into da canoe, here he be, massa, fine fish, massa; me den very grad; den me sit very still, until another great fish jump into de canoe **2012** Feb 29 Tha Dreãm @StephenThaDream Twitter <https://archive.is/RkSem> Oh so I’m a liar...**okay** so be it Apr 16 Cutty Cartel @TheRealCutty Twitter <https://archive.is/tXsKH> **unkay!** Imma wait and see what happens... Dec 26 ~Mzpip~ @MzPip20 Twitter <https://archive.is/zNiex> **Kay** I went to the doc today still just a fingertip he said he believe I’m gone make it to the

third! **2019** Mar 2 Return of the Savage *@_im_real* Twitter
<https://archive.is/zuUH2> **Mkay** I’ll be there in 5 minutes I can’t stay tho

kíchin, kichin /kiʃin, kiʃin/ *n* [Kikongo *ki-* ‘a Kikongo Class 7 singular noun prefix’ Mbiavanga 2008, 13 + Kikongo *ʃingu* ‘nape’ Stephanie Ndinga¹⁶, pers comm, Aug 7, 2014; Kimbundu *kifingu* ‘nape’ de Assis n.d., 151 s.v. *kixingu*] 1: Nape 2: Neck (less common). (Anglicized spelling: **kitchen**) **1988** Jan 1 Bill Lee (writer) “Straight And Nappy” *School Daze (Original Motion Picture Soundtrack)* Manhattan Records (<https://youtu.be/o4nhRQfUk68?t=4m47s>) Well, you got nappy hair / That is alright with me / My hair is straight, you see / Soul’s crooked as can be / Look what’s getting you today / Look anywhere you please / Not at that **kitchen** of yours / Mind now what you say! **2009** Jun 25 MommyDangerously *@chuckandfoz* Twitter <https://archive.vn/0viYu> #msan sometimes we don’t even realize we are speaking a different language. Why do we call the nape of the neck the **kitchen** anyway? **2011** Aug 20 🍌 *@trinatriceee* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113111312/https://twitter.com/trinatriceee/status/105074153773735936> It’s going on my third week with this sew in & it’s still tight & I still have bumps on my **kitchen** >:[she was not playin . Oct 18 kiarah *@__nakeyahh* Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113111810/https://twitter.com/__nakeyahh/status/126322175077654528 How your **kitchen** be BALD? **2012** Jan 26 AKA_Flocka *@iRockPEARLS08* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113111744/https://twitter.com/iRockPEARLS08/status/162603250032451584> My **kitchen** is sore ! :(**2014** Nov 3 Dr. Ernie Smith *Dr. Ernie Smith 2014 Ebonics Conference: Hip-Hop and Ebonics* Youtube <https://youtu.be/4Som058qIC8?t=5019> **Kitchen**: the nape of your neck. **2015** Aug 19 thá kvng *@Jerwanyee* Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113112037/https://twitter.com/Jerwanyee/status/634145275783745536> put my hair in a high bun & my **kitchen** hurting like hell **2016** May 3 Ashaki M Jackson

@ashakijackson Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113112210/https://twitter.com/ashakijackson/status/727678899027517440> **Kitchen**: noun, slang. the nape of a Black woman’s neck; noun. a space in which mourners gather May 13 Llorona @JadeBrooklynn Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113112245/https://twitter.com/JadeBrooklynn/status/731374351627386880> WP be like “Ohhhhh those curls in the back of your neck are so cute” like bitch them is naps in the **kitchen** you need to quit 2017 Mar 5 Kyro @3Sannin_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113112726/https://twitter.com/3Sannin_/status/838375677359423489 lol so y’all **kitchen** be bald AF Jun 11 Alexis @alexismoshae Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113112916/https://twitter.com/alexismoshae/status/873945247159648256> I got them bumps on my **kitchen** because my braids are too tight 2018 Aug 17 Phoni Braxton @brit_brat__ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113113205/https://twitter.com/brit_brat__/status/1030588189440974848 The nape of my neck is called a “**kitchen**” 4 Dec baked beans @melaninmom Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113113352/https://twitter.com/melaninmom/status/1070160454213881856> the **kitchen** can be referring to the nape of someone’s neck jjskskks 2019 Jan 8 KEY @key2success8 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113113409/https://twitter.com/key2success8/status/1082677467842822144> **Kitchen** means the Nape Jan 8 KEY @key2success8 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113113531/https://twitter.com/key2success8/status/1082669375046516736> I don’t miss that aspect of undercuts at all. Having a Cold **kitchen**

kíchin, kichin /kɪʃɪn, kɪʃɪn/ *n* [Kikongo *ki-* ‘a Kikongo Class 7 singular noun prefix’ Mbiavanga 2008, 13 + Kikongo *zingu* ‘coil, spiral’ Dr. K. L. Luyaluka¹⁷, pers comm, Oct 6, 2020; Kikongo *nzingu* ‘curl’ Laman 1936, 828 s.v. *nzingu* < Kikongo *zinga* ‘to curl (said of hair)’ Laman 1936, 1166 s.v. *zinga*] 1: Tightly curled or coiled hair(s)

at the nape or temples.¹⁸ (Anglicized spelling: **kitchen**) **1994** Apr 18 Henry Louis Gates *The New Yorker* <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1994/04/18/in-the-kitchen> The word **kitchen** has another meaning, and the **kitchen** that I’m speaking of is the very kinky bit of hair at the back of your head... When hair had begun to “turn”, as they’d say-- to return to its natural kinky glory--it was the **kitchen** that turned first (the **kitchen** around the back, and nappy edges at the temples). **2005** Feb 12 Ruben Santiago-Hudson (writer) & George C. Wolfe (director) *Lackawanna Blues* [Rachel ‘Nanny’ Crosby (S. Epatha Merkerson):] Don’t wanna leave dem **kitchens** undone. **2012** Dec 17 tiatamia @BabyCakes_Tia Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113113707/https://twitter.com/BabyCakes_Tia/status/280613320589996033 I have nice long hair & when my hair is up you can see my **kitchens** & people always say its curly baby hair & im just like hahaha yeah it is. **2013** Taryn @TarynIshUp Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113114413/https://twitter.com/TarynIshUp/status/305678684684156928> it’s ok you go hard in the gym with your curly **kitchens** and straight bangs lmao

krunk /krʌŋk/ *adj* [Twi *krãŋ*: ‘wild’, ‘disorderly’, ‘fierce’, ‘confused’ Christaller 1881, 257 s.v. *krãŋŋ*; Basel Missionary Society 1909, 215 s.v. *krãññ*] 1: Wild, disorderly 2: Fierce, aggressive 3: Confused. (Anglicized spelling: **crunk**) **1996** Dec 03 Three 6 Mafia “Good Stuff?” *Chapter 1: The End* Prophet Entertainment Knowin’ this funk / Guaranteed to keep you up / Make you hyper super **crunk** **2009** Sep 11 DEMETRIUS A. COLLIER @Meaty216 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113114739/https://twitter.com/Meaty216/status/3924938267> Waiiiiiit a minute @Stepinmyworld I am 32 get it right! Please don’t get it **crunk** cuz I’m smoked and feeling it! **2010** Oct 9 The Funniest Rap Nerd You Follow @fromoldharlem Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113114859/https://twitter.com/fromoldharlem/status/26851041844> My grandmother was Catholic. With no disrespect to the

faith, they’re fundamentally rooted in boredom. They dont get it **crunk** at all.
2011 Jan 10 Mo Gretsky @Motown410 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113114943/https://twitter.com/Motown410/status/24603729168695296> Cam newton came out **crunk** he bout to ham on Oregon ... Anybody disagree put the bread up .
2015 Jan 11 KMorgan88 *Bad Girls Club S05 E06 (Fan Fiction Game)* <https://web.archive.org/web/20150530171905/https://rtvgames.com/archive/index.php/t-83760.html> [Milan is seen visibly shocked as Trenyce speaks to her in an aggressive manner. Milan gathers her thoughts for a moment after Trenyce finishes and responds.] “Trey, it sounds like you tryna get **crunk** wit me, man.”

krunk /krʌŋk/ *adj* [Twi *krãŋkrãŋ* ‘to be eager for’, ‘to make oneself frightful’ Christaller 1933, 264 s.v. *krãŋ* ‘krãŋ’; cf. Twi *akrãŋkrãŋsem* ‘to act upon others by intimidation’, ‘to have a baleful influence’ Christaller 1933, 264 s.v. *akrãŋkrãŋ* -sem < Twi *krãŋ*: ‘wild’, ‘disorderly’, ‘fierce’, ‘confused’ Christaller 1933, 264 s.v. *krãŋŋ*; Basel Missionary Society 1909, 215 s.v. *krãnn*] 1: Eager (to/for/about) 2: Make oneself appear menacing or intimidating. (Anglicized spelling: **crunk**) **2009** Jul 10 Big Truss Shy @Shyhiem410 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113115906/https://twitter.com/Shyhiem410/status/2715817859> Random...Mary Mary’s “God In Me” got me **crunk** to get up & go to church as much as I want to sleep in 2morrow he does work mysteriously..... **2015** Jul 18 IRIDER @Mr_skinnymike Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113120121/https://twitter.com/Mr_skinnymike/status/622491109764173824 I’m **crunk** to meet @E40 today at 290 & barker cypress today HEB. HOPEFULLY I GET A MINUTE TO TELL HIM HOW HE INSPIRED ME.

kúl /ku:l/ *v* [calque of Kikongo *vɔluka* ‘to stop’, ‘to finish with (something)’, ‘to not do anymore’, ‘to be silent’, ‘to act mysteriously’, ‘to not respond’ Laman 1936, 1071

s.v. *vōluka* < Kikongo *vōla* ‘to become cool’, ‘to cool’, ‘to cool off’, ‘to get colder’ Laman 1936,1071 s.v. *vōla*] 1: Stop; to not do anymore 2: Be quiet, not talk, be silent 3: Not respond 4: Behave mysteriously 5: Be patient, literally “cool” **2013** Sep 2 Karston Anderson @K_ManAndy Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110225630/https://twitter.com/K_ManAndy/status/374601479891320832 lol be **cool**.. Don’t say nothin to the teacher bout it. Haha Dec 31 Mrs.SMOKEbarbie @simplyDLV Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110223405/https://twitter.com/simplyDLV/status/418050785407012865> imma jus be **cool** and see how this play out thoo ! **2016** Feb 20 Lani Tsunami @King_QueenHoe Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110225004/https://twitter.com/King_QueenHoe/status/701243445566898177 Im not gone speak on anything i don’t know about. Sooo, imma jus be **cool** May 5 k.dot @MFnKenan Twitter <http://archive.is/PEuuu> I told you to **cool** it my nigga, but keep using them fingers on that keyboard that’s all they good for **2019** Oct 27 Frankie D @TheRealFrankieD Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20191027112342/https://twitter.com/TheRealFrankieD/status/1188409226730921985> What if yo’ ass stop deflecting and **cool** it with the #whataboutisms Dec 2 Eli Williams Jr. @20_EWill Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200110230331/https://twitter.com/20_EWill/status/1201567211766333440 HAD TO TELL HER TO **COOL** IT MA I’M MARRIED AND MY QUEEN IS DOPE AF AND LITERALLY TOLD HER STOP BEING SO FUCKIN THIRSTY CAUSE YOU KNOW WHO MY WIFE IS....IMMA TELL YOU ON YO ASS

kut /kʌt/ *v* [Wolof *kāt*: ‘to have sex (vulgar)’ Diouf 2003, 183 s.v. *katt*; to have sex with (vulgar) M&G 1997, 89 s.v. *katt*; Audio ►] 1: Have sex (vulgar). (Anglicized spelling: **cut**) **2003** May 8 Joe Budden “Pump It Up” *Pump It Up* Def Jam Recordings (https://youtu.be/ySfwW_xSRU4?t=1m7s) I’m only dealing with freaks that wanna

cut. 2014 Jul 17 LUVEXMNOT @MzLese Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113121517/https://twitter.com/IYKYK91/status/489956314668625920> If I feel like you just tryna **cut** and you’re not genuinely trying to get to know me I can never take you seriously.. 2015 Feb 1 Johnjr (boss) @youngjohnjr Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113121816/https://twitter.com/youngjohnjr/status/561829774331764736> Most times as men we know off jump if we just want to **cut** or try to build something with you 2019 Feb 7 HRap_B @HRap_B Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113132005/https://twitter.com/HRap_B/status/1093318481917947904 “How do men chose the women they just want to cut or those whom are wife material?”

lamp /læmp, lamp/ v [Kikongo *lemba* ‘to rest’ Instituto Educacional Ginga 2011 s.v. *lemba*; ‘to calm’ Laman 1936, 391 s.v. *lémba*] 1: Relax, rest, 2: Be calm. 1988 Jun 28 Public Enemy “Cold Lampin’ with Flavor” *It Takes A Nation of Millions To Hold Us Back* Def Jam Records I’m in my Flavmobile cold **lampin** / I took [inaudible] upstate cold campin / To the Poconos, we call a hideaways / A pack of franks and a big bag of Frito Lays / **Lampin** boy Medina style 1997 Feb 11 “Triumph” *Wu-Tang Forever* Loud Records Yo yo yo, fuck that / look at all these crab niggas laid back / **Lamping** like them gray and black Puma’s on my man’s rack 2009 Sep 5 Black Rock or Ghetto Metal @miamicat Twitter <https://archive.is/nOs90> OOOh ! Wut a start for a SAT. imma **lamp** all the day play (DEAD) nothing else to do in the country .Cant wait 2 taste deer wen huntn S start 2013 Jan 5 IndecICEve Prime8 @kvinning1906 Twitter <https://archive.is/EerhH> I’m laid up prayed up **lamping** and relaxing like a big dog suppose to do

lamp / læmp, lamp / v [Kikongo *lembama* ‘to be patient’ Laman 1936, 391 s.v. *lēm̄bama* < Kikongo *lemba* ‘to rest’ Instituto Educacional Ginga 2011 s.v. *lemba*; ‘to calm’ Laman 1936, 391 s.v. *lēm̄ba*] 1: Be patient, wait patiently.

lunch, launch /lʌntʃ, lɒntʃ/ v [Wolof *lec* ‘to play around’ Rambaud 1903, 92 s.v. *lédy*; Audio ►; Wolof *læc* ‘to banter’, ‘to jest’¹⁹ K&A 1923, 177 s.v. *lëd̄*; ‘to romp about’, ‘to frolic’ Guy-Grand 1923, 259 s.v. *lëd̄*; Audio ►] 1: Play around, mess around 2: Joke around, jest, not be serious 3: Walk or skip about happily, cheerfully. **1993** Apr 22 Martin Lawrence (writer) & Tony Singletary (director) “Things I Do for Love” (S1 ep3) *Martin* Xfinity [Martin Payne (Martin Lawrence):] I’m telling you, Tommy is **lunchin**, this girl has his mind twisted. The boy just be walkin down the street and for no reason smilin...smilin! **2011** May 27 B. Taylor @britt_so_lovely Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113185528/https://twitter.com/britt_so_lovely/status/74240762467991553 I want my twin to come take flight with me but she be **launchin!**~get whooped... Jun 10 Sweet Baby Jesus’s Favorite RIP SNOOP CJ&YPDONNY @HoeSayQuavo Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113185818/https://twitter.com/HoeSayQuavo/status/79199148322205696> hell yea know she be **launchin** tombout what im laughn at hell! lol already knowin whasz up **2012** Jan 10 AAU YoungBoy @WPM_Chico Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113190020/https://twitter.com/WPM_Chico/status/156946927341142017 see you **launchin** i’m trying to do business but you playing... Mar 13 MAL @JamalJarves Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113190206/https://twitter.com/JamalJarves/status/179677393034809344> She be **launchin** so much, ion believe anything she say to me nomore Apr 11 M @YRNWoo Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113190324/https://twitter.com/YRNWoo/status/190132321041649664> #oomf strait **lunchin** !! That mane green with his slaw lookin ass. #MemphisDictionary: #oomf playing. He wrong for that ! with his ugly ass.

lunch, launch /lʌntʃ, lɒntʃ/ *vbl adj* [Wolof *lɛc* ‘(to be) absent-minded’ Guy-Grand 1923, 357 s.v. *lëd*; ‘(to be) inattentive’ Guy-Grand 1923, 318 s.v. *lëd*; ‘(to be) frivolous’ Guy-Grand 1923, 270 s.v. *lëd*; ‘(to be) jolly’, ‘(to be) perky’ Guy-Grand 1923, 295 s.v. *lëd*; ‘(to be) spirited’ Guy-Grand 1923, 553 s.v. *lëd* (sic); ‘to jest’ K&A 1923, 177 s.v. *lëd*; ‘(to be) troublesome’, ‘(to be) hard to handle (i.e., of a child)’, ‘(to be) all over the place’ Fatou Diop²⁰, pers comm, Nov 5, 2016; ‘(to be) tangled’ M&G 1997, 103 s.v. *lëc*; Wolof *lec* ‘(to be) perplexed’ Guy-Grand 1923, 207 s.v. *led*; Audio ►] 1: (To be) absent-minded 2: (To be) inattentive, (to be) in a daze 3: (To be) chipper, (to be) in high spirits, (to be) spirited, (to be) perky 4: (To be) amusing 5: (To be) troublesome, (to be) bothersome 6: (To be) difficult to handle or utilize 7: (To be) “tripping” 8: (To be) flustered, (to be) puzzled, (to be) perplexed. **2010** Aug 6 Sweet Pea @SWEETPvsPMONEY Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113183439/https://twitter.com/SWEETPvsPMONEY/status/20471069921> N my god mova **lunchin** off da early morning she’s all perky n shit **2011** Oct 12 No One @_SweetThangJos Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113183316/https://twitter.com/_SweetThangJos/status/124263212333023233 Why errybody keep talkin bout Sprint **lunchin**..mines ain’t! **2012** Jul 26 Marv @Blac_CeaseMacE https://web.archive.org/web/20200113183122/https://twitter.com/Blac_CeaseMacE/status/228566555166928896 Just had to call my Granny and make sure she had her air on... She be **launchin** wit dat shit smh **2014** Aug 5 Flame @ImInMyZoneBitch Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113183026/https://twitter.com/ImInMyZoneBitch/status/496885590017998848> She a good girl..she confused and be **lunchin** but she cool.. **2015** May 6 WORLDS # 1 DADDY @beardedbully85 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113182742/https://twitter.com/beardedbully85/status/596003135002431488> Bernie Mac was so **lunchin** in house party 3

lunch, launch /lʌntʃ, lɒntʃ/ *vbl adj* [Wolof *ləjle* ‘(to be) annoying’ Diouf 2003, 200 s.v. *ləjle* < Wolof *lɛc* ‘(to be) troublesome’ Fatou Diop²¹, pers comm, Nov 5, 2016] 1: (To be) annoying. **2019** Oct 4 female age 38 interview It be so **lunching** when they don’t say “please” or “thank you”, you know?

lunch, launch /lʌntʃ, lɒntʃ/ *v* [Wolof *ləjal* ‘to annoy’, ‘to bother’ Diouf 2003, 200 s.v. *ləjal* / *léjal*; Wolof *ləjəl* ‘to bother’ Peace Corps 1995, 104 s.v. *ləjəl*; Wolof *lejal* ‘to perplex’ Guy-Grand 1923, 207 s.v. *leḍal* < Wolof *lɛc* ‘(to be) troublesome’ Fatou Diop²², pers comm, Nov 5, 2016; Wolof *lec* ‘(to be) perplexed’ Guy-Grand 1923, 207 s.v. *leḍ*] 1: Annoy, bother, irk 2: Fluster, perplex, “trip (someone out)”. **2009** Aug 12 Dayne Alexander @daynealexanderr Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113151515/https://twitter.com/daynealexanderr/status/3273558897> Ahahah metro be **lunchin** me....”if u see a train door that needs closing...then close it” lol wtf **2011** Feb 24 12.12 @KnoDaKi Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113151535/https://twitter.com/KnoDaKi/status/40914453344030720> He be **lunchin** me out... sum times I jus cnt stand his stupid ass **2013** May 8 Angie @JellyBean4394 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113181515/https://twitter.com/JellyBean4394/status/332176888686600192> This dude just told whoever he with (girl), “I’m trying to eat my lunchable why are you “**lunchin**” me?” Nov 22 the voicemail from “phases” @LexADubs Twitter <http://archive.is/IUsYa> Nig change your picture it **lunches** me when a koala fav’s and replies to me **2014** Dec 23 Kash @sluttykash Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113153308/https://twitter.com/sluttykash/status/547280975420727297> In PG “**launching**” means tripping **2015** May 30 Muva @_mommyblaze Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113152555/https://twitter.com/_mommyblaze/status/472384833629716481 Kyrie **lunches** me out while he falling asleep. He be staring into space not moving.... Shit looks scary lol **2019**

Nov 20 Nick Jones @NickJones_POW Twitter
https://web.archive.org/web/20191120030240/https://twitter.com/NickJones_POW/status/1196985194126942208 Lol then after I watched this I got on ig gotti at the top of my IG doing a lowkey James Brown dance man i said see Memphis niggas be **launching**

man /mæn, man/ *n* **manz** *pl* [Twi *ɔman:i* ‘comrade’ Basel Missionary Society 1909, 42 s.v. *ománni* < Twi *-man-* ‘the Twi radical/root-stem meaning “tribe”, “nation”’ Appah 2009, 3] 1: Friend(s), of any gender 2: Trustworthy peer. **1943** Jul 21 Frederick J. Jackson (writer) & Andrew L. Stone (director) *Stormy Weather* 20th Century Fox Come back at 12, my **man**. **2003** Jun 22 David Simon (writer) & Elodie Keene (director) “Hard Cases” *The Wire* HBO [Reginald ‘Bubbles’ Cousins (Andre Royo):] McNulty! My mainest **man** **2015** Jan 11 *KMorgan88 Bad Girls Club S05 E06 (Fan Fiction Game)* <https://web.archive.org/web/20150530171905/https://rtvgames.com/archive/index.php/t-83760.html> [Milan is seen visibly shocked as Treynce speaks to her in an aggressive manner. Milan gathers her thoughts for a moment after Treynce finishes and responds.] “Trey, it sounds like you tryna get crunk wit me, **man**.”

(da) man /mæn, man/ *n* [Kikongo *mwene* ‘nobility’, ‘aristocracy’, ‘ruler’ Laman 1936, 648 s.v. *mwéne*; cf. Angolan Portuguese *mani* ‘aristocrat’, ‘tax collector’, ‘governor’, ‘boss’ Chavagne 2005, 87] 1: Caucasian-American population (regardless of economic, social or political class); Caucasian ruling class of the United States 2: Any person or institution that serves the interests, values, or policies of the Caucasian ruling class of the United States 3: Any person or institution that represents the power or might of the white ruling class of the United States 4: The Establishment 5: Individual or group occupying a surrogate or privileged position in the United States

(regardless of race or country of origin) 6: One with access to power and material wealth 7: Someone of great importance or power (especially power derived from his/her capacity for violence, savagery, and/or terrorization) 8. Boss. **1973** Mel Stuart (director) *Wattstax* That brought **the man** on...on their own land, man. ...That’s the only way we [can] communicate with whitey. **2002** Jun 9 Yvette Lee Bowser (writer) “Who’s The Boss” (S1 ep22) *Living Single* Fox [Russell Montego (Shaun Baker):] You should’ve thought of that before you sold your soul to **the man**. [Synclaire James (Kim Coles):] Khadijah’s not **the man**. [Russell Montego (Shaun Baker):] You don’t have to be a man to be **the man**.” Jul 28 David Simon (writer) “Lessons” (S1 ep8) *The Wire* HBO [D’Angelo Barksdale (Lawrence Gilliard Jr.):] Éyó, Poot! You **da man** for an hour! (MED|The Wire S1, E8) **2014** Jun 3 male age 28 interview But, she ain’t one to fall for **da man** jef.

muní /mʌni/ n [Twi *ɔman:i* ‘comrade’ Basel Missionary Society 1909, 42 s.v. *ɔmánni*; ‘acquaintance’ Christaller 1933, 306 s.v. *ɔ-mánni* < Twi *ɔ-* ‘a Twi singular noun prefix marker’ Christaller 1933, 366 + *-man-* ‘the Twi radical/root-stem meaning “tribe”, “nation”’ Appah 2009, 3 + *-ni* ‘a Twi Class 6 noun suffix denoting identity or occupation’ Ofori 2016, 58] 1: Comrade, friend, peer 2: Term of address among the Native Black American population of the United States. (Anglicized spelling: **money**) **1993** Sep 12 Yvette Lee Bowser & Robert Horn (writers) & Ellen Gittelsohn (director) “A Kiss Before Lying” (S1 ep4) *Living Single* Hulu [Greg (Jeffrey D. Sams):] Khadijah, you haven’t changed a bit. [Khadijah James (Queen Latifah):] Yeah, you better remember that, **muní**. **1994** Clarence Major *Juba to Jive* 307 Gil is pure **money**. I’d trust him with my life. Mar 27 Yvette Lee Bowser (writer) & Rob Schiller (director) “U.N.I.T.Y. (a.k.a. Five Card Stud)” (S1 ep23) *Living Single* Hulu [Khadijah James (Queen Latifah):] Well, in that case, high no stud down the river jacks back. (slams down card deck) Cut em, **muní**. **2010** Mar 9 L-Gee

@LonGee3 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113144247/https://twitter.com/LonGee3/status/10217200552> What it is, **money-grip?** 2019 Sep 20 spooky white @DillanXO Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20190920182741/https://twitter.com/DillanXO/status/1175108365082648576> Old black dude just walked past me in the barbershop, one hand in his pocket looked at me and nodded saying “sup **money**”

rút /ru:t/ *n* [calque of Igbo *ogwu* ‘root’, ‘medicine’, ‘poison’, ‘juju’, ‘sorcery’, literally, ‘root’ Williamson 2006, 278] 1: Medicine 2: Poison 3: Spirit-imbued traditional device to heal, cause harm, affect one’s fate, or bring about justice 4: Jújú 5: (Literally) “root”. 1935 Zora Neale Hurston *Spunk* 259 He sure got off light. Kill a man, they give him ninety days and he don’t even serve that out. He must be got **roots** 1955 Hylan Lewis *Blackways of Kent* 76 The ‘root man’ is said to have told her that one of her friends had ‘put the **root**’ on her. 2002 Jun 9 Martin Lawrence (writer) & Gerren Keith (director) “Love T.K.O.” (S4 ep5) *Martin Fox* [Martin Payne (Martin Lawrence):] Now either you on that stuff or this woman done put the **root** on you. What the hell’s going on?? 2006 Jamal Sharif *Passion, Pride, and Politickin’: Homegrown Poetry and Essays* 6 I got it bad for real, you musta put the **root** on me.

Rút /ru:t/ *prop n* [calque of Igbo *ogwu* ‘root’, ‘medicine’, ‘poison’, ‘juju’, ‘sorcery’, literally, ‘root’ Williamson 2006, 278] 1: Native Black American tradition of harnessing spirits and working with nature and the dead to affect one’s fate or bring about justice (also used as a synonym to refer to any or all of the Native Black American traditions, i.e., *mójó*, *gúfa*, *húdú* (both forms), and *obéa*). 1955 Hylan Lewis *Blackways of Kent* 76 The ‘**root** man’ is said to have told her that one of her friends had ‘put the root’ on her.

shuk en jaav /ʃʌk ən dʒɑ:v, ʃʌk ən dʒaiv/ *v* [Wolof *suk:ə* ‘bow or kneel as a show of reverence’ Guy-Grand 1923, 532 s.v. *sukǎ*; ‘kneel’ G&M 1997, 179 s.v. *sukk*; ‘genuflect’ Peace Corps 1995, 39 s.v. *sukka*; ‘bend one’s knees slightly and bob while standing as a gesture of respect’ G&M 1997, 179 s.v. *sukk*; Audio ►; Wolof *səg:ə* ‘bow one’s head’, ‘bend over’ G&M 1997, 174 s.v. *səgg*; ‘go blind’ Diouf 2003, 309 s.v. *səgg*; Audio ► + Fulfulde *ja:b-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to play (with)”, “to tease”’ Seydou 1998, 324 s.v. *jaab*; Audio ►] 1: Assume a deferential, reverential, or submissive posture when addressing, being addressed by, or interacting with DA MAN especially by a) bowing one’s head and casting one’s eyes downward, b) holding one’s hat to the chest, c) tilting one’s hat or removing it and holding it in the air while smiling, d) bending the knees and bobbing in a curtsy, or e) simply bowing one’s head 2: Bend and bow (to DA MAN), kowtow (to DA MAN) 3: Show deference, reverence, submission, or servility (to DA MAN) 4: Revere, praise, or serve (DA MAN), behave subserviently (for DA MAN) 5: Perform (music, dance, sports, traditional storytelling, etc.) for the amusement, enjoyment, or benefit of DA MAN; 6: Demean or debase oneself or one’s own people (for the self-esteem, amusement, enjoyment, or political agenda of DA MAN) 7: Pretend to be less intelligent than one really is when addressing DA MAN or behave or perform in the submissive, servile, stereotypical, caricatured, ignorant, grotesque, or self-loathing manners promoted by white Americans to make said persons feel comfortable, affirmed, secure, and superior (e.g., by moving from the sidewalk to the gutter when a white person approaches as a show of reverence, an act that Caucasian Americans demanded and required of Native Black Americans and their progenitors in the antebellum and apartheid eras, and for which refusal was punishable by torture or death) – usually, with the intention of a) protecting oneself and one’s community from white envy, white mob violence, and terrorism (e.g. violent or deadly attacks against stable, thriving, or wealthy Native Black American families/communities, or

Native Black Americans deemed “uppity niggers” by whites or surrogates) or b) receiving some type of social/political/economic reward) 8: Attempt to ingratiate oneself into the white American ruling class by submitting to DA MAN and compromising one’s own principles or the principles of one’s people. (Sohna 2017, 459-460) (Anglicized spelling: **shucking and jiving**) **2014** Aug 16 TheAngrySociologist @SankofaBrown Twitter <https://archive.is/7cfZ3> Man I can’t take this **shucking, jiving**, and bowing to white supremacy. **2017** Sep 23 CP @motown1906 Twitter archive.is/Vwp7R Ok, and?! If he wins, he wins. Doesn’t mean they should curtsy and **shuck and jive** just because you or anyone says so. **2019** Mar 17 Akata Deez Nuts @AkataDeez Twitter <https://archive.vn/GqYaI> Foreign blacks love **shucking and jiving** for white daddy they use all his talking points saying black Americans are lazy they call us akata and they say we look like thugs and have no education... Foh **2020** Jul 30 Monique Pressley @MoniquePressley Twitter <https://archive.is/6Zyaw> And they won’t have to **shuck and jive** or kowtow or hang their heads in false deference. They will not be required to dumb themselves down or hold their tongues or hide their ambitions to make insecure people comfortable with their advancement. Those days are past.

shuk en jaav /ʃʌk ən dʒɑ:v, ʃʌk ən dʒaɪv/ v [Wolof *ca:xa:n* ‘(to) joke’, ‘(to) kid around’, ‘(to) goof off’, ‘jokes’, ‘unimportant remarks’ M&G 1997, 28 s.v. *caaxaan*; ‘not speak or act seriously’ Guy-Grand 1923, 400 s.v. *tâhan*; ‘(to) lie’ Guy-Grand 1923, 146 s.v. *tâhan*) < Wolof *cax* ‘Wolof root meaning, “make statement with a hidden message”, “pose a riddle” Diouf 2003, 81 + Fulfulde *ja:6-* ‘Fulfulde radical/root-stem meaning, “to play (with)”, “to tease” Seydou 1998, 324 s.v. *jaab-*] 1: Joke around/with, play around/with, kid around/with 2: Tease 3: Not be serious, speak in a manner that isn’t serious or sincere 4: Play with words (in an effort to deceive), play semantics 5: Say something one doesn’t really mean, speak in an effort to fool

someone 6: Play tricks on someone 7: Say things that lack importance or seriousness (Sohna 2017, 460) 8: Not get to the point, not be frank or upfront 9: (To) not work, goof off, be idle 10: Be shiftless, lazy 11: Be useless, worthless. (Sohna 2017, 459) (Anglicized spelling: **shucking and jiving**) 2012 Jul 11 GailWashington @GailWashington Twitter <https://archive.is/JiIq4> If this life were really about me I could easily sit around and **shuck and jive** all day long. 2014 Mar 1 Dr. Marimba Ani Dr. Marimba Ani - Warriors YouTube <https://youtu.be/EQvu0ru4x2k?t=525> It’s about power y’all. And anybody who talks about anything else or tries to make it about anything else...you know, they just **shuckin and jivin**. It’s all about power 2016 Aug 30 Regine Hunter. @alyssafromcali Twitter <https://archive.is/M2FYv> Nobody cares about white tears anymore like... No one is going to **shuck and jive** to make y’all comfortable anymore. 2017 Aug 24 Linda Lafaux @LLafaux Twitter <https://archive.vn/c8NT9> That’s another way of saying PBO is “Lazy”, he’s “taking a nap” or he’s “**shuckin’ and jivin’**“. 2019 Feb 25 Black barbi @Blackbarbi7 Twitter <https://archive.is/0unYc> Hell with Kamala Harris she knows she’s in a no win situation with her bid for the presidency...therefore she’s speaking boldly against black people...no more bullshitting **shucking and jiving**

tada, tadau /tada, tɔda, tɔdaʊ, tɔdaʊ/ *interj* [Kikongo *tadi* ‘behold!’, ‘look!’ Bentley 1887, 423 < Kikongo *tala* ‘look’, ‘look at’, ‘regard’ Bentley 1887, 423 Audio ►] 1: Behold!, Look! (Anglicized spelling: **ta-dah, tah-dah**)

wel /wɛl/ *v* [Mandinka *wuliya*: ‘telling lies’, ‘lying’ Peace Corps 1995, 106] 1: Lie. (Anglicized spelling: **well**) 2009 Jun 4 Mr. High Definition™ @Laelo_online Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113143714/https://twitter.com/Laelo_Online2/status/2034713857 why this nigga @THE_REAL_SHAQ say he want Kobe to win #4...NUCCA stop **wellin!** 2011 Jun 10 Ayee Yappah Crank Gang

@Ayeey_yappah Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113142505/https://twitter.com/Ayeey_yappah/status/79229660550017024 no u didn't and u **welled** on me u ain't sing for me why u tell Rick Dat Smh strike one **2014** Dec 02 Shy Glizzy “She Like Me” *Law 3* Glizzy Gang I tell the truth and these niggas **welling** **2018** Jul 15 3515 @CeoMoc Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113143058/https://twitter.com/CeoMoc/status/1018731989866827777> I hate liars.. lie for no reason.. **wellin** ass

wela /wɛlə/ *n* [Mandinka *wulo*: ‘liar’ Peace Corps 1995, 106] 1: Liar. (Anglicized spelling: **weller**) **2011** Apr 18 John Doe TM @mr_dwynn Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113135431/https://twitter.com/mr_dwynn/status/60190526644817920 she a **weller** n got caught up in her lies **2014** Sep 7 LilBFrmDa3 @LilBFrmDa3 Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113141910/https://twitter.com/LeeFrm100/status/508696686697660416> Tinka Ain't Say nun you a **weller** but kool

youngin, yung /jʌŋən, jʌŋ/ *n* [Twi *ɔ̃-ɔ̃ŋkɔ̃* ‘friend’, ‘comrade’, ‘fellow person/another person’ Christaller 1933, 595 s.v. *ɔ̃-ɔ̃ŋkɔ̃*; Twi *jɛŋkɔ̃* ‘friend’, ‘comrade’, ‘fellow person/another person’ Christaller 1933, 595 s.v. *jɛŋkɔ̃*] 1: Friend (of any age) 2: Native Black American term of address 3: Someone whose name one does not know or does not care to mention. (Anglicized spelling: **youngin, young**) **2009** Aug 29 The Little Dynamo @dequese Twitter <https://web.archive.org/web/20200113135148/https://twitter.com/dequese/status/3630493846> Nah, **youngin** been callin everyday for a week. **2011** Larry Moon Jr. *Drama City* 152 Cliff knew that there was only a matter of time before one of Bink’s **youngins** get fed up and put a stop to his bully spree. **2012** Natalie Hopkinson *Go-Go Live: The Musical Life and Death of a Chocolate City* 111 I got something for you. Holler at me later on. Four o’clock,

young. 2016 Mar 29 Yaya @Ayeeee_Yaya Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113135106/https://twitter.com/Ayeeee_Yaya/status/715019158317113345 Lol that’s my bff been my **youngin** since day 1 and ain’t never switch up on me one of the few I can fw

2018 Mar 24 June @Iiljune_ Twitter https://web.archive.org/web/20200113134814/https://twitter.com/Iiljune_/status/977643763374927878 My **Youngin** Still Bouncin !!

6. Phonological Adaptation of Non-Fulfulde Origin Lexical Items

The selection of African-derived loanwords in Section 5 is drawn from a broader array of African languages, including Kikongo, Wolof, Mandinka, and Akan/Twi. However, they display the same primary modifications found among Fulfulde-derived loanwords in Native Black American language, including word-final vowel elision (e.g., Kikongo *lamba* ‘(to) rest, calm’ > Native Black American *lamp* ‘(to) rest, relax, be calm’), word-initial prenasalization elision (e.g., Kikongo *mfunka* ‘energy, force, power’ > Native Black American *funk* ‘energy, force, power’), and radical/root-stem isolation (e.g., Twi *ɔman:i* ‘comrade’ (from Twi *ɔman:i* ‘comrade’ (from *ɔ-* ‘Twi noun prefix marker’ + *-man-* ‘Twi radical/root-stem meaning ‘tribe, nation, state’ + *-ni* ‘Twi suffix of identity or occupation’) > Native Black American *man* ‘friend’). Moreover, like Fulfuldeisms in Native Black American language, the African-derived loanwords in Section 5 demonstrate a conspicuous pattern of phonetic leveling in which the pronunciation of African-derived Native Black American loanwords is adapted in a manner that suits or converges with English phonology or preexisting lexical forms found in English.

The morphological adaptations witnessed among the African loanwords in Native Black American language strongly suggest such adaptation took place among native-born Africans and first-generation captives enslaved in the antebellum United States. Verb root isolation – i.e., article, prefix, and suffix elision – would require a

native understanding of the morphological units of which each sourceword is comprised. As native-born Africans – and quite possibly first-generation captives born to native-born Africans in the antebellum United States – clearly would have possessed the native knowledge and understanding required to discern the meaningful units of a given sourceword, morphological adaptation more than likely took place in the United States antebellum period among the aforementioned segments of the enslaved population.

7. Conclusion

This study lays bare the broad Fulfulde imprint on the language of the Native Black American population of the United States. Researchers previously argued that Africanisms in the language of the Native Black American population – particularly lexical Africanisms – were few and far between, or virtually non-existent, as indicated in the previously discussed literature of Asante (2005), Dillard (1972), McWhorter (2005), and Sheidlower (2004). Additionally, many Africanisms in Native Black American language were believed by linguists to derive from an English (or other European) point of origin, as demonstrated by McWhorter (2005) and Sheidlower (2004). Finally, veritable Sahelian-derived Africanisms in Native Black American language were previously rejected as Africanisms due to expectations of Native Black American linguistic coherence with Africanisms identified in the language(s) of the Anglophone Caribbean. These stances were disputed in the literature by Dalby (1972), who, in turn, cited Wolof as the potential point of origin for the Native Black American *jaav*. However, as the results of this study indicate, the Native Black American *jaav/Jaav* and other Native Black American lexical items previously thought to be European (i.e., *cheda*, *hud/Hud*) or Wolof (i.e., *jaav/Jaav*) in origin are, in fact, enduring Africanisms derived from the Fulfulde language.

The language of Native Black Americans is endowed with an array of Fulfulde-derived Africanisms, which feature prominently in their everyday speech and core vocabulary. With so many lexical items – including greetings and self-identifying ethnonyms – deriving from the Fulfulde language alone, it is clear that the enslaved Fulbe progenitors of Native Black Americans had a significant impact on the collective culture and ethnic identity of the Native Black American people. The copiousness of Fulfuldeisms alone among Native Black Americans strongly suggests the existence of many more Africanisms of *non-Fulfulde* origin in Native Black American language – a hypothesis that is buttressed by the additional African-derived Native Black American lexical items of non-Fulfulde origin revealed in this study, i.e., *kichin* ‘nape’, *kichin* ‘tightly coiled hair(s)’, *muni* ‘friend’, *man* ‘friend’, *jaab* ‘agree, be in conformity, get along well’, *yungin/yung* ‘friend(s)’, et al. Thus, while this study focuses on the Fulfulde-derived Africanisms existing in Native Black American language, future investigations of the African provenance of Native Black American language necessitate the broad, careful study of a number of African languages.

This study demonstrates the limitations of antedating as it pertains to a marginalized, insular, and historically persecuted ethnic group such as the Native Black American population of the United States. The African origin of a significant number of Africanisms in Native Black American language and broader culture has been dismissed in the literature, as the first *published* occurrences of these Africanisms – often after the 19th century – are inexplicably deemed “considerably too late for African influence to be plausible.” (Sheidlower 2004) The erroneousness of this conjecture is demonstrated by a number of Native Black American linguistic artifacts included in this study. For instance, while the earliest published usage of the Native Black American *jaav* occurs in a Chicago musical recording²³ in the year 1928, research of this population’s diaspora strongly suggests a much earlier usage among the Native Black American population that predates cited antedating sources. In the Americo-Liberian

language, for example, one finds *dʒæ:b* ‘to tease’ (Hancock 1975, 250) – its word-final [b] most likely the result of an earlier word-final [ʒ] > [b] sound change among a segment of Native Black Americans and their Fulbe progenitors enslaved in the antebellum United States. (Among Native Black Americans in the southern United States and among northern-born Native Black Americans whose families arrived in the North as refugees during the apartheid era, word-initial [ʒ] occurs as an allophone of word-initial /b/.) A conspicuous cognate – *dʒæ:b* – also appears with identical meaning (H&K 1975, 263) in the language of Kepama, spoken in the Cape Palmas region of Liberia. Finally, in Liberian Creole – the language of the general Liberian population – one finds the cognate *dʒop* ‘to kid, put on, bluff.’ (D&G 1979, 117) Remarkably, there appears to be no previous literature tracing the respective origins of these Liberian cognates to the Native Black American *jaav* (or the Fulfulde *ja:b*-). In the case of the Liberian Creole *dʒop*, D’Azevedo and Gold (1979) cite the obscure English *jape* ‘to make mocking fun of, to say or do something jokingly or mockingly’^g as its putative point of origin. Nevertheless, the widespread usage of these cognates, and, particularly, its appearance in Americo-Liberian language, strongly suggests the Native Black American *jaab* was transplanted in Liberia in the early 19th century (American Colonization Society 1823), with the 1822 founding of the former United States colony. (Other examples of Africanisms whose earliest-known published citations occur post-19th century are the Native Black American *hud* ‘any place in which the Native Black American people live or settle(d)’, its earliest known recording²⁴ occurring in 1969; and the Native Black American *kichin* ‘nape’ and *kichin* ‘tightly coiled hair(s) at the nape or temples’, their earliest known recordings occurring in the late 20th century. (Wilton 2003)) Thus, as it pertains to the original African-descended population of the United States, antedating often gives little to no indication of the “birth” of a given artifact and

^g *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. “jape,” accessed December 16, 2016, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/jape>.

can thereby (consequently) betray a given artifact’s much older Native Black American usage and African origin.

In closing, this study underscores the importance of examining Native Black American language through the lens of cultural continuity, cultural resistance, and ethnic identity. Had the African retentions in this study been pathologized²⁵ (as per Washington 2017) or treated as merely “slang”, “urban”, “hip hop”, “invented”, “corrupted English” (as a number of these African-derived terms bear a chance phonetic correspondence with words found in the English language), or indicative of linguistic deficiency, it is unlikely that an African origin would have been suspected or investigated. Moreover, had the African retentions in this study been treated as generically “Black” or “African-American” – without consideration for the ethnic, cultural, and historical specificity of the original African-descended population of the United States – it is unlikely that a Sahelian origin would have been suspected or investigated, as Sahelian influence is not common to the languages of the Black diaspora. Thus, by adhering to a theoretical framework that 1) considers the ethnic and historical specificity of the original African-descended population of the United States, 2) prioritizes and consults their unique cultural expertise, 3) questions the notion of African lexical scarcity in Native Black American language, and 4) examines the language of the Native Black American population within the paradigm of cultural continuity and cultural resistance – the Native Black American *cheda*, *hud/Hud*, *húdí/Húdí* and *jaav/Jaav* reveal themselves to be enduring Fulfuldeisms, embedded and transmitted in the United States via the Transatlantic Holocaust.

8. Notes

1. Among the Fulfulde terms compiled by Couper are *sap* ‘ten’ (from the Fulfulde *sapo* ‘ten’), *gurko* ‘man’ (from the Fulfulde *gorko* ‘man’), and *debbo* ‘woman’ (from the Fulfulde *debbo* ‘woman’). (Hodgson 1844, 75)

2. In the original text, Couper refers to Salih Bilali as “Tom, whose African name was Sali-bul-Ali.” (Hodgson 1844, 68)
3. Both [w] > [p] and [w] > [b] phonetic adaptation and sound change are known (and common) among African languages, e.g., Cape Verdean *fɛpu* ‘completely, totally’ < Bamanakan *fɛwu* ‘completely, entirely’ (Quint 2012, 24) Among the Wolof, at word-final position, [b] often occurs as voiceless [p] when following a vowel.
4. Citations included in this article were not chosen to suggest or indicate the frequency of use or the domains in which these words are employed.
5. Adult informant from northern Nigeria.
6. *idem*.
7. Among loanwords in Native Black American language, the African [j] is often phonologically adapted as [dʒ] (i.e., Kikongo *mɔʒɔ* ‘spirit, soul, life’ (Laman 1936, 572 s.v. *mò-oyo*) > Native Black American *mójó* ‘Native Black American spiritual tradition’, ‘an object inhabited by a spirit that works for its possessor’; Kikongo *janɲ:ga* ‘have fun, enjoy oneself, be joyous’ (Laman 1936, 1117 s.v. *yánnga*) > Native Black American *jank* ‘have fun, enjoy oneself, merriment’. Exceptions to this include the Kimbundu *kijnoka* ‘serpent, large snake’ (Cordeiro da Matta 1893, 26 s.v. *kinhóka*) > Native Black American *kingyuka* ‘the Serpent, Devil, a Caucasian’.
8. The Oxford English Dictionary cites “street gang[s]” or “criminal activity” as particular to its definition; however, Oxford’s interpretation was neither recognized nor corroborated by any of the informants of Native Black American language surveyed for this study.
9. Elderly informant from Guinea’s *Fuuta Jaloo* region.
10. *idem*.
11. Adult informant from Dakar, Senegal.

12. The Fulfulde *a:da* ‘custom’, ‘habit’ < Arabic *ʕa:da* ‘custom’, ‘habit’ (Steingass 1884, 659 s.v. *âda-t*) is current in all Fulfulde dialects and is often mistaken by native Fulfulde speakers as Fulfulde in origin. While the Fulfulde *a:da* ‘custom’, ‘habit’ enjoys almost exclusive usage among the Fulbe, the Fulfulde *bak* ‘habit’ as recorded by Faidherbe in his 1875 work, appears to be obsolete.

13. Adult informant from Dakar, Senegal.

14. *idem.*

15. Elderly informant from The Gambia.

16. Elderly informant from Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo.

17. Adult informant from Congo, Kinshasa.

18. Compare with Bahamian *kazɪn(z)* ‘idem.’ s.v. *cousins* (H&S 1982, 52)

19. Use of [ə] and [e] among the Wolof is according to region, with either vowel being understood as correct by the Wolof speaker and indicative of the region from which the Wolof speaker likely hails. (R. Shawyer, pers comm, 2020) According to Diouf and Yaguello, ‘*la prononciation du wolof n’est pas uniforme, et certains mots peuvent varier d’un endroit à l’autre ou d’une personne à l’autre*’. (D&Y 1991,15) [Gloss: ‘The pronunciation of Wolof is not uniform, and certain words can vary from one place to another or from one person to the other.’]

20. Middle-aged informant from Dakar, Senegal.

21. *idem.*

22. *idem.*

23. The earliest known citation of *jaav* to date is the 1928 musical recording *Don’t Jive Me* recorded in Chicago, Illinois by Louis Armstrong and his Hot Seven.

24. Occurs in the recorded speech of a young Chicago resident, though it is erroneously explained as simply “neighborhood” (E&S 1970, 24) by the original author.

25. In an article for ESPN’s *The Undefeated*, Washington states the following regarding the Native Black American *son*: “Such a loaded piece of slang the black community has created. Why wouldn’t to “son” someone mean to love him? Maybe it’s connected to the fact that 70 percent of black mothers are unmarried when they give birth, compared with 29 percent of whites and 53 percent of Hispanics, according to the latest government data. And that children of this 70 percent are more likely to get arrested, have trouble in school, become teen parents, or experience behavior and health problems.” (Washington 2017) The Native Black American *son* ‘(to) bully, oppress, tyrannize, cause pain or suffering to, hurt (mentally/emotionally), humiliate by tormenting someone, harass, bother, trouble, drive crazy, be too much for one’s opponent to handle, have/get the upper-hand against one’s opponent, abase, labor/toil for the benefit of someone else’ is derived from the Wolof *son:al* ‘(to) bully (mentally/emotionally), oppress, tyrannize, cause pain or suffering to, hurt mentally/emotionally, harass, give someone trouble, humiliate someone by giving him/her a hard time or trouble, annoy, be too much to handle, thrash one’s opponent or have the upper hand in a *làmb* match [traditional Senegalese wrestling], work hard or toil for someone’ – ultimately from the Wolof *son:ə* ‘(to) work hard, strive, suffer’. Despite the word’s strong association with the Native Black American population, no potential African origin was alluded to by the author, and a veritable Africanism in Native Black American language was pathologized due to the journalist’s own expectation of conformity with the English *son* ‘male offspring’.

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