BLACK SEMINOLES: THE GULLAH CONNECTIONS

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BLACK SEMINOLES: THE GULLAH CONNECTIONS

by Alcione M. Amos

THIS PAPER can be seen as an expiation exercise by the author for not having pursued the Gullah connections of the Black Seminoles in the book she co-edited in 1996, *The Black Seminoles: History of a Freedom Seeking People.* At the time, while working to bring Dr. Kenneth W. Porter's massive manuscript under control for publication, she had only peripheral knowledge about the Gullah. She certainly knew that the language that the Black Seminoles spoke was a creole language and she mentioned as much in a footnote in chapter 11, but did not pursue the matter further.[1]

The research for this paper was developed along the following lines: 1) looking for information if Porter, the premier Black Seminole historian, had an inkling of the Black Seminole/Gullah cultural connections, and if he had contacted Dr. Lorenzo Dow Turner on the subject; 2) examining the language connections between Gullah and Afro-Seminole Creole (the official name of the creole language spoken by the Black Seminoles); and 3) examining Black Seminole naming practices to verify if the practices that were common among South Carolina slaves, who were the ancestors of the Black Seminoles, had survived into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In looking for information on Porter's knowledge of the Black Seminole-Gullah connections, the author found a letter from Turner among the Porter papers at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York. In the letter Turner discussed some of the Black Seminole names which have an African connection. Nevertheless, there was no sign of the extensive discussion which had been hoped for on the Gullah survivals in Black Seminole culture.[2]

SOON after his correspondence with Turner, Porter received information from a collaborator, Mrs. Margaret Maud McKellar (1873-1963), a white woman who owned a ranch near the Black Seminole settlement of *Nacimiento de los Negros* in Coahuila, Mexico. She told Porter that one of her employees, a Black Seminole man, indicated that he had learned the "negro Gullah" from his grandmother.[3] Again, Porter took note of the information in a neatly typed series of note cards which he filed away, but he did not pursue the matter. It is interesting to mention here that in the 1940s the Black Seminoles still had in their memory the word Gullah to identify the language they spoke; thirty years later that consciousness had disappeared.

Porter's last brushes with Gullah in relation to the Black Seminoles were in the 1970s. Two linguists came to Texas and Mexico to study the connections between the language spoken by the Black Seminoles and Gullah and they contacted Porter looking for information. The linguists were Lilith M. Haynes, who conducted field work in Del Rio and Brackettville, Texas, in 1974-1975 among the Black Seminoles and Dr. Ian Hancock, who also conducted field work among the Black Seminoles around that same period.

In a letter to Haynes on May 10, 1977 Porter admitted that "'Seminole Negro English' … does certainly have Gullah elements," and he even referred to his friend Mrs. McKel-

lar mentioning Gullah being spoken by the Black Seminoles in 1944. Nevertheless, Porter ended his assessment of Haynes' findings saying that "I see in it no evidence for the existence…of a 'Seminole language…'"[4]

IT MUST be inserted here that in the 1970s the Black Seminoles identified the creole language they spoke as "Seminole," "Seminole talk," or "Seminole Language." Haynes mentioned this in her paper. Porter, apparently, equated that with the possibility that Haynes thought the Black Seminoles spoke the language of the Seminole Indians.[5] One of the elders in the community, Black Seminole Alice Fay Lozano, recently remembered how the language spoken by the Black Seminoles ended up being identified as "Seminole." "When we come over here [Mexico] … Some people think we're speaking Indian. Our language was broken Seminole…" The Black Seminoles were also very aware that their language was not African-American Vernacular which they called "colored talk."[6]

At least one of Haynes's informants, an unnamed Black Seminole man who had travelled extensively while serving in the US Army and who had contact with Gullah/Geechee speakers, had recognized the similarities with the language he spoke. Yet, the possibilities that the two languages were related never appeared in Hayne's paper.[7]

It is also interesting to note that the reason Haynes could so easily research the language spoken by the Black Seminoles in Texas had to do with the fact that she was from Guyana and could use her own "mother tongue-Creolese" — as she herself identified it — to communicate with the community. The Black Seminoles are notoriously reticent in speaking their creole language in the presence of outsiders to this day.[8]

Haynes had been directed to the Black Seminoles by Ian Hancock, the linguist who finally identified that the language spoken by them was an older form of Gullah, which he eventually named Afro-Seminole Creole. Hancock published his first paper on the Black Seminole language in 1975. In it he first raised the suggestion that it was a creole language related to Gullah. By 1977, Hancock had already concluded that the language spoken by the Black Seminoles of Brackettville, Texas and *Nacimiento de los Negros*, was an "offshoot of Georgia Gullah" and was "more conservative or archaic than…modern" Gullah.[9]

Porter was initially skeptical of Hancock's discovery, but eventually had to admit that he had failed to recognize the existence of the linguistic relation when he had interviewed the Black Seminoles in the early 1940s. By then, in the late 1970s, he was already elderly and somewhat bitter because he had not been able to publish his manuscript, the same that was finally edited and published in 1996. He regretted that he no longer had the opportunity to do further research. To Porter's credit he finally acknowledged the evidence. In a letter to Hancock in October of 1977 he wrote, "Congratulations on having discovered 'Gullah' in such common use so late in the day although I am rather chagrined that I didn't find more evidence of its existence than I did."[10]

BEFORE PROCEEDING with the study of the linguistic connections between Gullah and Afro-Seminole Creole it is necessary to present a disclaimer: the author of this paper is not a linguist and this was a speculative as well as empirical exercise. The idea for this study came during the research for the "Word, Shout, Song" exhibit.[11]One of the first things that caught attention of the author was the language connections. With support and advice from Hancock here in the US and Dr. Yeda Pessoa de Castro in Brazil, it was possible to produce a table that connected African languages with Gullah, Afro-Seminole Creole, the Portuguese spoken in the *Candomblé* temples in Brazil and American English. What a find! Language indeed connected these communities and in this case Turner was the center of these connections. Of course the rest is history as these connections became the theme of the exhibit.

By comparing the Gullah vocabulary list compiled by Turner in the 1930s and the Afro-Seminole Creole list compiled by Hancock in the 1970s it was possible to identify twenty-nine words that appeared in both lists and originated in twelve African languages.[12]

Fifteen of these words, which represent more than fifty percent of the total came from *KiKongo* and *Kimbundu*, the Bantu languages spoken in the territories which are today Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo and Republic of the Congo. Four

African languages are represented in the list by two words each, *Twi* or *Akan* spoken in Ghana; *Fon* spoken in Togo and Benin; *Wolof* spoken in Senegal, Senegambia, and Mauritania and *Mende* spoken in Sierra Leone. The other five languages represented in the table are *Ibibio* (*Efik*), *Hausa* and *Yoruba* spoken in Nigeria; *Mandinka* spoken in the Senegambia and Mali; *Zarma* spoken in Niger; each contributing one word. These countries are all located in the geographical areas from which enslaved Africans were brought to South Carolina.

Visitors to the exhibit, which opened at the Anacostia Community Museum in August of 2010, immediately began to connect to one particular Afro-Seminole Creole word in the list: *biddy-biddy* meaning small chicken. By talking with them it was learned that biddy was also commonly used among the African American community, at large to identify a small chicken some forty years ago. *Bídibídi* in KiKongo means bird and it is easy to see how the connection was made.

Another word, tote, meaning to carry, is currently used in the US. Think of the all-too-common tote bag that almost every woman carries. *Tòota* in KiKongo means "to pick up," which of course is the first thing you have to do if you are going to carry something.

Then there is the verb *chicka,* "to lift," in Mandinka. It was the basis for the compound word *chicka-boad* in Black Seminole and *cika-bod* in Gullah, (the board that lifts) for see-saw. One can almost sense the process that went into putting together these words, creating a common language that would be understood by all in the Gullah community.

Afro-Seminole Creole was also influenced by Spanish and two indigenous languages: *Náhuatl* (a language spoken in Central Mexico) and *Muskogee/Seminole*. At least nine words derived from Spanish and two each from Náhuatl and Muscogee/Seminole appear in Hancock's list. But as we can see by the numbers, the influence from African languages remains by far the strongest.[13]

The primary interest in examining the naming practices of the Black Seminoles who had fled from Indian Territory to Mexico and had eventually returned to Texas after the Civil War was to determine if they had retained the names found among the Gullah slaves in South Carolina, and if so, which names had survived. For comparison purposes the naming practices among the Black Seminoles in Indian Territory were also examined.

A review of the literature on the naming practices among slaves in general and South Carolina slaves, in particular in the eighteenth century, determined that whenever given the opportunity, they named their children according to the African custom of chronicling the events occurring at the time of the child's birth. Even more frequently they gave their children the name of the day or the season of the birth. In time this practice evolved into the use of Anglicized day and event names, which translated into giving a child the name of a holiday, a day of the week or a month, in English. South Carolina slaves were also frequently named their children for parents or extended family, especially siblings, in an attempt perhaps to mend the familial ties often broken under slavery.[14]

Another common practice was to give a child the name of the place of birth. This last usage culminated with the fact that Carolina became a widely used male name among South Carolina slaves.[15] By 1800 African or English "day names" rarely retained their original meaning. Their continued usage was now related to demonstrate kinship and given to a child to honor his or her ancestors. This way, a male child named Monday might not have been actually born on a Monday, but was named for an uncle or a grandfather.[16]

The research concentrated on the slave names that had African origin or were so unique that it would be easy to identify them among the names used by the Black Seminoles and excluded common Anglo-Saxon names; biblical names; place names (other than Carolina used as a male name) or the literary and historical names so favored by Southern planters when naming enslaved Africans. The research consisted in comparing lists of slave names from 1733 to the eve of the Civil War in South Carolina and lists of Black Seminole names from 1835 to 1920. Primary sources were the publication *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790* and slave auction advertisements for 1859 and 1860.[17]

The sources for the Black Seminole names

were lists appearing in the appendices to the publication *Africans and Seminoles: from Removal to Emancipation*; various lists that had been acquired by the author during her research on the Black Seminoles including one created by the Mexican government in 1891; federal census records for 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910 and 1920; personal interviews over the years with Black Seminole informants and the online "Index to Seminoles by Blood, and Freedmen," provided by the United States National Archives and Records Administration.[18]

This extensive review yielded twenty-seven names among the Black Seminoles that were of African origin or which demonstrated that the naming practices exhibited by the South Carolina slaves in the eighteenth century had continued to be used by the Black Seminoles, some of them into the first decades of the twentieth century. A complete list correlating the names used by South Carolina slaves and Black Seminoles, with their possible African naming source or practice and the span of usage by the Black Seminoles, appears in Table 4 of this paper.

BY FAR the practice of naming the child for the day of the week in which he or she was born was the most commonly used by South Carolina slaves and the Black Seminoles. This practice came from the Akan people of Ghana and spread throughout West Africa. The table below lists these day names and their variants:

AKAN DAY NAMES AND THEIR VARIANTS IN WEST AFRICA

DAY OF THE WEEK	MALE NAME	VARIANTS	FEMALE NAME	VARIANTS
Sunday	Kwasi	Akwasi Kosi Kwesi	Akosua	Akosi Akosiwa Asi Esi
Monday	Kwadwo	Jojo Kodjo Kojo	Adwoa	Adjoa Adjua Ajwoba
Tuesday	Kwabena	Ebo Kobby Kobina Komla	Abenaa	Abena Abla Abrema
Wednesday	Kwaku	Kaku Koku Kuuku Kweku	Akua	Aku Akuba Ekua
Thursday	Yaw	Ekow Yaba Yao Yawo	Yaa	Abia Ayawa Baaba Yaaba
Friday	Kofi	Fiifi Koffi	Afua	Afi Afia Efia
Saturday	Kwame	Ato Komi Kwamena Kwami	Amma	Ama Ame Ameyo

Source: http://www.twi.bb/akan-names.php

It is necessary to understand here that these day names were committed to writing and registered by whites in the way they were heard and understood by them. Consequently, *Abia*, the name given for a girl born on Thursday, became Aby in slave lists. By the same process, *Kwadwo*, the name given for a boy named on Monday, became Cudjo. Later, African day names were anglicized. This way Monday and Friday became common male slave names in South Carolina and later among the Black Seminoles.

THE OTHER prevailing practices among South Carolina slaves and later among the Black Seminoles was that of naming a child for an event on the day of birth and for the place of birth. This included naming a child for the month of birth, such as July and August, and also the use of names such as Plenty, which might show that the child was born either at a time of plenty or Hardy, which might mean "born in hard times." Another common naming practice was to name a child out of for its current or hoped for future personal characteristics, such as a name that indicated that a child would be happy, or that cried a lot, or was very small at birth.

Among the distinctive Black Seminole names encountered during the research were three names that were not found among the eighteenth-century South Carolina lists of slave names examined, but were listed in other sources.[19] Interestingly enough, they were the names for which a definite African link could be found. Dembo, a masculine name, could have derived from *Ndembu,* a Kimbundu name from Angola for a member of the nobility, or from the KiKongo *Ndembo,* the name of a secret society. [20] The African Names section of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade Database contains entries of Dembo for a young man and for a boy who were shipped from Ambriz, a slave port in Angola in 1843. This strengthened the theory that this name originated in the Angola/Congo area.[21] A third possibility is that the name was derived from the Mandinka male name *Demboo.*[22]

Dembo Factor was the slave of a Seminole woman named Nelly Factor. He claimed to have participated in the fight that caused the beginning of the Second Seminole War. He also served as a Seminole Negro Indian Scout from February 1878 to January 1883. He was the brother of Black Seminole chiefs August and July, and one of his siblings was named Hardy. All of these names may derive from African naming traditions.[23]

Dembo Factor, ca. 1895
He was a warrior in the Second Seminole War in Florida and an Indian Scout in Texas.
Courtesy: National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC

Other members of the Factor family were named Dindie (also spelled Dinda, Dindie or Dindy). The name might have been given to a child because he was small or as a term of endearment. *Dindin* in Vai means a small child. The Gullah used it as term of endearment.[24] *Dindingo* in Mandinka means small child.[25]

The third distinctive African name found among the Black Seminoles was Cumba**,** possibly for a female child. This name appears in the lists of Black Seminole captives between 1838 and 1845 but does not appear among the lists of Black Seminoles in Indian Territory, Texas, or Mexico. It was possibly given to the girl upon birth because of her habit of crying a lot since in Mandinka *Kumboo* means to cry a lot. In the African names database there is an entry for a Mandinka girl named Cumba who had been embarked in Bissau in 1822. Bissau was a port of embarkation for Mandinka slaves.[26]

Another aspect of the naming practices of the Black Seminoles which harks back to their Gullah ancestors is the practice still used today of having "basket names," that is, nicknames. The usage of African basket names by the Gullah was thoroughly studied by Turner in his book *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect.* This practice was also verified by Drs. Keith Baird and Mary Twining in the Sea Islands in 1985. Recently, the practice was studied by Dr. Shirley Mock among the Black Seminoles of Texas and Mexico.[27]

It is interesting to note that many of the "basket names" used by the Black Seminoles were day names. Thus Monday Bruner a Black Seminole in Mexico in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, had the basket name of Kudjo which is the African (Akan) day name given to boys born on Monday. Other basket names referred to the characteristics of the child. Monday Bruner's son who had the anglicized day name of Friday Bruner also carried the basket name of Rabbit. Could it be that he was given that basket name because he jumped a lot as a child or because he was tricky like Bre'r Rabitt?[28]

Another basket name found among the Black Seminoles in Mexico and Texas in the twentieth century was Countee. He had been a leader of the Nacimiento community and when the author was there in the late 1970s several people mentioned him. When asked what kind of name was that one of the informants explained that he had another name but everybody called him Countee because he had been born in Kinney County in Texas.[29]

This story is very similar to the one told by one of the Northern white teachers who went south to teach the recently freed Gullah in South Carolina after the Civil War. One of her male students was named Rode. Curious to know the origin of the unusual name, the teacher asked the mother who explained that he had been born on the road while his mother was fleeing the invasion of the Northern troops during the Civil War and that was the origin of the name.[30]

Another interesting example of a Black Seminole basket name is that of one of the contemporary leaders of the group, William Warrior who is always called "Dub." The reason for the nickname is the double "W" in his name.[31]

As we have seen the place name Carolina, used as a male name, was one of the most common place names among South Carolina slaves which was transferred and carried on by the Black Seminoles. The name was used for male members of the Warrior family in Texas until it was anglicized as Kelly and Carroll in the early twentieth century.[32]

The name Monday was also used by the Black Seminoles into the twentieth century, but in one case it was anglicized by the name carrier when he moved to the US coming from *Nacimiento*. Monday Mariscal was the son of a Mexican, Natividad Mariscal, who joined the Black Seminoles in Nacimiento and married a Black Seminole woman named Molly (also known as Antonia). Eventually Natividad (whose nickname was Nota) crossed into the US and enlisted in the Scouts. The entry for the family in the 1880 census lists one of their children as M[o]unday Mariscal, a mulatto, seven years of age.[33]

In 1891, on a list created by the Mexican authorities which included only the male members of the community, he was listed as Monday Buly Mariscal. By the early twentieth century, Monday and his brother John decided to move to Texas, where they settled in the Big Bend region and went to work as cowboys for the local ranchers. Perhaps to facilitate the transition he became known in the US as Monroe Payne, Payne being one the surnames in the Black Seminole side of his family.[34]

John and Monday Mariscal Payne They are dressed in Mexican revolutionary garb. They fought for Pancho Villa during the Mexican revolutionary wars.

Courtesy: William "Dub" Warrior, Del Rio, Texas

The Black Seminoles of the Mexico-Texas border, the "Mascogos" as they are called in Mexico, had another layer in their naming practices. Most of them carry to this day two names, one American and one Mexican. This of course has always added to the complexity of their naming practices for outside observers, but perhaps the fact they were already carrying an official name and a basket name, makes the usage very easy for them.

Here is an example of how complex could

be the naming practices of the Black Seminole/Mascogo community in Mexico in the nineteenth century. Kudjo/Monday Bruner appears in the 1891 list as Simond Bruno and his son Rabbit/Friday Bruner is listed as Lázaro Bruno. These Mascogo men had several layers of naming practices: African and English day names (Kudjo, Monday, Friday); personality characteristic names (Rabbit) and Mexican names (Lázaro, Bruno). Each name, no doubt, allowed them to fit into the different roles demanded of them within and without the Black Seminole/Mascogo and the surrounding Mexican communities.[35]

The Black Seminoles' resilience and survival skills were unmatched. They can be said to be the typical of the "neoteric" society. These societies are characterized by being exposed to the stress of warfare and forced migration. Their survival depends on putting together pieces of cultural heritage from the places where they are forced to go; borrowing and inventing new traditions as they move on. All of this is done very rapidly in order to survive and prosper in new and very often completely different circumstances.[37] The Black Seminoles very adroitly navigated the various societies in which they had to live, adopting what they needed to survive, but retaining their basic culture. Ultimately, by retaining Gullah survivals in their names and in their language, the Black Seminoles have been to retain a direct connection with Africa.

TABLE 1: African Roots of Afro-Seminole Creole

WORD IN AFRICAN LANGUAGE	WORD IN AFRO-SEMINOLE CREOLE	WORD IN GULLAH	REFERENCES
KiKongo Bídibídi = Bird	Biddy-biddy = small chicken	Bidi-Bidi = smalll bird; small chicken	Laman, p. 35 Hancock, p. 52 Turner, p. 191
Twi Bim = sound of beating	Bim = sharply struck	Bim = sound of beating	Online Dictionary of Twi Language Hancock, p. 52 Turner, p. 191
Mende Fili = silk of the corn	Feely = cornmeal coarse and dry	Fili = corn; hominy; coarse bread	Innes, p. 12 Hancock, p. 58 Turner, p. 193
KiKongo Mbú = mosquito	Booboo = bug; insect	Bubu = insect with poisonous sting	Laman, p. 537 Hancock, p. 52 Turner, p. 191
Ibibio Mbakara = European	Buckra = non-Seminole person (Black or white but not Mexican)	Buckra = white man	Uyo Ibìdìo Dictionary (online) Hancock, p. 53 Turner, p. 191
Mandinka Cìka, Sika = to pick up	Chica-boad = see-saw	Cika-bod = see-saw	Gamble, p 23 Hancock, p. 54 Turner, p. 203
Bambara Jaabi = answer (verb)	Jabbuh = jabber; nag, talk nonsense; talk incessantly	Jaba = talkative	Bambara Dictionary (online) Turner, p. 195 Hancock, p. 61

TABLE 1: African Roots of Afro-Seminole Creole (Cont.)

WORD IN AFRICAN LANGUAGE	WORD IN AFRO-SEMINOLE CREOLE	WORD IN GULLAH	REFERENCES
Wolof Ñam = food	Nyamnyam = food	Nam; Namnam = to eat	Wollof-[*sic*] English Dictionary Hancock, p. 66 Turner, p. 199
Hausa Kusha = thin cake made of groundnuts	Coosh; Kush = corn meal dough	Kush = corn meal dough fried	Hausa-English Dictionary (online) Hancock, p. 55 Turner, p. 203
KiKongo Nkùti Angulú = herd of wild pigs	Cootee; Kuttee = pig; small pig	Kuti = small pig	Laman, p. 736 Hancock, p. 55, 62 Turner, p. 197
Zarma Ankura = turtle	Cootuh = turtle	Kuta = turtle	Dictionary Zarma-English (online) Hancock, p. 55 Turner, p. 197
Fon Kánji = porridge made of corn	Cunky; Konky = tamale (corn meal dough rolled with ground meat, wrapped in corn husks and steamed)	Kanki = boiled corn mashed and served in corn husks	Höftmann, p. 252 Hancock, p. 55, 62 Turner, p. 196
KiKongo Ngémbo = bat	Gembuh = bat	Gembo = bat	Laman, p. 686 Hancock, p. 59 Turner, p. 193
Kimbundu Ngoma = drum	Gombuh; Gumbuh = drum	Goma = drum	Maia, p. 598 Hancock, p. 59 Turner, p. 194
Kimbundu Ngone = forest rat	Gonneh = rat	Gone = rat	Maia, p. 524 Hancock, p. 59 Turner, p. 194
Mende Nini = breast	Ninny = breast, specially of a young girl	Nini = breast	Migeod, p. 130 Hancock, p. 66 Turner, p. 199
Fon Vodún = deities	Hoodoo = magic spells	Wudu = deities	Höftmann, p. 376 Hancock, p. 60 Turner, p. 204
KiKongo Nùnà = to grow old	Nannuh = term of address for older women	Na; Nana; Nuna = mother; any older woman	Fehderau, p. 242 Hancock, p. 65 Turner, p. 198
Kimbundu Ina = lice	Ooluh = bedbug; lice	Ula = bedbug; lice	Maia, p. 485 Hancock, p. 67 Turner, p. 203
KiKongo Mpínda = peanuts	Pinda = peanuts	Pinda = peanuts	Laman, p. 582 Hancock, p. 68 Turner, p. 199

TABLE 1: African Roots of Afro-Seminole Creole (Cont.)

WORD IN AFRICAN LANGUAGE	WORD IN AFRO-SEMINOLE CREOLE	WORD IN GULLAH	REFERENCES
Kimbundu Sésa = to carve	Sassuh = to whittle; to carve	Sasa = to carve	Maia, p. 244 Hancock, p. 69 Turner, p. 201
Twi Se = that	Seh = that	Se = that	Online Dictionary of the Twi Language Hancock, p. 70 Turner, p. 201
Wolof Tabax = stone wall; to build	Tabby = adobe (building material made of sun dried earth and straw)	Tabi = building material made of cement and oyster shells	Wollof-*[sic]* English Dictionary Hancock, p. 72 Turner; p. 202
KiKongo Ntàta = cry, call	Tuttuh = commotion, yell, shout	Tata = to cry; an outcry	Laman, p. 788 Hancock, p. 72 Turner, p. 202
Yoruba Tíwora-Tiwora = greedily	Tawwuh = greedy	Tawa = greedy	A Dictionary of the Yoruba Language, p. 84 Hancock, p. 72 Turner, p. 202
KiKongo Tíma = to dig	Teemuh = to dig	Tima - to dig	Fehderau, p. 283 Hancock, p. 72 Turner, p. 203
KiKongo Túvi = excrement	Tooey = excrement	Tuwi = excrement	Fehderau, p. 293 Hancock, p. 72 Turner, p. 203
KiKongo Tòota = to pick up	Tote = to carry	Tot = to carry	Laman, p. 985 Hancock, p. 72 Turner, p. 203
KiKongo Nzúndu = anvil; heavy hammer	Zundu = hammer; to hammer; to pound	Zundu = hammer	Swartenbroeckx, p. 521 Hancock, p. 75 Turner, p. 204

TABLE 2: Muskogee/Seminole Words in Afro-Seminole Creole

WORD IN AFRO-SEMIOLE CREOLE	WORD IN MUSKOGEE/SEMINOLE
Coonteh = Palm tree from which flour is made in Mexico	Coontie; conti = Root from which flour was made in Florida
Sufki = Corn porridge	Sofkee; soff-kee = Cold beverage made of corn (in Florida); soup
Tustanagga = Warrior; leader; headman	Tastanáki; tustenaggee; tustenuggee = Warrior

Sources: Harper, 2010; Martin and Mauldin; 2000

TABLE 3: Spanish Words in Afro-Seminole Creole

WORD IN AFRO-SEMIOLE CREOLE	WORD IN SPANISH
Banyuh = Wash	Baño = Bathroom
Caca = Defecate (noun and verb)	Caca = Feces
Beeoleen = Violin	Violin = Violin
Calpintero = Woodpecker	Carpintero = Woodpecker; carpenter
Choreesuh = Sausage	Chorizo = Sausage
Menooduh = Tripe	Menudo = Tripe
Metuttih = Grindstone	Metate = Grindstone
Sabby = To know	Saber = To know
Treego = Rice	Trigo = Wheat

Source: www.spanishdict.com

TABLE 4: Náhuatl Words in Afro-Seminole Creole

WORD IN AFRO-SEMIOLE CREOLE	WORD IN NÁHUATL
Abbacatteh = Avocado	*Ahuacatl* = avocado
Atoleh, Tolie = Sweet corn meal mush with cinnamon	*Atolli* = thin corn meal gruel

Source: *Diccionario Náhuatl,* http://www.sil/nahuatl/istmo/G020a-DiccNahlist-Nau.htm

TABLE 5: Correlation between South Carolina Slave Names and Black Seminole Names

SOUTH CAROLINA SLAVE NAMES	M/F	BLACK SEMINOLE RELATED NAMES	POSSIBLE AFRICAN SOURCE/ NAMING PRACTICE	USE SPAN	NOTES
Abby, Aby	F	Abia, Aby, Abby	Abia, female day name for Thursday	1836-1901	
Affey	F	Affy, Effie, Fibi	Afiba, Afia, Afi, Efia, female day name for Friday	1741-1901	
August	M	August	Event name, born in the month of August	1735-1901	August was an important Black Seminole leader in Florida

TABLE 5: Correlation between South Carolina Slave Names and Black Seminole Names (Cont.)

SOUTH CAROLINA SLAVE NAMES	M/F	BLACK SEMINOLE RELATED NAMES	POSSIBLE AFRICAN SOURCE/ NAMING PRACTICE	USE SPAN	NOTES
Bina, Binah	F	Bina	Abenaa; Abena female day name for Tuesday	1859-1901	
Carolina	M	Carolina, Carolino, Kelina	Place name; born in South Caroina	1737-1914	Most used male name and largest span of use: By 20th century increasingly used as last name and in Texas changed to Carroll
Cudgoe, Cudjo	M	Cudjo	Kwadwo, Kodjo, Kojo male day name for Monday	1737-1871	Dwo sound in Akan is pronounced like Joe in English
Cuffe, Cuffee,	M	Cuffee, Cuffy, Coffy	Kofi, male day name for Friday	1737-1871	
	F	Cumba	Kumbo, to cry a lot Mandinka	1838-1845	Ashrif, n.d.
	M	Dembo	Ndembu, a Kimbundu name from Angola for a member of the mobility; Ndembo, KiKongo secret society Demboo is a male Mandinka name	1836-1880	Turner, 2002, p. 73; Thornton, 1993, p. 735; Gamble, 1987, p. 28
	M	Dinda, Dindie, Dindy	Dindin, small child in Vai; Dindi term of endearment in Gullah; Dindingo little child	1845-1901	Turner, 2002, p. 192; Gamble, 1987, p. 30
Friday	M	Friday	Anglicized day name	1771-1901	
Guan, Juan, Wan, Won	M	Wan	Spanish name Juan	1839-1845	
Hekles, Hercules	M	Harkes, Harkless, Harkness	Heke, powerful animal in Mende	1732-1901	Turner, 2002, p. 92
	F	Happy	Reflecting child's temperament	1880-1900	
	M	Hardy	Possible event name "born in hard times"	1837-1920	By 1920 the name had been changed in Texas to Arti

TABLE 5: Correlation between South Carolina Slave Names and Black Seminole Names (Cont.)

SOUTH CAROLINA SLAVE NAMES	M/F	BLACK SEMINOLE RELATED NAMES	POSSIBLE AFRICAN SOURCE/ NAMING PRACTICE	USE SPAN	NOTES
Juba `	F	Juba, Juda	Adwoa, Adjua, Adjoa; Ajwoba female day name for Monday	1733-1838	Dwo sound in Akan is pronounced like Joe in English. Juba is also the capital of Southern Sudan.
July	M	July	Event name, born the month of July	1735-1920	July was an important Black Seminole leader in Florida. Name used exclusively as surname by his descendants in Mexico and Texas.
June	M	June	Event name, born the month of June	1739-1901	Also used as a female name in the 20th century
March	M	March	Event name, born the month of March	1738-1845	
Monday	M	Monday, Munday, Mundy	Anglicized day name	1732-1901	Used in Mexico and Texas in the 19th century but transferred to the US in early 20th century as Monroe
	M	Plenty, Pleanty	Event Name, born time of plenty	1838-1889	
Quacco, Quaco	M	Quaco	Kwaku, Kaku, male name for Wednesday	1733-1845	
Ranty, Rente	M	Renty, Rentie	Slave name in SC. Variously identified as Congo; Igbo and Creole name	1790-1900	
Rhena, Rinah, Rynah		Rhina, Rina, Rinee, Riner		1748-1901	Joyner, 1984 p. 218 lists as slave name derived from African name Rhina but does not give geographical source

TABLE 5: Correlation between South Carolina Slave Names and Black Seminole Names (Cont.)

SOUTH CAROLINA SLAVE NAMES	M/F	BLACK SEMINOLE RELATED NAMES	POSSIBLE AFRICAN SOURCE/ NAMING PRACTICE	USE SPAN	NOTES
Sunday	M	Sunday	Anglicized day name	1891-1901	
Tena, Tenah, Tina	F	Teena, Tennar, Tenah, Tina, Hernar	Teina, Mende personal name	1775-1914	Turner, 2002, p. 168

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Endnotes

1. Kenneth W. Porter, *The Black Seminoles* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), n25, p. 241.
2. Unfortunately the original inquiry from Dr. Porter to Dr. Turner has not been located, but the answer is in Turner to Porter, Oct. 15, 1943, Kenneth W. Porter papers, Archives Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York (hereafter cited as Porter papers). Box 27, folder 10.
3. Note cards, "Mrs. D.S. McKellar, Aug. 5, 1944," Porter papers, Box 34. The woman was Rafaela Mariscal de Soria, who was the daughter of Natividad Mariscal. Mischa B. Adams, "Naming Practices among the Black Seminoles of the Texas Mexico Border Region." *Journal of Big Bend Studies* (1999):137; for more on McKellar's relationship with the Black Seminoles of Nacimiento de los Negros in Coahuila, Mexico see Shirley Boteler Mock, *Dreaming with the Ancestors: Black Seminole Women in Texas and Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010): chapter 7.
4. Porter to Haynes, May 10, 1977, Porter papers, Box 24a, folder 4.
5. Lilith M. Haynes "Candid Chimera: Texas Seminole" *Southwest Areal Linguistics Then and Now: Proceedings of the Fifth Southwest Areal Language and Linguistics Workshop*, Hoffer, Bates L. and Betty Lou Dubois (eds.) (San Antonio: Trinity University, 1977), 290-91.
6. Mock, *Dreaming with the Ancestors,* 212.
7. Haynes, "Candid Chimera," 290
8. Haynes, "Candid Chimera: Texas Seminole," Porter papers, Box 24a, folder 4. The author of this article

heard Afro-Seminole Creole only once in the thirty so years she has had contacts with the Black Seminoles of the Texas-Mexico border.

9. Ian Hancock, *Further Observations on Afro-Seminole Creole* (St. Augustine, Trinidad: Society of Caribbean Linguistics, 1977), 1.
10. Porter to Hancock, Oct. 1, 1977, Porter papers, Box 24a, folder 4. Porter died suddenly four years later in 1981.
11. "Word, Shout, Song: Lorenzo Dow Turner Connecting Communities through Language," exhibition at the Anacostia Community Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, August 9, 2010-July 24, 2011.
12. See Table 1: "African Roots of Afro-Seminole Creole."
13. See Table 2: "Muskogee/Seminole Words in Afro-Seminole Creole;" Table 3: "Spanish Words in Afro-Seminole Creole;" and Table 4: "Náhuatl Words in Afro-Seminole Creole." There are several other words in Afro-Seminole Creole which seem to be either derived from African languages or from indigenous languages of Mexico for which the author has not been able to find matches.
14. Cheryll Ann Cody, "Naming, Kinship, and Estate Dispersal: Notes on Slave Family Life on a South Carolina Plantation, 1786 to 1833," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 39 (1982), 194.
15. Cheryll Ann Cody, "There Was No 'Absalom' on the Ball Plantations: Slave-Naming Practices in the South Carolina Low Country, 1720-1865," *American Historical Review*, 92 (1987), 573; Hennig Cohen, "Slave Names in Colonial South Carolina," *American Speech*, 27 (1952):106.
16. Cody, "There Was no Absalom," 1987: 581.
17. Lathan A. Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983.); "For Sale by Shingler Brothers ... 235 Negroes..." Nov. 1, 1859; "Prime Gang of 235 Negroes..." Jan. 9, 1860; "List of a Prime and Orderly Gang of 47 Negroes..." http://www.teachingushistory.org/documents/SlaveAuc1.htm (accessed on Aug. 30, 2010); http://www.teachingushistory.org/documents/SlaveAuc4.htm (accessed on Aug. 30, 2010); http://www.teachingushistory.org/documents/SlaveAuc2.htm (accessed on Aug. 30, 2010).
18. Daniel F. Littlefield, *Africans and Seminoles from Removal to Emancipation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), Appendices. Littlefield has copied lists that appeared in official documents throughout the Second Seminole War which included the names of Seminole Indians and blacks being removed to the Indian Territory. The census records are available at *Ancestry.com*, (paid database online). Also included in this review were the census taken by Second Lieutenant Patrick Kelliher on October 1871 at the Nueces River in Texas; and the "Lista de los Negros de la Tribu Mascogo Agraciada por el Gobierno General con Terrenos de la Colonial del Nacimiento," a census taken by the Mexican authorities on October 17, 1891, Porter papers, box 27, folder 1 (hereafter "Lista de los Negros..." For names used by the Seminole Freedmen in Indian Territory I relied on the "Index to Seminoles by Blood and Freedmen" available at http://www.archives.gov/research/arc/native-americans-final-rolls.html (accessed Aug. 30, 2010). Also used here are interviews with Black Seminole informants from Mexico and Texas undertaken by the author over the last 30 years and too many to be recorded here.
19. Although the name Dembo does not appear in the lists of South Carolina slave names used in the research for this paper, it was found in relation to a maroon community on the Savannah River in 1787 and to a Gullah/Geechee community in Georgia in the 1930s. Timothy James Lockley, ed., *Maroon Communities in South Carolina: A Documentary Record* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 64; Georgia Writers' Project. Savannah Unit, *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 180.
20. Lorenzo Dow Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), 73; John Thornton, "Central African Names and African-American Naming Patterns," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 50 (1993):735.
21. Id number 53527 Dembo, age 19, embarkation point Ambriz; Id number 53737; Dembo, age 10, embarkation point Ambriz; names database, http://www.slavevoyages.org/ (accessed Aug. 10 2010.)
22. David P. Gamble, *Intermediate Gambian Mandinka-English Dictionary* (San Francisco: D.P. Gamble, 1987), 28.
23. List B, number 18; List C, number 74 and List K, Number 18, Littlefield, Africans and Seminoles; Porter, Black Seminoles, 211; "Army Service: Seminole, Creek, Cherokee, Tonkaway [*sic*], Yaqui and Apache Indians, Fort Clark, Texas" http://www.lwfaam.net/wf/hist_cult/sem_asis.htm (accessed Aug. 10, 2010); Mock, *Dreaming with the Ancestors,*77; entry for Dewbo [*sic*] Factor, Jan. 8, 1879; entry for Hardy Factor, Feb. 16, 1871, Hardy gave his Indian name as "Yahha-tas-tonocky" (Yaha Tastanáki) or Wolf Warrior when enlisting in the Scouts, US Army, Register of Enlistments, 1798-1914 in Ancestry.com [database on-line] (accessed Jan. 10, 2011).
24. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect,* 2002 [1949],192.
25. Gamble, *Intermediate Gambian-Mandinka,* 1987, 30.
26. List E, Number 22; List K, Number 58, Littlefield, Africans and Seminoles, 1977; Gamble, *Intermediate Gambian-Mandinka,*75; Id number 1831, Cumba, age 9, Mandingo, embarkation port Bissau; names database, http://www.slavevoyages.org/ (accessed Aug. 10, 2010)

27. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, Baird and Twining, "Names and Naming in the Sea Islands," in Michael Montgomery (ed.), *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 23-27; Mock, *Dreaming with the Ancestors.*
28. Mock, *Dreaming with the Ancestors,* discusses "basket names" among the Black Seminoles of the Texas-Mexico border in chapter 12; Baird and Twining, "Names and Naming," 34.
29. The author heard this story when she was in Nacimiento de los Negros in 1977.
30. Willie Lee Rose. Rehearsal for Reconstruction: the Port Royal Experiment. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), 97.
31. The author also heard this story during a trip to Texas and Mexico to visit the Black Seminole communities in 1977.
32. Entries for Carolino [*sic*] Warrior, 1880 Census, Texas, Kinney Co. Brackettville, District 92; Kelly Warrior, 1900 census, Texas, Kinney Co., Fort Clark, District 131; Carroll Warrior, 1920 Census, Texas, Kinney Co. Brackettville, District 114 in Ancestry.com [database on-line] (accessed Jan. 10, 2011).
33. Entries for Nota Mirescal [*sic*], 1880 Census, Texas, Kinney Co., Brackettville, District 92, Munday [*sic*] Mirescal [*sic*], mulatto, 7 years old; the entry for his brother John lists him as mulatto, five years old.
34. "Lista de los Negros…" Porter papers; Marilyn Dell Brady. "The Paynes of Texas: Black Seminole Cowboys of the Big Bend" in Sara Massey (ed.), *Black Cowboys of Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), 255-71.
35. "Lista de los Negros…" Porter papers.
36. Kevin Mulroy, *Freedom on the Border: The Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila and Texas* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1993), 288.