

*Slavery Recalled within
Local Names for
West Africa's Fauna & Flora:
Some First Examples*

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Introduction

Scrutiny of plant and animal names can sometimes provide insights into the social histories and worldviews of the name givers. A chance encounter with a Mah (Mano) name for a rice weed in Liberia got me thinking about how the experience of slavery in its various forms within West Africa may have left onomastic traces in local terminologies for the natural world. So herewith is a first attempt to bring together the limited examples I have so far located. My search for examples beyond the few I have encountered in the field has been limited to searching the terms slave* and esclav* in various publications that I have accumulated over the years. In addition, I searched the JATBA¹ collection and a particular fruitful resource has been the updated, six-volume revision of John McEwen Dalziel's 1937 survey, *The Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa*, that was edited by Humphrey Burkill between 1985 and 2004, which I accessed via the Global Plants database.² When I refer to this latter source, I use the acronym, UPWTA. This is a far from exhaustive search and one that is hindered by the tendency for local names to be recorded stripped of their meanings. By assembling some preliminary data here it is hoped some utility in greater exploration of this topic may be revealed.

A word of caution however before proceeding. I profess no knowledge of the languages given in the following examples. In the limited cases where I have collected the names myself, I was reliant on someone to translate in the field, but always cross-checked later in available dictionaries. The majority of examples are taken from the literature and the translations are taken at face value. In all cases, there is a possibility that important details may have been lost. Slavery existed³ in various forms in West Africa and linguistic distinctions exist, at least in some languages, between the gender of slaves, those born into slavery and those bought and/or captured. Without understanding the nuances of the relevant terminologies for slavery, or indeed the historical and cultural setting within which the names were coined, something may be lost in understanding the reference to the plant or animal in question.⁴

1 Journal d'Agriculture Traditionnelle et de Botanique Appliquée: <https://www.persee.fr/collection/jatba>

2 <https://plants.jstor.org>

3 Though I have used the past tense here, I feel it is important to signal that slavery has not disappeared from the region and many people remain held in conditions equivalent to past forms of slavery.

4 Christaller (1881: 648) gives a useful illustration of how this could happen through the case of the Asante term for the Ntá country which is also the same word as a bought slave: "As the Eng. [sic English term] "slave" originally meant a Slave i.e. Slavonian, because people of the Slavonic race were frequently made slaves by people of the Teutonic race, so in a reverse manner the word for "a bought slave" seems to be used like a proper noun for the nations from which most of the bought slaves came."

Fauna

Aves

Corythaeola cristata: Great Blue Turaco

In January, 2017, in Middle Town, Grand Kru, Liberia, with the help of Lawrence S. Doe, I established a preliminary list of bird names in the local Nifao dialect of Klao according to their main habitat with Daniel D. Nyepon. For this easily recognised species, he gave the name **ni dá kǐ** meaning “water calling slave”. The reason behind this name is that this bird is considered to be caught in a never ending repetitive cycle akin to being in bondage: when you hear it calling, it is asking for rain but it doesn't rain, but when it rains, it hides and falls silent, only to return when the rain stops and it starts calling once again for water.

Oxylophus jacobinus: Jacobin Cuckoo?

Turdoides fulvus: Fulvous Babbler?

In 2002 in the Dakoro region of Niger, I elicited the Hausa name **baiwa suda** from my informant, Mai Daji, when playing him the Chappuis (2000) recordings of these two species. The name translates as “the female slave of *suda*” with *suda* being the widely used name for the Black-crowned Tchagra (*Tchagra senegalus*)—see Manvell (2012). I didn't probe the meaning at the time, but subsequently wondered whether it might refer to brood parasitism. In 2021, my former research assistant, Oumar Sanda, kindly asked his great friend Mai Daji about the meaning behind this name and he conveyed to me this explanation: this bird calls like *suda* and is smaller than *suda* and it is as if she has submitted to *suda*. To my ear, both the whistling call of the Jacobin cuckoo and the drawn out trills of the Fulvous babbler bear a slight resemblance to *suda* but both are larger birds. More research is needed to confirm the specie(s) behind this name.

Apus affinis: Little Swift

(use also sometimes extended to hirundines)

Levy-Luxereau (1972) notes a seemingly lesser used Hausa synonym for this species as **baiwa 'Allaa** which she translates, a little inaccurately, as “the servant of Allah”. Though she acknowledges that Bargery (1934) identifies this name with the red-billed firefinch (*Lagonosticta senegala*), it is perhaps a little odd that she makes no other mention of this species in her work as it is a common commensal of man in her study area near Maradi city, Niger. However, as I found at my study site 120 km to the north, it may be locally absent for reasons that are still unclear (Manvell, 2010). As this swift is also a commensal of man, albeit without the firefinch's confiding behaviour, it may nevertheless share the same name.

Lagonosticta senegala: Red-billed Firefinch

In an oversight in my Hausa bird lexicon (Manvell, 2012), I didn't mention that Robinson (1913) has an entry for a bird “rather smaller than a sparrow” called among other names, **baiuan Allah**, which he notes means “female slave of Allah”. This name corresponds with

those I collated from five other sources for this species, which may be best written using the orthography in Newman & Newman (2007), *bâiwar̃-Allah*.

Curious about the meaning behind this name, I asked my former research assistant Oumar Sanda if he could help with an explanation and he returned there in 2021 to ask his great friend Mai Daji. It should be noted that Mai Daji had provided me with another name for this species back in October 2002, which probably reflects a weakness on my elicitation methodology. Mai Daji was nonetheless familiar with the name and Oumar got back to me with the following explanation: it is a bird that doesn't disturb the crops, it cohabits with the population in their huts and has a very good comportment as if it had submitted himself to Allah⁵. He also expanded that that the word *bâiwar̃* not only means slave in the literal sense but can also be used to refer to someone who is calm and does no harm.

Mukoshy (2014) suggests an identical meaning in the Fulfulde name for this bird as he references the entry *korgel Allah* for this bird to *kordô* meaning female slave. As a language spoken in various dialects in a vast area stretching from Senegal to Sudan, it would be useful to know how widely this name is used. Given the place of publication of this reference, I suspect the name hails from Nigeria and perhaps the name has been influenced by Hausa contact, or vice-versa.

Insecta

Carabidae

Smeringocera lineola

Griaule (1961) gives the Dogon name *dègiru gúnnonè* meaning “the captive of *dègiru*” because this beetle digs a hole similar to *dègiru*, the ant larvae, but doesn't live in it and just keeps digging new ones like a captive obliged to work.

Papilionoidea: Butterflies in general

Bernus (1999) notes that the Tuareg name for butterflies is *Elketab-n-iklan*, meaning the book, i.e. the Koran, of the captives/slaves, because of their limited instruction in Islamic religion. Where and with whom he recorded this name is not stated. From the Tahoua region of Niger, Nicolas (1950) gives the Tuareg name as *alkitab-na-āsuf* meaning book of the bush. Whether he obtained this name from informants of the Iklan class would be interesting to know as they may well prefer to use a different name.

5 Assuming this is a widely held reason for this name, it suggests another revision to my lexicon is needed. The use of *beywahallah* for the Cut-throat, (*Amadina fasciata*), would seem an unlikely ascription to this species as not only is it a minor crop pest it is also unlikely to nest near man (Manvell, 2012: 73).

Flora

APOCYNACEAE

Strophanthus hispidus DC.

Two species of *Strophanthus* were previously commonly used for arrows poisons across West Africa (Bisset, 1989). *S. sarmentosus*, a savanna species, is variable in its toxicity, being unused in some places for this purpose (Chevalier, 1950). *S. hispidus* seems to have produced a more consistent toxin and was formerly widely planted in the savannas, though it apparently occurs naturally in the forest zone. This cultivation was soon repressed by both the British and French upon their colonisation⁶ of the region (*ibid.*). Chevalier opines that all hunters stated that the cultivated *S. hispidus* was the more powerful one.

Where the two species co-exist, Chevalier says that they are not confused but rather given a collective name, followed by a qualification. In illustration he notes (*ibid.* p 582) that the Bambaras and Malinkés call *S. sarmentosus*, *kouna*, *kounan* or *kounan kala* and *S. hispidus*, *kouna d'ion*, meaning⁷ slave or servant of *kouna*. This is potentially fascinating as it implies an inversion of the normal social order, with the plant that is considered enslaved or servile—presumably through its cultivation—being more potent than its master. It remains to be seen however whether knowledge of the arrow poison uses of these two plants has survived into the twenty-first century and the validity and reasons for this naming can be more fully elucidated.

BIGNONIACEAE

Stereospermum acuminatissimum K. Schum.

UPWTA gives the Yoruba name for this tree as *eru iyeye* with the meaning slave of iyeye erú yeyè flagged as not in the sense of the original author (i.e. auctorum). Whilst the translation of erú as slave is confirmed in Fakinlede (2003), the full meaning of this name remains to be unravelled.

BORAGINACEAE

Trichodesma africanum (Linn.) Lehm.

UPWTA gives the Nigerian Fulfulde name, *limse korcd'o* meaning a female slave's garments. Blench (2020) writes this *limse kordó* and notes the same meaning. Why it has this name is unclear and UPWTA mentions no obviously relevant uses, however it lists two Hausa names which also have a clothing reference (*walkin tsofo*, old man's loin-cloth and *walkin waáwaá*,

6 Chevalier even suggests (*ibid.* p 581) that its cultivation may have been repressed earlier in large parts of the Sudanian savanna zone by various empire builders such as El Hadj Omar, Samory and Thiéba, but provides no evidence to support this conjecture.

7 This is consistent with the definition for *jñ* given in Dumestre (2011).

fool's loin-cloth). Perhaps there is something in the plants appearance which evokes this imagery?

CARICACEAE

Carica papaya L

In the type of botanical publication that is unfortunately all too rare in that it explicitly considers the meaning of local plant names, in this instance among the Guérés of western Côte d'Ivoire, Téré (2001) records for papaya, *guéya-gnohi*, which he translates as slaves/orphans melons. He provides the explanation that it was used to make a sauce for slaves and orphans as a substitute for melon and squash which were reserved for the nobles.

This is an especially intriguing name as domestic slavery is considered to have been rare among the lineage societies of the forests of south-western Côte d'Ivoire and south-eastern Liberia (Brown, 1979:20 and Lovejoy, 2012: 160). Supporting information on the history of slavery in the four villages where the information was gathered, situated near the north-west boundary of the Taï national park, would therefore be useful to contextualise this name. The dialect in this area is Gnéo (also written Neyo), and it would be interesting to determine how widely this name is used as the papaya is a common home garden tree in the region.

COMPOSITAE

Pseudoconyza viscosa (Mill.) D'Arcy

Under the synonym, *Blumea aurita*, UPWTA gives the Yoruba name from Ilorin as *eru-tabá* meaning slave of tobacco, but adds that this meaning, according to Ajayi, a source I haven't located, is not known. As the description goes on to note that this plant is strongly aromatic, and has even been described as rank, it is possible that the name is derogatory.

Gynura procumbens (Lour.) Merrill

Under the synonym *Gynura sarmentosa*, UPWTA gives the Yoruba name as *eru ebolo* meaning slave of ebolo. I suspect the possessor referred to (ebòlò), is another Compositae, *Crassocephalum crepidioides*. There is a resemblance between the two species and both have similar uses, especially as a leafy green, but why one is considered the slave of the other requires examination. It may simply refer to a mundane attribute such as taste or ease of harvesting. However, as I have come across magical properties associated with *Crassocephalum crepidioides*, albeit in Liberia, and UPWTA gives a reference to them in its use as a wrestling medicine much closer in Igbo-speaking Ibuza,⁸ southern Nigeria, this should be born in mind.

⁸ The information was collected by the remarkable N.W. Thomas who was a government anthropologist—see Tour 3 for this location which is also called Igbozor: <https://re-entanglements.net/itineraries/>

Vernoniastrum migeodii (S. Moore) Isawumi

UPWTA under the synonym *Vernonia migeodii*, gives the Yoruba name as **eru ewum**, meaning slave of the bitter leaf. The bitter leaf in question is presumably *Vernonia amygdalina*, also a Compositae, for which UPWTA provides the Yoruba name, **ewùrò**. The reasoning behind this name presumably relates to their shared bitterness, as they are dissimilar looking, but this requires investigation. Interestingly UPWTA notes no usages of **eru ewum**, yet records that its sap is known to be bitter.

CONVOLVULACEAE

Merremia tridentata ssp. *angustifolia* (Linn.) Hall. f.

This species is particularly fascinating as it has names referring to slavery in two languages whose homelands are approximately two thousand kilometres apart. UPWTA gives the Manding-Mandinka name from The Gambia as **muso jong julo** meaning slave woman's ropes and the Hausa name from Nigeria as **gammon baawaa** meaning slave's head-pad. As Dalziel (1916) notes that this Hausa name is the equivalent of a Beri Beri, i.e. Kanuri one, it may have a slave association over an even wider area, though I have not yet been able to cross-check this. Why it has these two names remains to be elucidated. UPWTA doesn't indicate any use for cordage so perhaps the rope reference is to its sometimes long prostrate or twining stems.

Merremia aegyptiaca (L.) Urb.

Blench (2007) gives the Hausa name **dankwan kuyangi** (phonetically: dánkwan kùyàngí) meaning rubber of female slaves. UPWTA gives the same name without meaning and flags it as not in the sense of the original author (i.e. *auctorum*) as Dalziel (1916) had actually noted this name only for the medicine made from the dried leaves of *Ipomoea pilosa* and other species of Convolvulaceae. This translation is puzzling and requires further examination as there are no indications it produces a rubber substance. The on-line version⁹ of Bargery (1934) notes that in addition to rubber/gutta percha, **dank'o** can mean stickiness. Other translations could also apply.

Ipomoea mauritiana Jacq.

UPWTA gives the Manding-Mandinka name from The Gambia as **jongmuso jongo julo** meaning slave woman's bonds/rope (Hayes). Note this name is only slightly different from that given for *Merremia tridentata* ssp. *Angustifolia* above, which starts with **muso** rather than **jongmuso**. As with the meaning there, the reason for this name remains unknown.

9 <http://maguzawa.dyndns.ws/>

CYPERACEAE

Cyperus jeminicus Rottb.

Under the synonym *Cyperus conglomerate*, Bernus (1999) notes the Tamasheq name **ajif-n-ashku** given to it by the Iwellemmeden Tuareg confederation (also written Iullemmeden) of Niger and Mali, meaning the captive's hair.

This plant name is one of several that Bernus gives that reference a general distinction in hairstyles in Tuareg society between the free classes and those of the servile classes—see other examples in the Poaceae below. Whereas the free classes often have long hair, which the nobles (*ilellan* sing, *elelli*) in particular like to wear in long braids, among the servile, or formerly servile groups (generally called *iklan* sing, *akli*), their hair is often short and frizzy. The names referencing the servile classes in this manner are given to herbs with disorderly curved stems evoking, as Bernus notes, in a stereotypical and somewhat scornful manner, both the type of hair and the uncontrolled hairstyle of the *iklan*.

Scleria or *Cyperus* sp.

In his dictionary of the Guerzé language—also called Guinea Kpelle—Leger (1975) has an entry for a very rough and sharp 'herbe' under the name **lüo-kèlè-hvagha** meaning birch to beat the slave/captive. He provides the following description (my translation from the original French): “If one is struck with this 'herb' it hurts a lot and can leave sores; to uproot it, you have to be careful not to cut your hand. Analogue: **lèlè**. Potash is prepared from this 'herb' which is put into tobacco and used as a mordant in dyeing.”

To determine the identity of this plant, I contacted Maria Konoshenko, the author of an updated version of Leger's dictionary,¹⁰ and she kindly directed me to her Guinean colleague who is an expert in Guerzé plant knowledge. Jacques Achille Thea has indicated that **lele** is either a *Scleria* or *Cyperus* species, but we have got no further than this. This fits Leger's separate description of **lele**—a very long and sharp 'herbe': it grows in large clumps and forms thickets. As Portères (1951) gives the Guerzé name **léléhiléhilé** for *Cyperus incompressus*, which suggests that **lele** may be the primary lexeme for the folk generic equivalent of Cyperaceae, **lüo-kèlè-hvagha** might possibly be more akin to a nickname.

Portères (*ibid.*) is a study of local vegetal ash salts used in the Guinée Forestière region and includes those used to produce potash for chewing tobacco and dye mordants. The only Cyperaceae he notes is the one just mentioned, and then only as ash for soap and cooking salt. Identifying **lüo-kèlè-hvagha** would therefore add to this unique study but may be a challenge given the quasi-disappearance of these usages in the intervening years.

Should **lüo-kèlè-hvagha** turn out to be a *Scleria*, there would be a convergence in etymologies. The Swedish botanist Peter Jonas Bergius first named a plant of this genus (*S. flagellum-nigrorum*) and chose the Greek word *skleros* meaning harsh because it was used as a slave whip in Surinam (Holm, 1898, Tucker, 1987). When tied together and used in this manner, its sharp-angled stems and prickles inflicted a terribly cruel punishment.

¹⁰ Konoshenko (2019). For various reasons this doesn't include this plant name of this plant, but using contemporary orthography within, it would be written, **lüyo kélê hwáfa**.

EUPHORBIACEAE

Jatropha curcas Linn.

UPWTA gives the name used by the Dangbe people of Ghana, whose language is called Adangme (also written Dangme), as ***kuadidi***, which is stated comes from the Twi language, with *akua* meaning slave and *didi*, ear. No explanation is provided.

FABACEAE (LEGUMINOSAE)

Zornia glochidiata

Blench (2007) gives the Hausa name ***sabulun kuyangi*** (phonetically sààbùlùn kùyàngí) meaning soap of the female slaves. UPWTA notes this plant is used as a soap. It would be interesting to contextualise this usage by learning what the soap products made from it were specifically used for (bathing, clothes-washing, dish-washing, medicinal) and what other soaps from different sources were used by non-slave women and how they differed in production and properties.

POACEAE (GRAMINEAE)

Subfamily: *Chloridoideae*

Tragus racemosus (Linn.) All.

+ several other *Tragus* spp.

UPWTA gives the Tamachek name used in Mali as ***abugur nekli***. Bernus (1999) notes that ***aboggor-n-akli*** meaning the captive's hair—see above under *Cyperaceae* for the meaning behind this name—is used by the southern Tuareg for several annual members of the *Tragus* genus though he references only Peyre de Fabrègues (1977) for this, which is specific to Niger.

Tripogon minimus (A Rich.) Hochst.

Bernus (1999) notes that Toutain (1978) gives the Tamachek name ***adjuf-n-akli*** meaning the beard of the captive, but also notes that two other words are generally used for beard so was a little sceptical. It should be noted that the Toutain study referred to was specific to Burkina Faso.

Subfamily: *Micrairoideae*

Isachne kiyalaensis (Vanderyst) Robyns

During fieldwork for a study of lowland farming (Manvell, 2014) in the village of Geipa in

northern Nimba County, Liberia, I came across the Mah (Mano) name *lùò mè fàà*¹¹ for this species. This was translated to me as “slave beating switch/birch” with the explanation that it is very hard to weed, so it would be done as a punishment. This was the only occasion I encountered this plant and name, though the head of a local agricultural non-governmental organisation has confirmed he knows the name. Whether it is uniquely applied to this species, and whether this is the only name for this species remain to be seen. The reason for the name also requires further examination. Documentation of the lives of slaves (or pawns) in Mah society is only superficial, but slaves were kept in the area as late as the 1940s (Zetterström, 1976), so oral histories may still be accessible. The similarity in meaning with the Guerzé name for a Cyperaceae is also worth noting as there are close linguistic and historical ties between the Mah and these neighbours.

Subfamily: *Panicoideae*

Lasiurus hirsutus (Forssk.) Boiss.

Bernus (1999) gives the name used by the Tuaregs of the Aïr mountains in Niger as *eghaf-n-ashku* meaning the head of the captive. Though referring to the head rather than hair as in other examples cited above, he says the same dishevelled image is implied.

ULMACEAE

Celtis wightii Planch.

UPWTA gives the Akan-Asante name of this tree as *esa-akoa* with the meaning *esa* of the slaves. Abbiw (1990) gives the name *esa* for *C. mildbraedii*, which may be the referent here, but interestingly he only gives an alternate name for *C. wightii*. The reason for the slave connection is unclear but could potentially relate to the traditional use of these two species, plus a third *Celtis*, to make mortars in the forest zone (*ibid.*).

VITACEAE

Cissus caesia Afzel.

UPWTA gives the Wolof name used in Senegal as *diam ndei dugup*, meaning slave of mother of millet. Why this climbing plant has this name is unknown.

¹¹ I am grateful to Maria Khachaturyan, a linguist specialising in this language for help in writing phonetically the combined information from what I initially wrote down, *dou mia flah* and the names I have received in correspondence with two Mano speakers from the area, *luo-men-fa* and *luo meh farr*. She also noted that the translation could be inverted as switch/birch to beat the slaves.

By Way of a Conclusion

The relatively meagre data gathered here covers only four animal and twenty one plant names referencing slavery—see summary table below. It is important however to emphasise how lightly I have scratched the surface of this subject. These names emanate from only 15 languages, none of which have, with the exception of Hausa, anything near complete fauna and flora lexicons to scrutinise for additional examples. With over 500 languages spoken in the sixteen nations that make up West Africa¹², through which slavery in its various forms was ubiquitous, there are clearly many more examples still to be collected.

On looking at the meanings and structure of the 25 names gathered here, bar one unclear case (*Merremia aegyptiaca*), they can be placed tentatively into four categories, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Arranged in declining frequency, these are:

1. **Relational** names, where the plant or animal is considered the slave or captive of another which forms a component of the name (6/7 examples + possibly 1 other). Although I have frequently suspected that the relationship in these names refers to some inferior quality of the slave in relation to the master, be it appearance, sound or taste, the case of the arrow poison, *Strophanthus hispidus*, suggests that at times this can be more nuanced.
2. Examples of **derogatory** names (5 examples + possibly a further 6) that make unfavourable comparisons between the plant or animal and slaves include references to their hairstyle and lack of Koranic knowledge. The five possible cases need further information but may refer, amongst others to their odour, anatomy, clothing and their work items (head-pad and ropes).
3. The examples of **metaphorical** names (3/4) only stand out with the information currently available within faunal names, which are easier to anthropomorphise. For one of these, the name for the ground beetle *Smeringocera lineola*, the metaphor is set within a relational name.
4. Names with a **slavery specific use** (3) of which there are three examples, albeit all needing further clarifications: a switch/birch, a food and a soap.

As I hope this contribution has demonstrated, follow up on the names gathered here along further research for other examples, could shine a novel light on some interesting elements of slavery within West Africa.

¹² As per the UN subregion definition

Summary Table

NB: Species listed as per text with flora follow fauna with family names capitalised

Latin	Local Name Meaning	Name Type	Family	Language	Country
<i>Corythaeola cristata</i>	water calling slave	Metaphorical	Aves: Musophagidae	Klao	Liberia
<i>Oxylophus jacobinus/ Turdoides fulvus??</i>	the female slave of <i>suda</i>	Relational	Aves: Cuculidae	Hausa	Niger
			Aves: Leiothrichidae		
<i>Apus affinis</i>	female slave of Allah	Metaphorical	Aves: Apodidae	Hausa	Niger
<i>Lagonosticta senegala</i>	female slave of Allah	Metaphorical	Aves: Estrildidae	Hausa	Niger + Nigeria
<i>Lagonosticta senegala</i>	female slave of Allah	Metaphorical	Aves: Estrildidae	Fulfulde	Nigeria
<i>Smeringocera lineola</i>	the captive of <i>dègiru</i>	Relational/metaphorical	Insecta: Carabidae	Dogon	Mali
Butterflies	the Koran, of the captives	Derogatory	Insecta: Papilionoidea	Tuareg	Niger +
<i>Strophanthus hispidus</i>	slave or servant of kouna	Relational	APOCYNACEAE	Bambara & Maninka	Mali & Guinea?
<i>Stereospermum acuminatissimum</i>	slave of 'iyeye erú yeyè'	Relational	BIGNONIACEAE	Yoruba	Nigeria
<i>Trichodesma africanum</i>	female slave's garments	Derogatory?	BORAGINACEAE	Fulfulde	Nigeria
<i>Carica papaya</i>	slaves/orphans melons	Slave specific use	CARICACEAE	Guérés	Côte d'Ivoire
<i>Pseudoconyza viscosa</i>	slave of tobacco	Derogatory?	COMPOSITAE	Yoruba	Nigeria
<i>Gynura procumbens</i>	slave of ebolo	Relational	COMPOSITAE	Yoruba	Nigeria
<i>Vernoniastrum migeodii</i>	slave of the bitter leaf	Relational	COMPOSITAE	Yoruba	Nigeria
<i>Merremia tridentata ssp. Angustifolia</i>	slave woman's ropes	Derogatory?	CONVOLVULACEAE	Manding-Mandinka	The Gambia
<i>Merremia tridentata ssp. Angustifolia</i>	slave's head-pad	Derogatory?	CONVOLVULACEAE	Hausa	Nigeria
<i>Merremia aegyptiaca</i>	rubber of female slaves	?	CONVOLVULACEAE	Hausa	Nigeria
<i>Ipomoea mauritiana</i>	slave woman's bonds	Derogatory?	CONVOLVULACEAE	Manding-Mandinka	The Gambia
<i>Cyperus jemicus</i>	captive's hair	Derogatory	CYPERACEAE	Tamacheq	Mali-Niger
? <i>Scleria sp.</i>	slave beating switch/birch	Slave specific use	CYPERACEAE	Guerze	Guinea
<i>Jatropha curcas</i>	slave ear	Derogatory?	EUPHORBIACEAE	Adangme	Ghana
<i>Zornia glochidiata</i>	soap of the female slaves	Slave specific use	FABACEAE (LEGUMINOSAE)	Hausa	Nigeria

Latin	Local Name Meaning	Name Type	Family	Language	Country
<i>Isachne kiyalaensis</i>	slave beating switch/birch	Slave specific use	POACEAE (GRAMINEAE)	Mah	Liberia
<i>Tragus racemosus</i> + <i>Tragus spp</i>	captive's hair	Derogatory	POACEAE (GRAMINEAE)	Tamacheq	Mali-Niger
<i>Tripogon minimus</i>	beard of the captive	Derogatory	POACEAE (GRAMINEAE)	Tamacheq	Burkina Faso
<i>Lasiurus hirsutus</i>	head of the captive	Derogatory	POACEAE (GRAMINEAE)	Tamacheq	Niger
<i>Celtis wightii</i>	'esa' of the slaves	Relational	ULMACEAE	Akan-Asante	Ghana
<i>Cissus caesia</i>	slave of mother of millet	Relational?	VITACEAE	Wolof	Senegal

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