

Sources of St. Lucian Creole Vocabulary

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1. Introduction to the *Kwéyòl Dictionary*.

Kwéyòl – English

A a

a PREP at, on, to. (usage limited only to a few specific phrases; see also: **a klè, a koté, a laj di, a lè, a tab, a tè, tèt a tèt**) [*< Fr. à*]

-a (var: **-la, -an, -lan**) ART the. **Mwen ni chapo-a**. I have the hat. (conditioned variant)

abandonnen (var: **anbandonnen, bandonnen**) V to abandon. **Mwen ja abandonnen jaden-an**. I've abandoned the garden. [*< Fr. abandonner*]

abèbè (var: **aboubou**) N a person who cannot understand or speak properly

sav i sé on maléwé. When you look at his clothing you know that he is poor. (syn: **had, lenj**) [*< Fr. habillement*]

abitwé V to be accustomed. **Ipa abitwé wè mwen maché**. He's not accustomed to seeing me walk. [*< Fr. habituer*]

abiyé V to dress. **Mwen kay abiyé pou alé lanmès**. I'll get dressed for church. (opp: **dézabiyé**) [*< Fr. habiller*]

abizan ADJ abusive. **Madanm nonm-lan kité'y paski i té abizan**. The man's wife left him because he was

Figure 1: Sample from *Kwéyòl Dictionary*.

- Features of the *Kwéyòl Dictionary* (2002):
- about 4000 Kwéyòl – English entries
 - English – Kwéyòl index
 - Introduction to the writing system
 - Published by the St. Lucia Ministry of Education
 - Etymologies

2. Vocabulary of French Origin.

The great majority of the words of St. Lucian Creole clearly come from French. In the dictionary database, there are about 3520 different lexemes with distinct etymologies. Of these, about 2950 can be confidently linked to a French source, which amounts to about 84%. This number should be higher once more etymologies can be identified.

St. Lucian Creole has a smaller, simpler more symmetrical phonology than French has. French has both rounded and unrounded front vowels while French Creole has only the unrounded set of front vowels. Also, French has a schwa vowel, which French Creole lacks.

Similarly, the French Creole set of consonant phonemes has fewer phonemes than the French set of phonemes, and is more symmetrical. Particularly, French Creole lacks the French *r*, which has merged with the *w* before the nucleus of a syllable and is non-existent postvocally.

| | bilabial | labio-dental | alveolar | post-alveolar | palatal | velar | uvular |
|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| plosive vl | p | | t | | | k | |
| vd | b | | d | | | g | |
| nasal | m | | n | | ɲ | ŋ | |
| fricative vl | | f | s | ʃ | | | R |
| vd | | v | z | ʒ | | | |
| lateral | | | l | | | | |

Table 1: French consonants

| front unrd | front rd | back rd |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| j | ɥ | w |

Table 2: French semivowels

| | front | | centr | back | |
|------------------|--------------|----|--------------|-------------|----|
| | unrd | rd | | unrd | rd |
| close | i | y | | | u |
| close-mid | e | ø | ə | | o |
| open-mid | ɛ | œ | | | ɔ |
| open | a | | | a | |

oral

| | front | | centr | back | |
|------------------|--------------|----|--------------|-------------|----|
| | unrd | rd | | unrd | rd |
| close | | | | | |
| close-mid | | | | | |
| open-mid | ẽ | œ̃ | | | õ |
| open | | | | ã | |

nasal

Table 3: French vowels

Since French Creole has a simpler, more symmetrical phonological system than French has, some of the French vowels are combined in the corresponding Creole words. Specifically, the French front close rounded and unrounded vowels /i/ and /y/ correspond to only one French Creole vowel /i/, which is unrounded. Thus French *lutter* is *lité* (/lite/) in its Creole counterpart. Similarly the French front close-mid rounded and unrounded vowels /e/ and /ø/ are manifested as /e/ in St. Lucian Creole, as in French *nœud* and Creole *né* (/ne/). And the distinction between the French front open-mid rounded and unrounded vowels /e/ and /œ/ is neutralized in French Creole, as in French *fleur* and French Creole *flè* (/fle/).

St. Lucian French Creole lacks a schwa sound, and in the French Creole words that correspond to French words that have a schwa sound in them, the choice of a Creole vowel to replace the schwa tends to come from harmony with a vowel in the next syllable, as in French *genou* and Creole /junu/, French *menner* and Creole /mēnē/, French *debout* and Creole /dubut/, French *demain* and Creole /dēmē/, French *peser* and Creole /peze/, French *vinir* and Creole /vini/, and French *jeter* and Creole /zete/.

| | bilabial | labio-dental | alveolar | post-alveolar | velar |
|---------------------|----------|--------------|----------|---------------|-------|
| plosive vl | p | | t | | k |
| vd | b | | d | | g |
| nasal | m | | n | | ŋ |
| fricative vl | | f | s | ʃ | |
| vd | | v | z | ʒ | |
| lateral | | | l | | |

Table 4: St. Lucian Creole consonants

| front unrd | back rd | retroflex | voiceless |
|------------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| j | w | ɻ | h |

Table 5: St. Lucian Creole semivowels

| | front unrd | centr unrd | back rd |
|------------------|------------|------------|---------|
| close | i | | u |
| close-mid | e | | o |
| open-mid | ɛ | | ɔ |
| open | | ɑ | |

| | front unrd | centr unrd | back rd |
|------------------|------------|------------|---------|
| close | | | |
| close-mid | | | |
| open-mid | ɛ̃ | | ɔ̃ |
| open | | ã | |

Table 6: St. Lucian Creole vowels

St. Lucian Creole has an English r sound only in a few words of English origin, and it also has an /h/ from words that derive from French but are no longer pronounced in French with the /h/, as in Creole /huma/ from French *homard*.

Table 1 gives a sample of St. Lucian Creole words that are derived from French.¹ This table contains only lexical items for which a French source was identified after the *Kwéyòl Dictionary* went to press.² The majority of the lexical entries in the dictionary are already associated with a

specific French etymon. In the data presented here, etymologies marked with a question mark are tentative.

| | | | |
|--|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| abousak | [< Fr. <i>havresac</i>] | divinè | [< Fr. <i>devineur</i>] |
| anbazoudi | [< Fr. <i>abasourdir</i>] | djanmèt | [< Fr. <i>diametre?</i>] |
| anfen | [< Fr. <i>enfen</i>] | djèp | [< Fr. <i>guèpe</i>] |
| anjlen | [< Fr. <i>angelin</i>] | djété | [< Fr. <i>guetter</i>] |
| anlè | [< Fr. <i>en l'air</i>] | dolé | [< Fr. <i>doler</i>] |
| anmèwdan | [< Fr. <i>emmerdant</i>] | doloté | [< Fr. <i>dorloter</i>] |
| anmèwdé | [< Fr. <i>emmerder</i>] | donté | [< Fr. <i>dompter</i>] |
| anmítan (var: nanmitan) | [< Fr. <i>en mitan</i>] | dousman | [< Fr. <i>doucement</i>] |
| annafè | [< Fr. <i>en affaires</i>] | dowad | [< Fr. <i>dorade</i>] |
| annékout | [< Fr. <i>à l'écoute</i>] | dwé | [< Fr. <i>devoir</i>] |
| annòd | [< Fr. <i>en ordre</i>] | dwivé | [< Fr. <i>dériver</i>] |
| ansazinay | [< Fr. <i>assassinat</i>] | échofi | [< Fr. <i>échauffure</i>] |
| antjèt | [< Fr. <i>inquiète</i>] | épi (var: é, èp) | [< Fr. <i>et puis?</i>] |
| antwanp | [< Fr. <i>en trempe?</i>] | èspwèsman | [< Fr. <i>expressément</i>] |
| anyen | [< Fr. <i>à rien</i>] | ézé | [< Fr. <i>aisé</i>] |
| anyenditou | [< Fr. <i>à rien du tout</i>] | fésé | [< Fr. <i>fesser</i>] |
| apwentman | [< Fr. <i>appointment?</i>] | fig | [< Fr. <i>figue</i>] |
| asou | [< Fr. <i>au-dessus?</i>] | fiziwé | [< Fr. <i>fusiller</i>] |
| awali | [< Fr. <i>aralie</i>] | fo | [< Fr. <i>faut</i>] |
| ayfé | [< Fr. <i>fée</i>] | fouk | [< Fr. <i>fourchet?</i>] |
| ba (var: bay, ban) | [< Fr. <i>bailler</i>] | flanman | [< Fr. <i>flambant</i>] |
| baboutjèt | [< Fr. <i>barbichette?</i>] | fléché | [< Fr. <i>flécher</i>] |
| babyé | [< Fr. <i>babiller</i>] | founi | [< Fr. <i>fourni</i>] |
| balanswin | [< Fr. <i>balançoire?</i>] | fwisi | [< Fr. <i>fressure</i>] |
| bannbouden | [< Fr. <i>bande boudin</i>] | gadè | [< Fr. <i>gardeur?</i>] |
| bas | [< Fr. <i>batte?</i>] | gòg | [< Fr. <i>grog < Eng. grog</i>] |
| batmanntjè | [< Fr. <i>batement coeur</i>] | gògè | [< Fr. <i>grogeur?</i>] |
| bawad | [< Fr. <i>barrage?</i>] | gwafiyen | [< Fr. <i>égratigner?</i>] |
| bazou | [< Fr. <i>bajoue</i>] | gwanpapa | [< Fr. <i>grand-papa</i>] |
| bètafé | [< Fr. <i>bête à feu</i>] | gwenndé | [< Fr. <i>graine dé?</i>] |
| bètannipyé | [< Fr. <i>bête à mille pieds?</i>] | Gwozilé | [< Fr. <i>gros ilet</i>] |
| bòdé | [< Fr. <i>border?</i>] | gwozòm | [< Fr. <i>gros homme</i>] |
| bouchonnen | [< Fr. <i>bouchonner?</i>] | hal (var: lahal) | [< Fr. <i>halle</i>] |
| boug | [< Fr. <i>bougre</i>] | hapé | [< Fr. <i>happer</i>] |
| bouko | [< Fr. <i>boucaut</i>] | hélé | [< Fr. <i>hurler</i>] |
| boulon | [< Fr. <i>boulon</i>] | jak | [< Fr. <i>Jacques</i>] |
| boulwè | [< Fr. <i>bouilleur</i>] | jan | [< Fr. <i>gens</i>] |
| bwadnò | [< Fr. <i>bois du nord</i>] | jè | [< Fr. <i>jarre?</i>] |
| bwanché | [< Fr. <i>brancher</i>] | jès | [< Fr. <i>geste</i>] |
| bwas | [< Fr. <i>brasse</i>] | jèwè | [< Fr. <i>gérant?</i>] |
| bwizé | [< Fr. <i>briser</i>] | jiwòf | [< Fr. <i>girofle</i>] |
| byennéwé | [< Fr. <i>bien heureux</i>] | kabowé | [< Fr. <i>cabrouet</i>] |
| byennfé | [< Fr. <i>bien effet? bien fait?</i>] | kadè | [< Fr. <i>quart d'heure</i>] |
| chennèt | [< Fr. <i>chaînette?</i>] | kalé | [< Fr. <i>écaler</i>] |
| chyé | [< Fr. <i>chier</i>] | kalson | [< Fr. <i>caleçons</i>] |
| dachin | [< Fr. <i>chou de Chine</i>] | kandi | [< Fr. <i>candir</i>] |
| défini | [< Fr. <i>définir?</i>] | katjil | [< Fr. <i>calcul</i>] |
| défouké | [< Fr. <i>fourcher</i>] | kavalyé | [< Fr. <i>cavalier</i>] |
| dékalé | [< Fr. <i>décaler?</i>] | kawton | [< Fr. <i>carton</i>] |
| dékoud | [< Fr. <i>découdre</i>] | kay (var: kaz) | [< Fr. <i>case</i>] |
| dékwiyé | [< Fr. <i>décrier</i>] | kay | [< Fr. <i>écueil?</i>] |
| démawé | [< Fr. <i>démarrer</i>] | kòf | [< Fr. <i>coffre</i>] |
| Denmou | [< Fr. <i>démon</i>] | kòfò | [< Fr. <i>coffre-fort</i>] |
| dépalé | [< Fr. <i>déparler</i>] | konsèvé | [< Fr. <i>conserver</i>] |
| dépaté | [< Fr. <i>départir?</i>] | kòt | [< Fr. <i>quart</i>] |
| dépayé | [< Fr. <i>dépailler</i>] | koupay | [< Fr. <i>coupe-paille?</i>] |
| dévidé | [< Fr. <i>vider?</i>] | koutwiyèz (var: koutiyèz) | [< Fr. <i>couturière</i>] |
| déwanjman | [< Fr. <i>dérangement</i>] | kouvé | [< Fr. <i>couver</i>] |
| dézagwéman | [< Fr. <i>désagrément</i>] | kwabyé (var: kabyé) | [< Fr. <i>crabier</i>] |
| dézyenman | [< Fr. <i>deuxièmement</i>] | kwás | [< Fr. <i>crasse</i>] |

| | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| kwatjé | [< Fr. <i>craquer</i>] | pasti | [< Fr. <i>pastille</i>] |
| kwiyoté | [< Fr. <i>cruauté</i>] | pawdonnab | [< Fr. <i>pardonnable</i>] |
| -la (var: -a, -lan, -an) | [< Fr. <i>la? là?</i>] | pèdant | [< Fr. <i>perdant</i>] |
| labouwé | [< Fr. <i>laboureur</i>] | penchen (var: penchennen) | [< Fr. <i>pincer</i>] |
| labouwè | [< Fr. <i>laboureur</i>] | penmi | [< Fr. <i>pain maïs</i>] |
| ladòmi | [< Fr. <i>l'endormi?</i>] | penn | [< Fr. <i>peine</i>] |
| lajè | [< Fr. <i>largeur</i>] | pennépis | [< Fr. <i>pain épice</i>] |
| lakay | [< Fr. <i>la case</i>] | pentiwé | [< Fr. <i>peinturer</i>] |
| lakopwann | [< Fr. <i>la comprendre?</i>] | pété | [< Fr. <i>péter</i>] |
| lalèd | [< Fr. <i>la laide</i>] | pikèpòch | [< Fr. <i>piquer poche?</i>] |
| lalwas | [< Fr. <i>l'aloès</i>] | pikwa | [< Fr. <i>picot?</i>] |
| lalwé | [< Fr. <i>l'aloès?</i>] | pilotwi | [< Fr. <i>pilotis?</i>] |
| landji | [< Fr. <i>languir?</i>] | pisannit | [< Fr. <i>pisser en nuit?</i>] |
| Langlité | [< Fr. <i>l'Angleterre</i>] | pla | [< Fr. <i>plat</i>] |
| lansman | [< Fr. <i>élancement</i>] | plan | [< Fr. <i>plant</i>] |
| Lapankòt | [< Fr. <i>la pentecôte</i>] | planché | [< Fr. <i>planchéier</i>] |
| lapèy | [< Fr. <i>la paye</i>] | planten | [< Fr. <i>plantain?</i>] |
| lapidé | [< Fr. <i>lapider</i>] | platin | [< Fr. <i>platine?</i>] |
| laplas | [< Fr. <i>à la place de</i>] | pléplé | [< Fr. <i>peupler?</i>] |
| lapwiz | [< Fr. <i>la prise</i>] | pliché | [< Fr. <i>éplucher</i>] |
| las | [< Fr. <i>lasse</i>] | plòk | [< Fr. <i>cloque?</i>] |
| latilyé | [< Fr. <i>l'atelier?</i>] | po | [< Fr. <i>pot</i>] |
| lawonn | [< Fr. <i>la ronde</i>] | pòdjab | [< Fr. <i>pauvre diable</i>] |
| Lawòz | [< Fr. <i>la rose</i>] | politik | [< Fr. <i>politique</i>] |
| lègzanmé | [< Fr. <i>l'examen</i>] | ponmsitè | [< Fr. <i>ponm cythère</i>] |
| lépini | [< Fr. <i>l'épine</i>] | potjiwasyon | [< Fr. <i>procuration</i>] |
| lésisyon | [< Fr. <i>l'instruction?</i>] | potjiwé | [< Fr. <i>procurer</i>] |
| limyè | [< Fr. <i>lumière</i>] | poulayé | [< Fr. <i>poulailler</i>] |
| lo | [< Fr. <i>lot</i>] | pwalin | [< Fr. <i>praline</i>] |
| loché | [< Fr. <i>locher</i>] | pwèchman | [< Fr. <i>prêche?</i>] |
| lòg | [< Fr. <i>l'orgue</i>] | pwédiké | [< Fr. <i>prédicant?</i>] |
| lògèy (var: logèy) | [< Fr. <i>l'orgueil</i>] | pwélèz | [< Fr. <i>poileuse</i>] |
| lòjé | [< Fr. <i>loger</i>] | pwenti | [< Fr. <i>pointu</i>] |
| lòjman | [< Fr. <i>logement</i>] | pwévit | [< Fr. <i>privé</i>] |
| major | [< Fr. <i>majeur</i>] | pwézidan | [< Fr. <i>président</i>] |
| makouchat | [< Fr. <i>matou chat</i>] | pwi | [< Fr. <i>pris</i>] |
| makoumè | [< Fr. <i>ma commère</i>] | pyé | [< Fr. <i>pied?</i>] |
| malis | [< Fr. <i>malice</i>] | sanglé | [< Fr. <i>sangler</i>] |
| malkadi | [< Fr. <i>mal caduc</i>] | sannng | [< Fr. <i>sangle</i>] |
| malotjè | [< Fr. <i>mal au coeur</i>] | santè | [< Fr. <i>senteur</i>] |
| manmay | [< Fr. <i>marmaille?</i>] | sè | [< Fr. <i>soeur</i>] |
| manmèl | [< Fr. <i>mamelle</i>] | Sévésan | [< Fr. <i>St. Vincent</i>] |
| manmoté | [< Fr. <i>marmotter</i>] | siltann | [< Fr. <i>sultane</i>] |
| mantèz | [< Fr. <i>menteuse</i>] | simèwje | [< Fr. <i>submerger?</i>] |
| masonn | [< Fr. <i>maçonnage?</i>] | sitonnèl | [< Fr. <i>citronnelle</i>] |
| masonnen | [< Fr. <i>maçonner</i>] | so | [< Fr. <i>saut</i>] |
| maté | [< Fr. <i>mater?</i>] | sonn | [< Fr. <i>sonde?</i>] |
| matyè | [< Fr. <i>matière</i>] | soudnon | [< Fr. <i>surnom</i>] |
| mawonn | [< Fr. <i>marronne</i>] | Soufwiyè (var: Soufouyè) | [< Fr. <i>soufrière</i>] |
| mélanjé | [< Fr. <i>mélanger</i>] | sousè | [< Fr. <i>sourcière?</i>] |
| menanmen | [< Fr. <i>main à main</i>] | tablèt | [< Fr. <i>tablette</i>] |
| mennajé | [< Fr. <i>ménager</i>] | tap | [< Fr. <i>tape</i>] |
| milyé | [< Fr. <i>milieu</i>] | té | [< Fr. <i>était</i>] |
| monsényè | [< Fr. <i>monseigneur</i>] | tèl | [< Fr. <i>tel</i>] |
| mouli | [< Fr. <i>moulu</i>] | tibènad | [< Fr. <i>petit Bernard?</i>] |
| nèditan | [< Fr. <i>une heure de temps</i>] | tif | [< Fr. <i>tuff</i>] |
| nègwès | [< Fr. <i>négresse</i>] | timi | [< Fr. <i>petit maïs</i>] |
| nètaman | [< Fr. <i>nettement</i>] | tipo | [< Fr. <i>petites peaux</i>] |
| ni | [< Fr. <i>tenir?</i>] | tjatjé | [< Fr. <i>traquer?</i>] |
| odjé | [< Fr. <i>au guet</i>] | tjatjèt | [< Fr. <i>traquet?</i>] |
| ogwèf | [< Fr. <i>au greffe</i>] | tjenbé (var: tjébé) | [< Fr. <i>tien bien</i>] |
| olèt | [< Fr. <i>au lait</i>] | tjitjima | [< Fr. <i>curcuma</i>] |
| otjipasyon | [< Fr. <i>occupation</i>] | tòch | [< Fr. <i>torche</i>] |
| ou (var: 'w) | [< Fr. <i>vous</i>] | tonton | [< Fr. <i>tonton</i>] |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| tou | [< Fr. <i>tout</i>] | wabòt | [< Fr. <i>wabòt</i>] |
| toub | [< Fr. <i>trouble</i>] | wafilé | [< Fr. <i>rafler?</i>] |
| touf | [< Fr. <i>touffe</i>] | watjèt | [< Fr. <i>raquette</i>] |
| toupatou | [< Fr. <i>tout partout</i>] | wilachman | [< Fr. <i>relâchement</i>] |
| toutwèl | [< Fr. <i>tourterelle</i>] | wiplen | [< Fr. <i>remplir?</i>] |
| twanblad | [< Fr. <i>tremblade</i>] | wondèl | [< Fr. <i>rondelle?</i>] |
| twapé | [< Fr. <i>attraper</i>] | wonpi | [< Fr. <i>rompu?</i>] |
| twoublé (var: toublé) | [< Fr. <i>troubler</i>] | wouzé | [< Fr. <i>arroser</i>] |
| vèglay | [< Fr. <i>aveuglant?</i>] | yonn | [< Fr. <i>une</i>] |
| vèsèl | [< Fr. <i>vaisselle</i>] | zépon | [< Fr. <i>les éperons</i>] |
| vèwtivè | [< Fr. <i>vétiver</i>] | zòfi | [< Fr. <i>les orphies</i>] |
| vitman | [< Fr. <i>vitement</i>] | | |

Table 7: Examples of St. Lucian Creole Vocabulary of French Origin.

3. Vocabulary of English Origin.

In the St. Lucian Creole dictionary database, there were 100 words that were identified as having come from English, which amounts to about 3% of the total. Only words were chosen for the dictionary that were considered borrowed, and not words that might be considered foreign, even though such English words might commonly be mixed in with Creole in normal conversation.

Note that while the borrowing of words from English and other languages into Creole usually involves some phonological adaptation, at the same time this borrowing has had the effect of extending the phonological inventory of Creole and of introducing more complex syllable structures. Note also that it is difficult in certain cases to tell whether a Creole word comes from English or from French (e.g. **dèdiké**, **désakwé**).

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| akensin | [< Eng. <i>Atkinson</i>] | ka | [< Eng. <i>care</i>] |
| amèn | [< Eng. <i>amen</i>] | kanmèl | [< Eng. <i>camel</i>] |
| bak | [< Eng. <i>back</i>] | kanp | [< Eng. <i>camp</i>] |
| baka | [< Eng. <i>backer</i>] | kapa | [< Eng. <i>copper</i>] |
| bann | [< Eng. <i>band</i>] | kas | [< Eng. <i>cash</i>] |
| bék | [< Eng. <i>bake</i>] | kés | [< Eng. <i>case</i>] |
| bèlibann | [< Eng. <i>belly band</i>] | kòlvèt | [< Eng. <i>culvert</i>] |
| bésin | [< Eng. <i>basin</i>] | konpyouta | [< Eng. <i>computer</i>] |
| bol | [< Eng. <i>bowl</i>] | kòrèk | [< Eng. <i>correct</i>] |
| bway | [< Eng. <i>boy</i>] | krikèt | [< Eng. <i>cricket</i>] |
| chéd | [< Eng. <i>shade</i>] | layt | [< Eng. <i>light</i>] |
| chlen | [< Eng. <i>shilling</i>] | mannwa | [< Eng. <i>man-of-war</i>] |
| dèdiké | [< Eng. <i>dedicate?</i>] | misték | [< Eng. <i>mistake</i>] |
| désakwé | [< Eng. <i>deseccrate?</i>] | mitin | [< Eng. <i>meeting</i>] |
| diwèkté | [< Eng. <i>direct?</i>] | motoka | [< Eng. <i>motor car</i>] |
| djal | [< Eng. <i>girl</i>] | nati | [< Eng. <i>natty</i>] |
| djip | [< Eng. <i>Jeep</i>] | nòlaj | [< Eng. <i>knowledge</i>] |
| djòb | [< Eng. <i>job</i>] | nòs | [< Eng. <i>nurse</i>] |
| djòn | [< Eng. <i>John?</i>] | pann | [< Eng. <i>pan</i>] |
| djòs | [< Eng. <i>just</i>] | pannèl | [< Eng. <i>panel</i>] |
| dòla | [< Eng. <i>dollar</i>] | panyt | [< Eng. <i>pint</i>] |
| drayv | [< Eng. <i>drive</i>] | papicho | [< Eng. <i>puppet show</i>] |
| èkstré | [< Eng. <i>x-ray</i>] | pennsil | [< Eng. <i>pencil</i>] |
| fak | [< Eng. <i>fork</i>] | pitj | [< Eng. <i>pitch</i>] |
| faktri | [< Eng. <i>factory</i>] | plasta | [< Eng. <i>plaster</i>] |
| fama | [< Eng. <i>farmer</i>] | plég | [< Eng. <i>plague</i>] |
| fas | [< Eng. <i>fast</i>] | plén | [< Eng. <i>plane</i>] |
| fatpòk | [< Eng. <i>fat pork?</i>] | pon | [< Eng. <i>pound sterling</i>] |
| fèplé (var: fyèplé) | [< Eng. <i>fair play?</i>] | pòtè | [< Eng. <i>porter</i>] |
| fimèl | [< Eng. <i>female</i>] | pwotèkté (var: potèkté) | [< Eng. <i>protect</i>] |
| fridj | [< Eng. <i>fridge</i>] | radyo | [< Eng. <i>radio</i>] |
| fwiyé (var: fwéyé) | [< Eng. <i>fear?</i>] | rèkòd | [< Eng. <i>record</i>] |
| hèlènta | [< Eng. <i>health center</i>] | roro | [< Eng. <i>row</i>] |
| ilèkté | [< Eng. <i>elect</i>] | salvasyon | [< Eng. <i>salvation</i>] |

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| sanngki | [< Eng. <i>Ira D. Sankey</i>] | ting | [< Eng. <i>thing</i>] |
| sayd | [< Eng. <i>side</i>] | títj | [< Eng. <i>teach</i>] |
| sensyè | [< Eng. <i>sincere</i>] | títja | [< Eng. <i>teacher</i>] |
| sentdjòn | [< Eng. <i>Saint John</i>] | tiyéta | [< Eng. <i>theatre</i>] |
| skwè | [< Eng. <i>square</i>] | tjiki | [< Eng. <i>cheeky</i>] |
| slak | [< Eng. <i>slack</i>] | tjok | [< Eng. <i>choked</i>] |
| stéchann | [< Eng. <i>station</i>] | tjòkanblòk | [< Eng. <i>chockablock</i>] |
| swing | [< Eng. <i>swing</i>] | tou | [< Eng. <i>too</i>] |
| switi | [< Eng. <i>sweetie</i>] | trakta | [< Eng. <i>tractor</i>] |
| taks | [< Eng. <i>tax</i>] | tròk | [< Eng. <i>truck</i>] |
| tanmadòz | [< Eng. <i>tomatoes</i>] | Trinidad | [< Eng. <i>Trinidad</i>] |
| taya | [< Eng. <i>tyre</i>] | vann | [< Eng. <i>van</i>] |
| tép | [< Eng. <i>tape</i>] | waya | [< Eng. <i>wire</i>] |
| téstifyé | [< Eng. <i>testify?</i>] | wivòlva | [< Eng. <i>revolver</i>] |
| tim | [< Eng. <i>team</i>] | wòf | [< Eng. <i>wharf</i>] |
| tin | [< Eng. <i>tin</i>] | vis (var: <i>is</i>) | [< Eng. <i>yeast</i>] |

Table 8: St. Lucian Creole Vocabulary of English Origin.

4. Vocabulary of Indian Origin.

Most of the few words in St. Lucian Creole of Indian origin have to do with cuisine: **dal** (Hindi), **dalpouri**, **gougloula**, **gwodja**, **kirou**, **kòri** (Tamil), **mango** (Tamil), **roti** (Hindi), **sohari** and **talkari**. There are also two words, **kouli** [< Hindi *qūlī* ‘hired servant’] and **dogla** [< Hindi *dogalaa* ‘hybrid’], that have to do with ethnicity.³

5. Vocabulary of African Origin.⁴

| | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|--|----------------|-------------------|---|
| akwa | ‘fried fish batter’ | [< Yoruba <i>akara</i>] | flo | ‘hollow’ | [< Fulani <i>floflo</i> ‘spongy, loose’] |
| banndjo | ‘banjo’ | [< Kimbundu <i>mbanza</i>] | gonbo | ‘okra’ | [< Bantu <i>gombo</i>] |
| bétjé | ‘white person’ | [< Igbo <i>beke</i>] | ka | ‘prog. aspect’ | [< Mende <i>ka</i> ‘continually’?] |
| bonda | ‘buttocks’ | [< Bambara <i>boda</i>] | makak | ‘monkey’ | [< Kikongo <i>makaku</i>] |
| bouki | ‘country person’ | [< Wolof <i>buki</i> ‘hyena’] | mòlòkòy | ‘tortoise’ | [< Kikongo <i>moolo</i> + Fr. <i>corps?</i>] |
| da | ‘woman who holds baby in baptism’ | [< Ewe <i>da</i> ‘mother, older sister’] | moumou | ‘unable to speak’ | [< Twi <i>mumu</i>] |
| djabal | ‘concubine’ | [< Wolof <i>djabar</i>] | nannan | ‘inside’ | [< Igbo <i>na</i>] |
| djouké | ‘to poke’ | [< Fulani <i>jukka</i>] | twen | ‘quarrel’ | [< Twi <i>twē</i>] |
| | | | yanm | ‘yam’ | [< Mende <i>yam</i>] |

Table 9: St. Lucian Creole Vocabulary of African Origin.

6. Vocabulary of Amerindian Origin.

| | | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|--|
| agouti | ‘type of rodent’ | [< Carib] | mabwiya | ‘gecko’ | [< Arawak <i>maboya</i>] |
| balawou | ‘type of fish’ | [< Carib <i>balau</i>] | maho | ‘mahogany’ | [< Arawak <i>maho</i>] |
| boutou | ‘club’ | [< Carib] | manng | ‘mangrove’ | [< Arawak <i>mangle</i>] |
| kako | ‘cacao’ | [< Nahuatl <i>kakawatl</i>] | mannikou | ‘opossum’ | [< Carib] |
| kali | ‘net on pole’ | [< Carib] | manyòk | ‘cassava’ | [< Tupi <i>mandioka</i>] |
| kannawi | ‘clay pot’ | [< Carib <i>kanáli</i>] | mi | ‘corn’ | [< Arawak <i>mahiz</i>] |
| kasav | ‘cassava’ | [< Arawak <i>kasábi</i>] | patat | ‘potato’ | [< Arawak <i>batata</i>] |
| kayal | ‘egret, heron’ | [< Carib <i>kayali</i>] | touloulou | ‘type of crab’ | [< Carib <i>tururu</i>] |
| kayè | ‘rock’ | [< Arawak <i>kayo</i>] | zabòka | ‘avocado’ | [< Fr. <i>les</i> + Nahuatl <i>awakatl</i>] |
| kayman | ‘cayman’ | [< Carib <i>kaymán</i>] | zagaya | ‘type of crab’ | [< Fr. <i>les</i> + Carib <i>agaya</i>] |
| lébiché | ‘sifter for farine’ | [< Carib] | zanndoli | ‘type of lizard’ | [< Fr. <i>les</i> + Carib <i>anolí</i>] |

Table 10: St. Lucian Creole Vocabulary of Amerindian Origin.

7. Vocabulary of Spanish or Portuguese Origin.

A small number of words in St. Lucian Creole seem to be of Spanish or Portuguese origin:

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|--|
| béléjenn | ‘eggplant’ | [< Sp. <i>berenjena?</i> Port. <i>berinjela?</i>] |
| kalabous | ‘jaíl’ | [< Sp. <i>calabozo?</i> Port. <i>calabouço?</i>] |
| kwatro | ‘a type of guitar’ | [< Sp. <i>cuatro?</i> Port. <i>quatro?</i>] |

sapat 'sandal' [< Sp. *zapato*? Port. *sapato*?]

Table 11: St. Lucian Kwéyòl Vocabulary of Spanish Origin.

8. Vocabulary of Unknown Origin.

Below is a list of St. Lucian Creole lexical items for which the etymological source cannot be determined precisely. Of these, some obviously come from a French source but a precise French form that would account for the Kwéyòl form cannot be found (e.g. **ankléwant**, **finisman**, **hayisans**, **kléwé**, etc.). Many of these probably do not come from a French source.

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| abèbè (var: aboubou) | 'retarded and dumb' | bwanhany | 'barren |
| afon | 'embarrassed' | bway (var: bwèy) | 'gills' |
| agalo | 'leatherback turtle' | bwennen | 'to twitch, to fidget' |
| agouman | 'type of plant' | bwi | 'star apple' |
| akowé | 'to brace' | bwigo | 'whelk, sea snail' |
| alimans (var: aliman) | 'beside' | chadèt | 'shaddock' |
| alkoupa | 'type of worm medicine' | chadon (var: chadwon) | 'sea urchin' |
| anbadjo | 'many, much' | chal | 'torch' |
| anbwenzenng | 'unproductively busy' | chalbawi | 'to ridicule' |
| andjélé [cf. Fr. <i>gueule</i>] | 'to shout' | chatou | 'octopus' |
| andji | 'rather than' | chès | 'squid' |
| ankayé | 'to stick' | chik | 'hookworm sore' |
| ankléwant [cf. Fr. <i>clair</i>] | 'shiny' | chinya (var: chiya , chiyan) | 'apt to cry easily' |
| anmiyonnen | 'to coax, to cajole' | chiz | 'disagreement' |
| annèk (var: annik) | 'just' | chwichwi | 'to whisper' |
| annékòz [cf. Fr. <i>cause</i>] | 'to cause' | danma | 'taro' |
| anpany | 'in pieces, in shreds' | davwa | 'because' |
| aplè | 'may, might' | dayann (var: dayonn) | 'med. for bedbugs' |
| atik | 'ingredient' | dédé | 'goodbye' |
| avous | 'temperamental' | défiltwé | 'to remove stitch' |
| awa | 'No! Oh no!' | déglizé | 'to mar' |
| babadin [< Sp. <i>barbado</i> ?] | 'type of fruit' | dégòbé | 'to chip' |
| babawen | 'goatfish' | dékatjé | 'to cut into parts' |
| bak | 'river crab' | dèkdèk | 'retarded person' |
| bak | 'water trough' | denmi | 'to sprain' |
| balanmin | 'digging tool' | dévagondé (var: dévégondé) | 'very bad person' |
| bandja | 'wild yam' | déviwan (var: viwan) | 'return' |
| bantjé | 'filth' | dimotyé | 'sharing cow' |
| bay (var: labay) | 'manger' | dja | 'accident, collision' |
| bazoudi | 'stunned, dazed' | djapanna [< Eng. <i>Japan</i> ?] | 'type of bush med.' |
| bédji | 'amazed, astonished' | djari | 'plastic sandal' |
| bétjin | 'barracuda' | djèt | 'brace for a pole' |
| béwé | 'to overdo' | djèwté | 'joy' |
| bidim | 'enormous' | djoup | 'directly, straight' |
| bita | 'together' | doukwé | 'just enough' |
| bitasyon | 'countryside, estate' | dwi | 'often' |
| blad | 'bladder' | dwivayèz [cf. Fr. <i>dérivèr</i>] | 'wanderer, loafer' |
| bo | 'kiss' | dwiyèt | 'traditional dress' |
| bobansé | 'to spend wildly' | épawlab | 'speechless' |
| bòbòl | 'fraud, trickery' | fal | 'crop, crawl' |
| bòbòlis | 'swindler' | famchay | 'midwife' |
| bonm | 'bucket' | fap (var: faps) | 'intensifier' |
| bòsko | 'lop-sided' | fèman | 'weapon' |
| boukan | 'pile of debris' | filaylonm | 'syrup added to rum' |
| boukanté | 'to exchange' | finisman [cf. Fr. <i>finir</i>] | 'end, finish' |
| boukousou | 'type of pea' | fiyonnen | 'to scoff, to ridicule' |
| boul | 'clot, lump' | flandjé | 'to slit' |
| boula | 'homosexual man' | fòs | 'mound' |
| boulòk | 'unintelligible utt.' | fouben | 'bold, brave' |
| bous | 'queen triggerfish' | fouté | 'to hit, to strike' |
| bousay | 'leaves in water' | fouyé | '3 rocks to cook on' |
| bousòl | 'swelling bumps' | fwidjé | 'banyan tree' |

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| fyòl | 'jar' | kannitil | 'hot season' |
| gad | 'incurable sore' | kaponnen | 'to grab' |
| gagawouzé | 'to gargle' | kastò | 'helmet' |
| gajé | 'to do witchcraft' | katalézòm | 'type of bush medicine' |
| galba | 'type of tree' | katin | 'black widow spider' |
| galé | 'marked from sores' | katjèt | 'leg' |
| galé | 'to plane' | kawanng | 'amberjack fish' |
| galè | 'plane' | kawèt | 'tool for stirring farine' |
| ganm | 'figure, body' | kawòs | 'cart' |
| ganmé | 'to dress up' | kawouj | 'type of bird' |
| gawoulé | 'to enjoy oneself' | kay [<i>< ka + alé?</i>] | 'future time marker' |
| glanglan | 'cheap jewelry' | kaya | 'marijuana' |
| gliglinglas | 'type of grass' | kilès | 'which' |
| go | 'penny' | kilibwi (var: koulibwi) | 'hummingbird' |
| gòb | 'chip' | kiliyou (var: kiliwou) | 'type of fish' |
| gòbé | 'to chip' | klaklak (var: krakrak) | 'locust' |
| gobé (var: gòbé) | 'to evesdrop' | kléwé [<i>cf. Fr. clair</i>] | 'to shine' |
| gòl | 'robe, gown' | kochi | 'crooked' |
| gòlèt | 'pole for gathering fruit' | kodenn | 'turkey' |
| gouj | 'type of vegetable' | kòkma | 'supernatural being' |
| groum (var: gloum, kroum) | 'stage of dasheen' | koko | 'shoot, sprout' |
| gwaj | 'grater' | kòkòt | 'vagina of child' |
| gwajé | 'to grate' | kolonm | 'overseer' |
| gwaten | 'stewed green papaya' | kòlonng | 'dawdling' |
| gwatjanm | 'calf of leg' | konbòs | 'rival for attention' |
| gwennen | 'to peel' | konmès | 'mess' |
| gwigwi | 'type of palm tree' | konmkwéki | 'as though' |
| gwiji | 'to abrade' | konng | 'moray eel' |
| gwiyen | 'to grin, to grimace' | konpawézon | 'presumptuous' |
| gwon | 'horseshoe nail' | kòsté | 'to dock' |
| hanni | 'to bray' | kotjen | 'dishonest, cheating' |
| hanswa (var: hansouwa) | 'sickle' | kotji | 'gambling game' |
| hapé | 'to bark' | koubawi | 'type of tree' |
| hayisans [<i>cf. Fr. haine</i>] | 'hatred' | koudoum | 'cliff, precipice' |
| hédi (var: wédi) | 'to pull, to pick up' | kounoumounou | 'fool' |
| ich [<i>< Sp. hijo?</i>] | 'child' | koutja | 'shy' |
| jalap | 'medicine used as purge' | kouwès | 'type of snake' |
| jawé | 'calf muscle' | kouyon | 'foolish' |
| jawé | 'to shame' | kouyontwi | 'foolishness' |
| jennton | 'June bug' | kòviyé | 'to twist' |
| jibyé | 'bird' | kwapon | 'cowardly' |
| ijjéwè | 'much less' | kwennad | 'deceiver' |
| jòb | 'cigarette paper' | kwennen (var: kwiynnen) | 'to deceive' |
| jon | 'reed' | kwensté | 'to crowd' |
| kabé | 'temporary shelter' | kwi | 'calabash bowl' |
| kabwès [<i>cf. Fr. cabri</i>] | 'young girl' | kyanng | 'override dasheen' |
| kabwiya | 'snare for animals' | laba | 'dawn' |
| kachiman | 'custard apple' | lablanni [<i>cf. Fr. blanchir</i>] | 'to bleach' |
| kagou | 'dazed, stunned' | lad | 'leprosy' |
| kakan | 'oxbow' | ladjé | 'to drop, to let go' |
| kakòl | 'delay' | ladjidjit | 'diarrhea' |
| kal | 'penis' | lagroup | 'mumps' |
| kalandjé | 'to dawdle' | lak | 'bait' |
| kalimé | 'type of grass' | lakwenn | 'fried pork rind' |
| kalkanda | 'type of rooster sickness' | lapatouch | 'complete destruction' |
| kalkati | 'exaggerated storytelling' | lapéti | 'sake of' |
| kalòj | 'cage' | lapit | 'sisal' |
| kamo | 'type of fish' | las | 'to stop, to cease' |
| kan | 'crease' | latannyé | 'broom tree' |
| kangowi | 'millipede' | latjèt | 'offering' |
| kankroum | 'cartilage' | léchanlib (var: échanlib) | 'liberty, freedom' |
| kanmad | 'bow-legged' | lèlè | 'fool' |
| kanmanmi | 'type of bush medicine' | lèpèvyé | 'cast net' |
| kannik | 'type of pod' | libenn | 'argument' |

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| lifon | 'shrewdness, cunning' | pafi | 'penis' |
| lim | 'file' | patjit | 'purse, money bag' |
| limè (var: limyè) | 'pus' | pawsad | 'wattle' |
| limou | 'moss, algae' | pawsadé | 'to wattle' |
| lòk | 'oil used as purge' | pèdwi | 'wild dove' |
| lolé | 'to wriggle' | pifwé | 'to comb (cotton)' |
| lolo | 'penis' | pijé | 'to squeeze' |
| loposyon | 'asthma' | pipirit | 'grey kingbird' |
| lota | 'vitiligo' | pitjwit | 'spotted sandpiper' |
| loukou | 'porridge of cassava flour' | pito | 'rather than' |
| lyé | 'mile' | plich | 'beating' |
| mach | 'go away' | plotonnen | 'to dishevel, to disarrange' |
| mafwézé | 'to bewitch' | pòk | 'withered' |
| majòl | 'dewlap of lizard' | pòstimé | 'to form pus' |
| makanbou (var: makabou) | 'type of plantain' | poulbwa | 'wood ant' |
| makwisti | 'castor oil plant' | pòwyé | 'white cedar tree' |
| malanga | 'wild tanya' | pwélé | 'batch of cassava flour' |
| malennng | 'sore that doesn't heal' | pyanmpyanm | 'so-so' |
| malfini [<i>< mal + fini?></i>] | 'chicken hawk' | pyay | 'to do obeah on' |
| malobi | 'porridge of white flour' | pyété | 'to exert oneself' |
| Man | 'Mistress (title)' | pyéton | 'balance' |
| mandyan | 'freeloader' | pyon | 'knobs (in draughts)' |
| manm | 'muscle' | sa | 'can, to be able' |
| manstipé | 'to take advantage of' | sali | 'to prime (in painting)' |
| Manzè | 'Mistress' (title)' | sapantè | 'type of bush medicine' |
| mapou | 'type of tree' | sé | 'pluralizer' |
| mastif | 'hard, tough' | séléwa | 'wicked' |
| matenm | 'enormous' | séléwatè | 'wickedness' |
| matété | 'porridge of cassava flour' | senm | 'snow peas' |
| matoutou | 'tarantula' | sèpé | 'to cut (brush)' |
| mawisosé | 'dragonfly' | sésé [cf. Fr. <i>soeur</i>] | 'sister' |
| maygwen | 'mosquito' | séwé | 'to hide' |
| mayhont | 'creeping mimosa' | séwen | 'dew' |
| mèl | 'whetstone' | Séwénal | 'Christmas celebration' |
| mèltwi | 'to soften' | simyé | 'to prefer' |
| mès | 'manners' | sit | 'to hiss' |
| mètsin | 'purge' | sitwayé | 'aggravated, annoyed' |
| mèw | 'nun' | sivotjé | 'to nauseate' |
| Mèyè² | 'Mistress (title)' | siwèt | 'gooseberry' |
| migannen | 'to crush' | siwik | 'blue crab' |
| mik | 'damp' | siyèz [cf. Fr. <i>scier</i>] | 'type of cactus' |
| mòtèl | 'type of tree' | sòb | 'type of fish' |
| mouben | 'hog plum' | soudè [cf. Fr. <i>sourd</i>] | 'deaf person' |
| mouchas | 'starch' | soumaché | 'to sweeten' |
| mouklé | 'click beetle' | soumatjé | 'type of plant' |
| mwenk | 'not a word' | soutiwèz [cf. Fr. <i>soutirer</i>] | 'accomplice' |
| mwennson | 'type of bird' | soutni | 'snack' |
| mwézi | 'soft (in ref. to dry foods)' | swé...ében (var: swèt...ében) | 'either...or' |
| nennenn | 'godmother' | tach | 'school of fish' |
| nyak | 'overripe (dasheen)' | tak | 'stem' |
| òbzòki | 'out of shape' | tak | 'a bit' |
| otí | 'to pay a visit' | tan | 'such and such an amount' |
| oukou | 'type of tree' | taza | 'king mackerel' |
| owa | 'to the brim' | tèk | 'to play marbles' |
| pachpach | 'second-rate' | tenk | 'well-matched' |
| pakouwè [cf. Fr. <i>parcourir</i>] | 'womanizer' | tèson | 'coal pot' |
| palanma | 'screwpine' | tètenm | 'brain-damaged' |
| palapata | 'babblers' | téwin | 'clay pot' |
| palaviwé | 'slap' | tibwen | 'some (of)' |
| panti | 'hinge' | tich | 'rib of coconut frond' |
| pantoufouyé | 'hammerhead shark' | til | 'chicken wire' |
| pap | 'porridge of white flour' | tilapiya | 'type of fish' |
| pasdwa | 'injustice' | tim tím | 'intro. of riddle' |
| paswa | 'sieve, strainer' | tiyèl | 'type of bush medicine' |

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| tizing | 'some' | vous | 'moodiness' |
| tjatja | 'type of fish' | vout | 'undercurrent' |
| tjenbwa | 'obeah' | wadenn | 'guinea pig' |
| tjenbwatè | 'obeah man' | wavèt | 'cockroach' |
| tjikilik | 'to tickle' | wawèt | 'seaweed' |
| tjiktjik | 'type of bird' | waz | 'to the brim' |
| tjipi | 'to embarrass, to shame' | wazyé (var: wajyé) | 'grass, brush' |
| tjo | 'pig call' | wépantisman [cf. Fr. <i>repentir</i>] | 'repentance' |
| tjò | 'piece' | wiboté | 'to celebrate' |
| tolin | 'small frog' | wipinyé | 'to eat to satisfaction' |
| toloman | 'arrowroot' | wivandèz | 'vendor' |
| tonnèl | 'trellis' | wonklé | 'to bellow' |
| toubonman | 'very much' | wonmyé [cf. Fr. <i>rhum</i>] | 'drunkard' |
| twisayé | 'to give chills' | wonyen | 'crumb, scrap' |
| va | 'harpoon' | yan | 'quick exit' |
| valowab [cf. Fr. <i>valeur</i>] | 'valuable' | yenyen | 'fruit fly' |
| vap | 'moodiness' | zagwiyen | 'spider' |
| vapon | 'speed' | zam | 'crop' |
| vawé | 'to harpoon' | zatolan | 'type of dove' |
| vaykivay | 'carelessly' | zègo | 'ankle, hoof' |
| vèblé | 'pimple' | zen | 'fish hook' |
| véen | 'game of tag' | zésant | 'wooden shingle' |
| véyen | 'grouper' | zikak | 'type of fruit' |
| vivi | 'envious' | zing | 'to play marbles' |
| vizou | 'cane juice' | zòy | 'peck' |
| vonvon | 'bee' | zwi | 'cricket' |
| vonvonné | 'to buzz' | zwit | 'barnacle' |

Table 12: St. Lucian Creole Vocabulary for which a Specific Source Cannot Be Identified.

9. Summary.

The table and pie chart below summarize the findings with respect to sources for St. Lucian Creole vocabulary. Of the total number of lexical items in the Kwéyòl dictionary database on which the *Kwéyòl Dictionary* is based, the number of lexemes determined to have distinct etymological sources was about 3520. Of this total, the overwhelming majority (about 84%) are obviously – or in a few cases, probably – of French origin. The second most common source of vocabulary is English, with about 3%. Note again that it is a matter of judgment to say when an English word has become properly borrowed into the Kwéyòl language. Amerindian, African and East Indian sources can be identified fairly clearly for roughly ½ % of the total each. About one tenth of one percent come from Spanish or French.

| Language | count | percent | adjusted |
|-----------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| French | 2950 | 83.8 % | 95.0 % |
| English | 100 | 2.8 % | 3.2 % |
| Indian | 12 | .4 % | .4 % |
| African | 17 | .5 % | .6 % |
| Amerindian | 22 | .6 % | .7 % |
| Span./Port. | 4 | .1 % | .1 % |
| unknown | 415 | 11.8 % | ---- |

Table 13: Percentages of the Various Languages Involved.

