

The diffusion of cassava in Africa: lexical and other evidence



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ABSTRACT

Cassava was domesticated in Central America some 9000 years ago. The Portuguese carried it from Brazil to Africa in the late sixteenth century as a cheap staple to feed slaves. It seems likely that it was introduced into multiple locations rapidly, as borrowings from Portuguese *mandioca* are found in widely scattered parts of West Africa. Cassava was rapidly taken up by African farmers near the coast, but only began to penetrate the interior in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Due to the highly toxic characteristics of bitter cassava, the techniques of processing it travelled with the plant itself and are found all over Africa. From this point we find both a large number of local roots, comparing cassava to indigenous tubers, and also to the silk-cotton tree. Some peoples, such as the Hausa and Bambara seem to be important secondary distributors of cassava, as their name is borrowed into many surrounding languages. The paper groups the main lexemes identified for cassava, plots them on maps and produces a synthesis of the introduction and spread of cassava in Africa.

1. Introduction

Food-plants and other crops brought from the New World to Tropical Africa have had a dramatic impact on both subsistence patterns and agricultural practice throughout the continent. Many American staple crops, fruits and stimulants are now well-established within 'traditional' African agricultural systems. Table 1 shows these cultigens, classified by broad categories of usage.

Table 1. Principal New World cultigens in tropical Africa

Cereals	Tubers	Legumes	Fruits	Vegetables	Others
Maize	Cassava	Groundnut	Pawpaw	Chili pepper	Cucurbits
	Sweet potato	Lima bean	Guava	Cherry tomato	Tobacco
	Irish potato		Avocado	Capsicum	Cocoa
	New cocoyam		Pineapple	Tomato	

Pickersgill & Heiser (1977) present a global synthesis of the dispersal of New World cultigens but the only author to give an overview of their diffusion in Africa is Pasch (1980). Pasch compiled a valuable list of vernacular terms covering the entire continent and presented some preliminary hypotheses about foci of diffusion. The actual process and even the date when the New World crops were introduced was usually not recorded and can only be inferred from passing references in travel records and descriptive publications. A few other studies have covered specific crops or regions in more detail, for example, Blench (1998) or Cloarec-Heiss & Nougayrol (1998).

A trans-Saharan route for New World crops is rarely considered. However, it is equally possible that some New World cultigens introduced to the Maghreb were also carried southwards across the desert along the flourishing trans-Saharan trade routes. Certainly, the crop inventory of medieval Islam, such as dura sorghum, onion, garlic, cucumber, sweet melon and others, came to West Africa by this route. Mauny (1953:722) in a comprehensive account of historical references to West African crops, says of tobacco "*Nous avons ici sans doute le seul cas d'introduction au Soudan d'une plante américaine par le Maghreb.*"

The current status of New World cultigens in Africa is hard to establish due to a lack of reliable quantitative data on both cultivation and trade. Even information on the varieties favoured by farmers is at best anecdotal. Until the twentieth century, there is little in the way of documentation concerning the spread of American food plants. Although this paper reviews the documentary sources, the principal evidence for the introduction and diffusion of New World cultigens must be linguistic. The principal method is the compilation of vernacular names and the tracking of patterns in the linguistic forms. In general, the more ancient strata of American crops have been so effectively incorporated into crop repertoires in Africa that their 'foreign' origin is no longer remembered. Vernacular terms can suggest the routes along which crops spread, especially where they are either borrowed directly from another language or else the crop named for a particular people (i.e. in formulations such as 'yam of the x'). These have been exhaustively mined by Jones (1959) and Vansina (1995). Lexical analysis is one of the few techniques that provides an insight into the diffusion of these plants. One of the better-known cultigens is cassava, *Manihot esculenta*, which has been the subject of several regional studies. This paper explores the evidence for its introduction and spread.

Cassava is also known as manioc, tapioca and yuca. The current botanical name for cassava, *Manihot esculenta* Crantz, was introduced in 1766. Gade (2003:45–46) becomes quite indignant about this multiplicity of common names, recommending only manioc be adopted, but this is unlikely to come about any time soon.

Cassava is a woody shrub 1-4 m. in height. The plant develops tuberous roots that are the main edible part, containing large carbohydrate reserves mainly in the form of starch. The leaves are also edible, and form an important nutritional supplement in parts of Africa where cassava predominates. Cassava varieties are often classified into two groups, bitter and sweet, on the basis of the relative amount of cyanogenic glucosides in the plant. When the tissue of the tuber is damaged, for instance by harvesting and food preparation, the glucosides are hydrolysed to poisonous hydrocyanic acid (HCN, or prussic acid) (Carneiro 2000:67; Wilson 2003:404). All cassava varieties contain these glucosides, but only in plants with high concentrations, the juice must be extracted and the edible mash boiled to avoid poisoning. Sweet cassava varieties contain only low amounts and can be eaten after simple boiling or roasting. Poor processing of bitter cassava may result in acute cyanide intoxication, with symptoms like vomiting, dizziness, and paralysis, and can be lethal (Wilson 2003:404). The consequence is that preparation techniques must travel with the plant as introducing it to another region of the world without this knowledge is likely to result in mass poisoning.

Photo 1. Cassava plant



2. Cassava in the Americas

Cassava was domesticated by at least 9000 years ago in South-Central America. The main conclusions of Isendahl (2011) are that the strongest candidate for its botanical origin, the wild progenitor of the root crop, is *Manihot esculenta* subspecies *flabellifolia* (Pohl) Ciferri. The geographical origin of cassava is most likely in the savannas, the Brazilian Cerrado, to the south of the Amazon rainforest, and the Cerrado is also the region where cultivation began. Domesticated cassava had spread from there by the early Holocene, possibly as early as 10,000 years ago, but certainly by 7000 BC and it was a readily available plant in most habitats of the Neotropics by the mid-Holocene, at least some 6500 years ago. Blench (2012) reviews linguistic reconstructions for cassava in various language phyla of the Americas. It is reasonable to reconstruct cassava for both the Arawakan (Maipurean) and Tupian language phyla, both of which have time-depths of 4-5000 years. Arroyo-Kalin (2008) suggests that there is a correlation between the anthropogenic dark earths of the Eastern Amazon, and the cultivation of storable bitter cassava, and the shifting cultivation of the western Amazon with the focus on sweet cassava.

3. Cassava in the Africa: historical documentation

There is no doubt that the initial diffusion of cassava around the world was due to the Portuguese. The Portuguese first reached Brazil in 1500 and saw cassava grown by the Tupi-Guarani peoples. They rapidly grasped the significance of cassava as a cheap, easily grown food, both to feed slaves and their own sailors. They carried crops across the Atlantic and were responsible for its transmission to the West African coast. We have no records of the decision to transmit both the plant itself and processing technologies to Africa, but from the earliest records (Vansina 1995) in the early seventeenth century, cassava was already grown as a staple, along with maize, and characteristic Amazonian techniques of processing were in operation. According to the standard study of cassava in Africa (Jones 1959), the first certain reference to it is in 1558. Bahuchet & Philippson (1998) quote testimonies showing that cassava was introduced into the Gabon to Angola region by the early 1600s. The first apparent reference to cassava in the Nigerian region is Dapper (1686), who saw it at Forcados in 1668. Barbot (quoted in Jones 1959:73) mentions the cultivation of cassava in 'Ouwere' in the 1680s, modern-day Warri (not the inland town Owerri). The historical data is substantially weaker for the coast of East Africa. Cassava probably spread inland during the eighteenth century, as Barth (1857-58, 2:505) records the Fulbe growing cassava in Yola in the 1850s and Nachtigal (1980:192) noted the use of its leaves for sauces in Borno in 1870.

Both sweet and bitter cassavas were brought to Africa, but the bitter cassavas are much more widespread, since the yield is higher and they can be stored for long periods, unlike sweet cassavas which must be eaten

when they are taken from the ground. The making of *gari*, or fermented, grated cassava, a form of processing that eliminates the hydrocyanic acid in bitter types, was noted at Mayomba, north of Loango in 1611-12 (Bahuchet & Philippson 1998). There are, however, no references to *gari* in the Nigerian region until the nineteenth century. The other significant use of cassava is as a source of starch for clothes and most markets sell it in pellet form. In most cereal-growing areas, cassava is regarded as a low-status food and through much of the semi-arid regions it is often conceptualised primarily as a starch-plant.

When considering the evidence for its diffusion, it is worth quoting a standard textbook on the subject of the introduction of cassava into this region;

"Cassava appears to have been taken by the Portuguese to São Tomé and Fernando Po in the Gulf of Benin and to Warri and the mouth of the Congo River on the mainland during the last half of the sixteenth century. Elsewhere on the mainland of West Africa it was of little importance prior to the 19th century. It was not known north of the River Niger before 1914."

(Purseglove, 1974:173)

This compilation of received wisdom is short on accuracy and long on supposition, in particular the remark about the northern distribution of cassava, adapted from Jones, who also gives no evidence.

Cassava typically competes with yam, and its differential spread is strongly related to the ease of growing particular tubers in ecological niches. Although yams (*Dioscorea* spp.) will grow in the equatorial forest, they have never played the same role in agricultural ecology as in humid West Africa. Cassava has made considerable inroads into regions where tuber cultivation was traditionally dominant, in the humid and southern subhumid zones. The principal reason is that it grows in very infertile soil. Where population densities are high, such as in the rural areas of Igboland and the south-east, shortening swidden cycles have made the high fertility demands of yams (*Dioscorea* spp.) impractical. Indeed, when Chevalier (1902) made his first expedition across the Ubangi-Shari basin, the cultivated Labiateae, *Solenostemon* and *Plectranthus* seem to have been the dominant staples. When he followed the same route again after half a century, they had been completely replaced by cassava.

4. Cassava in the Africa: linguistic evidence

4.1 Data sources

The alternative names for cassava, manioc, tapioca and yuca derive from indigenous New World terms. Etymologically, *manioc* is a French term derived from the Tupian word *maniot*, recorded on the Brazilian coast and first noted in writing in the 1550s. Linnaeus published manioc as *Jatropha manihot* in 1753. The Tupi name, as *manihot*, was transformed into Portuguese *mandioca*, and this name turns up, scattered around the coast of Africa. The other common name, yuca, is a shortened form of *mandioca*, a reduction which seems to have occurred independently in several regions of Africa. No other names obviously related to Amerindian languages seem to be recorded from Africa. This suggests that cassava was rapidly adopted and assimilated around the coasts of Africa, although it apparently does not spread to the interior until the nineteenth century. This is largely confirmed by the linguistic evidence presented in this paper.

The absence of historical information has undoubtedly led to an interest in using alternative methods to understand its spread, the most characteristic of which is the compilation of vernacular names. Cassava has been better served in terms of linguistic studies than almost any other crop. Table 2 shows some of the published studies conducted in different parts of the continent;

Table 2. Linguistic studies of the spread of cassava in Africa

Authors	Region
Bahuchet & Philippson (1998)	Bantu area
Mveng Ayi (1981)	Cameroun
Blench (1998a)	Nigeria
Cloarec-Heiss & Nougayrol (1998)	Central Africa (i.e. CAR etc.)
Langlands (1966)	Uganda
Pasch (1980)	Sub-Saharan Africa
Williamson (1970)	Niger Delta

The diffusion of cassava in Cameroon was studied by the researchers contributing to a historical symposium (see summaries in Tardits, 1981). I have searched the major dictionaries of Khoisan languages but none has a word for cassava. Nonetheless, cassava is grown by the Bantu populations in Southern Africa.

The present paper also relies on unpublished compilations drawn from the ReFlex database, Gerard Philippson (Bantu), Guillaume Segerer (West Africa), Kay Williamson (Nigeria) and Dogon (Jeffrey Heath) as well as the author's own fieldwork. Comparative names for cassava are also found in comparative lexical publications such as Moñino (1995). In all cases, the data has been updated if more recent, better transcribed sources have become available. Individual bibliographic references are not listed for each language, in the interests of space, but a table gives the route towards sources.

All the data available has been compiled into a single table, Table 4, which is arranged by linguistic genealogy. The large-scale groups follow Ethnologue (2013) and other major reference sources, but for Nigeria I have used my own classification, which includes languages not in Ethnologue. The rationale and terminology can be found in the online 3rd edition of the Index of Nigerian languages¹. This is so individual languages are easy to find and check, but does not necessarily reflect the chain of borrowing and innovation characteristic of a relatively recent introduction such as cassava. Each base form or lexical cluster which appears to be at all widespread is numbered, so these can be compared across languages. These forms are assigned quasi-reconstructions for the purposes of reference, which represent a simplified version of the synchronic forms, but these should not be taken as a historical hypothesis. The exact routes of borrowing are open to discussion, but the intention is to provide a preliminary tool for analysis.

4.2 Analysis

Vernacular names can be usefully divided into two classes; local formations, i.e. constructed within an individual language, and widespread base forms, borrowed across the boundaries of language families, often via a widespread trade language. Thus Hausa *roogòò*, appears in many unrelated languages, and it is assumed that the Hausa acted as secondary diffusers of cassava, once it reached their trade networks. Such base forms are considerably more useful for tracing diffusion routes as a combination of linguistic geography and phonological change can usually point to the direction of spread. An additional section following the major roots discusses various low frequency or scattered roots and also the logic of naming.

Table 3 shows the most important base forms identified in this study. The numbers in column are assigned somewhat arbitrarily, following their approximate frequency in Table 4.

Table 3. Main source of widespread cassava names

No.	Base form	Source
I	mandioka	Portuguese, from Tupian
II	rogo	Hausa
III	doya	Hausa 'yam'
IV	mbay	Fulfulde
V	ege	Yoruba area
VI	banakun	Mande, Dogon

¹ <http://www.rogerblench.info/Language/Africa/Nigeria/Atlas%20of%20Nigerian%20Languages-%20ed%20III.pdf>

No.	Base form	Source
VII	bede	Twi
VIII	muhogo	Swahili
IX	farina	Portuguese ‘flour’
X	garanga	Central Africa
XI	buru	Ijo
XII	gari	Scattered but widespread for processed bitter cassava
XIII	kum	Scattered as adopted from vernacular names for silk-cotton
XIV	iwa	Efik
XV	ngale	Central Africa
XVI	banfi	? Twi

The following commentaries describe the distribution and likely sources of these different base forms.

I. Mandioka

Along the Atlantic coast of Africa, evidence of an introduction by the Portuguese is clear, since many coastal languages borrow from Portuguese *mandioca*. Many synchronic forms seem very remote from the *mandioca* root, but the changes can be traced from one language to another. The synchronic forms subdivide into two major sets, *imidaka* (Ia) and *jooka* (Ib). The forms common in the Niger Delta, Ijoid and neighbouring languages are roughly *imidaka*, related to *mbaraka* in Kalabari. The vernacular terms in the Niger Delta, shows that the borrowing was not directly into Ijo lects, but into a language which does not allow a noun to begin with a consonant, such as Işekiri, a Yoruboid language spoken on the extreme west of the Delta (Williamson 1970:162). Southern Igbo lects have also borrowed the Ijoid form of the word, indicating the spread northwards of cassava in this region. Map 1 shows the approximate distribution of the #*imidaka* root in the Niger Delta.

Map 1. The *imidaka* root in the Niger Delta



Further west, for example in Biafada, the Portuguese term was analysed as *maa-dioka*, a plural prefix plus stem, yielding and quasi-stem root *dyoka*. The *dy-* is weakened to *y-* giving Bullom *yóóka*, and then the vowels conform to the phonology of neighbouring Sherbro, yielding *yekə*. Map 2 shows the approximate distribution of the *#jooka* root between Senegambia and Sierra Leone.

Map 2. Distribution of the *#jooka* root

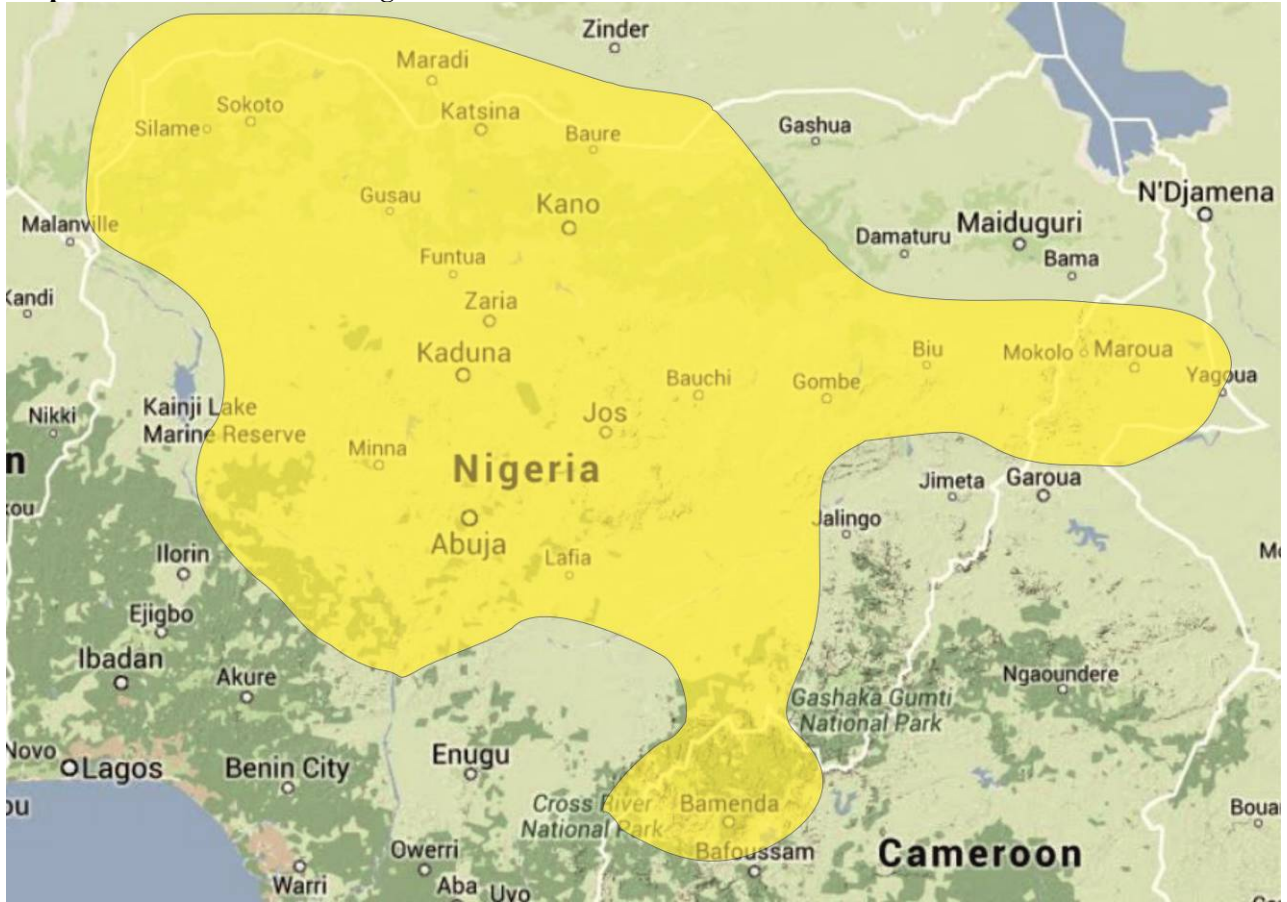


It is presumably this form which gave rise to the name ‘yucca’ although this may have occurred independently in the Americas.

II. Rogo

The root *#rogo* is distributed across a wide region of northern Nigeria, spreading into a Songhay lect, Dendi, in the west and eastward to Cameroun as well as southeast in to the Cameroun Grassfields. There is little doubt that it originates with Hausa, but the origin of the Hausa *róógòò* is unclear. The word *róógòò* + qualifier is applied to a number of tubers gathered in the bush, notably *Ampelocissus* sp. and some species of *Dioscorea* such as *Dioscorea dumetorum*. So *roogòò* was probably originally referred to *Ampelocissus* sp. and when cassava became dominant, *roogòò* was transferred to it and 'of the bush' added to the name of the wild plant. The Hausa term is the single most common term in north-central Nigeria, and in many languages informants give the Hausa word without phonologisation. Most Adamawa and Chadic speakers west of the region use a form of the Hausa *róógòò*, but loanwords from Fulfulde *mbay* are common along the Cameroun border area (Cloarec-Heiss & Nougayrol 1998). Map 3 shows the approximate distribution of the *#rogo* root between Nigeria and Cameroun.

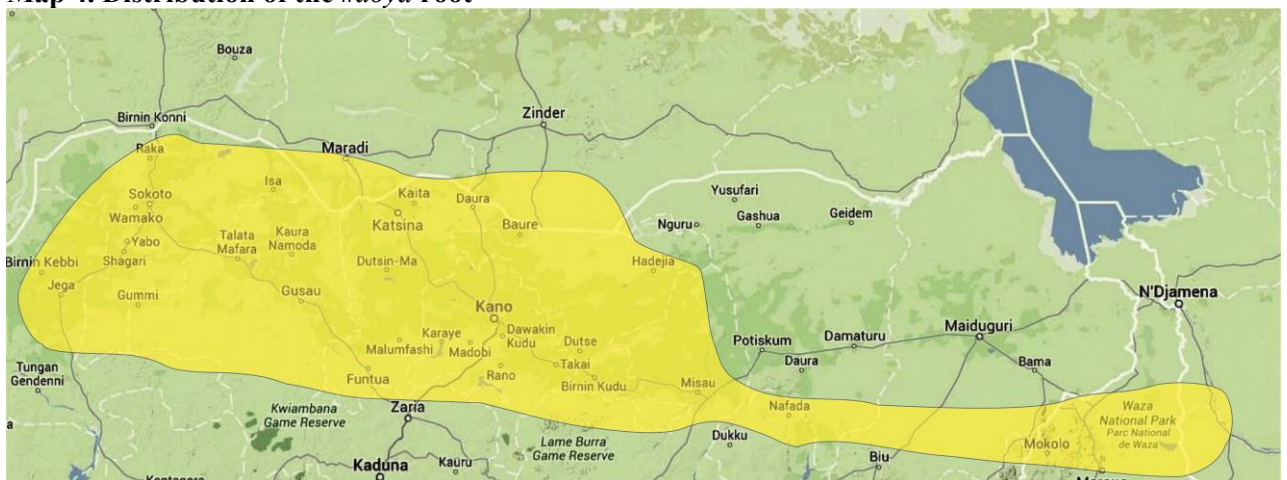
Map 3. Distribution of the #rogo root



III. Doya

Dóóyà is the Hausa name for ‘yam’ (*Dioscorea* pp.) and this is an obvious comparison for a newly introduced tuber food crop. One Hausa name, *dóóyàr kùdù*, ‘yam of the South’ points to a coastal provenance of cassava in the north. It has been taken up by the Chadic languages east of Hausaland proper, spreading as far as south of Maiduguri. Map 4 shows the distribution of the #doya root, where applied exclusively to cassava.

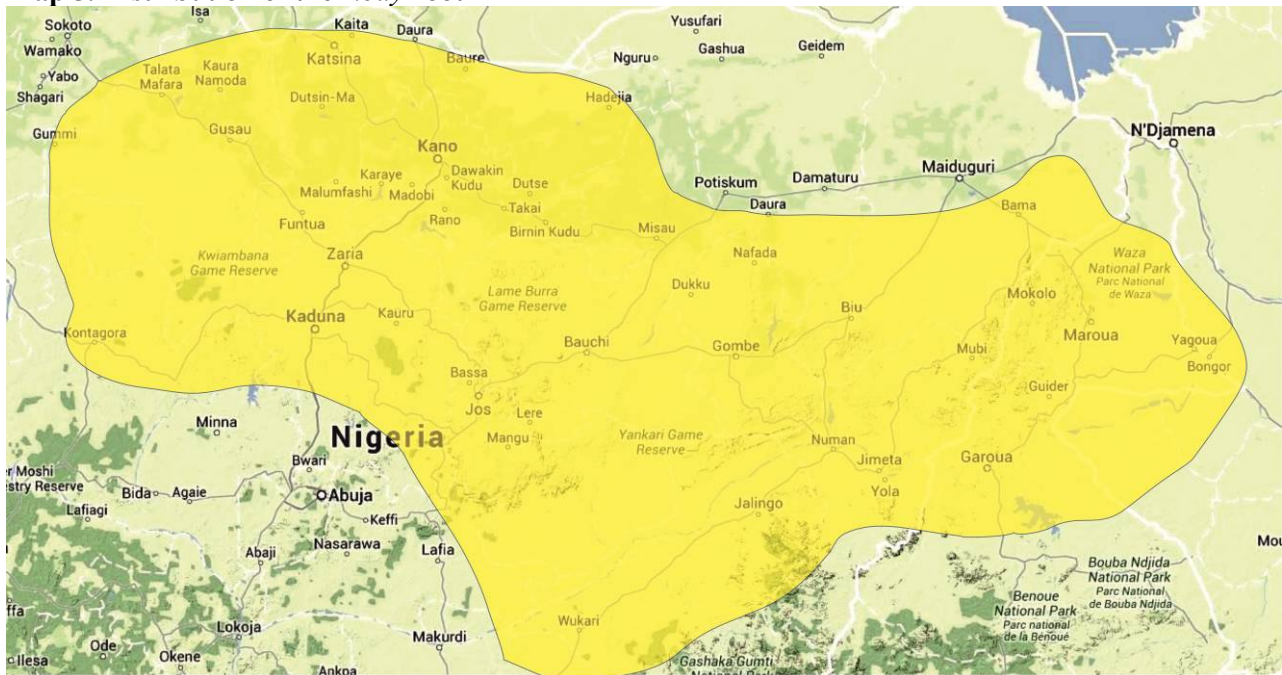
Map 4. Distribution of the #doya root



IV. Mbay

Despite being stereotyped as cattle nomads, the Fulbe also grow flood retreat gardens in many areas of West Africa. Cassava seems to have become important at an early period in the north of Nigeria. Barth (1857-58,2:505) records the Fulbe growing cassava in Yola in the 1850s and Nachtigal (1980:192) noted the use of its leaves for sauces in Borno in 1870. The Fulfulde term *mbay* is widespread in both the areas where Fulbe nomadise but when it is borrowed into languages spoke by farmers, it was then transmitted across Central Africa. Cloarec-Heiss & Nougayrol (1998) plot its further diffusion into Northern Cameroun and the extreme west of Chad. Map 5 shows the distribution of the #*mbay* root. Obviously it does not attempt to represent every area where Fulbe herders may have carried it and plots out the distribution in NE Nigeria and adjacent Cameroun.

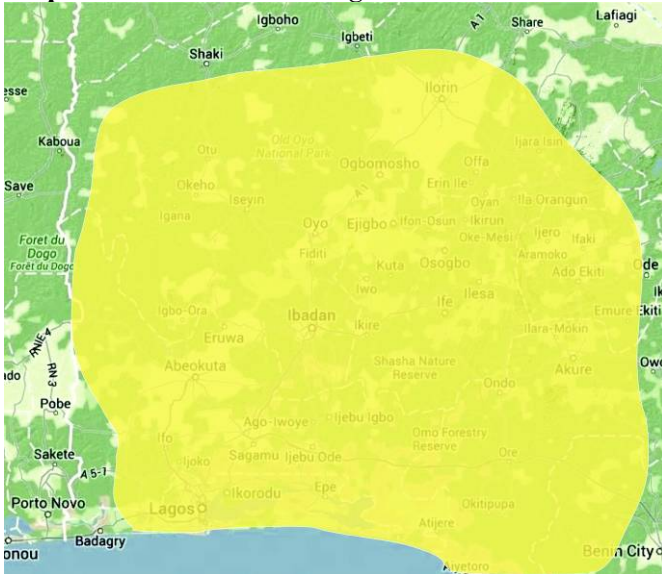
Map 5. Distribution of the *mbay* root



V. Ègè

A term that may have a disjunct Southern Nigerian distribution is #*igwe*. This is omnipresent in SE Nigeria but what may be a related form is recorded in Yoruba, *ègè*, Urhobo *igé* and perhaps Ekpeye *ogbólo*. A possible source for this term is *gari* for the fermented form; in Edo this was recorded as *igari* for cassava in the mid-nineteenth century, but this is now *ígai* with deletion of C_2 . If *ígai* can yield *igé*, this would account for the scattered records. This term may refer to a particular cultivar that spread independently of the main diffusion of cassava. Map 6 shows the distribution of the *ègè* root.

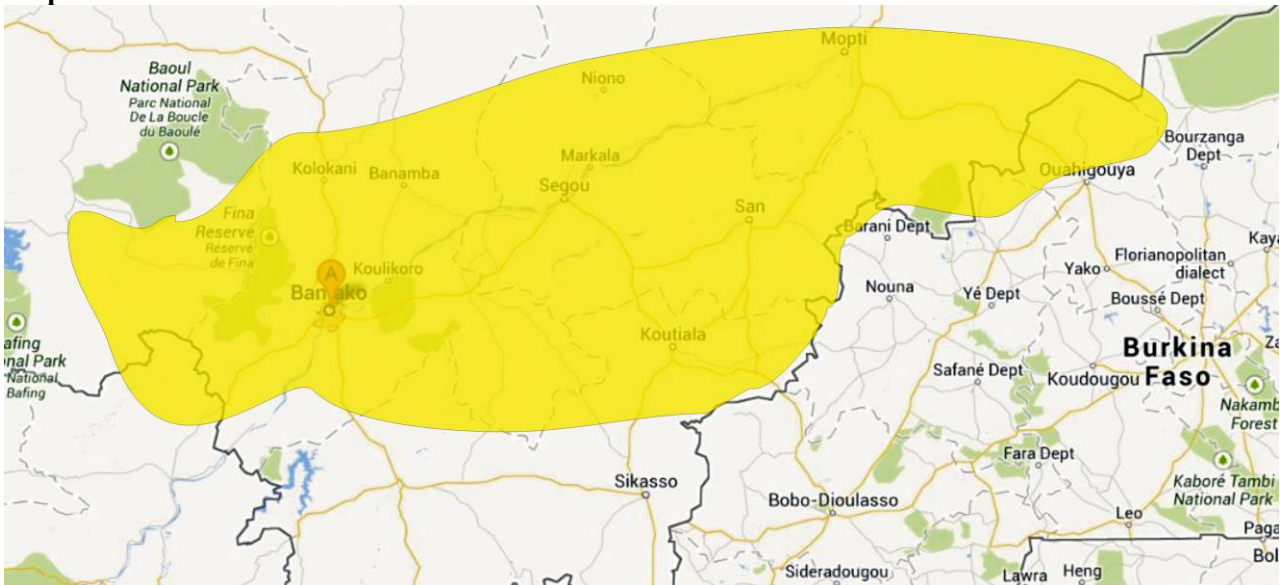
Map 6. Distribution of the *egε* root



VI. Banakun

Most Mande languages have a root like *#banakun* for cassava, which may have originated in Bambara. The has been carried to the Dogon area east of Mopti and has now spread to nearly all the Dogon languages. Map 7 shows the distribution of the *#banakun* root.

Map 7. Distribution of the *banakun* root



VII. Bede

A widespread root in the coastal languages of Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire is *#bede*. Its etymology is unknown but it is similar to the common root for plantain in this region, *#agbede*, and may well be an eroded version of this. The coastal distribution suggests that it diffused along the littoral in the period of the slave trade. Map 8 shows the distribution of the *#bede* root.

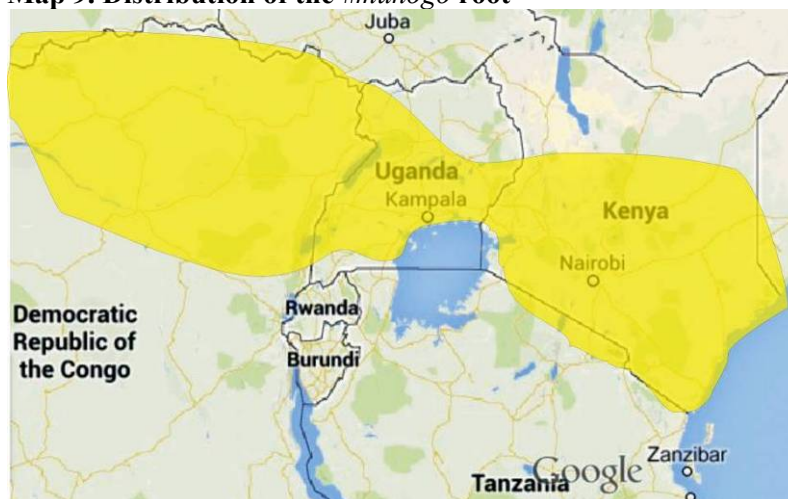
Map 8. Distribution of the #bede root



VIII. Muhogo

The Swahili term has been borrowed by many languages far in the interior, probably following the routes of the trade caravans that penetrated this region from the 18th century onwards (Bahuchet & Philippson 1998:103). Map 9 shows the distribution of the #muhogo root.

Map 9. Distribution of the #muhogo root



IX. Fariña

The Portuguese term *fariña* applies to any sort of flour, but was commonly applied to cassava flour in seventeenth century Africa. It was

borrowed in West Africa in the Gbe-speaking area and is found in languages such as Ewe, Fon and Gun. Separately there is a record in Shona, somewhat isolated in the Bantu zone, but it is likely there are more occurrences which have not been recorded.

X. Galanga

This root is confined to Central Africa, to languages from the SBB and Ubangian families. Optionally, the -l- varies with r~d~d̥.

XI. Buru

This word appears to be an original root in the Ijò languages of the Niger Delta, and is compounded with various other qualifiers to make a term for cassava. Confined to the Niger Delta, but also borrowed from Ijoid into the Central Delta languages. A Kolokuma Iẓon term is *obábùrú*, ‘Oba’s yam’, pointing to an introduction from Benin. The other terms in this region relate to *buru* ‘yam’ and are usually ascribed to source areas further west, such as the ‘yam of Aboh’.

XII. Gari

Gari is the most common name for grated cassava along much of the West Africa coast, but only rarely appears as a term for the plant itself. It is probably unconnected with Kanuri *galisa*.

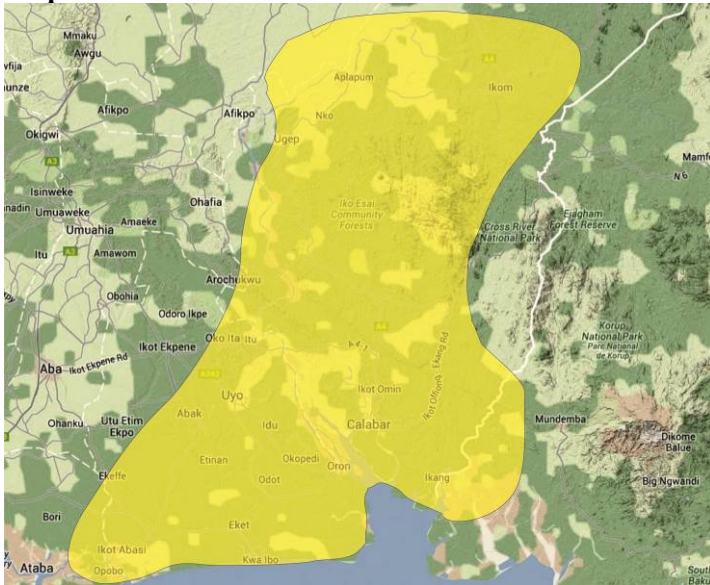
XIII. Kum

The *kum* root is scattered across the map and almost certainly reflects a series of independent borrowings from the term for the silk-cotton tree, whose leaves resemble cassava. The root *kum* is spread across much of West-Central Africa, applied to the silk-cotton (Blench 2003). A similar analogy is made in the Atlantic and Igboïd -speaking areas, where the names for the silk-cotton, *#sana* and *#akpu*, is adopted for cassava.

XIV. Iwa

Attested in Lower Cross, Upper Cross and some neighbouring Ekoid languages. Since a few languages have a velar, i.e. *igwa*, it is possible there is some connection with the typical Yoruboid name, *egɛ*.

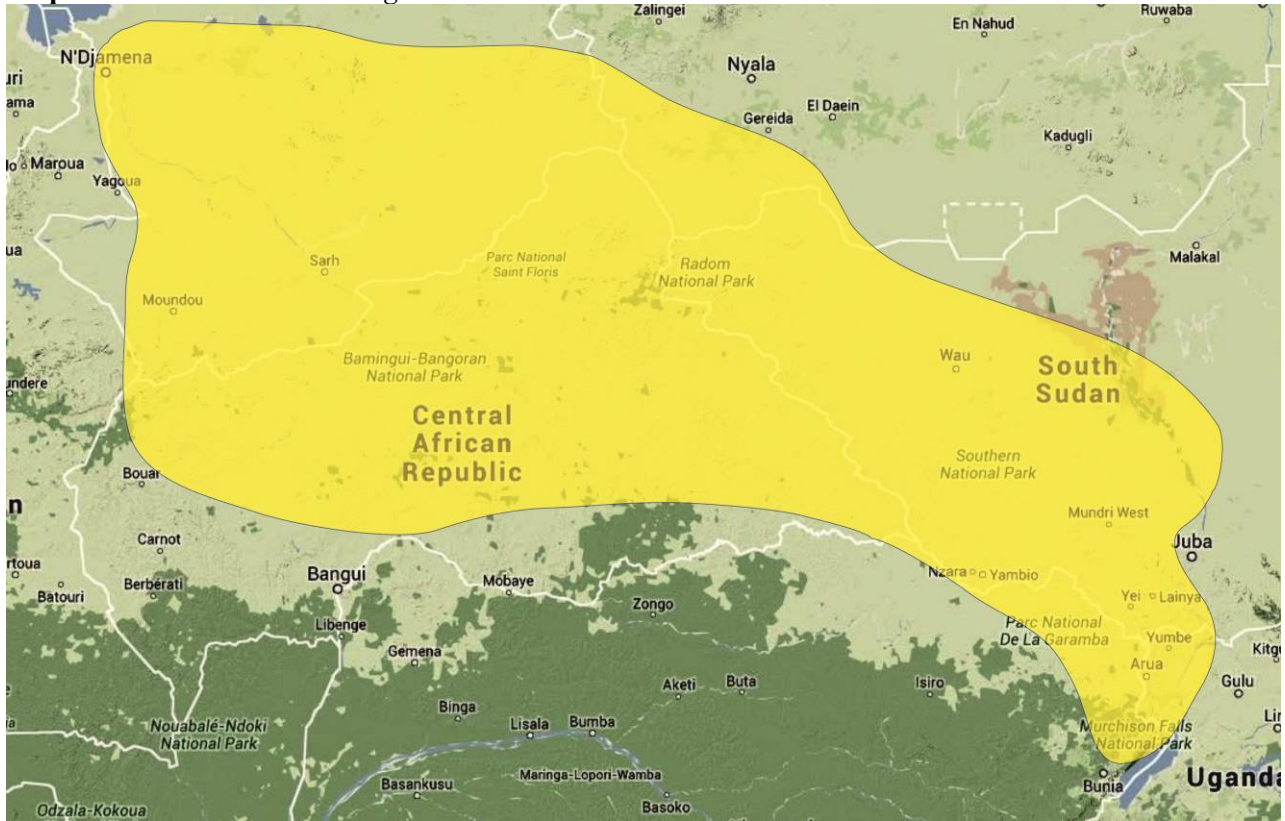
Map 10. Distribution of the #iwa root



XV. Ngale

There are numerous witnesses of the root *ngâlè*, in both Chad, Central African Republic and spreading eastwards to Sudan and the NE DRC (Cloarec-Heiss & Nougayrol 1998). The sweet cassavas which can be eaten without preparation are known as *ngadalá* in Kanuri. The absence of this name as a loan-word in other Nigerian languages suggests that the Kanuri did not disseminate cassava south and west. Map 11 shows the distribution of the *#ngale* root.

Map 11. Distribution of the #ngale root



XVI. Bantfi

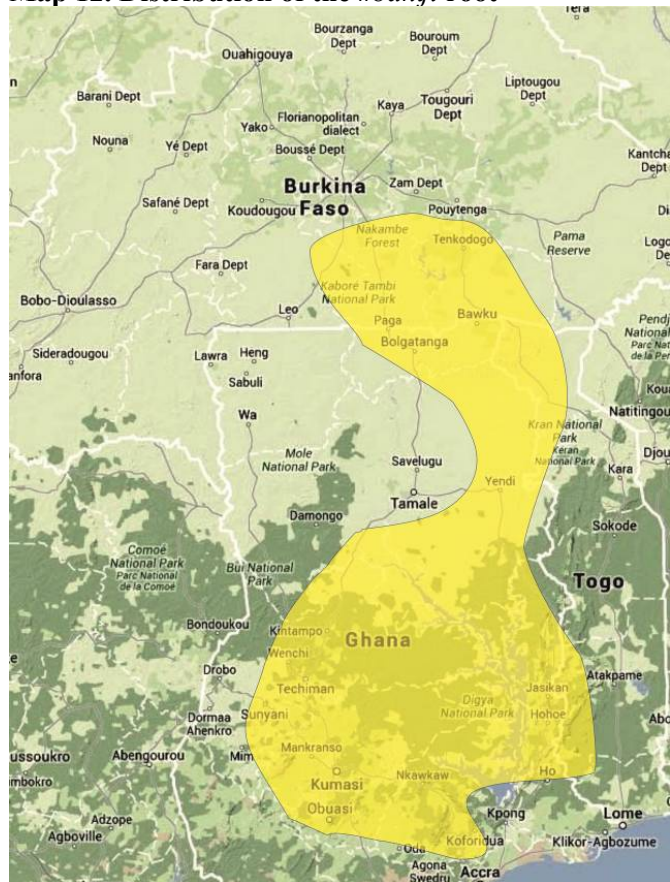
Bantfi occurs in a region between southern Ghana and the Dogon area of Mali. It is found scattered in Mande, Gur and Kwa languages and may have originated in Twi. Map 12 shows the distribution of the #*bantfi* root.

Low-frequency roots

A1. #*kasala*. This is a direct borrowing from English ‘cassava’ which is found in Tivoid, Nyang and in parts of the Grassfields in Cameroun. This is quite surprising, as it occurs in Ngiemboon and other languages which are spoken in the Francophone zone. Presumably it was initially borrowed in an Anglophone and diffused back into the Francophone areas.

A2. #*panya*. A rare root found in a few languages of the Nigeria/Cameroun borderland, especially Tivoid and Bendi languages. This is a shortened form of ‘*hispanya*’ i.e. Spanish which seems to have penetrated this region up from the coast, having been adopted from the Hispanophone areas of Equatorial Guinea.

Map 12. Distribution of the #bantfi root



A3. #*bafora*. A rare root found mainly in SBB and some Ubangian languages. Cloarec-Heiss & Nougayrol (1998) plot this root which spreads from southeastern Chad into the southwest of Sudan and probably eventually into Nilotic languages. It may have initially been spread by the Zande.

A4. #*mam-*. *Mam-* is a root in western and some central Chadic languages applied to true yams, *Dioscorea* spp. Like #*doya* (III) it has been adapted, usually qualified, to apply to cassava

A5. #*bantara*. This root is found in Senegambia and Guinea, principally among Atlantic languages and may have originated in one of the Fulfulde names, *bantarawal*.

A6. #*banduku*. A low-frequency root occurring in Gur languages. It might be a version of #*banaku* (VI) with metathesis or similar.

A7. #*gbanda*. A low-frequency root found in Gbaya and other Ubangian languages.

A8. #*galisa*. The etymology of the Kanuri *galisa* is unclear but it is probably not connected with Yoruba/Hausa *gari* for the processed form. Barth (1862, II:178) gives *karēsa/karāsa* for Kanuri and *karāsu* for Teda, while Nachtigal (1980:192) transcribes this *karāsu*. It is possible that the Kanuri had access to cassava via the Tripoli trade and borrowed the name from Teda. Since that period, the term has undergone phonological shifts, perhaps by analogy with *gari*.

A9. #*akpu*. The usual name among Igbolects and a direct polysemy with the name of the silk-cotton tree.

Map 13 shows the main locations of the major lexical clusters for cassava, including both widespread and local roots.

Map 13. Synthesis of lexical clusters for cassava



Table 4 provides all the evidence compiled on vernacular African terms for cassava. The whole table is organised by language phylum, although of course cassava does not reconstruct

Table 4. Vernacular names for cassava, *Manihot Esculenta* Crantz

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments	
NS	Songhay		Dendi	róógò		II	<Hausa	
			Kaado	òróggò		II	<Hausa	
	Saharan	West	Kanuri	galísa		A8	? < gari	
Kanuri				ngadalá	XV [?]			
Kanembu			gàlí	XV				
Teda			kara#su	A8	?			
	Maban		Maba	ngali		XV		
Aiki			ngàlè	XV				
CS		Lendu-Ngiti	Lendu	ngórá		XV		
			Moru-Madi	nó'ú / ó'ú				
			Moru-Madi	Mamvu	qúmā		XIII	
			SBB	Gula	ngàlè		XV	
			SBB	Sar	ngàli		XV	
			SBB	Mbay	ngàli		XV	
			SBB	Ngambay	ngàli		XV	
			SBB	Bejond	ngàli		XV	
			SBB	Kaba Na	ngàlè		XV	
			SBB	Ndoka	ngàlè		XV	
			SBB	Yulu	bákád			
			SBB	Baka	gbándà		A7	
			SBB	Bongo	gbándà		A7	cf. Zande <i>gbándà</i>
			SBB	Modo	gbándà		A7	
			SBB	Bagiro	gàdàngà		X	
			SBB [?]	Kresh	ngbavúru		A3	
			SBB [?]	Dongo	ngbavúru		A3	
	East Sudanic	Nilotic	Aja	bákádá				
Dinka			bafora					

¹ (plural affix follows in noun-class languages)

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Acoli	gwana			
			Oxoriok	owanda			
			Shilluk	manyak			
			Bari	gwandali			
			Lotuxo	agwana			
			Sampur	l-m'ɔ̀ɔ̀gò			
			Camus	l-mw'óògò			
			Keiyo	mokayot			
			Teso	emogo		VIII	
			Turkana	ɛmwɔ̀gɔ̀		VIII	
			Turkana	egilae			
			Tugen	mokoin		VIII	
			Pokot	lopou moken		VIII	
			Terik	mogek			
			Lwoo	agadia			
			Lwoo	babɔ̀ro pl. bapɔ̀ren			
AA	Semitic		Shuwa Arabic	baghuut			
			Shuwa Arabic	gariisa		XVa	<Kanuri
			Wadai Arabic	anqali		XV	
	Cushitic		Soomali	saren			
			Burji	mogo		VIII	
			Rendille	l-mohogo		VIII	
			Rendille	umbi			
			Oromo	mogogo		VIII	
			Borana	muhogo		VIII	
	Chadic						
	West	Hausa	Hausa	roogò		II	originally a wild tuber
			Hausa	dóóyàr kúdù		III	'yam of south'
			Gwandara	rógo		II	< Hausa
		Bole-Ngas					
		Ngas	Ngas	ɓwèr-yóm			
			Maghavul	roogò		II	< Hausa
			Kofyar	rógò		II	< Hausa
		Bole	Karekare	dóyà		III	< Hausa 'yam'
			Bole	dóóyà		III	< Hausa 'yam'
			Ngamo	dóya		III	< Hausa 'yam'

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Pero	dóyà		III	< Hausa 'yam'
			Pero	gbólà			
			Tangale	róogo		II	< Hausa
			Dera	aṅgət ƙɔwi			
			Pa'a	lãrdóya pl. lãrááni		III	< 'root' + H. doya 'yam'
			Miya	dòòyá		III	< Hausa 'yam'
			Bade	dawíyan		III	< Hausa 'yam'
			Ngizim	dáuyâ pl. dáuyáyin		III	< Hausa 'yam'
			Dot	dóoya		III	< Hausa 'yam'
			Dot ~ Zodi	róógò		II	< Hausa
			Bu	róógòò		II	< Hausa
			Guus	ròògóójè		II	< Hausa
			Geji	dòyàmèsá(l)		III	< Hausa 'yam' + 'Egypt'
			Buli	mááki			
			Polci	gyuráŋ selááŋ			? + ?
			Zul	màŋkííni		A4	
			Tala	kurmi			
			Zaar	gèdí nààmci <i>or</i> gedí mbáál			
			Boghom	mâm (Sh)		A4	
			Boghom	lòŋkalòŋ (Co)			
			Mangas	máàmkiìn		A4	
			Kir	máàm		A4	
			Gurduŋ	gùrù pèdi			
	Central		Tera	rógò		II	< Hausa
	Tera		Pidlimdi (=Hinna)	dóyè		III	< Hausa 'yam'
			Hwana	mbái		IV	< Fulfulde
		Bura-Higi	Bura	doya		III	< Hausa 'yam'
			Bura	ngali		XV	
			Kyibaku	mbâu		IV	< Fulfulde
			Ngghwayi	mbái		IV	< Fulfulde
			Huba (=Kilba)	mbái		IV	< Fulfulde
			Margi (Wamdiu)	mba'i		IV	< Fulfulde
			Margi Babal of Lassa	mbay		IV	< Fulfulde
			Margi Putai	dòwáyà		III	< Hausa 'yam'

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			S. Margi	mbàyú		IV	< Fulfulde
			Kamwe (Fali of Kiria)	mbàyá		IV	< Fulfulde
	Mandara		Wandala	mbaya		IV	< Fulfulde
			Glavda	mbàyà		IV	< Fulfulde
			Guduf	gàlísá		A8	< Kanuri
			Dghwedè	mbàyà		IV	< Fulfulde
			Taghwa (=Zə̀lədvə)	mbya		IV	< Fulfulde
			Mofu	mbáy		IV	< Fulfulde
			Mafa	mbàyà		IV	< Fulfulde
			Moloko	mbay		IV	< Fulfulde
			Mbara	daaway		III	< Hausa 'yam'
			Buwal	mbay		IV	< Fulfulde
			Cuvok	mbay		IV	< Fulfulde
			Dugwor	mbay		IV	< Fulfulde
			Giziga Marva	mbay		IV	< Fulfulde
			Merey	mbay		IV	< Fulfulde
			Mbuko	mbay		IV	< Fulfulde
			Muyang	mbày		IV	< Fulfulde
			Gemzek	mbay		IV	< Fulfulde
			Bana	mbày		IV	< Fulfulde
			Mofu North	mbày		IV	< Fulfulde
			Daba	mbày		IV	< Fulfulde
			Tsuvan	mbaya		IV	< Fulfulde
			Mandara	mbaya		IV	< Fulfulde
			Zulgo	mbàyà		IV	< Fulfulde
			Ouldeme	mbaya		IV	< Fulfulde
			Podoko	mbàya		IV	< Fulfulde
	Kotoko		Kotoko	gèl'í		XV	
			Afade	galisa		A8	< Kanuri
			Malgbe	ngali		XV	
			Mser	ngali		XV	
			Lagwan	ngali		XV	
			Lagwan	bangaw			
			Mpade	ngàlísá		A8	< Kanuri
	Bata		Bacama	mbái		IV	< Fulfulde
			Gude	mbàyá		IV	< Fulfulde

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
Isolate NC	East	Yedina Yedina	Uroovin	mbaya		IV	< Fulfulde
			Gudu	mbàý		IV	< Fulfulde
			Holma	gurogə		II	< Hausa
			Njanyi	mbàyé		IV	< Fulfulde
			Jimi	guudoo			
			Fali Gili	mbàýí		IV	< Fulfulde
			Yedina (=Buduma)	káráhó			
			Yedina (=Buduma)	gârisa		A8	< Kanuri
			Migaama	ʔàngààli		XV	
			Tumak	ngàli		XV	
			Laal	ngàli		XV	
			Ben Tey	bànakù		VI	< Mande
			Ben Tey	béré		VII	
			Nanga	bànakùri-béré		VI,VII	< Mande
			Nanga	bànjî		XVI	< Twi
			Jamsay	bàlàkù: ⁿ -béré		VI+VII	< Mande
			Perge Tegu	bànakùrù-wòsó		VI	< Mande
	Togo-Kan	bànakù:-bá:gá		VI	< Mande		
	Yorno-So	wòjó					
	Tomo Kan	bènènè-kú		VI	< Mande		
	Tommo-So	bànakù tímé		VI	< Mande		
	Tommo-So	tànnàá					
	Dogul Dom	kúú		VI [?]	if <i>bana</i> element lost		
	Tebul Ure	bà ⁿ àkù: ⁿ		VI	< Mande		
	Yanda Dom	bànakùl-táná		VI	< Mande		
	Najamba	bànanjku:		VI	< Mande		
	Tiranige	bànanjku:		VI	< Mande		
	Mombo	bálá kù: ⁿ		VI	< Mande		
	Bunoge	bànanjkú		VI	< Mande		
	Ijoid	Defaka	mpataka	I	< P. mandioca		
	Ijo	Nkọrọọ	mpatáka	I	< P. mandioca		
		Ịbanị	mbatáka	I	< P. mandioca		
		Ịbanị	mpita ¹ ká	I	< P. mandioca		
		Kalabari	mbaraka	I	< P. mandioca		
	Kiriķe	ijápu		< Ikwere (cassava + yam)			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Nembe	íbia búru, é-bià-6úru		XI	? + yam
			Nembe	ipiti			
			Akaha	imbáka		I	< P. mandioca
			Akaha	a-fúba			
			Bumọ	imbitáka		I	< P. mandioca
			Oporoma	imbitáka		I	< P. mandioca
			Oyakiri	imbidáa		I	< P. mandioca
			E. Tarakiri	abaḁúru		XI	? + 'yam'
			E. Olodiana, Kùlama, Basan, Apọi	imbitáyá		I	< P. mandioca
			Iduwini	bitáká okélé		I, VII	< P. mandioca
			Ogulagha	ibidáa		I	< P. mandioca
			Gbaranmatu	okélé			
			W. Olodiana	mudáka		I	< P. mandioca
			Furupa	imidáka		I	< P. mandioca
			Arogbo	ogbagodá		I	
			Ogbe Ijo	imbidáka		I	< P. mandioca
			Obotebe	akélé			
			Operemọ	imbalákalá		I	< P. mandioca
			Kolokuma	àbábùrú		XI	? + 'yam'
			Kabo	okõõkoró			
			Mein	embadáa		I	< P.
		Inland Ijo	Akita (Okordia)	idaḁó			
			Biseni	ḁóróbo		XI	
		Isolate	Mpre	wanci			
		Mande	Máno	bóoi			
			Mano	béi		VII	
			Mano	béilèè		< VII	+ mother
			Gíio	bee		VII	
			Bámbara	bananénguu		VI	
			Káńkáńka	banánguu		VI	
			Mandéńga	bánakuu		VI	
			Mandéńga	bánankuu		VI	
			Kaabúńga	bánakuu		VI	
			Kaabúńga	bánankuu		VI	
			Torónka	bayánguu		VI	

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Mandinka	ɲàmbì			
			Kono	tángaa			
			Vai	gbása			
			Sóso	kondáyaabiina			
			Sóso Kísekise	yóókaai, cóókaai		I	< P. mandioca
			Tééne	yóóka		I	< P. mandioca
			Jalunka	bantára			
			Gbése	mánaŋ			
			Kpelle	manaŋ			
			Tóóma	mánaku		VI	
			Gbáandi	ncúyui			
			Lándooro	bátangá			
			Mende	tánga			
Atlantic		North	Fulfulde (A.)	mba pl. mbaji		IV	
			Fulfulde (A.)	bantarawal		A5	
			Wolof	pulloox			
			Sereer	pútook / múntook			
			Balanta	joŋ-a			
			Balante de Jabada	embam			
			Bayot	vyaarɔ			
			Bandial	εεx			
			Fulup	é-saana / sí-			= silk-cotton
			Her	hant			
			Kerak	hanta ah / kanta ak			
			Joola Banjál	ε-εx			
			Joola Gusilay	fɔ-wɔkɛy / gɔ-			
			Joola Fogny	esaana			= silk-cotton
			Joola Fogny	esek			
			Joola Kwaatay	hand			
			Kufonyi	esana, si-			= silk-cotton
			Huluf	εfafa			
			Casa	hukis			
			Karon	hɪ-suk			
			Kwatay	kant			
			Manjaku	i-rof-ε/ i-lof-ε			
			Manjaku de Bassarel	bətankal ~ bətankal /			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
				itankal			
			Manjaku de Bassarel	ilɔfɛ, ulɔfɛ			
			Mancagne	i-tuk			
			Bóóla	káloofɔ / íloofɔ			
			Pepel	kemand		I	
			Laalaa	kɔum		XIII	
			Ndut	ɲembɪ, ɲembəə			
			Non	kom		XIII	
			Palor	kap			
			Nyun-nek	mandenko		I	< P. mandioca
			Nyun-nes	bajánko		I	
			Nyun-nya	sinsanango / ɲasanango			
			Banyun	ba-jonka		I	< P. mandioca
			Nyun-jbl	bajɔnka		I	< P. mandioca
			Nyun-jfg	bajɔnka		I	< P. mandioca
			Nyun-jbk	bajonko		I	< P. mandioca
			Nyun-kas	jɔnkojɔnko		I	< P. mandioca
			Nyun-tob	sinjankan / ɲanjanka		I	
			Baynuk	saana			= silk-cotton
			Buy-hac	jɔnko		I	< P. mandioca
			Badiaranke	bantara		A5	? < Fulfulde
			Pajade	bantáɲaambi		A5 [?]	? < Fulfulde
			Basari	bàndára		A5	? < Fulfulde
			Basari	ɔ-ɲáb ɔ-rín			'igname du fromager'
			Biafada	budííoka / maadíooka		I	< P. mandioca
			Biafada	bu-yoka / maa-yoka		I	< P. mandioca
			Bedik	bāntára		A5	? < Fulfulde
			Konyagi	bàntára / wə-bàntára		A5	? < Fulfulde
		Bijogo	Bijogo Kagbaaga	mandogo / kɔ-		I	< P. mandioca
			Bijogo Kamona	ɲu-ndiankan / mi-		I	< P. mandioca
		South	Limba	kupintaɲ			
			Limba	batanka			
			Búlom	yóóka		I	< P. mandioca
			Krim	yeg			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Kono	yooka			
			Sherbro	yeke		I	< P. mandioca
			Landuma	tandioro		I [?]	
			Mámpa	yééke		I	< P. mandioca
			Kísi	yámbaalen			
			Gola	ké-gbàla / é-			
			Bága (of Káálum)	a-yóóka / ε-		I	< P. mandioca
			Baga	ambaiok		I	< P. mandioca
			Temne	à-yókâ		I	< P. mandioca
			Temne	ayóóka / εyóóka		I	< P. mandioca
			Temne	ma-yɔi		I	< P. mandioca
			Sua	kilɔŋ / ikilɔŋ			
	Kru		Gbee	bóóki			
			Godié (dadjriwale)	sókló			
			Dida (Lakota)	sókló			
			Bása	bóóe			
			Dééwoin	χwíio			
			Kréébo	sóólo			
			Krá	sóguulo			
			Boore	bàna'úũ		VI	See 'úu + 'uó ; zian
			Boore	bènè'únú / bènè'únúã		VI	
			Mɔyɔbe	kù-kúmònò		XIII	
			Kabiyè	mbòm			
	Gur		Cerma	cíníngbààŋó pl. cíníngbàlmbá			
			Gurma	panyuma			
			Mambar	tudʒoɔo			
			Tem	bonfe			
			Senari	bandaku		VI	
			Tanyer	gyenegba			
			Tusian	gbendi			
			Seme	kyemba			
			Gurenne	gaari		XII	< Twi for processed cassava
			Ele	bandeku		A6	

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Wama	foko òbu			
			Tayari	nokun			
			Bieri	foho nòri			
			Tammari	difua nuã			
			Yom	nugomya			
			Buli	kpaheruŋ			
			Buli	banʃibik		XVI	< Twi
			Notre	baa.pure			
			Mo	dua			
			Vagla	dua			
			Tafile	gbedi		VII	
			Kamara	gbende		VII	
			Kamara	banʃi		XVI	< Twi
		Oti-Volta	Dagbani	ban'cʃi	pl.	XVI	< Twi
				ban'ʃinima			
			Mampruli	banʃi		XVI	< Twi
			Agole	banki			
			Hanga	dua			
			Dagaare	kpòngó pl. kpònnéé			
			Moore	banduku, bondaku		A6	
			Kusase	zanbenyu-re			
			Kasem	bàncigà pl. bàncì		XVI	< Twi
			Tchurama (?Kirma)	jǎndəgbanjã			
			Koromfe	bãndaku		A6	
			Takper	gbel		VII	
			Tyembara	gbérúú		VII	
			Kulango	agba			
			Jimini	gbende		VII	
			Nafaanra	doo			
		Adamawa	Longuda	Longuda (Nya Dele)		II	
			Jen	wònkà			
			Leko	Wom ²		IV	< Fulfulde
				Nyongnepa ³		IV	< Fulfulde

² (=Perema)

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Samba Leko	bàè		IV	< Fulfulde
			Samba Leeko of Balkosa	durumá			
			Samba Leko	dūd-wūbm			
			Samba Leko	kúgúm		XIII	
			Koma	bai		IV	< Fulfulde
			Momi (=Vere)	bà-àz (-yi)		IV	< Fulfulde
			Pere (=Kutin)	kumààrè		XIII	
			Tupuri	mbāy		IV	< Fulfulde
			Lua	ngāli		XV	
			Kare	gìrà			
			Yingilum	mbái		IV	< Fulfulde
			Day of Bouna	mbàlà ?ém		IV	i.e. 'yam' + 'tree'
	Gbaya		Bangando	kùmà		XIII	
			Gbaya Buli	yòmbò	?àfòbó		
			Gbaya Biyanda	yòmbò	?àfòbò		
			Gbaya Toongo	yòmbò	yífa-yòmbò		
			Gbaya Lai	yòmbò	?àfùbá		
			Bodoe	gèdā	?àfùbá		
			Bokpan	gèdā	?àfùbá		
			Gbaya Kara Bopina	gèdā	?àfùbá		
			Gbaya Kara Bugui	gèdā	?àfùbá		
			Gbaya Boya	gèdā	?àfùbá		
			Gbaya Yaayuwee	gèdā			
			Bokoto	gèdē			
			Bozom	gèdē	?àfùbá		
			Bo?oro	gèdā			
			Mbodómò	yòmbò	?àfùbá		
			Bofi	mā?á			
			?ali	gèdēngà	lémbé-tùrà	X	
			Manza	gànàngà		X	
			Ngbaka Minagende	kàdāngà	?éfě-kàdāngà	X	
			Gbanu	gòdō			
	Ubangian	Banda	Linda	ngàlè, ngādē		XV	

³ (=Mumbake)

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Tangbago	bākádá			
			Yakpa	ngàlè		XV	
			Hai	gbóngàlè		XV	
			Ngao	ngàlè		XV	
			Vara	dòwò			
			Dakpa	dòwò			
			Gbi	ngàlè		XV	
			Wojo	ngàdàngà		X	
			Gbaga north	ngàlè		XV	
			Langbasi	dòwò			
			Mbanja	kálàngà		X	
		Ngbandi	Sango	gòzò	mòndèlè kpákò		
			Ngbandi	gòzò			
		Ngbaka	Mundu	(n)gbándā		A7	
			Mundu	gbàzàmàngī			
			Ndogo	gbavura		A3	< Zande
			Sere	gadia			
			Tagbu	gbavura		A3	
			Bviri	fongu			
			Feroge	gadia			
		Zande	Zande	gbándà		A7	
			Zande	gadíá			
			Zande	gbàvùrà		A3	
			Nzakara	mbangí			
			Barambu	náwà			
			Amiangba	náwà			
			Pambia	bavura		A3	
			Mono	gàràngà		X	
			Mandjia	galanga		X	
			Mandjia	gogila			
	Kwa		Abbey	mbèdè		VII	
			Abidji	fèdè		VII	
			Adyukru	mbòsí			
			Attie	m̀m̀èdè		VII	
			Attie (Memni)	àbā			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Attié (Memni)	mbèdè		VII	
			Alladian	bèdè		VII	
			Avikam	vèdè-bùbà		VII	> ébúbá tuber
			Adámpe	ágbeede		VII	
			Adámpe	ágbeeri		VII	
			Avikam	vède		VII	
			Abure	bèdè		VII	
			Eotilé	njrásrè			
			Ega	àvèṅā			
			Ebrié	èbèdè		VII	
			Mbatto	òmèdè		VII	
			Abron	bàṅjì		XVI	< Twi
			Agni	bèdè		VII	
			Baule	āgbā			
			Nzéma	bèdè		VII	
			Anufò	analo			
			Anufò	bánṅfī		XVI	
			Krobu	fèdè		VII	
		Guang	Gichode	kitiki			
		GTML	Adele	banṅfī		XVI	< Twi
			Adele	kitiki			
			Lelemi	agbedi		VII	< Twi
			Lelemi	abandzi		XVI	
		Ga-Dangme	Ga	dùàdé			
			Dangme	ágbìlì		VII	
	Volta-Niger	Gbe	'Añfuue	agbééli		VII	
			Dahóóme	feliĩē		IX	< P. <i>fariña</i>
			Mááhi	fáíĩā		IX	< P. <i>fariña</i>
			Hwída	ookúte			
			Gun	faliṅa		IX	< P. <i>fariña</i>
			Gun	akasa			
			Ewe	àgbèli		VII	< Twi
			Fon	fennyé		IX	< P. <i>fariña</i>
			Fon	ajagún			
			Fon	ablaguda			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
		Yoruboid	Yoruba	ègé.bɔ		V	
			Yoruba	gbáǵùdá			
			Yoruba	kpákí			
			Ijumu	agugoyo		V	
			Yagba	dere efe			
			Ijeṣa	gbaagúda			
			Ijeṣa	ɔǵéǵe		V	
			Yááǵba	deré éfe			
			Ekiti	áágu-góaayó		V	
			Ekiti	oogómu			
			Ijumu	aagúǵoǵo		V	
			Qwóro	ɔǵéǵe		V	
			Ijébu	gbaagúda			
			Kétu	kpákí			
			Oṅdó	ègé		V	
			Oṅdó	ǵáí		XII	
			Ífàki	ègé		V	
			Òkìtì kpukpa	gbáàǵùdá			
			Òkìtì kpukpa	kpúkúrú			
			Òbà	kpákí			
			Òbà	gbáàǵùdá			
			Eǵba	ɔǵéǵe		V	
			Ife	kúté			
			Iǵala	àbáfà			
			Iṣẹkiri	ìmidákà		I	< <i>P. mandioca</i>
	Edoid	North-West	Okpamheri	ɔnota			
			Okpamheri	òt-alibò			< <i>lubo</i> 'flour'
			Uhami-Iyayu	ikpákí			
			Ukue	kpàki			
		North-Central	Avbianwu	eko			
			Aoma	ibòbòdíí			
			Atte	u-bòbòǵi pl. i-			
			Èdo	íǵáí		XII	< 'gari' ?
			Esan	ebòbòzi			
			Ivbie N.	ávbiòrè			
			Okpe	ubòboji			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Okulosho	olaka			
			Yekhee	abɔbɔzii			
			Uneme	ibɔrɔji			
		South-west	Urhobo	emedaka		I	< P. manioca
			Urhobo	igé		V	
			Urhobo	ivworhiya			tapioca
			Eruwa	umufie			
			Uvbie	ibi daka		I	
			Isoko	egú		V	
			Isoko	midaka		I	< P. manioca
		Delta	Degema	ubia buru		XI	? + yam
			Egene	edíabɔ			
			Egene	ɔburabù		XI	
			Epie	ɔ-díɔbɔ			
		Igboid	Ekpeye	ogbólo			
			Ekpeye	ókpó			'silk-cotton'
			Ukwuani	ákpó			'silk-cotton'
			Ukwuani	imálákà		I	< P. manioca
			Ogbah	ákpó			'silk-cotton'
			Onjca	áfó (ɲkòlò)			lit. 'raw fufu'
			Ozalla	a-buro a-sɔ		XI	yam + ?
			Izii	imaláaka		I	< P. manioca
			Ika	ákpó			'silk-cotton'
			Ndele	òkpó			'silk-cotton'
			Ogbakiri	ákpó			'silk-cotton'
			Owere	jí á'p ^h ó			lit. 'yam of silk-cotton'
			Qhuhu (+Riverine Igbo)	jí bɔ			yam + ?
			Qhuhu	áp ^h ó			'silk-cotton'
			Ikwere	íjí ákp'ɔ			lit. 'yam of silk-cotton'
		Nupoid	Nupe	rógò		II	<Hausa
			Asu	rógò		II	<Hausa
			Gupa	rógò		II	<Hausa
			Kupa	rógò		II	<Hausa
			Gbari-Sumwakpna	lôngo		II	<Hausa
			Gbagyi-Kuta	gmagmí			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Gbagyi-Kuta	rógo		II	<Hausa
			Gade	gì-zéki			
			Gade	ø-rógo (r-)		II	<Hausa
			Ebira-Okene	ecókà			
			Ebira-Koto	okyénu)			
	Okoid		Magongo	alaita			
	Idomoid		Idoma of Otukpo	ò-yilà			
			Yache	àkwóm		XIII	
			Akweya	òyirà			
			Yala of Ikom	ìjkapa			
			Yala of Ogoja	ìkpaleke			
			Igede	ô-táàkom		XIII	
	Benue-Congo	Ukaan	Ikaan	ùgúfè			
			Iyinno	ùgúfè			
			Iigau	ùgúfè			
			Isheu	ùgúfè			
	Kainji						
	Lake		Reshe	ri-geshe			
			Laru	bláágá			
	Lela		cLela (=Dakarkari)	d-róṅgò (c-)		II	<Hausa
			tHun (=Duka)	r-rócé (ət-)			
			tKag	r-zó' (ə-)			
			tRor	r-zó' (ə-)			
	Basa		Basa-Kwomu (Dekina)	ù-rógwo (ò-, fɪ-)		II	<Hausa
			Koromba (=Basa-Gurmana)	ṅáná nan t'ò			
	Kamuku		Cinda	amo-rogo		II	<Hausa
			Regi	roogo		II	<Hausa
	Pongu		Pongu	roogo		II	<Hausa
			Fangwa (Ura)	məgápe			
	Kambari		Kambari (Salka)	à-àgbámgbàrà (O-)			
			Kambari (Auna)	gbámgbàrá			
			Kambari (Agaushi)	ko-róngo		II	<Hausa
			ciBaangi	mòrò			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Cicipu	róógò		II	<Hausa
		East Kainji	Tsuvaɗi	mù-ró			
			Mala	kalogoZi			
			Sanga	ma-rogo		II	<Hausa
	Plateau	Beromic	Berom	kit còkɔt			= 'tree yam'
			Cara	ɗuniya			
			Eten	ìrógò		II	<Hausa
			Shall	ʃiir kun			
		Northwest	Kulu	àrógò		II	<Hausa
		Alumic	Təsu	əɾiɾi grəmɔ			
			Hasha	nìrikùn			
			Toro	rògò		II	<Hausa
		Ninzic	Niŋkyop	rogo		II	<Hausa
			Ayu	cíbíwòòn pl. cíbíkòòn			
			Bu	lɔgɔ		II	<Hausa
			Ce	ɔ-rógo		II	<Hausa
			Mada	ləgū pl. lǎgū		II	<Hausa
			Ningye	lawur pl. lelawur			< Hausa for 'sweet potato'
			Ninzo	u-logo			
		Izeric	Ganang	rogo		II	<Hausa
			Foron	àragò		II	<Hausa
		Koro	Ashe	rugu		II	<Hausa
			Waci	ø-rogo/o-		II	<Hausa
			Idun	ùrógò		II	<Hausa
			Nyankpa	lògò		II	<Hausa
		Ndunic	Adun	núnánɛ àci			
		Hyamic	Kwyeny	rogo		II	<Hausa
			Hyam of Nok	r ^w ogo		II	<Hausa
		Tyapic	Tyap	rogo		II	<Hausa
			Morwa	rogo		II	<Hausa
			Atakat	rogo		II	<Hausa
		Southwest	Ake	ūmgbēkwé			
			Eggon	mbakam adu			
			Eggon	orógo		II	<Hausa
			Jijili	u-loŋgo/a-		II	<Hausa

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Jili	rogò		II	<Hausa
		South	Fyem	rogo		II	<Hausa
			Horom	rògò pl. a-rogo		II	<Hausa
			Rukul	rogo		II	<Hausa
		Tarokoid	Tarok	akúp Jini ⁺			'bone of Jini'
			Tarok	arogo		II	<Hausa
			Pe	ì-njàlak			
		Eloyi	Eloyi	kò-rógwo/ò-		II	<Hausa
		Jukunoid	Chomo	mbài		IV	<Fulfulde
			Etkywan (=Icen)	rògò		II	<Hausa
			Jiru	mbài		IV	<Fulfulde
			Jibu	sunawã			'yam' + x
			Jukun of Wukari	irogò		II	<Hausa
			Kuteb of Lissam	idóko		II	<Hausa
			Kuteb of Lissam	róko		II	<Hausa
		Upper Cross	Agoi	iyemi			
	Cross River		Agwagune Etuno	iburu		XI	cf. Ijọ 'yam'
			Agwagwune	iwá			<Efik
			Bakpinka	ayemi			
			Doko	iyemi			
			DuRɔp	iwá		XIV	<Efik
			LeYigha	gemonjeen			
			Lokaa	kè-báájên /yè-			
			Lubila	erege			
			Mbembe (Adun)	i-wâ /i-		XIV	<Efik
			Mbembe (Adun)	ó-jáγγbokóro /á-			
			Mbembe (Adun)	o-rɔmɔtùm /a-			fermented
			Mbembe (Adun)	o-rɔkotum /a-			fermented
			Mbembe (Ofombonga)	ójáγγbokóro			
			Mbembe (Ofombonga)	oraangáta			
			Mbembe (Apiapum)	oránkkerí			
			Mbembe (Apiapum)	orɔkettim			fermented
			Mbembe (Osopong)	obaakabom			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
			Nyima	jakpu			
			Olulomo	è-wá		XIV	<Efik
			Ubaghara (Biakpan/Ikun)	iburu		XI	
			Ubeteng	e-emi			
			Ukpet	aiemi			
			Umon	iwa		XIV	<Efik
	Lower Cross		Anaang	ìgwá		XIV	
			Ebughu	ìgbé		XIV	
			Efai	ìwé		XIV	
			Efik	ìwá		XIV	
			Ekit	ìjkám ìdòk			
			Enwang	ìgwé		XIV	
			Etebi	ìgwé		XIV	
			Ibibio	ìwá		XIV	
			Ibibio	ntòròrò			
			Ibino	ófób íwá		XIV	
			Ibuoro	ìwá		XIV	
			Iko	áfób íwá		XIV	
			Ilue	ìwé		XIV	
			Itu Mbuso	ìwá		XIV	
			Obolo	m̀bitákà		I	< <i>P. mandioca</i>
			Okobo	ìwé		XIV	
			Oro	ìwé		XIV	
			Uda	ìgwé		XIV	
			Ukwa	ìwá		XIV	
			Usakade	ìwá		XIV	
	Ogoni		Kana	è-kpàkpòrò			
			Kana	ázákp'òm			
			Gokana	gbèbãã			
			Baan	záákpõ			
			Eleme	òjákpo			
			Eleme	èbibóròwa			
			Tẹẹ	?ázákpõm			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
	Central Delta		Teɛ Abua	bòròʔm è-pitakà /əri-		I	< P. <i>mandioca</i>
			Agholo W. Ogbia	àdíòbò épitakà		I	< P. <i>mandioca</i>
			Ogbia (E) Ogbia (W)	adíòbò épitakà		I	< P. <i>mandioca</i>
			Kuɓbo Oduai	òbyárò (i-) è-lèébò (i-)			
			Oduai Obulom	ɔkpukoro íjápu `S			
			Ogbronuagum Nnakenyare	òbràkà / ìbràkà pii-gɔɔ		I	
	Dakoid Mambiloid		Mambila of Atta Vute	kúkúm kúkúm		XIII XIII	
	East Beboid		Ndoro of Baissa Noone	áɲgoʃi ɲgaciŋga			
	Tivoid		Nsaari Tiv	lòkò pl. belòkò àlògo		II II	<Hausa <Hausa
			Tiv Tiv	duàsə ivambèyon			
			Esimbi Iyive	ùkúmu úlógò		XIII II	
			Ceve Ceve	kàsélà pànyá		A1 A2	<Hausa < E. 'cassava'
	Bendi		Bokyi Bokyi	o-logo panyo		II A2	<Hispanya i.e. originally from Bioko <Hausa
			Bette of Obudu Bette of Obudu	ú-lógò /i- ú-pànyá /i-		II A2	<Hausa
	Nyang	Nyang	Denya Kenyang	gasála kasára		A1 A1	
	Mbe Ekoid Grassfields		Mbe Ejagham	eyélénduom iwá		XIV	< Igbo

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
	Eastern	Bamileke	Ngiemboon	kasála pepàŋ		A1	< E. 'cassava' + 'red'
			Ngomba	kasálaa fufú		A1	< E. 'cassava' + 'fufu'
		Ngemba	Awing	àŋkàsálà		A1	< E. 'cassava'
			Bafut	kàsarè /bi-		A1	< E. 'cassava'
			Pinyin	àŋkàsàrè		A1	
		Ngomba	Yamba	kúkúm		XIII	
		Momo	Moghamo	kàfàrà		A1	
			Ngwo	à-kàsàrà /è-		A1	
		Ring	Kejom [Babanki]	kèzú ká bè?		A1	
			Kom	kàsalà		A1	
			Oku	ngase-ngase		A1	? < E. shortened and then reduplicated
			Lam Nso'	ŋgàshíŋgá		A1	? < E. with compounded element
			Aghem	luŋkwū		II [?]	prob. Hausa <i>roogoo</i>
			Isu	legwo pl. tìlegwo		II [?]	prob. Hausa <i>roogoo</i>
	Bantu	A 22	Kwiri	likpàmbà			
		A 24	Duala	dikwàmbà			
		A 33	Yasa	àfòbò			<Betí
		A 33	Yasa	màsùkùlà			
		A 33	Yasa	mùándà			
		A 33	Yasa	m̀pèngà			
		A 44	Tunen	èsàsòm			
		A 52	Kalong	kedien kiwi			
		A 53	Bafia	gbógbò			
	Jarawan	A 60 ?	Jaku	rógò		II	<Hausa
		A 622	Nugunu	mmòngà			
		A 70	Fang	mbwa			
		A 72	Ewondo	m̀bòŋ			
		A 72	Ewondo	èm̀vábè			
		A 72	Ewondo	àkpàmbà			
		A 72	Ewondo	dàs			
		A 74	Bulu	mbôn			
		A 74	Beti	m̀bòŋ			
		A 75	Mvany	mbò	àfòbá		
		A 81	Ngumba	m̀pìngá			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
		A 81	Kwasio	ɲwande / miɲwande			
		A 83	Məkaa	dùmà			
		A 83	Məkaa	bùb ^w òlè / ìbùb ^w òlè			
		A 83	Njyem	lèkúmà		XIII	
		A 832	Kol	kúmà / mòkúma		XIII	(5/6 in Begne)
		A 832	Kol	ngwàndò			
		A 85a	Esel	pùmà		XIII	
		A 85	Bekwel	kúmà / mèkúmà		XIII	
		A 85	Bekwel	ɖii / mèɖii			
		A 85	Bekwel	gwêr			
		A 84	Kóonzime	èkúmà / mèkúmà		XIII	
		A 86c	Mpyemo	yòmbò			
		A 91	Kwákúm	pùlà			
		B 10	Myene	oguma		XIII	
		B 10	Myene	iloti		XIII	
		B 11b	Rongo	alot(i)			
		B 21	Seki	nwondo			
		B 22	Pove	gegonggo			
		B 25	Kota	nwondo			
		B 31	Tsogo	gegonggo			
		B 32	Kande	ɲlótì / málótì			
		B 304	Pinji	moyuma / miyuma		XIII	
		B 41	Sira	gigonggu			
		B 41	Sira	b ^w àlà / bìb ^w àlà			
		B 43	Punu	dijágà			
		B 51	Duma	muyondo			
		B 52	Nzabi	pita, piit			
		B 63	Mindumu	gekwo			
		B 71	Teke	muɽwani			
		B 82	Boma	kékia, kékia, kekwo, kétfa			
		B 85	Ding	luk			
		B 85	Yanz	mibea			
		B 85	Yanz	poo			
		B 85	Yanz	mikul			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
		B 861	Ngul	nteoba			
		B 865	Nzadi	mpfer			
		B 865	Nzadi	nts ^w òó			
		C 32	Bobangi	mhueha			
		C 34	Sakata	mv ^w a			
		C 34	Sakata	mpey			
		C 35b	Ntomba	ihǒ	moale		
		C 35b	Ntomba	monkufu			
		C 35b	Ntomba	ikapi			
		C 35b	Ntomba	ekeka			
		C 36d	Lingala	nsòngó			
		C 36d	Lingala	gbanda			
		C 36d	Lingala	ʃikwanga			
		C 50	Likile	ì-yàmbò / tò-yàmbò			
		C 63	Ngandu	lomata			
		C 61	Mongo	lisòó	boṅkúfo		
		C 71	Tetela	mángé			
		C 71	Tetela	lojìyé	dolé		
		C 83	Bushong	itú			
		C 83	Bushong	ntáám mú mpwèèp			
		C 83	Bushong	mpwèèp			
		C 83	Bushong	bùnàn			
		D 201	Liko	níkó, kòkpótàkò			
		D 24	Songola	mòsòngú		VIII	< Swahili
		D 25	Lega	mù-zóngú / mì-			
		D 28	Holoholo	kòòjò			
		D 33	Nyali	luhúna			
		D 37	Kumu	mʃonjú		VIII	< Swahili
		E 11	Nyoro	muhogo		VIII	< Swahili
		E 11	Nyoro	mukindo			
		E 13	Nyankole	muhogo		VIII	< Swahili
		E 15	Ganda	omuwogo		VIII	< Swahili
		E 23	Zinza	biri bua			
		E 22	Ruziba	muri bwai			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
		E 32	Luhya	muhoko		VIII	< Swahili
		E 43	Kuria	amareebwa			
		E 46	Sonjo	mhoko		VIII	< Swahili
		E 50	Cuka	moanga		VIII	< Swahili
		E 51	Kikuyu	mwaŋga		VIII	< Swahili
		E 51	Kikuyu	mofwaŋfe		VIII	< Swahili
		E 52	Embu	moanga		VIII	< Swahili
		E 53	Imenti	mokwa:je			
		E 53	Mwimbi	mokwa:je			
		E 54	Tharaka	mogwa:ye			
		E 55	Kamba	maŋga	kendolo var. (white ?)		
		E 56	Daiso	maŋga			
		G 61	Lori	mpumpfu			
		E 62a	Mashami	yaŋga			
		E 62b	Moci	mhoko		VIII	< Swahili
		E 62b	Moci	yaŋga			
		E 65	Gweno	mmanga			(white)
		E 72	Giryama	kandoro			
		E 74b	Saghala	maŋga			
		F 21	Sukuma	malitwa			
		F 22	Nyamwezi	muhogö		VIII	< Swahili
		F 22	Nyamwezi	maliwa			
		F 31	Nilamba	mohogó		VIII	< Swahili
		G 11	Gogo	mohogo		VIII	< Swahili
		G 12	Kagulu	mhanga		VIII	< Swahili
		G 21	Taveta	manga		VIII	< Swahili
		G 40	Mwani	ndioka		I	< <i>P. mandioca</i>
		G 42	Swahili	muhogo		VIII	< Swahili
		G 44b	Ndzuani	mhogo		VIII	< Swahili
		G 51	Pogolo	munindi			
		G 62	Hehe	muhogo		VIII	< Swahili
		H 16g	Ntandu	dyóókò		I	< P.
		J 11	Nyoro	omuhogo		VIII	< Swahili

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
		J 13	Nyankore	muhógo		VIII	< Swahili
		J 13	Nyankore	ebirî:bwa (- rùgà.ndà)			
		J 15	Ganda	omuwógo		VIII	< Swahili
		J 22	Haya	ebiribua			
		J 31	Masaaba	kúmwóoko		VIII	< Swahili
		J 42	Nande	omúhóko		VIII	< Swahili
		J 51	Hunde	mùhòkó		VIII	< Swahili
		J 53	Shi	óómúumbaṛi			
		J 57	Tembo	mumbátjī			
		J 57	Tembo	muhóko		VIII	< Swahili
		J 62	Rundi	umwuùmbàti			
		J 66	Ha	ùmwürbàtí			
		K 14	Lwena		tulugu		
		K 15	Mbunda	ntso			
		K 23	Lunda	muluṅga; dinanḡwa			
		K 30	Mwenyi	òmwaṅjà			
		K 31	Lozi	mwaṅja			
		K 51	Mbala	lusogu			
		K 52 = L 11	Pende	mukamba			
		L 11	Pindi	bik ^{wim}			
		L 21	Kete	-lòmb			
		L 31a	Luba-Kasayi	tʃîô:mbé			
		L 32	Kanyok	mùlùṅ			
		L 33	Luba-Shaba	lúlù:ndù, lúlù:ndwê			
		L 41	Kaonde	makamba			
		L 601	Koya	jikàmbà			
		L 601	Koya	númb ^{wè} / bà-númb ^{wè}			
		L 601	Koya	píitè / bà-píitè			
		M 14	Lungu	kàlyà, kàlùndwè			
		M 31	Nyakyusa	amayabo ?			
		M 41	Taabwa	kasonta, mizumbu, kiubwe			
		M 42	Bemba	kalundwe			

Phylum	Family	Branch	Language	Term ¹	Sweet	Root	Etymology Comments
		M 51	Biisa	tute / βatute			
		M 54	Lamba	tute / βatute			
		M 61	Lenje	cikàmbà, cindongo, tute			
		M 63	Ila	makamba			
		M 64	Tonga	mwanja ncilyo ca			
		N 12	Chingoni	liyau			
		N 12	Chingoni	yawu			
		N 13	Matengo	liyao, manindi, mapeta			
		N 15	Tonga	cigawo			
		N. 21	Tumbuka	cigawo, mayao; cinaṅgwa			
		N 31	Nyanja	mbwani, cinaṅgwa			
		N 44	Sena	faliṅa			< Port. <i>fariña</i>
		P 21	Yao	inaṅgwa, liwinja, cilasi, luwanga			
		P 22	Mwera	ṅogo/miogo		VIII	
		P 32	Ngulu	macyok ^{ho}			
		P 32	Ngulu	epwa:na			
		P 34	Chwabo	mpwani			
		R 11	Mbundu	utombo			
		S 10	Shona	mufariṅa		IX	< P. <i>fariña</i>
		S 42	Zulu	úmdumbu:lú, -á; amak ^h ása:ne			
		S 54	Ronga	nchumbula			
		?	Mputu	unkal			

5. Conclusions and synthesis

Broadly speaking, then cassava was introduced along the coast of Africa as early as the 17th century, but it seems it did not spread inland as a significant staple before the early 19th century. There is no real evidence for a transmission across the Sahara, in contrast to some other New World crops. Cassava has been given a new boost in the 20th century by the exhaustion of soil fertility in many yam-growing areas and is now a peri-urban crop across the continent.

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