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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Background and purpose of the study

The title of this Doctoral Thesis, *Umoya Wamagama*, grew as a focal point in my linguistic experiences in 1979. At the time I was studying in Israel, interacting with different ethnic groups. During Hebrew classes we all spoke Hebrew; but during breaks we reverted to the familiarity of our own languages – Italian, Spanish, German, English, French. One day, after a Hebrew class in Jerusalem, I travelled to Bethlehem to buy souvenirs. I entered a shop and greeted the seller. He did not answer. Assuming that he had not heard me I repeated my greeting. He became visibly angered and shouted: “Don’t you speak another language?” Only then did I realize that I made an enormous mistake; I greeted him twice in Hebrew when in fact he was Arab. I immediately switched to the little Arabic that I knew and his face illuminated with joy. I understood him. Arabic is his mother tongue. I experience the same joy when a foreigner speaks my mother tongue, Haitian Kreyòl; and regardless the number of other languages spoken, none can ever replace the mother tongue.

My experience in Israel triggered a deep desire to understand what I call the “spirit of the words” or the scientific knowledge of languages in general. “A linguist, at least in academic disciplinary terms, is not a person who speaks many languages, but rather someone concerned with the scientific study of language more generally” (Anderson and Lightfoot 2002, 1). A study of languages may lead to comparisons and an analysis of the influences of languages that are in close contact. A language contact study has emerged as a sub-specialty of linguistics. As Greenberg explains, “language contact studies deal with the influence of languages on each other... The problems of languages in contact cannot be understood without reference to individual and social psychological factors and to the social and cultural and political environment...” (Greenberg 1971, 185).

Since 1979, the multi-lingual environment that I experienced in Israel and the precepts of language contact studies have allowed me to start to draw parallels between French and Haitian Kreyòl; between Latin and Italian; between Spanish and romance languages as well. This guided me in designing the contours of the present research. Contact with Africa considerably enriched the scope of research; being in South Africa to study linguistics from an interdisciplinary perspective, while simultaneously learning isiZulu was a major step in identifying the research topic.

1.2. Aim and approach to the study

This research study, *Umoya Wamagama*, seeks to establish and define the nature of the relationship between isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl. As a member of the Nguni group of languages isiZulu is spoken by Africans. Kreyòl, on the other hand, is closely linked to French and is spoken by African descendants of Haiti, the world's first Black independent nation. Within academic work that embraces Africa and Haiti, there exists no comparative study of isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl. Because this “fascinating phenomenon called language” (Poulos 1981, 238) is continually evolving, it is important to establish the nature of relationships and to identify changes occurring through the course of this evolution. “The study known as ‘historical-comparative linguistics’ attempts to trace those splits and details those changes” (Collinge 1990, 876).

This approach has often been adopted for comparative studies of Haitian Kreyòl and French. For instance, it is generally accepted that “the phonological forms of Haitian lexical entries were established on the basis of French phonetic matrices” (Lefebvre 1998, 400). The further I traced linguistic data shared by French and Haitian Kreyòl, the more it was necessary to identify the degree of relationships that they share in order to have a better understanding of the nature of the relationship between isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl.

1.3. Scope of the study

As Schieffelin and Doucet observed, “arguments about orthography reflect competing concerns about representations of Haitianness at the national and international level – that is, how speakers wish to define themselves to each other, as well as to represent themselves as a nation. Because acceptance of an orthography is based more often on political and social considerations than on linguistic or pedagogical factors, orthographic debates are rich sites for investigating competing nationalist discourses” (Kroskrity, Schieffelin and Woolard 1998, 285). This inherent multidisciplinary nature compelled an examination of:

- 1- The linguistic relationship between French and Haitian Kreyòl and
- 2- The nature of the relationship between isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl

While the first of the two points above was necessary, it is of course the second which presents the objective of this research. The methodology used throughout this study is comparative, descriptive, investigative, analytic and exegetic when necessary. As David Crystal wrote in the *Penguin Dictionary of Language* (1990, 2000): “Comparative linguistic studies language history by investigating languages thought to be related.”

Chapter Four of this comparative study, for instance, reveals how cognate languages, Haitian Kreyòl and French, exhibit a genetic and historical relationship. The existence of this relationship justifies the possibility of reconstructing the common ancestor, Latin. A cognate list of more than one thousand words indicates that the common origin of French and Kreyòl is a virtual certainty. They show a number of regular correspondences in lexicon, such as:

c- : k-¹
u- : i-
q- : k-
c- : s-

¹ The notation “c- : k-” means “c- corresponds to k-”

In fact a regularly recurring match between the phonetic structures of French -Kreyòl-Latin words with similar meanings was registered.

After providing evidence of a genetic relationship between French and Haitian Kreyòl, the study approaches the semantic field of IsiZulu-Kreyòl as a significant psycho lexicology where emphasis is put on the meanings and the spirit of the words. *Siye ngomoya wamagama*. This leads to the heart of this thesis: the psychological and theological dimensions of this comparative study. From the first series of interviews conducted in KwaZulu and Gauteng, to the most recent exchanges with South Africans on linguistics, what has been made emphatically clear is the significance of each of the country's eleven official languages and the refusal to relegate any one to the category of 'dialect'. This observation contrasts with the view of those who argue that because "the link between the Nguni group of languages, i.e. Ndebele, Swati, Xhosa and Zulu, is so high ... they could be considered dialects. Reasons other than linguistic, such as political, have caused these languages to be recognised as separate languages" (Finlayson 2006, 132). Behind this linguistic debate involving the Nguni group of languages, there is a Bantu family of languages where all the speakers are Africans.

Africans and the descendants of Africa share a common ancestry rooted in the continent. Classification of languages "based on common origin is fundamental for historical and comparative linguistics" wrote Greenberg (1971, 93). Accordingly, this study does not isolate either isiZulu or Haitian Kreyòl from Africa. Other scholars conducting research in other continents adopt a similar methodological line: "It has been proved once and for all that the languages spoken by the Hindus, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Kilts, Slaves, and Tautens are all descended from a single ancestral language, the Old Aryan, in the same sense that French, Italian, and Spanish are descended from the Latin. And from this undisputed fact it is an inevitable inference that these various races contain, along with other elements, a race-element in common, due to their Aryan pedigree" (Finke 1901, 141).

But of course the common human origin transcends differences and epitomizes a universal source of values such as freedom and respect for all languages and cultures – one of the underlying assumptions of this study. Hence, the light reflected by the concept *Bantu* all

over this linguistic field of research. In a series of lectures given at UNISA, the University of the Witwatersrand, the Centre for African Renaissance Studies, and elsewhere over the course of these two years, *Ubuntu* emerged as a source of inspiration, enriching debate on a multitude of issues, sociolinguistics, cultural and theological paradigms, ancestral psychodynamic, comparative linguistics. These lectures offered me opportunities to elaborate the results of this research, to observe the reactions of the participants, to register recommendations and comments all of which greatly enriched this final version of the text.

It took Noam Chomsky some time to explain how “*è il meccanismo di acquisizione del linguaggio che è innato*” (it is the mechanism of the acquisition of the language that is innate) (Chomsky 1977, 100). Similarly, it may take some time to explain too how *Ubuntu* empowers isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl speakers. For the moment, based on the findings of this study, we argue that the relationship shared by these two languages is deeply rooted in *Ubuntu*.

PART I

HISTORICAL AND GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS

Chapter Two

Historical Roots - Linguistic Roots

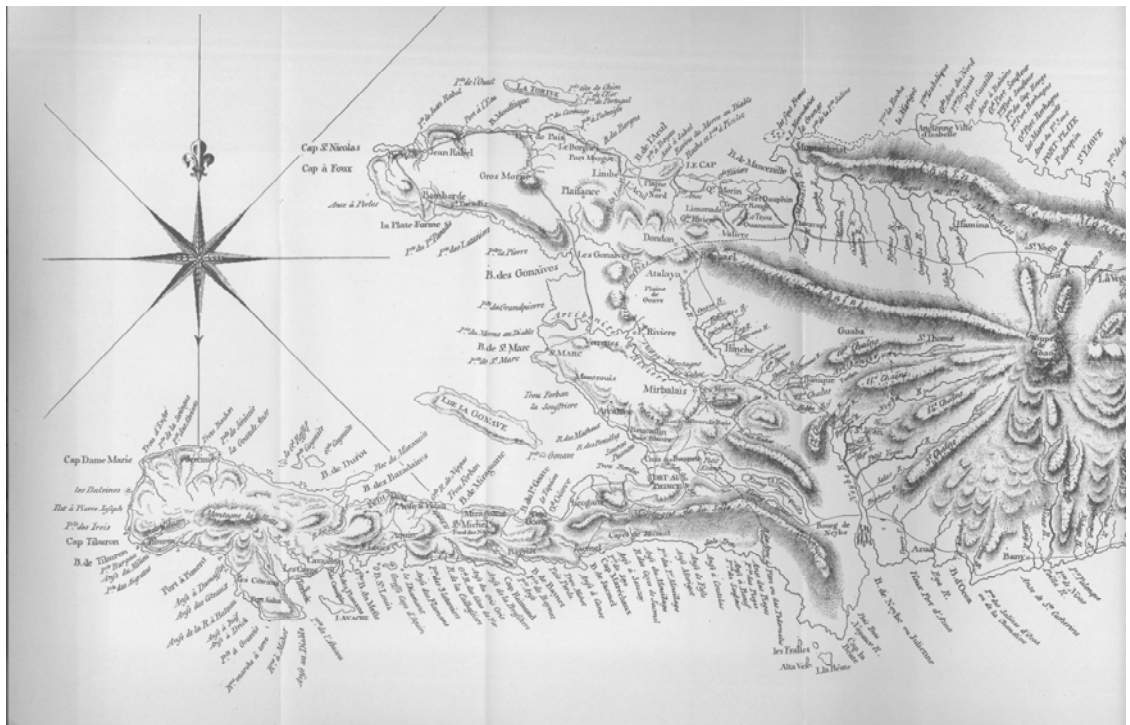
Different strands of linguistic science can be traced from the works of scholars such as Malcolm Guthrie, Ferdinand de Saussure, Noam Chomsky, and others. Historical linguistics, for instance, evolved from the significant contributions of Saussure. For Saussure while synchronic linguistics studies languages at a theoretical single point in time, historical linguistics focuses on the development of languages over time. This approach is crucial in understanding Creole languages. These languages do not descend directly from a single ancestor. In the case of Haitian Kreyòl historical linguistics contribute in a significant way to reconstructing the language's pre-history and in determining the interrelatedness of its ancestors by tracing different dialects spoken by Haiti's first inhabitants. "Since its beginnings in the nineteenth century historical investigations of dialects have made contributions of both theory and methods to the study of language" (Romain 1994, 134).

A. Historical and linguistic roots

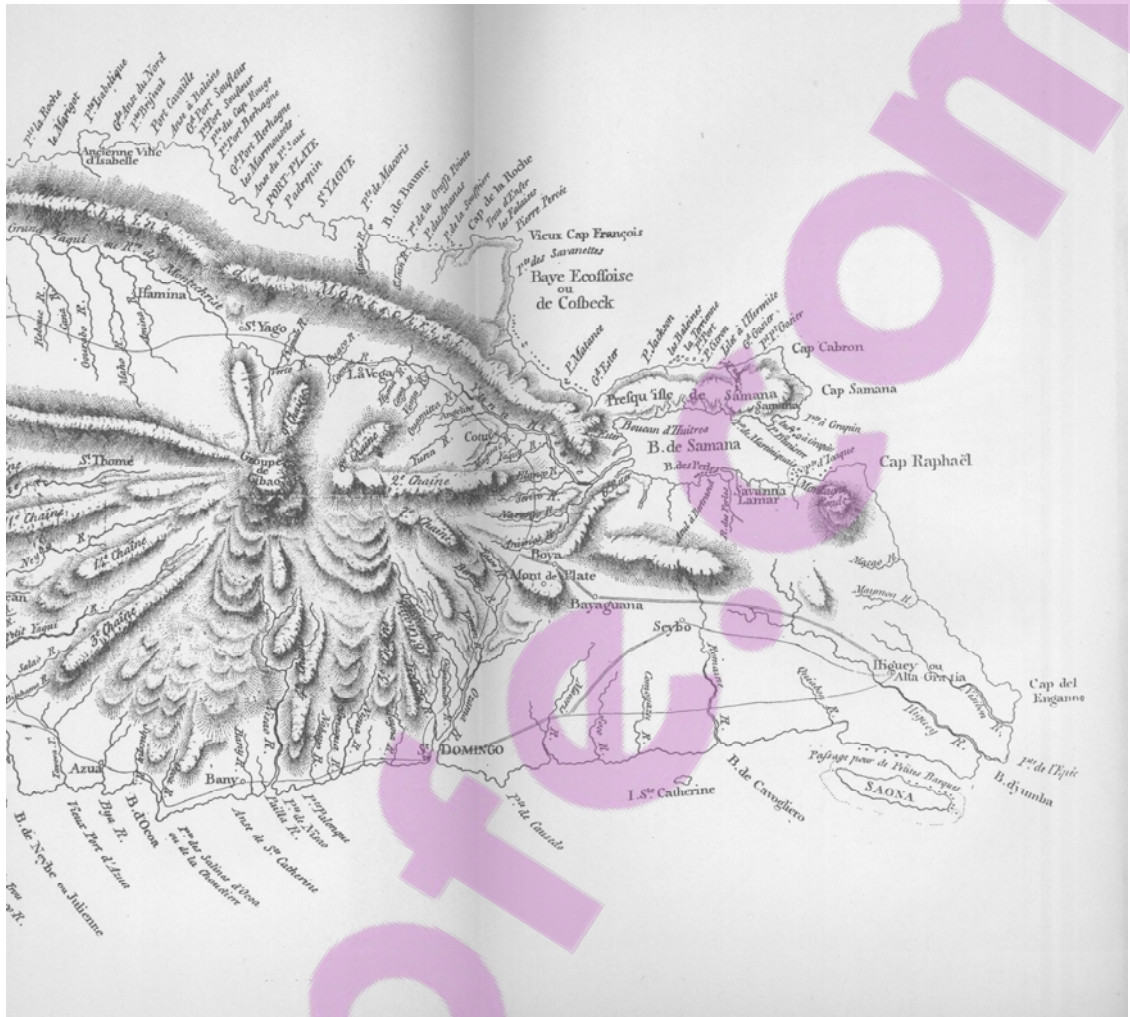
2.1. Historical roots of the first inhabitants of Haiti

Any study of Haitian Kreyòl begins with an inquiry on the arrival of the first inhabitants to Haiti. As anthropologist Louis Faron writes: "The question of when mankind first inhabited America is, however, open to some difference of opinion" (Faron and Steward 1959, 31). But clearly, the story begins in Africa, the original source of all human migrations. Those early migratory populations who turned northward, after their arrival in the Middle East, settled in Europe and were well established in Europe 40,000 years ago. Those who turned east reached Australia 35,000 years ago, at the latest, and were in China approximately 30,000 years ago. From Asia, groups of modern humans crossed the Bering Straits into North America, between 30,000 and 15,000 years ago, when sea levels were low, and had dispersed down to the tip of South America by 12,000 years ago (Reader 1998, 91).

This process of migration continued across South America to the Caribbean Islands. “The people who moved into the Caribbean in the last centuries B.C. have come to be called Saladoid” (Allaire 1997, 57). In approximately 1000 B.C. the Arawak and Taino people arrived in the Caribbean region and established themselves on an Island called “Ayiti” (present day Haiti). From this historical piece of land, Cuba lies to the northwest, Jamaica to the southwest and Puerto Rico to the east. Although Haiti is the second largest island in the Caribbean, it is relatively small with a total surface area of 76,480 km². Today the island is shared by the Republic of Haiti and the Dominican Republic.



Haiti



Santo Domingo

According to Alan Cambeira, the “Taino culture, arriving about 3000 B.C., called the Island Quisqueya or Earth mother” (Cambeira 1997, 27). The Caribs whose name was subsequently given to most of the islands of the region arrived by 1000 AD. “In the Europeans’ first approximations, the Caribbean was seen as the domain of two groups, Tainos (or Arawaks) and Caribs” (Allaire 1997, 29). Still today, researchers debate when the first inhabitants arrived in the Caribbean, their origin, and the roots of their languages. “What is the origin of its earliest populations”, questioned Louis Allaire in *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean* (1997). There is no doubt that as humans, they originated from Africa, the Cradle of Humankind. As John Reader affirms: “Genetic, palaeontological, and linguistic evidence indicates that anatomically modern humans existed only in Africa until

about 100,000 years ago, when some migrated from the continent and progressively populated the entire globe” (Reader 1998, 90).

2.2. Linguistic roots of the first inhabitants of Haiti

Wherever these early humans went, the need to communicate followed. Leroto Todd has pointed out that “in the past, pidgins and creoles have been almost exclusively spoken languages” (Todd 1990, 66). Further, Todd explains that “it is clear that pidgins and creoles are capable, or can easily become capable, of expressing the needs, opinions and desires of their speakers” (*Ibid.*) Hence these important questions: What language was spoken by the indigenous people of Haiti? Did the Arawaks and Caribs speak Haitian Kreyòl?

At the end of the fifteenth century, Haiti was divided into five Taino kingdoms or territories. From the Cacique (or chieftain) leading a kingdom, to the Nitaino (or sub-chiefs), to the Bohique (or priests-healers) and the Naboria (or the common people), all spoke a form of Arawak. The Arawak language is an indigenous language family of South America and the Caribbean. It is classified as a member of the Maipurean linguistic family. During this period, Haitian Kreyòl was not yet born. However, hundreds of years later, it would come to include Taino vocabulary which is still used today by the people of Haiti. We refer to:

Barbacoa	Babekyou	barbecue
Hamaca	Anmak	hammock
Canoa	Kannòt	canoe
Tabaco	Tabak	tobacco
Yuca	Manyòk	yucca
Huracan	Ouragan	hurricane
Aguacate	Zaboka	avocado
Batata	Patat	sweet potato
Cacao	Kakao	coca
Cacique	Kasik	chiefdom
Caiman	Kayiman	cayman
Caoba	Kaoba	name of a geographic area in

		Southern Haiti
Carioca	Karyoka	karaoke
Casabe	Kasav	casaba
Guayaba	Gwayav	guava
Maiz	Mayi	corn (mealie)
Maraca	Maraka	an instrument of music in Haiti
Taco	Tako	name of a bird in Haiti
Tiburon	Tibiwon	name of a region in southern Haiti
Macana	Kokomakak	one inch stick used in combat
Yuca	Manyòk	yucca

In addition to Haitian Krèyol, these words are also found in English and Spanish. “Yuca” holds a special place in the language of the Tainos; it is a plant consumed for its starchy tuberous root and was a principal source of food. The word gave birth to the name of the Taino supreme God: “Yucahú”. The suffix “hú” means white. With this word, the Tainos referred to the spirit of the yuca or the spirit of God. In Haitian Kreyòl, as well as in other languages, new words are generally coined in relation with events, discoveries, systems of belief or different kinds of experiences. “Lexicography traces the history of meanings of words and arranges them in the most convenient sequences” (Entwistle 1953, 226).

It is argued that social factors forced women to play a key role in the survival of the Arawakan language. As principle nurturer they transmitted the language to their children, while the Carib men lived in separate houses and spoke another form of the Arawakan language. No Taino women were registered by the Europeans who invaded the island in the fifteenth century. As the European population of Haiti increased and the number of Taino’s decreased, Arawakan women increasingly became the wives/partners of foreigners. However they continued to multiply the number of Arawakan speakers by teaching their mother tongue to their children. In fact, “language is always in a state of flux, with outside and inner pressures and tensions molding and modifying, causing new forms to be added and old forms to be deleted” (Key 1975, 133).

According to *The Columbia Encyclopedia* (Lagasse, Goldman et al 2004, 2559) the few remaining Native Americans of Venezuela, the Guiana's, and the Brazil Natives of the Amazon are mostly descendent from the Arawaks and Caribs. It is not surprising that they were unable to prevent the extinction of most of these Arawakan languages:

Guahiban (5 languages; Guahibo proper has 20,000 speakers)

Arauán (8 languages; Culina has 1300 speakers)

Maipuran (60 languages)

Northern Maipuran:

Palikur (1 language, c. 1200 speakers)

Wapishana-Caribbean (includes Ta-Arawak. 7 languages; Wayuu [Goajiro] c. 300,000 speakers, Garifuna [Black Carib] c. 100,000 speakers)

Inland (15 languages; Baniwa has 3-4000 speakers, Piapoco c 3000)

Southern Maipuran:

Campa (10 languages; Asháninca or Campa proper has 15-18,000 speakers, Ashéninca 18-25,000)

Central (6 languages; Piro has c. 300 speakers)

Amuesha (2 languages; Yanesha' has 6-8,000 speakers)

Purus-Parana (10 languages, inc. Apurina, Moxo, Terena; Terena has 10,000 speakers)

Contrary to Haitian Krèyol, most Arawakan languages did not survive. The reasons are numerous and complex.

Vernacular languages can remain unused for literate purposes for either technical or societal reasons. Technical reasons would include lack of a writing system, or of a standardized spelling system, or of linguistic descriptions that would allow ready development of these. Societal reasons would include the demographic and structural and political characteristics of the community... (Gardner-Choloros, LePage, et al 1997, 82).

2.3. Social changes and sociolinguistic factors

The impact of social change on language has been the subject of extensive study. In different parts of the world, the relationship between languages tends to reflect the balance of power among the speakers. R. L. Trask, observed that: “Hundreds of indigenous languages in Australia and the Americas have been abandoned in favour of English, Spanish and Portuguese” (Trask 1999, 65). This mass abandonment of language in these two regions (and indeed many more) has led many scholars to question how Haitian Kreyòl was able to survive for so long. How can its emergence as an official language be explained when Haiti is surrounded by Caribbean countries where Spanish or English are spoken?

Part of the answer lies in John Holm’s explanation that the origins of Creole and pidgin languages “cannot be understood without taking the social factors that shaped them” (2000, 68). That is, the sociolinguistic factors. Randrianja (1996, 24) observed that

The peoples speaking the Kongo languages were dispersed over three states, Congo, Zaire and Angola, occupying territories which belonged to three different colonial powers, whereas in former times these people had constituted a powerful kingdom which lasted longer than the colonial presence. Few homogeneous cultural groups escaped this process of dismemberment.

In the case of Haiti, a critical social factor to be considered is the development of an environment where bilingualism, for the vast majority, has become a vital tool of survival. For the vast majority of Haitians, Kreyòl is the mother tongue. But it only became one of Haiti’s two official languages in 1987. French, spoken fluently by only a small minority of Haitians, has always been the country’s official language. This duality opens a window on psycholinguistic research on bilingualism, which deals “essentially with the relationship between the bilingual’s two linguistic codes and several mechanisms involved in language organization and processing” (Mufwene 2001, 126).

Tracing the linguistic roots of Haitian Kreyòl can lead researchers to a history that will help in understanding Haitian identity. “Not only does language have an instrumental role as a

means of communication, it also has extremely important symbolic role as marker of identity” (Mar-Molinero 2000, 3). A people’s language and their collective identity share common patterns. The historic resistance of Haitians reflects the linguistic resistance of their language Haitian Kreyòl.

The Taino people also resisted. But in 1492, their nation, and indeed the entire region rapidly became the dramatic proscenium of the European invasion and domination of the Americas (Knight and Palmer 1989, 1). In this tumultuous and violent context the Tainos were unable to preserve the growth of their language. Analyzing the interaction of social forces at play in the fifteenth century Caribbean, Mimi Sheller writes that “Caribbean societies represented the peculiar combination of forces generated by specific time, geography and historical circumstances, far more than the rest of the hemisphere” (Knight 1996, 29). The civilization of the indigenous people living on the Caribbean islands was remarkable.

2.4. Language contact, language loss

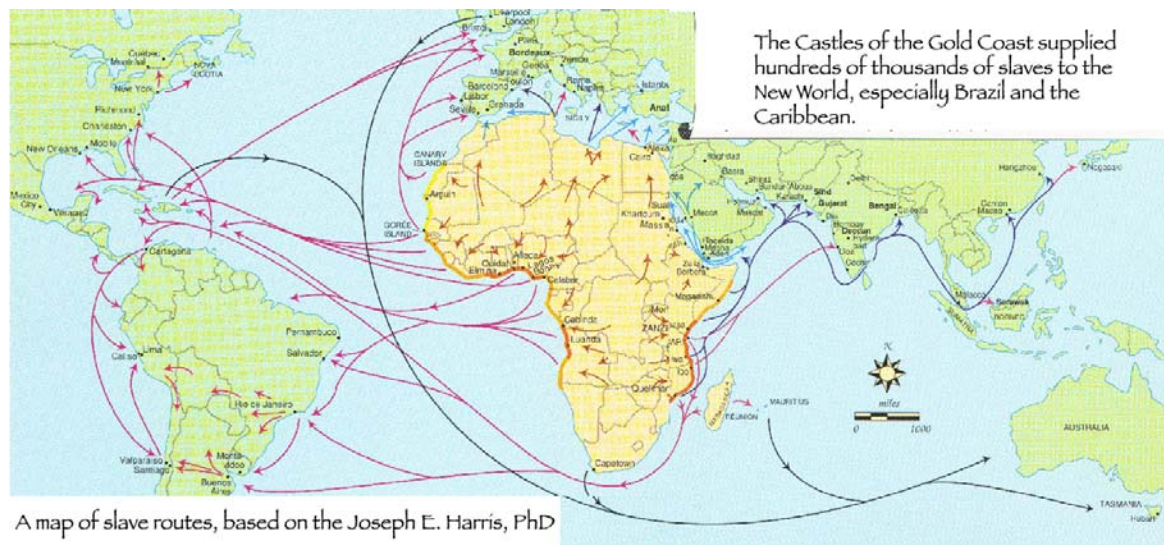
As soon as Christopher Columbus landed on Haiti’s shores in 1492, the years of its indigenous civilization were numbered. First, Columbus changed the name of the island. He called it Hispaniola, the little Spain. Then, he changed the name of the people – who suddenly all became Indians in his eyes. But those transformations paled next to the dramatic changes Columbus would impose on the Taino way of life and existence. Inevitably these actions would have consequential impact on their indigenous languages far surpassing the general maxim that “language is continually subject to change” (Graff 1932, 94): Columbus’s invasion precipitated an irreversible process of extinction for most of the Arawakan languages.

After a month on the island Columbus returned to Spain. On that January 15, 1493 trip he took with him a group of kidnapped Tainos and some of the gold that he had already stolen. He returned to Haiti on November 22, 1493, with 17 ships and more than 1200 men ready to implement the ultimate colonial dream: move from invasion to the next logical step,

genocide. According to Bartolome de Las Casas, “in 1508 there were 60.000 people living on this Island, including the Indians; so that from 1494 to 1508, over 3 million people had perished from war, slavery and the mines. Who in future generations will believe this?”

By 1592 less than 200 so-called Indians, the Arawaks and Tainos, were still alive on the island. Very dramatic but a natural and direct result of inhuman measures taken by the colonialists; after November 22, 1493, every indigenous Haitian over the age of 14 was required to regularly turn over to Columbus and his men a set quota of gold. To insure production, Columbus bought back with him to Haiti attack dogs – mastiffs and greyhounds – to terrorize the Taino population. Not meeting the prescribed quota of gold resulted in mutilation or death. How could indigenous languages survive in such an environment?

Could the colonial Spanish language lead to the birth of Haitian Kreyòl? The next section will address the critical role of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade in the emergence of Haitian Krèyol.



B. From African roots to Kreyòl roots

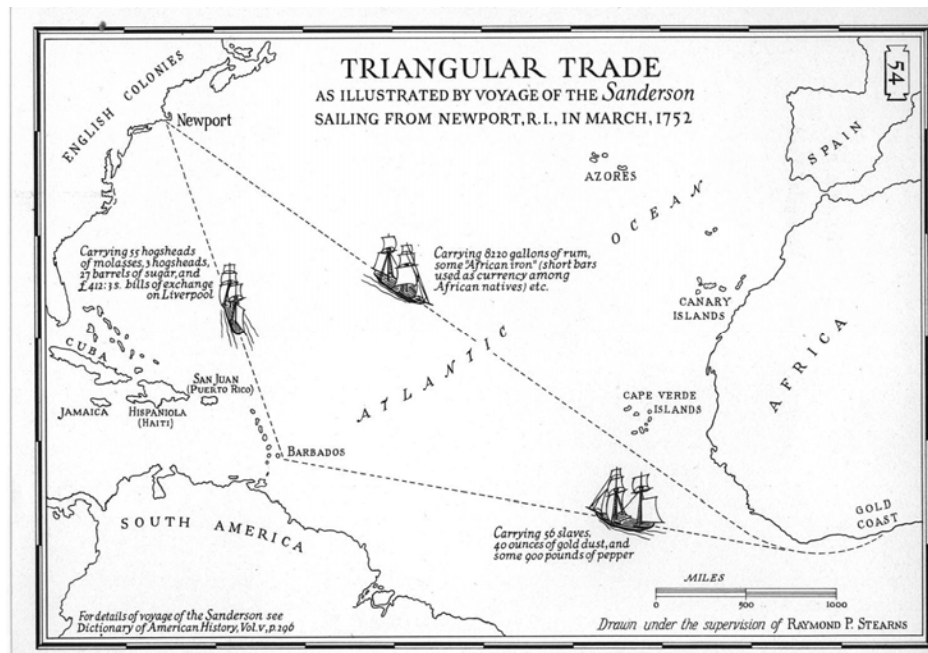
In 1993 UNESCO welcomed a proposal from Haiti and countries of Africa to launch the Slave Route Project. The aims of this project were:

1. To break a silence and make universally known the subject of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and slavery in the Indian, Ocean and Mediterranean, with its causes and modalities, by means of scientific work.
2. To emphasize, in an objective way, its consequences, especially in the interactions between the peoples concerned in Europe, Africa and the Caribbean.

The goals of the UNESCO project are relevant to the present linguistic inquiry on Haitian Krèyol. Tracing the roots of this language necessarily opens a window on the language's first speakers and their direct Ancestors: the African slaves. Did these Africans choose to give birth to a new language, or to Haitian Kreyòl? Were they able to preserve their mother tongues in the process? What happened to the indigenous African languages that disappeared and paved the way for the birth of Kreyòl?

2.5. African roots of Haitian Kreyòl

A proper perspective on African history is vital to the study of Haitian Krèyol; moreover, it is an essential part of the world view of all African descended people. The Trans-Atlantic slave trade, labeled as the greatest tragedy of humankind, is a key element of this history. Scholars, sociolinguistics, and researchers who focus on the slave trade to examine its root causes, the methods used, can gain a greater understanding on its impact and consequences in the changes experienced in African languages. It is very difficult to understand the relationship between the Haitian Kreyòl and isiZulu, if we do not understand their ancestral roots. "Everybody, not just minorities, needs to become aware of and acknowledge the importance of their ethnic and linguistic roots, in order to be able to develop, analyze, criticize, and reflect" (Phillipson 2000, 11).



The Trans-Atlantic slave trade, which involved a triangular trade route, can also be described as an historic triangle. Its three angles are: the present, the past, and the future. The triangle is lost if any one angle is eliminated; a proper sense of history is lost if we deny our origin. Uprooted from Africa, Haitians have never stopped exploring their African origin or the route of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade which first bought their Ancestors to the shores of the Caribbean Sea. It was an exceptional and unique human endeavor for several reasons:

- The trade endured more than four centuries
- It spanned across three continents (Africa, Europe, America)
- 1 billion Africans and African descendants were affected
- It involved oppressed languages, language attrition, language disorder, language loss, language pathology, aphasia, apraxia, dysarthria, dysphonia, source amnesia...

A language cannot affirmatively choose to die, but people certainly can. Africans caught in the tentacles of the slave trade made that choice: they preferred death to slavery. “No other mass transatlantic migration was ever organized in the same manner” (Klein 1988, 139). All

over West and Central Africa, men, women, and children were kidnapped and captured for the trade. This operation lasted for more than 400 years.

For the slave-raiding of entire villages, mounted warriors typically surrounded a settlement then burned it, and during the attack ran down on horseback those who sought to escape. Captives were then tied together in coffles (lines) and attached to the tails of the warriors' horses. For small-scale raiding into agricultural fields, warriors needed to strike quickly, to stuff smaller children into sacks and tie them on the horses' backs and, if exigencies permitted, to abduct the larger children and adults as well, and then flee quickly in order to escape the wrath of the raided community (*Ibid.*, 400).

This horrific experience would be followed by a lugubrious march where:

- Blacks were prodded to walk by a crackling whip used against their bared and bloodied backs.
- They walked in columns of two, shackled with neck irons that cut into their flesh. Sometimes their arms and ankles were shackled too.
- The children among them were chained to their mothers. Those children who died along the way could remain attached for days before the caravan leaders put the poor mother out of her misery. A rock to the head helped economize on ammunition.
- Anyone who could not keep pace with the caravan was killed. The children and the elderly were first to fall.
- Those who were lucky died immediately. The less fortunate could lie in agony for hours, only to be devoured by the animals of prey that followed the caravans.
- Vultures and hyenas accompanied the slavers. They knew that inevitably they would find food along the way. Roads in Africa are littered with human bones that trace the route of servitude and death.
- Those who avoided murderous blows, died of cholera or of hunger. The masters gave the caravan slaves only a handful of raw sorghum as nourishment.
- For every slave who made it to market, four or five died along the way.
- The assembly point of the slave caravans resembled mass graves. In Zanzibar, there were not enough hyenas to eat all the flesh from the bones.

- In certain regions, after only a few years of the trade, there remained only one percent of the original population.

This horrible picture could well have inspired Italian poet Dante Alighieri to write his famed inscription at the entrance to hell:

Per me si va nella città dolente,
Per me si va nell' eterno dolore,
Per me si va tra la perduta gente...
Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate.

Through me is the way to the sorrowful city.
Through me is the way to eternal suffering.
Through me is the way to join the lost people...
Abandon all hope, you who enter.

Plentiful and varied were the difficulties faced by these captured people packed onto ships, who did not have the same mother tongue. The linguistic harm imposed by the conditions of the slave trade would have a profound impact on the transported Africans: "Developmental language impairment is a risk factor for other developmental disorders" (Balkom and Verhoeven 2004, 61).

If a simple car accident can lead to traumatic amnesia, the atrocities suffered under the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, can, in relation to language pathology, be seen as a potential source for much more extreme forms of amnesia:

- Disassociative amnesia as a result of psychological trauma, implying a long-term repressed memory;
- Lucanar amnesia or the loss of memory about one specific event;
- Global amnesia or total loss of memory;
- Psychogenic amnesia linked to psychological causes and not direct damage to the brain;
- Anterograde amnesia emerging from damage to the brain regions most closely associated with the medial temporal lobes, particularly the hippocampus.

“Brain damage or congenital conditions can make a retarded person a linguistic savant or a person of high intelligence unable to speak” (Wheeler 1999, 3). Analyzing the meaning of mind, language, morality, and neuroscience, Thomas Szasz writes that “memory, like mind, is not an entity located in space” (1996, 47); thus, the necessity of referring to the application of psychological knowledge to different spheres of human life.

Struggling with both, retrospective and the prospective memory, the slaves had to move from the passage on land to the passage on sea: the middle passage.

On board the slave ships, slaves were chained together in pairs, but not always side by side... John Newton describes how: hands and feet were sometimes bound right to right or left to left, so that the slaves were in effect chained one behind the other, and could not move either hand or foot, but with great caution, and with perfect consent. Thus, they must seat, walk and lie, for many months (sometimes for nine or ten), without any mitigation or relief... (Reader 1998, 381).

Haitian Kreyòl speakers sometimes associate the nine months gestation period in the mother’s womb, to these nine months spent in the hell of the slave ships. While the baby is on route towards life, the slave was on route towards death. It is estimated that anywhere from 13 to 20 percent of the slaves died in transit. During the first decades of the trade, those Africans who did not have the chance to die or to jump into the sea were brought first to Europe. Was the shorter trip to Europe rather than to the slave market destination of the Americas in consideration of the more arduous direct journey? Absolutely not. This bifurcated routing had nothing to do with offering slaves any measure of relief. For the colonists, slaves were merchandise, not human beings. Routing the slaves to Europe responded purely to economic interests.

The Portuguese were the first to cross the Atlantic Ocean to Africa and India at the beginning of the fifteenth century in search of gold. Their exploits in India, “because of their connection with the “golden east”, and their semi-religious character, have drawn the attention of the world, not only in earlier centuries but in a later age as well” (Keller 1980, 131). The Portuguese started kidnapping Africans in 1441. One of the first expeditions was led by Antam Gonçalves and Nuno Tristao. Ten Africans were captured and brought to

Portugal. Eight were sold in Lisbon. The two other captured Africans assured the Portuguese that if they were sent back to Africa their families would offer much money for their release. Gonçalves agreed to this exchange. Back in Africa the two captives were released. In return, Gonçalves was given gold and other goods. But Gonçalves obliged the Africans to replace the two captives with ten other Africans (Reader 1998, 329).

According to Gomes Azurara, from 1442 to 1448, the Portuguese transported 927 African slaves to Europe. At the end of the fifteenth century, Pacheco Pereira admitted that more than 3,500 slaves were already in Europe. But what the Portuguese were really looking for was gold. Slaves were being traded for gold. From 1493 to 1580, approximately 2,400 kilos of gold were being exported from Guinea annually. At the time, this represented 35 percent of the world-wide extraction of gold. Acquiring more slaves in order to get more gold became an obsession. In 1453 when the Turks invaded Constantinople and established the Ottoman Empire, it was becoming more difficult for southern Europeans to enslave the Slavs near the Black Sea. To guarantee a supply of slaves, in 1454, Pope Nicolas V published *Romanus Pontifex*, which, in the words of Claude Ribbe (2004, 40), was not very Christian (“*pas très chrétien*”). Indeed, this papal edict authorized King Alphonse V of Portugal to engage in the African slave trade on condition that the slaves were converted to Christianity. Immediately, Portugal registered an increase in the number of Africans. By 1551, ten thousand or 10 percent of the 100,000 inhabitants of Lisbon were Black (Saunders 1982, 59).

Spain would not be left out of this lucrative trade. Because it could neither penetrate the African market, nor limit Portugal's ambitions, Spain went in search of other conquerable lands. In 1492, Christopher Columbus, destined for India, got lost. He landed in America; more specifically in Haiti where long before him Amerindians had migrated from Asia. So Columbus did not discover *them*, *they* discovered a foreign man, speaking a foreign language, with the ambition to exterminate an entire population, seize their land and their wealth – especially their gold. *Umona usuka esweni futhi uya enhliziyweni. Sibona ingozi. Bekucacile!* (Ambitions come from the eyes and then go to the heart. What a danger!)

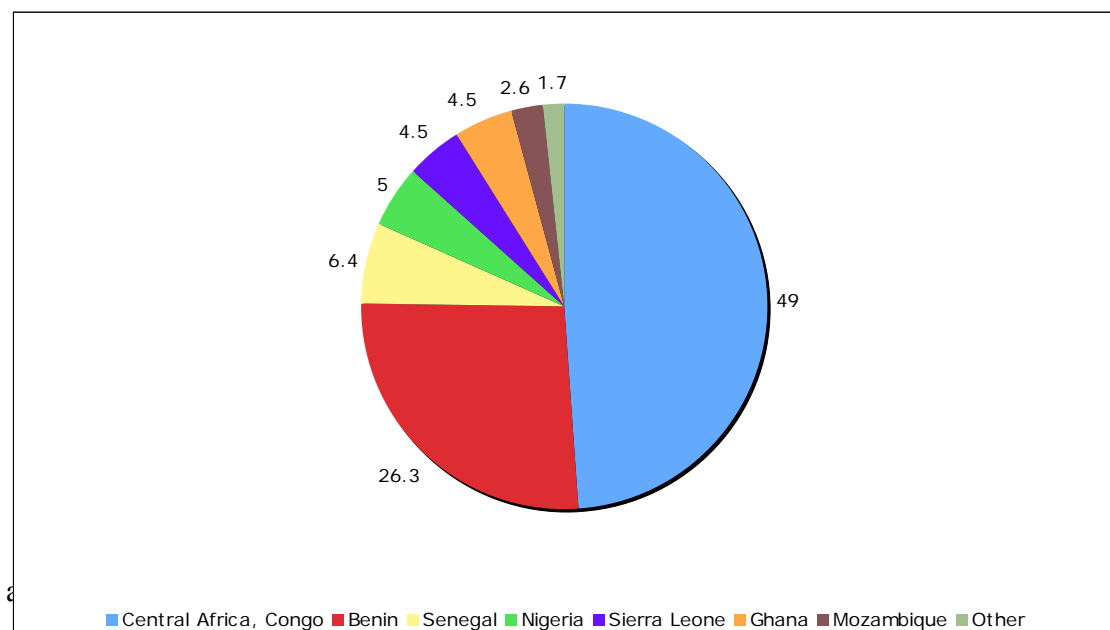
2.6. Less Amerindians, more Africans or future Kreyòl speakers

In 1511, during the genocide of the first Caribbeans, Bartholome de las Casas urged that the Amerindians slaves be replaced by African slaves who were known to be physically stronger than the Indians. Recall, that at this time, the slave route was not yet directly linked from Africa to the Americas. Missionaries in the Americas wrote to the king of Spain requesting:

That leave be given to them to bring over heathen negroes, of the kind of which we already have experience. Wherefore here it is agreed that your Highness should command us to grant licenses to send armed ships from this island to fetch them from the Cape Verde Islands, or Guinea, or that it may be done by some other persons to bring them here. Your Highness may believe that if this is permitted it will be very advantageous for the future of the settlers of these islands, and for the royal revenue... (Reader 1998, 374).

On 18 August 1518, governor Lorenzo de Gomenot was authorized by the king to ship 4,000 Negroes to Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico, directly from the isles of Guinea and other regions (Donnan 1930, 42). He required only that customs duties be paid and that the Africans become Christians upon reaching each island. From then onwards, other slave routes would converge on the Caribbean where, in addition to Haiti, other islands would also speak Kreyòl. From 1562 to 1567 one British colonist, John Hawkins, made three trips to Africa to bring slaves from Sierra Leone to Haiti (Markham, Clement and Hawkins 1878, 6-7). The first British colonists arrived in 1625 in Virginia, St-Christopher Island, and Barbados.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Dutch were trading in Curacao, Aruba. In 1619, they founded the city New Amsterdam or the future New York, where they brought 19 slaves. These were the first African slaves to arrive in present-day United States. From 1621 to 1624, the Dutch brought more than 15,000 slaves to Brazil. Meanwhile, the French colonized Cayenne, Martinique, and Guadeloupe. Haiti rapidly became the richest of the French colonies. It produced 60 percent of the world's coffee and it was said that the livelihood of one out of eight French citizens depended on the slave economy of Haiti.

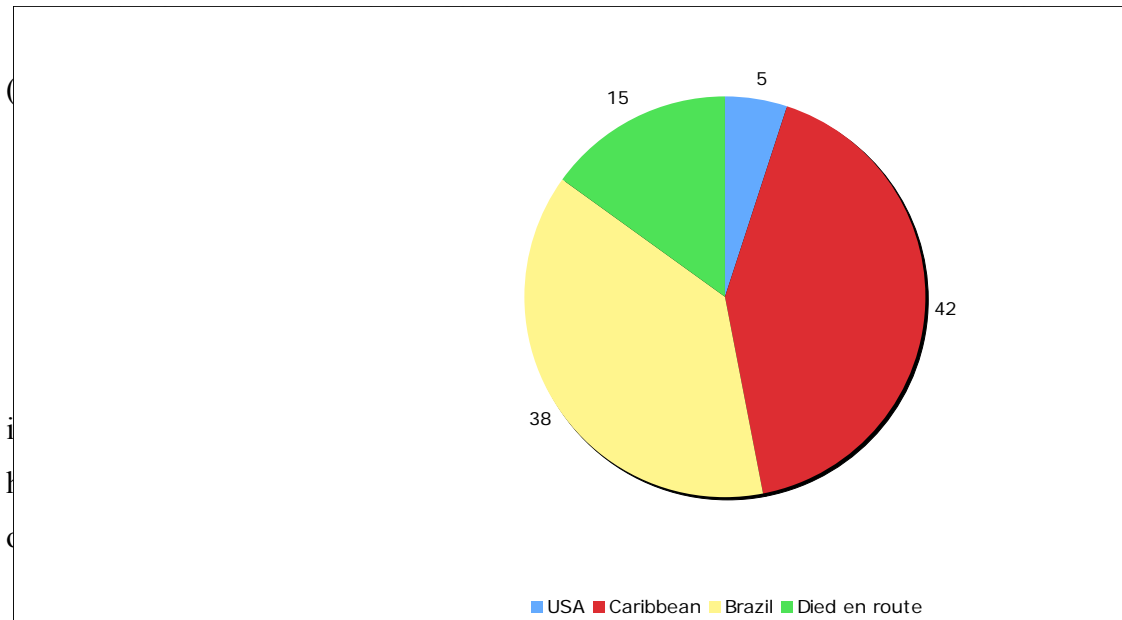


Haitian Kreyòl rooted in Bantu people and Bantu languages

“All linguists accept the idea that population movement was associated with the spread of Bantu languages” (Curtin, Feierman *et al* 1978, 26). In the case of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade it was more than a ‘population movement’ as the slave trade additionally involved the kidnapping, capture, enslavement of uprooted human beings. Moreover the numbers of people implicated were vast. According to Philip Curtin (1978, 219) “from an estimated annual average import of about 2,000 slaves to the Americas in the sixteenth century, the figure rose to an annual average of more than 80,000 in the 1780s, the first peak decade of the trade.”

- For the years between 1451 and 1870, Philip Curtin (1969, 268-287) puts the total number of slaves to have landed alive in the Americas, at 9.391.100. Of this number, less than 5 percent went to what is today the USA. The largest proportion, 42 percent was sold in the Caribbean. 38 percent of the slaves were shipped to Brazil. Between 10 and 20 percent died en route. With respect to the Angolan slave trade, half the slaves bought died between the market of purchase and the port of embarkation. Losses at sea varied according to the state of health of the slaves shipped and the degree of overcrowding on the board. They worked out as 10

percent of the total number embarked, notes the *General History of Africa Volume V* (1998, 288).



- Other researchers evaluate the total number of slaves exported from Africa between 1500 and the late 1800s, at 18 million: 11 million from West Africa, 5 million from the savanna to the coast and via the Sahara or the Red Sea, 2 million from the East Coast (Donnan 1930, 51).
- Slave ships could carry up to 500 or 600 slaves speaking different African languages.
- In 1850 over 200 different languages were identified from among the 40,000 or so former slaves then living in Freetown (Liberia) district. Though virtually all had been enslaved after the transatlantic slave trade had been abolished in 1807-1808, their origins covered most of West and West-central Africa and included even a few outlying areas of East Africa (*Ibid.* 17).

This process of human and linguistic extinction started in 1492. When Christopher Columbus died fourteen years later in 1506, “he still had not realized that his mission had

failed” (Karras and McNeill 1992, 1); neither human life nor cultural values could be among his priorities. Like Columbus, the colonists could not understand that:

We human beings started to learn our mother tongue before we were born. The mother tongue is a chain that binds us to our own history. Each one of us is a ring in the chain of generations, a ring in our own mother tongue. If any ring goes weak, the whole chain will be weak. Every generation has to make sure that their ring is strong enough to add the next onto the chain (Phillippson 2000, 13).

The African journey on the slave route did not end with the trans-Atlantic journey. The African identity took root in Haiti and in the other communities where Africans were taken. As Colin Palmer reminds us, the slave trade was more than a movement of people. Africa, in all of its cultural richness and diversity, came to the Americas as well (Palmer 1996, 85). Here we must ask again the core question: Did the African slaves decide to give birth to a new language, Haitian Kreyòl? A clear answer is offered in this explanation by Herbert Klein:

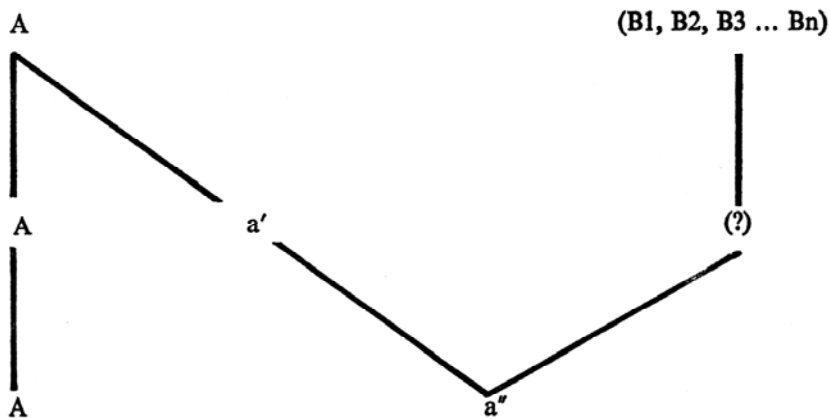
The slaves who arrived in America were mostly illiterate, spoke a multitude of different languages... But their color and status soon bound them together, so they were slowly to create a community and culture in the New World...It was standard practice for all planters to mix their slaves from as many different African cultures as possible, both to divide them politically and to force them to deal with each other in the language of the whites. No matter how much a slave created pidgin evolved into a separate creole language, it was still intelligible to the white masters (Klein 1988, 163).

There lie the African roots of Haitian Kreyòl. This reality can be graphically represented in an illustration developed by André Marc d’Ans (1968, 20) where

- **A** symbolizes the French colonists
- **B** the African slaves
- **N** the number of languages spoken by the slaves, but followed by language loss in a short period of time

On one side A’s language continued to be spoken by the French colonists, on the

other side it gave birth to a (1) (baby-talk) which became the bridge of communication between A and B(1), B(2), B(3) B(n). The later group B at times found their communities in major linguistic turmoil, represented by a question mark “?”, in d’Ans’ illustration.



Such a social context depicts clearly the African roots of Haitian Kreyòl. The colonists could impose their language but the Africans could not prevent themselves from emerging as the creators of a new language called Haitian Kreyòl.

2.7. Conclusion

Historical linguistics focusing on the development of languages, have contributed in the reconstruction of Haitian Kreyòl’s prehistory and in establishing the interrelatedness of its ancestors. As seen above, at the end of the fifteenth century all five of the Taino kingdoms of Haiti spoke a form of Arawak indigenous to South America and the Caribbean. Kreyòl does not descend directly from a single ancestor. By tracing the historical and linguistic roots of Haiti’s first inhabitants we discovered that the story begins in Africa, the original source of all human migration.

In the fifteenth century, European conquistadors and Amerindians experienced language-contact, brutal domination and eventual genocide. The impact of this early colonization was one of several significant sociolinguistic factors which contributed to the ultimate loss of

languages by the Amerindian population and, ultimately, the creation of Kreyòl, rooted in the Bantu people and the Bantu languages.

Chapter Three

Bantu Languages, IsiZulu's Family

In the development of comparative Bantu studies, Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel Bleek is presented by Malcolm Guthrie as a pioneer (Guthrie 1971, 112). How did Bleek define and classify the Bantu languages?

3.1. W.H. Bleek and Bantu languages

With the publication of his *Comparative Grammar of South African Languages* in 1862, Bleek was the first to focus on the existence of a Bantu family of languages. Previously, scholars such as Koelle who published *Polyglotta Africa* in 1854, referred to the use of prefixes to establish early classification. This salient feature was an important step, but Bleek's contributions represented a turning point in the development of comparative Bantu studies. In his analysis of the spread of the Bantu languages, John Reader highlights how Bleek was comfortable in using the term Bantu for "a family of languages spoken by so many groups dispersed over such a wide area" (Reader 1998, 176). Hence, a very simple question could be raised at the outset about the term Bantu: What is its origin?

The German philologist, Bleek, coined the term Bantu to refer to the group of African languages that have in common the word stem *ntu* meaning people. As the prefix *ba*, means *they* in all these languages, Bleek added it to the stem *ntu* and from there emerged the word *Bantu* which he used to identify a linguistic family. The stem and the prefix can be observed through the following list:

	<u>Language</u>	<u>People</u>
1.	Kongo	Bantu
2.	Luba	Bantu
3.	Rwanda	Abantu
4.	IsiZulu	Abantu
5.	IsiXhosa	Abantu
6.	IsiTswana	Batho
7.	IsiSuthu	Batho
8.	Mongo	Banto
9.	Herero	Abandu
10.	Duala	Bato

Addressing the nature of the concord in the Bantu languages, Bleek made a very significant statement: “I begin with sentences in Zulu” (Bleek 1862, 96). The sixteen isiZulu sentences Bleek selected for his explanation reflect a social environment where the roots of isiZulu and Bantu are interconnected.

An intelligent study of the structure of different languages gives us the leading outlines of the history of human conceptions and misconceptions; and the gradual development of mind can only be traced upon the basis of comparative researches into the forms of human speech (Bleek 1869, XIX).

In South Africa, approximately 10 million peoples speak isiZulu and it is understood by almost half of the population. Alongside Shona, isiZulu has the most native speakers among all the Bantu languages and it is spoken in other African countries such as Swaziland, Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Lesotho. Clearly, isiZulu is an important vehicle of communication in southern Africa. How far back do its roots go among the African languages?

3.2. Tracing isiZulu roots through African languages

IsiZulu belongs to the Nguni subfamily of Bantu languages. Since the 1930s, linguists have used the term Nguni to refer either to a group of clans and nations living in south-east Africa or to a subfamily of Bantu languages such as: Xhosa, the predominant language in the Eastern Cape; Ndebele spoken in Zimbabwe; and Swazi spoken in Swaziland, Thembu, Mpondomise, Mpondo, Mfengu. Thus, the roots of isiZulu lie in the Bantu family of languages, the most widespread of the language families found in Africa. About 450 known Bantu languages are spoken in Cameroon, Nigeria, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Republic of the Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Kenya, Somalia, Tanzania, Angola, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana and South Africa. The numbers of speakers are estimated at about 310 million.

In total, the African continent comprises approximately 2,000 African languages. For Rosalie Finlayson who poses the question, how genetic are the linguistic interrelationships, “our continent presently boasts some 2035 African languages” (2006, 127), which are, according to Joseph Greenberg, divided into four major language groups. The majority of the languages spoken in the continent belong to one of these groups listed below:

3.2.1. Afro-Asiatic languages

This group includes about 300 languages spoken by 250 million people (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000, 31). Spoken in North Africa, East Africa and Southwest Asia, this family comprises the Semitic languages such as Arabic, the Cushitic languages, the Chadic languages such as Hausa, which is spoken in Nigeria, in West Africa and Berber. Previously this family of languages was called the Hamito-Semitic languages. Already in 1883 Robert Cust understood that “the affinity of the Hamitic to the Semitic languages is more strikingly brought out by a consideration of the particulars in which they, resembling each other, differ entirely from all the other languages of Africa” (Cust 1883, 95-96). With the Semitic in Asia, the Berber in northwestern Africa, the Cushitic in Ethiopia and the

Shadic in present-day Chad and Nigeria, the Afro-Asiatic languages were spoken long before the beginning of Bantu's expansion.

3.2.2. Nilo-Saharan languages

More than a hundred languages are classified as the Nilo-Saharan languages. They are spoken near the Nile River, in Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, northern Tanzania, Central and West Africa. Linguistic evidence places its original home in the eastern Sahara. About 30 million people speak these languages classified in six branches. One, Chari-Nile, regroups a good number of languages and the others remain more isolated. When the Sahara dried up, most of the people who moved to the Nile valley were speaking languages belonging to the Nilo-Saharan group. Most of the languages found in this group, such as Shonghay languages or Fur languages, are tonal.

3.2.3. Khoisan languages

By approximately 350 AD there were about 10000 to 20000 hunter-gatherers identified as San in southern Africa speaking their indigenous language or San. The Khoikhoi were more numerous. As nomadic cattle herders who integrated the San communities, they paved the way for the emergence of Khoisan languages. Spoken in Namibia, Botswana, Angola, by about 120,000 people, the Khoi-San languages are estimated at about fifty. "The Khoisan languages of the Khoikhoi (called Hottentots in colonial time) and the San (also called Bushmen) ... are regarded as the "first languages" of southern Africa, having been spoken there for 8000 years" (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000, 31).

One of the salient features of the Khoisan languages is the use of the click consonants. This characteristic is also found in isiXhosa and isiZulu. It is certainly the result of language contact. By about 2000 BC, the Sandawe and Hadze in Tanzania, the hunters in the southern part of Africa, were speaking Khoisan which is also "the word most commonly used to represent the Bushmen and Hottentots" (Bohannon and Curtin 1971, 68). "Contrary to earlier beliefs, the Khoikhoi's ancestors were predominantly indigenous southern African

hunters who at some stage had acquired sheep and cattle from neighbours and modified their social and political institutions as a result of this change in their material culture”(Curtin, Feierman, *et al* 1978, 292).

3.2.4. Niger-Congo languages

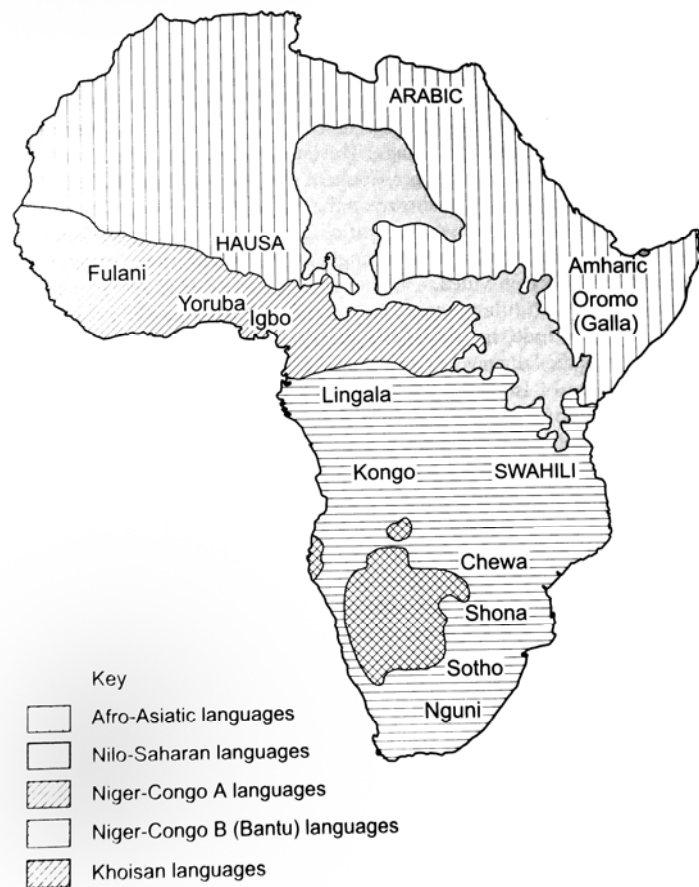
The roots of Bantu and isiZulu lie in the Niger-Congo family, one of the world’s major language families. The Niger-Congo includes six subfamilies. “One of these subfamilies contains the well-known Bantu languages which cover most of central and southern Africa” (Bohannon and Curtin 1971, 66). To be more specific, Greenberg himself wrote: “To the entire family consisting of the West Sudanic nucleus inclusive of Bantu, plus this eastward extension, I have preferred to adopt a new name of a non-committal geographic nature, Niger-Congo, from the two great rivers in whose basins these languages predominate” (Greenberg 1955, 8). It is by far the largest language family in sub-Saharan Africa.

“If Greenberg’s classification is confirmed, the ancestral language was spoken in the lands between Chad and Kordofan at a very remote time. Niger-Congo itself is subdivided into six branches, of which five cover West Africa and one the grasslands of Cameroon and the Central African Republic, while a single offshoot of the West African branches covers most of Africa south of the Equator” (Curtin, Feierman, *et al* 1978, 12).

The Niger-Congo is considered the largest language family to include the most distinct languages. If on one side, that claim remains a matter of academic debate, on the other side, it is obvious that within the African continent, the Niger-Congo group is the largest language family for three principle reasons:

- 1- It covers a geographic area that is one third of the continent
- 2- The number of its speakers
- 3- The number of its distinct languages

FIGURE 2.1 Africa's linguistic diversity



Depending on where the line is drawn between a language and a dialect, some scholars estimate that there are about 400 million speakers of approximately 600 languages classified as Niger-Congo languages. Others have lowered the number of the distinct languages to 300 (Nurse 1996, 65). Still other maintain that the Niger-Congo group “consists of more than a thousand languages, which are spoken by 260 million people in western, central, eastern, and southern Africa” (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000, 33).

3.2.5. Joseph Greenberg's classification

In his endeavor to classify these languages, Joseph Greenberg opted for Westermann's work. From 1949 to 1954, Greenberg published the results of his research in a series of articles; nine years later these articles were compiled in his book entitled, *The languages of Africa*. This leading specialist in African language classification did not hesitate to criticize the work done by others. According to Greenberg, "the only modern classifications for the entire continent which have obtained any currency are those of Meinhof and far less influential one of Drexel... The basic criticism of Meinhof's method is simply that it does not lead to genetic classifications" (Greenberg 1955, 3).

In fact, Greenberg worked hard to classify the Niger-Congo group which includes almost all of the most widely spoken indigenous languages of Sub-Saharan Africa. He presents this enumeration of the membership of the Niger-Congo family "by tentative genetic subfamilies" (*Ibid.* 10-11):

1. West Atlantic: Wolof, Serer-Sin, Fulani, Serer-Nono, Dyola, Biafada-Pajade, Bijogo, Konyagi, Nalu, Bulanda, Banyun, Cobia-Cassanga, Bolama-Sarar-Pepel-Kanyop, Temne-Baga-Landoma, Bulom-Kissi Mampa, Limba, Gola
2. Mandingo languages
3. Senufo
4. Mossi-Grunshi: Mossi group, Grunshi group, Tern group, Bargu group, Gurma group, Kilinga
5. Central Togo: Logba, Adele, Sankotrofi, Likpe, Akpafu, Lefana, Bowili" Akposo, Avatime, Nyangbo-tafi, Ahlo, Kebu, Anyimere
6. Kwa: Kru group, Agni-Twi group (including Mekyibo and Abure), Fo group, Ga group, Guang, Yoruba group, Nupe group, Edo group, Ibo
7. Western Ivory Coast Lagoon: Alagia, Avikam
8. Central Ivory Coast Lagoon: Ajukru, Ari, Abe
9. Eastern Ivory Coast Lagoon: Gwa, Kyama
10. Ijo
11. Central Branch: Cross River languages (Efik, Uwet, Korop, Abua, Akuna-kuna, Ololumo, Okuni, Ikom, Nki, Dama, Gayi, Yakoro, Ekoi-Nde), Yala, Munshi, Afudu, Boritsu, Mbarike (Zumper), Yergum, Ham (Jaba), Koro, Piti-Chawai-Berom, Gure-Kahugu, Mada-Ninzam; Afo, Bassa-Kamuku-Kambari-Gurmana-Reshe, Yeskwa, JukunKyentu-Nidu bitare, Tigong, Batu, Ndoro, Bantu, Mambila-Suga

12. Adamawa: Mumuye, Kam, Jen, Longuda, Yungur, Messo, Nimbari (Nyamnyam), Mangbei, Vere group (Vere, Kotopo, Kolbila, Durru, Sara, Pape, Mamshi), Chamba, Daka, Bua-Nielim-Koke, Mbum group (Mbum, Mbere, Yassing, Mundar.g, Dama-Mono, Laka), Masa
13. Bute
14. Eastern Branch: Gbaya-Manjia, Bwaka-Gbanziri-Monjombo, SangoYakoma-Ngbandi, Banda group, Nzakara, Monjombo, Zande, Mondunga, Mundu-Mayogu-Bangba, Barambo, Madyo, Ndogo-SereBviri-Golo
15. Eregba

With respect to the countries where these languages are spoken, it is important to mention some of them. The major languages of the Niger-Congo family could be presented as follows:

- Kordofanian languages: spoken in southern Sudan, around the Nuba Hills
- Mande: spoken in West Africa; includes Bambara, the main language spoken in Mali, as well as Soninke, a language spoken mainly in Mali but also in Senegal and Mauritania
- Atlantic-Congo
 - Atlantic: includes Wolof, spoken in Senegal, and Fula, a language spoken across the Sahel. The validity of Atlantic as a genetic grouping is controversial.
 - Ijoid in Nigeria, including Ijo and Defaka
 - Dogon, spoken in Mali
 - Volta-Congo
 - o Senufo: spoken mainly in Cote d'Ivoire and Mali and including Senari and Supyire
 - o Gur: including Dagbani in Northern Ghana, they are spoken in Cote d'Ivoire, Togo, Burkina Faso and Mali
 - o Adamawa-Ubangi: includes Sango, spoken in the Central African Republic
 - o Kru: spoken in West Africa, include Bété, Nyabwa, and Dida
 - o Kwa: includes Akan, spoken in Ghana and the Gbe languages, spoken in Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria, of which Ewe is best known

- Benue-Congo, including among other:
 - Bantu: a very large group, includes Swahili (Kiswahili) and Zulu
 - The Yoruba and Igbo languages, spoken in Nigeria

Some linguists consider the twenty or so Kordofanian languages to form part of the Niger-Congo family, while others consider them and Niger-Congo to form two separate branches of a Niger-Kordofanian language family. There is also an on-going debate as to whether the Mande languages should be included in the Niger-Congo language family or the Nilo-Saharan language family. Others are skeptical about both Niger-Kordofanian and Niger-Congo itself.

The following three maps by Greenberg help in tracing those languages:

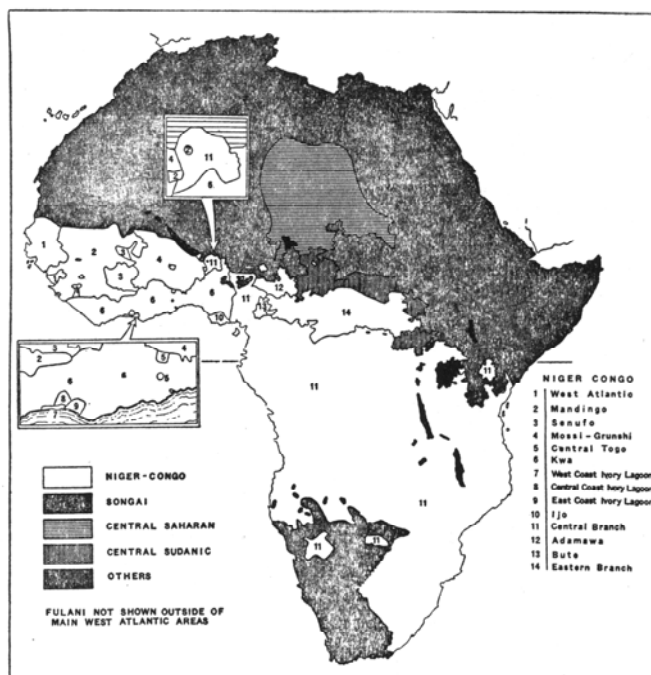
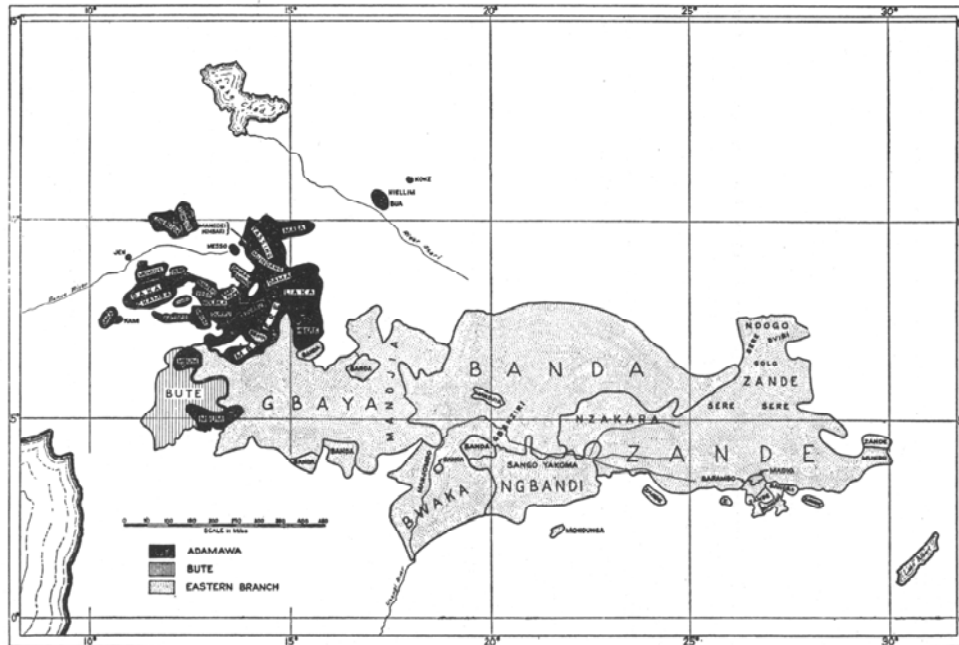
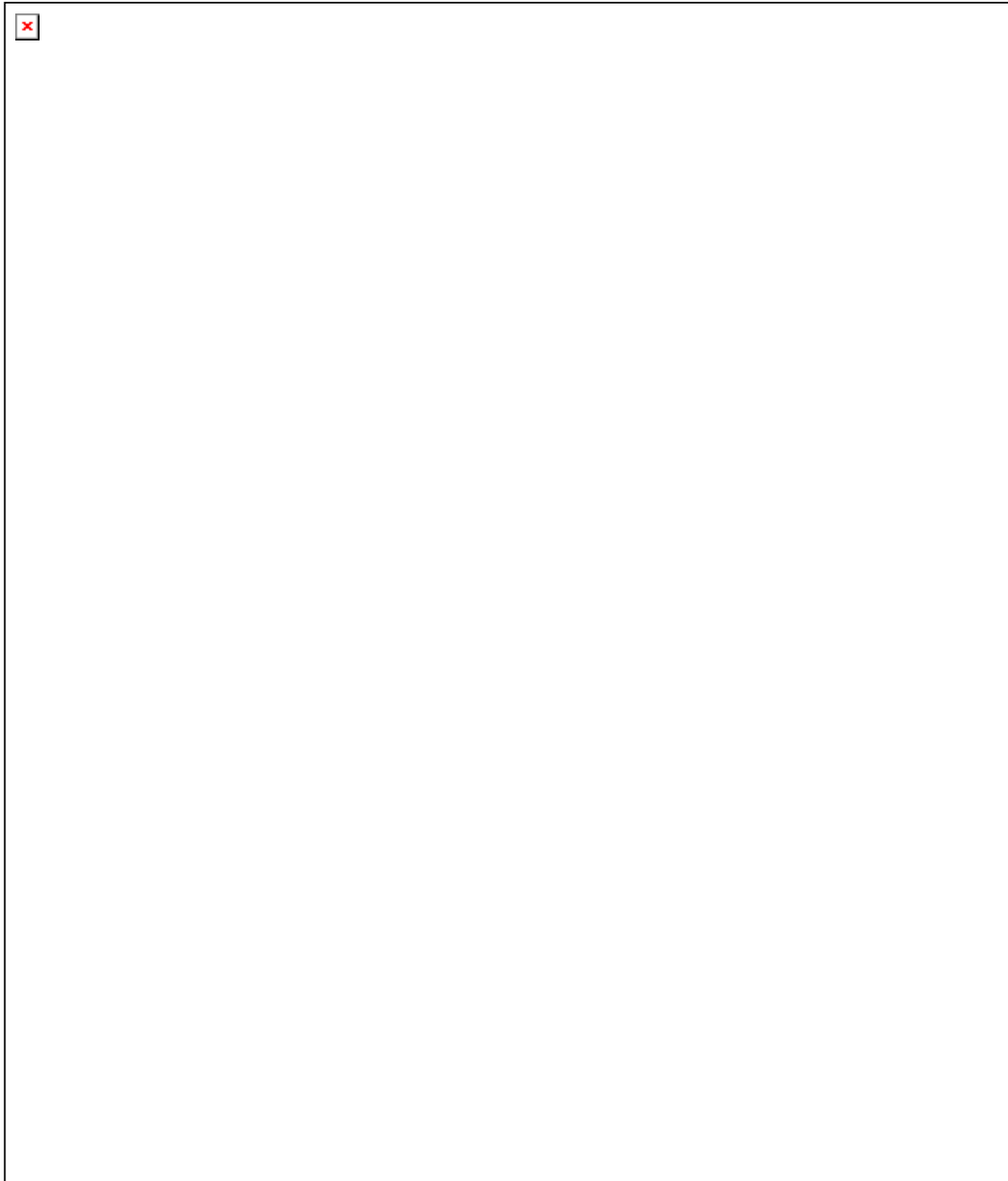


FIG. 1. Distribution of the Niger-Congo and other linguistic families.



Eastward extension of Niger-Congo linguistic groups.



3.2.6. Guthrie's definition of Bantu languages

The theories elaborated by Greenberg in 1946 and the method he used for classification represented for Guthrie “the only fresh contribution that impinges on the study of comparative Bantu languages” (Guthrie 1971, 113). How did Guthrie himself define the

Bantu languages and classify them? “It is necessary”, he said, “to divide into two groups the criteria to be used for identifying languages as Bantu (Guthrie 1948, 11-12):

A. Principal criteria

1. A system of grammatical genders, usually at least five, with these features:
 - (a) The sign of gender is a prefix, by means of which words may be assorted into a number of classes varying roughly from ten to twenty.
 - (b) There is a regular association of pair's of classes to indicate the singular and plural of genders. In addition to these two-class genders, there are also one class genders where the prefix is sometimes similar to one the singular prefixes occurring in a two class gender, and sometimes similar to one of the, plural prefixes.
 - (c) When a word has an independent prefix as the sign of its class, any other word which is subordinate to it has to agree with it as to class by means of a dependent prefix.
 - (d) There is no correlation of genders with sex references or with any other clearly defined idea.
2. Vocabulary, part of which can be related by fixed rules to a set of hypothetical common roots.

B. Subsidiary criteria

3. A set of invariable cores, or radicals, from which almost all words are formed by in agglutinative process, these radicals having the following features:
 - (a) They are composed of consonant-vowel consonant
 - (b) When a grammatical suffix is attached to the radical there is formed a base on which words identifiable as ‘verbals’ are built
 - (c) When a non- grammatical, or lexical, suffix is attached to the radical there is formed a ‘stem’ on which words identifiable as nominal belong to a two- class gender the sound and tones of the stem are same in both classes
 - (d) A radical may be extended by an element found between it and the suffix; such elements, termed ‘extensions’ are composed either of vowel –consonant or of a single vowel
 - (e) The only case of radical occurring without a prefix of any kind occurs in verbals used as interjections
4. A balanced vowel system in the radicals, considering of one open vowel ‘a’ with an equal number of back and front vowels

In his comparative work, Carl Meinhof demonstrated that Bantu constitutes a linguistic unit. His analysis proved quite conclusive. Meinhof draws a principal distinction between Bantu

and a 'Semi-Bantu' group which, according to him, was originally of the unrelated Sudanic stock. One of his pupils, Westermann, went on to establish the internal classification of the then Sudanic languages. When in 1911 Westermann published, *Die Sudansprachen. Eine sprachvergleichende Studie*, he established a basic division between 'East' and 'West' Sudanic. A historical reconstruction of West Sudanic was published in 1927 and in 1935. In his work, *Character und Einteilung der Sudansprache*, Westermann demonstrated the relationship between Bantu and West Sudanic.

Some years later, Malcolm Guthrie, in his four-volume comparative analysis of the Bantu languages, traced the roots of the Proto-Bantu in the Benue valley of eastern Nigeria, and in the adjacent grassfields of western Cameroon. He concluded: “This is where the word roots survive most extensively in the least modified form, so this region must be the cradle of the Bantu languages” (Reader 1998, 177). In 1971 Guthrie classified the Bantu languages in different groups and numbered them based on the geographical areas.

3.2.7. Guthrie’s classification of Bantu languages

In respect to his experimental map of Bantu languages, it is necessary to add an alphabetical index (Guthrie 1948), also prepared by Guthrie. In addition to facilitating the exploration of linguistic roots, some of the names that appear in the index will help in tracing certain words within Haitian Kreyòl.

As one may expect, the numbers vary according to the results obtained by different researchers. Thomas N. Huffman estimates that “Bantu languages today are spoken throughout the southern half of Africa. Depending on how one counts dialects and dialect clusters, there are 300 to 800 Bantu languages. All are related by common vocabularies and a distinctive system of noun classes marked by prefixes and what is called a concordial agreement pattern...” (Huffman 2006, 98).

“Detailed classification work on Bantu languages was done by Malcolm Guthrie. He assigned the five hundred languages and dialects of this group to lettered subdivisions A to

S. Although superseded by later work, his classification is still sometimes used for references so it is given for the languages listed here A'J' subdivision was introduced by Meeussen in 1953, incorporating some of the languages in Guthrie's subdivisions D and E; some other renumbering have been tried, but there is no standardisation about them, so it is Guthrie's numbers (from his comparative Bantu [Farnborough: Gregg, 1967-71] that appear here" (Dalby 2004, 70). The population figures listed below are in general adapted from different sources. The countries' names also constitute an important reference for identifying the origin of African names used by Haitian Kreyòl speakers in ritual speech of their Africa-derived religion.



Guthrie's experimental map of Bantu languages. (See last page of appendices.)

Language	Guthrie's Subdivision	Number of Speakers	Country
Asu	G22	315,000	Tanzania
Bangubangu	D27	120,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Basaa (or Mbene) and			
Bakoko	A43	280,000	Cameroon
Bemba	M42	1,850,000	Zambia and Congo (Kinshasa)
Bembe of Congo	D54	252,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Bena	G63	490,000	Tanz Bera (or Bira), Komo
Nyali	D30	300,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Bukusu	E31c	565,000	Kenya
Chagga or chaga	E60	800,000	Tanzania
Chokwe	K11	1,500,000	Angola, Congo (Kinshasa)
Chopi or Lenge	S61	333,000	Mozambique
Chwabo or Cuabo	P34	665,000	Mozambique
Comarian	G44	450,000	Comores
Duala	A24	87,700	Cameroon
Embu	E52	242,000	Kenya Ewondo Bulu

Fang	A70	1,374,000	Cameroon, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea
Fuliru	D63	266,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Ganda,soga and Gwere	E10	3,542,000	Uganda
Gogo	G11	1,000,000	Tanzania
Gusii	E42	1,390,000	Kenya
Hehe	G62	630,000	Tanzania
Herero	R31	76,000	Namibia
Hunde	D51	200,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Jita and Kwaya	E25	319,000	Tanzania
Kagulu	G12	217,000	Tanzania
Kalanga	S16	220,000	Botswana, Zimbabwe ²

There are some 450 known languages in the Bantu family (Shillington 1995, 51). In regard to the number of native speakers, isiZulu has a significant position among the other Bantu languages (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000, 33):

Language	First language Speakers	Second language Speakers	Country
Yoruba	20 million	22 million	Nigeria
Igbo	12 million	18 million	Nigeria
Kiswahili	5 million	30 million	Central & East Africa

² The complete list is contained in Appendix A

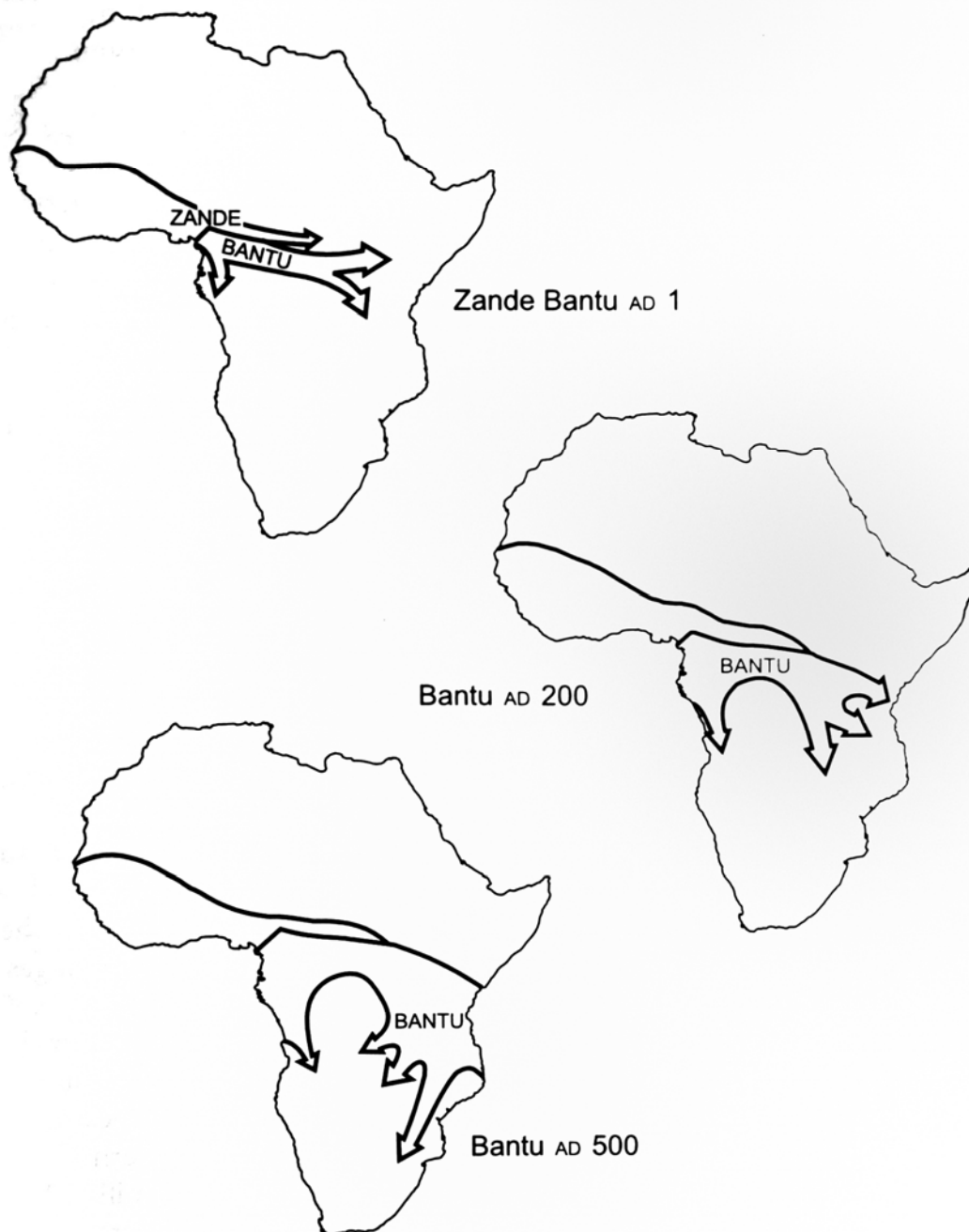
Kikongo	7 million	9 million	DRC, Rep. of Congo, Angola
Kinyarwanda	7 million	13 million	Rwanda, Eastern DRC, Southern Uganda
Makua	6 million	6 million	Mozambique
IsiXhosa	7.9 million	9 million	Southern Africa
IsiZulu	over 10 million	24 million	Southern Africa

3.3. Bantu expansion

One of the oldest areas of human habitation is South Central Africa. There, in south-eastern Nigeria and Cameroon, roughly four thousand years ago, Proto-Bantu was spoken.

It was from this point that speakers of Bantu languages began to spread across the whole southern half of Africa... One very early migration was by sea, to the Gabon estuary... The main movement, however, was probably a steady expansion south-eastwards from Cameroon and major rivers... As early as 500 BC, perhaps later, Eastern Bantu languages were spreading southwards from the region of the Great Lakes in modern Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya. They were eventually to reach the eastern half of what is now South Africa (Dalby 2004, 69).

FIGURE 2.1 The origins and spread of the Bantu languages



The Bushman lived in the western half of South Africa. Based on the findings of radio-carbon dating, it has been established that the pastoralist Bushmen migrated to the southern tip of the continent approximately 25,000 to 40,000 years ago. Once in southern Africa, they became identified as Khoi-Khoi, or men of men. As they intermarried with the hunter-gatherer Bushmen, a new name was coined: Khoisan, meaning those who joined the Khoi-Khoi. The expansion of the Bantu-speaking people was accelerated by the spread of the Early Iron Age. “Bantu speaking people moved into East and southern Africa about 2000 years ago. This movement begins the Early Iron Age. Archeological remains show that these people were mixed agriculturalists... they manufactured iron tools and copper ornaments, and they lived in settled villages” (Huffman 2006, 97). Yet, “by about 3,500 years ago, iron had been smelted on a large scale in Anatolia by the Hittites” (Phillipson 1996, 1989). Although for a certain period of time, the Hittites succeeded in keeping the iron-working among them a strategic secret, “the technology appears to have been known to the Bantu-speakers of east Africa for several centuries before their rapid spread across the region” (Shillington 1995, 53).

Archeological evidence indicates that in the seventh century BC, there were already iron-working people in Tanzania, Burundi, and Rwanda; by the fifth century BC at Meroe on the upper Nile; by the fourth century BC in West Africa, and in the third century BC in the northern lakes region of east Africa. As a consequence, the Bantu-speaking people could increase the hunting produce and the possibilities of exchange with other farmers cultivating root crops and the Khoi-Khoi. Further:

In central and southern Africa, Iron Age farmers deliberately absorbed Khoisan hunter-gatherers into their ranks and not just as client herdsman or hunters. There is archeological evidence of a clear Khoisan-negroid mix in skeletons recovered from Early Iron Age graves. There is also linguistic evidence in terms of characteristic Khoisan “clicks” in certain Bantu languages... The violent clashes between Bantu and Khoisan characterized in some of the Khoisan rock paintings of southern Africa probably belong to a later period (Shillington 1995, 61).

Displaying skill in working iron, discovering new areas, settling villages after villages, the Bantu moved in small waves towards the southern part of the continent. “Between AD 1000 and 1200, the ancestors of Nguni-speaking people left East Africa, where they

had lived during the Early Iron Age and moved down into South Africa. Slightly later, the ancestors of Sotho Tswana also moved south” (Huffman 2006, 97).

Some scholars estimate that the Bantu spent 600 years covering 1,000 kilometers in one instance and advancing at an overall rate of no more than 22 kilometers each decade (Vansina 1990, 55). Upon their arrival in South Africa, they settled in different areas: the abaTswana, amaPedi, abeSuthu were in the Highveld; the amaVenda, amaLemba and amaShangan-Tsonga, in the north-east; the amaZulu, amaXhosa, amaSwazi and amaNdebele near the coast. By 500 AD, they were already in present-day KwaZulu Natal where 95 percent of the isiZulu speakers reside. South Africa, whose history encompasses over three million years, witnessed the Bantu expansion on the entire land mass of Sub-Sahara Africa in little more than 3,000 years.

3.4. Comparative roots: IsiZulu – Haitian Kreyòl

The next step in this comparative linguistic study of isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl is to answer the following questions: Are the roots of isiZulu, like those of Haitian Kreyòl, also linked to slavery or foreign domination? Does the linguistic data refer to more than a single ethnic group, as it was observed with Haitian Kreyòl?

“It is undeniable that linguistic data have historical implications” (Hrbek 1992, 78). In the introduction to the *Encyclopedia of African Literature* (2002), the author commented that both written and oral literature in Africa are tied to the continent’s drive for freedom from foreign domination and the search for a common identity. After indicating that slavery and colonialism are sources of inspiration for the most powerful and compelling literary texts, the author specified that: “The first African writers in European languages in the eighteenth century were slaves, or former slaves, who turned to writing to assert their own humanity, reclaim the memories lost in the process of enslavement, or affirm their new identities in the enslaving cultures” (Gikandi 2002, xi). Scholars also used their linguistic skills to echo this collective expression for freedom. These verse poems written by B. Wallet Vilakazi illustrate that language can indeed “play a fundamental role in

social evolution” (Chaudenson 2001, 303). *Ugqozi* (or the power of inspiration) transcends ethnic barriers by “expressing a deep search for freedom as a universal value” (Vilakazi 1980, 1).

Ugqozi

Emasangweni akwaDukuza,
Emzin' omkhulu kaNdaba, Ngem' othangweni ngakhuleka,
Ngakhuleka laze layoshona. Kwaqhamuka insila yenkosi,

Yangiyal' ukuba ngilinde.
Kwangen' emakhalen' am' iphunga,
Kwakhany' engqondweni yam'efiphele.
Kwafika kim' uMnkabayi emuhle,
Wangithatha phansi wangiphonsa phezulu
Ngabon' umlindi-masango evula,

N'gangena ngishwaben' ulimi,
Ngahlala ngaphakathi kwakho Dukuza.
Angikwazang' ukubonga njengobabamkhulu,
Ukudabuka nezinhlungu angikuzwanga.
Ngenaba ngazicabanga ngiyinkosi ;
Ngalala, ngaphupha ngeny' imini

Ngingaphandle kwamasango kaDukuza.
Ngamfun' uMnkabayi ngangambona ;
Ngawabuk' amasango ngawabona,
Ngawabon' evaliwe noDukuz' esefile.
Lwagcwal' umlom' ulimi lwami;
Ngathi ngiyakhuluma ngayisimungulu
Kanti sengitshontsh' amandl' ezimbongi.

Namhla kangikwaz' ukuthula noma laphe
Ngilele ngikwesikaBhadakazi,
Ngivuswa nguMnkabayi ethi kimi:
"Vuka wena kaMancinza !
Kawuzalelwanga ukulal' ubuthongo.
Vuk' ubong' indaba yemikhonto!
Nank' umthwal' engakwethwesa wona."

(English Translation)

*At the gates of Dukuza,
The huge palace of Ndaba,
I stood at the gates
And pleaded to enter
I pleaded until sunset.
And then the king's servant appeared
He asked me to wait,*

*Through my nostrils I inhaled an odor,
Light shone on my blurred mind.
The beautiful Mnkabayi appeared to me,
She looked at me, up and down.
I saw the guard open the gate,*

*I entered tongue-tied,
I stayed in you Dukuza.
I did not have the chance to give thanks,
Like my ancestors did,
I did not feel sorrow and pain.
I relaxed and thought myself a king;
I slept and dreamt that one day*

*I was outside the gates of Dukuza.
I looked for Mnkabayi and I did not see her;
I looked at the gates and saw them,
I saw them closed and Dukuza dead.
My tongue filled my mouth;
I tried to talk but I was mute,
I realized later that
I had stolen the power of the poets.*

*Today I cannot stay quiet, even while
In a deep sleep in the middle of the night,
Mnkabayi wakes me up and tells me:
"Wake up you son of Mancinza!
You were not born to sleep.
Wake up and thank the story of the spears!
Here is the responsibility I have entrusted to you."*

To be in a constant awakened state can literally mean *Ugqozi*, or a source of inspiration, for both Africans and African descendants. “In Africa, the colonial languages have been put on a pedestal and enjoy far more prestige than indigenous languages... Because of diglossia and the attending prominence given to English, French, and Portuguese in Africa, the indigenous languages have been rendered almost instrumentally valueless” (Webb and Kembe-Sure 2000, 104). This observation reflects clearly the status of Haitian Kreyòl in relation to French in the Republic of Haiti for more than 500 hundred years. In other words there is a *disglossic* relationship between these two languages as it is specified in *The Introduction to the Languages and Linguistics of Africa* that: “The relationship between African languages and former colonial languages is disglossic as well” (*Ibid.* 103).

In this context, the term diglossia, first used by Ferguson in 1959, refers to a social environment where between the two languages spoken by a people, one is considered superior and the other inferior. The socio-linguistic deductions therefore can be easily observed: the language considered superior is used to address the elites and the other is reserved for the masses or non- “*civilized*” people. “Language ideologies seem never to be solely about languages: they are always about entangled clusters of phenomena, and they encompass and are bound up with aspects of culture like...being “civilized” (Kroskrity, Schieffelin et al 1998, 10).

In that regard it is crucial to recognize that “language emancipation is the process through which the oppressed language is brought into use in schools and in various sectors of public life, orally and in writing” (Phillipson 2000, 40). The colonial approach, however, was diametrically opposed to this emancipation. From their first contacts with African descendants in Haiti and Bantu-speaking people in Africa, European colonists imposed their languages. Exceptionally, there were some foreign missionaries who showed interest in indigenous languages and linguistic emancipation. “African voices were initially heard in French around the end of the eighteenth century, in the form of translations of oral fables in travelogues. Abbé Henri Grégoire (1750-1831), published *De la littérature des Nègres* (1808; *On Negro literature*), thus becoming one of the few to

signal to French-speaking audiences the existence of African authors” (Owomoyela 1993, 173).

In South Africa the emergence of the earliest written literature reflected social and academic reactions which were observed in Canada or in Australia too when “British immigrants to South Africa, beginning with the 1820 settlers, began to force an identifiable and original voice in response to their new environment” (*Ibid.*, 85). The experience of living in occupied territories where linguistic rights are denied adds further to the oppression. That is why searching for African realities behind the Eurocentric veils, Jean Clinton wrote that the colonists “left grisly testament of their presence” (Clinton 1991, 9).

In the process of acculturation language contact can occur anywhere and at anytime. Among the indigenous people this is a reality as well. For instance, when the Nguni and the Khoikhoi made contact between the Gamtoosand and Buffalo, “A network of reciprocal relationships was established. During the sixteenth century, when Khoihoi were perhaps more numerous than Nguni in the contact area, a Xhosa chiefdom split, the new chiefdom entered into symbiotic relations with a Khoikhoi chiefdom, the two chiefs became linked by marriage alliances...and the Xhosa adopted the culture of the Khoikhoi....” (Curtin, Feierman *et al* 1978, 293). This occurred when the Portuguese and the Dutch began to explore South Africa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter opens by looking at isiZulu’s position within the Bantu family of languages, the most widespread of language families of Africa. More specifically, IsiZulu belongs to the Nguni subfamily. Bleek, the German philologist, was the first to concentrate on the Bantu family of languages. In his efforts to classify these languages, Joseph Greenberg argued that the Niger-Congo group includes almost all of the most widely spoken indigenous languages of Sub-Saharan Africa. According to Guthrie, principal and subsidiary criteria are necessary to identify languages as Bantu. The experimental

map of Bantu languages developed by Guthrie facilitates the exploration of linguistic roots. Some of the names that appear in the index constitute an important reference for tracing certain words in Haitian Kreyòl.

The expansion of Bantu speakers from south-eastern Nigeria and Cameroon to the whole of the southern half of Africa occurred roughly four thousand years ago. Upon their arrival in South Africa, Bantu speakers settled in different areas. South Africa, whose history encompasses over three million years, witnessed the Bantu expansion on the entire land mass of Sub-Sahara Africa in little more than 3,000 years.

This comparative linguistic study of isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl demonstrates that the roots of both isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl are linked to foreign domination. The linguistic data has historical implications and indicates more than a single ethnic group at their origin. Language contact often implies a process of acculturation. Shared sociolinguistic factors and an explanation derived from principles of diglossia, where between two spoken languages one is considered superior over the other, demonstrate that both Kreyòl and isiZulu have been subject to this same linguistic discrimination.

Chapter Four

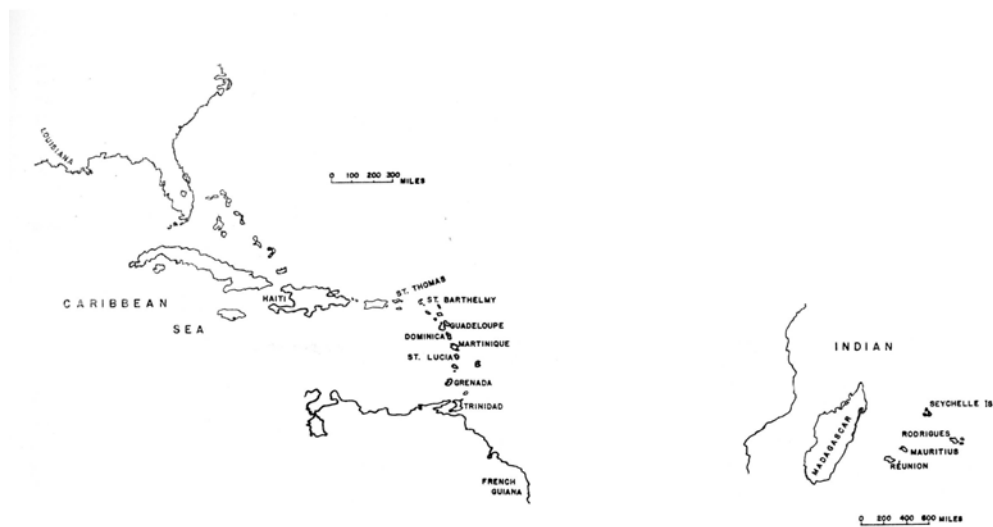
Genetically Related: Kreyòl - French - Latin

A. Kreyòl and Creoles

The previous chapter indicated how isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl share historical roots. But on the other hand, it cannot be denied that Haitian Kreyòl has very close links with French. Are they simply historical, cultural, or are they genetic?

At least two languages have been in common use in the [French Caribbean] islands since the eighteenth century: a form of French (not necessarily that of Paris), and the French lexifier Creole which arose as a result of the contact between French colonizers and African slaves coming from a variety of linguistic backgrounds. French has functioned as the official language, the language of the elite, of administration and education, while Creole has been the mother tongue of most, the only language of much of the rural population and known by all except recent arrivals from France (Aub-Buscher and Noakes 2003, 1).

Haitian Kreyòl, spoken by more than 10 million people, is classified in the Major New World Creoles that includes French Guyanese with 50,000 speakers and Louisiana Creole spoken by 40,000 African Americans. A subgroup of Creole, called Lesser Antillean Creole, comprises St. Lucia, Dominica, Desirade, Marie Galante, St. Martin, Les Saintes and St. Barthélémy, and the French Departments of Martinique and Guadeloupe. About 1,000,000 speakers are found in this subgroup. Moving from the Caribbean region to the Indian Ocean, there are the Isle de France Creoles which include Réunion Créole with 550,000 speakers, Mauritian with 600,000 speakers, and Seychellois (Dalby 2004, 203-204).



However according to Robert Chaudenson the inventory of languages that can be classified as “creoles” has not been definitively established (Chaudenson 2001, 14). He argues that “a rigorous and detailed approach to the histories of the relevant societies is absolutely necessary to a genetic investigation on any form of creolization” (*Ibid.* 53). In a comparative study of Creole French dialects, Goodman (1964, 14) specified that these languages

Traditionally known as Creole are found in various parts of the world ... which were colonized by the French in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and during their early history had slave-based, plantation economies and a population consisting preponderantly of Negro slaves imported from various parts of Africa. Whatever difficulties may exist in defining the term, there is little doubt that Creole French arose as a result of the acquisition, under a peculiar set of circumstances and by speakers of certain African languages.

Baker’s (Baker and Corne1982, 241) analysis of the origins of Mauritius’ Creole is not different from that of Goodman exposed above. With respect to the Mauritius Islands during the period between 1727 and 1730, the authors wrote that “in this multilingual environment, the free and non-free needed to be able to communicate with other slaves whose first language was not the same as their own.” In addition to this historical

perspective, it is notable the manner in which Baker and Corne focus on the grammatical features of Creole as well. The publication of *Kreol, A Description of Mauritian Creole* (1972), by Baker, and *Seychelles Creole Grammar* (1977) by Chris Corne, both represent important contribution for the development of language in the two respective countries.

While linguists continue their investigations in this field, we note that some of the Caribbean islands where Creole is spoken, i.e., St. Lucia and Dominica, have English, and not French, as an official language. The long-standing relationship between those countries and Haiti has helped insure the survival of their French based Creole among the citizens. “Designations such as “the French Caribbean”, “the Dutch Antilles” and “the former British West Indies” do not tell the whole story” (Chaudenson 2001, 14). Haiti’s 200 years of independence and the number of Haitian Kreyòl speakers – more than 8 million in a total Caribbean population of 15 million – certainly represent a significant factor within the Caribbean language family that is comprised of “40 to 60 languages” (Gildea 1998, 3). Though some of these languages are still considered pidgins or patois, it is important to note that in the study of pidgins and creoles “the further back we attempt to trace their history the more sketchy and speculative the account must be” (Todd 1990, 26). Thus, it is necessary to ground Haitian Kreyòl in its sociohistorical context.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Haitian Kreyòl holds a unique place among the Creoles spoken in the world: it is the language of the world’s only successful slave revolution. Contrary to those who thought that “Masters and slaves alike were haunted by a dream of blood and fire...” (Bongie 1998, 189), masters and slaves were thinking in two different languages: the later in French and the others in Kreyòl. Their aims were diametrically opposed. The masters utilized French to impose slavery and the African descendants used Kreyòl to free themselves from this slavery. “It is clear that pidgins and creoles are capable, or can easily become capable, of expressing the needs, opinions and desires of their speakers” (Todd 1990, 66).

4.1. Kreyòl between two revolutions

When in 1789 the French revolution claimed *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* without recognizing African slaves as human beings that did not prevent the slaves from spreading their message – in Kreyòl – across the country. The slaves proclaimed: *tout moun se moun* (every person is a human being). So, *Libète, Egalité pou tout moun* (liberty and equality for all people). The language used was an indispensable instrument of communication. At that time, the real issue was not the perception of the language but its indispensable function. “To this day, French is perceived as the legitimate language of formal written expression and of high culture, whereas Creole is not generally regarded as a fully-fledged language...” (Haigh 1999, 119).

This reality is reflected in six of the most important historical documents written during the time separating the French Revolution (1789) and the end of the Haitian Revolution (1804). From a linguistic perspective, this period of time epitomizes the substance of *umoya wamagama*. These historical documents involve two different countries, two different visions, two different peoples guided by two different leaders: Napoleon Bonaparte and Toussaint Louverture.



TOUSSAINT-LOUVERTURE
CHEF DES NOIRS INSURGÉS DE SAINT-DOMINGUE
*d'après une estampe populaire
publiée à Paris en l'An X.*

4.1.1. Kreyòl ngomoya wamagama

To help understand the full meaning of the title of this thesis, *Umoya Wamagama*, it is useful to cite the six historical documents that follow, with a short explanation in isiZulu. Often, French speaking people refer to their revolution of 1789 as scientific proof that the universal application of human rights was born in France and not in Haiti among the Kreyòl speaking people. By reading these documents and embracing the spirit of the words *umoya wamagama*, one may have a better understanding of the scientific truth.

1. IsiFulentshi sihle emehlweni ezigqili. Zikhuluma isiKreyòl kodwa IsiFulentshi sibukeka njengengubo entsha futhi enhle ukuyigqoka uma siya emgidini.
2. IsiKreyòl yinto izigqili eziyizwa egazini. Zizalelwe naso uma bakuphi bahlangana neziqhili bezwa ukuthi isiKreyòl sihlala engqondweni yazo.
3. Siboleka isiFulentshi ukusisebenzisa ngesikhathi esikhethekile sidonsa umoya wesiKreyòl njenge-oxygini.
4. Kwezigqili isiKreyòl kwegezi esemoyeni zingena ukuphila ngaphandle kwawo.
5. Ngempela isiFulentshi sibukeka kahle ngokudelela kwakubukeka komvelo kwawo, sihluleke ukuhlula izigqili. Ngokukhethiweyo uToussaint Louverture.
6. UToussaint Louverture ubehlakaniphile kakhulu. Ufunde ukubhala igama lakhe ngesikhathi eneminyaka engu-48. Ilimi lakhe libe isiKreyòl. Akakwazanga ukukhuluma isiFulentshi esifanele. Kodwa bekufanele ukuba aboleke isiFulentshi ukuze afinyelele inhloso yakhe. Ngakho ke umthetho wokumiswa wokokuqala waseHaiti obhalwe ngesiFulentshi

ukuqonda ngempela lo mthetho wokumiswa kumele ukuvula amehlo kuze ku donsa umoya wamagama wawo.

Uma kunjalo sifunda isiFulentshi emaphepheni sineka isiKreyòl phezu kwa-la magama lawa: umoya wesiKreyòl okuchaza umoya wenkululeko. Isigaba sesithathu sithi akwenzeki ukuba neziqhili ezweni lethu. Ukusho odabuka enhliziyweni yeziqhili. Le ndlela ukubonisa lokusho ibe ngesiFulentshi.

7. Lo mthetho wokumiswa uphethe ne “*forme et fond*”. UToussaint Louverture ubekwanga i “*forme et fond*” okuchaza isiFulentshi ngaphandle kwakudelela i “*forme et fond*” okuchaza umoya weziqhili, ukubona lo moya wamagama ewasifunda ngomthetho okumiswa.

4.1.2. The Haitian Constitution of 1801³

Art. 3.- Il ne peut exister d'esclaves sur ce territoire, la servitude y est à jamais abolie. Tous les hommes y naissent, vivent et meurent libres et Français.

Art. 4.- Tout homme, quelle que soit sa couleur, y est admissible à tous les emplois.

Art. 5.- Il n'y existe d'autre distinction que celle des vertus et des talents, et d'autre supériorité que celle que la loi donne dans l'exercice d'une fonction publique. La loi y est la même pour tous, soit qu'elle punisse, soit qu'elle protège.

(English translation)

Art. 3. - There cannot exist slaves on this territory; servitude is therein forever abolished. All men are born, live and die free and French.

³ Toussaint Louverture's Constitution was promulgated on 8 July 1801. Toussaint relied on a friend, the French Colonel Vincent, to bring his letter to Napoleon.

Art. 4. – All men, regardless of color, are eligible to all employment.

Art. 5. – There shall exist no distinction other than those based on virtue and talent, and other superiority afforded by law in the exercise of a public function. The law is the same for all whether in punishment or in protection.

4.1.3. Toussaint's letter to Napoléon regarding the 1801 Constitution

UToussaint Louverture uhlale ukuthi *Tout Moun se moun*, ukuchaza ukuthi sonke singabantu angasabi ukuthumelela incwadi ephathelene nalo mthetho wokumiswa kuNapoleon Bonaparte. Akaphikanga iHaiti be isekoloni yaseFransi. Kepha emoyeni wakhe uToussaint Louverture ubesekhululekile. Singabona lokho ngale ncwadi ebhalwe ngo November 18, 1801.

27 Messidor, Year IX (July 16, 1801)

Citizen Consul:

The minister of the Marine, in the account he gave you of the political situation of this colony, which I devoted myself to making known to him, should have submitted to you my proclamation of last 16 Pluviose on the convocation of a Central Assembly, which would be able to set the destiny of Saint-Domingue through wise laws modeled on the mores of its inhabitants. I today have the satisfaction of announcing to you that the final touch has just been put to this work. *I hasten to send it to you in order to have your approval* and the sanction of my government.

Given the absence of laws, and the Central Assembly having requested to have this *constitution* provisionally executed, which will more quickly lead it to its future prosperity, I have surrendered to its wishes. This constitution was received by all classes of citizens with transports of joy that will not fail to be reproduced when it will be sent back bearing the sanction of the government.

Greetings and profound respect.
Signed: Toussaint Louverture

4.1.4. Napoléon's letter to Toussaint Louverture (1801)

Ngokuphikayo Napoleon Bonaparte akakwazanga ukuqonda la magama ngesiFulentshi (*Tout moun se moun*) noma umoya lawamagama. Bekulula kuNapoleon Bonaparte ukuphimisa ngesiFulentshi *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* ngaphandle kwakukhuluma obala. Kuye asibona abantu. Abantu abamnyama bekungebantu kuye.

Bekufanele ukuba zigqila zokuthuthukisa umnotho wabantu abamhlophe. Yilokho esibonayo okwakuqala ngempendulo yakhe futhi ngokusho kuka Leclerc ngenkathi ebenenhloso yokubulala wonke umuntu onolwazi kuze kucindezela ukugqilaza umoya wesiKreyòl oya phezu kwakubonakala impilo engabaleki nokufa ngakho-ke ngokuthi *Tout moun se moun* abasabi ukufa baxolela ukufa ngesithunzi. Uma kudingekile kuthiwa kungcono ukufa ngokuma endaweni yokuphila ngamadolo.

November 18, 1801

Citizen General:

The peace with England and all the European powers, which has established the Republic in the highest degree of power and grandeur, now allows the government to occupy itself with the colony of Saint-Domingue. We are sending there Citizen Leclerc, our brother-in-law, in his quality as General to serve as first magistrate of the colony. He is accompanied by a considerable force in order to ensure the respect of the sovereignty of the French people.

It is in these circumstances that we hope that you will prove to us, and to all of France, the sincerity of the sentiments that you have regularly expressed in the letters that you wrote to us.

We hold you in esteem, and we are happy to recognize and proclaim the great services that you have rendered the French people. If its banner flies over Saint-Domingue it is to you and the brave blacks that this is owed.

Called by your talents and the force of circumstances to the leading position of command, you have done away with civil war, put a brake on the persecution by several ferocious men, and returned to its place of honor the cult of God, from which everything emanates.

The constitution you made, while including many good things, contains some that are contrary to the dignity and sovereignty of the French people, of which Saint-Dominique forms only a portion.

The circumstances in which you found yourself, surrounded on all sides by enemies without the *metropole* being able to either assist or revictual you, rendered articles of that constitution legitimate that otherwise would not be. But today, when the circumstances have changed for the better, you should be the first to render homage to the sovereignty of the nation that counts you among its most illustrious citizens thanks to the services you have rendered it and by the talents and the force of character with which nature has graced you. A contrary conduct would be irreconcilable with the idea we have conceived of you. It would have you lose the many rights to recognition and the benefits of the republic, and would dig beneath your feet a precipice which, in swallowing you up, could contribute to the misfortune of those brave blacks whose courage we love, and whose rebellion we would, with difficulty, be obliged to be punished.

We have made known to your children and their tutor the sentiments that animate us. We are returning them to you.

Assist the General with your counsels, your influence and your talents. What could you wish for? Freedom for blacks? You know that in all the countries we've been we have given it to people who didn't have it. Consideration, honors, fortune? After the services you have rendered us, that you can yet render us, and the particular sentiments that we have for you, can you possibly be unsure about your fortune and the honors that await you.

And General, think that if you are the first of your color to have arrived at such a great power, and to have so distinguished himself for his bravery and military talents, you are also before God and ourselves principally responsible for the conduct of the people of Saint-Domingue.

If there are evil ones who say to the individuals of Saint-Domingue that we arrive to investigate what they did during the time of anarchy, assure them that we are informing ourselves only of their conduct in those circumstances, and that we are only investigating the past in order to learn of the traits that distinguished them in the war they carried out against the English and the Spaniards, who were our enemies.

Count without any reservation on our esteem, and conduct yourself as should one of the principal citizens of the greatest nation in the world.

The First Consul, Bonaparte.

The Kreyòl translation of Napoléon's answer to Toussaint revealed contradictions and incoherence with the *Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen* adopted on 26 August 1789 by the National Constituent Assembly of France. This proverb in Haitian Kreyòl, *mouye m pou vale m* (wet me [with saliva] in order to swallow me) echoed the slave voice expressing their capacity to discern incoherence in contradictory declarations. Toussaint never trusted Napoléon. He was very smart. To describe their collective intelligence, the slaves emerged with a Kreyòl proverb that they repeated again and again: *Pale franse pa vle di lespri* (speaking French does not mean that you are smart). Like the illiterate slaves, Toussaint went beyond beautiful statements to the spirit of the words, *umoya wamagama*. The following statement expresses this same analytic approach:

Men are born and remain free and equal in rights: thus began the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, promising freedom and equality to all Frenchmen. But was the Declaration really applicable to all Frenchmen? Did its promises extend to the Jews, confined to a separate existence and subject to numerous taxes and humiliating obligations in Old Regime France? Was it relevant to the hundreds of thousands of Black African slaves treated with barbarity in the French West Indies? (Kley 1994, 114).

These are relevant questions that needed to be addressed and published in Haitian Kreyòl as well. At this stage, this study highlights the scientific truth by putting in linguistic context these important documents. This first step may help for further explanations and publications in isiZulu and Kreyòl.

4.1.5. The Proclamation of Saint-Domingue by Leclerc (1802)

Upon his arrival in Haiti in 1802, the French General Leclerc, promised peace and happiness on behalf of the French Government, when in fact his brother-in-law, Napoléon, instructed him to defeat Toussaint Louverture and re-establish slavery.

Head Quarters of the Cape, le 28 Pluviose, An 10.

17 February 1802

INHABITANTS OF SAINT DOMINGO,

I have come hither in the name of the French Government, to bring you peace and happiness; I feared I should encounter obstacles in the ambitious views of the chiefs of the colony.....

I have been commanded by the French Government to establish here prosperity and abundance promptly; if I allow myself to be amused by cunning and perfidious circumlocutions, the colony will be the theatre of a long civil war.

I commence my campaign, and I will teach that rebel⁴ what is the force of the French Government.

From this moment he must be regarded by all good Frenchmen residing in Saint Domingo only as an insensate monster.

I have promised liberty to the inhabitants of Saint Domingue; I will see that they enjoy it. I will cause persons and property to be respected.

I ordain what follows:-

Article 1. – General Toussaint and General Christophe are outlawed; every good citizen is commanded to seize them, and to treat them as rebels to the French Republic.

Article 2. - From the day when the French army shall have taken up quarters, every officer, whether civil or military, who shall obey other orders than those of the Generals of the army of the French Republic, which I command, shall be treated as a rebel.

The Captain-General commanding the army of Saint Domingue,
Leclerc

This proclamation was accompanied by the following official decree restoring slavery:

Au nom du peuple français, Bonaparte, premier consul, proclame loi de la république, le décret suivant rendu par le Corps législatif le 30 floréal an 10 (20

⁴ The reference here is to General Toussaint Louverture

mai 1802), conformément à la proposition faite par le gouvernement le 27 dudit mois, communiquée au Tribunat le même jour.

DÉCRET

Article 1er. – Dans les colonies restituées à la France en exécution du traité d'Amiens, du 6 germinal an 10, l'esclavage sera maintenu conformément aux lois et règlements antérieurs à 1789.

Article 2. – Il en sera de même dans les autres colonies françaises au-delà du cap de Bonne-Espérance.

Article 3. – La traite des noirs et leur importation dans lesdites colonies, auront lieu, conformément aux lois et règlements existants avec ladite époque de 1789.

4.1.5.1. Napoléon's special Kreyòl

Neither Napoléon nor Leclerc recognized Haitian Kreyòl as a language. However, because of their determination to, and indeed obsession with restoring slavery to Haiti, the decision was taken to translate to Kreyòl a French proclamation. The purpose of the proclamation was to appear to praise the principle of liberty but in fact hide its true aim of restoring slavery. As one can observe in the following documents (A and B), it was a peculiar jargon that the French colonists called Kreyòl.

A)

Liberté Egalité Fraternité

Proclamation

A bord de l'*Océan*, rade du Cap, le [14] pluviôse an X Republique Francè, yon et indivisible

Leclerc, général en Chef l'Armée Saint-Domingue, qui vini gouverné tout la Colonie

A tout le monde qui habité Saint-Domingue.

Zabitans de Saint-Domingue,

Lire proclamation premié Consul Bonaparte. Voyez pour zote, Zote à voir que li vélé nègues resté libre. Li pas vélé ôté liberté à yo que yo gagné en combattant et que li va mainteni li de tout pouvoir à li. Li va mainteni commerce et culture, parceque zote doit conné que sans ça, colonie-ci pas cable prospéré. Ca li promé zote li va rempli li fidèlement ; c'est yon crime si zote te douté de ça li promé zote dans Proclamation a li.

General en chef, qui vini pou gouverné tout la Colonie,

Leclerc.

Par ordre du général en chef, capitaine général.

Le Secrétaire général, Lenoir.

B)

Proclamation

Consuls la République Francè a tout zabitans Saint-Domingue

Zabitans et vous tous qui dans Saint-Domingue,

Qui ça vous tant yé, qui couleur vous yé, qui côté papa zote vini, nous pas gardé ça : nous savé tan selemen que zote tout libre, que zote tout egal, douvant bon Dieu et dans zye la Repiblique.

Dans tan revolution, la France voir tout plein misère, dans la même que tout monde te fère la guerre contre Français. Français levé les ens contre les otes. Mes jordi là tout fini, tout fère la paix, tout embrassé Français ; Français, tout Français zami ; tout hémé gouverneman, tous obéi li. Nation même qui té en guerre, yo touché la main avec Français. Vini don zote de Saint-Domingue : es que vous pas français itou ? Vini touché la main avec nation zote, qui arrivé ; vous va sontan embrassé frères à zote ; yo va contan embrassé vous.

Capitaine general Leclerc, que nous voyé pour commandé Saint-Domingue, li mené avec li tout plen navire, tout plen soldat, tout plen canon : mais pas crere ci la yo qui va dit zote, que blanc velé fere vous esclave encore : ya manti plitôt que crere yo, repond, et songé bien que cé la République qui baye liberté, et qui va ben savé empêché personne de pren li encore : soldat là, navire là, tout, cé pour gardé liberté la et gardé pays qui pour la République.

Vini donc zote tout, rangé côté Capitaine général. Cé la Pè li porté ; cé tout zaféré li vini rangé, cé bonher tout monde li vélé. Blancs, nègues, tout cé zenfant la République. Mes ci la la yo qui pas allé rangé coté li, qui pas vélé obéi li, tout ça li va commandé yo, va pini, parceque yo va traité a pays a yo et à la République.

Signé : Bonaparte

Par primié Consul :

Secrétéré d'État,

Signé : Hugues-B. Maret.

Cé yon vrai copi di zote,

Capitaine général, Leclerc

4.1.6. Letter by the French Minister of the Marine to the Fort de Joux Commandant (1802)

After his arrest in Haiti on 7 June 1802, Toussaint was humiliated and shipped as cargo to France. He arrived at the French prison of Fort-de-Joux on 23 August 1802. There the prison chief named Amyot, made Toussaint's life as horrible as possible until his death on 7 April 1803. This treatment came on the direct orders from Napoléon, as confirmed in the following letter from the French Minister of the Marine and the Colonies, Admiral Denis Decrès, to Amyot.

Fort-de-Joux
5 Brumaire, Year X
(October 27, 1802)

Minister of the Marine to the Commandant at Fort de Joux

I received your letter of 26 Vendémiaire relative to the prisoner of state Toussaint Louverture. The First Consul charged me to make known to you that you will respond with your head for his person. Toussaint Louverture has no right to any consideration other than that demanded by humanity. Hypocrisy is a vice as familiar to him as honor and loyalty are to you, Citizen Commandant. His conduct since his detention is such as to have fixed your opinions on what one should expect of him. You have seen yourself that he sought to fool you, and you were in

fact fooled by the admission to his presence of one of his satellites disguised as a doctor.

You should not restrict yourself to what you've done in order to assure yourself that he has neither money nor jewels. You must search everywhere to assure yourself and examine to make sure that he hasn't hidden or buried any in his prison. Take his watch from him. If this is agreeable to him, this need can be met by establishing in his room one of those cheap clocks that are good enough to show the passing of time. If he is sick, the health officer best known by you must alone care for him and see him, but only when it's necessary and in your presence, and with the greatest precautions so that these visits don't in any way go beyond the sphere of what is most indispensable.

The only way Toussaint would have to see his lot improved would be for him to set aside his dissimulation. His personal interests, the religious sentiments with which he should have been penetrated for the expiation of the evil he has done, imposed on him the obligation of truthfulness. But he is far from fulfilling it, and by his continual dissimulation he approaches those who approach him with interest in his lot. You can tell him he can be tranquil concerning the lot of his family; its existence is committed to my care and they want for nothing.

I presume that you have put away from him everything that could bear any relation to a uniform. Toussaint is his name; it's the only denomination that should be given him. A warm garment, gray or brown, large and comfortable, and a round hat should be his apparel. When he brags of having been a general he does nothing but recall his crimes, his hideous conduct, and his tyranny over Europeans. He merits then, nothing but the most profound contempt for his ridiculous pride.

I salute you.

4.1.7. Act of Independence

The Kreyòl speaking people wrote their Independence with African blood when they defeated Napoléon's army and proclaimed Haiti independent from France. Later on, the Act of Independence was written in French.

Liberty or Death

Gonaïves, January 1, 1804
'Year I of Independence'

Today, January 1, 1804, the General in Chief of the Indigenous Army, accompanied by generals and army chiefs convoked in order to take measures tending to the happiness of the country:

After having made known to the assembled generals his true intention of forever ensuring to the natives of Haiti a stable government — the object of his greatest solicitude, which he did in a speech that made known to foreign powers the resolution to render the country independent, and to enjoy the liberty consecrated by the blood of the people of this island; and, after having gathered their opinions, asked each of the assembled generals to pronounce a vow to forever renounce France; to die rather than to live under its domination; and to fight for independence with their last breath.

The generals, imbued with these sacred principles, after having with one voice given their adherence to the well manifested project of independence, have all sworn before eternity and before the entire universe to forever renounce France and to die rather than live under its domination.

Signed: Dessalines, General-in-Chief

During this period that separated the two revolutions, 1789-1804, Haitian Kreyòl was not a written language. “Spoken language is distinguished primarily from writing by the greater intimacy of contact between speaker and hearer” (Palmer 1988, 74). Born from the experience of the people, and used by them as an indispensable means of communication and self defense, Haitian Kreyòl was never a symbol of foreign intervention or imposition – the same way that “Latin was forced on no one. A lay reader of history is often struck by the fact that at no point in the rise of Lingua Latina did the Romans attempt to impose their speech on a subject population. Latin had a historically unique capacity to diffuse itself” (Berry 2004, 11).

After 200 years of independence, Haitian Kreyòl developed itself and gained the status of official language despite having always been rejected by the elite as inferior. To some extent the beauty and the special features of Haitian Kreyòl – inventing proverbs, songs, and poetic metaphors during the revolutionary period – reflect the specific art of the Old

French. “The scholar’s task is to ascertain the peculiar merits of a work of art that justified it in its own times and make it deserving of lasting consideration” (Cooke 1978, 195).

Yo manje vyann mwen,
Pa wè! Ya kite zo a.
M mande: sa w kwè
Ya fè mwen?
Lavi mwen la...
Li nan men Bondye.

They eat my flesh
Don’t you see! They will leave the bones.
I ask: What else do you think
They can do to me?
My life is in the hands of God.

This popular Kreyòl song can be compared to a sonnet. Once, the sonnet focused on a single thought. This type of literature aimed to create a specific effect. The following verses written in Old French could also be transposed to Toussaint’s mouth when he lay starving in Napoléon’s prison at Fort de Joux:

« Seigneur, » fait-il, “ge sui plaintis
De cest pseudome, qui, tierz dis,
Me fèri d’un croq par ostrage ;
L’ueil me creva : c’en ai domaigne ;
Droit m’en faites ; plus ne demant...”

(“Lord “, he said, “I bring a suit against this
Worthy man, who the day before yesterday
struck me severely with a hook. He blinded
me, and so I have the worse of it. All I ask
Is that you give me justice.”)

The blow to the eyes is significant. The special value attributed to one’s eyes is conveyed in the Kreyòl proverb used to describe the person (or thing) that is most dear: *de grenn je nan tèt mwen* (the two eyes in my head). For Toussaint Louverture, freedom was certainly ‘these eyes’ which were savagely struck by Napoléon’s hook. Nevertheless, Toussaint never ceased to be a man, ready to suffer and die if necessary for freedom, and with dignity. He could borrow this Sully Prudhomme’s verse and say:

Homo sum
Un soupir, né du mal autour de moi souffert,
M'est venu des cités et des champs de bataille,
Poussé par l'orphelin, le pauvre sur la paille,
Et le soldat tombé qui sent son cœur ouvert
(Bradley and Mitchell 1935, 311)

I am a human being
A breath, borne of the suffering surrounding me
Emanating from the cities and fields of battle
Propelled by the orphan, the poor lying on the debris
And the fallen soldier who feels that his heart is open.

Open heart, yes! Open door, yes, towards freedom. That is exactly what *Louverture* means. Because of this Kreyòl speaker's deep understanding – *umoya wamagama* – of the Haitian language, the first slave Revolution succeeded and gave birth to the first Black Republic.

B. French-Latin: Historic Roots

Latin is the common ancestor of many modern Romance languages such as French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, and Romansh. For centuries BC, more than many other languages, Latin had been used as a lingua franca by many nations. By the first century AD, Rome ruled not only Italy but all the countries surrounding the Mediterranean. Latin was the ruling language of the empire. Latin's influence on different Germanic languages such as English, German, and Dutch is remarkable. How did Latin give birth to French?

Two thousand five hundred years ago, Italic dialects such as Etruscan, Oscan, Umbrian, Sabine, and Latin were spoken in Italy. They were all part of the Indo-European family. Latin had been used as the Italic dialect of Latium (or Lazio in Italian) a district located in central Italy. Latium comprised five provinces or little towns where the dialect Latin was spoken: Viterbo, Latina, Frosinone, Rieti, and Rome. In the centuries before the arrival of the Romans in Latium different people with different local cultures lived there.

Among them, the Etruscans who developed important trade relationships with the Greeks and dominated Rome. At the time, before its emergence as an empire, Rome was a small town which was considered an Etruscan territory. Ultimately, Etruscan power was “weakened at the centre by internal dissension” (Palmer 1988, 52).

The inhabitants spoke a non-Indo-European language. But by 509 BC, after fighting several wars, the Romans expelled the Etruscans from Latium and began to extend their influence. “First, Rome assumed a dominant position over the thirty odd Latin towns, her immediate neighbors; then she reached out further and took over the control of the rest of Italy which was Oscan in speech and tradition” (Holmes and Schutz 1967, 12).

Subsequently, the little town of Rome extended its power over the Greek colonies of southern Italy “absorbed by the fall of Tarentum in 272. Rome was supreme in Italy after 270 B.C. except for occasional revolts. Latin literature, which began as an imitation of the Greek, was a direct result of this capture of Tarentum. The first piece of Latin literature was a translation of the Odyssey by Livius Andronicus, a young Greek captured at Tarentum” (Holmes and Schutz 1967, 12).

During this period of time, many tribes claimed that all Latins were descendants of Latinus, the father-in-law of Aeneas. Aeneas was the son of Venus and “mythical founder of the Roman race” (Dimsdale 1915, 255). Living in independent city-states, the Latin language represented a common bridge among the residents. Nevertheless, “as the newly conquered peoples came to adopt Latin for their daily use, it is inconceivable that they did not retain some of their native expressions which rapidly passed into lower-class speech of Rome” (Holmes and Schutz 1967, 12). When Rome became the capital of an empire that would come to include all the Mediterranean countries and most of Western Europe, of course, Latin emerged as a ruling language. Its influence increased considerably. On 16 January 27 BC, Gaius Caesar Octavius became the first Roman Emperor. The Roman Senate granted him the title Augustus. Ending a century of civil wars, he transformed the Roman Republic into the Roman Empire and imposed the Pax Romana or Roman peace during his 40-year rule.

The administration of Augustus is often referred to as Pax Augusti. World peace before his reign was almost unknown. To state that his rule marked a turning point in human existence is only to state an historical fact (Berry 2004, 26).

Latin was flourishing in the largest empire during the classical antiquity: Imperium Romanum represented approximately 5,900,000 square kilometers of land surface after the conquest of Dacia by Trajan. However, during the fifth century, the Western [portion of the Roman] Empire began to decline. By 610 Emperor Heraclius introduced many reforms including the adoption of Greek as the language of the power, reflecting the declining influence of Latin. The Greeks, at that time, in fact ruled the Classical Roman Empire. The Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire covered the years 395-1461.

Another period of reforms continued under Charlemagne in the ninth century. Major changes affected Latin, the ruling language by the years 700-1000 AD. This period of time is characterized as the pre-literary French. In fact before ending this chapter, we will explain the term “Old French” which was born during this period of time.

4.2. Gaulish language

During the seventh century BC, the Celts began to migrate towards Western Europe. The region was called Gallia, Galatia or Gaul, encompassing present day France as well as parts of Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. The Celtic invasion of Italy “took place not via the Western Alps but via the Brenner from the area of the Upper Rhine towards the end of the fifth century BC... Gallic had ceased to be spoken in Italy by 150 B.C. This linguistic instability combined with their ignorance of the art of writing may account for the fact that only three inscriptions written in Gallic have been found in Italy, and only one of these in Cisalpine Gaul” (Palmer 1988, 52). In the last century before Christ, the Gaulish tribes were still regarded as wealthy people using gold, silver, bronze, worshiping many of the Greek gods.

“Gaul had become an important, and rich province of the Roman Empire after its conquest by Julius Caesar, and since that time many Romans, aristocrats, army veterans, and civilians from south of the Alps had settled or had been settled there... They mingled

with the indigenous Celtic population to some extent and a mixed Roman and Gallic ruling class emerged, of which the senatorial aristocracy and the bishops were the acknowledged leaders” (McKitterick 1983, 16). Julius Caesar described the differences observed among these tribes in *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, three groups were found among them: the Aquitani, the Galli (called Celtae in their own language) and the Belgae. The most important of Julius Caesar’s productions survived in seven books of “Notes” (*Commentari*) on the Gallic, and three on the Civil war (Dimsdale 1915, 209).

Despite linguistic, legal, and cultural differences, the tribes had a council of elders from which emerged the traditional figure of a king, *Vergobret* or *pagi*... Recognizing as well the power of the Druids, each tribe constituted a fundamental political structure. To face the invasion of Caesar, they united under the leadership of Vercingetorix. Increasingly, language helped in the process of consolidating political unity. “The Gaulish language or ‘Galatian’, spoken by the Celts who went into Asia Minor, remained in use until around the 5th century AD” (Crystal 1999, 51). It utilized the Old Italic alphabet in the sixth century BC and then the Greek alphabet in the third century BC while during the Roman Gaul period it adopted the Latin alphabet as well. The Gaulish language contributed a number of words to Latin (Palmer 1988, 53); thus, the necessity of highlighting its contribution to Old French. Not surprisingly there was some similarity to the Latin Grammar.

As it would appear in Old French, the Gaulish language used cases such as nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, and dative. Thus, the nouns are expected to follow the declensions’ rules. In this regard, in 1894, Lindsay noted that:

Nouns had three Genders, Masc., Fem., and Neut., three Numbers, Sing., Dual., and Plur., and at least eight Cases, Nom., Gen., Dat., Acc., Voc. (if the Voc. may be called a case), Abl., Instrumental, and Locative (the Dat., Abl., Instr., Loc. are not always easy to discriminate in the Plural) (Lindsay 1894, 366).

For the Gaulish language, vocative was integrated as a case.

4.3. Celtic languages

All languages have their history and prehistory. With regard to the French language, its prehistory started with the colonization of Gaul.

The Celts who inhabited Gaul when the Romans came were Indo-Europeans, related to the Greeks, Romans, and Germanic peoples in both culture and language. They appear to have lived originally in central or eastern Europe, but began to move westwards around 500 B.C. and settled in Gaul some two hundred years later, displacing the other peoples whom they found there, notably the Iberians, who were driven towards the south-west, and the Ligurians, who were driven towards the south-east (Rickard 1993, 1).

Several waves of invasions characterized the spread of the Celtic languages; the first wave to arrive in the British Isles occurred in Ireland in the fourth century. But long before, by the end of the sixth century, the Celts had already begun to invade Gaul.

The Celts came from the north, from those nurseries of the nations, Jutland, Friesland and the coasts of the Baltic. They were the Normans of the sixth century before our era. They gave to themselves the name of Celts. They were also called Galates. The Romans called them “Galli”. This word was used for the first time in Cato Origines (the second quarter of the second century B.C.). From Gallus, Galli, was derived the name of Gaul and the Gauls (Funk-Brentano 1927, 27).

From northern Europe, the language of the Celts spread across Europe, reaching the Black Sea and Asia Minor, south-west Spain, central Italy, and Britain (Crystal 1999, 51). And according to Mansuelli (1991, 15) there can be no doubt that the Celts were major players in the history of mainland Europe and the countries of the Mediterranean. Perceived as very brave and aggressive soldiers, the Celts could, by the fourth century, easily spread their language and culture in the southern Gaul.

Celtic languages are an Indo-European family of languages. They were spoken in south-west Europe by the fifth century BC. “Ancient writers have collected and translated some two hundred and fifty words, which they record as Celtic...; a comparison of the various existing Celtic dialects has enabled us to reconstruct about a hundred and fifty more, almost substantives” confirmed P. Rickard (1956, 253) in his work *Britain in Medieval*

French Literature. Today, Celtic languages are spoken by approximately two million people on the Atlantic coast of Europe. Proto-Celtic's sub-families open a window on the roots of the French language:

- Gaulish and its close relatives, Lepontic and Galatian. These languages were once spoken in a wide arc from France to Turkey and from Belgium to northern Italy.
- Celtiberian, anciently spoken in the Iberian peninsula, namely in the areas of modern Portugal, Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria, Aragón and León.
- Goidelic, including Irish, Scots Gaelic, and Manx.
- Brythonic (also called Brittonic), including Welsh, Breton, Cornish, Cumbric, the hypothetical Ivernian, and Pictish

4.4. Oïl languages

There is considerable confusion surrounding the link between French and Oïl languages or languages of Oïl. (French speakers use the term *langues d'Oïl*, *langues d'Oïl*, *langues d'Oc*.) Oïl languages denote a family of languages comprising Romance languages.

French is one and it is the Romance language that is most widely spoken. However the confusion arises when, at times, French is described as a separate branch of the Romance family of languages.

Seen in an historical context, Old French was called *la langue d'Oïl* as well. More and more, when linguists use the plural form *les langues d'Oïl*, they refer to all the languages of this family, including the *langue d'oc*. The term *oc* means "yes". This clarification can help trace the roots of French through the Oïl language family, a common ancestor of several languages spoken today:

The geographical spread of Oïl languages can be presented as follows:

- a) Central Oïl languages, including Francien or *Parisien*, French, Quebec French, Jòal, Acadian French, Cajun French, Orléanais

- b) Northern Oil languages, including Walloon, Picard, Champenois
- c) Eastern Oil languages, comprising Bourguignon, Franc-Comtois Lorrain
- d) Western Oil languages, comprising Norman, Gallo language (spoken in Eastern Brittany) Poitevin-Saintongeais

4.5. Old French

As explained above, Old French evolved as the Roman Empire conquered Gaul. The Romans introduced the Latin language into the southern France by 120 BC. From an historical point of view, Old French refers to the term *langue d'oïl*, spoken at the beginning of the year 1000 AD in the northern half of present day France and parts of Belgium, Switzerland. *Langue d'oïl* is different from *langue d'oc*. Nevertheless, both represent two of the three major groups of languages spoken in medieval France. Franco-Provençal is the third one of these Gallo-Romance languages. Vulgar Latin is the common ancestor to all of them. It was the common spoken language of the Western Roman Empire. Medieval Latin was “spoken artificially by the schoolmen” (Holmes and Schutz 1967, 26). Some Gaulish words influenced Vulgar Latin, and thus Old French and Romance languages. For example, the term *equus* in classical Latin was replaced by Vulgar Latin *caballus*, derived from Gaulish *caballos*. That is why we have *cheval* (horse) in modern French, *cavallo* in Italian, *caballo* in Spanish.

Written documents covering different subjects were very precious during the reign of Carolingian. All of them, “with a few exceptions, are written in Latin; the vernacular languages were only beginning to be written down in the late eighth and the ninth centuries” (McKitterick 1983, 1). *Les serments de Strasbourg* (in German *die Strassburger Eide* or *The Oaths of Strasbourg*), are considered the earliest documents written in Old French. The 842 documents consist of the pledge of allegiance pronounced in Strasbourg by two brothers, Louis the German, ruler of the eastern Frankish kingdom and Charles the Bald, ruler of the western Frankish kingdom. “There has been a tendency to see Louis’ [father to Louis and Charles] reign after 823, or at least after 830, almost

solely in terms of settling the inheritance for his sons and the consequent break-up of the Carolingian Empire” (*Ibid.*, 169). But *The Oaths of Strasbourg* offers a more positive interpretation: the emphasis is on the necessity of protecting peace between the two brothers. This gives the document an important political flavor in addition to its linguistics value.

“Very few French vernacular texts for the period up about AD 1100 are extant. From the ninth century only two texts remain: The Strasbourg Oaths and the Sequence of Saint Eulalia” (*Ibid.*) A mixture of Vulgar Latin and early Romance is found throughout these important documents. Due to the linguistic significance of *The Oaths of Strasbourg*, we present here an extract translated in different languages:

Vulgar Latin

Pro Dei amore et pro christiani populi et nostro communi saluationis, de iste die in ab ante, in quanto Deus sapientem et potestatem mihi dat, sic saluabo ecc'istum meum fratrem Carolum, et in adjuuamente et in *cata una causa, sic quomodo homo per directum suum fratrem saluare debet, in hoc quo illoe mihi alterum sic faciat, et ab Lotharo nullum placitum nunquam inibo quod meam uoluntatem ecc'isto meo fratri Carolo in damnum sit.

Romance

“Pro Deo amur et pro Christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, d'ist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo et in ajudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dift, in o quid il me altresi fazet, et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui, meon vol, cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.”

Modern French

“Pour l'amour de Dieu et pour le peuple chrétien et notre salut commun, de ce jour en avant, autant que Dieu me donne savoir et pouvoir, je sauverai mon frère Charles que voici, et en aide et en toutes choses, comme de droit on doit sauver son frère, afin qu'il me fasse autant, et je ne prendrai jamais de la part de Lothaire aucune convention qui, de mon gré, puisse être au dam de mon frère Charles que voici.”

English

“For the love of God and for Christendom and our common salvation, from this day onwards, as God will give me the wisdom and power, I shall protect this brother of mine Charles, with aid or anything else, as one ought to protect one's brother, so that he may do the same for me, and I shall never knowingly make any covenant with Lothair that would harm this brother of mine Charles.”

4.6. From Old French to Modern French: Nouns and Verbs

a) Nouns

A noun can be analyzed in term of number, gender, case. In Old French, there is a two-case system, the nominative case and the oblique case. The definite article, as in Modern French, indicates the gender of the noun. With the arrival of Modern French, the nominative case often disappeared and the oblique case survived, but with modification. “One cannot give the same account of what constitutes a word in languages of totally different types though the sentences of each are, as the definition requires, complete expressions of the speaker's intention within the frame of the given circumstances” (Entwistle 1953, 167). At this stage, the evolution of the noun and verb from Old to Modern French epitomizes one of the steps leading to the French spoken in Haiti during the colonial period.

Old French

Singular

Nominative: li voisins

Oblique: le voisin

Plural

Nominative: li voisin

Oblique: les voisins

Modern French

le voisin (masc. sing)

les voisins (masc. plur.)

The same way the word *voisin*, meaning neighbour, shows great similarity between old and modern French, many others words reveal this same proximity:

Old French

La fame, les fames
 La rien, les riens
 La citéz, les citéz
 Li pere, les peres
 Li chanteor, les chanteors
 La seror, les serors
 Li seigneur, les seigneurs

Modern French

La femme, les femmes
 Rien, un rien
 La cité, les cités
 Le père, les pères
 Le chanteur, les chanteurs
 La soeur, les soeurs
 Le seigneur, les seigneurs

b) Verbs

The evolution of the verbs from Old French to Modern French reflects similarities observed earlier in respect to the nouns:

Old French

J'aim
 Nous amons

 J'achat
 Nous achetons

 J'achief
 Nous achevons

 Je demeure
 Nous demourons

Modern French

J'aime
 Nous aimons

 J'achète
 Nous achetons

 J'achève
 Nous achevons

 Je demeure
 Nous demeurons

Je muer

Nous mourons

Je meurs

Nous mourons

A verb plays a key role in a sentence; among words, it holds a special place. “A word is an autonomous unit of thought and sense” (Entwistle 1953, 226). The conjugation of the verb has always been complex. In the evolution from Old to Modern French, the period from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been described “as an era of linguistic instability and a period of transition between the heyday of Old French and the stability and fixity of Modern French” (Ayres-Bennett 1996, 98). To understand the complexity of the conjugation of verbs in Old French one needs to go back to Latin grammar. “The four Conjugations of our Latin Grammar, (1) ama-re, (2) vide-re, (3) lege-re, (4) audi-re, are, like the five Declensions, an unscientific classification, often bringing forms together which were of dissimilar origin, just as Modern Italian with its three Conjugations brings together in the Second form like vendére (Lat. Vendere), potére (Lat. Posse), solére (Lat. Solere...)” (Lindsay 1894, 454).

Displaying contrasts of tense, person, number, mood, the verb is described by some scholars as “the specifically phenomenal element in the sentence” (Entwistle 1953, 145). Its evolution from Old French to Modern French, while Haitian Kreyòl too was emerging, is significant.⁵

4.7. The influence of the Frankish language

Old French was also influenced by the Frankish language. Most of the territory of modern France was conquered by the Franks during the migration period (or the Völkerwanderung), which occurred by 300-700 AD in Europe. Among other Germanic and Slavic tribes involved in this migration, were the Goths, the Vandals, and the Franks. “By 613, when the Arnulfing or Carolingian family is mentioned for the first time in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the ruling dynasty of Frankish, the Merovingians, had ruled a mixed population in Gaul, mostly composed of Franks and Gallo-Romans for over a

⁵ An example of the evolution of several verbs from Old to Modern French can be found in Appendix B.

century” (McKitterick 1983, 16). Wherever they arrived, the Frankish language followed them, as expected. As a consequence new vocabulary was integrated into Old French.

“In the fifth century of our era the northern lowland was cleared of Romans by the Franks” (Dominian 1917, 19). The first Germanic people that succeeded in settling within Roman territory on a permanent basis were the Franks. They received a considerable part of Gallia Belgica from the Romans themselves although they were regarded as people of obscure origin: “The Franks, a confederacy of Germanic peoples of obscure origin, make their first appearance in the literary sources in the third century... The Franks were probably made up of small groups of those German tribes described in Tacitus’s *Germania*” (McKitterick 1983, 16). Based on their tenacity, they emerged as *foederati* of the Roman Empire and conserved their language called Old Frankish as well. This period marked the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages.

“When the empire succumbed to ‘barbarian’ conquerors, most of Gaul became the kingdom of the *Franci*, ‘Franks’; they soon forgot their Germanic language, but the name of their kingdom survived as France. Its national language is therefore *Français* or French” (Dalby 2004, 198). The word *Français* derives from the name of the Franks. Classified as a West Germanic language, Old Frankish was consolidated by two dynasties of leaders, first the Merovingians, then the Carolingians. The fifth century conversion to Christianity of the pagan Frankish king Clovis, was a crucial event for Europe. Starting in the seventh century, however, Old French began replacing the Frankish language in the southern half of the Low Countries or Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg. Yet words from Old Frankish, rather than Latin, are still found in Modern French. For instance:

<i>Old Frankish</i>	<i>Old French</i>	<i>Modern French</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
Warding	Guardenc	Gardien	Guardian	Guardian, security guard
Bera	Biere	Bière	Cervisia	Beer
Scoc	Choque	Choquer	Perculsus	To shock
Grappion	Graper	Saisir/prendre	Comprehendo	To grasp/to comprehend

4.8. French, the product of linguistic evolution

In order to search the origins of French, several boundaries must be crossed. For instance, “the western section of the Franco-German linguistic boundary extends over Belgian territory through a country in which the formation of nationality has been exceedingly laborious” (Dominian 1917, 19). French is a result of encounters and contacts – as is the case with many other languages. It is remarkable that in the ninth century the frontiers of the French kingdom “were natural only on the west (the sea) and the south-west (the Pyrenees); on the north, east, and south-east, the purely arbitrary boundaries are only to be explained by the persistence of the lines drawn on the map of the Carolingian Empire...” (Rickard 1956, 30). The political and social conditions continually multiplied the possibilities for numerous contacts among so many different peoples.

French has not always existed, just as France has not always had the same frontiers, but the date of birth of this offshoot of Latin remains shrouded in mystery. It was only around the ninth century, a thousand years after the conquest of Gaul in 51 BC, that the ancestors of the modern French people noticed that the Latin which they thought they were speaking had become French without their realizing it (Walter 1994, 7).

This linguistic evolution did not occur in a few years. There is no rational reason for a people to choose an indigenous language and consider it inferior to the “modern languages”. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the widespread acceptance of the vernacular as a literary medium, side by side with Latin... The Renaissance of the twelfth century concerned the vernacular as much as it concerned Latin... The twelfth century witnessed the flowering of literature in the vernacular in France...” (Rickard 1993, 38).

French replaced Latin in all judicial acts, notarized contracts, and official legislation once the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts was signed into law by François I of France on 10 August 1539. Later on, “if the Revolutionary ideal of educating all citizens to read and write French had little immediate effect, the Revolution nevertheless influenced the development of the language, and notably the lexicon, as fresh terms and new meanings were required to reflect the rapidly changing political situation” (Ayres-Bennett 1996,

229). Just as the evolution of the French language is linked to the French Revolution, so too must an analysis and better understanding of Haitian Kreyòl, be based on its connection with the Haitian Revolution.

C. Comparative Method

At this stage of a comparative process can the real nature of the relationship between French and Haitian Kreyòl be determined? Linguists, psycho-linguists, and sociologists may use several principle methods to gather empirical evidence, articulate an inductive reasoning or hypothetico-deductive procedures. “Once the material is offered as data, we must be given a statement of the method used” (Duncan 1953, 77). In fact, the comparative method is vital for this specific relationship we intend to establish. “The comparative method is both the earliest and the most important of the methods of reconstruction. Most of the major insights into the prehistory of languages have been gained by the application of this method, and most reconstructions have been based on it” (Fox 1995, 17).

A scientific method is often held as a model for rational thinking. Thus the importance of understanding not only the significance of the method used for this study of Haitian Krèyol and isiZulu, but knowing its field of application as well. “This method has often being regarded as virtually identical with the historical study of languages, as witnessed by terms such as ‘comparative linguistics’, ‘comparative philology’, and so on, which have been used to designate the whole field. The method has therefore come to epitomize the subject, especially as practised in the nineteenth century” (*Ibid.*) In fact, much of the linguistic data may demonstrate how different two languages are, as for example the observations made by Mervin Alleyne (1966, 297-298) concerning the differences that exist between French and Haitian Kreyòl’s phonological systems: 16 vowels in French, 12 vowels in Haitian Kreyòl; 17 consonants in French, 20 in Haitian Kreyòl. He concluded that Haitian Kreyòl cannot be considered a simple reduction of French (“*on ne peut pas proprement considérer le créole comme une simple réduction du français*”). Such an observation is very significant. But at this stage of a comparative

process, the method used for the study must prepare the way for the identification of the real nature of the relationship between isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl.

“Comparative linguists distinguish between generic groupings established on the basis of the standard comparative method and those not so established, which they generally view as probabilistic or speculative or even fanciful” (Durie and Ross 1996, 39). By offering tools for rational thinking, the comparative method contributes to human culture history. “The overriding goal of the comparative method is to reconstruct linguistic prehistory and thereby to contribute to human culture history” (*Ibid.* 180). Once the goal is described, we must now move to the identification of tentative cognates. According to Anthony Fox, “the first and most fundamental step is the identification of tentative cognates, and the first tool which tends to be employed in the search for cognates is a Swadesh-type basic vocabulary list of between fifty and two hundred items” (*Ibid.*, 264).

4.9. Cognate list

<u>Kreyòl</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Latin</u>
Parts of the body		
1. Bouch	Bouche	Bucca
2. Bra	Bras	Brachium
3. Cheve	Cheveux	Capillus
4. Dan	Dent	Dens
5. Do	Dos	Dossum
6. Dwèt	Doigt	Digitus
7. Estomak	Estomac	Stomachus
8. Frè	Frère	Frater
9. Gòj	Gorge	Gurga
10. Janb	Jambe	Gamba
11. Jenou	Genou	Geniculum
12. Je-Zye	Oeil-Yeux	Oculus-Oculos

13. Kè	Cœur	Cor
14. Kò	Corps	Corpus
15. Kou	Cou	Collum
16. Koud	Coude	Cubitus
17. Lamè	Mère	Mater
18. Lang	Langue	Lingua
19. Lepè	Père	Pater
20. Lèv	Lèvres	Labra
21. Lonbrik	Nombril	Umbilicus
22. Manman	Maman	Mamma
23. Men	Main	Manus
24. Nen	Nez	Nasus
25. Papa	Papa	Papa
26. Paran	Parent	Parentes
27. Po	Peau	Pellis
28. Pwen	Poing	Pugnus
29. Pye	Pied	Pedem
30. Saliv	Salive	Saliva
31. San	Sang	Sanguis
32. Sè	Sœur	Soror
33. Tèt	Tête	Testa
34. Vant	Ventre	Venter
35. Vizaj	Visage	Visus
36. Zo	Os	Ossum
37. Zorèy	Oreilles	Auricula

Kinship

38. Fanmi	Famille	Familia
39. Frè	Frère	Frater
40. Lamè	Mère	Mater

41. Lepè	Père	Pater
42. Manman	Maman	Mamma
43. Papa	Papa	Papa
44. Paran	Parent	Parentes
45. Sè	Sœur	Soror
46. Zanmi	Ami	Amicus

Numbers

47. De	Deux	Duos
48. Dis	Dix	Decem
49. Douz	Douze	Duodecim
50. En	Un	Unus
51. Karant	Quarante	Quaranta
52. Kat	Quatre	Quattor
53. Katòz	Quatorze	Quattordecim
54. Kenz	Quinze	Quindecim
55. Mil	Mille	Milia
56. Nèf	Neuf	Novem
57. Onz	Onze	Undecim
58. San	Cent	Centum
59. Senk	Cinq	Cinque
60. Senkant	Cinquante	Cinquanta
61. Sèt	Sept	Septem
62. Sèz	Seize	Sedecim
63. Sis	Six	Sex
64. Swasant	Soixante	Sexanta
65. Swasantdis	Soisante-dix	Septante
66. Trant	Trente	Trinta
67. Trèz	Treize	Tredecim
68. Twa	Trois	Tres

69. Ven	Vingt	Viginti
70. Wit	Huit	Octo

General

71. Abi	Abus	Abusus
72. Abit	Arbitre	Arbitrer
73. Abitasyon	Habitation	Habitare
74. Abitye	Habituer	Habituare
75. Aboli	Abolir	Abolere
76. Absan	Absent	Absens
77. Achiv	Archives	Archivum
78. Achitèk	Architecte	Architectus
79. Admèt	Admettre	Admittere
80. Adopte	Adopter	Adoptare
81. Adore	Adorer	Adorare
82. Advèsè	Adversaire	Adversarius
83. Afime	Affirmer	Affirmare
84. Agrave	Aggraver	Aggravare
85. Agresif	Agressif	Agressus
86. Aji	Agir	Agere
87. Ajil	Argile	Argilla
88. Ajite	Agiter	Agitare
89. Akaryat	Acariâtre	Acharius
90. Akeyi	Accueillir	Accolligere
91. Akize	Accuser	Accusare
92. Ankò	Encore	Unquam
93. Akòde	Accorder	Accordare
94. Akomode	Accomoder	Accomodare
95. Aksepte	Accepter	Acceptare
96. Aksidan	Accident	Accidens

97. Aksyon	Action	Actio
98. Aktivite	Activité	Activitas
99. Ale	Aller	Ambulare
100. Amatè	Armateur	Armator
101. Ame	Armer	Armare
102. Amoni	Harmonie	Harmonia
103. Amwa	Armoire	Armarium
104. Amitye	Amitié	Amicitia
105. Amòti	Amortir	Admortire
106. Amou	Amour	Amor
107. Amoure	Amoureux	Amorosus
108. Anchante	Enchanter	Inncantare
109. Andòmi	Endormir	Indormire
110. Anfan, ti moun	Enfant	Infans
111. Anflame	Enflammer	Inflammare
112. Ang	Angle	Angulus
113. Anglouti	Engloutir	Ingluttire
114. Angrese	Engraisser	Incrassiare
115. Anile	Annuler	Annullare
116. Animal	Animal	Animalis
117. Animasyon	Animation	Animatio
118. Anivèsè	Anniversaire	Anniversarius
119. Anmè	Amer	Amarus
120. Annwiye	Ennuyer	Inodiare
121. Annwiye	Ennuyeux	Inodiosus
122. Anonse	Annoncer	Annuntiare
123. Anpeche	Empêcher	Impedicare
124. Anplwaye	Employer	Implicare
125. Ansan	Encens	Incensum
126. Ansanm	Ensemble	Insimul
127. Ansent	Enceinte	Incincta

128. Ansèt	Ancêtre	Antecessor
129. Anseye, montre	Enseigner	Insignare
130. Ant	Entre	Inter
131. Antòtye	Entortiller	Intortiliare
132. Antre	Enter	Impotus
133. Antye	Entier	Integrum
134. Anvayi	Envahir	Invadire
135. Anwe	Enrouer	Raucus
136. Anyen	Rien	Res
137. Anyo	Agneau	Agnellus
138. Aparans	Apparence	Apparentia
139. Aparèy	Appareil	Apparatus
140. Aparisyon	Apparition	Apparitio
141. Apatman	Appartement	Appartare
142. Aperitif	Apéritif	Aperitivus
143. Apeti	Appétit	Appetere
144. Aplodi	Applaudir	Applaudere
145. Apot	Apôtre	Apostolus
146. Aprann	Apprendre	Apprehendere
147. Aprè	Après	Pressum
148. Apresye	Apprécier	Appretiare
149. Apwouve	Approuver	Approbare
150. Arab	Arabe	Arabus
151. Arete	Arrêter	Restare
152. Ase	Assez	Ad satis
153. Asfalt	Asphalte	Asphaltus
154. Asire	Assurer	Assecurare
155. Asosye	Associer	De socius
156. Aspè	Aspect	Aspectus
157. Atansyon	Attention	Attentio
158. Atik	Article	Articulus

159. Atis	Artiste	Artista
160. Ava	Avare	Avarus
161. Avan	Avant	Abante
162. Avaris	Avarice	Avaritia
163. Avanse	Avancer	Abantiare
164. Avèg	Aveugle	Ab oculis
165. Avèk	Avec	Cum
166. Avoka	Avocat	Advocatus
167. Awogan	Arrogant	Arrogans
168. Azil	Asile	Asylum
169. Ba	Bas	Bassus
170. Bab	Barbe	Barba
171. Baba	Barbare	Barbarus
172. Bakaloreya	Baccalauréat	Baccalaureatus
173. Bakle	Bâcler	Bacculare
174. Balans	Balance	Bilancia
175. Bat	Battre	Battere
176. Batay	Bataille	Battalia
177. Batèm	Baptême	Baptisma
178. Batize	Baptiser	Baptizare
179. Baton	Bâton	Bastum
180. Bav	Bave	Baba
181. Baye	Bâiller	Batare
182. Baye	Bayer	Batare
183. Baz	Base	Basis
184. Bazilik	Basilic	Basilicum
185. Bazilik	Basilic	Basiliscus
186. Bèf	Bceuf	Bovem
187. Bèje	Berger	Berbicarius
188. Bèk	Bec	Beccus
189. Bèl	Beau	Bellus

180. Benediksyon	Bénédiction	Benedictio
181. Benedikten	Bénédictin	Benedictinus
181. Benefis	Bénéfice	Beneficium
183. Benevòl	Bénévole	Benevolus
184. Beni	Bénir	Benedicere
185. Beny	Bain	Balneum
186. Beny	Bain	Balneum
187. Benyen	Baigner	Baneare
188. Benyen	Baigner	Baneare
189. Bese	Baïsser	Bassiare
190. Bese	Baïsser	Bassiare
191. Bèse	Bercer	Bertiare
192. Bèt	Bête	Bestia
193. Beton	Béton	Bitumen
194. Beze	Baiser	Basiare
195. Beze	Baiser	Basiare
196. Bib	Bible	Biblia
197. Bis	Bis	Bis
198. Blame	Blâmer	Blastemare
199. Blasfèm	Blasphème	Blasphemia
200. Bliye	Oublier	Oblitare
201. Bonte	Bonté	Bonitas
202. Boubouye	Barbouiller	Bullare
203. Bouch	Bouche	Bucca
204. Bouje	Bouger	Bullicare
205. Bouk	Boucle	Buccula
206. Bouk	Bourg	Burgus
207. Boul	Boule	Bulla
208. Bous	Bourse	Bursa
209. Boutèy	Bouteille	Butticula
210. Bouyi	Bouillir	Bullire

211. Bra	Bras	Brachium
212. Branch	Branche	Branca
213. Brase	Brasser	Braciare
214. Brebi	Brebis	Berbix
215. Brèf	Bref	Brevis
216. Bwè	Boire	Bibere
217. Byen	Bien	Bene
218. Chabon	Charbon	Carbo
219. Chaje	Charger	Carricare
220. Chalè	Chaleur	Calorem
221. Cham	Charme	Carmen
222. Chame	Charmer	Carminare
223. Chamo	Chameau	Camelus
224. Chan	Champ	Campus
225. Chan	Chant	Cantus
226. Chandèl	Chandelle	Candela
227. Chanje	Changer	Cambiare
228. Chanje	Échanger	Excambiare
229. Chanpèt	Champêtre	Campestris
230. Chanson	Chanson	Cantio
231. Chante	Chanter	Cantare
232. Chantè	Chanteur	Cantor
233. Chapantye	Charpentier	Carpentarius
234. Chape	Échapper	Excappare
235. Chapèl	Chapelle	Cappella
236. Chapo	Chapeau	Cappellus
237. Chatre	Châtrer	Castrare
238. Chè	Cher	Carus
239. Chèche	Chercher	Cicare
240. Chemiz	Chemise	Camisia
241. Chèn	Chaîne	Catena

242. Chen	Chien	Canis
243. Cheniy	Chenille	Canicula
244. Chetif	Chétif	Captivus
245. Cheval	Cheval	Caballus
246. Cheviy	Cheville	Clavicula
247. Cho	Chaud	Calere
248. Chode	Échauder	Excaldare
249. Chodyè	Chaudière	Caldaria
240. Chofe	Chauffer	Calefacere
251. Chofe	Échauffer	Escalfare
252. Chome	Chômer	Caumare
253. Chou	Chou	Caulis
254. Choz, kichòy, bagay	Chose	Causa
255. Chimen	Chemin	Camminus
256. Dam	Dame	Domina
257. Dame	Damner	Damnare
258. Dan	Dent	Dens
259. Danje	Danger	Domniarium
260. Dans	Dans	Deintus
261. Dedwi	Déduire	Deducere
262. Dedyè	Dédier	Dedicare
263. Defann	Défendre	Defendere
264. Defans	Défense	Defensa
265. Defini	Définir	Definire
266. Defisi	Déficit	Deficit
267. Defòme	Déformer	Deformare
268. Degrade	Dégrader	Degradare
269. Dejene	Déjeuner	Disjunare
270. Dejeneje	Dégénérer	Degenerare
271. Dekadans	Décadence	Decandentia
272. Dekante	Décanter	Decanthare

273. Deklare	Déclarer	Declarare
274. Dekore	Décorer	Decorare
275. Dekouvri	Découvrir	Discooperire
276. Dekrè	Décret	Decretum
277. Dekri	Décrire	Describere
278. Delege	Déléguer	Delegare
279. Delibere	Délibérer	Deliberare
280. Delij	Déluge	Diluvium
281. Delika	Délicat	Delicatus
282. Delimite	Délimiter	Delimitare
283. Delisye	Délictueux	Delictum
284. Delivre	Délivrer	Deliberare
285. Demen	Demain	De mane
286. Demon	Démon	Daemon
287. Demontre	Démontrer	Demonstrare
288. Denigre	Dénigrer	Denigrare
289. Denonse	Dénoncer	Denuntiare
290. Depann	Dépendre	Dependere
291. Depans	Dépense	Dispensa
292. Depèdisyon	Déperdition	Deperdere
293. Deplè	Déplaire	Displicere
294. Depo	Dépôt	Depositum
295. Depouye	Dépouiller	Despoliare
296. Deprave	Dépraver	Depravare
297. Deprime	Déprimer	Deprimere
298. Derizyon	Dérision	Derisio
299. Desepsyon	Déception	Deceptio
300. Deside	Décider	Decidere ⁶

⁶ The remainder of the cognate list can be found in Appendix C

Additional cognates are not needed to conclude that “the great majority (well over 90 percent) of Creole vocabulary derives from Gallo-Romance sources” (Aub-Buscher and Noakes 2003, 1). As stated in the previous explanations, the French language and the Haitian Kreyòl share a genetic relationship.

4.10. Conclusion

Having traced the historical and linguistic roots of Haitian Kreyòl and isiZulu, it was next important to explore the genetic relationships of Kreyòl, French and Latin. Haitian Kreyòl, spoken by more than 10 million people, is classified in the Major New World Creoles. From a sociolinguistic perspective, Haitian Kreyòl holds a unique place among the world’s Creoles: it is the language of the world’s only successful slave revolution. The masters utilized French to impose slavery and the African descendants used Kreyòl to free themselves from slavery. This was reflected in six of the most important historical documents written between the start of the French revolution and the end of the Haitian revolution. From a linguistic perspective, this period epitomizes the substance of *umoya wamagama*. These historical documents involve two different countries, two different visions, two different languages that have Latin as their common ancestor. For centuries BC, Latin, more than many other languages had been the *lingua franca* of many nations. Latin gave birth to French. The word *Français* derives from the name of the Franks who created Old Frankish, classified as a West Germanic language.

Being both the earliest and the most important of the methods of reconstruction, the comparative method is vital for establishing the specific relationship intended to be demonstrated in this Doctoral Thesis. It is a method that epitomizes the historical study of languages, comparative linguistics and comparative philology as well. Evidence of a linguistic relationship between Haitian Kreyòl and French has been established. The common ancestor, Latin, has been reconstructed. An extensive cognate list of Kreyòl, French and Latin demonstrates conclusively that Haitian Kreyòl and French are genetically related.

PART II

ISIZULU- HAITIAN KREYOL

Chapter Five

Comparative Linguistic Features and Translations (IsiZulu – Kreyòl)

Written documents in isiZulu began to appear by the early nineteenth century. Missionaries such as J.W. Colenso, S. B. Stone, H. Callaway, and Lewis Grant contributed to the start of this new phase in the language's history.

5.1. Transmuting isiZulu into writing

Incwadi yokuqala yabafundayo, was the first booklet published in isiZulu in 1837-1838. It was co-authored by Newton Adams, George Newton, and Aldin Grout. As an important step, they attempted to explain the spelling of the words in isiZulu. According to George Poulos and Christian T. Msimang, “the first missionaries and other grammarians who transmuted Zulu into writing, such as Döhne (1857), Boyce (1863) and Grout (1893) held the view that there is a one-to-one relationship between the English and the Zulu word. They thus assumed every formative to be a distinct word following the English system” (Poulos and Msimang 1998, 8). Almost at the same time that Döhne (1857) and Boyce (1863) were producing works to transmute isiZulu into writing, “cursory sketches of Haitian Kreyòl appeared in *Redpath's Guide to Haiti* (1861), likewise listing a paradigm of a verb with accompanying personal pronouns and particle of tense and aspect and treating the possessive construction, there follows a translation of the Lord's Prayer into Creole”, wrote Goodman (1964, 109). Later would be published *Le Créole haitien, morphologie et syntax* by Suzanne Sylvain in 1936; *Haitian Créole* by Robert Hall in 1953; *Les origins des variations du Créole Haitien* by Michelson Hyppolite in 1949.

Back to the transmuting of isiZulu into writing, after the publication of the first isiZulu Bible, and the first isiZulu grammar by L. Grout (1859), more Zulu speakers expressed their determination to promote their mother tongue, among them J. L. Dube. Dube is known as the first Zulu writer to edit a newspaper, *Ilanga laseNatal* in 1903, and

published his first novel, *Insila kaShaka*, in 1930. Scholars, grammarians, and other remarkable Zulu writers such as B. W. Vilakazi, OEHM Nxumalo, DBZ Ntuli, all contributed in promoting to the growth of isiZulu. Evidently, this significant step required a certain consensus on the rules of grammar in order to move from a disjunctive to a conjunctive system of writing. A shift appeared as scholars moved from the very old orthography used between 1845 and 1883 for the translation of the Bible, to a modern orthography in isiZulu.

“Grammar is the construction placed by mind on the unorganized materials of speech. It is a system of reference which determines the relations between the parties to an event and the circumstantial details of the event itself; ... grammar is a formal science, not a branch of aesthetics” (Entwistle 1953, 145). Therefore, a prescriptive grammar is necessary to establish rules for the correct use of the language. For instance, “to write a language in unbroken sentences would not only make reading impossible, but would also obscure the structure of the language” (Guthrie 1970, 5). In isiZulu, as in all Bantu languages, the structure of a sentence implies two fundamental linguistic features: the noun class system and the concords. According to Poulos and Msimang’s standard work on isiZulu, “the noun in Zulu consists of two main parts, namely a noun prefix and a noun stem. Furthermore, every noun belongs to what has been traditionally called a noun class by virtue of the form of its prefix. (The classes are each numbered according to the numbering system that is customarily used in the *comparative* study of the family of languages to which Zulu belongs (Poulos and Msmiang 1998, 28).

As an example, the noun *umuntu*, meaning people/person, is composed by

- a) The prefix “*umu*”
- b) The stem “*ntu*”

5.2. Noun class system: IsiZulu-Haitian Kreyòl

In order to know in which class *umuntu* belongs, we must first, identify the numbering system as follows:

<u>Class</u>	<u>Prefix</u>
1.....	um(u)-
2.....	aba-
1a	u-
2b	o-
3.....	umu-
4.....	imi-
5.....	i(li)-
6.....	ama-
7.....	is(i)-
8.....	iz(i)-
9.....	iN-
10.....	iziN-
11.....	u(lu)-
14.....	u(bu)-
15.....	uk(u)-
16.....	pha-
17.....	uk(u)-
18.....	mu-

This noun class system does not exist in Haitian Kreyòl. Nouns in Haitian Kreyòl tend to reproduce the same set of grammatical properties as in French. “They have the ability to act as subject or object of a clause, and to be analyzed in terms of number, gender... Nouns are generally sub-classified into common and proper types” (Crystal 1999, 236-237). As an example, *jistis* in Haitian Kreyòl is a common noun meaning justice. It does

not have a prefix indicating either its class or its gender or its number. In isiZulu, however, we must refer to these prefixes in order to distinguish singular from plural:

Singular prefix

Class 1	um(u)-
Class 1a	u-
Class 3	um(u)
Class 5	i(li)
Class 7	isi
Class 9	in-/im-
Class 11	u(lu)
Class 14	ubu-
Class 15	uku-

Plural prefix

Class 2	aba-
Class 2a	o-
Class 4	imi-
Class 6	ama-
Class 8	izi-
Class 10	izin- / izim

To determine whether a noun is singular or plural in Haitian Kreyòl reference is made to the article placed after the noun. In the following example, *kay la*, the word *kay* meaning house is singular because of the article *la*, meaning the. Now, if we say *kay yo*, we use its plural form, meaning the houses. In that case, the article is *yo*. Some other examples:

Singular

Wout la
Liv la
Mèt yo
Lang la

Meaning

The road
The book
The teachers
The language

Plural

Wout yo
Liv yo
Mèt yo
Lang yo

Meaning

The roads
The books
The teachers
The languages

Sometimes the article *la* loses the first letter “l” and becomes “a” or “an”. The position of the definite article following the noun never changes.

C.M. Doke, considered by Khumalo to be “the greatest of the South African Suntu Scholars” (Khumalo 1987, 140) wrote that isiZulu, like other Bantu languages, has three basic vowels, /a/, /i/, /u/ (Doke 1927, 1). It is precisely one of these vowels /a/ that is used as an article in Haitian Kreyòl once *la* loses the first letter “l”. Some examples:

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Verite a	The truth
Limyè a	The light
Dlo a	The water
Koulè a	The color
 <u>Plural</u>	 <u>Meaning</u>
Verite yo	The truths
Limyè yo	The lights
Dlo yo	The waters
Koulè yo	The colors

These articles *la* and *yo* indicate whether the nouns are singular or plural, definite or indefinite, without indicating their gender. Haitian Kreyòl does not distinguish between masculine and feminine. While the noun in isiZulu does not have a special form to distinguish between the definite and the indefinite articles (“the” and “a”), in Haitian Kreyòl, the noun relies on the indefinite article “yon” meaning “a”. In that case, this indefinite article comes right before the noun:

Examples:

Yon rankont	means	a meeting
Rankont la	means	the meeting
Yon bagay	means	a thing
Bagay la	means	the thing

In isiZulu, *umhlangano* means the meeting or a meeting; *into* can mean either the thing or a thing, depending on the context. With regard to the noun class system, P C Taljaard and S E Bosh, both senior lecturers at the University of South Africa, select a very clear and simple presentation in their *Handbook of IsiZulu* (1998, 3-4):

The classes of the noun

Class 1. UMU-:

Contents : person, e.g *umuntu* (a person)

Class 1. (a). U-:

Contents : terms of relationship, proper names, e.g *Ubaba* (my father)

Class 2. ABA-:

Contents : plural of class 1, e.g *Abantu* (people)

Class 2.(a) . O-:

Contents : plural of class 1 (a), e.g *Obaba* (fathers)

Class 3. UMU-:

Contents : natural phenomena, e.g *Umuthi* (a tree)

Class 4. IMI-:

Contents : plural of class 3, e.g *Imithi* (trees)

Class 5. ILI-:OR I

Contents : miscellaneous, e.g *Ilitshe* (a stone)

Class 6. AMA-:

Contents: plural of class 5, collectives, e.g *Amatshe* (stones), *Amanzi* (water)

Class 7. ISI-:

Contents : Implements, miscellaneous, e.g *Isitsha* (a plate or a dish)

Class 8. IZI-:

Contents : plural of class 7, e.g *Izitsha* (plates or dishes)

Class 9. IN-:

Contents : animals, abstracts, miscellaneous, e.g *Inja* (a dog)

Class 10. IZIN-:

Contents : plural of class 9, e.g *Izinja* (dogs)

Class 11. ULU- OR U-:

Contents : long objects, miscellaneous, e.g *Uthi* (a stick) with class 10 as its plural, e.g *Izinti* (sticks)

Class 14. UBU-:

Contents : abstracts, collectives, e.g *Ubukhulu* (a largeness or size), without plural

Class 15. UKU-:

Contents : infinitives from verb stems, e.g *Ukubona* (to see)

Class 15 (a). UKU-:

Contents : only a few nouns remain in this class, e.g *Ukunene* (the right hand)

Class 16. PHA-:

Contents : this is no longer an active noun class prefix in isiZulu and is used to form locatives, e.g *Phandle* (outside)

Class 17. KU-:

Contents : this is no longer an active noun class prefix in isiZulu and is used to form locatives, e.g *Kumama* (to/at by mother)

Such a presentation and the Celenso commentaries on the table of nouns (1903, 13-22) provide a clear picture of the noun class identified as one of the two systems that comprise the linguistic structure of isiZulu. The second, the system of concords, is also linked to the class prefix of the noun. This concord or agreement system, in fact, derives from the noun class prefix. All nouns belonging to the same noun class, logically, use the

same concords. We must immediately specify that the concord can be subject or object and it is prefixed to the verb.

5.3. Subject concord: IsiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl

The subject concord is a real link between the subject noun and the verb. Its presence is always required as observed in the following examples:

- *Intombi iyakhuluma.* The girl speaks.

The subject noun is *intombi*. The verb stem is *khuluma*. The subject concord is “i”. So, the subject concord makes a linguistic bridge between the subject noun and the verb stem. To identify the subject concord, we must always refer to the class prefix of the subject noun.

- *Umtwana ukhuluma kahle.* The baby speaks very well.

- *Izintombi ziyadla.* The girls are eating.

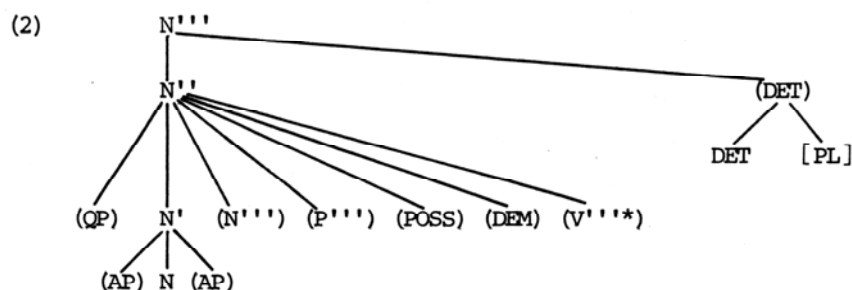
- *Abantwana bayadlala.* The children are playing.

- *Lezi zinto zinhle kakhulu!* These things are very beautiful!

If we translate these three sentences to Haitian Kreyòl, their linguistic structure will appear very different. Here, the subject noun does not have any prefix to link it to the verb. Thus, it is closer to the linguistic structure of a French sentence:

- *Bebe a pale byen.* The baby speaks well.

Bebe is the noun subject meaning “baby”; *a* is the definite article meaning “the”; *pale* is the verb meaning “speaks”; and *byen* is an adverb meaning “well”. This noun *bebe* could be found before or after an adjective as it appears through the NP’s structure described by Lefebvre (1982, 25-28). Lefebvre considers in this description of the NP’s structure, V^3 as equal to S^1 or $V^3 = S^1$



Abbreviation

Meaning

S	Phrase
N	Nom
VP	Syntagme nominal
AP	Syntagme verbal
PP	Syntagme adjectival
QP	Syntagme prépositionnel
DET	Déterminant
POSS	Possessif
PL	Pluriel

With respect to (AP) some adjectives in Haitian Kreyòl are found before the noun like *piti*(small), *gro* (big), *bon* (good), *move* (bad). Some others after the noun such as *blan* (white) and *nwè* (black). That is why in the above graphic, AP appears before and after N. While in isiZulu QP comes right after N, in Haitian Kreyòl it is followed by N:

Haitian Kreyòl

IsiZulu

De kay

Izindlu ezimbili

(two houses)

(houses two = two houses)

5.4. The verbs: IsiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl

At this stage, it is important to draw a parallel between the verb in isiZulu and the verb in Haitian Kreyòl. The structure of the sentences, in addition to the subject noun, object noun and agreement marker, implies the verb structure which is very complicated in isiZulu. “Verbs are connectors, they link the terms for participants in events...Verbs also mark grammatical relations” (Gilbert and Johnson 1978, 61). These relations must be expressed through an agreement between the verb and the subject noun in isiZulu.

Used in general as the minimal predicate of a sentence, the verb is seen as the ‘doing’ word, displaying contrasts of tense, mood, number. In Haitian Kreyòl, the verb’s conjugation relies on the word order, inflection, the subject noun or the personal pronoun. For each personal pronoun used by Haitian Kreyòl, there is a corresponding agreement marker in isiZulu:

<u>Haitian Kreyòl</u>	<u>isiZulu</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Mwen	Ngi	I
Ou	U	You (singular)
Li	U	He / She
Nou	Si	We
Nou	Ni	You (plural)
Yo	Ba	They

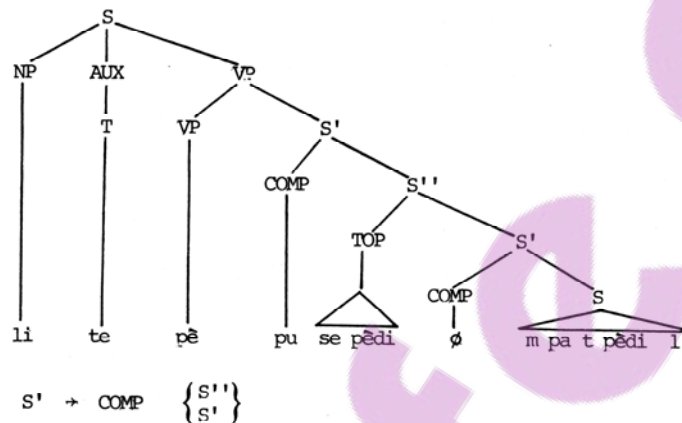
Regrouping the other agreement markers in parallel with the noun prefix cannot be compared to any Haitian Kreyòl correspondence because the noun class system does not exist in Haitian Kreyòl as observed in isiZulu:

<u>Noun prefix</u>		<u>Agreement Marker</u>
1	um	u
2	aba	ba
1a	u	u
2a	o	ba
3	um	u
4	imi	i
5	i	li
6	ama	a
7	isi	si
8	izi	si
9	in / im	i
10	izin / izim	zi
11	u	lu
14	ubu	bu
15	uku	ku

“Agreement marker and object concord are seen sometimes as confusing matters such as “wu” and “ku” with the greeting term Sawubona! Kubeka made it very clear when he wrote that “the object concord for 2nd person singular used with the greeting term in /wu/: Sawubona! There are still some old speakers who use the concord /ku/; Sakubona! This /ku/ is the regular concord for the 2nd person singular” (Kubeka 1979, 155). Beginning learners in Haitian Kreyòl may also find confusing the use of personal pronouns in sentences showing certain dislocation. Referring to Chomsky (1977) who elaborated on English sentences that include dislocation (S¹ COMP {S¹¹ S¹} Piou (1982, 126-127) points to two verbs in Haitian Kreyòl that imply this form of dislocation: *pè* and *swete*. As an example, she proposes the following sentence and its graphic representative or *representation arborescente*.

Li te pè pu se pèdi m pa t pèdi l

Il TNS peur pour c'est perdre je NEG TNS perdre le/la
 Il avait peur que je ne l'aie égaré
 He was afraid that I would have lost it



Abbreviations

- TNS:** Temps (time)
- COMP:** Complémenteur (meaning that in English or “*que*” in French)
 Ou position pour le complémenteur qui peut être localisé par *ki* “qui” (Koopman 1982, 173)
- TOP :** Topic (La position TOPIC pour S^{11} est la position pour les éléments clivés (Koopman and Lefebvre 1982, 65)
- AUX :** Auxiliar, according to Magloire-Holly (1982, 92), « Dans les travaux classiques sure le Haitien Kreyol, les verbes modaux *mèt*, *kapab*, *dive* sont classés avec les particules préverbiales *te*, *a*, *ap*, *pu* et sont considérés commes des auxiliaires ou semi-auxilliaires »

Due to the importance of verbs in any language and the difficulty of finding publications of verb conjugations in both isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl, we believe it is necessary to include here nineteen isiZulu verbs that may create some confusions or difficulties for isiZulu learners.

Ukubana - Genyen

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Nginemali	<i>Mwen gen lajan</i>	Anginamali	<i>Mwen pa gen lajan</i>
Unemali	<i>Ou gen lajan</i>	Awunamali	<i>Ou pa gen lajan</i>
Unemali	<i>Li gen lajan</i>	Akanamali	<i>Li pa gen lajan</i>
Sinemali	<i>Nou gen lanjan</i>	Asinamali	<i>Nou pa gen lajan</i>
Ninemali	<i>Nou gen lajan</i>	Aninamali	<i>Nou pa gen lajan</i>
Banemali	<i>Yo gen lajan</i>	Abanamali	<i>Yo pa gen lajan</i>
<u>Past</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Past - Negative</u>	<u>Past - Negative</u>
Benginemali	<i>Mwen te gen lajan</i>	Benginganamali	<i>Mwen pa te gen lajan</i>
Ubenemali	<i>Ou te gen lajan</i>	Ubenganamali	<i>Ou pa te gen lajan</i>
Ubenemali	<i>Li te gen lajan</i>	Ubenganamali	<i>Li pa te gen lajan</i>
Besinemali	<i>Nou te gen lajan</i>	Besinganamali	<i>Nou pa te gen lajan</i>
Beninemali	<i>Nou te gen lajan</i>	Beninganamali	<i>Nou pa te gen lajan</i>
Babenemali	<i>Yo te gen lajan</i>	Babenganamali	<i>Yo pa te gen lajan</i>

<u>Future</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Future – Negative</u>	<u>Future - Negative</u>
Ngizobanemali	<i>Mwen pral gen lajan</i>	Angizobanemali	<i>Mwen pa pral gen lajan</i>
Uzobanemali	<i>Ou pral gen lajan</i>	Awuzobanemali	<i>Ou pa pral gen lajan</i>
Uzobanemali	<i>Li pral gen lajan</i>	Akazobanemali	<i>Li pa pral gen lajan</i>
Sizobanemali	<i>Nou pral gen lajan</i>	Asizobanemali	<i>Nou pa pral gen lajan</i>
Nizobanemali	<i>Nou pral gen lajan</i>	Anizobanemali	<i>Nou pral gen lajan</i>
Bazobanemali	<i>Yo pral gen lajan</i>	Abazobanemali	<i>Yo pa pral gen lajan</i>

Ukuba⁷

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngilapha	<i>Mwen la</i>	Angilapho	<i>Mwen pa la</i>
Ulapha	<i>Ou la</i>	Awulapho	<i>Ou pa la</i>
Ulapha	<i>Li la</i>	Akalapho	<i>Li pa la</i>
Silapha	<i>Nou la</i>	Asilapho	<i>Nou pa la</i>
Nilapha	<i>Nou la</i>	Anilapho	<i>Nou pa la</i>
Balapha	<i>Yo la</i>	Abalapho	<i>Yo pa la</i>

⁷ See page Section 7.4.2. It should also be noted that Celenso (1903, 117) translates “I am” by “ngiba” “ngiyaba”

<u>Past</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Past – Negative</u>	<u>Past - Negative</u>
Bengilapha	<i>Mwen te la</i>	Bengingelapho	<i>Mwen pa te la</i>
Ubulapha	<i>Ou te la</i>	Ubungelapho	<i>Ou pa te la</i>
Ubelapha	<i>Li te la</i>	Ubengelapho	<i>Li pa te la</i>
Besilapha	<i>Nou te la</i>	Besingelapho	<i>Nou pa te la</i>
Benilapha	<i>Nou te la</i>	Beningelapho	<i>Nou pa te la</i>
Babelapha	<i>Yo te la</i>	Babengelapho	<i>Yo pa te la</i>

<u>Futur</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Future – Negative</u>	<u>Future - Negative</u>
Ngizobalapha	<i>Mwen pral la</i>	Angizobalapho	<i>Mwen pa pral la</i>
Uzobalapha	<i>Ou pral la</i>	Awuzobalapho	<i>Ou pa pral la</i>
Uzobalapha	<i>Li pral la</i>	Akazobalapho	<i>Li pa pral la</i>
Sizobalapha	<i>Nou pral la</i>	Asizobalapho	<i>Nou pa pral la</i>
Nizobalapha	<i>Nou pral la</i>	Anizobalapho	<i>Nou pa pral la</i>
Bazobalapha	<i>Yo pral la</i>	Abazobalapho	<i>Yo pa pral la</i> ⁸

5.5. Translation

In translation, both isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl face sociolinguistic challenges that are similar, while others could be related. Does the literature in the two languages serve as both, source language (SL) and target language (TL) in their respective society? Is there a real process of ongoing translation of their literature? In addressing these questions, we need to bear in mind different ways of defining the term translation. The answers to those questions lie in the explanation of the concept “translation” itself.

⁸ The remaining verbs can be found in Appendix D

Leon Dostert reviewed the linguistic side, nature, and method of a practical experiment in mechanical translation at the Institute of Languages and Linguistics of Georgetown University in early 1954. Dostert found that: “This experiment represents the first time, to my knowledge that actual and authentic language translation has been done by machine.” His definition of the term translation itself came right after his observation: “Translation is that branch of the applied science of language which is specifically concerned with the problem- or the fact- of transference of meaning from one patterned set of symbols occurring in a given culture (the original language) into another set of patterned symbols occurring in another culture (the “final” language)” (Booth and Locke 1955, 124).

It has already been fifty two years since Leon Dostert developed his definition of translation based on his scientific observations. Long before him many other researchers have tried to define the term translation. As Todd Jones noted, “In the academic world there are numerous theories of what translation is all about” (Rosman and Rubel 2003, 45). Looking at the history of translation theory, Susan Bassnett writes that: “The distinction between word for word and sense for sense translation, established within the Roman system, has continued to be a point for debate in one or another right up to the present, while the relationship between and emergent nationalism can shed light on the significance of differing concepts of culture” (Bassnett 2002, 45).

Neither translation nor culture can exist in a vacuum. Each era brings new sociolinguistic parameters to any translation. Not surprisingly, “medieval translation has been studied extensively since the early nineteenth century, beginning perhaps with Amable Jourdain’s study of Latin translations of Aristotle in 1819” (Robinson 1997, 11). At the turn of the nineteenth century, it was evident that researchers were looking for alternatives to free translation. In a remarkable book, *The Translator’s invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995), the author noted that “in 1813, during the Napoleonic wars, Friedrich Schleiermacher’s lecture Ueber die vershiedenen Methoden des Uebersetzens (On the Different Methods of Translating) viewed translation as an important practice in the Prussian nationalist movement: it could enrich the German language by developing an

elite literature and thus enable German culture to realize its historical destiny of global domination” (Venuti 1995, 99). This observation is still relevant today wherever there is a narrow concept of translation.

Today, argues Michael Silverstein, “we recognize that language is in some respects just like other cultural forms, that is, composed of analytically separable partials of semiosis and hence of kinds of ‘meaning’, even though these interact in complex, layered ways” (Rosman and Rubel 2003, 75). In other words, “the first steps towards an examination of the processes of translation must be to accept that although translation has a central core of linguistic activity, it belongs more properly to semiotics, the science that studies sign systems or structures, sign processes and sign functions” Bassnett 2002, 21).

In translating documents from the early Latin literature to classical Latin, clear differences arise. Two Latin translators may not necessarily produce the same English translation. This was the case with the widely remembered opening lines of Marcus Tullius Cicero in the Temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, where Cicero asks Catiline who dares come to the Senate’s special meeting:

*Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?
Quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet?*

How long, O Catiline, will you abuse our patience?
How long is that madness of yours still to mock us?

The inevitability of variance in all translations is due to the very nature of language: “Since no two languages are identical, either in the meanings given to corresponding symbols or in the ways in which such symbols are arranged as phrases and sentences, it stands to reason that there can be no absolute correspondence between languages. Hence there can be no fully exact translations” (Venuti 2000, 126). A scientific work will of course endeavour to produce the best possible translation. But does that necessarily imply “fidelity” to the original text? As André Lefevere pointed out, “fidelity in translation can be shown to be not just, or even not primarily a matter of matching on the linguistic level. Rather, it involves a complex network of decisions to be made by translators on the level

of ideology, poetics, and Universe Discourse” (Lefevere 1992, 35). Thus, rules for translations are absolutely necessary and indispensable. But, it would be absurdly reductionist to define the goal of translation studies as the mere formulation of “rules” for translating. To do so is to deny not only the complexity of the phenomenon under discussion, but also the many ways in which a less reductionist approach to it can help shed light on central issues in the study of culture and acculturation (*Ibid.*, 59).

This necessity to highlight a cultural dimension in translation appears as well in William Frawley’s elaborating on Prolegomenon to a theory of translation: “Every message is wrapped in a complex of implications, dispositions, all required for the sufficiency of the message; even such a ‘simple’ translation from ‘*il neige*’ to ‘it’s snowing’ demands, minimally, the use of an encyclopedia of culture in lieu of a lexicon” (Venuti 2000, 250). There is no doubt that culture plays a role in shaping a translation. In fact, “Translations are not made in a vacuum. Translators function in a given culture at a given time. The way they understand themselves and their culture is one of the factors that may influence the way in which they translate” (Lefevere 1992, 14).

Beyond the notion of culture stressed in these theories of translation, there is also, according to Bassnett, “a need for more general theoretical discussion as to the nature of translation and a need for an accessible terminology with which to engage in such discussion” (Bassnett 2002, 132). Problems related to current research in machine translation must be discussed as well. The ongoing debate, raising pertinent questions such as how much can SYSTRAN be improved, remains a fascinating field for scientists. Shortly after the Second World War, machine translations (MT) were already emerging as a major objective to be reached. Scientists “saw this application mainly as a natural outgrowth of their wartime code-breaking work, which had helped to defeat the enemy, and it never occurred to them to doubt that computer translation was a useful and realizable goal” (Newton 1992, 96). To this day MT is useful but nonetheless has its limitations.

Annette Grimailla and John Chandioux address this issue from a rational point of view when they recommend separating the machine from the translation and reminding us that it is the machine that serves the translation and not the other way round. “In all real-world applications of MT, the translator is not replaced. In fact, he or she is the one person who must be consulted, considered and helped by application” (*Ibid.* 33). We find this same approach in Douglas Robinson’s work debating technical translation. One scholar, he noticed, “advanced a quite striking Kantian thesis that the object world which technical translation so obviously deals in is an imaginative construct that the translator must learn to project intuitively with personal and variable intensity” (Robinson 1997, 179). There is no way to rely only on the machine, pretending that the human skills can be totally denied.

From the mind that designed the technology to the final work produced by machine translation, the role of the human brain is essential. It takes only the brain or a machine translation made by the brain to produce a translation. And, in any case, “translation is hard. Anyone who ever tried to converse beyond asking for directions in a language other than one’s own is well aware of this. Many scholars have written about how much is lost in the process of translating one language to another” (Rosman and Rubel 2003, 45). Here, the author refers to linguistic difficulties related to source language (SL) and target language (TL). Other sociolinguistic difficulties or challenges are related to this last point as well.

5.5.1. Sociolinguistic challenges related to translation

In the realm of translation, written text in isiZulu and written text in Haitian Kreyòl face similar sociolinguistic challenges. Biblical and religious documents were first translated into isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl more than a century ago. Since then, the respective languages of both South Africa and Haiti have developed significantly. A review of the orthography of these early isiZulu and Haitian Krèyol translated documents demonstrate the sociolinguistic challenges.

The question posed by these early documents, is whether they should be considered as “translations” or as production of a new literature in both languages? This same relevant question must be asked of educational materials as well. It is evident that Haitians utilize more books written in French rather than books written in Kreyòl. Likewise, AmaZulu use more books written in English rather than in isiZulu. Now that the two languages are official in their respective country there is greater hope for accelerating the process of production in the field of literature.

It is generally possible to discover papers and articles written in Haitian Kreyòl that have been translated from their original French. Haitian Kreyòl represents more a target language (TL) for French. The translation of documents from Haitian Kreyòl to French occur less frequently, and then, primarily to record interventions in internal Haitian affairs. This reality confirms that the two languages do not share an equal relationship within Haitian society and have, thus far, been unable to create a balanced equation between (SL) and (TL).

Is a balanced equation between source and target language possible with isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl? And would such a balance help improve communication among Africans and African descendants? This poses a sociolinguistic challenge. Balance between isiZulu and Haitian Krèyol would contribute significantly to the embrace of *umoya wamagama*. The current comparative study between the two languages, rooted in a deep conviction, is one step towards this embrace. This approach demonstrates how “translation as a pedagogical tool has traditionally not only been restricted to creative writers: generations of European schoolchildren have learned foreign languages by means of translation from about 100 AD until the end of the World War Two...” (Lefevre 1992, 46). It is our turn now to promote, to the extent that we can, more literature in isiZulu and in Haitian Kreyòl.

The following section comprises several of my writings in isiZulu that I selected and translated into Haitian Kreyòl. The use of many isiZulu proverbs shows how poetic these metaphors can be. I did not find any real obstacles in translating them from isiZulu (SL)

to Haitian Kreyòl (TL), because most of the Haitian proverbs originated in Africa. But the translation to English was not as easy, reflecting of course, English's differing origin.

5.5.2. *Izinkondlo nezisho*

a)

Izilimi Zabantu

Lang Moun

Ningathuki sisacwaniga ngezilimi zabantu.

Kuyindlela ukubhukuda ngokwazi wesayensi.

Ngokweqile, izilimi zabantu zivula iminyango

Ukungena emthonjeni wokuqonda komZulu.

Pa sezi si n ap fè rechèch sou lang moun pale.

Konsa, se naje n ap naje nan konesans lasyans.

Plis ke jamè, lang yo louvri pòt

Pou n plonje fon fon nan sous konesans.

Ngezinye izikhathi kwafika kwethu ukukhohlwa

Izilimi zabantu zibonisa ukukhanya kwendabuko

Zilethela amanzi omuthi nezitshalo yesiko lethu

Zisivuselela amandla ngovivi, emini, ebusuku

Kuze kufike ngesikhathi sabathakathi ngoba

Kwezilimi, ayikho inkomo yobuthongo.

*Pafwa nou konn rive bliye
Ke lang yo montre n limyè orijin nou.
Yo pote pou nou sèw ki sot nan rasin kilti nou,
Yo bann enèji maten, midi, swa
Jis nou rive nan fon lannwit paske
Nan zafè lang, pa gen kesyon domi nan je.*

**Zingaphezu kuka-2,000 izilimi ezikhulunywa e-Afrika!
Haibo! Ngempela sikhuluma izilimi eziningi
Ngokucabanga kukhona cishe 6,000 emhlabeni.**

*An nAfrik, nou pale plis pase 2.000 lang!
Ayibobo! Vrèman, nou pale anpil lang
Lè n sonje se anviwon 6.000 ki genyen sou latè.*

**Yilokhu kwadabuka umhlaba, ofunde kancane kancane
Babona ngamanye amehlo abakhuluma izilimi eziningi.
Kungathi laba bantu abahlakaniphile bezalelwe esithebheni.
Kungathi lezi zazi bezikwazi ukukhomba ngophakathi.**

*Depi lemond egziste, moun ki pa save anpil
Toujou wè moun ki pale anpil lang yon lòt jan.
Fò w ta di entèlektyèl sa yo te fèt nan paradi.
Fò w ta di nèg save sa yo rich nan tout kò yo.*

**Ngokuvamile, baningi abacabanga kanjalo.
Kepha, kuya ngokuya abanye babamba elentulo,
Abanye bathi: Qaphela! Amehlo ngamabhek' eshiya.
Iso elilodwa aliphumeleli! Amasongo akhala emabili!
Azikho izazi zezwe ezingazange zidinge ukukhanya!**

*An jeneral, anpil moun panse konsa.
Men, ofi amzi, gen moun ki pa chanje lide,
Gen lòt ki di: Atansyon! Menm si je w kale, ou ka twonpe w!
Yon sèl dwat pa manje kalalou! Se 2 bon ki fè bonbon!
Pa gen nèg save ki ka di li pa janm bezwen limyè.*

**Kumele kwande ucwaningo ngezilimi zabantu
Ukuze sambule zimfihlo eziningi ngesayensi.
Inala nokwazi ayihambi ekukhanyeni kwelanga;
Kuhamba indlala nobumnyama ngaphandle kwemfundo.**

*Fòk nou ogmante rechèch sou zafè lang yo
Jis nou rive dekouvri anpil sekre lasyans.
Richès ak konesans pa sikilile anba limyè solèy;
Men, san edikasyon, se blayi mizè ak fè nwa ap blayi.*

**Ngokucwaninga ukwazi ngezilimi
Sivusa abafileyo esifaneleyo.
Masikhumbule munye phakathi kwabo!
Igama lakhe nguToussaint Louverture.
Ulimi ukababa wakhe
Zisondelena nomoya wobuntu.
Masivuse omunye futhi:
Igama lakhe nguCro Magnon Man.
Kudala okhokho bakhe bazalelwe la e-Afrika.
Iminyanka edlule ngo-50,000
Okhokho bakhe basuke e-Afrika
Baye e-Europa besebafikile eDordogne
Okuchaza eningizimu zaseFransi.**

*Lè n ap fouye zo nan kalalou lang,
Nou resisite mò ki bon yo.
Ann sonje youn nan yo:
Non li se Tousen Louvèti.
Lang papa l la pwòch nou
Nan lespri Ubuntu a.
Ann resisite yon lòt ankò :
Non li se Cro-Magnon Man
Sa fè lontan zansèt li yo te fèt isit an nAfrik.
Gen plis pase 50.000 ane depi yo te kite Afrik
Al nan peyi lewòp jis yo rive nan Dòdòy,
Kidonk, nan sid peyi Lafrans.*

**Iphi indaba enhle? Kwacaca kakhulu:
Okhokho babo bazelelwe la e-Afrika.
Ngamanye amagama, njengoba labo khokho
Bonke abantu badabuka e-Afrika uqobo.
Zonke izilimi ehlukhulunyelwa emhlabeni
Zidabuka ebantu abanezimpende zaseAfrika.**

*Epi, epi, kot bòn nouvèl la?
Koze a klè kou dlo kòk:
Zansèt yo te fèt isit an nAfrik,
Pou pi klè, menm jan ak zansèt sa yo,
Anverite, tout moun soti nan zantray Lafrik.
Tout lang ki pale nan lemonn antye
Soti nan moun ki gen rasinn yo isit, an nAfrik.*

**Kwala imvula isuka efini,
Bonke abantu badabuka e-Afrika.
Kwala umlilo uvuka othuthwini,
Bonke abantu badabuka e-Afrika.**

*Tandiske lapli se nan nyaj sa soti,
Tout moun soti nan zantray Lafrik.
Tandiske dife akouche lafimen
Tout moun soti nan zantray Lafrik.*

**Masidumise i-Afrika uMama wethu,
Futhi, ukhokho wezilimi zonke.**

*Onè Respè pou Manman Afrika !
Li menm ki se Grann tout lang.*

b)

Ithemba Alibulali

Lespwa Pa Mouri

**Noma umpheki edl'intuthu,
Noma umjuluko wenja uphelela eboyeni,
Noma abanye basebenzela ihhashi elifileyo,
ITHEMBA ALIBULALI.
Abantu base-Afrika bayithemba lase-Afrika,
Izwekazi liyithemba lokungcina lethu.**

*Menm si kwizinye ap manje lafimen,
Menm si se lave men siye atè,
Menm si gen moun k ap bat dlo pou fè bè,
LESPWA PA MOURI.
Afriken se lespwa Lafrik,
Manman Lafrik se dènye lespwa n.*

**Kwacaca ukuthi kunzima ukusithwa yisithupha.
Kwacaca ukuthi baningi abantu abasha base-Afrika.
Bheka! Bheka! Kusasa kuphume kubo!
Libunjwa, liseva! Yebo, libunjwa liseva!
Ngiyasibabaza isibindi sabo ngempela.**

*Li klè ke se difisil pou you moun
Rive kache dèyè pwòp pous li.
Li klè ke Lafrik chaje ak jèn fî, jèn gason.
Gade! Se yo menm menm ki lavni an!
Yo tou pare tou poudre. Ba yo pasaj!
Ala yo gen kouray! M fou pou yo!*

**Njengoba siyazi ukuthi
Isibindi siyadonsiswana,
Izandla ziyagezana.
Yilokho amasiko wethu!
Yilokho igugu lethu!
Ngempela, ithemba alibulali.**

*Jan n deja konnen,
Lè nou youn kore lòt,
Lè nou youn ede lòt,
Nou di: Men kilti nou an,
Men trezò nou an.
Anverite, lespwa pa mouri.*

**Lapho khona bayahlaba i-Afrika,
Lapho khona bayacwasa
Abayakubhula esangomeni,
Noma isangoma esanuka umthakathi,
Ngithi: Yima! Ngikuncenga!
Akundlovu yasindwa ngumboko wayo.
Inyanga ayizelaphi. Inyanga ayizelaphi.**

*Lè zòt ap kritike manman Lafrik,
Lè zòt ap meprize moun ki al ka ougan,
Ou byen bòkò k ap detekte move zè,
M di: Kanpe la ! Degras !
Tete pa janm twò lou pou mèt li.
Pèson pa janm finn konnen. Youn bezwen lòt.*

**Kungani asikhulumi okungafihli lutho?
Kungani siyala ukukhuluma obala?
Akudingekile ukusithwa yisithupha.**

*Pouki nou pa pale san kache met la?
Pouki n pa konseye pale ak tout kè n ?
Kache dèyè gwo pous pap mennen ankenn kote.*

**Akukho okuncane ukungabaza ukuthi
Kwabaningi, ikati lilele eziko,
Inja iguguda amadala amathambo
Kanti-ke kubusa abanemali .
Uma kunjalo, inhliziyo ayanelanga,
Futhi, ukufa kwenhliziyo ngumzwangedwa.**

*Pa gen yon ti pousyè dout ke
Mizè a frape anpil moun,
Chen fè chiklèt ak zo san vyan,
Pandan rich yo ap banbile nan lajan.
Konsa, pa gen kè kontan
E se sèl nannan kè ki konn kijan sa fè mal.*

**Yilowo nalowo uyazi ukuthi
Akukho mfula ungenazikhukhula.
Ngempela, bonke ubuhle bunobubi babo.
Nathi, endaweni yokuthi: sesiyadela,
Sizimisele ukwenza lube – luhle udaba olubi.**

*Ni ou, ni li, nou tout konnen
Pa gen larivyè ki pa pote ti pay.
Wi tout flè woz gen ti pikan pa l.
Nou menm, olye n di : Nou bay vag,
Nou kanpe kinn pou chanje sa.*

**Bucabanga kanjalo ubu- Afrika.
Bacabanga kanjalo bazophumelela
Ngoba akumbokodo yahlula umgayi,
Futhi uthando luhlula konke.
Lapho kukhona uthando indlela ikhona.**

*Moun ki reflechi konsa, se Afriken tout bon.
Moun ki reflechi konsa, ap reyisi kanmenm,
Paske pòt an bwa pa kraze pòt an fè,
E fòs lanmou toujou pot lavikwa toutan, tout kote.
Lanmou ak lavikwa se grenn je ak kalalou je.*

**Ngalolu suku lokudumisa uMama Afrika,
Masivukele izinkanyezi zothando
Ezulwini zase-Afrika nemhlabeni wonke jikelele.
Halala kuMama wethu!
Ukuthula nothando kubo bonke abantwana
Nabangane baseMamaAfrika !**

*Pandan jodi a, n ap onore Manman LaFrik,
Ann limen zetwal lanmou toupatou,
Nan syèl Lafrik, kòm nan syèl tout peyi ki egziste.
Abobo pou Manman nou !
Lapè ak lanmou pou tout pitit
Ak zanmi Maman Lafrik!*

**Viva Afrika!
Viva Mama Afrika!**

*Viv Lafrik!
Viv Manman Lafrik!*

c)

Inkululeko Nothando

Libète ak Amou

Selokhu ngathi nhlo

Inhliziyo yami iyahamba.

Imini nobusuku,

Endaweni yonke, iyahamba.

Depi m fèt

Kè m ap mache.

Lajounen kou lannwit,

Tout kote m fèt, l ap mache.

Ukuziphatha kanjalo,

Idinga kuphela izinto ezimbili:

Okokuqala, igazi lenkululeko

Okwesibili, umoya wothando.

Pou l mache konsa,

Li bezwen sèlman 2 bagay:

Dabò san libète,

Answit, lespri renmen an.

Akwenzeki ukuhamba phambili

Ngaphandle kwenkululeko nokuthando.

Bekunjalo kubokhokho bethu base-Afrika:

Baxolela ukulwa kunokuba nezigqila.

*Enposib pou l kontinye
San libète ak renmen.
Se te menm jan an pou Zansèt Lafrik nou yo :
Kidonk, yo te pito goumen pase pou ret esklav.*

**Malingcwelise igama labo!
Basikhululile ebugqilini
Kuze kube inkululeko
Endaweni yonke jikelele.**

*Onè respè pou non yo!
Yo libere n anba lesklavay
Pou libète a gaye toupatou
Nan lemonn antye.*

**Ngineqiniso bazoba nathi isikhathi sonke
Ukuvulela izindlela zenkululeko.
Kukubi, kukuhle bazosihola.
Yebo, idlozi liyabhekelwa.**

*M sèten ya p toujou avèk nou
Pou n ka louvri wout libète.
Bon tan move tan, y ap gide n.
Wi, yo merite onè respè!*

**Kumnandi kakhulu ukulalela
Izwi labokhokho bethu
Phakathi enhliziyweni
Ngokuthi yilowo nalowo,
Yebo wena, ake uzinakekele!
Ngiyakudinga ukuqhubekela phambili
Endaweni yenkululeko nothando.
Uqonde ngqo ngalo mgwaqo!
Ungesabi! Woza! Masihambe!**

NGIYAKUTHANDA.

*Ala bèl sa bèl lè n tande
Vwa Zansèt yo k ap di
Nan fon fon kè nou :
Ou menm, ou menm menm,
Wi ou menm menm, pran swen w.
M bezwen w pou n vanse vanse
Sou wout libète ak renmen an.
Kontinye, kontinye dwat sou wout sa a!
Pa pè ! Vini! Vini! Ann vanse!*

M RENMEN W.

d)

Ilanga Lothando

Solèy Renmen

Namhlanje kushisa kakhulu

Ngoba ukufudumala nokushisa

Kuvela elangeni elikhethekile:

Ilanga lakwaMama Afrika.

Ilanga lothando lwakhe.

Jodia li fè cho anpil

Paske flanm chalè sa a

Soti nan yon solèy espesyal:

Solèy Manman Lafrik,

Solèy renmen li a.

Singabuye sithi ilanga lothando

Likhipha umkhovu etsheni.

Chalè solèy renmen sa a, nou ta di,

Pi cho pase flanm dife k pa ret ak dife.

Ngabe izinhliziy zakwaMama Afrika zithi:

“Zonke izingane zami zidinga ilanga lothando.

Kufuneka ukuthi zonke zithi njalo njalo:

Ngangingazi ukuthi ukuthanda umuntu

Kumnandi kangaka!

Uthando luyavutha ngaphakathi kimi.”

San dout, nan fon kè l, Manman Lafrik dwe ap di:

“Tout pitit mwen yo bezwen solèy renmen sa a.

Fòk chak pitit mwen ta ka rive di chak jou:

M pat ko janm dekouvri pisans renmen sa a;

Wi flanm renmen an ap kwit tout anndan m.”

Ngempela uthando lungumanqoba.

Eqinisweni, siyathanda ukukhumbula

Izikhathi ezimnandi:

Izikhathi zothando nenjabulo!

Izikhathi eziyisipesheli

Njengonyaka ka-1994 waseNingizimu Afrika!

Vrèman, ki di amou di lavikwa.

Jan nou renmen sonje bon moman,

Bon tan, tan lanmou, tan kè kontan,

Tan espesyal tankou lane 1994,

Isit la, isit la menm nan Afrik di Sid !

Kuhle kakhulu ukubungaza inkululeko

Nombuso wentando yeningi!

Ngenkathi inhliziyi icula iculo elihle elithi:

“Angisoze ngazikhohlwa lezo zinsuku.”

“Angisoze ngazikhohlwa lezo zinsuku.”

Thina-ke, sizizwa sijabule kabi

Ukwabelana nabo bonke ilanga lothando.

*Ala kontan nou te kontan
Anbrase Libète ak Demokrasi !
Lè sa a, kè nou t ap chante
Yon bèl ti chante ki di:
M pap janm bliye jou sa yo.
M pap janm bliye jou sa yo.
Se pou sa menm, nou kontan pataje
Solèy renmen sa a ak tout moun.*

**Ngabe izikhathi ezimnandi zisho ukuthi
Asihlangabezani nobunzima na?
Cha! Akunjalo!**

*San dout, pou kèk moun, bon tan sa yo
Ka vle di n pat janm kwaze ak move tan?
Non. Pa di tou !*

**Izikhathi ezilukhuni enidlule kuzo,
Siphume kuzo njengamaqhawe
Futhi sesinamandla kunakuqala.
Siyasibabaza isibindi sethu!**

*Nan travèse move tan,
Nou reparèt drèt tankou ewo,
Nou reparèt pi djanm ke jamè.
Ayibobo pou chay kouray sa a !*

Ilanga lothando

Kubalulekile ukuzalwa kabusha

Kokucabanga kwezingqondo zethu.

Lolu thando luyavutha ngaphakathi kimi.

Solèy renmen an sa a,

Nou vrèman bezwen l

Pou nou tounen moun ki

Tou nèf, tou nouvo, tou limen.

Hou! Flanm chalè renmen sa a

Ap kankannen tout anndan m!

Ngokufana kuMama Afrika,

Lalela, lalela izwi lakhe ngokuthi:

Bantwana bam' enginithanda kakhulu,

Nginishayela ihlombe ngokuzimisela kwenu

Ngokuphumelela ekuzabalazeleni

I-African Renaissance nokuthuthuka kothando!

Kanta pou Manmi Afrika,

Se menmman parèrèyman.

Koute! Koute vwa l kap di:

Piti mwen yo ke m renmen anpil yo,

Chapo ba pou jan n kontinye batay

Pou akouchman yon Afrik tou nèf

K ap benyen nan tèt sous lanmou an.

Nginyanithanda!

Nginyanithanda!

M renmen nou!

M renmen nou!

e)

Amaphupho Namaphuphoze : “Indaba encane”

Rèv ak Rèv : “Yon ti istwa”

UMthokozisi uneminyaka engu-25.

Uthanda kakhulu ukuphupha.

Ngokuhle nangokubi uyaphupha.

Ngamazwi ambalwa, uMthokozisi

Ungumphuphi ngempela.

Ngokubona kwakhe kuyindaba yothando.

Ngempela kuyindaba yothando kuye.

Mtokozisi gen 25 an.

Maladi damou l se fè rèv.

Li fè rèv nan bon kòm nan move tan.

Kidonk, Mtokozisi dòmi reve rèv.

Pou li, rèv egal yon istwa damou.

Wi, maladi damou l se fè rèv.

Izolo ebusuku bekumnandi kakhulu

KuMthokozisi ngoba uphuphe

NgoToussaint Louverture. Hawu!

Kwaze kwamnadi ukumbona uToussaint!

Kepha uToussaint akasasi isiZulu

Kanti-ke uMthokozisi naye akasazi

IsiKreyòl noma isiFulentshi.

Ngenhlanhla iwele likaMthokozisi
Belikhona ephushuni ukubasiza
Mayelana nalezi zilimi.
Iwele lakhe likwazi
Ukukhuluma izilimi eziningi.

Yè swa, Mtokozisi te kontan anpil
Paske l reve Tousen Louvèti.
Waw! Li te vrèman kontan wè Tousen.
Men, Tousen pa konn pale Zoulou
E Mtokozisi pa pale ni Kreyòl ni Fransè.
Erezman, nan rèv la, marasa Mtokozisi te la
Pou fasilite kominiksyon an
Piske li menm, li pale anpil lang.

Lokhu lamawele lawo avela kwaZulu,
UMthokozisi ubuze uToussaint ngoShaka,
Ngamadlozi nokhoko bakhe...
Ngenkathi ekhuluma noToussaint
Umfundise isiZulu kancane kancane...

Kòm 2 marasa yo fèt Kwazoulou,
Mtokozisi mande Tousen pou Shaka,
Li mande pou Lwa yo, pou tout Zansèt yo.
Nan menm konvèsasyon an li tou pwofite
Aprann Tousen yon ti Zoulou tou zwit.

Konje, kuhle ukukhumbula
Into enhle futhi eyiqiniso:
Ngenkathi uToussaint eqala
Ukwazi ukubhala igama lakhe

Ubeneminyaka engu-48.

Kwakukuhle kuye ukufunda

Ulimi lukaMama Afrika!

*An pasan, fò n sonje bèl verite sa a :
Lè Touden kòmanse aprann siyen non l,
Li te deja gen 48 ane sou tèt li.
Kidonk, se pa ti kontan Touden te kontan
Lè l kòmanse aprann yon lang Manman Lafrik !*

Noma kukhona isaga ngesiZulu esithi:

isiZulu wasincela ebeleni,

i-Afrika uMama wethu sonke.

Ngakho-ke sabelana ngenhliziyo yonke

Konke esinako phakathi ne-Afrika

Futhi siyajabula kakhulu

Ukuxoxisana ngokungafihlilutho.

*Menm si pwovèb Zoulou sa a byen di
Se depi nan tete w aprann lang Zoulou,
Lafrik se Manman nou tout.
Konsa, isit an nAfrik, nou pataje
Tout sa nou genyen ak tout kè n.
E pou nou, pale ak kè louvri
Se viv ak kè kontan, kè poze.*

Yo! Hawu! Seliphelile iphupho!

Seliphelile ngempela leli phupho!

Kusasa, wavuka ngovivi uMthokozisi.

Wabelana nomama wakhe leli phupho.

**Umama ungumuntu okholwa
Kakhulu kuMvelinqangi.**

*Waw! Rèv la fonn! Fonn kou bè!
Demen maten, anvan bajou kase,
Bonè bonè, Mtokozi reveye.
Li pataje rèv la ak Manman l.
Manman an kwè anpil nan Bon Dye.*

**Wathi: ngane yami, lalela! Lalela-ke!
Mina, ngicabanga ukuthi amadlozi
Afuna ukukufundisa izinto eziningi.
Kodwa, kumele ukuqaphele!
Kukhona amaphupho namaphupho-ze.
Kuwuphawu oluhle uma sikhuluma
Ngenhliziyo ezweleyo namadlozi.
Kuluphawu lokuhlonipha ukulalela
Izwi lamadlozi ngalo lonke iqiniso.
Kepha, kudingekile ukuqaphela!
Yek'ukuphupha! Vuka, vuka!**

*Li di pitit mwen, koute! Koute!
M kwè lespri yo vle aprann ou anpil bagay.
Men, fòk ou pridan. Gen rèv ak rèv!
Se yon bon siy lè nou pale klè
Nan fè bon jan dyalòg ak lespri yo.
Lè n koute yo ak tout kè nou,
Sa montre nou gen respè pou yo.
Men, li nesesè pou n di : Atansyon !
Sispann reve! Reveye! Reveye!*

**Unina uyabona ukuthi ingane yakhe
Iyaqhubeka ngokuphupha futhi
Iyakhuluma kakhulu ephusheni.
Unina ufikelwa ukwesaba, uthi hayibo!
Hayi hayi hayi! Kwaze kwabuhlungu-bo!
Kufanele ngiye kudokotela nengane yami.**

*Manman an wè piti fi l kontinye reve
E kanta pou pale nan dòm, se tout tan.
Manman an vi n pè, li di: Ayayay!
Manjezon soufrans sa a twò boule.
Fò m mennen pitit la kay doktè.*

**Ngabe ingane yami iyagula?
Ayiphili kahle. Kungathi iyagula.
Ngokuvamile abantu bayaphupha.
Nami ngiyathanda ukuphupha.
Nganeno kubalulekile ukuphupha
Ngapesheya kwalokho siyakwazi
Ukulalela uMvelinqangi namadlozi.**

*Gen lè pitit mwen an malad.
Li pa anfòm. Sanble li malad.
Anjeneral tout moun konn fè rèv.
Mwen menm tou m renmen reve.
Se enpòtan pou n reve, e anplis
Nou jwenn okazyon tandè
Ni vwa Bon Dye, ni vwa lespri yo.*

Cha! Kukhona inkinga...
Konakeleni enganeni yami?
Ukwenza ngokuphambuka...
Kuya ngokuya konakala...
Usebishe ngenxa yephupho.
Le ndaba ilubishi.
Ngempela usobishini.

Non, gen yon pwoblèm...
Sa k dwe rive pitit mwen an...?
Li melanje tout bagay...
Chak jou sa vin pi mal....
Mtokozisi kite rèv pote l ale.
Hou! Bagay sa fè tèt mwen vire.
M vrèman santi m nan konfizyon...

Usegule waze walaza...Isilazile ingane yami.
Okubi kukho konke lokhu ukuthi akaboni lutho.
Ngithe ayeke ukuphupha kepha akaboni lutho.
Kuyacaca ukuthi akunamqondo. Kucacile-nje!

Pitit mwen an ap depafini, li fin depafini...
Sa k pi rèd, li pa konprann anyen nan koze a.
M di l sispann reve, men sa pa chanje anyen.
Se klè li pa nòmàl ... Wi sa parèt aklè.

Izinsuku zonke ngithi:
Kuyovelani?
Kuyomsiza ngani?
Yek' ubulima!
Yeka ubuhlungu engabuzwayo!

Koze kube nini?

Belu uyazilimaza!

Kodwa kuze kube manje akaboni...

Chak jou m oblije mande:

Sa k ap pase la a?

Sa sa rapòte l?

Ki mòd foli sa a?

Ki lè ma delivre anba doulè sa a?

Jis ki lè? Pou konbyen tan ankò ?

Se vre li gen pwoblèm...

Men jis ki lè l ap rive wè klè?

Uma kunjalo ngifanele

Ngibheke ngamanye amehlo.

uMthokozisi uyingane yami.

Ngiyamthanda kakhulu.

Wanga ube nenjabulo!

Lokhu kulusizo olukhulu kimi.

Mezanmi si se konsa, m oblije

Gade bagay yo yon lòt jan.

Mtokozisi se pitit fi m.

M renmen l anpil.

Rèv pa m se pou li vin anfòm.

Ala swaf m swaf delivrans sa a!

Ngikhumbula ukuthi wayethe:

“Mama, ngingenza uma nginamandla”

“Mama, angakwenza uma enamandla”

Mina futhi ngimphendule: Kuhle!

Kuhle ngane yami! Ngikuzwa kahle.

M sonje yon fwa li di m:

« Manmi, si m te kapab, m tap fè l »

E mwen menm tou, m te di l : Ok !

Bravo, konpliman, pitit mwen !

M konprann ou trè trè byen.

Ngakho-ke okwamanje

Ngizokwenza izinto ezimbili:

Okokuqala, ukuya nawe

Kudokotela noma kupsychologist

Okwesibili, ukuhlaganisa amakhanda

Namadlozi amahora amaningi sikhathi sinye.

Se pou sa, kounye a menm,

Gen 2 bagay pou m fè:

Premyèman, al wè yon doktè

Ou byen yon psikològ avè w.

Dezyèmman, fò n rele tout lespri yo

Pou n koute yo, koute yo byen koute.

Njengoba sazi:

Imvula isuka efini.

Jan nou konnen,

Lafimen pa leve san dife.

5.5.3. Vocabulary and phrasebook

In the following section, isiZulu words have been translated to Haitian Kreyòl and Haitian Kreyòl sentences have been translated to isiZulu. This approach intends to express a certain linguistic balance through the translations.

When possible in (a), the Haitian Kreyòl sentence and the isiZulu translation show vocabulary resemblances or comprise words showing stems or phonetic features shared by both Haitian Kreyòl and isiZulu. This implies a cognitive approach and represents a step for further research aimed at establishing a cognate list from these two languages. The decision to make such a long list (a) and (b) is linked to two reasons: First, it offers an opportunity to have a comparative picture of the two languages and second, it is a preview to the publication of the first isiZulu - Haitian Kreyòl – French dictionary, to be followed by a *Polyglotta IsiZulu* that includes – Spanish – Italian-English.

a) Vocabulary

Ikhaya	lakay (home)
	Lakay se lakay
	<i>Ikhaya yikhaya</i>
	Home is home
	Al lakay
	<i>Yiya ekhaya</i>
	Go home

Ayibo

Ayibobo! (great)

Ayibobo! Prezidan Mbeki ap vini!

Ayibo! UMongameli UMbheki uzofika la.

Great! President Mbeki is coming!

Hhai, hhai, hhai

non, non, non (no. no, no)

Hayayay ! M pa vle tande pawòl sa yo

Hhai, hhai, hhai! Angifuni ukulalela lezi ndaba lezo.

No, no, no! I don't want to hear these words.

Cha! Hhayi

non (no!)

Non, non, se pa konsa

Cha! Hhayi akunjalo!

No, no, it's not like that

An nAyiti, trè souvan, moun di ayayay

Abantu baseHaiti bathi ayayay njalo njalo

In Haiti very often people say *ayayay*

'Hhayi hhayi' sanble ak ayayay ki vle di : non, non, non

Hhayi hhayi kucishe kufane ayayay okuchaza ukuthi chachacha

'Hhayi hhayi' sounds like *ayayay*, which means no, no, no

Wololó !

mo pou manifeste yon kontantman (of pleasurable excitement)

Wololoy! A se bèl bagay!

Wololo! Kuyamangalisa lokho!

Wow! How beautiful it is!

Ukuncishana

chich (to be cheap, stingy)

Ou chich

Uyancishana

You are cheap

Ou pa chich

Unesandla

You are not cheap

Ukulwa

goumen, batay (to fight)

N ap batay ak yo

Siyalwa nabo

We are fighting against them

Nou nan batay

Siyalwa

We are fighting

Isilwane

animal (animal)

Yo di: Lè ou gen lwa, ou se chwal lwa a

Kuthiwa uma uyatwasa uyisilwane sedlozi elifikile kuwe

When someone is possessd, they say he becomes the horse of the spirit

Lwa a monte moun tankou chwal li

Idlozi ligibele lo muntu njengoba ihhashi lakhe

The spirit mounts a person like its horse

Umlwane

lwa, lespri mò, lespri defen (ancestral spirit, departed spirit)

Moun sa a gen lwa

Lo muntu unomlwane

This person is possessed by a spirit

Moun sa a gen lwa

Lo muntu uyathwasa

This person is possessed by a spirit

Idlozi

lwa, lespri mò, lespri defen (ancestral spirit, departed spirit)

Sèvi lwa, fè manje lwa pou pwoteksyon w

Idlozi liyabhekelwa

Take care of the spirit and the spirit will take care of you

Yo mande lwa yo pwoteksyon

Bacela emadlozi ukuba abavikela

They ask the spirits to protect them

Lespri zansèt li yo ap mache avè l

Amadlozi akhe ahamba naye

His spirits are with him

Lwa yo ba peyi sa a do

Leli zwe lifulathelwe amadlozi

The spirits have turned their backs on this country

Ithongo	lwa, lespri mò, lespri defen (ancestral spirit, departed spirit) Lwa l ap pwoteje l <i>Ithongo lakhe liyamvikela</i> His spirit is protecting him
Izithutha	lwa yo, lespri mò, lespri defen (ancestral spirits, departed spirits) Lwa yo ap mache ak yo <i>Izithutha zabo zihamba nabo</i> Their spirits are walking with them
Umoya Ongcwele	Lespri Sen (the Holy Spirit) Se pou Lespri Sen an avè w! <i>Umoya Ongcwele mawube nawe</i> The Holy Spirit be with you!
Idimoni	demon, satan, dyab (demon, evil) Demon yo ap pèsekite l <i>Amadimoni ayamhlupha</i> The demons are persecuting him
Bi	mal, pa bon, rabi (bad, not good) Pen an rabi <i>Isinkwa sibi</i> The bread is stale

Bagay la mabi
Into embi
The thing is no good, stale

Manje a pa bon
Ukudla okubi
The food is spoiled

Ububi ledè (ugliness)

Nou wè jan yo lèd
Sibonile ububi babo
We see how ugly they are

Umoya omubi move zespri, dyab, satan, demon (demon, evil, bad spirit)

Move zespri ap pèsekite l
Umoya omubi uyamhlupha
The demon is persecuting him

Ale satan! Pati satan!
Hamba moya omubi
Go away evil spirit

Okholwa emimoyeni yabafileyo

moun ki kwè nan lwa (believer in ancestral spirits)

Moun ki kwè nan lwa ap fete jodia
Okholwa emimoyeni yabafileyo uyadumisa namhlanje
People who believe in the ancestral spirits are celebrating today

Moun yo ki kwè nan defen yo ap fete jodia
Abakhola emimoyeni yabafileyo bayadumisa namhlanje
Those who believe in the ancestral spirits are celebrating today

Inyang

ougan, medsen fèy (traditional healer)

Yon moun ki malad al ka ougan
Umuntu ogulayo uya enyangeni
A sick person goes to a traditional healer

Moun sa yo al ka ougan rèdchèch
Laba bantu bayanyanga ngempela
These people really like to consult traditional healers
Yon ougan pa geri tèt li
Inyang ayizelaphi
A traditional healer doesn't heal himself

Nou yon bezwen lòt
Inyaga ayizelaphi
We each need one another

Kouto pa grate manch li
Inyang ayizelaphi
A knife's blade cannot clean its own handle.

Isangoma

divinò, bòkò (diviner)

Lakay mwen divinò sèvi ak kat pou fè tretman
Ezweni lami isangoma sibhula ngamaphepha
In my country the diviner uses cards to diagnose

Isitla divinò sèvi ak kout zo pou fè tretman

La, isangoma sibhula ngamathambo

Here the diviner uses bones to diagnose

Lakay mwen divinò gade nan kat

Ezweni lami isangoma siqagela ngamaphepha

In my country a diviner looks in his cards

Isitla divinò dekouvri sekre nan fè kout zo

La isangoma siqagela imfihlo ngamathambo

Here diviners uncover secrets by throwing bones

Divinò a pran sant yon dyab

Isangoma sinuka umthakathi

The diviner smells a devil

Divinò yo pran sant li (Yo sispèk li)

Ziyamnuka izangoma

There is something suspicious about him (They suspect him)

Ukubhula

detekte kòz, dekouvri koz maladi (to diagnose)

File kat la, boule, n ap koute

Shaya amathambo, bhula, sizwe

Throw the bones, talk, we are listening

Khulu

gwo (big)

Moun sa a se yon gwo bakoulou, se yon mantè

Lo muntu mkhulu kakhulu engqondweni yakhe, umqambimanga

That person is a big liar

Moun sa a se yon ti koulout, li chich

Lo muntu encane kakhulu eqondweni akhe, akangesandla

That person is cheap, stingy

Moun sa a se yon ti koulout, li pap bay anyen

Lo muntu uncishana kakhulu, akanikezi lutho

That person is stingy, she won't give a dime

uNkulunkulu

Gran Mèt la, Pi gwo Zansèt la, Bon Dye (God, the Greatest ancestor, the Ancestral Spirit, the supreme deity)

Bon Dye se pi gwo zansèt nou an

uNkulunkulu ukhokho wethu wokuqala

uNkulunkulu is our greatest Ancestor

uNomkhubulwana

deyès ou Bon Dye fi pou Zoulou (goddess)

Gen moun ki onore uNomkhubulwana an Afrik

Abanye badumisa uNomkhubulwana e-Afrika

Some people worship *uNomkhubulwana* in Africa

Impaka

baka (devil)

Entèl sanble yon baka

Ubani ufana nempaka

So and so looks like a devil

Bhaka

kwuit nan fou (bake in the oven)

Baka sa a vle kwuit pòv yo nan founo dife

Le mpaka ifuna ukubhaka abampofu kuhhavini

That devil wants to burn the poor in an oven

Ukubuya

retounen (to come back)

Ala moun kabouya!

Lo muntu unochuku!

This person likes to fight, is a trouble maker!

Se yon nèg kabouya!

Unochuku!

That is a person who likes to fight!

Ala ou kabuya!

Uyaphikelela!

What a trouble maker!

Moun kabouya renmen tounen sou yon problem

Uma umuntu enochuku uyathanda ukubuyela kwenkinga

People who are trouble makers like to re-ignite problems

Ukubuyisa

fè retounen, fè reparèt (to restore, to return)

Fòk nou fè lespri yo retounen

Kufanele ukubuyisa amadlozi

We must restore the spirits

Paske si w pa rele lespri yo retounen y ap ba w do
Ngoba uma ungawabuyisi, amadlozi azokufulathela
Because if you don't restore the spirits, they will abandon you

Fòk nou fè lespri 'Ubuntu' a retounen
Kumele sibuyise umoya wobuntu
We must bring back the spirit of *Ubuntu*

Fò nou fè bon lespri yo reparèt
Kumele sibuyise umoya omuhle
We must bring back the good spirits

Kidonk lespri libète, lespri tèt ansanm, jistis, diyite ak lapè
Kafushane umoya wenkululeko, umoya wobumbano,
Umoya wokulingana wesithunzi nomoya wokuthula
Thus, the spirit of freedom, solidarity, justice, dignity and peace

Ukukhanga

atire (to attract)

Li itilize wanga pou atire fi
Usebenzisa umuthi ukukhanga izintombi
He is using mysterious charms to attract the ladies

Wonga

wanga (attraction, luring, magnetism)

Li sèvi ak wanga pou geri maladi
Usebenzisa iwonga ukulapha izifo
He uses magnetism to cure illness

Imfundiso

doktrin, lesen (doctrine)

Doktrin sa a pwofon

Le mfundiso inzulu

This doctrine is profound

Leson sa a gen fon

Le mfundiso inzulu

This lesson is deeply meaningful

Umfundisi

pè, pastè, reveran (priest, pastor, reverend)

Yon pè nan legliz katolik

Umfundisi wesonto lamaKatolika

A priest in the Catholic Church

Umshumayeli

pè, paste, reveran (priest, pastor, reverend)

Pè sa a ap simaye levanjil, l ap preche

Lo mfundisi uyashumayela

This priest is preaching

Li te yon paste nan legliz pwotestan

Ubengumshumayeli wesonto lamaProtestanti

He was a pastor in the protestant church

Ikholwa

mè, sè relijyez (nun, religious sister)

Madam sa a te yon mè nan legliz katolik

Lo mama ube yikholwa esontweni lamaKatolika

This lady was a religious sister in the Catholic Church

Mwen wè plizyè mè nan legliz la
Ngibone amakhola esontweni
I saw several religious sisters in the church

Ukukholwa

kwè nan (to believe)

Nou kwè nan Bon Dye
Sikholelwa kuNkulunkulu
We believe in God

Inkolo

relijyon (religion)

Relijyon Kris la pa vle kolonizasyon
Inkolo yamaKristu ayifuni ikolonization,
Noma nokuthuthukisa abantu bomdabu kulo.
Christian religion does not want colonization

Relijyon mizilman yo
Inkolo yamasulumani
Moslem religion

Relijyon nan le monn
Inkolo yomhlaba
Religion in the world

Incwadi engcwele

Labib (the holy book, the Bible)

Labibla di fò nou youn renmen lòt
Incwadi engcwele ithi masithandaze
The Bible says we must love one another

IBhayibheli

Labib (the Bible)

Labibla la di nou tout se frè

IBhayibheli lithi singabafowethu sonke

The Bible says we are all brothers

Uthando

amou, renmen, afeksyon, tandrès (affection)

Li gen tandrès nan kè l

Unonthando enhliziyweni akhe

She has tenderness in her heart

Umthetho

lalwa (law, regulations)

Pèson pa sou tèt lalwa

Akekho ongaphezu komthetho

No one is above the law

Kòmandman Bon Dye di fòk nou youn renmen lòt

Umthetho kaNkulunkulu uthi masithandaze

God's law says that we must love each other

Nou se frè ak sè

Singabafowethu nodathewethu

We are brothers and sisters

Isiphetho

konklizyon (conclusion)

Pe la! Ann fini kounye a!

Thula! Masiphethe manje!

Silence! Let's conclude now!

Nou rive nan konklizyon an
Sesifike esiphethweni
We have reached the conclusion

Kudala

sa fè lontan (long ago)

Gen yon dal tan depi nou pa wè
Kudala asibonanga
It has been a long time since we have seen each other

Ubudala

laj (age)

Fi pa renmen di laj yo
Abesifazane abathandi ukusho ubudala babo
Ladies don't like to reveal their age

Cishe

prèske (almost)

Ou ta di chich chich, prèske anyen
Ungasho okuncane, kucishe kungelutho
You would say very little, practically nothing

Umhlaba

lemond (the world)

Li laba nan yon lòt mond
Ulaphaya emhlabeni omunye
He is there in another world

Isiqongo

somè, anwo nèt (apex)

Nou sot nan peyi Kongo

Sivela eKhongo

We are from Kongo

Kongo se anwo

IKhongo ihlala esiqongweni

Kongo is on top

An Ayiti, gen yon dans ki rele kongo.

EHaiti kukhona umgido obizwa i 'kongo'

In Haiti there is a dance called *kongo*

An Ayiti, gen yon kote yo rele kongo.

EHaiti kukhona indawo ebizwa 'kongo'

In Haiti there is a place called *kongo*

Ou se yon kongo vle di: ou fenk debake sot lwen lwen

Wena ungukongo, okuchaza usanda kufika, uvela kude

You are a *kongo* means: you just arrived from far a way

Ou se yon kongo vle di: ou fèt nan peyi a

Wena ungukongo, okuchaza ukuthi uzalelwe eHaiti

You are a *kongo* means: you were born in Haiti

Ukuvela

parèt, vini de, soti (to appear, to come from)

Li vin dela

Uvela lapho

He comes from there

UMvelinqangi, vin la, vin la
UMvelinqangi woza la, woza la
UMvelinqangi, come here, come here

Nou soti an nAfrik
Sivela e-Afrika
We come from Africa

Ukududuza apeze, konsole, fè vin dou (to appease)

Li pral fè l vin dou dou
Uzomduduza
He will appease him

M renmen konsole moun k ap souffri
Ngiyathanda ukududuza abahluphekile
I like to console people who are suffering

Ukusondela rapwoche, pwoche (to approach closer)

Proche l pou sonde l
Ake umsondele ukumhlola
Approach him in order to ‘test’ him, sound him out

Ukufika rive (to arrive)

Li fenk rive
Usanda kufika
He just arrived

Umlotha

sann (ash)

An Kreyòl, lota sanble ak yon mak sann

NgesiKreyòl, ilota kufanisa uphawu lomlotha

In Kreyòl, *lota* (a birth mark or scar) can look like a marking made with ash

Ti moun sa a gen yon lota menm kote ak manman l

Lo mtwana unebala endaweni ekufana nekamama wakhe

This child has a birth mark exactly where his mom has one as well

Li voye sann monte tankou lafimen ansanswa

Uthela umlotha

He sprinkles ashes ceremoniously

Li gen lota sou vant

Unebala esiswini

He has a birth mark or scar on the belly

Entèl dezonore paran l

Ukhuni luzala umlotha

So and so has dishonored his parents

Imbongolo

bourik (ass, donkey)

Bongolo, Bongolo papa w! Se yon gwo joumam pou moun

Mbongolo kayihlo! Kuyindlela yokuthuka abantu

Calling someone an ass is a major insult

Indawo

plas (place)

Doktè a di fòk li ba w piki a nan dada w

Udokotela uthi kumele akujove esinqeni

The doctor says he must give you the injection on your rear end

Ti mou sa di li pa pè pran piki nan inda

Lo mtwana uthi akasabi ukuthola umjovo esinqeni

This child says he is not afraid to take the injection on his rear end

Endaweni ka-

nan plas, olyede (in the place of)

Pito yo diskite pase yo goumen

Kungcono ukuxoxisana endaweyni yokulwa

It is better that they discuss, rather than fight

Ukuvuka

leve, reveye (to be awake)

Li leve voup! Yo leve voup !

Uvuke vumbu! Bavuke vuthu!

He woke up suddenly! They wake up suddenly!

Nou leve voup!

Sivuke vuthuthu!

We woke up suddenly.

Pòv yo leve brid sou kou

Abamphofu bavuke ngokuzuma

The poor woke up suddenly

Ukubola

pouri, gate, boule (rotten, ruined, burned)

Kuyabola

Li gate, li pouri, li boule

It is rotten, ruined, burned

Li fin gate. Li fin pouri. Li fin boule

Kubolile. Kubolile. Lubolile

It's already rotten, spoiled, burned

Pòmdetè gate

Izimbane elibolile

Spoiled potato

Ze pouri

Iqanda elibolile

Rotten egg

-Bi

mal, pa bon, rabi (badly)

Pen an rabi

Isinkwa sibi

The bread is stale

Bagay la mabi

Into embi

The thing is no good, stale

Manje a pa bon

Ukudla okubi

The food is spoiled

Isaka

sak, valiz (bag)

Li jwenn sak li a
Uthole isaka lakhe
She found her bag

Ukuya

ale (to go)

Li yaya kò lambo
Iyangapha nangapha
He moves himself

Ti Yaya mache piti piti
uTiyaya uya kancane kancane
The person is moving slowly

Ukubhalensa

balanse (to balance, sway)

Balanse Yaya se yon bèl ti chante
“Ibalanse Yaya”, umculo omnandi
Balanse Yaya is a beautiful song

Intambo

fisèl, kouwa, bretèl (band, strap)

Yon tamtam se yon tanbou ki fè venn nou mache
Itamtam yisigubu esinyakazisa imithambo yegazi
A *tamtam* is a drum that strikes a cord inside us

Isisekelo

baz (base)

Fò n byen ensèkle l anba

Kumele siyinikeza isisekelo phansi

We must properly tie it at the bottom

Ukusekela

ankadre, ansèkle, antoure (surround, protect, cover)

Li bon pou n ankadre moun k ap souffri yo

Kuhle ukusekela abahluphekile

It is good to support people who are suffering

Ukuza

vini (to come)

Li za! Li grate, li kouri vini

Usheshisile ukuza masinyane

Usheshisile! Uze masinyane

He hurried! He came rushing

Ukuzala

fèt, akouche (to give birth)

M fèt an nAyiti

Ngizalelwe eHaiti

I was born in Haiti

Ki bò w fèt?

Uzalelwe kuphi?

Where were you born?

Ukunciphisa

redwi, diminye (to diminish)

Ou va redwi l piti piti tankou yon pis

Uzoyinciphisa kancane njengentwala

You will reduce it until it is the size of a flea

Piti piti tankou yon pis

Kancane kancane njengentwala

Little, small like a flea

Ukuyeka

sispann (to discontinue)

Li renka dousman dousman

Uyayeka kancane kancane

He gradually slowed down

Fòk ou sispann fimen

Kumele ukuyeke ukubhema

You must stop smoking

Sispann sa w ap fè la a

Yeka le nto oyenzayo

Stop what you are doing

Inja

chen (dog)

Chen sa a jape

Le nja iyakhonkothwa

This dog barked

Chen sa a konn mòde

Lenja iyaluma

This dog bites

Phansi

anba (down)

Li pandye anba

Ilengela phansi

It is hanging down below

Ukuphupha

reve (to dream)

Poupe fè ti fi reve

Unodoli uphuphisa amatombazanyana

The doll makes girls dream

Yè swa ti fi sa a reve poupe

Izolo ebusuku le ntombazane iphuphe ngonodoli

Last night this little girl dreamed of dolls

Ukugqoka

abiye (to dress)

Ou abiye byen kòkèt

Ugqoke kahle kakhulu

You are dressed very fancy

Ukuswenka

abiye ak swen, abiye bròdè (to dress beautifully)

Li renmen abiye ak swen

Uyathanda ukuswenka

She likes to dress carefully

Ukushayela

kondi (to drive)

Li kondi yon machin k ap charye anpil bagay

Ushayela imoto ethutha izinto eziningi

He drives a car that carries a heavy load

Ukuhamba

ale, pati (to drive away)

N ap janbe ale demen

Siya hamba kusasa

We are going over tomorrow

Li janbe ale yè maten

Uhambe izolo ekuseni

He went over yesterday morning

Iconsi

gout, ons (drop)

M vle yon gout sèlman

Ngifuna iconsi kuphela

I only want a drop

Nou ta renmen yon ti ons sèlman

Singathanda iconsi kuphela

We would like only a tiny bit

Ukonga

ekonomize, sere (to economize, save)

Fò w sere lajan: ou kong, ou chich

Kumele wonge imali: uyancishana

You must save money: you are cheap

Ou sere anpil kòb
Wonga imali eningi
You save lots of money

Li pa bon pou w sere twòp manje
Akukuhle ukonga ukudla kakhulu
It's not good to save too much food

*Ezweni lami uma umuntu uyathanda ukonga ukudla kakhulu
endaweyni yokukwabelana nabanye, kutiwa lomuntu “u-kong”.*
In my country if someone likes to hoard food, instead of sharing
with others, we say that to that person *ou kong*

Ukubabaza

sezi, pantan, ret baba (to shocked, surprised)

Yo pral ret baba
Bazobabaza kakhulu
They will be dumb-founded

Ou pral sezi anpil
Uzobabaza kakhulu
You will be very shocked

Ukuthola

jwenn, twouve (to find)

Li pral fè tolalito
Akazuthola lutho
He won't get anything

Li pa pral jwenn anyen

Akazuthola lutho

He won't find anything

Pa fè m fè tolalito

Ungangezi ngingatholi lutho

Don't make me go back and forth for nothing

Pa fè m pa jwenn anyen

Ungangezi ngingatholi lutho

Don't make me not find anything

Ukuqeda

fini, rive nan ke a (finish)

Nou fini nan ke wout la

Siyaqeda ekupheleni kwendlela

We finished at the tail end of the road

Nou fini, nou rive nan ke travay la

Siyaqeda, siyafika ekupheleni komsebenzi

We reached the end of the job

Qinile

kinn, fèm (firm)

Nou la kinn

Sihlala siqinile

We stand firm

Fò n kenbe kinn

Kumele siqine

We must remain firm

Yo la kinn alaganach

Bahlala baqinile

They stand very firm

Izeze

pis (flea)

Yon pis sanble ak yon ti ze zwilit zwilit

Izeze lifana neqanda elincane kakhulu

A flea looks like a tiny little egg

Ize

sa a pa anyen (that is nothing)

Li tounen lakay san anyen

Ubuye ekhaya neze

He returned home with nothing

Ukusuka

soti, deplase, bouje (get out of the way)

Soti la! Souke kò w!

Suka la! Suka la!

Get out of here! Get out!

Deplase pye w!

Susa izinyawo!

Move your feet!

Ukukhonzela

salye, adore (greetings on behalf of)

Lakay mwen yon konze vle di yon moun ki trayi
Ezweni lami uma umuntu ongukonze, ukuchaza ocaphela
In my country *konze* means someone who betrays

Adore blan
Ukukhonza abelungu
To worship whites

Moun sa a adore blan
Lo muntu ukhonza abelungu
This person loves the whites

Usizi

doulè, malè, kont, zizani, mezzantant (misunderstanding, grief)

Yo goumen aköz zizani
Bebelwa ngenxa yosizi
They fought because of a misunderstanding

Gen yon mezzantant
Kukhona usizi
There is a misunderstanding

Se yon kont ki fè souffri
Kunosizi (kubuhlungu)
The quarrel caused the suffering

Gen sizani nan mitan yo
Kunosizi phakathi kwabo
There is discord among them

Impilo

lavi, sante (life, health)

Li anfòm anpil

Unempilo impela

He is doing very well

Li gen anpil sante

Unempilo impela

She is very healthy

Eqa

traverse, janbe, eskive, sote (to cross, escape, jump)

Janbe rivyè a

Eqa umfula

Cross the river

Eskive danje

Ukweqa ingozi

To escape danger

Ukungqongqoza

frape nan (to knock)

Li frape nan pòt la gong gong

Uyangqongqoza emnyango

He is knocking on the door

Ulimi

lang (language)

Li vle pale an lang

Ufuna ukukhuluma ngezilimi

She wants to speak in tongues

Moun ki gen lwa pale an lang

Umuntu othwasayo ukhuluma izilimi

People possessed by the spirits speak in tongues

Lakay, you moun ki gen lwa konn pale an lang;

konsa yo konn di: Moun sa a ap liminen

Ezweni lami, umuntu othwasayo ukhuluma izilimi,

Kungenzeka kuthiwe lo muntu u - “liminen”

In my country someone possessed by spirits may speak in tongues
and they may say that this person is *liminen*

Indlu encane

ti kay la, twalèt (latrine, toilet)

Lakay mwen ti kay la vle di twalèt

Ezweni lami uma sithi ‘ti kay la’, kuchaza indlu encane

In my country when they say *ti kay la* (small house) it means the
toilet

Lakay mwen nou itilize mo ti kay la pou montre twalèt la

Ezweni lami sisebenzisa indlu encane ukukhombisa itoilet

In my country we use the words *ti kay la* to mean toilet

Ivila

parese (lazy person)

Parès se bagay ki vilen anpil

Bubi kakhulu ubuvila

Lazyness is a very bad trait

Ncane

piti, ti nen (small)

Moun sa a se yon nen, li piti anpil

Lo muntu mncane kakhulu kabi

This person is a midget, he is very small

Umqambimanga

mantè (a liar)

Yon mantè se yon moun ki bay manti

Umqambimanga ngumuntu oqamba amanga

The one who lies is a liar

Dakisa

fè sou, soule (make drunk)

Ou pral soule l, si w fè l bwè twòp

Uma uphuzisa umuntu kakhulu uzomdakisa

If you give someone too much to drink you will get him drunk

Moun sa a sou

Lo muntu udakiwe

This person is drunk

Lè moun sou, yo pale anpil

Uma bedakiwe bakhuluma kakhulu

When people are are drunk they talk a lot

Lè konsa, nou di lakay, genyen ki pale an daki

Ezweni lami uma kunjalo kuthiwa abanye bakhuluma ngedaki

At times like this, in my country we say there are some who speak
in coded messages

Pale an daki vle di moun nan pa pale klè
Ukukhuluma ngedaki kuchaza ukuthi akakhulumi kucace
Pale an daki means speaking in coded messages

Mama

manman (mother)

Nou tout renmen manman nou
Sonke siyamthanda umama wethu
We all love our mother

Isithuthuthu

motosiklèt (motor bicycle)

M te tande bri yon motosiklèt ki fè tou tou tou
Ngizwe umsindo wesithuthuthu uthi: thu thu thu
I heard the noise of a motorcycle: *tu tu tu*

M te tande yon vwa ki fè zwing nan zòrèy mwen
Ngizwe ilizwi elithi “zwing” ezindlebeni zami
I heard the sound of a voice in my ear

Okuninginingi

anpil, anpil, anpil (myriad, many)

Manman l ba l anpil anpil
Umama wakhe umnikeze okuninginingi
Her mother gave her a lot, a lot

Nqunu

ni, toutouni (naked)

Ti moun sa a ret toutouni
Lo mtwana uhlala enqunu
This child stayed naked

Ann pale klè
Masikubeke kucace
Let's speak clearly

Bolayo

boule, chire, gate, pouri (perishable, spoiled)

Moun sa a boule
Lo muntu ubolile
This person is burned

Moun sa a gate
Lo muntu ubolile
This person is spoiled

Ipipi

pip (a pipe for smoking)

L ap fimen pip
Ubhema ipipi
He is smoking a pipe

Ukucasha

cache (to hide)

Ou menm, cache!
Wena casha!
You, hide!
Yo te cache nan yon twou
Bacashe emgodini
They hid in a hole

Kibò manman w kache?
Umama wakho ucashe kuphi ?
Where is your mother hiding?

Ukutshala

plante (to plant)

Plante pye bwa se yon bèl bagay
Kuhle ukutshala isihlahla
It is a good thing to plant a tree

Anpil Ayisyen konn jwe loto
Abantu abaningi baseHaiti badlala ilotto
Lots of Haitians play lotto

Sanble yo konn reve nimewo loto
Kungathi baphupha ngezinombolo
It seems that know how to dream lotto numbers

Yo gade nan yon ti liv yo rele tshala
Babheka encwadini ebizwa ngokuthi itshala
They look inside a small book that they call *tshala*

Otremandi, tshala a di yo ki nimewo k ap soti
Ngamanye amagama itshala ibatshela izinombolo ezifaneleyo
Otherwise said, the *tshala* tells them what number will come out

Se sa yo di; se sa yo fè
Bakhuluma kanjalo; benza kanjalo
That is what they say, that is what they do

Ukuphinga

fè adiltè (to commit adultery)

Fè adiltè pa bon

Kubi ukuphinga

Adultery is bad

Lakay nou ta di pinga ou fè adiltè

Singathi ezweni lami yeka ukuphinga

In my country we would say don't commit adultery

Andemo, depi w di pinga, sa vle di: non, pa fè sa

Kafushane ukuthi pinga kuchaza cha, ungakwenzi lokho

In other words, once you say *pinga*, it means: don't do that

Se pou sa yo itilize mo pinga a ki vle di: non, pa fè sa!

Ngakho-ke basebenzisa 'pinga' okusho

ukuthi 'cha', ungakwenzi lokho

That is why the word *pinga* is used, which means: no, don't do that

Ukuphanga

vòlè, peng (to steal, to be stingy)

Kase yon bank

Ukuphanga ibank

To rob a bank

Vòlè se yon bagay ki lèd anpil

Kubi kakhulu ukuphanga

Stealing is a bad thing

Kriminèl yo vle vole chak jou
Izigebengu zifuna ukuphanga zinsuku zonke
The criminals want to steal every day

Ou chich, ou peng
Uyaphanga
You are cheap, you are stingy

Ukwenqaba

rejte (to reject)

Vyolans pral kaba
Bazenqaba udlame
Violence will be defeated

Yo pral rejte vyolans
Bazenqaba udlame
They will reject violans

Li te rejte pwopozisyon m nan
Wenqabe isiphakamiso sami
He rejected my proposal

Fòk yo rejte vyolans
Bafanele benqabe udlame
They must reject violence

Ukufana

sanble ak (to resemble)

Fanatik yo sanble anpil
Abalandeli bayafana kakhulu
The fans look a lot alike

Ukugijima

kouri (to run)

L ap kouri pou l fè jimnastik

Uyagijima ukulula umzimba

He is running to go exercise

Izinga

kal sou do pwason, ekay pwason (fish scales)

mezi (measure, standard)

Ti zing an Kreyòl vle di piti piti zwit

Leli gama elithi 'zing' ngesiKreyòl lisho ukuthi kuncane kakhulu

The word *zing* in Kreyòl means very, very small

Li wo anpil

Izinga lakhe liphakhene

Its standard is very high

Se pa ti wo l wo

Ezingeni eliphezulu

Of a high standard

Se pa ti ba l ba

Ezingeni eliphansi

Of a low standard

Isikole

lekòl (school)

Ti moun yo al lekòl

Abantwana basesikoleni

The children are at school

Ukubonda

bondi, brase, eksite, pwovoke (to stir, to excit, to provoke)

Bagay yo bondi, chofe laba a!

Kuyabonda laphaya!

Things are getting heated up over there!

L ap brase manje nan chodyè a

Ubonda ukudla ebodweni

She is stirring the food in the pot

Ithanga

kwis (thigh)

Fò w pwoteje kwis ou

Kumele uvikele amathanga lakho

You must protect your thighs

Jwè a blese nan kwis

Umdlali ulimele ithanga

The player is hurt in his thigh

Fèmen kwis ou

Vala amathanga akho

Close your thighs

An nAyiti, lè yon ti fi chita mal, ak janm li louvri, granmoun di l:

Ti fi, ramase tanga w, sa vle di : fèmen janm ou

EHaiti, uma intombazane ihlala kabi, ivule amathanga umuntu

omdala uzomtshela 'ntombazane butha amathanga akho okuchaza

ukuthi vala amathanga akho.

In Haiti if a young girl sits improperly with her legs open, an adult will tell her, *ramase tanga w*, which means close your legs

Iketanga

chenn (chain)

Lè yo te mare Zansèt nou yo nan chenn, sa te fè mal anpil
Bekubuhlungu kakhulu ukubopha okhokho bethu ngeketanga
When they shackled our Ancestors in iron, it was very painful

Hlamba

lave (to wash)

Lave figi w nan rivyè yo rele Lenbe a
Hlamba ubuso bakho emfuleni ebizwa iLenbe
Wash your face in the river called Lenbe

Yebo

wi (yes)

Wi se bon, se bon!
Yebo! Kuhle! Kuhle!
Yes it's good, it's good!

Tshaka

krache nan fant dan devan, fache (to spit as a snake)

Li tchak, li pa kontan
Uyatshaka, akajabulile
He is spitting mad; he is unhappy

Moun sa a tchak paske li fache
Lo muntu uyatshaka ngoba uthukuthele
This person spits because he is angry

Moun ki fache ou tchak konn voye krache
Uma umuntu ethukuthele uvama ukutshaka amathe
When someone is angry, he can spit like a snake

Ukutshela

di (to tell)

Tshala a di l ki nimewo ki bon

Incwadi imtshela inombolo elungile

The “*tshala*” tells her what number is good

Umvemvane

papiyon (butterfly)

‘Viens-va’, vayeveyen, se sa papiyon renmen fè

Umvemvane luyathanda ukuhamba lubuye

Come and go, back and forth; that is what butterflies like to do

Isilevu

manton (chin)

Manton an plase anba lèv yo

Isilevu singaphansi kwezindebe

The chin is located below the lips

Ukopha

senyen (to bleed)

Ou pral senyen si yo koupe men w

Uzokopha uma basisika isandla sakho

You will bleed if they cut your hand

L ap senyen paske yo blese l

Uyopha ngoba bamsikile

He is bleeding because they cut him

Ou pral senyen si w blese
Uzokopha uma elimele
You will bleed if you are cut

Ukuguga

vyeyi (to grow old, to age)

Lè w ap vyeyi, ou bliye souvan
Uma uguga ukhohlwa kakhulu
When you age you are often forgetful

*Uma kunjalo, kuthiwa ezweni lami :
laba bantu baqala ukuba 'gaga'.
Leli gama elithi 'gaga' livela kwelesiFulentshi 'égaré'
okuchaza umuntu okhohliwe. Kodwa, uma babiza la bantu 'gaga',
singacabanga ngesenzo esithi 'ukuguga'.*

That is why in my country when people start to age they say they start to be *gaga*. This word *gaga*, from French *égaré*, means someone who is lost. But when they call someone *gaga*, we also can think about the verb *ukuguga*.

Inyama

vyann (meat)

Si w manje vyann bèf, w ap vinn djanm
Uma udla inyama yenkomo uzoba namandla
If you eat cow meat you will be strong

Ukududuza

konsole (to comfort)

Ala bèl sa bèl lè n konsole pòv yo!

Kuhle ukududuza abampofu

How great it is to comfort the poor!

b) Phrasebook**Ukuphikisana**

diskite (to argue)

Nan diskite, youn pike lòt ak vye pawòl

Ngokuphikisana, bayazihlaba ngamagama amabi

While discussing they hurt each other with bad words

Ukuphikisa

opoze, kontrekare (to disagree)

M pa dakò

Ngiyaphikisa

I disagree

M pa dakò avè w

Ngiphikisana nawe

I disagree with you

Ukubeletha

akouche (to give birth)

Manman an pral akouche yon ti bebe

Umama uzobeletha umtwana

The mother will give birth to a child

Manman an pral fè marasa
Umama uzozala amawele
The mother will give birth to twins

Ukusula

siye, souye, efase (to erase)

Siye dlo nan zye w
Sula izinyembezi zakho
Wipe the tears from your eyes

Siye figi w
Sula ubuso bakho
Wipe your face

Souye zye w
Sula amehlo akho
Wipe your eye

Ou souye dlo nan zye l
Usule izinyembezi zakho
You wiped the tears from her eyes

Ukuzwa

santi (feel)

M santi yon doulè
Ngizwa ubuhlungu
I feel a pain

M tande plizyè vwa
Ngizwa amazwi amaningi
I hear many voices
M santi yon vwa fè zwing nan zòrèy mwen
Ezindlebeni ngizwa izwi
I hear a voice sounding in my ear

Ukuncinza

penchen (to pinch)

Sa fè mal lè ou penchen m
Kubuhlungu uma ungincinza
It hurts when you pinch me

Isithupha

gwo pous (thumb)

Ou sèvi ak gwo pous ou pou w peze zye l
Usebenzisa isithupha sakho ukucindezela iso lakhe
You used your thumb to poke his eye

Ou sèvi ak gwo pous ou pou w toup toup zye l
Usebenzisa isithupha sakho ukushaya iso lakhe
You used your thumb to jab him in his eye

Li itilize gwo pous li pou l sasouyèt ti moun nan
Usebenzisa isithupha sakhe ukukitaza lo mtwana
He uses his thumb to tickle the child

Ikhanda

tèt (head)

Makhandal te renmen fè tèt ansanm

uMakhandal uthande ukuhlanganisa amakhanda

Makhandal liked to gather with others

Ann fè tèt ansanm!

Masihlanganise amakhanda!

Let's put our heads together!

UMakhandal kwakungumuntu phakhathi kwezigqili zaseHaiti.

Kuthiwa wazalelwa eJamaica phambi kokufika eHaiti.

Wayilelwa kakhulu inkululeko. Igama lakhe lichaza into enkulu kakhulu ngoba wayethanda ukuhlanganisa amakhanda ukuthola inkululeko.

Makhandal was a slave in Haiti. They said that he was born in Jamaica. He fought fiercely for freedom. His name is meaningful because he liked to bring people together in order to fight for freedom.

Umdlalo

jwèt (game)

Gen yon jwèt ki rele laloz

Kukhona umdlalo obizwa ngelaloz

There is a game called *laloz*

Ukuhleba pale moun mal, fè tripotay (to gossip, speak badly about people)

Lè yap pale moun mal, yo pale ba

Uma behleba bakhulumela phansi

When they gossip, they whisper

Ukugaya graje (to grind)

L ap graje l

Ukugaya

He is grinding it

L ap graje mayi

Ugaya amabele

He is grinding mealies

Ukusebenza travay (to work)

Ou travay byen! Se byen sa!

Usebenza kahle khakulu! Kuhlelokho!

You work well! That is good!

Ukuphawula make, note, kòmante, tanpe (to mark)

Tanpe bèt pa ou la vit vit

Phawula isilwane sakho masinyane

Brand your animal as quickly as possible

Y ap fè anpil kòmantè

Bayaphawula kakhulu

They are making lots of comments

Y ap fè kòmantè sou bagay yo te wè yo
Bayaphawula ngezinto abazibonile
They are commenting on what they saw

Umongameli

prezidan (president)

Prezidan Mbeki se moun debyen e kòrèk
Umongameli uMbeki umuntu oqotho kakhulu
President Mbeki is a fine upstanding person

Impuphu

farin (flour, ground mealie)

Yo bezwen farin pou fè tonmtonm
Badinga impuphu ukwenza iphalishi
You need flour to make tonmtonm

Ukushushisa

rapouswiv nan tribinal (to prosecute)

M te tande yap chèche arete l

Ngezwa ukuthi uzoboshwa

I heard that they will arrest him

Komisè voye manda pou fè arete l

Umshushisi umthumelele amaphepha ukumbopha

The prosecutor has sent for his arrest

Iqoqo

yon pil (a pile)

Gen yon pil liv sou tab la

Kukhona iqoqo lezincwadi etafuleni

There is a pile of books on the table

Gen yon pil fatra nan kwen an
Kukhona iyoqo lezibi ekhoneni
There is pile of garbage in the corner

Umgodi

twou (pit, hole)

L ap chèche yon twou pou l kache
Ufuna umgodi wokucasha
He is looking for a hole in which to hide

Umboko

twonp elefan (elephant's trunk, proboscis)

Twonp elefan pa janm twò lou pou li
Akundlovu yasindwa umboko wayo
An elephant's trunk is never too heavy

Lakay pa gen elefan, se pou sa nou di:
Tete pa janm twò lou pou mèt li
Ezweni lami awukho undlovu ngakho ke sithi:
Akunamfazi osindwa ngamabele akhe
At home there are no elephants, which is why we say:
The breasts are never too heavy for their owner

Msulwa

inosan, san fot (innocent, pure)
Li inosan paske l respektè lalwa
Umsulwa ngoba uhlonipha umthetho
He is innocent because he respects the law

Mwen inosan

Ngimsulwa

I am innocent

Ukulala

dòmi (to sleep)

L ap dòmi

Uyalala

He is sleeping

W ap domi la?

Uyalala la na?

Are you sleeping here?

Fò w ta di l ap dòmi la a

Kungathi uyalala la

One would think that he is sleeping here

Amahemuhemu

rimè (rumours)

Gen rime ke m te tande

Kukhona amahemuhemu engiwazwile

There are rumors that I heard

Isitolo

magazen (shop)

Manman al nan magazen

Umama uye esitolo

Mom went to the shop

Men magazen an tololo!
Nasi lesi sitolo! Yo! Yo!
Here is the shop! Yeah!

Ukuma

kanpe (to stand)

Kanpe la
Yima lapho
Stand here

Yon sekirite kanpe bò pòt la
Unogada uma eceleni komnyango
A security guard is standing next to the door

Nou bezwen yon sekirite la a nan biwo a
Sidinga unogada lapha ehofisini
We need a security guard here at the office

Zanmi m toujou kanpe tou pre m
Umngane uhlala emi eduze kwami
My friend always stands close to me

iSonto

dimanch, legliz (Sunday, church)

Nan legliz yo lapriyè pou yo gen kè poze
Esontweni bathandazela ukuthula
In church they pray for peace

Lè dimanch yo pa al legliz
Ngesonto abayi esontweni
On Sunday they don't go to church

Ou lib pou w chwazi legliz katolik, pwotestan ou natif natal
Ukhululekile ukukhetha isonto lamaKatoliki,
Isono lama Protestanti, noma isonto lesintu
 You are free to choose to go to a catholic church, protestant church
 or the traditional churches

Gen anpil legliz natif natal an nAfrik
La masonto esintu maningi e-Afrika
 There are many traditional (indigenous) churches in Africa

Ubisi

lèt (milk)

Kou l bwè lèt dous li mande bis
Uma ephuza ubisi olumnandi uthi ngincela futhi
 Once she drinks sweet milk she asks from more

Ubisi olumtoti

lèt sikre, lèt dous (sweet milk)

Li dous
Kumtoti
 It's sweet
 Te a sikre
Itiye elimtoti
 The tea is sweet

Te a anmè
Itiye elibabayo
 The tea is bitter

Ukusika

koupe, blese (to cut)

Atansyon! Si w blese men w, pral gen yon sikatris
Qaphela! Uma usika isandla sakho kuzosala isibazi
Be careful! If you cut your hand, you will get a scar

Ukunqoba

ranpòte laviktwà, genyen (to win)

Nou konbat pou laviktwà
Silwela ukunqoba
We fight to win

Ukuthamba

vinn mou (to become soft)

Po tanbou a vinn mou
Isikhumba sesigubhu sithambile
The skin of the drum has softened

Po l vinn mou
Isikhumba sakhe sithambile
His skin has softened

Ithambo

zo (bone)

Zo l kase
Ithambo lakhe liphukile
His bone is broken

Ukunama

kontan (to be happy)

Jodia m kontan
Ngenamile namhlaje,
Today I am happy

Ukusola

sispèk (to suspect)

M sispèk l apral rive byen vit
Ngiyasola uzofika masinyane
I suspect that he will arrive quickly

Ukuphikisa

opoze, kontrekare (to disagree)

M pa dakò
Ngiyaphikisa
I disagree

M pa dakò avè w
Ngiphikisana nawe
I disagree with you

Iqhawe

ero (hero)

Lakay gen anpil ero
Ekhaya kunamaqhawe amaningi
In our country there are many heroes

Lakay gen ero nou rele 'Kako'
Ezweni lami kunamaqhawe abizwa ngokuthi 'Kako'
In my country there are heroes called *Kako*.

Ukuphuka

kase (to break)

Bra l kase

Ingalo yakhe iphukile

Her arm is broken

Si w tonbe w ap kase bra w

Uma uwa uzophula ingalo yakho

If you fall down you will break your arm

M te wè youn moun ki gen bra l kase

Ngibone umuntu onengalo ephukile

I saw someone with a broken arm

Amaka

pafen (perfume)

M renmen pafen santi bon

Ngiyawathanda amakha amnandi

I like good perfume

Ukutheza

sanble dife (gather wood to make a fire)

Li bon pou sanble dife

Kuhle ukutheza izinkuni

It is good to gather wood for a fire

Izimpukane

mouch (fly, insect)

Moun sa a ap pouse mouch

Lo muntu ushaya impukane

That person is chasing away the flies

Ukuxolela

prefere, padonnen (to forgive)

Yo prefere goumen pase pou yo ret esklav

Baxolela ukulwa kunobugqili

They preferred to fight, rather than remain as slaves

Inkukhu

poul (chicken, fowl)

Papa bezwen yon poul

Ubaba udinga inkukhu

Dad needs a chicken

Icansi

nat (grass mat)

Nat la kouche plat atè

Icansi lihlala phansi

The mat lies flat on the ground

Nat sa a frajil

Leli cansi lintekenteke

This mat is fragile

Icala

tò, fot (guilt)

M pa gen tò

Anginacala

I am not at fault

Mwen inosan

Anginacala

I am innocent

Induku

mouchwa (handkerchief)

Li soup tankou yon mouchwa

Lithambe njengeduku

It is as soft as a handkerchief

Isibhakabhaka

syèl (heaven, skies)

Lè gen anpil nyaj, nou pa wè syèl la

Uma kukhona amafu asisiboni isibhakabhaka

When there are lots of clouds we cannot see the sky

Sizayo

ki ap ede (helpful)

Moun k ape ede a la

Lo muntu osizayo ukhona

The person who is helping is here

Ukutekula

blage, plezante (joke)

Li renmen blage

Uyathanda ukutekula

He likes to joke

Londoloza

konsève, kenbe (to keep)

Konsève lanati

Ukulondoloza imvelo

To protect nature

Konsève kilti nou
Ukulondoloza isiko lethu
To keep, protect our culture

Ukugodla

pouse dèyè, gade, kenbe (to keep back)

Kenbe enfòmasyon an
Godla ulwazi
Keep the information

Ukubulala

touye, tiye (to kill)

Non! Si ou touye moun sa a, l pral domi pou vitam etènam
Cha! Uma ubulala lo muntu, uzolala ingunaphakade
No! If you kill this person he will sleep forever

Idolo

jenou (knee)

Li blese jenou l
Ulimele idolo
She hurt her knee
Li renmen rale ajenou
Uyathanda uguqe ngamadolo
He likes to crawl on his knees

Izithixo

zidòl (idols)

Kriminèl yo kouche devan zidòl
Izigebengu zihlala phambi kwezithixo
The criminals are lying in front of the idols

Thixo	<p>Bon Dye (God)</p> <p>Bon Dye se lagras</p> <p><i>UThixo ungumusa</i></p> <p>God is Grace</p>
Ukwazi	<p>konnen (to know)</p> <p>Pataje konesans se yon bèl bagay</p> <p><i>Kuhle ukwabelana ulwazi</i></p> <p>It's good to share knowledge</p>
Isibaya	<p>pak bèt (kraal)</p> <p>Moun sa yo renmen priye nan ti pyès dèyè a ou nan pak la</p> <p><i>Laba bantu bayathanda ukuthandaza ensamo noma esibayeni</i></p> <p>Those people like to pray in a small room in the back or in the barn</p>
Umthofi	<p>plon (lead)</p> <p>Plon itil pou itilizasyon fil telefòn</p> <p><i>Umthofi uyadingeka ukusebenzisa ucingo</i></p> <p>Lead is important in making telephone wires</p> <p>Yo bezwen plon pou fè fil telefòn</p> <p><i>Badinga umthofi ukwenza ucingo</i></p> <p>Lead is needed in making telephone wire</p>

Ukushada

marye (to marry)

Moun yo renmen bèl maryaj

Abantu bayayithanda imishado emihle

People like beautiful weddings

Jèn jan yo pa renmen marye

Abasha besilisa abafuni ukushada

Young men don't like to marry

Jèn fi yo renmen marye bonè bonè

Abasha besifazane bamashushu bafuna ukushada

Ladies like to marry very young

Cishe

preske (nearly)

Se preske konsa

Kucishe kunjalo

It is almost like that

Ukuba eceleni

akote, bo kote, toupre (next to, close to, near)

Ou menm, ou ret toupre kay mwen

Wena uhlala eceleni kwekhaya lami

You live close to my house

Moun sa a ap mache toupre m

Lo muntu uhamba eceleni kwami

This person is walking close to me

Ou menm, ou te chita bò kote m

Wena uhlezi eceleni kwami

You were seated next to me

Chita bò kote m

Hlala eceleni kwami

Sit next to me

Li vle bò kote m

Ufuna ukuba seceleni kwami

He wants to be next to me

Kumnandi

se bèl bagay, se enteresan (it is a good thing, its interesting)

Se bèl bagay l lè w pa gen pwoblèm

Kumnandi uma ungenankinga

It is a good thing when you don't have problems

Intende yesandla

plamen (palm of hand)

Lonje men w ban mwen

Letha isandla sakho kimi

Stretch out your hand to me

Wi, m wè plamen w

Yebo ngibona intende yesandla sakho

Yes, I see the palm of your hand

Li pa renmen tann men l pou mande

Akafuni ukuletha isandla ukucela

He doesn't like to stretch out his hand to beg

Ukubhubha

mouri (to die, pass away)

Li mouri yè swa

Ubhubhe izolo ebusuku

He died last night

Li mouri lontan

Ushone kudala

He died a long time ago

Li pa vle mouri

Akafuni ukubhubha

He doesn't want to die

Ukuchama

fè pipi (to urinate)

Ti moun sa a fè pipi leswa pandan l ap domi

Lo mtwana uyachama ebusuku uma elele

This child wets her bed at night

Ti moun sa a ap jwe ak pipi

Lo mtwana udlala ngomchamo

This child is playing with urine

Umngcele

limit, fwontyè (perimeter)

Nou tout gen limit

Sonke sinomngcele

We all have limits

Fò nou konn limit nou
Kumele siwazi umngcele wethu
We must know our limits

Trase yon limit
Yenza umngcele
Draw a limit

Ukubutha

ranmase (to pick up)

Ranmase liv ki te tonbe yo
Butha le zicwadi eziwile
Pick up these books that fell down

Ukudonsa

rale, tire, redi (to pull)

Oto sa a ap rale yon lòt oto
Le moto idonsa enye imoto
That car is pulling another car

Ukwala

refize (to refuse)

Eske l pral refize?
Uzokwala na?
Will he refuse?

Li te refize yè swa
Walile izolo ebusuku
He refused last night

L ap refize kounye a menm

Uyala okwamanje

He is refusing right now

Ukuyala

konseye (to advise, counsel)

Ou renmen konseye moun

Uyathanda ukuyala abantu

You like to counsel people

Ivolovolo

revolvè (revolver, gun)

Kriminèl yo pote revolvè oubyen zam

Izigebengu ziphatha amavolovolo noma izibhamu

Criminals carry a gun or an arm

Ngokwesokudla

adwat (on the right)

Ou ret bò dwat mwen

Uhlala ngakwesokudla sami

You stay on my right

Ukudeka itafula

pare tab la (to set the table)

Tab la pare

Itafula lidekiwe

The table is set

Yo pral pare tab la

Bazodeka itafula

They will set the table

Ukuqaqa

rezoud (to solve)

Nou pral rezoud sa kilè ?

Sizoqaqa lokho nini?

When will we solve this?

M pral rezoud sa

Ngizoxazulula lokho

I will solve this

Fòk nou rezoud sa prese prese

Kumele sikuxazulule lokho masinyane

We must solve this immediately

Ugwayi

tabak (tobacco)

Domaj, y ap fimen tabak

Ngeshwa babhema ugwayi

It's too bad that they are smoking tobacco

Kusasa

demen (tomorrow)

Demen nou pral kontan

Kusasa sizojabula

Tomorrow we'll be happy

Izingola

trelè (trailers)

Machin nan ap tire yon trelè

Imoto idonsa inqola

The car is pulling a trailer

Inkaba

lonbrik (umbilical cord)

Nan mitan lAfrik

Enkabeni ye-Afrika

In the middle of Africa

Yo koupe lonbrik li ak kouto

Basika inkaba yakhe ngommese

They cut his umbilical cord with a knife

Unompempe

abit (referee)

Abit la sifle souflèt la

Unompempe ushaya impempe

The referee blew the whistle

Iphiko

zèl (wing)

Zèl avyon an gwo

Amaphiko endiza makhulu

The airplane's wings are big

Li vle ouvri zèl li

Ufuna ukuvula amaphiko akhe

She wants to spread her wings

Pijon yo ap bat zèl yo nan van an

Amajuba ashaya amaphiko emoyeni

The doves are flying in the wind

Intshebe

bab (beard)

Moun sa a gen bab

Lo muntu unentshebe

This person has a beard

Ukukhetha

chwazi (to choose)

Fòk nou chwazi zanmi n

Kufanele sikhethe abangane bethu

We must choose our friends

Ifu

nwaj (clouds)

Gen nwaj

Kukhona amafu

It's cloudy

Ukubanda

fè frèt (to be cold)

Lè gen fredì, gwoup la frèt

Uma kubanda, ibandla liyagodola

When there is cold weather the group is cold

Ukuqoqa

ranmase, kolekte (to pick-up, to collect)

Ranmase papye sa yo

Qoqa la maphepha

Collect these papers

Ukuvutha

anflamen, brile (to blaze, burn)

Chalè renmen an tap brile tout anndan m
Uthando lwaluvutha ngaphakathi kimi
The warmth of love was burning inside of me

Ukukhala

kriye (to cry)

Pòv yo ap kriye akòz pwoblèm
Abampofu bayakhala ngenxa yezinkinga
The poor are crying because they have problems

Ti moun sa a ap kriye paske yo bat li
Lo mtwana uyakhala ngoba bamshiyile
This child is crying because they beat her

Umkhumbi

bato, kannòt, batiman (boat)

M wè yon bato byen lwen
Ngibona umkhumbi kude
I see a boat in the distance

Umcebo

richès (wealth)

Gen moun ki di: Larichès? Mhh, se bo! C'est beau !
Abanye bathi: Umcebo ? Kuhle! Kuhle!
Some people say: Wealth? That's great!

Granmoun yo di richès Afrik se pou Afriken
Abakhulile bathi umcebo we-Afrika ngowabantu base-Afrika
Adults say that the wealth of Afrika is for Africans

Ala bèl bagay lè moun rich ede malere
Kuhle kakhulu uma izicebi zisiza abampofu
How great it is when rich people help the poor

Ukuthemba fè konfyans (to trust)

M fè w konfyans
Ngiyakuthemba
I trust you

Insimbi klòch, fè (bell, iron)

Ann koute son klòch la
Masilalele ukukhala kwensimbi
Let's listen to the sound of the bell

Se pa fasil pou w pliye yon fè
Akulula ukugoba insimbi
It's not easy to bend iron

5.5.4. *Iziphicaphicwano*

In the following section, Haitian Kreyòl is (SL) and isiZulu is (TL). I choose to present here a literal translation which demonstrates the kind of images used by African descendants who, though, in large measure were illiterate, but very intelligent and poetic.

1. Ti won san fon: bag
Into eyisiyingi kodwa engena ngaphakathi: indandatho
A small bottomless circlce: ring

2. Piti piti plen kay: lanp
Into encane kakhulu kodwa egcwele indlu: yisibani
 Something very small that can fill a house: lamp

3. Pi piti fè lonè Prezidan: zegwi
Into encane kakhulu kodwa iwusizokumongameli: inaliti
 Even the smallest of things is useful to a President: needle

4. Pase pran m ma pase chèche w: sentiwon
Ngithathe, mina ngizokuthola: yibhande
Ngithathe, sizohlangana: yibhande
 Come pick me up and I'll come and get you: belt

5. M al chèche doktè, li rive anvan m: kokoye
Ngiye ukuyofuna udokotela, kodwa ungifikele kuqala ekhaya: yicoconut
 I went to fetch a doctor, he arrived before me: coconut

6. Kapitèn dèyè pòt: bale
Ukaputeni osemuva komnyango: umshanelo
 A captain standing guard behind the door: broom

7. Manman m gen yon pitit se ak kalòt sèlman l trete l: rido
Umama unengane uhlala eyishaya njalo ngempama: ikhethini
 My mother has a child, she is always slapping him: curtain

8. Manman m gen 3 pitit, yon pa mache san lòt: wòch dife
Umama unezingane ezintathu, zihlala ndawonye ngaso sonke isikhathi: amatshe asetshenziselwa ukupheka
 My mother has three children one is never without the other two: the three stones used for cooking fire

9. Lè gen solèy, manman m gen yon pitit, kote l fè li fè dèyè l: lonbraj
Uhamba nengane uma kukhanya ilanga, iyamlandela njalo: visithunzi
 When the sun is out, my mother has a child, wherever she goes, he follows:
shadow
10. Manman m gen yon kay ki fèt ak klou sèlman: anana; kowosòl
Umama unendlu, ngaphandle ameva kuphela: uphayinaphu; (kowosòl)
 My mother has house made of nails: pineapple (*kowosòl* is a tropical fruit found in Haiti)

5.5.5. *Izaga*

Here also, Haitian Kreyòl is (SL) and isiZulu (TL). Most of the Haitian proverbs were brought by the African Ancestors. Some have been adapted into Kreyòl, some others still remain very close to the African version.

1. Zòrèy pa pi long pase tèt
Izindlebe mazingadluli ikhanda
 Ears are never longer than the head
2. Konplo pi fò pase wanga
Ukubonga umuntu kunamandla kunobuthakathi
 Conspiracies are stronger than magical charms
3. Bay kou bliye, pote mak sonje
Ukushaya umuntu kungakhohlwakala, kodwa uma kusala isibazi kuzokhumbuleka
Ngamanye amagama: Umenziwa akakholwa, kodwa umenzi uyakhohlwa
 The aggressor forgets while the victim who carries the scar remembers

4. De mèg pa fri
Imijwaqu emibili engenamafutha, ayivuthwa
Ngamanye amagama: Amasongo akhala emabili
 Two lean (cuts of meat) can't be fried
 In other words, it takes two hands to clap

5. Byen jwenn ak byen kontre
Uqondene nomaqondana
Kuqondene umaqondana
Bakutholene phezulu
 You get what you are looking for

6. Chodyè a bouyi yon sèl bò
Ibhodwe libila nganxanye
 The pot boils on only one side

7. Chodyè a monte sou do ti moun, li desann sou do gran moun
Ubeka ibhodwe eziko egameni labantwana ulithula egameni labadala
 The meal is cooked in the name of children, but it's served to the adults

8. Koze mande chèz
Indaba icela isihlalo
 You better sit down to hear this ...

9. M ap fè w labab, si w pase men w wa blese
Ngikugunda isilevu, uma ubeka isandla, uzolimala
 I am shaving your beard, if you keep touching it, you'll get cut;
 In other words: Watch out! Don't pretend to know better than me what I am telling you

10. Kafe a koule ak ma
Kunezinhlamvu ekofini lakho
Coffee filters through with coffee grind
In other words: There is something wrong
11. Nèg sòt se manje boule
Umuntu oyisithutha ufana njengokudla okubolile (noma okonakele)
A stupid person is like a burnt meal
12. Kout manchèt nan dlo pa gen mak
Ukushaya amanzi ngenkemba akuzosala uphawu
A machete slashed in water leaves no mark
13. Chodyè prete pa bouyi pwa chèch
Ibhodwe lokubolekwa akuphekwa ngalo ummbila olikhuni
A borrowed pot isn't used to boil hard dry beans
In other words: Don't keep a borrowed item for too long
14. Nan pami diri, ti wòch goute grès
Phakathi kwerayisi izinhlamvu zamatshe athole amafutha
Ngamanye amagama:
Zimibiwe yinsele yazishiya
A small rock mixed in with rice gets to taste oil
15. Se lè w nan ka ou konn bon zanmi w
Umgane woqobo, uzomazi mhla unenkinga
It is when you are in trouble that you know who your true friends are

16. Pran lalin pou fwomaj
Ukuthatha inyanga endaweni yeshizi
 Mistake the moon for cheese
 In other words: To not be realistic
17. Se nan chimen jennen ou kenbe chwal malen
Ihhashi elinenkani, libanjwa endleleni encane
 It is in a narrow road that an undaunted horse is caught
18. Chen gen kat pye men l pa ka fè kat chemen
Inja inezinyawo ezine, kodwa ayikwazi ukuhamba izindlela ezine
 A dog has four paws, but it can't walk in four different directions at once
19. Lawouze fè banda toutan solèy pa leve
Amazolo ayajabula uma nje kungakaphumi ilanga
 The dew reigns only until the sun rises
20. Rale mennen vini kase
Donsa kancane kancane ize iphuke
 Pulling and tugging until it breaks
21. Bouyi van boukannen dlo
Ukubilisa amanzi nokosa umoya
Sibilisa amanzi sosa umoya
Ngamanye amagama:
Akuchithwe amanzi, ayikho le nkukhu
 Boil wind and grill water
 In other words: Nothing works

22. Manje kwit pa gen mèt
Ukudla okuphekiwe akunamnini
 A cooked meal has no owner
23. Se rat kay k ap manje pay kay
Igundwane lasekhaya lidla utshani basekhaya
Ngamanye amagama: Impi isesendeni
 It is the house rat that is eating the straw roof
24. Kay pay twonpe solèy, li pa twonpe lapli
Indlu yotshani iyakwazi ukukhohlisa ilanga kodwa hhayi imvula
 A straw house can trick the sun, but not the rain
25. Baton an gen 2 bout
Induku inezigcino ezimbuli
Ngamanye amagama:
Ngizokuthola
Induku iyakugqukuza ngesigcino
Induku iyakugqukuza
 A stick has 2 ends
 In other words: A double edged sword
26. Santi bon koute ché
Iphunga elimnandi liyabiza
 Smelling good costs a lot
27. Se 2 bon ki fè bonbon
Ubumnandi kabili budala ubumnandi
Ngamanye amagama: Imikhombe iyananana
 It takes two *bon* to make *bonbon*
 In other words: It takes two to tango

28. Abitan pa mize lavil
Abantu basemakhaya abahlali edolobheni isikhathi eside
 Farmers don't linger in town
29. Twou manti pa fon
Umgodi wamanga awujulile
 The hole of a lie is not deep
 In other words: We'll get to the bottom of the truth
30. Rat konnen, chat konnen, barik mayi a rete la
Igundwane liyazi, ikati liyazi, ummbila ozohlala la
 The rat knows, the cat knows, the barrel of mealies remains
 In other words: I call your bluff, you call my bluff, so nothing changes
 Or: Both know the truth, so things stay at a stand still
31. Toutan tèt pa koupe, li espere pot chapo
Uma ikhanda lingakanqunywa, linethemba lokuthwala isigqoko
 As long as someone's head has not been cut off, he hopes to wear a hat
 In other words: While there's life there's hope
32. Bwa pi wo di l wè lwen, grenn pwonmennen di l wè pi lwen
Induku ende ithi ngibona kude, ozulayo uthi ngibona kude kakhulu
kunawe
 The tallest branch says that it sees far, but one that drifts about says that it sees further

5.5.6. *Izisho*

In translating these *izisho* or idioms from Haitian Kreyòl to isiZulu, I continue to draw a parallel between these two languages. Haitian Kreyòl often employs metaphors as many Bantu languages, such isiZulu.

1. Pa ban m priyè
Unganginikezi imithandazo
Don't give me prayers, meaning don't make excuses
2. Kanpe priyè w yo
Awume ngemithandazo
Stop your prayers, meaning stop making excuses
3. Nou se de zòm pèdi
Singamadoda amabili alahlekile (noma adukile)
We are two lost men, meaning I too can get rid of you
4. File zegwi san tèt
Ukufaka inaliti uhala imbobo ingekho
Ukufaka uhala enalitini engenambobo
Thread a needle with no eye, meaning doing what is impossible
5. Wap pase nan yon je zegwi !
Uzongena embotsheni yenaliti
You will pass through the eye of a needle, meaning "You will really suffer!"
6. Woule m de bò
Ungishaya nganeno ngaphesheya
Ngamanye amagama:
Ungisa le nale
Ubikha imbiba, abike ibuzi
Roll me on both sides, meaning lead me on deceptively
7. L ap mouye m pou vale m
Unginethisa ukungigwinya

- He is wetting me to swallow me
Meaning he is softening me up to get what he wants
8. Pale met la
Ukhuluma ngomlomo, ubeke la
Ngamanye amagama: Ukhuluma ngomlomo nje
Talk and stop, meaning: All talk no action
9. Kou l cho, l kwit
Uma kushisa, kuphekiwe
Ngamanye amagama: Masinyane! Ngokushesha! Phuthuma!
Once it's hot, it's cooked, meaning something done quickly without care
10. Se koupe dwèt!
Kusika iminwe!
Ngamanye amagama:
Kuconsisa amathe!
It's finger-cutting, meaning finger-licking good or delicious!
11. Se koupe tèt ak papa l
Ukusika ikhanda njengoyise
Ngamanye amagama: Ufuze uyise
Ukhamba lufuze imbiza
Interchangeable head with his father, meaning spitting image of his father
12. Fè filalang
Kwenza ukukhipha ulimi
Ngamanye amagama: Ungiphala ulimi
Pulling the tongue, meaning to tease

13. Ki di youn di lòt

Ukukhuluma noyedwa, ukukhuluma nomunye

Ngamanye amagama: Amathe nolimi

One implies the other, meaning both are the same

5.6. Conclusion

Comparative linguistic features help draw a parallel between isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl. As we observed, in the beginning of nineteenth century missionaries in both South Africa and in Haiti played similar roles in promoting isiZulu and Kreyòl. They invested energy in transmuting isiZulu and Kreyòl to writing, thus contributing to the development of grammars. To have a better understanding of the grammatical relations between the two languages, it is necessary to go through the extensive comparison of the noun class system, subject concord and the verbs of isiZulu and Haitian-Kreyòl, as set forth in this chapter.

In translation, both isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl face sociolinguistic challenges that are similar, while others could be related. Here again, the extensive translations of *izinkondlo nezisho*, *iziphicaphicwano*, *izaga nezisho*, and the Haitian Kreyòl-isiZulu vocabulary phrasebook provide a comparative picture of the two languages. This literature also previews the publication of the first isiZulu-Haitian Kreyòl-French Dictionary, to be followed by a *Polyglotta isiZulu* that will include Italian, Spanish and English.

PART III

SO FAR YET SO CLOSE: ISIZULU-HAITIAN KREYOL

Chapter Six

So far, yet so close *ngomoya wobuntu* (A psychological explanation)

In the previous discussion of Bantu languages we traced the stem *ntu*; it emerges here again in the concept *Ubuntu*. From a linguistic perspective this *ntu* refers to people. Now, what does *ntu* or *Ubuntu* mean from a psychological perspective? This explanation will contribute to a better understanding of the sociolinguistic environment in which Bantu languages are embedded.

Haitian Kreyòl and isiZulu, a member of the Bantu family of languages, are not genetically related. However the contention here is not that; rather it is that the languages are related in the sense of *ngomoya wobuntu*. Africans who speak isiZulu and descendants of Africa who speak Haitian Kreyòl will concede that they are far apart, but will acknowledge that they are close through the spirit of *Ubuntu*. Thus, the core question: what is *Ubuntu*?

6.1. *Ubuntu* and psycho-sociolinguistics

“A cross-cultural approach is fundamental to the development of a psychology of word meaning... Cross-cultural studies of the psychology of word meaning are important for the light they shed on the potential sociocultural, environmental, and linguistic factors involved in the development of words meanings in different cultural and language groups” (Schwanenflugel 1991, 71). Grounded within the framework of psycho-sociolinguistics, this approach extends beyond a focus on language in social context. It moves towards the nature and the causes of human social behavior as well. “Noam Chomsky, who is the leading figure in theoretical linguistics, observed that sociolinguistics was not concerned with ‘grammar’ but with concepts of a different sort, among them perhaps language” (Romaine 1994, 1). For other scholars, “sociolinguistics is a recently developed subject of interdisciplinary study in the social sciences”

(Greenberg 1971, 24). Thomas Holtgraves rightly concludes that “language is truly a multidisciplinary topic” (Holtgraves 2002, 1).

Psycholinguistics is interdisciplinary by its very nature. Social psychology endeavours to understand groups themselves as behavior entities. Does *Ubuntu* refer to, or have relevance to, only the Bantu speaking peoples or particular groups in our society? There are scholars who claim that “words do not have a fixed distribution across constructions. To some degree, any word can be used in principle in any construction” (Tornasello 1998, 90). However, it is significant that the stem *ntu* is found throughout the Bantu languages and that it consistently epitomizes African values through the concept *Ubuntu*. Obviously, meanings refer to “the semantic component of words, in particular” (Schwanenflugel 1991, 11). Can *Ubuntu* help address issues like narcissistic behavior, schizoid disorder, obsessive neurosis, pathological narcissism, autartic cultures through social groups? What do we mean by the psychology of *Ubuntu*?

6.2. Psychology of *Ubuntu*

As a word seen in its social context, *Ubuntu* generates a psychological Self which is quite different from the Premium or the Self, as those terms were defined by social psychologist Gordon Allport. “One of the oddest events in the history of modern psychology is the manner in which the ego (or the self) became sidetracked and lost to view. I say it is odd, because the existence of one’s own self is the one fact of which every mortal person – every psychologist included – is perfectly convinced” (Allport 1950, 114). Allport offers seven functions of the Premium or the Self which play out in our lives:

- 1- Self, related to the sense of body
- 2- Self-identity
- 3- Self-esteem
- 4- Self-extension
- 5- Self-image

- 6- Self related to rational coping
- 7- Self related to appropriate striving

To that I add one more: Self in relation to *Ubuntu*. This is the collective Self.

Embedded in a collective Self or a collective Ego, the psychodynamic of *Ubuntu* goes straight to the well being of the community. Self interest and common interest are inextricably linked. *Amathe nolimi. Izandla ziyagezana.* (Saliva and tongue. The hands wash each other.) In others words, *Ubuntu* generates a social love story rooted in brotherhood. Psychologists agree that people use language to categorize and describe their experience but, they are still debating whether the language people use also affects the way they come to know and represent this experience (Fussel and Kreuz 1998, 259). Within this specific framework, the use of the word *Ubuntu* both categorizes an experience and contributes to promoting brotherhood among the members of the community.

“Although the state of oneness or fusion can facilitate human development, as in the post-partum period when mother and infant relationship guarantees survival, its persistence can lead to various narcissistic pathologies” (Mancia 1993, 33). Wherever narcissistic behaviour, or the potential for narcissistic behaviour exists, there much be a continued learning process. As John Miller noted, the clinical definition of narcissism has been expanded by Eric From to cover all forms of “vanity, self admiration, self satisfaction and self glorification in individuals and all forms of parochialism, ethnic or racial prejudice and fanaticism in groups...undermining cooperation, brotherly love...Narcissism thus appears simply as the antithesis of that watery love for humanity” (Miller 1997, 31). In a society where self interests tend to replace this sense of collective well being people are compelled to ask questions that go to the society’s core: Are we a nation of narcissists? Or have we finally begun to rediscover a sense of civic obligation? (*Ibid.* 237)

Post-Freudian scholars, who have analyzed the concept of narcissism, underscore the root causes of narcissism, “such as environmental and socio-economic factors, which might

contribute to the organization of an internal world and to the internalized representations of narcissistic relations..." (Mancia 1993, 35). Language is another element to be considered; the social aspects of language use, and the psycholinguistic processes that contribute to a better understanding of narcissism. "Historically, the social aspects of language use have fallen in the domain of social psychology, and the underlying psycholinguistic mechanisms have been the purview of cognitive psychology" (Fussell and Kreuz 1998, 3). In fact, this learning process centered on the dual properties of language, at a collective level continues to empower African communities who suffered under colonialism and refused to abandon their indigenous languages. *Ubuntu*, as such symbolizes African values transmitted and shared within the communities.

Because sociolinguistics focus on the effects of society on language, the more that is known about the suffering of the Bantu speaking peoples under colonialism, the better our understanding of their capacity to protect their languages and how this resistance is a collective one rooted in *Ubuntu*. This observation is true of African speakers of isiZulu as well as African descendant speakers of Haitian Kreyòl. In Africa and throughout the African Diaspora the cognitive process stimulates a degree of collective awareness which reinforces the collective Self and the chain of solidarity. Not surprisingly Joseph Greenberg argues for the inclusion in sociolinguistics topics such as "the relation of language differences to social class; the factors involved in the differential prestige ratings of languages; the role of language as a sign of ethnic identification..." (Greenberg 1971, 249). While archeologists journey through the 7 million-year-old landscape of the human past, sociolinguists and social psychologists analyze group behavior and evolution in or outside Africa in search of the dynamics of this collective Ego. "It is a generally accepted thesis that language is a part of the cultural behavior of peoples" (*Ibid.* 78).

Soon after the first human settlements in Asia 2 million years ago, language began to play its key role. The critical positioning of language in temperate Europe occurred 800,000 years ago (Fagen 2004, 83). Here, in Africa, our Ancestors spoke their mother tongues, spreading *umoya wobuntu*, the spirit of *Ubuntu*, and shared community life which empowered their villages to resist colonialism.

Ubuntu defies easy definition. In his 1996 thesis on the work of Xhosa writer SEK Mqhayi, Saule wrote that “*Ubuntu* is a concept that to date has escaped the attention of scholars. It is culturally based and for that reason it falls outside the general theoretical approach adopted by western critics and their African adherents” (Saule 1996, 81). While Saule himself explored “how the images of *Ubuntu* permeated and influenced Mqhayi’s thought process in his essays”, he maintains that *Ubuntu* is a “yet to be explored philosophy” (*Ibid.* 82). He labels it a “people’s philosophy with strong leanings toward the African society” (83), and bolsters this view with a citation from Dhlomo in Cowley: “*Ubuntu* is more than just an attribute of individual acts. It is a basic humanistic orientation towards one’s fellow men. Put differently *Ubuntu* is some kind of humanism – African humanism” (Cowley 1991, 44). In other words, *Ubuntu* implies a remarkable civilization.

“By 400 B.C. it was said that the North African granaries fed Rome’s masses for nine month a year, Egypt’s for four ” (Fagen 2004, 400). Emerging as a State since 3100 B.C., Egypt flourished through a remarkable civilization but would fall under Roman rule in 30 B.C. “To escape the clutches of the Roman administration, the Berbers migrated southwards. As a result, substantial black populations of the Saharan oasis were reduced to slavery or were driven even further south” (Ki-Zerbo 1990, 30).

What were the reasons behind colonialism? Clearly *Ubuntu* and colonialism were diametrically opposed to one another. To those who would insist on the so-called ‘civilizing’ mission of colonialism one could simply note how *Ubuntu* opposes the *prazo* system. Such a system “was sustained by the work of various categories of slaves. The top slave was the *chuanga*, appointed by the *prazero* because of his loyalty. Every village had its *chuanga*, whose primary function was to spy on the traditional leaders and to collect taxes and ivory... For the enforcement of his authority, the *prazero* depended on a *chikunda*, whose main function was to police the local population... A *chikunda* army usually ranged between 20 and 30 men on small *prazos*, while on larger ones it could comprise thousands” (Ogot 1998, 320).

The above idea finds expression in Saule as he writes that “in order to understand *Ubuntu*... one would have to experience it in terms of some social aspects which constitute the parameters within which it can be defined both in the traditional and modern society” (1991, 85). He then goes on to give situational demonstrations in which *Ubuntu* arises: When the person with many cattle gives some to those who have none; treating a guest as a respected person; caring for your neighbor’s belongings; disciplining the youth as a collective effort (86-87). Mqhayi in his essays charge colonialism with destroying *Ubuntu*: “By destroying the traditional social fabric which allowed *Ubuntu* to operate, the colonist and his/her adherents [including some of their agents in the form of missionaries], broke the link between the Xhosa people and their Maker” (87-88).

Of course the reasons for colonialism lie in the wealth of the Mother Continent; this constituted a permanent pole in the attraction. Groups who behave as colonialists possess a fertile psychological field for narcissistic growth, material and self aggrandizement. “Chronic disruptions in meeting grandiose and idealization needs, result in stagnated self-development and pathological narcissism” (Dellwo and Rice 2002, 188). The colonial mind is filled with infatuation and obsession with self to the exclusion of the other. Self interest is placed at the core of actions. Therefore, violence, crime, genocide are all necessary and acceptable means used in the name of self interest. Such pathological behavior, as a result, paves the way for anomic societies, disruptive socialization processes, social exclusion, and the sustainable development of schizoid cultures rather than sustainable human development.

The victims in such a social environment may emerge on either side of the demarcating class line possessing the perception of the colonizer or that of the colonized. “Class relations generate, distribute, reproduce, and legitimate distinctive forms of communication, which transmit dominant and dominated codes...” (Bernstein 2003, 13). No great amount of theorizing was necessary for the victims to understand the nature of the violence used against them. Language of violence can be considered as a form of brutal force as well. “People do things with their words. They order and promise and criticize and apologize and so on. In other words, to use language is to perform an action”

(Holtgraves 2002, 9). Certainly, the every-day colonial orders to invade regions, impose inhumane working conditions, extract wealth, fell within this category and constituted a language of violence. But additionally, the colonial practice of talking *to* the colonized and not *with* them also reflected that violence. This behaviour exemplifies the link between ideology and language. Judith Irvine wrote extensively about “examining the role of ideology in the relation between social group language differences and the representation of those differences in each speaker’s style contrasts” (Eckert and Rickford 2001, 44).

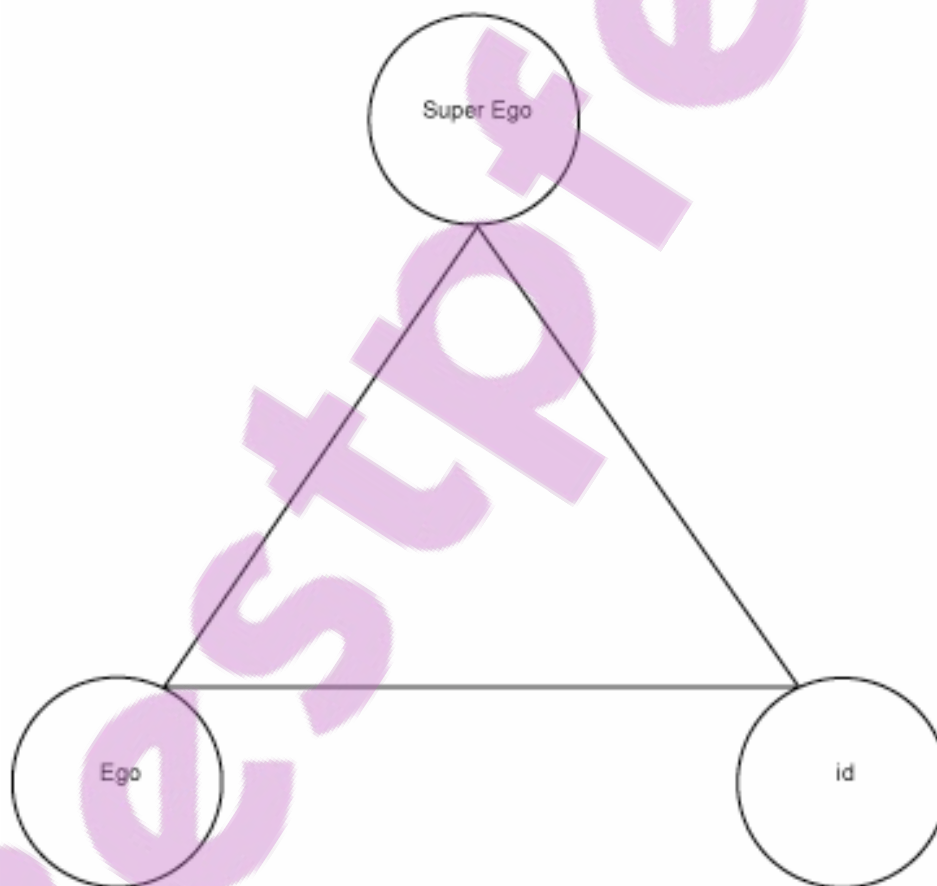
In addressing the social base of language and the linguistic underpinnings of social behavior, the focus is most often on “what people are doing when they use language, with the actions they are performing as they speak” (Holtgraves 2002, 1). Whoever is empowered by the spirit of *Ubuntu*, Black or White, African or foreigner, embraces the vision of social inclusion and of a non-racial society. There is no doubt that *Ubuntu* has its reciprocal concept in other languages. However, groups that advocate social exclusion and a racial society echo the language of the colonists, regardless of whether this is conscious or not. “People frequently speak indirectly. They hint, insinuate, give backhanded compliments, make polite requests and so on; in all instances they mean something more than the words literally impart. Indirectness presents a challenge for theories of language use and for theories of social interaction (Fussell and Kreuz 1998, 71).”

The continued marginalization of Africa reflects new patterns of colonialism. Economic globalization empowers those who reinforce the structures of exclusion. More and more rich, but less and less sensitive to human suffering, neo-colonialists have fallen in love with their neo-liberal agenda. It is a more acute case of narcissism than that found in the original Greek myth giving rise to the term: “Narcissus was a handsome Greek youth who rejected the desperate advances of the nymph Echo. As a punishment he was doomed to fall in love with his own reflection in a pool of water. Unable to consummate his love, Narcissus pined away and changed into the flower that bears his name.”

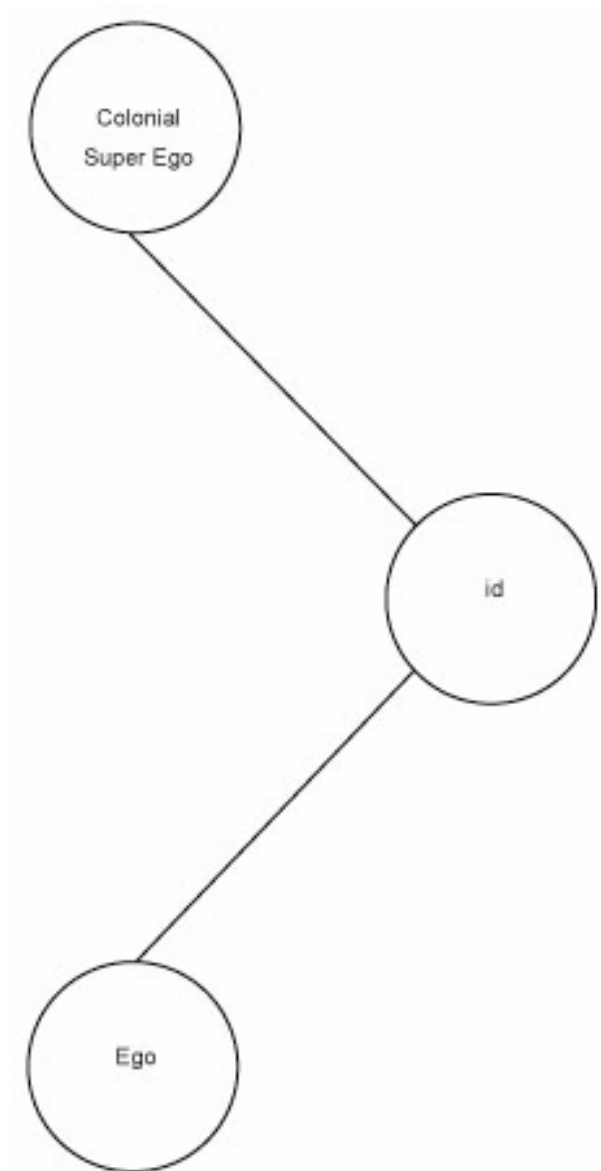
As conduct moves from a primary and to a secondary level of narcissism, it reaches a pathological level where all is exclusive and self-interest and self-aggrandizement is all-pervasive. The exaggerated self and the pathological super ego become so arrogant and violent that it leads necessarily to a dysfunctional society.

6.3. Double meanings and sociolinguistic consequences

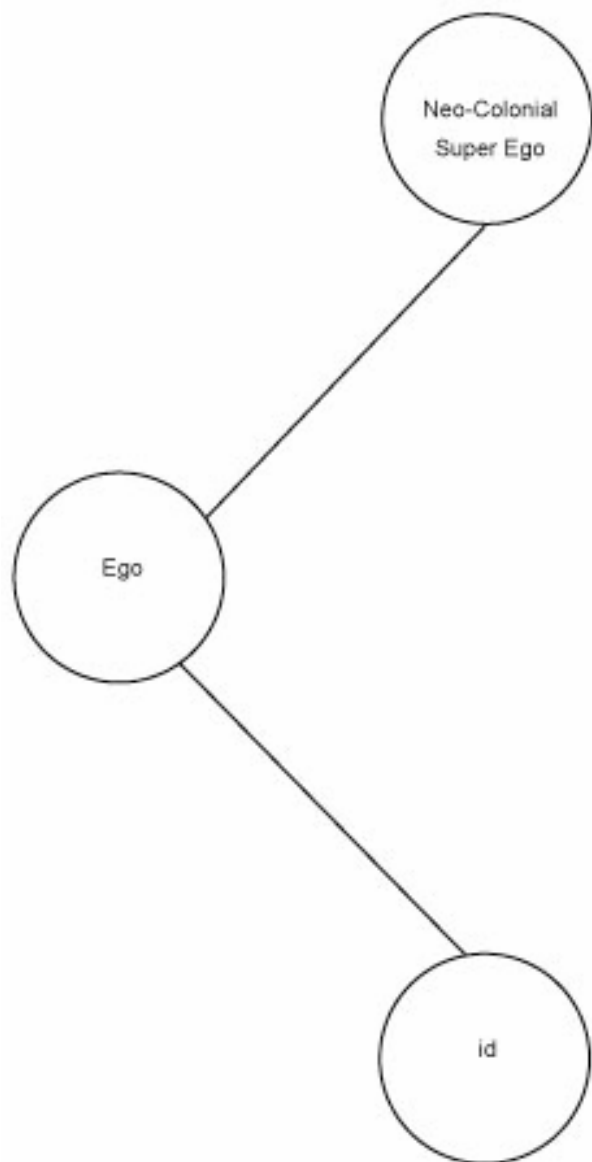
At this level, words such as – fraternity, freedom, justice – can have a double meaning: one for the perpetrators or colonizers and another for the victims or colonized. In a dysfunctional society, the balance that normally exists among the collective ID, the collective SELF (EGO) and the collective SUPER EGO is disrupted, engendering and attracting sociolinguistic consequences. The following diagrammatic illustrations are a clear representation of the ideas espoused thus far in my exposition.



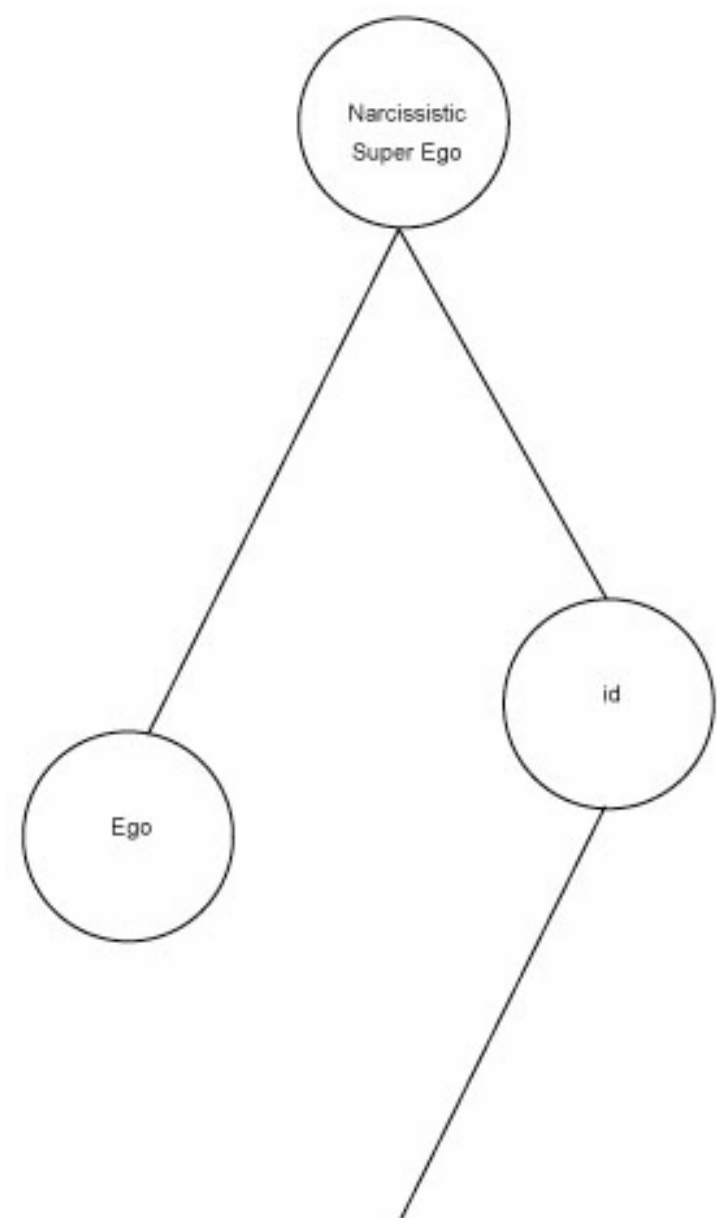
Functional Society



Disfunctional Society related to colonial Super Ego



Dysfunctional Society related to Neo colonial Super Ego



Dysfunctional society related to Narcissistic Super Ego

6.4. True meaning of words

On the other hand, in a peaceful society where people are motivated by human values or inspired by the spirit of *Ubuntu*, the overriding collective goal is to extend the wealth of possibilities to the community; language represents a means of communication and not an instrument of domination. The essence of the meaning of words cannot be lost.

“Philosophers, psychologists, and linguists have long struggled with the issue of what word meaning is and how to represent it” (Schwanenflugel 1991, 137). As language does not exist in a vacuum, sociolinguists look to identify the effects of the society on language. In Africa as well as in the African Diaspora healthy-minded people understand that poverty generates suffering. The determination to promote African Renaissance necessarily implies the eradication of poverty through equitable growth.

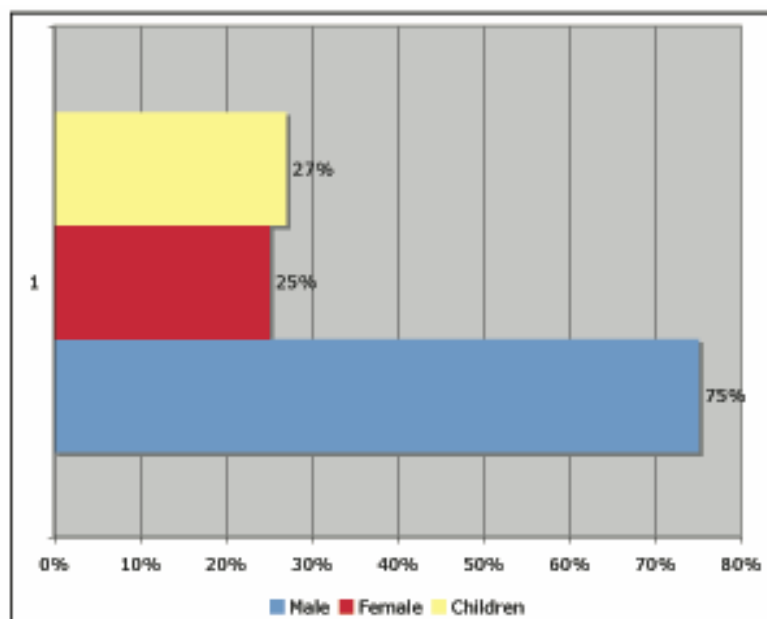
- It is absolutely crucial to build strong and deep forms of democratic governance at all level of society where poor people also have political power.
- Healthy-minded people understand that social justice and global solidarity must ensure that benefits are shared equitably.
- Eradicating poverty everywhere is more than a moral imperative - it is a practical possibility. That is the most important message of the Human Development Report of 1997. The world has the resources and the know-how to create a poverty-free world in less than a generation.

Thousands of years ago Africans, empowered by *Ubuntu*, fought for a better quality of life. For healthy-minded people of the twenty-first century this struggle is still an historic challenge. Both IsiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl speaking people have demonstrated an exceptional ability to nurture themselves with words of hope, while at the same time work hard to improve the conditions of life. How can these Africans and descendants of Africa who, in great majority live in abject poverty, survive and continue to express human values through their languages?

6.5. *Ubuntu* and psychological empowerment

Where did Africans and the descendants of Africa find the psychological empowerment needed to protect their linguistic and ancestral values? Part of the answer lies in one word: *Ubuntu*. At this stage we need to analyze this concept during the unique historical period which I call the first psycho-Afro-Tsunami.

From 1451 to 1870, thousands of African bodies disappeared in the seas – seas that are as much as 500 million years old, connected to oceans covering 361 million square kilometers with average depths estimated at 3790 meters. In December 2004 the sea rushed towards the people of South Asia taking with it thousands of lives. These two catastrophes stand in stark contrast. The Asians ran from the sea, whereas the Africans consciously rushed towards the sea and jumped in because they refused to be enslaved. Of the 11 to 12 million Africans transported from the continent for the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, two-thirds were male, perhaps 27 percent were children. An estimated 13 percent died in transit. They left Africa in groups that averaged close to 320 per ship (Geggus 2001, 122).



As one historian of the African Diaspora writes, how the institution of slavery impacted the African slaves, will probably never be fully understood. It can be argued, however, that there was a wide range of psychological responses. To be sure, the culture of the slaves helped provide them with the basis of their psychological sustenance. (Palmer 1996, 86). While some escaped the tragedy by fleeing, others used language – many different languages – as a coping mechanism. “Africa, particularly that part which lies south of the Sahara, is characterized by a great multiplicity of languages. In the absence of a generally accepted method for distinguishing between dialect and language, no exact figure can be given. On any reasonable criterion, however, the number of distinct languages is well above eight hundred” (Greenberg 1971, 126). Victims of the massive kidnapping also talked.

Social repression certainly created an atmosphere of fear. The margin of free speech available was limited. However, all bridges of communication did not disappear. “One speaks in order to be understood by one listener. Although there are many useful cognitive functions that are served by talking to yourself, there can be little doubt that the language production system’s primary mission is to create utterances comprehensible to others. Because of this mission, speakers will, when faced with a choice about what to say or how to say it, choose a way that helps their listeners comprehend” (Kegl and Napoli 1991, 105).

Eyewitness accounts by Africans of the trauma suffered by Africans upon their capture into slavery and during the middle passage at sea are powerful testaments of pain. We must as often as possible recall what they said:

- “Women, some with three, four or six children clinging to their arms, with the infants on their backs and such baggage as they could carry on their heads, running as fast as they could through prickly shrub.” Wrote one kidnapped slave.
- Another wrote: “One day when we had a smooth sea ...two of my countrymen who were chained together preferring death to such a life of misery, somehow

made through the nettings and jumped into the sea...many would very soon have done the same if they had not been prevented by the ship's crew."

- In the published account of a slave who survived the middle passage was written: "I have known ships in which 750 slaves had been embarked (but) not more than 400 arrived alive."
- "It was not a rare circumstance for the captain to order such poor slaves as were evidently dying to be thrown overboard during the night," testified another surviving slave.

These are the voices of slaves. They spoke and their words contribute in drawing the sociolinguistic canvas.

Once on land the suffering intensified. Slave codes of the time allowed judges to sentence slaves to be burnt alive, broken on the wheel or to be dismembered. The crime of raising a hand against one of the children of the mistress was to have the slave's hand cut off and to be hanged (*Code Noir of 1685*).

- Whipping, and the pouring of salt, pepper or hot ashes into the bleeding wounds, was common.
- Boiling wax, oil or sugar was poured over the naked body.
- Iron devices around hands and feet, wood blocks to be dragged behind, iron collars, and tin plate masks especially designed to prevent the slaves from eating sugar cane, were employed.
- Slaves were buried up to their necks and their faces smeared with sugar to be eaten by ants and flies.
- Others were burned or roasted alive.

The instructions that one slave master gave his plantation manager in 1775 reveal the barbarity to which women were subjected. For a live birth, the slave master ordered that the midwife be given 15 livres and the woman who delivered the baby a certain quantity

of cloth. If the child died at birth both women were to be whipped and the one who lost the child placed in iron collars until she became pregnant again.

Incredible behavior of the colonists! Incredible suffering for the slaves. Incredible as it may seem to the modern observers, these tortures appear not to have been isolated cases but rather, as it was well witnessed and documented, part and parcel of daily plantation life (Lindhal 1992, 329-220). In the face of this trauma endured by the slaves how did they react? Did they speak about it? Did the spirit of *Ubuntu* disappear from their vocabulary, language and reactions? How could we describe a comparative behavior embracing both Africans and African descendants?

African descendants did not deny the collective-self of *Ubuntu*. They fought to protect life. Freedom is equated to life. Hence, the rallying call of the Haitian revolution: Freedom or death! As a result, Haiti, the daughter of Africa, became the Cradle of Liberty in 1804 when it became the world's first Black Independent Republic. Haiti drew from rich African traditions and knowledge systems to recreate Africa, and protect life. This was evident even in the physical disposition of their homes. The Haitian *lakou* implies the presence of a big family (Bastide 1967, 137). It mirrors the traditional Zulu kraal: we find almost the same geographic disposition of the houses linking different branches of the same family: father, mother, brothers, sisters, grandfathers, gogos, cousins. Food is shared among all. *Vwazinay se fanmiy*. In this culture of joy, happiness and goodness the victims offer compassion and reconciliation to former masters. They smile with a sincere heart and cultivate a deep sense of warm hospitality. Generally the best is offered to local and foreign guests by the peasants – not because they are naïve, but because they remain true to African tradition and culture.

Here in South Africa we are experiencing this spirit of *Ubuntu*. We discovered it abroad now at the source. Throughout the African Diaspora no country is as African as Haiti. There is in Haiti that same profound respect – *hlonipha* – for people – both alive and deceased. By that I mean the Ancestors. In Haiti when you knock on someone's door you say: *Honor!* And from inside the house, a voice will reply: *Respect!* Both sides

express in symphony the same *hlonipha*. The descendants of Africa and Africans refuse to abandon their parents to old age homes where the traditional human, warm, direct, and permanent chain of communication is easily lost. Some consider these homes a ‘garage for old people.’ They enjoy living together, talking together; even after death. In the countryside the family member is buried on the property, close to the house, to ensure continuous communication. No scientific definition of *Ubuntu* can deny this system of belief.

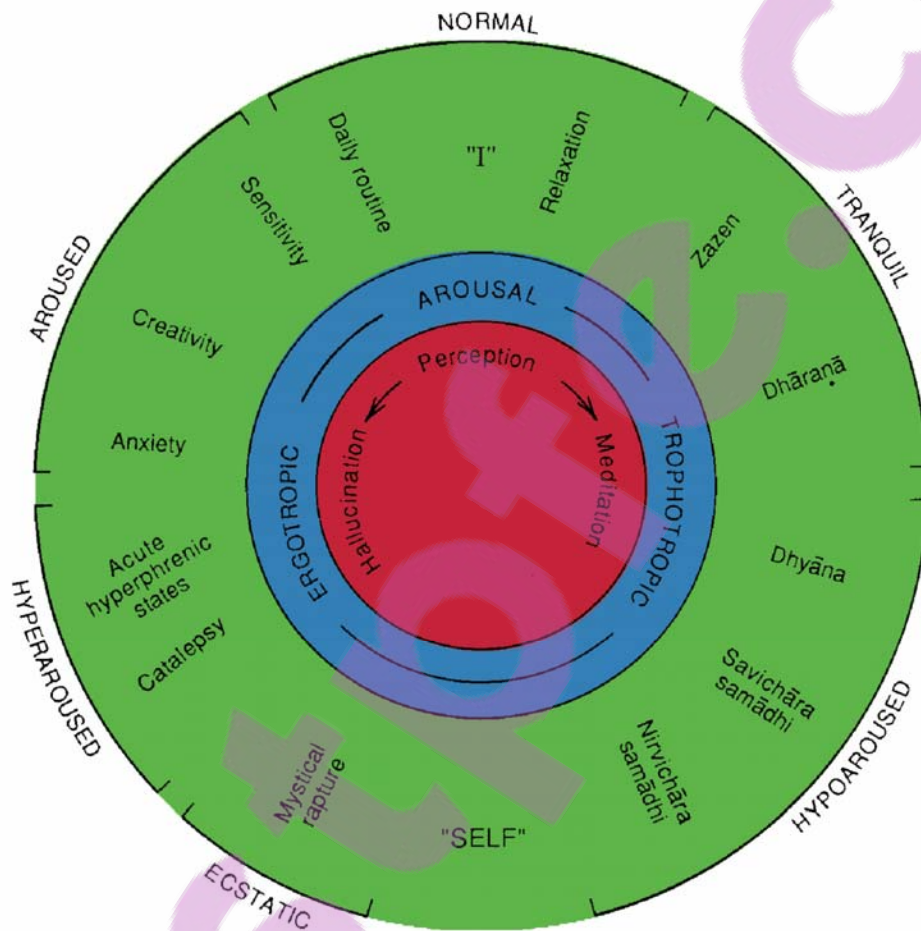
From the drops of coffee sprinkled to the ground and food offered to the spirits of the Ancestors to *Ukubuyisa*, there is a clear demonstration of this communion. How can a dead person continue to protect or punish someone who is alive? The issue is complex. It is not a question which lends itself to a ‘true or false’ answer. The response lays within the person who believes and how this belief in the power of the Ancestors can affect that person’s life. According to Cheikh Anta Diop, “while the most distant ancestors are detached in some manner almost like a vapor to reach the heavens, the nearest ones, those who have just died and whose memory is not yet vague enough for them to be the forebears of an entire people, these closest ancestors are only family demi-gods” (Diop 1959, 140). Ancestors from further generations still play an active role in the life of their descendants and are honored at festivities, as it is believed that no good can be derived from an ancestor who has been forgotten.

An understanding of any system of beliefs requires research; objective scientific research. Scientific contribution from the West should not be accepted as dogma. But clearly, concepts of Western psychology can be applied to achieve a greater understanding of religious rituals, *Ukubuyisa*, meditative states, trances, etc. Psychologist Roland Fisher developed a cartogram to explain the ecstatic-Self through the Ergotropic- trophotopic balance. In David Wulff’s *Psychology of Religion* (1991, 102), he writes:

[Fisher] suggests that ecstatic and meditative states can be placed on a circular continuum representing varying states of subcortical arousal. Movement in one direction on the continuum reflects ERGOTROPIC AROUSAL, which is marked by increased activity of the sympathetic nervous system (which mobilizes the body during stress), greater

frequency of saccadic or rapid scanning movements of the eyes, and diffuse cortical excitation.

The other direction indicates TROPHOTROPIC AROUSAL, which is hypoarousal or reduced stimulation, and consist of increased parasympathetic discharges, decreased saccadic frequency, reduced cortical activity, and muscular relaxation. Increased ergotropic arousal is characteristic of creative, psychotic, and ecstatic states, whereas trophotropic arousal occurs in conjunction with various forms of meditation, including zazen and yoga.



Fisher's cartography, which schematizes the two alternate ways to the attainment of the Self (Wulff 1991, 103)

The range of behaviour presented on the cartogram/cartography goes beyond ethnic groups or beliefs. "The schizophrenic is not necessarily a candidate for mystical ecstasy

attaining the ecstatic Self – nor is the mystic necessarily a schizophrenic although both may be subject to hallucinations” (Wulff 1991,103). Scholars made significant contributions in the elaboration of mystical experiences (Forman 1998), mystical consciousness (Dourley 1998, 123), mystical movements (Dunlap 1920, 44), trans-consciousness (Leuba 1925) and, the devil as ‘suspended super ego (Bakan 1958, 185). These issues are capable of affecting the human mind and as such cannot be reduced only to the minds of Black people. Forman (1998, 3) cited David Hay who summarized several large-scale studies which concluded that 43 percent of all Americans and 48 percent of all British people have had one or more mystical experiences. “Based on Freud’s explanation of neurosis and demoniacal possession in the seventeenth century, what was considered to be evil spirits were in fact wishes of the derivatives of impulses which have been rejected and repressed” (Bakan 1958, 214). So, the psychological motivations behind the colonists’ claims associating black slaves with evil spirits must be identified.

Because the black slave trade, by its very nature defied any justification, the European conquistadors had to create justification for the brutal enslavement of human beings. And this they did. As M’Bow (1989, viii) explains, Africans were identifiable by the colour of their skin, they had become a kind of merchandise, they were earmarked for hard labour and eventually, in the minds of those dominating them they came to symbolize an imaginary and allegedly inferior Negro race.” Further Diop (1954, 286) writes :

L’Occident qui se croyait chargé d’une mission civilisatrice en direction de l’Afrique découvre, en fouillant dans le passé, que c’est précisément cette Afrique Noire apparemment en regression, c’est bel et bien cette Afrique Noire qui lui a donné tous les éléments de la civilisation aussi extraordinaire que cela puisse paraître. Et cette vérité, tous les savants n’étaient pas disposés à l’exprimer sans nuances.

(The West, which believed that it had the mission to civilize Africa, discovered while searching the past, that it is precisely this Black Africa, apparently backward, which indeed gave it all the elements of a civilization so seemingly extraordinary. And this truth, many wise people

are not disposed to express without nuance.)

Nevertheless, there were healthy-minded people who worked to promote life and peace. Haiti's founding forefather Toussaint Louverture was one such person. He demonstrated this in his Constitution of 1801 in which he claimed life, freedom and peace for every human being, regardless of race.

A December 2004 interview in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal revealed the active, participatory and effective role of men and women as peace makers in their communities during the turbulent period prior to the 1994 elections. Eleven years later the role of these men and women has transformed to that of peacekeeper. This involvement was not legislated, but rather inspired by *Ubuntu*, and a shared interest in preserving the community.

Despite the psychological consequences of the fifteenth century African tsunami, despite the traumas suffered by victims of colonization and the continuing suffering caused by neo-colonialism, the spirit of *Ubuntu* is still alive! *Bayaphila! Baphile saga! Bayadla amabele! They live! Very well! They eat corn.*

Ubuntu epitomizes an African origin of civilization and way towards a civilization of peace. In his remarkable book *Black Athena* (1987) Martin Bernal notes that with the intensification of racism in the nineteenth century, Egyptians were no longer seen as the cultural ancestors of Greece neither the father of philosophy (1987, 441). There was a determined unwillingness to admit to the possibility of even a drop of black (negroid) blood in certain genealogic trees. Nevertheless embracing the spirit of *Ubuntu* leads inevitably to an acknowledgment of an African origin of civilization, and to the exclusion of a solipsistic view.

As archetype of psychic harmony, balance and wholeness, the collective self of *Ubuntu* opens ways towards a civilization of peace, love and respect for every human being. There is neither a superiority nor an inferiority complex attached. *Ubuntu* requires both

truth about our collective history and truth about the collective Self. Expressing a very high level of consciousness relative to human values, *Ubuntu* can be classified as a common trait of African cultures.

So when someone says: *Homo homini lupus*,

An appropriate reply could be: *Homo homini Ubuntu*.

In the past, Descartes (1641) said: *Cogito, ergo sum*. (I think, therefore I am)

Today, we say: *Umntu ngumuntu ngabantu*.

6.6. So far yet so close *ngomoya wokhokho wase-Afrika*: An ancestral psychodynamic

At this stage, another unifying element of African culture (related to *Ubuntu*) needs to be scrutinized, that of the Ancestors. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the treatment of and perception of Ancestors in both isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl demonstrate the proximity of the two languages. We will begin from an evolutionary perspective.

An interview conducted with one *isangoma* in KwaZulu-Natal revealed two important points: first, the importance of approaching any belief system with utmost respect; second, that ability of this respect to inspire openness and desire for true exchange. This was evidenced in this sentiment expressed by the *isangoma*: “*Ngicabanga ukuthi sekuyisikhathi sokucela usizo lwakho manje.*” (I think it is now time to ask for your help.) Naturally the conversation centered on the Ancestors. Africans and the descendants of Africa share, to a certain degree, their day to day existence with their Ancestors. Is it because the deceased inspires fear, love, or protection in the mind of the living? Or is it because African languages are somehow conducive to this transcendental communication? “The search for our ancestors is the forefront of scientific investigations. It is also the focus of considerable popular interest. Many people are curious about the past and are fascinated by the evolutionary path leading to modern humans” (Huger 1997, 1).

6.6.1. An evolutionary perspective

A central claim of evolutionary psychology is that the brain and therefore the mind evolved to solve problems encountered by the hunter Ancestors during the upper Pleistocene period, a time known as the Environment Evolutionary Adaptation (EEA). The fundamental assumption of evolutionary psychology is that the human mind is the product of evolution. In others words, “evolutionary psychologists regard the human mind as an information-processing device that evolved over millions of years to meet specific environmental challenges” (Fitness and Sterelng 2003, 127).

To better understand the mind, a better understanding of the evolutionary pressure that shaped it is needed. Evolution is defined as “a change of one form into a different form through sequences of cause and effect, due to the interaction of internal and external forces” (Shimer 1929, 9). What scientists describe as the Age of Humanity (the Pleistocene epoch) is the period of time that human beings first evolved. This epoch is the most recent interval of earth’s history, beginning about 1.6 million years ago. During this period, the Ancestors would find a margin of adaptation to their environment. We suppose that humans are part of the natural world. They plainly have the capacity to solve certain problems” (Chomsky 1998, 149).

The story of humanity begins deep in a geological time when the world’s climate was warmer and more homogeneous than it is today. According to anthropologist Brian Fagan (2004, 31-32):

- Some 35 million years ago, the first signs of glacial cooling appeared with the formation of a belt of pact ice around Antarctica.
- About 2.5 million years ago, glaciations intensified and the earth entered its present period of a constantly fluctuating climate.
- The major climate and environment changes that took place during the Pleistocene epoch were the backdrop for some of the most important stages in human evolution.

- For long stretches of time, the northern part of Europe and North America were mantled with great ice sheets, the last retreating only some 15,000 years ago.
- For these reasons some scientists call the Pleistocene epoch: The Great Ice Age.

These major climate changes are cursory examples of the environmental pressures that the Ancestors faced – with logical consequences on their evolution. Migration, both within Africa and from the Mother Continent, was one resulting impact.

Over many millions of years, the tectonic plate upon which the Australian continent rides has drifted in comparative isolation from the processes of biological evolution occurring in the rest of the world.

Animals too were forced to move from their original habitats because of the climate. As populations of animals looked for more adaptable areas, they encountered other communities of animals and the contact resulted in cross-breeding and the emergence of new species. Nevertheless as Chomsky noted, *“les gens les plus stupides apprennent à parler, mais même le singe le plus brillant n’y parvient pas”* (the stupidest of people learn to speak, while the most brilliant monkey does not) (Chomsky and Miller 1968, 8). Migration was the springboard of diversification in the animal kingdom. The Pleistocene epoch witnessed an explosion in the number of mammal species on the earth, notably in Africa. The most relevant and tested archeological evidence points to the fact that the Ancestors were members of the primate order. Researchers, including those engaged in evolutionary psychology, believe that apes and humans diverged from the monkey in Africa. The higher primates include “the Simians (monkeys) to which man belongs ... The oldest Primates are therefore the Prosimians, which emerged almost 70 million years ago ... Fossils from 2 to 2.5 million years old of this hominoid form (*australopithecus robustus*) have been found in caves in South Africa” (Ki-Zerbo 1990, 169-171).

6.6.2. Natural selection: Linguistic diversity

The color or race of that common Ancestor may not be known. In the African conception of Ancestor are color and race important? How this common Ancestor evolved through the human chain, resulting in the racial, linguistic, and cultural diversity that exists today, is answered by numerous theories. Foremost is the theory of natural selection.

According to Charles Darwin, natural selection implies first heritable variation. That means that all of us, different from one another, are cable of transmitting to our offsprings these differences. Second, because of these differences some of us leave more surviving offsprings than others. This is what Darwin described as differential reproductive success. “Darwin’s idea of natural selection was that animals should end up with physical and behavioural characteristics that allow them to perform well in the ordinary processes of life such as competing with their rivals, finding food, avoiding predators and finding a mate” (Cartwright 2001, 27).

Darwin believed that natural selection played a key role in human evolution as well; the animal best adapted to its environment survived. And it is therefore this animal that has the greater chance of reproducing and transmitting its genes. “Although Darwin’s theory of evolution by selection has been around since 1859, it is a plain fact that scientists for more than a century afterward could not figure out how to use the theory to study the most complex organic creation yet discovered – the human mind” (Kenrick and Simpson 1997, 387). It also took time for some people to realize that all human beings are equal despite a difference of color. Such truth is hidden by those, who, according to Diop (1954, 286) “*ont falsifié l’histoire de l’humanité de génération en génération*” – falsified the history of humanity from generation to generation.

Racial differentiation emerged in Europe at the end of the glacial wurmienne between 20,000 and 40,000 BC. The first leucoderme appeared only twenty thousand years ago, Cro-Magnon Man. “Comparison of modern man with his ancestors of the Cro-Magnon age reveals a pronounced similarity in shape of body and in brain capacity. It is apparent

that physically the man of the upper Pleistocene of twenty thousand years ago was as highly evolved as is man today” (Shimer 1929, 209).

It is most likely that Cro-Magnon man was the result of a genetic mutation of the Negroid Grimaldi man caused by the excessive cold in Europe at this time. This is an example of natural selection. Two further examples: *Ardipithecus ramidus* which flourished in Ethiopia 4.5 million years ago and *Sahelanthropus tshadensis* from Chad. These “first hominoids were tree-living, with long arms and legs and broad chests, who became eventually bipedal.” Like their skin color, the length of their arms, their body size and their means of communication, the diversification of language, were determined by natural selection, not artificial selection, which is the conscious decision to obtain a new organism by mixing others.

6.6.3. Savage selection and pathological language

To these two categories of selection, natural and artificial, I would add a third: savage selection implying pathological language. What does that mean?

Natural selection is the opposite of savage selection, a term used here to describe the violent process of choosing human beings for enslavement. African ancestors were its subject, leading to the inhumane atrocities that were inherent to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, as described in Chapter Two. Alongside these atrocities, a wide range of sociolinguistic pathologies were experienced. Language pathology is defined to include all forms of abnormal linguistic behaviour (Crystal 1999, 190). Because of the slave trade’s enormous scale and longevity, there was a significant impact on the evolution of language. In addition, the enslaved Ancestors were under verbal fire, verbal furor and verbal violence from the colonists.

During slavery words took on different meanings. For the enslaved Africans ‘slavery’ meant death and ‘Ancestors’ meant life. One of many survival strategies involved a persistent search for the truth in the word ‘Ancestors’. It has been documented that one

third of the slaves died within the first three years of captivity and that the maximum life expectancy of a captured slave was approximately 15 years. Under these conditions suicide became a viable alternative. Slaves believed that when they died they would return to Africa to be with the Ancestors. To discourage suicides slave masters displayed the decapitated heads of slaves hoping that others would not want to return home in this mutilated state.

The suffering of the victims of slavery constitutes a bridge, not a wall between Africans and the descendants of Africa. On both sides of this bridge the same African Ancestors are revered in the collective mind, as though alive. As described by two well known researchers and major proponents of evolutionary psychology, Leda Cosmides and John Tooby of the University of California, this collective mind refers to a set of information-processing machines that were designed by natural selection to solve adaptive problems faced by our hunter-gatherer ancestors. In other words, “one hallmark of evolutionary psychology is the proposition that the mind is largely the product of natural selection and so is essentially a set of adaptations for solving the most enduring adaptive problems encountered by our ancestors” (Fitness and Sterelng 2003, 125). Implicit in this explanation is the ongoing potential for improvement in cognitive performance in order to meet challenges. Viewed in this light, the Ancestors’ vision, inspired by *Ubuntu*, reflected a high level of mental development and was an effective coping mechanism to promote human growth. This did not inhibit other forms of development, such as economic development or the growth of societal infrastructures, leadership skills etc. In 1804 human evolution became human revolution. Haitian and African slaves united declared Haiti free to defend their collective dignity. This dignity was anchored in their newly found liberty, prompting the Ancestors to declare that they were ‘restored to their primitive dignity’. For the Ancestors, words such as ‘dignity’ were no longer empty; the victorious struggle for liberty and justice had given it meaning.

6.6.4. Ancestral psychodynamic

When we analyze the term Ancestor in this sociolinguistic field, a set of psychodynamic reactions can be observed. In the first instance the reaction can take on a physical form. There is a strong desire for a deceased mother, father or uncle to be physically visible. The strong emotions that animated the passed life – love of family, nation – are strongly felt. Some claim that beyond merely feeling the deceased's presence they can smell the fragrance of perfume habitually worn or the scent of a long gone smoking pipe. Second, there is a sense of pride in the legacy left by a revered Ancestor. Third, a sense of continuity, mixed with a sense of love or fear, depending on the system of beliefs that are ascribed to by the person.

Both in Haiti and Africa people request the intervention of the Ancestors for help in matters that range from health issues, to career decisions, to help in the fight for justice and social change. There is neither fear nor awkwardness in asking for such assistance. Indeed among worshippers, traditional healers, *izangoma*, *izinyanga futhi abantu ababhula esangomeni*, there is great faith in the efficacy of these interventions. When Africans and African descendants feel the spirit of love, justice and freedom that guided the Ancestors is still alive today, it opens a new and empowering evolutionary horizon. The process of struggling for a better life is energized and accelerated. From a sociolinguistic point of view, the words 'love' and 'freedom' shed light on 'Ancestors'. So there should be no fear, hallucinations, unconscious self-punishment; instead, collective empowerment to improve qualities of life in fulfilling the beautiful dreams of the Ancestors.

The deeper I compare isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl the more I discover how intimately the roots of Haitian Kreyòl are nourished by African traditions. The following examples draw a clear picture of this relationship shared by isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl speakers through ancestral psychodynamics⁹ rooted in *Ubuntu*:

⁹ See interviews in Appendix F

- Haitian Kreyòl speakers as well as isiZulu speakers have always shared a transcendental vision of life. The spirit of *Ubuntu*, or the deep sense of community, goes beyond death. This deep communion shared by descendants and ancestors, is remarkable. The following proverbs depict these theological paradigms in a very simple way: *Akudlozi lay'endlini layeka kwabo*. (There is no ancestral spirit that goes to a hut and leaves its own home.) *Idlozi liyabekelwa* (something is reserved for the spirits), is repeated by both amaZulu and Haitians as they sprinkle drops of coffee (or tea or alcohol) to the ground before drinking.

- *Bathandaza emsamo, bathandaza esontweni noma enthliziyweni njengoba uJezu eshilo ngesi Heberu*: (They pray at home in a special place reserved for the ancestral spirits called *umsamo*, or “*tab ogatwa*”, they pray in church or in their heart like Jesus who said: Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come...

- Among Haitian Kreyòl and isiZulu speakers the psychological resistance against cultural aggression brought on by colonialism is still very strong. To understand the spirit of any language, or to gain scientific knowledge of the psychology of a language, a scientific approach which includes ancestral psychodynamics must be taken.

- This same psychological resistance against cultural aggression is also evident in linguistics. In Lingala the word *monganga* means white doctor and *nganga* means traditional healer. Haitians use the same word *ganga* for traditional healer. In isiZulu the word is *inyanga*. Both, amaZulu and Haitians use the same word *wonga* to mean attraction, magnetism.

- *Umntu* in isiZulu is linked to the word *moun* in Kreyòl which means people, even though it is generally considered to derive from the French word *monde* meaning people. My assumptions and research lead me to

believe that it may have some linguistic connection with *muntu*, originated in Bantu languages. In isiZulu, *umuntu* means people. When in Kreyòl we say *ou moun tou*, it sounds exactly like *umuntu* in isiZulu. This last word *tou* in Haitian Kreyòl comes from the English word too, meaning also. Our *ou moun tou* means: “You also are a human being.”

- *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*: “I am because we are.” Haitian-African religion is founded on community life. Pain, joy, hope, and bread must be shared in family. And this spirit of family, including the spirit of the Ancestors, is eloquently expressed in the following proverbs:

- *Manje kwit pa gen mèt*. – A cooked meal has no owner.
- *Ukudla yinsila yamazinyo*. – Just give the people food.
- *Nen pran kou, je kouri dlo*. – When harmed, tears flow from the eyes.
- *Igugu liyadonsiswana*. – A treasured thing must inspire mutual appreciation. So mutual appreciation is expected from both sides.
- *Men anpil, chay pa lou*. – When the hands are many, the load is light.
- *Izandla ziyagezana*. – Hands helping each other
- *Pitit ki pa kriye pa bezwen tete*. – A child who doesn’t cry is not hungry for her mother’s breast milk.
- *Ingane engakhali ifel’embelekwini*. – A child who doesn’t cry will die on the back of his mother.

(As observed, these Haitian proverbs have their equivalent in isiZulu.)

- The first inhabitants of Africa often wore charms and amulets. The Egyptian scarab-beetle, the symbol for renewal, was very popular in 1200-1000 BC. Among Haitian Kreyòl and isiZulu speakers, the *isiphandla* (amulet, *gad* in Haitian Kreyòl) is worn with the same intention. In both cultures, while some wear their charms openly, others prefer to keep the practice as discrete as possible.

- This same discretion and respectful behavior is observed in relation to the *amadlozi* (spirits) when there is *Ihlambo* (final purification ceremony after mourning a member of the Zulu family), or in *Ukulandwa Kowafa*, which is a Zulu ceremony to take the ancestral spirit back home using *mlahlankosi* (a special tree branch). The rituals in both cultures are similar.

No value judgment is made on any of these rituals or beliefs. A scientific approach requires, not faith or belief, but rather an understanding and respect of cultural diversity. This approach is indispensable to an analysis of the sociolinguist data, especially when the data arises from an unfamiliar culture.

From the earliest times, people have felt the need to practice necromancy or communication with the dead. Leaving aside the dynamics of the practice itself, the true import of the custom lies in the legacy left by the ancestor and its impact on the quality of life of the living. Some cultures consider it shameful to die without honor. For those who are considered heroes, it is said in isiZulu: *Ukufa kulinuku* (Death is nothing.) The Haitian national anthem expresses the readiness to work and die for the country and the flag: *Nou gen w drapo tankou tout pèp, se pou n travay mouri pou li*. (We have a flag, like all nations, we must work and die for it.)

Shared African roots build – not walls of separation – but bridges of solidarity. *Umakhelwane wembesa isifumbu somakhelwane*. (A neighbour covers up the hunchback of his neighbour.) *Nen pran kou je kouri dlo*. (The nose is hit, the eye tears.) Good neighbors live in harmony and are ready to come to the assistance of one another. Despite the caricature of violence so often used against Black people, African and African descendants are essentially peace lovers animated by the shared principle of *Ubuntu*, the seed for the globalization of solidarity. Impoverished by the globalization of the economy, they shall overcome through the globalization of solidarity. Hence economic growth rooted in human growth. Contrary to the colonial system that secretes a classist neurosis (Aristide 2003, 285) *Ubuntu* inspires concrete expressions of solidarity among literate and illiterate people.

As an example, the Caribbean Diaspora, a sub-set of the larger African Diaspora and also the largest Diasporic community in the world, is remarkable for the remittances sent home: US\$5.7 billion dollars is sent to the Caribbean region every year. Haiti alone receives from its 2.5 millions citizens living abroad, US\$931 million, or 16 percent of the country's total GDP. From 1996-2001, remittances in general to the Caribbean grew by US\$2.1 billion. As significant as these figures are, they do not tell the whole story – because they only record the money transferred through banks. It is estimated that the same amount of money crosses borders every year through informal channels. In other words, those are visible seeds for the globalization of solidarity. These concrete expressions of solidarity clearly justify the claim that *Ubuntu* generates a social self, or a social love rooted in brotherhood.

6.6.4.1. Experimental knowledge

From the 11 of August to 16 of August 2006, I returned to KwaZulu Natal to observe firsthand this sense of solidarity rooted in *Ubuntu* through a compelling isiZulu experience that I have been studying for the past two years. It was important for me to go back to Durban in order to evaluate the conclusion of this research in light of this experience. This also offered me an opportunity to better put in perspective the practice of *Ubuntu*. I refer here to a comparative analyse of sociolinguistic data through the Muthande Literacy Programme.

The Muthande Literacy Programme operates in four learning centres: Lamontville, Chesterville, Clermont and KwaDabeka. It was designed and initiated in 1996 for persons over the age of 60. The programme was, and continues to be, the only one of its kind in South Africa. The greatest challenge that it faced at inception was combating the general sentiment that literacy, or indeed any learning programme for the elderly was not necessary because, put bluntly, “older people are dying anyway.” These words were shared with me by one of the leaders of the Muthande Programme in an interview conducted on 12 August 2006.

I asked this same person the following question: How can language help to implement the values of *Ubuntu*? She responded by directing me to a document written by the Muthande group. The document describes a range of needs that this literacy programme responds to:

- The deep sense of loss felt by older people for not having been able to attend school in their younger years
- Financial abuse experienced by older people, getting cheated at shops, banks, elsewhere because they are unable to read or count
- The ability to properly administer medications
- Read signs on buses and street names in order to get around easily
- Read and sign important documents

The spirit of *Ubuntu* and numerous seeds of solidarity are evident in this community of love, as the word *Muthande* itself means: love him or love her. With the assistance of the University of Natal and other institutions, Muthande has published a book comprising eleven short stories written by learners. This book, entitled *Isigubhu sezimanga nezinye izindaba* (2001) (The power of the drum and other stories), is a love story inspired by *Ubuntu*.

Isigubhu sezimanga draws from African life, values and history. The same power of love propagated by Haitian Kreyòl and empowered by the Haitian revolution, is reflected in these isiZulu stories. Because of their love for freedom, African descendants freed Haiti in 1804. Because of their love for freedom, South Africans freed South Africa in 1994. In both cases the mother tongues had a role to play in empowering freedom fighters. As we saw in Chapter Four, the spirit of *Ubuntu* can be traced in the Kreyòl letters dictated by Toussaint Louverture – who, himself, learned to read at the age of 48. One can also discover how the Zulu learners in the Muthande group although old, share personal love stories as expressions of joy and freedom in a post apartheid era:

- “*Kwakukhona insizwa eyathatha inhliziyo yami lapho... Yazibika kimi kanti vele sengisangene. Isusu sami saqala ukuxhuxuzela. Ngangakwazi ukuzibamba*” (Thusi 2001, 7).

(There was a young man who stole my heart there...he introduced himself to me but I was already crazy. My stomach started turning. I had no control.)

- “*Kwase kuthi angisangane uthando. Ngangingazi ukuthi ukuthanda umuntu kumnandi kangaka...Uthando lwaluvutha ngaphakathi kimina*” (Cibane 2001, 14).

(I was about to go crazy with love. I never new that loving someone would feel so wonderful ... My love burned inside of me.)

As observed from the dynamics that animate the Muthande group, the love expressed could not be confined to a personal and individual level; it includes the people. From the Ancestors to the African descendants who sacrificed their lives for freedom. Today Haitians and South Africans continue to demonstrate that this love is drawn from *Ubuntu*.

6.6.4.2. Psychohistory

Scholars familiar with psychohistory can easily identify psychological motivations behind historical events. The focus is on the psychological motivations and not on the narrative and description of the events. With his explanations in *Civilization and its Discontents*, Freud initiated the birth of psychohistory, which today can contribute to a better understanding of mother tongues such as isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl. While Isaac Asimov coined the term “psychohistory” as the name for a fictional science, other scholars and scientists such as Erik Erikson and Lloy deMause, furthered the study, leading to the creation of the discipline of psychohistory. This process contributed to stimulating mental growth and psycho-sociolinguistic development.

Just as during the period when Haitian Kreyòl was created there was a heightened sense of self-awareness, it is absolutely crucial that linguistic tools continue to help raise the

level of self-awareness and historical awareness with respect to historical awareness, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, former Director-General of Unesco, wrote in the preface of the first volume of the *General History of Africa* that: "From the time when the notions of 'white' and black' were used as generic labels by the colonialists, who were regarded as superior, the colonized Africans had to struggle against both economic and psychological enslavement" (M'Bow 1989, viii).

Today although officially we live in a post-colonial era, this struggle continues. Haitian Kreyòl and isiZulu can play a similar historic role as that played in the past in fighting economic and psychological enslavement. In doing so, one continues to draw from the common Ancestors and African history which also includes the history of the African Diaspora. Haitian Kreyòl and isiZulu speakers must continue to draw from the World Conference against Racism of the United Nations, hosted in Durban, South Africa, from 31 August to 8 September 2001. The Declaration of the Conference stated that:

Recognizing that failure to combat and denounce racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance by all, especially by public authorities and politicians at all levels, is a factor encouraging their perpetuation..., we express our solidarity with the people of Africa in their continuing struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and recognize the sacrifices made by them, as well as their efforts in raising international public awareness of these inhuman tragedies.

6.6.4.3. Ancestral languages

Connected as they are in a shared terrain of ancestral psychodynamics described above, isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl link us to the languages spoken by the Ancestors. These ancestral languages were not orphans rescued by colonists who themselves continuously opposed the mother tongues. In order to keep themselves at the top of the social ladder and force the African Ancestors to stay at the bottom, the colonists tried to instill in the minds of all Africans the virus of inferiority. One strategy was to reduce the indigenous languages to an inferior status. "Racism is a scourge that is capable of taking on a

multiplicity of forms, from the most discreetly concealed to the most bloodthirsty as in the case of slave trade and the Second World War. Like a living fossil it bides its time, buried in the subconscious of hundreds of millions of people, until re-awakens in the shape of pseudo-scientific doctrine” (Ki-Zerbo 1990, 24).

The colonial and neo-colonial system promoted pseudo-scientific doctrines unwilling to recognize or respect rights relative to languages. When evaluating the capacity of ancestral languages and African values to resist, as set forth in Chapter Two, it is important to recall that this resistance dates back more than 500 years. Further one must consider the role of two key figures in maintaining a system that categorically rejected indigenous languages and continued to spread colonial pathologies: the mythomane-colonists and the mental slaves.

Previous chapters addressed sociolinguistic values across the struggle for linguistic rights. We observed how mythomane-colonists have a pathological taste for lies. Empowered by the system, they lie and work hard to foster historical amnesia in order to destroy historical truth. Mother tongues are reduced to an inferior status and are generally used whenever it contributes to maintaining the system of domination.

On their side the mental slaves produced by the colonial and neo-colonial masters, enjoy thinking, talking and acting like their white masters. They have always represented and still represent a real obstacle for the growth of Haitian Kreyòl and isiZulu. Mental slaves, as alienated minds, cannot be really free from the master’s language. The use of their mother tongue reminds them of their social origin. Mental slaves act as house slaves with a feeling of superiority vis-à-vis the masses considered as field slaves. In doing so, they also reject the language of the masses. They help their masters reinforce the sclerosis of the colonial or neo-colonial system. This was highlighted by the graphics relative to dysfunctional societies found in section 6.3.

From the Trans-Atlantic slave trade to neo-colonialism, mental slaves can symbolize, as their masters, permanent dangers for a sustainable development of Haitian Kreyòl and

isiZulu. Rejecting indigenous languages, the colonists never cared about moral values, human suffering or rights relative to languages. As observed, during the period following the birth of Haitian Kreyòl, the most dangerous forces, however, still remain the obsessive neo-colonists who use their might to eradicate human rights. The right to choose one's language in a free society must be protected.

It is absolutely necessary that one continues to draw from African values to continue to struggle against sociolinguistic enslavement. The Ancestors started long before us. No one can enumerate the sacrifices made to give birth to both Haitian Kreyòl and isiZulu.

6.7. Conclusion

Despite the great physical distance that separates isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl they share a close relationship as demonstrated by the psychological explanation set forth in this chapter. This proximity is reflected in the observation: 'So far yet so close, *ngomoya wobuntu*'.

Ubuntu is the unifying feature that generates a social "self" or a love story rooted in brotherhood which empowers both Africans isiZulu speakers and African descendant speakers of Haitian Kreyòl. The psychology of *Ubuntu* demonstrates how the concept stands in opposition to the principles of colonialism. The double meaning ascribed to words – by both African slaves and colonialists – generated sociolinguistic consequences. With respect to this duality in word meanings, *Ubuntu* provided inspiration to arrive at the true meaning of words. *Ubuntu* and the collective psychological empowerment that it generates are seen as instrumental in strengthening the capacity to protect linguistic and ancestral values.

The proximity of isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl is observed in a particular way through the common Ancestors. The common values are rooted in an ancestral psychodynamic. 'So far yet so close *ngomoya wokhokho wase-Afrika*'. IsiZulu speakers and Haitian Kreyòl speakers generally live with the Ancestors as part of their lives. It is an ancestral

psychodynamic linked to love, fear, tradition or with an African system of beliefs. In addressing the social basis of language and the linguistic underpinnings of social behavior, one needs to address this common trait or this ancestral psychodynamic that is rooted in *Ubuntu*.

Chapter Seven

So far yet so close, *ngomoya wamagama wuNkulunkulu* (Theological explanation)

While I was studying theology and biblical Hebrew in Israel (1979-1982) a colleague shared this theological anecdote: When God created the first human being he was very happy. When he saw the first black person he was troubled, but then God was quickly relieved when he saw other white people. However, when God saw the second black person, he became furious. He asked: “*Mamma mia, ho bruciato un altro!*” (My goodness, I burned another one!)¹⁰

An exegetical approach to this anecdote compels us to ask: Which god is referred to here? Could it be the God indicated by the first words of the fourth gospel?

¹ Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.

² οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

³ πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. ὃ γέγονεν

⁴ ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

**Ekuqaleni wayekhona uLizwi,
uLizwi wayekuNkulunkulu,
uLizwi wayenguNkulunkulu.**

**Yena lowo wayekhona
Ekuqaleni kuNkulunkulu.**

**Konke kwavela ngaye;
Ngaphandle kwakhe akuvelanga lutho
Kuko konke okuvelileyo.**

**Ukuphila kwakukuye,
Ukuphila kwakungukukhanya kwabantu.**

¹⁰ He was speaking in Italian, the language used at that time by all of us in the community.

*Okòmansman, Pawòl la te egziste,
E Pawòl la te avèk Bon Dye,
E Pawòl la se te Bon Dye.
Pawòl la te la okòmansman avèk Bon Dye.*

*Se Pawòl la ki te kreye tout bagay,
E pa gen anyen ki te egziste
San l pat soti nan zantray Pawòl la.*

*Se nan Pawòl la sous lavi a te ye,
E lavi a se te limyè moun.*

In the beginning was the word,
And the Word was with God,
And the Word was God.

The same was in the beginning with God.
All this was made by the Word;
And without the word was not any thing
Made that was made.

In the Word was life,
And the life was the light of men.

John 1,1-4

7.1. The Logos? “In the beginning was the word.”

The term ‘word’ is at times used as a metaphor for Jesus and sometimes denotes God. Depending on the context it also means God’s message or the Holy Scripture (the Bible) itself. Due to the importance of every word in exegesis, linguistic experience and theological knowledge often compliment one another. In the prologue to the Fourth Gospel, what is the meaning of ‘word’? Can a single word epitomize so much power?

Samuel Taylor Coleridge claimed to have developed a ‘logosophic’ system which attempted "to reduce all knowledges into harmony." Mary Perkins Anne said of Coleridge that “He developed a keen sense of the power of words and of the significance

of their use or misuse in all forms of human discourse. Increasingly, not only that which the words conveyed, but also words themselves, their history, and their relationship to thought and things, attracted his attention” (Anne 1994, 25).

For philosophers, theologians, exegetes, and linguists, words are profoundly significant. As Georges Poulos said, a host of grammarians advocate a syntactic approach for identifying the word. “These include Guthrie (1948), Van Wyk (1968), Brown & Muller (1980) and Crystal (1993). These scholars maintain that the identification of the word should occur within a sentence” (Poulos and Msimang 1998, 15). Exploring the property of the “logos”, K. Thomson claims that: “The term has its outward manifestations, its inner nature or its psychology,” and argues that “the history of a Logos will sometimes aid us to understand the manner in which it has taken shape as literature” (Thomson 1935, 132). So, how is the word “logos”, translated in this prologue by *iLizwi*, to be interpreted? Can this single word help us trace God’s origin, identity and name? In other words, *iLizwi elithini*?

The original language of this verse was Koine Greek. The majority of New Testament manuscripts were composed in Greek as well. Scholars identified three main textual traditions in the 27 books of the New Testament: The Western text-type, the Alexandrian text-type, and the Byzantine text-type. Compiled by Desiderius Erasmus, the earliest printed edition of the New Testament in Greek appeared in 1516. Following that work made by Foben press, the printer Robert Etienne of Paris produced another edition of the New Testament in 1550 showing critical apparatus because of variant readings in manuscripts. Later, in 1633, both editions were called in Latin Textus Receptus (received text).

Having chosen to write his Gospel in Greek, John utilized, from the very first verse, the word “logos” meaning word, reason, logic. For Socrates, Plato and Aristotle who studied under Plato, the term logos epitomized a depiction of the rules of human rationality. This same vision is found through Heraclitus, one of the more eminent pre-Socratic Greek philosophers who used logos to describe inherent order in the universe and human

knowledge. Some identify God, Logic or Jesus through the concept “logos” that is used in the prologue of the gospel of St. John.

7.2. A linguistic choice, a theological option

Gospel writer John wanted to communicate with two different groups of people: Jews who were familiar with the wisdom tradition in Judaism and Hellenists who were capable of understanding the philosophical dimension of the biblical message. “In the easy give-and-take of civilized and intellectual life in the period, the influence was reciprocal. Hellenistic Judaism is a distinct phenomenon of the time. That the Fourth Evangelist expected to find readers among open-minded Jews who participated in the intellectual life of Hellenism we may take for granted” (Dodd 1953, 54). From an exegetical point of view, John clearly realized that “understanding the Bible always involved a complex interaction between text, interpreter, and tradition” (Wengert 1998, 31).

Thus, for John both groups of readers could welcome such a language. Exegesis does not deny language’s importance. “It belongs to the very essence of language, which consists in continually undoing its phrase by foreword or the exegesis, in unsaying the said, in attempting to restate without ceremonies what has already been ill understood in the inevitable ceremonial in which the said delights” (Levinas 1964, 30). One must also interpret John’s approach as an expression of intelligence and belief, not as propaganda. He believed in what he wrote. “It was for him the one true interpretation of the Old Testament, guaranteed as such, not only by its rationality, but also by his own religious experience, to which he repeatedly appeals” (Dodd 1953, 54).

In other words, the Fourth Evangelist made a linguistic choice to espouse a theological option. This approach was absent when the first missionaries started to proclaim God’s message to the Haitian people. Contrary to John, these missionaries decided to impose their God, their way, using their language ignoring the fact that the slaves had their own linguistic and theological references. The same happened in Africa each time African indigenous knowledge was classified as inferior or simply denied.

A missionary in John's tradition, operating in the realm of Eastern religions, would be deferential to concepts such as Tao, dharma, aum, which express a certain degree of similarity with "logos". In Africa, the term "Hu" used by the ancient Egyptian mythology, represented the sacred word spoken to create existence. As it appeared in the isiZulu version of the prologue (Jn 1, 1-4), *iLizwi* is the equivalent to logos, representative of the supreme being for Christian traditions. These concepts, similar to logos, carry their own theological and cultural complexities.

In order to establish meaningful communication there must be, in addition to a linguistic understanding, respect for a people's culture and system of beliefs. This critical point was missing in the interactions between missionaries and Haitians. Although at times some missionaries attempted to use a certain kind of Haitian Kreyòl, it was nonetheless very difficult to construct a meaningful bridge of communication. Something fundamental was missing. As a result, 500 years after Columbus planted the Christian cross in a place that he christened '*Croix des bossals*' (cross of the savages). Haitians still strongly believe in African Ancestors to a much greater degree than is apparent. The Haitian belief system, in which the names of the Ancestors play a central role in affirming their existence, is deeply rooted in oral and religious tradition. Researchers know that this is neither new nor exceptional. For instance, "early on in its history, Judaism developed the concept of an oral tradition which expanded upon and interpreted the text of sacred scripture. This oral tradition was in turn codified and recorded and attained authoritative status among the sacred works of Judaism... The Hebrew Bible is the classic example of a sacred text frozen in time which must satisfy the religious needs of succeeding generations of believers" (Goering, McAuliffe et al 2000, 3).

As "it is true that exegesis always demands some kind of assumption regarding the general aim and the background of the work in hand" (Dodd 1953, 3), we need to draw a parallel between the names of God written in the Bible and the names of God through Haitian traditions. Such explanation may indicate how close Africans and African descendants are on the theological field.

7.3. *Amagama akhe eTanakh*

The first missionaries in Africa and in the African Diaspora presented the Bible to the potential converts as the word of God. Both the Old and the New Testaments were included in this Bible. “The earliest portions of the Old Testament are held to date from the tenth or eleventh century BCE (the poem in Judges 5), while the latest (the book of Daniel), comes from the Maccabean period of the second century BCE. The time-span for the New Testament is much shorter” (Riches 2000, 9). This Bible was translated from the Masoretic Text (MT) or the Hebrew text of the Bible or Tanakh, (תנ"ך) edited between the seventh and tenth centuries BC. While the Hebrew word *mesorah* (מסורה) implies the transmission of a tradition, here it indicates the marginal notes in manuscripts of the Tanakh or the Hebrew Bible.

The biblical version in use by the missionaries at the time of their arrival in Africa and in the African Diaspora included the Deuterocanonical books written in the Second – Temple period of Judaism. These books such as Wisdom and Tobias are comprised in both, the Vulgate or Latin Bible as well as the Greek Septuagint Old Testament, but not in the Hebrew Bible or תנ"ך Tanakh. However, the biblical writings used by Christians and Jews used different names for God, from the ineffable “τετραγράμματον” Tetragrammaton or word with four letters יהוה (YHWH). to אֲדֹנָי (Adonai, (השם) Hashèm or “The Name”...For some scholars, the names of god in the Hebrew Scripture are very complex and poses a problem (Brichto 1998, 3). In the prologue of St. John, the third verse refers to God, identified as, the one who created everything as seen in Gen. 1, 3:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים, יְהִי אוֹר; וַיְהִי-אוֹר

Gen. 1, 3

**UNkulunkulu wathi:
“Makube khona ukukhanya,”
Kwaba khona ukukhanya.**

*Bon Dye di:
'Fòk limyè egziste,'
E limyè egziste.*

And God said:
Let there be light,
And there was light.

Gen. 1, 3

The following verses, from 3 to 9, all start with the same name given to God, the Creator. Further, God will be named differently because of various different traditions that comprise the Pentateuch such as: The Yahwistic tradition (J) and the tradition of the Elohist (E). “Various traditions in the Pentateuch reflect different views of the origins of Yahwism which are not easily reconcilable. According to the Yahwitic tradition (J), the worship of Yahweh can be traced to remote antiquity: ...Gen. 4:26. The tradition of the Elohist, on the other hand, associates the revelation of the divine name with the experience of Moses at the burning bush, as contained in Exodus 3” (Parker-Taylor 1975, 18).

When Moses said to God, if I come to the people of Israel and say to them, ‘The God of your fathers sent me to you,’ and they ask me, ‘What is his name?’ ‘What should I tell them?’ God said to Moses, ‘I AM WHO I AM.’

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל-מֹשֶׁה, אֲהִיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֲהִיָּה;
וַיֹּאמֶר, כִּי הֵאָמַר לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל,
אֲהִיָּה, שְׁלַחְנִי אֵלֵיכֶם.

Exodus 3, 14

All those who believed in God had to revere his name. This practice was common to the ancient Semitic world where names inspired profound respect. “The Hebrew also attached special importance to the concept of names. In the Yahwistic account of the

Garden of Eden, man gave names to all the cattle, to the birds in the air and to every beast of the field (Gen. 2, 20). This implies ownership and control...” (*Ibid.* 1). A similar attempt at “ownership and control” occurred when missionaries imposed new names on Africans and African descendants. It is one thing to will ownership and control, and quite another to succeed in reducing a human being to the status of a thing or possession.

The creation story in Genesis does not present the human being as an object. The foundations of theology, in light of this narrative text, view humans as existential subjects or “the subject as evaluating, deliberating, deciding, acting, constituting the world, constituting himself of herself” (Doran 1995, 71). Whoever the person, his or her name embodies his or her identity, just as in the Hebrew Bible, the name of God represents the Jewish conception of the divine nature. Among the many names, the Tetragrammaton is considered to be the most important.

7.3.1. The Tetragrammaton: יהוה

Scholars searching for the true name of the God in the Old Testament must possess a certain degree of knowledge of Hebrew in order to study the Tetragrammaton. To simplify this endeavor for readers who may not be familiar with Hebrew, I will, when necessary, share some linguistic features of Hebrew grammar. Although the term Tetragrammaton, meaning a word of four letters, comes from Greek, here it refers to four Hebrew letters among these 22:

א	Alef
ב	Bet
ג	Gimel
ד	Dalet
ה	He
ו	Vav
ז	Zayin

ה	Het	
ט	Tet	
י	Yod	
כ	Kaf	Appearing as the last letter in a word, it becomes ך
ל	Lamed	
מ	Mem	Appearing as the last letter in a word, it becomes ם
נ	Nun	Appearing as the last letter in a word, it becomes ן
ס	Samekh	
ע	Ayin	
פ	Pe/Fe	Appearing as the last letter in a word, it becomes ף
צ	Tsadi	Appearing as the last letter in a word, it becomes ץ
ק	Qof	
ר	Rech	
ש	Shin / Sin	
ת	Tav	

The four letters of Tetragrammaton are:

י	for Y
ה	for H
ו	for V
ה	for H

Combined, it reads יהוה This is the Tetragrammaton. This Hebrew name is often translated as YHVH or YHWH. As all Hebrew words, these four letters are read from right to left. Appearing as the first letter in the Tetragrammaton, although it is the smallest letter of the Hebrew alphabet, (י) Yod is seen as a special letter occupying a special place for kabalistic. However, Yod for linguists is a mater lectionis, like Aleph, He, and Vav. It joins vowel ending words to form a diphthong. Yod evolved from language to language as it appears in the following examples:

Phoenician	𐤅
Aramaic	ܐ
Hebrew	א
Arabic	أ

Therefore the Tetragrammaton as it is written in Biblical Hebrew, reflects linguistic modifications that can be traced from Phoenician during the period 1100 BC to AD 300, then Aramaic from the tenth century to 0, until the emergence of modern Hebrew script.

𐤅𐤆𐤅𐤆
 ܐܝܗܘ
 יהוה

(Hebrew word following Aramaic and Phoenician meaning YHWH)

To properly understand the linguistic and exegetic debate surrounding the Tetragrammaton, an important linguistic feature of Hebrew must be known. As stated above, the Hebrew alphabet comprises 22 letters that function as consonants. Five of these letters have a different form when used as the last letter in a word. Long ago, Hebrew language was classified as an abjad or a consonantary because such writing systems have one symbol per consonantal phoneme. By approximately 1500 BC, the earliest known abjad was discovered. It was based on Egyptian Hieroglyphics with its roots in the Semitic family of scripts and Proto-Sinaitic alphabet.

One of the complexities of the Tetragrammaton is that it is a word without vowels which, in Hebrew orthography, is never written. There were several orthographic systems for

representing Hebrew vowels. One is נִקּוּד (Nikud) or a system of diacritical vowel points used with the letters of the alphabet.

In all languages, the term ‘vowel’ (derived from Latin word *vocalis*) plays a central role in the formation of syllables and phonetically it represents a sound that is characterized by an open configuration of the vocal tract. As some Hebrew letters are silent letters within the word, they are used as both, consonants and vowels. We refer to:

א	Alef
ה	He
ו	Vav
י	Yod

As the Masoretes introduced their system of diacritical vowel points to read the Tetragrammaton, their translation of יהוה still remains one of many others. Some Biblical scholars consider Yahweh as the original pronunciation. Others argue that it is Yahveh. The name יהוה occurs 6518 times in the Masoretic Text. Depending on the biblical context, the Tetragrammaton will be replaced by one of the following names:

יהוה	Yhwh
אֱלֹהִים	Elohim
אֲדֹנָי	Adonai
יְהוָה	Jehovah

When יהוה has the vowel points:

- "Hatef segol" (ְ) under the Yod (י)
- “Holem” (ם) on the left of the He (ה)
- “Kamatz (-) under the Vav (ו)

It becomes יהוה or Yehovah. However, instead of pronouncing the word as it appears, one replaces it in the mind by another name with the pronunciation Elohim (אֱלֹהִים). The same mental process occurs whenever the Tetragrammaton is replaced by the name Adonai (אֲדֹנָי) translated by the expression “My lord”.

Elohim (אֱלֹהִים) is the first name for God that we find in the first verse of the Old Testament:

בְּרֵאשִׁית, בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים, אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם, וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ.

“In the beginning Elohim created the heaven and the earth.”

Gen. 1, 1

Elohim (אֱלֹהִים) appears over 2,300 times in the Old Testament. It is the plural form for El (אֵל) or the first two letters of (אֱלֹהִים), reading right to left. El (אֵל), used as another name for God, is found about 200 times in the Old Testament.

By substituting either Elohim or Adonai for YHWH, the Jewish reader expresses a profound respect for the name of his God.

7.4. Amagama akhe ngesiZulu

UNkulunkulu is the well known name for God used in isiZulu. Based on its linguistic roots, it means “Ancestor” and remains the most popular name for God among isiZulu speaking people. As Elohim, we find it in the very first verse of the first chapter of the Old Testament:

- uNkulunkulu wadala izulu nomhlaba. Gen. 1, 1
- uMoya kaNkulunkulu wehla wenyuka phezu kwamanzi. Gen. 1, 2
- uNkulunkulu wathi “Makube khona ukukhanya”... Gen. 1, 3
- uNkulunkulu wabona ukukhanya ukuthi kuhle; Gen. 1, 4
- uNkulunkulu wahlukanisa ukukhanya nobumnyama. Gen. 1, 4
- uNkulunkulu wabiza ukukhanya ngokuthi imini. Gen. 1, 5
- uNkulunkulu wathi: “Makube khona umkhathi phakathi ...Gen. 1, 6
- uNkulunkulu wenza umkhathi... Gen. 1, 7
- uNkulunkulu wabiza umkhathi ngokuthi izulu. Gen. 1, 8
- uNkulunkulu wathi: “Amanzi aphansi kwezulu... Gen. 1, 9
- uNkulunkulu wakubiza ngokuthi umhlaba... Gen. 1, 10

In this first chapter of the Bible comprising only 31 verses, the name uNkulunkulu appears 32 times. For those who believe in him, *uNkulunkulu* is the Creator of all. *UnguMenzi wonke*. He is the greatest and the highest God. Another name for God is *uMvelinqangi*. The linguistic roots could be compared to the stem of the French verb ‘venir’ indicating an origin.

This sentence in French:	<i>“Il vient de là”</i>
Translated in isiZulu:	<i>“Uvela lapha”</i>
Translated in English:	<i>“He comes from there”</i>

The name *Umvēlinqangi* means ‘He who was in the very beginning’. It implies a metaphysical question as a first step towards a theological explanation: Could *Umvēlinqangi* be the first being?

7.4.1. Metaphysical and theological explanation

Must we explore the uniqueness of the being, or its multiplicity? What does the ‘corpus aristotélicien’ say? We know that throughout the first century BC scientific research allowed for a greater understanding of *ta meta ta physica* (that which is beyond the

physical). To understand what lies beyond the physical we must enter the realm of metaphysical research. Human knowledge cannot be limited to the physical, hence the pertinence of questions relating to the existence of *Umvelinqangi*. Is it a matter of beings as such, ‘*un étant en tant qu’étant*’? Or is this existence a result of some sort of projection linked to human desire? If no one has ever seen *Umvelinqangi*, how can his revelation and identity as source of existence be justified? Is he the quintessential existential subject?

7.4.2. Existential subject

The verb ‘to be’ (*esse*) has a unique translation in Hebrew, isiZulu and Haitian Krèyol. In these three languages, the pronoun-subject can absorb the verb; thus, there is no separate verb. ‘The being-ness’, the existence, is made one with the subject.

- In Hebrew the subject ‘I’ is translated by ‘*ani*’.
The English phrase – I am here – is translated in Hebrew as – *ani lapo*.
Having not translated ‘am’, the literal translation back to English is: ‘I here’.
- In isiZulu the subject ‘I’ is translated as ‘*ngi*’
The English phrase – ‘I am here’ – is translated in isiZulu as – ‘*Ngilapha.*’
Having not translated ‘am’, the literal translation back to English is: ‘I here’.
- In Krèyol the subject ‘I’ is translated as ‘*mwen*’
The English phrase – ‘I am here’ – is translated in Krèyol as – ‘*Mwen isit.*’
Having not translated ‘am’, the literal translation back to English is: ‘I here’.

Epistemological approaches that articulate a rational thinking on scientific knowledge is not undercut in referring not to the verb (*esse*) but to its subject “*ani-ngi-mwen*”; hence this subject “*ani-ngi-mwen*” plays the role of existential subject.

7.4.3. Linguistic case: A difference of form, not substance

These three linguistic examples may differ in form, but in substance they are not different. Plato and Aristotle utilized these two elements, form and substance, to describe all physical being. Based on the full meaning ascribed to the concepts of form and substance, “*ani-ngi-mwen*” can either inhibit or accelerate growth of “*esse*”. That implies the possibility of free choice, free will. Good? Evil? The being does not merely exist, but has the option to choose and to give shape to his or her life. In this process, who does not dream of happiness? Happiness can take on varied forms, and its essence can implicitly signal the option of the existential subject. “*Ani-ngi-mwen*”, symbolizing an individual (singular subject), may choose to open him or herself to life and to happiness.

7.4.4. Beyond *ipsum ens* (being in and of itself)

What have we seen since the emergence of human life? Beyond *ipsum ens*, the existential subject has often been referred to as a supreme being identified as both a source of creation and as a source of happiness. From there the uniqueness of the being (*esse*) is inextricably linked to its multiplicity. The existential subject, “*ani-ngi-mwen*” inevitably refers us back to the multi-faceted being. To exist, and to exist in community stands at the heart of happiness. This enlightening synthesis is *Umntu Ngumuntu Ngabantu*. Literally, a person is a human being through other people. Said otherwise, you exist through the community. And according to Africans this community cannot exist outside the world of Ancestors in which *uNkulunkulu* is the greatest. Whether this supreme being is called *uNkulunkulu* or the supreme Ancestor, or *Umvelinqangi*, or the One who was at the origin, the window to existence is wide open on *ta meta ta physika*.

7.4.5. *Ntu*: linguistic and philosophical

If the central object in metaphysics is the being, in its complete and whole sense, what meaning does *ntu* take on in this philosophic context? The African being exists beyond the visible. From a linguistic point of view, the stem *ntu* refers to people (Mann 1975,

134). The definition of *Ubuntu*, as we noted, implies a *substrat qualitative* (essence). Humans incarnate a crucible of transcendent values. From this philosophy of *ntu* emerges an ethic rooted in a supreme being. Beyond all scientific knowledge, for those who believe, there exists an existential source in which the roots of *ntu* are planted. In other words, *ntu* embraces the anthropological essence and *substrat qualitatif*. We must also conclude that *ntu* is the sap of the human genealogical tree.

In Aristotelian logic the formal truth of this conclusion leads to this syllogism:

The human is a cradle of civilization.

Ubuntu is human.

Ubuntu is a cradle of civilization.

In this syllogism we note of course that:

- a) the « major and minor » premises lead to a logical conclusion
- b) the major premise figures only once in one of the two premises
- c) The minor premise figures only once in one of the two premises
- d) The middle term appears in the two premises
- e) Thanks to the middle term, the two others (major and minor) share the conclusion
- f) The syllogism is valid because :
 - the exact order is respected
 - the subject of the conclusion is found in one of the premises (the minor premise)
 - the predicate is present in the other (the major premise)
 - the middle term respects the logique of the equation, that is (M is P) or (S is M) therefore (S is P)

TERMES

	<u>Moyen</u>		<u>Majeur</u>
Prémisse majeure	L'humain	est	un berceau de civilisation.
	<u>Mineur</u>		<u>Moyen</u>
Prémisse mineure	Ubuntu	est	l'humain.
	<u>Mineur</u>		<u>Majeur</u>
Conclusion	Ubuntu	est	un berceau de civilisation.

7.5. *Amagama akhe ngesiKreyòl*

In Haitian Kreyòl the two most significant names used by the Catholic Church for the God of the Old Testament are *Gran Mèt la* and *Bon Dye*. The first name means ‘God the greatest Master’; the second is translated as ‘good God’. In both cases the name of God is accompanied by a qualifier indicating how great or how good he is.

Since the first interactions with the missionaries, and the subsequent race to convert the greatest possible number of slaves to Christianity, a metaphysical and theological dilemma arose. Slaves were asked to reject their African religious beliefs in order to serve one God named *Gran Mèt la* or *Bon Dye*. This required a complete rupture with the African Ancestors and with Africa the Mother Continent. Obviously the issue was far more complex than a simple conversion to monotheism; it presented an existential dilemma. How could one ‘agree’ to sever, in effect, the life line to the place where he or she is spiritually, culturally, theologically, and anthropologically rooted, in order to please missionaries, whose interests were not much different from those of the colonists? In fact, this form of ‘mental suicide’ – requested supposedly on behalf of *Gran Mèt la* – made it difficult to address important issues such as death and life. Every day the slaves

confronted death. If the name of this God was ‘the Greatest’, if the name of this God was ‘Good’, how could they explain their experience with death?

As the missionaries pressured the slaves to reject their African religious beliefs they were constantly threatened with a ‘burning-in-hell-death’. How did the slaves react? Without reference to their own African sources, could they believe such a theological vision?

Unable to read either the Bible or Latin or French documents, the slaves instead interpreted oral traditions and popular stories brought from Africa to address transcendental issues. *Analfabèt pa bèt*, meaning they were illiterate but they were not stupid. Haiti’s forefathers, consumed by the exigencies of safeguarding their country’s hard-won independence, demonstrated the political will to educate the nation’s children by including an education clause in all fifteen of Haiti’s nineteenth century constitutions (Aristide 2003, 151). Even if the country’s illiteracy rate remains high, nevertheless, *analfabèt pa bèt*.

This was demonstrated by the unwillingness to accept death as a consequence of slavery in the name of *Gran Mèt la*. However as descendants of Africa they believed that death was not the end of life. This transcendental vision was not new. Again, why should they agree to deny their roots in order to embrace a belief that was already part of their system of beliefs? Africans and African descendants had their own way of addressing metaphysical and theological issues such as death. They had their own way of moving from mythology to theology, demonstrating how the name of their God transcended death.

7.5.1. From mythology to theology

What happens when the human body ceases to breathe the oxygen of life? Where does death come from? This African proverb is insightful: “*Sibamb’ elentulo*”.

Sibambi elentulo is one of many rich isiZulu proverbs. It literally translates to *we are attached to the lizard*. In one stroke it evokes the visible and the invisible.

- a) We prefer to believe messages from those whom we have seen and heard first
- b) Death exists because *intulo* (the lizard) arrived before the chameleon

According to this African myth *Umvelinqangi*, the supreme being, confided the following mission to *unwabu*, the chameleon: ‘Go and tell the inhabitants of the earth that they will never die.’ Slow, greedy and lazy, *unwabu* dithers on his journey to transmit this message. In the meanwhile, the lizard rushes to tell the Zulus that all humans will inevitably die. The Zulus, having ‘seen and heard’, accepted the message. *Unwabu* arrives too late; thus, the origin of death.

Certainly this is a fable arising from the universe of symbols. Since the first apparitions of life 3.5 billion years ago, symbols have allowed humans a way to comprehend the complexities of nature. Life has evolved. Fossils and living beings are witness to these complexities and to this evolution beyond death. From antiquity to today, numerous common characteristics between organisms have been identified, as for example the spinal cord and forward looking head that unites all vertebrae. Regardless of the diversity observed among all living entities, they all possess DNA.

In mythology the symbolic universe and poetic analogy focus on knowing ‘why’ things happen rather than ‘how’. Why must we die? Why does our God, whose name is great master, allow death to exist? The answer offered by this second story is but another version of the story of the lizard.

One day the Moon relayed to an insect the following message for the inhabitants of the earth: “As I die, and in dying will live again, so too will it be for you.” On his way to deliver the message the insect encountered a hare who said to him: “As you know I run much faster than you. Let me take charge of delivering the message to the inhabitants of earth.” Indeed, the hare arrived at his destination and eloquently announced: “I am the messenger from Moon. Through me, he tells you: As I die, and in dying, I will disappear,

so too will you die and disappear forever.” Happy to have been able to deliver the message so quickly, the hare rushed back to Moon. Upon hearing the hare’s report Moon was furious. He struck the hare in his nose and cracked his snout. Neither the cracked snout nor the mistaken message was ever corrected. Having believed the hare’s message, the Hottentots accepted this as the origin of death.

Greek mythology, inspired from African mythology, seeks to respond to these same preoccupations relating to the mystery of death. Zeus, the king of Greek gods, son of Cronos and Rhéa, escaped death at birth. According to legend, Cronos was known to devour his children for fear that he would one day be dethroned by the fruit of his loins. His wife Rhéa wanted absolutely to save baby Zeus, her third child. In the place of the baby, she offered her husband a large stone, and hid Zeus in Lycos. Crete thus saved him from the clutches of an early death.

To ease the fire of vengeance Zeus decided to create Pandora. He ordered Héphaïstos to shape the body in clay, he asked Athena to breathe life into Pandora before dressing her, he directed Aphrodite to imbue her with beauty, and instructed Hermes to teach Pandora the vices of deception and trickery. It was Zeus’ wish that his daughter Pandora marry Epiméthée. He gave her as a gift a box filled with hope alongside all the evils of the world. Zeus cautioned that the box was never to be opened. Pandora succumbed to temptation and opened the box. Before she could close it evil was released on to the earth. Hope, however, did not escape from the box.

A better translation of the Greek text would offer a different version of this legend, but the underlying explanation of the origins of evil and death would not change. In Greek, *elpis* expresses a desire; yet it is often translated as hope. Because the Elpides are the gods of fear, would it not be correct to conclude that by closing the box when she did, before ‘hope’ was able to escape, Pandora in fact spared humanity of desire or from the fear of this evil. This hypothesis would certainly explain Prometheus’ great satisfaction in having convinced his sister-in-law to close the box when she did.

In conclusion, from the African to the Greek world, mythology adopts the logic of the universe of symbols. Egyptian mythology, having African roots and subject to influence from the Mediterranean and Asia Minor, reflects still today the imprint of ancient Egypt, or Africa. This is demonstrated in the writings of the Pyramids.¹¹

7.5.2. The world's first illustrated book: The writings of the pyramids

The writings of the pyramids are considered the world's first illustrated book. Their literary and theological value remains significant. They are relevant when considering the African origin of Greek theology and philosophy. Over time they have reinforced the interconnecting links between Africans and African descendants. I observed this first hand during my research in Egypt, twenty six years ago.

The golden age of the ancient Egyptian pharaohs spans three thousand years of history. The four dynasties of this period, 2675 to 2170 BC, contributed enormously to the elaboration of the cult of the dead with the construction of the pyramids as the most demonstrable response to the inevitable needs of life beyond death. The tombs of kings and queens, which are among the oldest pyramids, are said to be *à degre* because of their form; whereas the more recent pyramids are distinguished by their relatively simple architecture. When ordering the construction of the Gizeh pyramid, Kheops would not have known that it would one day be considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World. These constructions were deemed absolutely necessary to preserve the bodies of the Pharaohs to guarantee them eternal life.

This customary preservation would extend to nobility, eminent persons and even certain animals, such as cats, which were buried in mastabas. Under the watchful eye of the imperial god Ptah, and the sun god Rê, in the cities of Saqqarah and Abydos, the remains of the kings were welcomed. It is precisely here, at Saqqarah in -2350 AD that the first traces of the pyramid writings, funeral text with drawings that expressed the voyage to

¹¹ A sample of the First Illustrated Book can be found in Appendix F

the after-life, were found. This was during the reign of the pharaoh Ounas, the last king of the fifth dynasty (-2397 to -2364).

This world of mythology traversed the African continent, west to east, and north to south. For a better understanding, several extracts of these funeral texts, aiming to preserve the deceased from the dangers in the after-life and allow him to recover his life and his family, are published in Appendix F.

7.6. African names through deep communion

Through Haitian Kreyòl, speakers of the language manifest a deep communion with the Mother Continent. This is expressed in *izibongo* (praise songs), religious songs and prayers brought from Africa to Haiti or composed by Africans slaves in Haiti.

In the face of persecution and a permanent psychological war to, among other things, undermine and dehumanize all things African, Haitians defiantly and explicitly turned to their African Ancestors, invoking them by name. One needs to take time and go through the long list of African names appearing in the Haitian *izibongo* to have a clear appreciation of this deep communion.

We also note that the designation ‘Zulu Nation’ represented for the slaves exceptional freedom fighters. It is a common tradition to consider the winner of any fight a Zulu. The presence of African vocabulary in Haitian literature – *izibongo*, religious songs and prayers – represents a compelling linguistic area. This material constitutes a rich field for further linguistic research. For the moment, the traditional interpretation of most of these African words will be given while other words sharing common roots with isiZulu will be translated.

7.6.1. *Izibongo*

La magama avela ezibongweni zethu kodwa awasona isikreyòl. Sengathi avela e-Afrika!

Words found in Haitian praise songs that are not Kreyòl. As observed, they are many and their roots may indicate an African origin particularly from Bantu languages or the Kaka Group. The languages in this group are all sub-Bantu. They are marginal in that for the most part they are either on the extreme fringe of the Bantu area, or are actually spoken in enclaves within regions where non-Bantu languages are spoken (Guthrie 1953, 50).

Words from Izibongo

Translated by Haitian praise singers as

Abikou

Non yon lwa

Name of a spirit

Adanyi

Yon gran saj, yon lwa ki saj, entèlijan anpil

A very wise man, name of a wise spirit, very intelligent one

Adja

Yon gwo grad

A high grade or rank

Adoum

Adan, non premye gason ki te fèt la

Adam, the name of the first man

Adoum gidi

Adan, premye nèg ki fèt anvan an tou wouj kou dife;

Yon moso fè ki plante nan dife devan perestil

Adam, the first born man, is hot and red like fire;

A piece of iron planted in fire in front of a temple called the
perestil

Afoutayi

Salitasyon! Onè Respè pou latè! Ann vanse!

Greetings! Honor and Respect for the earth! Let's go ahead!

Afrekete

Yon lwa ki manje anpil anpil

Yon moun ki afre se yon moun ki saf

A spirit who eats a lot is a glutton

Someone identified as *afre* is a glutton

Aganman

Chanje koulè

Changing color

Agaou

Non yon lwa ki te konn fè lagè anpil

Name of a spirit who was once a reknown warrior

Agaou Bèt Sansan

Agaou san pitye; Agaou se yon bèt san pitye

Agaou does not have mercy; it comes from French “*une bête sans pitié*”

Agaou Konmble

Agaou pa kite twou vid

Agaou is all-powerful he doesn't leave room for others

Agaou Loray

Agaou frape tankou loway kale; sa soti nan rit petwo

Agaou is dangerous like thunder; this refers to the *petwo* rite; the word *loray* comes from French “*orage*”

Agasou

Non yon lwa ki rete kote 2 dlo rankontre

Name of a spirit living at the mouth of two rivers

Agasou	<i>Non yon lwa</i> Name of a spirit
Ago	<i>Konsa</i> So; so that
Agwe	<i>Non yon lwa</i> Name of a spirit
Agwe awoyo	<i>Lwa ou lespri ki kòmande lanmè yo</i> Spirit who rules over the oceans
Alouba	<i>Non premye lwa ki te yon grann</i> Name of the first grandmother to become a <i>lwa</i> or spirit
Aloumandja	<i>Non yon lwa fanm ki soti nan tribi nago; li te konn goumen anpil</i> Name of a woman's <i>lwa</i> or spirit; she was a good freedom fighter
Andezo	<i>Nan mitan 2 dlo; nan mitan 2 kontinan</i> <i>Mo sa a soti nan lang fransè: « entre deux eaux »</i> Between two waters; between two oceans It comes from French: « <i>entre deux eaux</i> »
Anmin, anminan	<i>Non yon tribi afriken</i> Name of an African tribe

Anminan, Anmin	<i>Non yon tribi afriken</i> Name of an African tribe
Annayitè	<i>Salitasyon nago</i> Greeting from the <i>nago</i> ritual
Anye, Aniye	<i>Bondye</i> God
Apò	<i>An avan!</i> Hurry up!
Apo lisa gbadja awanganise	<i>An navan, tout ougan, solèy ap kouche!</i> Hurry up all vaudou priests, the sun is setting!
Atala Atala	<i>N ap priye, sipliye, sipliye sipliye lespri yo</i> We are praying, we are begging, we are asking the spirits for...
Ati	<i>Mèt; patriyach</i> Master; patriarch
Atibon	<i>Bon mèt, bon patriyach</i> Good master, good patriarch
Atisou	<i>Yon grad</i> Grade, rank
Atjasou	<i>Pitit wa, yon prens</i> A prince

Avadra	<i>Non yon lwa ki viv nan lari ; li par ret nan kay</i> Name of a spirit who lives in the streets, outside of houses
Awangansiye	<i>Ougan yo</i> Vaudou priests (plural)
Awo, awochè	<i>An navan, konbatan libète!</i> Hurry up, freedom fighters!
Awoyo	<i>Debode, ajite tankou lanmè</i> Very agitated like the sea
Ayi	<i>Tè</i> Earth
Ayida	<i>Non yon lwa, madanm Danmbala</i> Name of a spirit, wife of <i>Danmbala</i>
Ayida	<i>Nom yon lwa ki se madanm Danmbala ; se manman Odan</i> Name of a spirit who is <i>Danmbala's</i> wife and <i>Odan's</i> mother
Ayizan	<i>Non yon lwa</i> Name of a spirit
Ayizan veleketè	<i>Zanmi latè ki vrèman byen chwazi</i> Very well chosen friends of the earth
Badè	<i>Non yon lwa</i> Name of a spirit

Badèsi

Mandan Badè

Madam Badè

Bah'

Non yon gwoup lwa ki soti nan tribi nago a; yo se plizyè frè, tankou Bah' Tala, Bah' Lendjo, Bah' Dagri

A family name of several brothers who became *lwa* or spirit; they were several brothers: *Bah' Tala, Bah' Lendjo, Bah' Dagri*

Bahoun, bawon

Lespri mò, lespri ki anba tè a

Spirit of dead persons

Balyang

Non yon tribi afriken

Name of an African tribe

Bayakou

Non yon zetwal ki leve a inè dimaten; li se yon lwa; Moun ki fè nan nwit sa l pa ka fè lajounen¹²

Name of a star that appears very early in the morning;
One who does at night what he cannot do during the day

Bawon simityè

Premye mò gason yo antere nan yon simityè tounen

Bawon simityè a

The first man buried in a cemetery becomes the *bahoun* or *bawon* of the cemetery

Bazou

Non yon lwa yo konnen anpil nan Souvnans, Ayiti

Name of a spirit well known in Souvnans, Haiti

¹² In Kiswahili the word *mbaya* means bad

Belekou	<i>Non yon lwa ki okipe bèf</i> Name of a spirit in charge of cattle, oxen
Bila	<i>Yon ti kay</i> A small house
Blakonmen blakonmen	<i>Souke, souke</i> Shake, shake
Blewounyò	<i>Rele lwa yo</i> To pray to the spirits; to call upon the spirits
Bloukou	<i>Non yon lwa</i> Name of a spirit
Bo, bobo	<i>Salitasyon</i> Greetings, salutation
Bôde	<i>Inite, ann fè youn</i> To be united; let us be one
Bòkò	<i>Sèvitè</i> A servant, a vaudou priest
Bosou	<i>Non yon wa Afriken; li te konn pote yon kas ki gen 3 kòn</i> Name of an African king who wore a cap with 3 horns
Boula	<i>Dezyèm tanbou a; li fredonnen anba premye tanbou a ke yo rele tou manman tanbou</i> The second drum, softer than the first drum which is called the mother drum

Boulatye

Moun ki bat tanbou boula a

The one who beats the drum called *boula*

Boumba

Non yon lwa ki pase pou endyen ou afriken; yon gwo manman pye bwa kote yo te konn fè seremoni lwa te rele boumba tou ou byen mapou. Yo kwè ke an nAfrik, gen yon gwo manman pye bwa konsa yo rele baoba. Gen yon rit tou yo rele boumba.

Name of a spirit considered to be Indian or African; a large tree where people worshipped is also called *boumba* or *mapou*. According to the worshippers, such a tree exists in Africa, as well; its name is *baoba*. There is a rite called *Boumba*.

Bowa

Non yon koulèv afriken

Name of an African snake

Dagikan

Non yon kote ki sakre tankou syèl; gen lwa ki rete la

Name of a sacred place like heaven where spirits may reside

Dakò

Non moun ki te bati vil Dahomey a; tout non li se

Sina Dakò

The name of the person who built the city of Dahomey; the full name is *Sina Dakò*

Danmbala Laflanbo

Danmbala ki mache sou rit Petwo a

Danmbala based on the rite of *Petwo*

Dan

*Koulèv, koulèv entèlijan; entèlijans; sajès; lavi;
Koulèv ki mode ke l egal lavi pa fini*

Snake, intelligent snake; intelligence; wisdom; life
A snake that bites its tail signifies that life is not ended

Danle

*Moun yo chwazi e prepare pou yon misyon; moun ki
entèlijan*
Person selected and trained for a mission; intelligent person

Danmbala

Non yon lwa
Name of a spirit

Danmbala Wèdo Djennke

Lwa Danmbala gwo nanm ki sot Djennke
Powerful spirit of *Danmbala* who comes from *Djennke*

Danmbala wedo Tenngi

Lwa Danmbala gwo nanm ki sot Tenngi
Powerful spirit of *Danmbala* who comes from *Tenngi*

Dan Petwo

Sajès ou pran nan rit Petwo
Wisdom learned from the rite of *Petwo*

Dantò

Non yon gwoup lwa
Name of a group of spirits

Danwezo

Lavi k soti nan dife
Life that comes from fire

Danyi, danti, nanti

Vye granmoun ansyen
Very old person

Dayila	<p><i>Non yon lwa ki soti nan dlo; yon dayiva naje byen anpil</i></p> <p>Name of a spirit that comes from the waters; someone called <i>dayiva</i> can swim very well</p>
Dedefre	<p><i>Non ki sakre tankou syèl; gen lwa ki rete la tou</i></p> <p>Sacred name of a place like heaven; some spirits may reside there</p>
Demanbwe	<p><i>Kote yo separe 6 pati ki fè yon moun moun, lè l mouri: Kò a, fèmendo ou Bondye, fèlido ou entèlijans, fèpoyi ou desten, nanm ou lespri ...</i></p> <p>Place where the six parts of a person are divided after death : the body; <i>fèmendo</i> or God; <i>fèlido</i> or intelligence; <i>fèpoyi</i> or destiny; soul or spirit ...</p>
Desounen	<p><i>Retire lespri a sot anndan yon moun;</i></p> <p><i>Lè yon moun mouri, yo desounen l; yo pran lespri a</i></p> <p>To remove the spirit from within someone;</p> <p>When someone dies, they remove the spirit from him</p>
Djèmen	<p><i>Sèmante</i></p> <p>To swear</p>
Djennke	<p><i>Non yon kote an nafrik yo te sèvi Danmbala tou</i></p> <p>Name of a place in Africa where they also served <i>Danmbala</i></p>
Djèvò	<p><i>Kote ki pi sakre nan tanp la; kote yo kanzo moun; se la yo fè travay mistik lòt moun pa dwe wè</i></p>

Part of the temple that is the most sacred; where the consecration of the *kanzo* takes place; this is where the mystical work occurs; others must not see it

Dji

Gwo enèji

Powerful energy

Djò

Moun ki resevwa limyè a

People who are enlightened

Djobolo

Yon grad, yon grad anperè

A grade, title of emperor

Doki

Sèkèy

A coffin

Dosou, Dosa

Youn sou lòt; youn apre lòt ; mo sa yo ka soti nan lang franse

One on top of the other; one after the other; these words may derive from French

Ezili

Non yon lwa ki te yon bèl bèl fanm

Name of a spirit who was a very very beautiful woman

Ezili Freda

Ezili ki sot Freda

Ezili who came from Freda

Fawo

Non yon gwoup lwa

Name of a group of spirits

Flè Houn De

Non lespri ki pi ba yo

Name of the lower spirits

Freda

Non yon vil nan wayom Alada ki te rele Freda

A city in the kingdom of *Alada* named *Freda*

Gan

Sèvitè

A servant; one who serves the spirits

Ganga

Yon hougan

A vaudou priest

Gbadja

Kouche

Sunset; lay down

Gede

*Non yon tribi afriken; yo te konn anpil koze sou lespri wa
ejipsyen yo te rele Oziris la ; konsa non gede tounen lwa
mò*

Name of an African tribe; they knew much about the late
Egyptian king named Oziris; thus, *gede* implies a
classification among the spirits of the dead

Gedefwe

Katye jeneral lespri yo;

*Lè moun antre nan djèvò pou vin yon hounsi kanzo yo di li
ale gedefwe*

Headquarters of the spirits;

When someone goes to the *djèvò* to become a *hounsi*
kanzo, they say she/he goes to the *gedefwe*

Gede Mazaka

*Premye gede Afriken yo; se li ki sèvi kòm entèmedyè
ant lespri mò yo ak lòt lespri ; li te konn anpil bagay sou
wa Oziris*

First African to become a *lwa* or spirit among the dead; he served as spokesman between the spirits of the dead and the other spirits; he knew much about the late King Oziris

Gede Zaren-yen

*Gede sa soti nan Petwo a, li mache tankou yon arenyen;
zaren-yen soti nan mo franse « araignée »*

This *gede* comes from the rite of *Petwo*; he walks like a spider; *zaren-yen* comes from the French word “*araignée*”

Gidi

Dife
Fire

Ginen

*Moun ki soti nan peyi Ginen; nèg ginen; lwa ginen;
Aprè lanmò, nam nan al nan Ginen*

People originating from Guinea; spirits of Guinea; after death the soul goes to Guinea

Gwe

Sa k sanble ak moun
Human-like

Gweli

Lwa ki travay tankou moun; li sanble ak moun
Spirit that works like a human, looks human

Gwètò

Yon nanm ki rive nan dènye nivo pèfeksyon an
A soul that reaches the highest level of perfection

Grann Iman	<i>Non yon lwa grann ki te rete nan Bwa kay Iman</i> Name of a spirit who was a grandmother living in a place called <i>Bwa kay Iman</i>
Hougan	<i>Sèvitè lespri, sèvitè lwa</i> A servant of the spirit, a vaudou priest
Houn	<i>Bondye inivèsel; kreyatè tout bagay; sous tout sa ki egziste</i> God is universal; he is the creator of all things
Houn Mandja	<i>Bon Dye fò, Bon Dye la, Bon Dye bon</i> God is powerful, omnipresent, good
Houniò	<i>Pitit lespri ou pitit Bon Dye</i> Child of the spirit; child of God
Hounsi	<i>Madanm lespri, sèvite lwa ou lesprii</i> Wife of the <i>lwa</i> or spirits, servant of the <i>lwa</i> or spirits
Hounsiyon	<i>Tout hounsi yo ansanm</i> All the <i>hounsi</i> together
Ibo	<i>Non yon tribi Lafrik</i> Name of an African tribe
Imamou	<i>Gran Chèf</i> High chief
Imedevi	<i>Nanm defen kanzo</i> Soul of a late <i>kanzo</i>

Jan Zombi

*Yon lwa mò ki soti nan kategori gede ou banda;
Yo rele tou gede kreyòl; gen gede afriken tou*

A late person's spirit that is classified as *gede* or *banda*;
They are also called *gede kreyòl*; there are African *gede* as well

Kadja

Wa
King

Kadja Dosou

Wa dosou
King dosou

Kanga

Yon satinèl
A security guard

Kaplaou

Non yon tribi afriken ki te pwòch Zoulou yo
Name of an African tribe that was close to the Zulu

Kata

Non yon lwa afriken ki vle di bat vit
Name of an African spirit meaning to beat fast

Katalye

Moun k ap kata a
The one who is beating the drum fast

Katawoulo

Granmoun ansyen
Very old person

Kebyesou

*Non moun ki te jwe wòl eklerè; nan batay kont kolon yo, se
yo ki al devan pou tounen vin pot nouvèl dèyè; yo te brav,
je kale*

Name of the one doing the “advance” in battles fought by the slaves against the colonists; they reported back to the slaves; they were clever and brave

Kita

Moun ki te domaje e ki tounen lwa

Handicapped people who then became *lwa* or spirits

Klèmèy

Non yon lwa fanm; se te manman Klèmezin ; Li te yon manbo tou

Name of a female spirit; she was the mother of *Klèmezin* and also a vaudou priestess

Klèmezin

Non yon lwa fanm ki te konn danse anpil; li sot nan Ginen

Name of a female spirit who danced very well; she is from Guinea

Klèmezin Klèmèy

Klèmezin ki te pitit manbo Klèmèy

Klèmezin who was the daughter of the priestess named *Klèmèy*

Kò Aniyè

Lespri Bondye ki la depi tout tan k gen tan an

The spirit of God present since the beginning of time

Kolokoso

Andikape, kokobe

Handicapped

Konblanmen

Yon rasanblè; li pale pou konsyantize moun

Someone who can organize a gathering of people; he/she raises the level of consciousness

Laflanbo	<i>Chalè dife ki soti nan rit Petwo</i> The heat coming from the <i>Petwo</i> ritual
Legba	<i>Non yon lwa ki gran moun anpil; se li ki louvri baryè</i> Name of a very old spirit; the one who opens the gate
Legba Ganman	<i>Legba chanje koulè</i> <i>Legba</i> is changing color
Legba gweto	<i>Legba se yon lespri ki rive nan pèfeksyon</i> <i>Legba</i> is a perfect spirit
Legba kolokoso	<i>Legba kokobe</i> Handicapped <i>Legba</i>
Legba kopli koplan	<i>Legba mache bwete</i> <i>Legba</i> is limping
Legba miseba	<i>Legba bese ba</i> <i>Legba</i> is bent low
Legba sanyan	<i>Legba ap bave</i> <i>Legba</i> is drooling
Legba zenkliyan	<i>Legba panche, legba do bosi</i> <i>Legba</i> is hunchbacked
Lele, lèlè	<i>Pwisan anpil, yon lespri ki di e fè sa l vle, li pa pè anyen</i> <i>Bouch alèlè vle di yon bouch ki pale pale san rete, san perèz</i>

Very powerful, a spirit who says and does what he wants without a shadow of fear; a mouth characterized as *alèlè* talks a lot and without fear

Lenglensou

Non yon lwa

Name of a spirit

Lensifre

Non yon lwa ki bay limyè

Name of a spirit who provides light

Lisa

Solèy

Sun

Loko

Yon wa afriken ke yo pa konn non l

An unknown African king

Lòvana

Yon lwa fanm ki soti nan rit Petwo a

A female spirit from the rite of Petwo

Lwa

Lespri

Spirit

Makanda

*Non yon gwo esklav afriken ki te mawon pou l prepare
gwo batay kont kolon yo*

Name of a great African slave who went to the mountains from where he prepared the war against slavery

Makaya

Yon rit ki soti ni bò Afriken, ni bò Endyan

A rite that comes from both the Africans and Indians

Manbo Deshouke

Yon manbo ki fò nan derasinen move bagay, move zè
A vaudou priestess who is remarkable in chasing away
bad spirits

Manbo zakasia

Yon manbo ki viv nan pwovens
A vaudou priestess who lives in the provinces

Mapyang

Non yon tribi afriken
Name of an African tribe

Marinèt

Non yon lwa Ayisyen ki soti nan rit Petwo a
Name of a Haitian spirit who comes from the rite of *Petwo*

Marasa

Non lwa ki jimo
Name of spirits who are twins

Mazòn

*Non yon gwoup lwa ki te fanm. Medam sa yo t ap bay yon
wa afriken sekirite. Wa a te rele Mazòn. Lè yo kidnape rwa
a, an Afrik, yo fè l tounen esklav e yo voye l an Ayiti ak
tout sekirite l yo. Medam sa yo te vin tounen sekirite
Tousen Louvèti. Yo te aprann Tousen kouri cheval e
montre l kijan pou l konbat kolon yo tèt kale.*

Name of a group of female spirits. These women provided security to an Afrikan king named *Mazòn*. Once this king was kidnapped, he was sent to Haiti as a slave along with his security guards. They came to be Toussaint Louverture's body guards and taught him to ride horses and to successfully fight against the colonists.

Mayi	<i>Non yon tribi afriken</i> Name of an African tribe
Misan	<i>Mesaje</i> Messenger
Moudong Mousayi	<i>Non yon tribi afriken</i> Name of an African tribe
Moyo	<i>Lanmè</i> The sea
Nago	<i>Non yon tribi afriken ki te preske espesyalize yo nan goumen anpil anpil kont lesklavaj</i> Name of an African tribe who practically specialized in fighting against slavery
Nanshon	<i>Nasyon</i> The nation
Nanshon Kele	Nation of Kele
Nanshon Ibo	Nation of Ibo
Nanshon Kongo	Nation of Congo
Nanshon Wangol	Nation of Wangol
<u>Nanshon Zoulou</u>	<u>Nation of Zulu</u>

Nanshon Boula	Nation of Boula
Nanshon Bini	Nation of Benin
Nanshon Nago	Nation of Nago
Nanshon Petwo	Nation of Petwo
Nanshon Dawonmen	Nation of Dahomey
Nanshon Gede	Nation of Gede
Nanshon Kaplaou	Nation of Kaplaou
Nanshon Bizango	Nation of Bizango
Nanshon Seneka	Nation of Senegal
Nanshon Ntowo	Nation of Ntowo
Nanshon Ginen	Nation of Guinea
Odan	<i>Non yon lwa ki se pitit Danmbala; manman l se Ayida</i> Name of a spirit who is <i>Danmbala's</i> son; his mother is <i>Ayida</i>
Ogan	<i>Twazyèm tanbou a</i> The third drum
Ogantye	<i>Moun ki bat tanbou yo rele ogan an</i> The one beating the drum called <i>ogan</i>

Oun	<i>Lespri</i> Spirit
Ouni	<i>Pitit lespri</i> The child of the spirit
Ounsi	<i>Madan lespri a</i> The spirit's wife
Ountò	<i>Tanbou; premye tanbou a ou manman tanbou</i> Drum; the first drum or the mother drum
Ountògi	<i>Tanbouye a</i> The one who beats the drum
Olisha	<i>Lespri, lwa</i> Spirit
Olokoun	<i>Non lwa ki se pitit Bondye a; yo konnen l anpil nan Kiba, Brezil ...</i> Name of the spirit who is the child of God; he is well known in Cuba, Brazil...
Owo	<i>Moyo ou dlo</i> <i>Moyo</i> or water
Ozanana	<i>Yon lwa fanm ki soti nan petwo a</i> A female spirit from the rite of <i>Petwo</i>

Pele

Non yon esklav; nan Bizoton-Potoprens-Ayiti, gen simityè pele

Name of a slave; in Bizoton-Port-au-Prince-Haiti, there is a cemetery named *Pele*

Penmba

Sa ki pi enpòtan an, sa ki prensipal la; se manman penmba a

The most important part; the motor

Petwo

Branch vodou ki fèt an Ayiti a. Li ranmase non tout gwo potorik fanm ak gason ki sakrifye lavi yo pou akouchman endepandans la. Se pou sa, branch vodou sa a cho, cho kou flanm dife libète. Apre lanmò yon gwo konbatan, non l tounen yon lespri, ou byen yon lwa ou byen yon pwèn. Egzanp, Ti Jan Petwo se te non yon esklav vanyan ki te jire pou l kase chenn leskav la. Konsa, non l tounen yon referans, yon rit, yon branch anndan vodou a.

The branch of vaudou born in Haiti. It includes the names of all the heroes and heroines who sacrificed their lives for Haiti's independence. This branch of the vaudou ancestral religion reflects the essence of freedom. After the death of a great warrior, his name is made a *lwa* or spirit, or a *pwèn*. For example, *Ti Jan Petwo* was a courageous slave who swore to break the chains of slavery; hence his name became a reference, a rite, a branch of vaudou called the rite of *Petwo*.

Pyè

Non yon lwa; lwa sa yo anpil anpil nan zòn Nò peyi d Ayiti
Name of a spirit; there are numerous in northern Haiti

Poungwe

Pisan anpil; chaje ak lespri a

Very powerful; empowered by the spirit

Pwen

Moun ki mouri e ki tounen yon lespri siperyè

A person who dies and becomes a superior spirit

Rada

Non yon rit; egzanp: Agawou Lefan, Agawou Tonè,

Agawou Kotokoli, yo nan rit rada

Name of a rite; for example, *Agawou Lefan, Agawou Tonè*

Agawou Kotokoli, all belong to the rite of *rada*

Sanpwèl

Non yon lwa petwo ki soti nan seremoni Bwa kay Iman.

Pratikan yo di: «Tankou nan labib la, yon esklav yo te rele Jan Viksama ofri tèt li an sakrifis bay Bondye pou peyi a ka libere sot nan lesklavaj. Jezi te ofri tèt li nan plas yon mouton, Jan Viksama ofri tèt li nan plas yon kochon. Se pou sa yo di san pwèl.»

Name of a spirit that belongs to the rite of *Petwo*. He emerged from the ceremony of *Bwa kay Iman*. According to worshippers: “As in the Bible where Jesus offered himself in sacrifice in place of a lamb, a slaved named Jean Viksamar offered himself in place of a pig, in sacrifice to God in order to free the country from slavery. Hence, the word *sanpwèl* meaning without hair on the skin.”

Sanyan

Granmoun ansyen, granmoun k ap bave

A very old person who drools

Se	<i>Ti moso Bondye ki nan tout sa ki egziste; pitit Bondye</i> The divine part found in all that exists; a child of God
Shoukoun	<i>Non yon lwa bèl fanm ki soti nan petwo a</i> Name of a beautiful woman who became a <i>lwa</i> or spirit in the rite of <i>Petwo</i>
Si	<i>Mandanm</i> Wife
Sia	<i>Fanm</i> Woman
Silibo	<i>Non yon lwa ki te yon grann</i> Name of a grandmother who becomes a <i>lwa</i> or spirit
Silibo	<i>Non yon lwa ki te yon grann; se te madanm wa Bosou</i> Name of a spirit who was a grandmother; she was the wife of king Bosou
Simba, Simbi	<i>Non yon lwa ki se yon fanm, li viv ni nan dlo ni sou latè</i> Name of a female spirit that lives both in the water and on land
Simbi Andezo	<i>Simbi nan mitan 2 dlo</i> Simbi is between two oceans
Simbi lafriken	<i>Simbi ki soti an Afrik la; gen simbi ki soti bo kot Endyen yo tou</i>

African spirit coming from water; Indians also had their own spirits that came from the water

Simbi Makaya

Yon lwa ki sot nan dlo e ki mache sou rit Makaya

A spirit coming from the water that belongs to the rite of *Makaya*

Si Oun

Pitit lespri

Child of the spirit

Sobagi

Sangtyè

Holy place

Sobo

Non lwa ki se dife tonè, dife lafoud

Name of a spirit that comes from fire, thunder

So djèmen

Sèmante sou dife, tonnè kraze m...

To swear in the strongest possible way

Sou

Yon prens, yon piti wa

A prince

Sòto, asòtò

Gwo tanbou ki te konn sonnen rasanbleman

The large drum used to gather people

Swamen

Obeyisan, dousman, poze

Obedient, calm

Tenngi

Non yon kote an nafrik yo te sèvi Danmbala tou

Name of a place in Africa where they also served *Danmbala*

Tèsi	<i>Madanm yon lwa ansyen</i> Wife of an old spirit
Tèsi	<i>Non yon lespri ki te yon grann</i> Name of spirit who was a grandmother
Tèsi Freda	<i>Madanm yon lwa ansyen ki soti nan Freda</i> Wife of an old spirit who came from <i>Freda</i>
Tèsi Freda	<i>Tèsi ki sot Fwenda</i> Tèsi who came from <i>Fwenda</i>
Tokan	<i>Yon kote ki sakre</i> A holy place
Tout Makaya	<i>Tout lwa makaya yo</i> All the spirits of <i>Makaya</i>
Tout nasyon Kongo	<i>Tout nasyon tout moun ki fet nan peyi a</i> All the nations of those born in Haiti
Va Lade	<i>Wa Alada, peyi papa Tousen Louvèti</i> King of <i>Alada</i> , the country of Toussaint Louverture's father
Va Loko	<i>Wa Loko</i> King Loko
Vavoun	<i>Lwa, lespri</i> Spirit

Velekete	<i>Vye granmoun fi</i> Very old woman
Vèvè	<i>Ekriti sakre</i> Holy scripture
Vlengbendeng	<i>Non sosyete sekrè; lannwit yo te konn konplote kont kolon yo</i> Name of secret societies; at night, they organized plots against the colonists
Wandile	<i>Selebre, rann glwa, manifeste laglwa</i> To celebrate, to glorify
Wangan	<i>Yon gwoup sèvitè, yon gwoup ougan ou sèvitè</i> A group of servants or vaudou priests
Wangol	<i>Non yon tribi Afriken</i> Name of an African tribe
Wannannan	<i>Kannannan, egare, granmoun egare</i> Idiotic, old person losing memory and good sense
Wèdo	<i>Yon grad</i> A grade, rank
Woyo	<i>Lanmè</i> Sea

Yanvalou	<i>Yon dans ki vle di: koube do w devan sa k pi wo pase w yo</i> A dance interpreted as the expression of bowing down before higher spirits
Yaya Pougwe	<i>Yaya mache anfòm, tou pare, tou limen, tou pisan</i> Yaya is powerful, ready to fight and win
Yèmen	<i>Nèg fò</i> A strong man
Yènou	<i>Moun k ap adore, adoratè</i> Someone who worships
Yèwe	<i>Non Bondye; kote tout fòs yo rankontre a</i> Name of God; where all the powers meet
Yeye	<i>Non yon lwa fanm ki soti nan dlo</i> Name of a female spirit coming from the water
Zaka	<i>Non yon lwa ki se yon peyizan</i> Name of a spirit who was a peasant
Zakasia	<i>Yon grann ki viv nan pwovens</i> An old woman who lives in the provinces
Zan	<i>Zanmi</i> Friend
Zandò	<i>Non yon tribi afriken</i> Name of an African tribe

Zazi	<i>Yon lwa ki viv deyò, li remen pran lè</i> A spirit who likes to stay outside, in the fresh air
Zila	<i>Non yon lwa ki se manman Ezili</i> Name of a spirit who is <i>Ezili's</i> mother
Zila Moyo	<i>Non yon bèl fanm ki soti nan dlo</i> Name of a beautiful woman who comes from the water
Zinga	<i>Non yon lwa ki te jèn anpil; li popilè nan zòn Latibonit, Soukri, Souvnans. Kòk zinga egal yon jèn kòk, djanm djanm tou limen, tou pare.</i> Name of a very young spirit well known in Latibonit, Souvnans, Soukri - Haiti. A rooster identified as <i>zinga</i> means a very young, strong and powerful one.
Zo	<i>Dife</i> Fire
Zobop	<i>Non sosyete sekrè; lan nwit yo te konn mare konplo kont kolon yo</i> Name of secret societies; at night, they plot against the colonists
Zoklimo	<i>Lwa ki pirifye ak dife</i> Spirit that uses fire to purify
Zonbi	<i>Lespri moun mouri</i> Spirit of a dead person

7.6.2. African words found in traditional songs

In addition to the *izibongo*, certain traditional songs constitute another field where many African words and expressions are used. How often do they appear in this literature? I believe that it is important to compare the percentage of Kreyòl words versus the percentage of African words used in such relatively short pieces of literature. After more than five hundred years, the deep communion that exists between Africans and African descendants remain in this eloquent linguistic area.

To have a better picture of this comparative vocabulary, I have, in the following twenty three traditional songs, not underlined those words or expressions that are familiar to Haitian people and used in the Kreyòl spoken on a daily basis. With respect to the meaning of the non-Kreyòl words, one can refer to section 7.6.1 above.

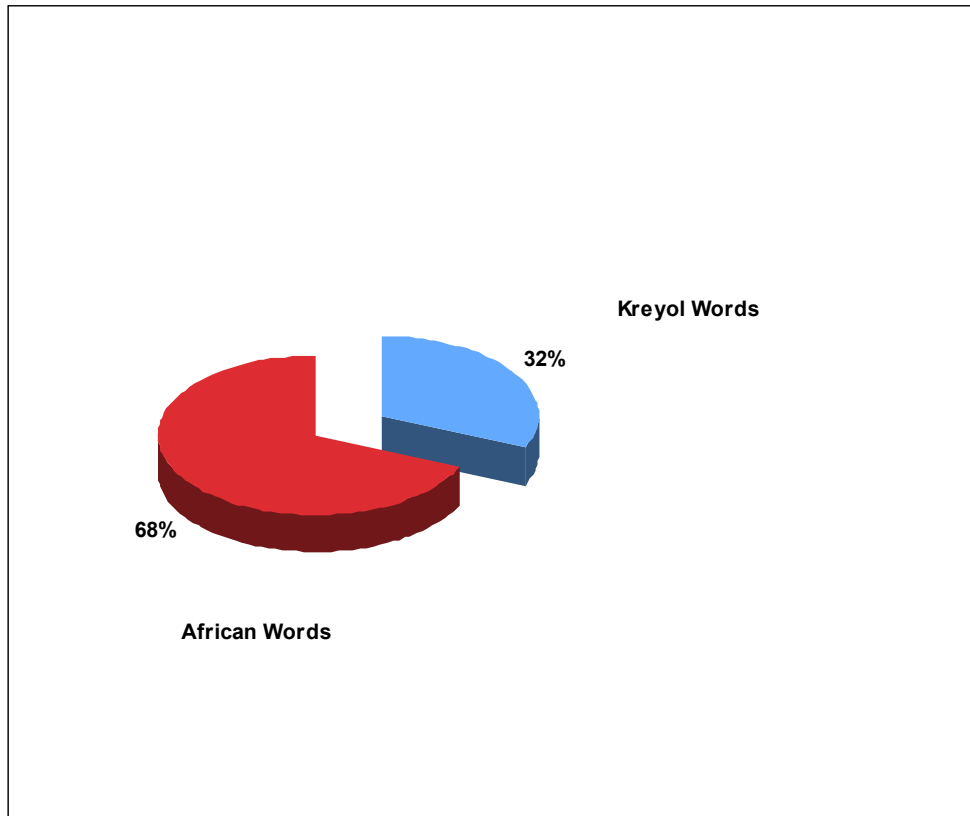
1

Bôde, bôde, Houn Mandja e

Bôde, bôde, Houn Mandja e

Ago, ago, n a kite won an

Nan men Flè Houn



2

Hounsi lamen fò

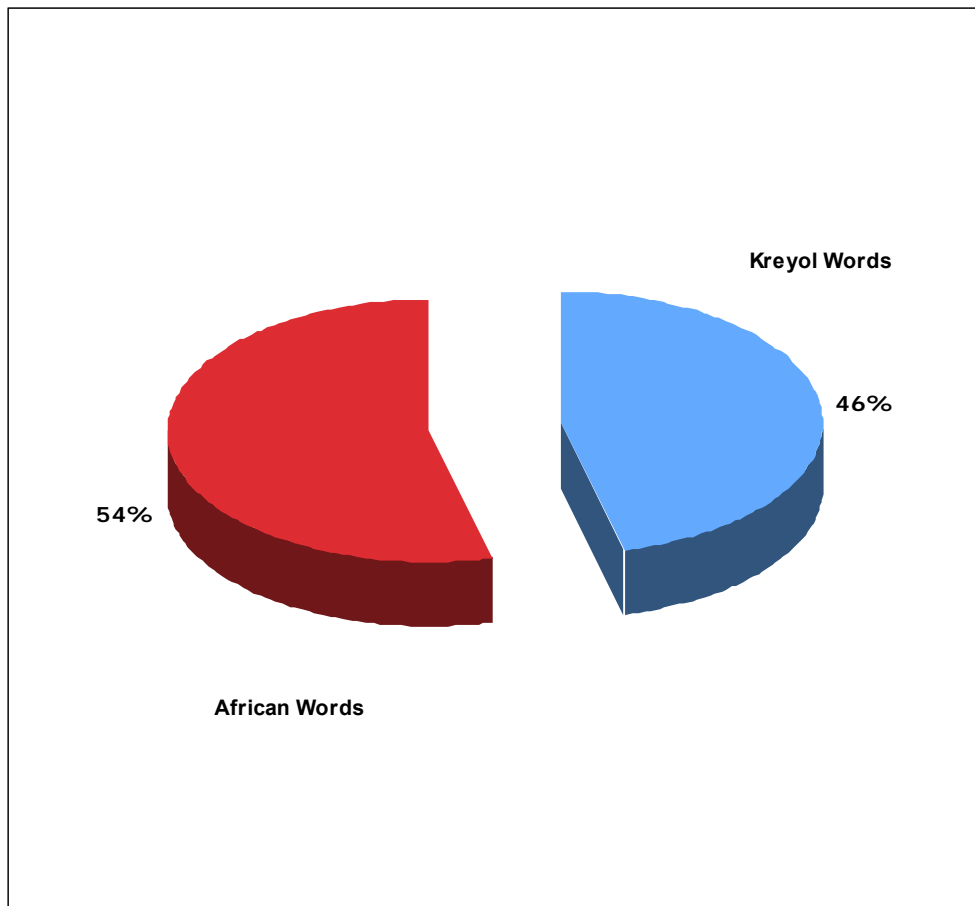
Ala bôde Hounsi prale bôde

Nan Ginen kwala zangi wèlo

Hounsi lamen fò

Ala bôde Hounsi prale bôde

Nan Ginen kwala zangi wèlo



3

Kriye Bôde o De Layi Mede n ap De Bôde

Kriye Bôde o

De Layi Mede n ap De Bôde

Kote Hounsi Djò yo, Bôde o

Hounsi Lado Gwesàn yo, Bôde o

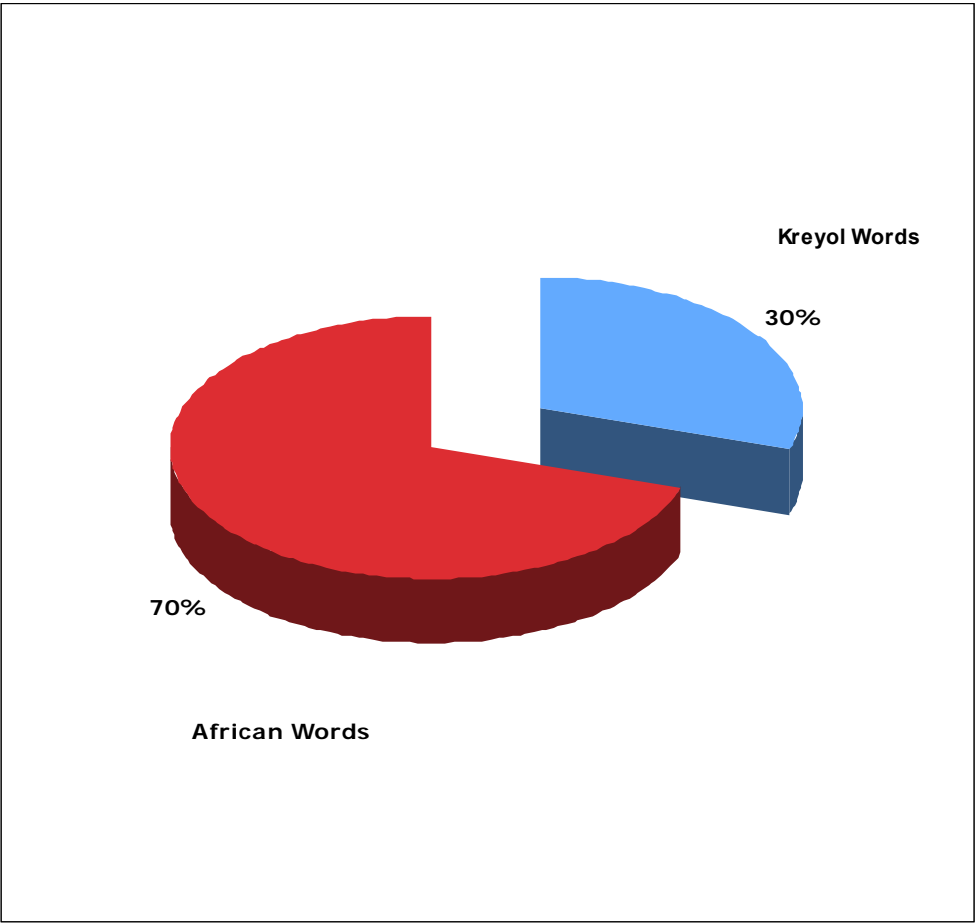
De Layi Mede n ap De Bôde

Kriye Bôde Tokan So fi manyanva

Kriye Bôde Tokan So fi manyanva

Nou pral Kò Aniye

Se la Hounsi so djèmen



4

La fanmi sanble, Anye o sanble non

La fanmi sanble non, eya Gwètò na Yende

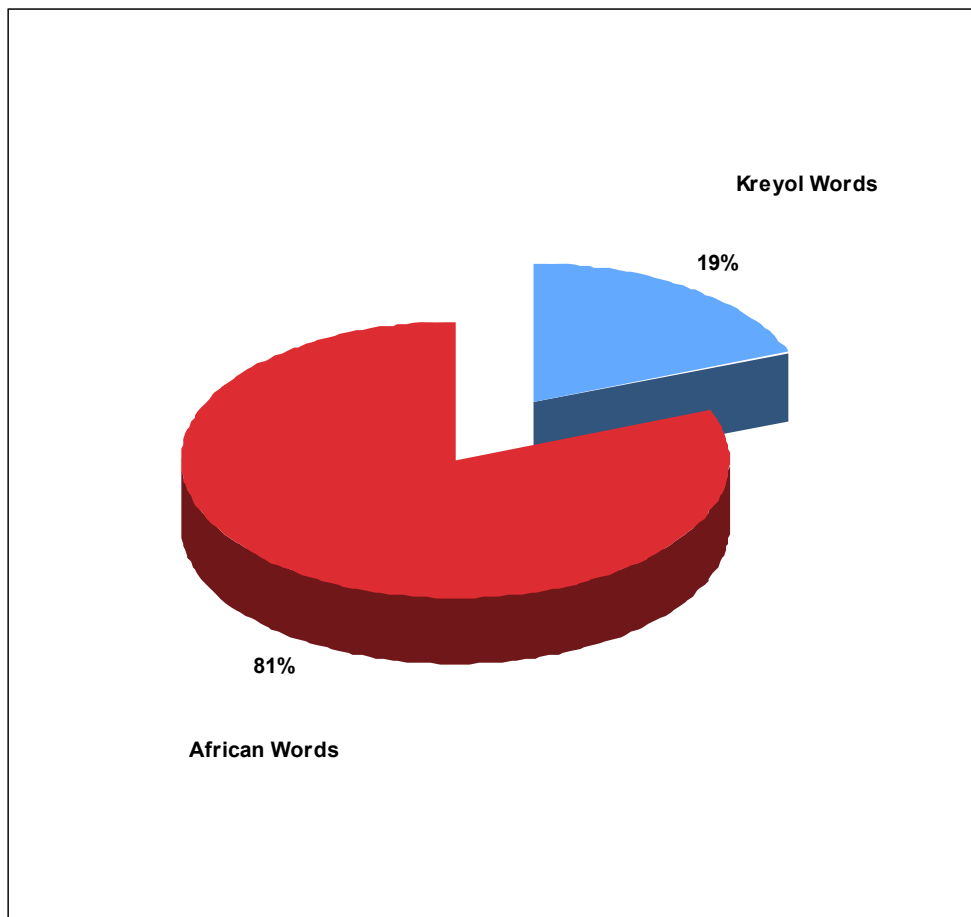
La fanmi sanble, Anye o sanble non

La fanmi sanble non, eya Gwètò na Yende

Yo vini gade si nou fè byen

Yo vini gade si n fè mal

Jou n fè mal pou yo pote n ale



5

Apo Lisa (g)badja, awangansi e, Lisa dole Zo

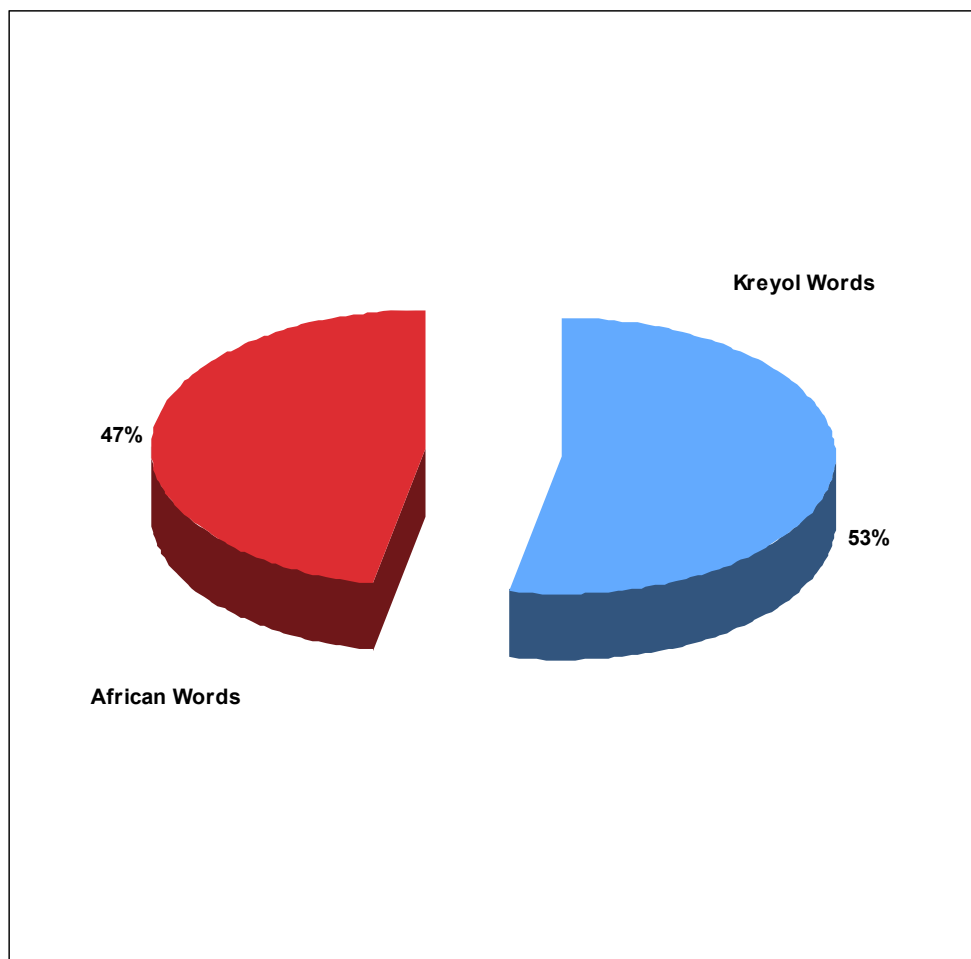
Apo Lisa (g)badja, awangansi e, Lisa dole Zo

Zo, li mache, li mache, li mache

Kò, li mache, li mache, li mache

Zo, li mache, Kò a mache non

Lavi n nan men Bondye



6

Atibon Legba, Hounsi lè

Kandyole o Legba e

Atibon Legba, Hounsi lè

Kandyole o Legba e

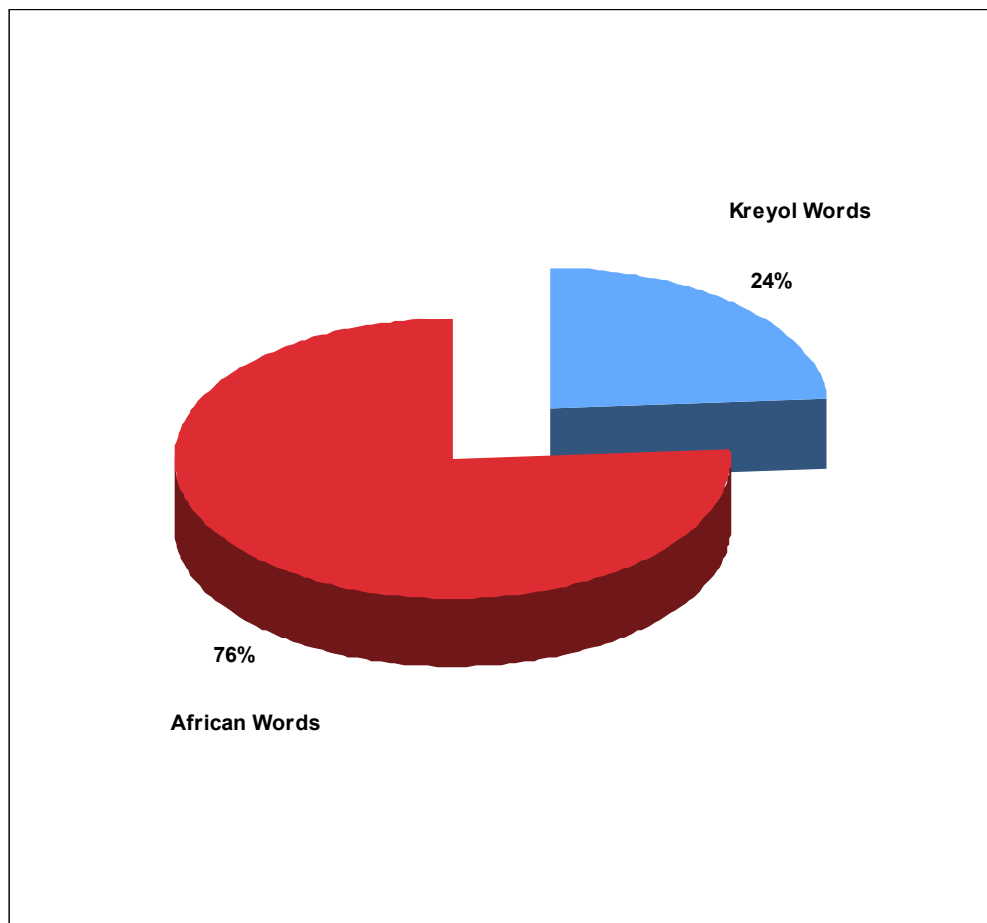
E Dandan Minawon Hounsi lè

Kriyòl sonde Miwa o Legba e

Kriyòl sonde Miwa o Legba e

Ayizan viyè, viyè

Kriyòl sonde Miwa, Legba miyiwe



Hounsi awezan, Hounsi gwètò Anye o

Hounsi awezan, Hounsi gwètò Anye o

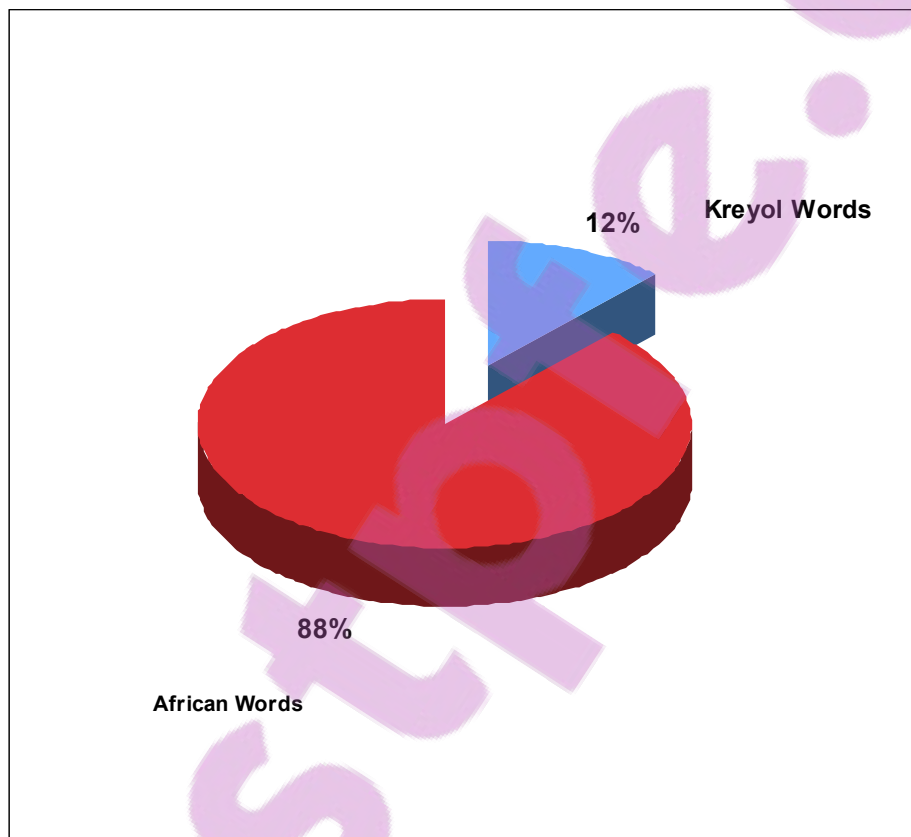
Gwètò rele Ble Houniò

Do gwe (k)po Hounsi awezan

Hounsi Gwètò, Hounsi awezan

Gwètò rele Legba Atibon

Katawoulo ki mache awezan



8

Dantan wi li zan, wi li zan tablesan

Ayi make vodoun dan misi Yèwe

Dantan wi li zan, wi li zan tablesan

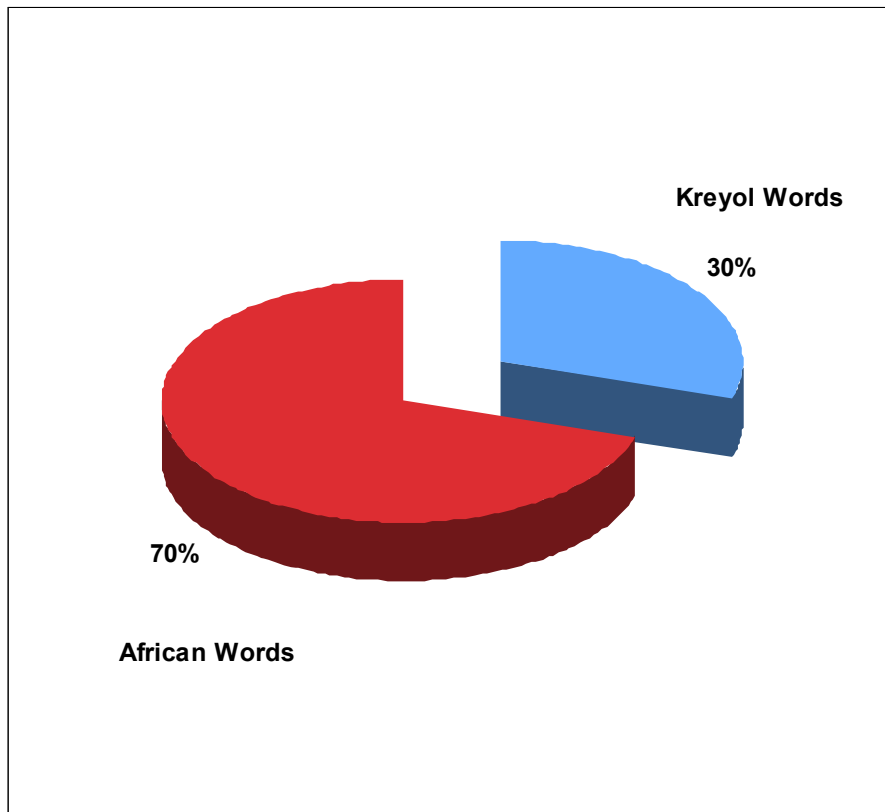
Ayi make vodoun dan misi Yèwe

N ap anonse vodoun o Boloko

N ap anonse vodoun o Boloko

Tablesan, tagwele, Hounsi Yèwe

Hounsi Yèwe, Djò!



9

Djò miwa zan e, Ayizan do lè

Vodoun lè sou do, do sè mouwa

Djò miwa zan e, Ayizan do lè

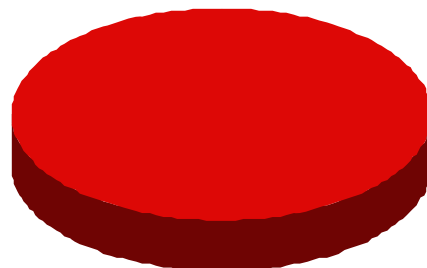
Vodoun lè sou do, do sè mouwa

Danbala do sè, do mouwa e

Ayidah do sè, do mouwa e

Vèvè lè sou do, vodoun lè sou do

Do sè mouwa, Djò!



100%

African Words

10

Danbalaḥ yènou e, Danbalaḥ yènou wa, sè o zo

Danbalaḥ yènou e, Danbalaḥ yènou wa, sè o zo

Eya Houngan yo do mi do, Anye o

Eya Hounsi yo do mi do, Anye o

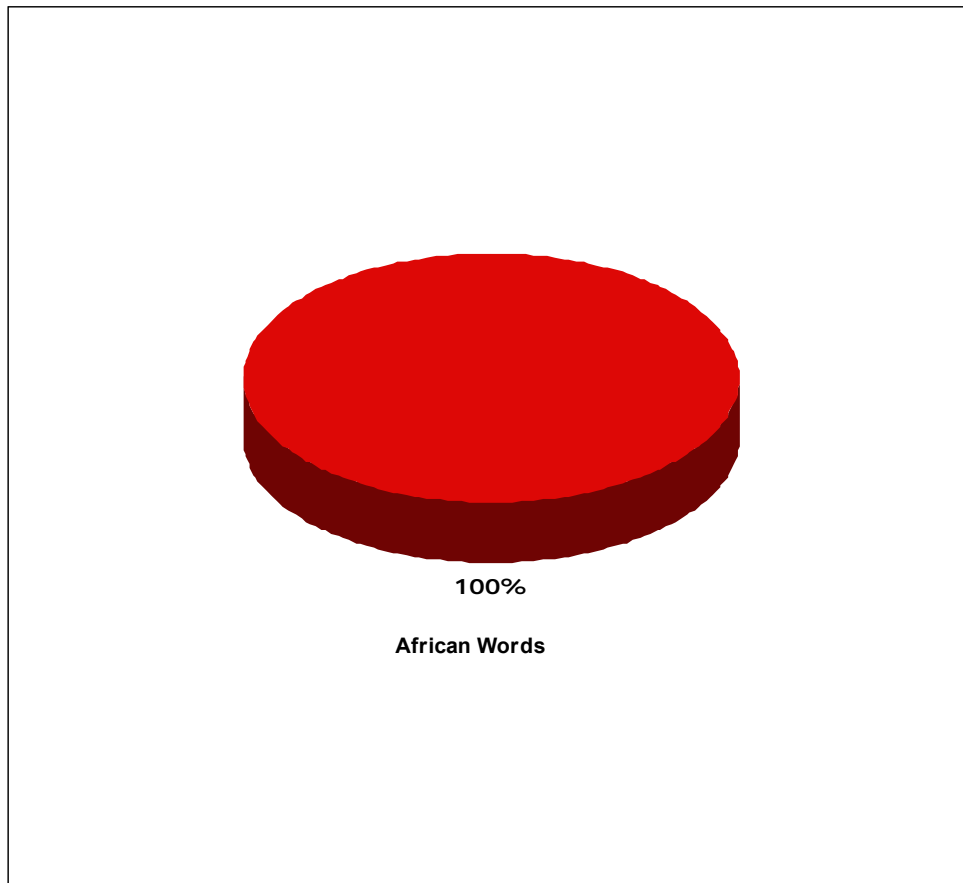
Danbalaḥ yènou e, Danbalaḥ yènou wa, sè o zo

Saba yege eya mouwa sa yege

Saba yege eya mouwa sa yege

De Ayidah wèdo dan sè wa

Eya Mouwa e!



11

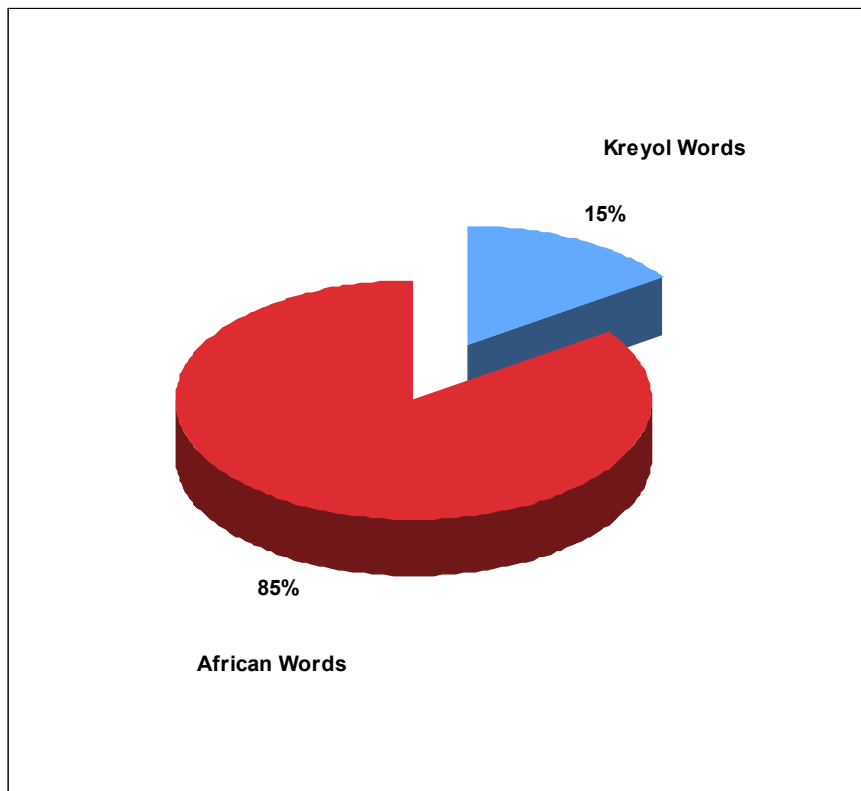
Lèlè o, lèlè sa, Sobo lèlè o, ay mmm!

Lèlè o, lèlè sa, Sobo lèlè o, ay mmm!

Nou tout hounsi, hounsiyon, imado konvè

Nou tout hounsi, hounsiyon, imado konvè

Lèlè o, lèlè sa, Sobo lèlè o, ay mmm!



12

Anye o! (k)po tèsì mouwa

Badè Imamou gwesan Anye o!

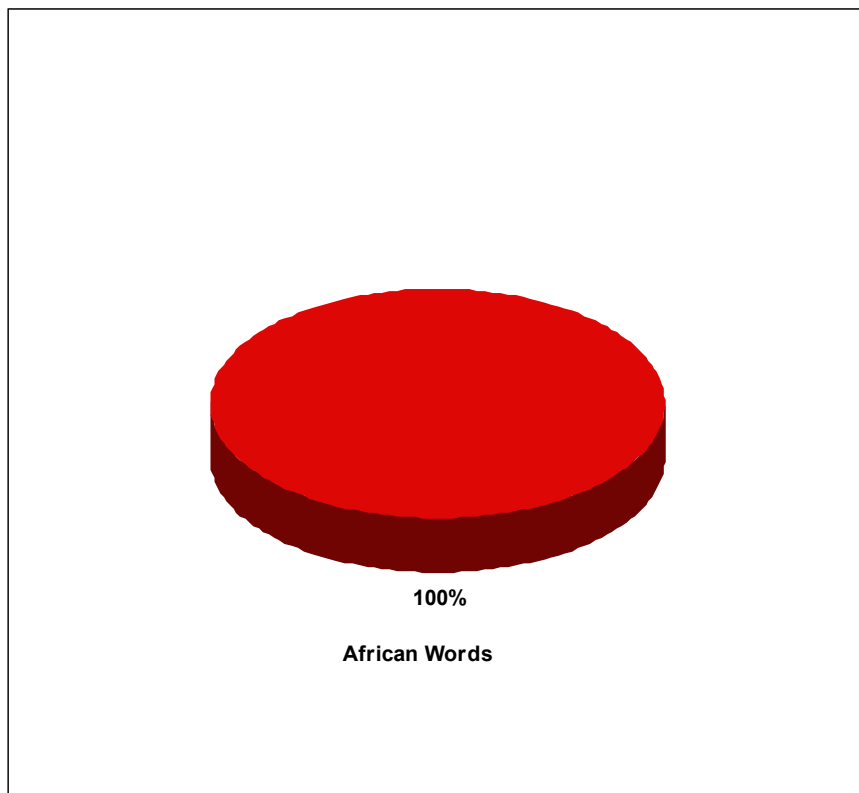
Anye o! (k)po tèsì mouwa

Badè Imamou gwesan Anye o!

Anye o! (k)po tèsì mouwa

Anye o! (k)po tèsì mouwa

Badè Imamou gwesan Anye o!



13

Badè Tèsi, Tèsi, Tèsi, imado menfò e

Tèsi Anminan, Aminan Nibo, Nibo

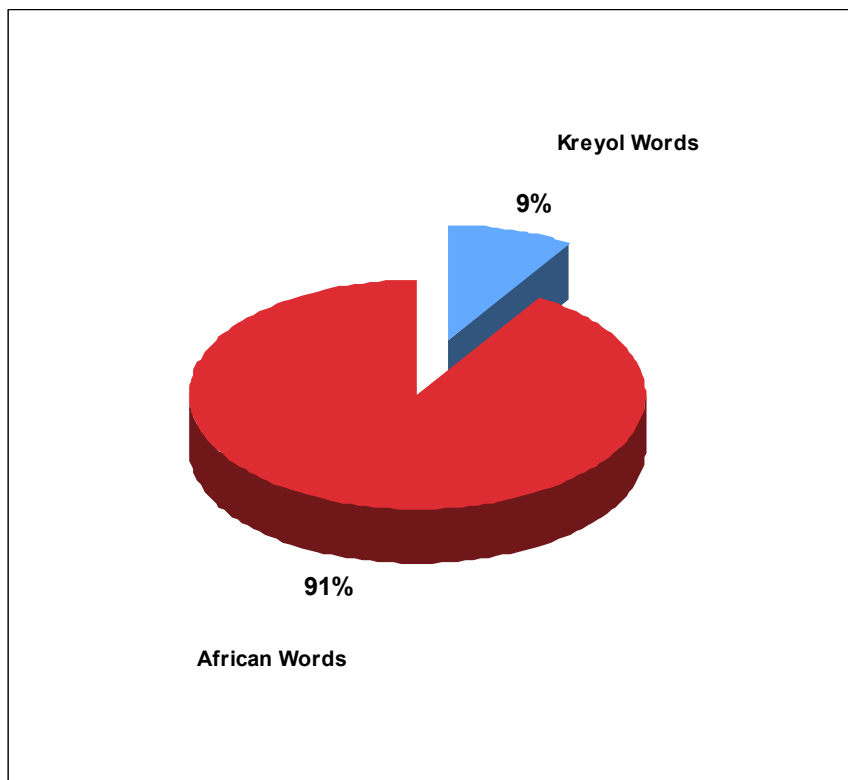
Badè Tèsi, Tèsi, Tèsi, imado menfò e

Tèsi Anminan, Aminan Nibo, Nibo

Anye o! solèy o, Anye o! zèklè e

Badè Tèsi, Tèsi, Tèsi, imado menfò e

Tèsi Anminan, Aminan Nibo, Nibo



De wa Okoun Lele, Imakoun miwa

Sobagi Sobo, Okoun Lele Imakoun miwa

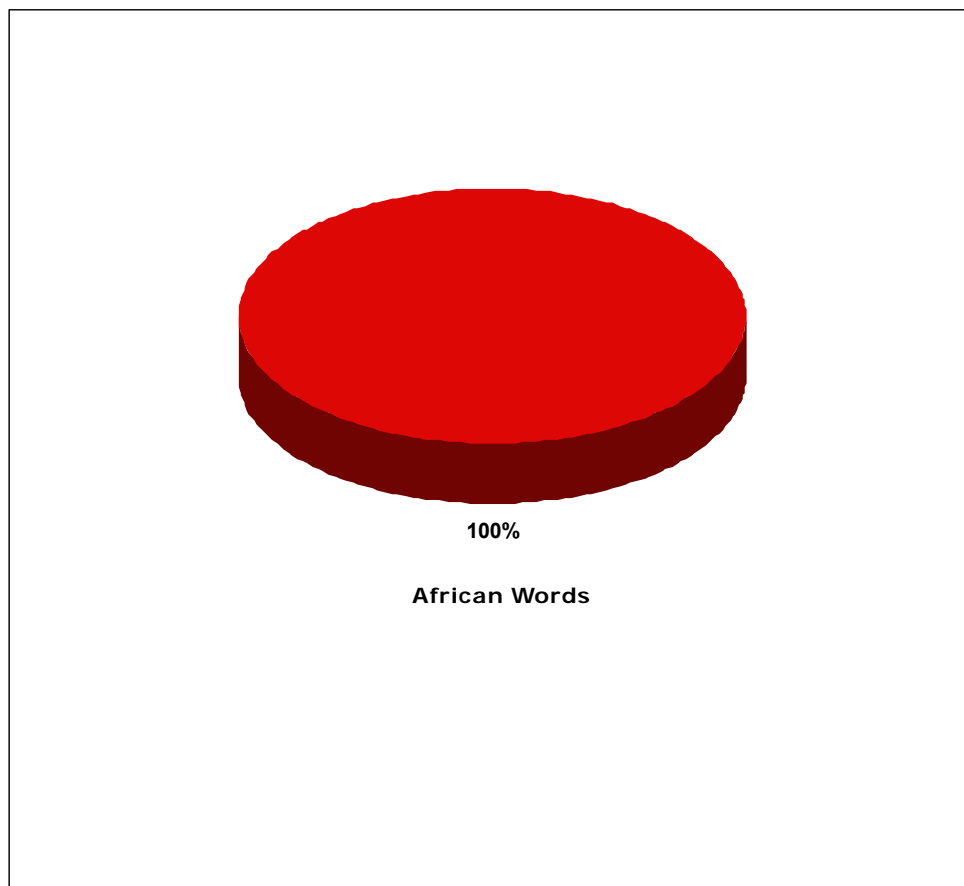
De wa Okoun Lele, Imakoun miwa

Sobagi Sobo, Okoun Lele Imakoun miwa

De wa, Sobo, Badè Okoun Lele, Imakoun miwa

De wa, Sobo, Badè Okoun Lele, Imakoun miwa

Sobagi Sobo, Okoun Lele Imakoun miwa



15

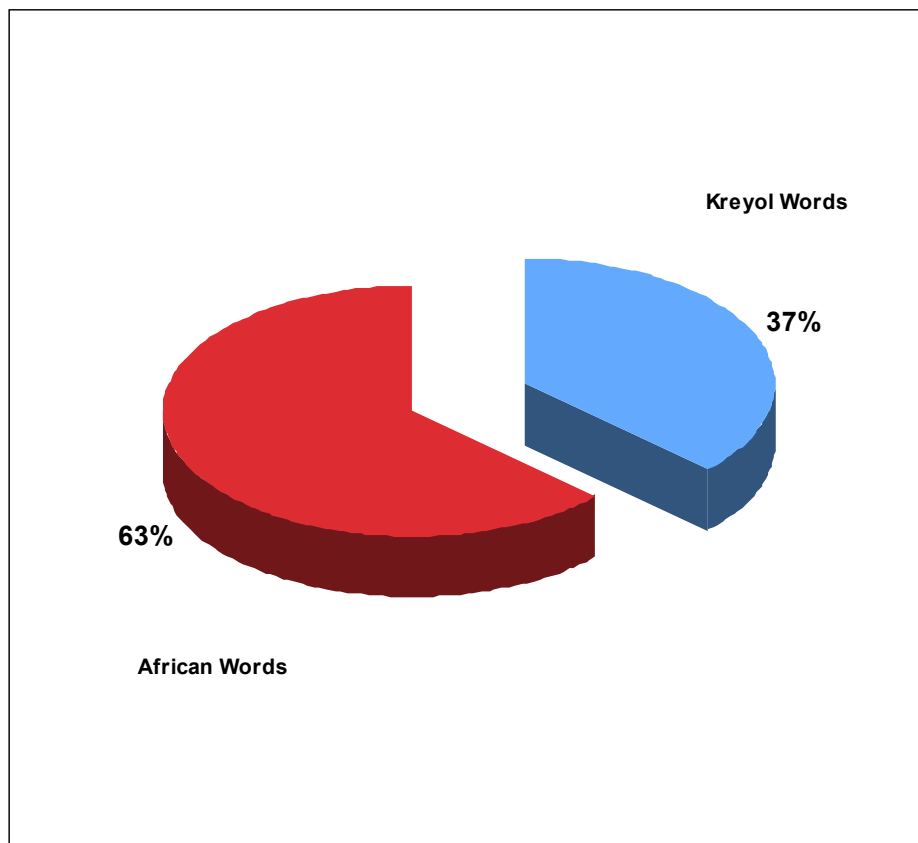
Wenken Agasou rele, Sobo nou swamen

Wenken Agasou rele, Sobo nou swamen

Deja wenken deja Agasou rele

A la nou wenken deja, Agasou rele

Sobo nou swamen!



16

Sò Alade, Imamou da gimen, sò Alade!

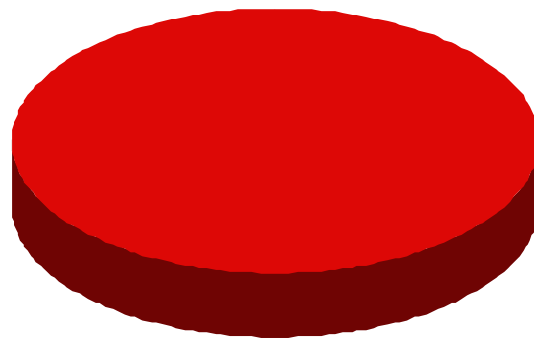
Sò Alade, Imamou da gimen, sò Alade!

Agiwa Lensou sò Alade! Agiwa Lensou sò Alade!

Zengenzen, Agasou michi,

Do (k)po vi, do (k)po gwe mouwa

Agiwa Lensou sò Alade!



100%

African Words

17

Houn sò Agwe Houniò, Houn sò Agwe Houniò

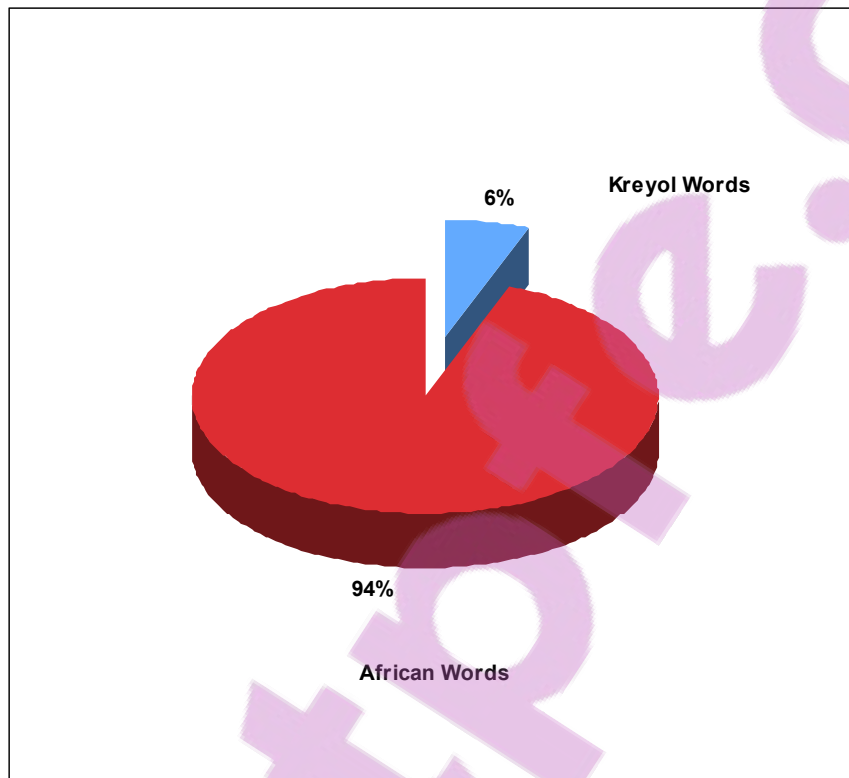
Houn sò Agwe Houniò, rele Houn sò Agwe!

Houn sò Agwe Houniò, Houn sò Agwe Houniò

Houn sò Agwe Houniò, rele Houn sò Agwe!

Rele Houn sò Agwe o! Rele Houn sò Agwe o!

Houn sò Agwe Houniò, rele Houn sò Agwe!



Imamou, Imamou e, Dagikan, Dadikan do Kò Aniye!

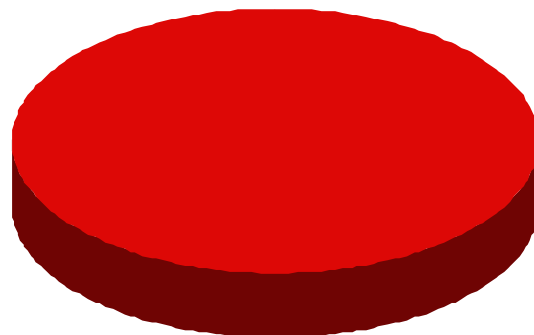
Imamou, Imamou e, Dagikan, Dadikan do Kò Aniye!

Do mannan mannou, Kò Aniye! Imamou Lèlè o Kò Aniye!

Badè Dagikan mannan mannou Ble Houniò, o

Sobo Dagikan mannan mannou Ble Houniò, o, Kò Aniye!

Do mannan mannou, Kò Aniye! Imamou Lèlè o Kò Aniye!



100%

African Words

19

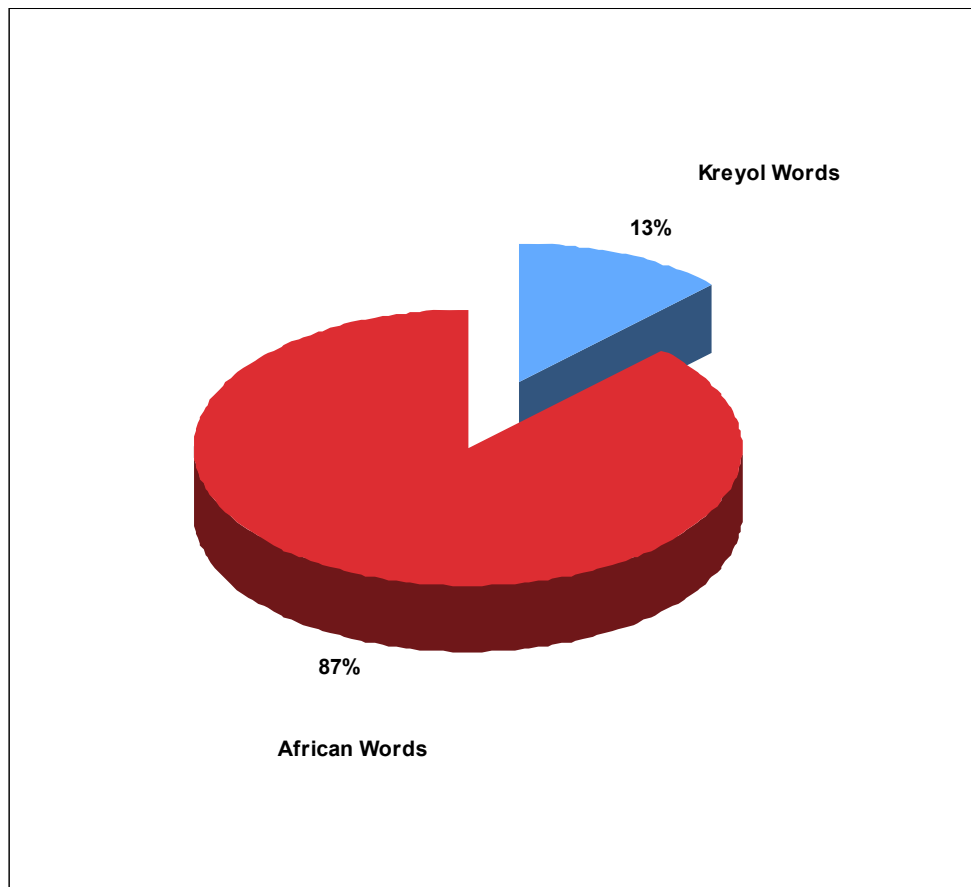
Azaka Mede o Yèvi Dahomey

Azaka Mede o Yèvi Dahomey

Yèvi Dahomey, Yèvi Gwètò

Yèvi Dahomey, Yèvi Gwètò

Azaka Mede Hounfò Yèvi Djò e!



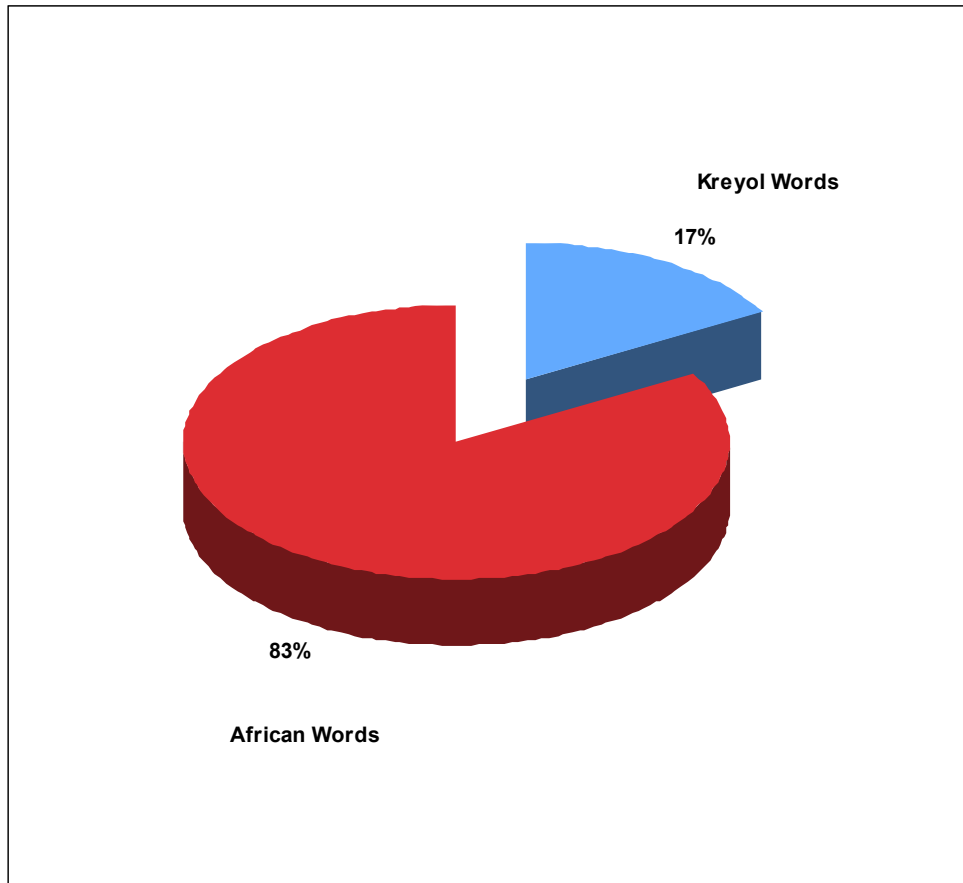
20

Anba loye, sè mouwa Ogoun o

Anba loye, sè mouwa Ogoun o

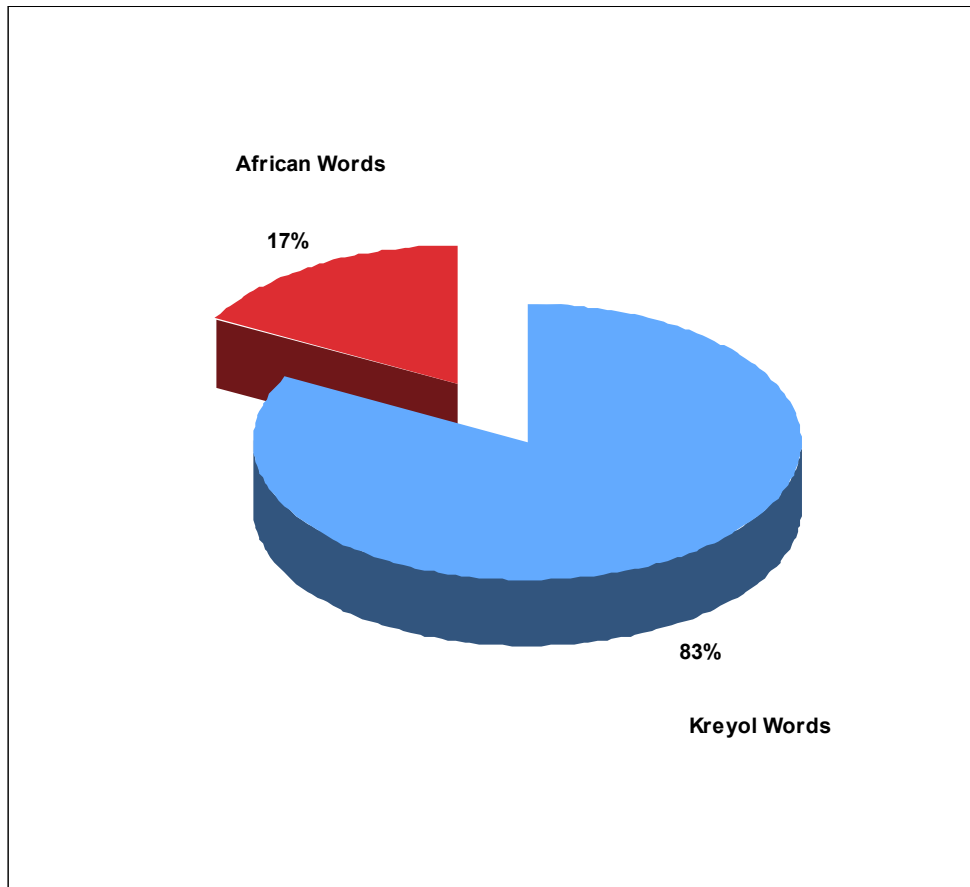
Anba loye, anba loye

Dahomey Dakò e, sè mouwa Ogoun o!



21

Papa Ogoun bonswa, bonswa zanfán la yo
Papa Ogoun bonswa, bonswa zanfán la yo
Papa Ogoun bonswa! Mwen sòti Gedefwe
Kouman nou ye!



22

Ayizan Veleketè, Imamou Sègwèl o

Ayizan Veleketè, Imamou Sègwèl o

Rele Ayizan do Yèwè, rele Ayizan do Yèwè

Ayizan Veleketè, Imamou Sègwèl o

Ayizan do Yèwè!

Ayizan beni la o, saba yege

Ayizan beni la o, saba yege

Kan yi kan yi kan, beni la o

Kan yi kan yi kan, beni la o

Ayizan beni la o, saba yege

Ayizan Gwètò anye o,

Ayizan m p ap mouri malere

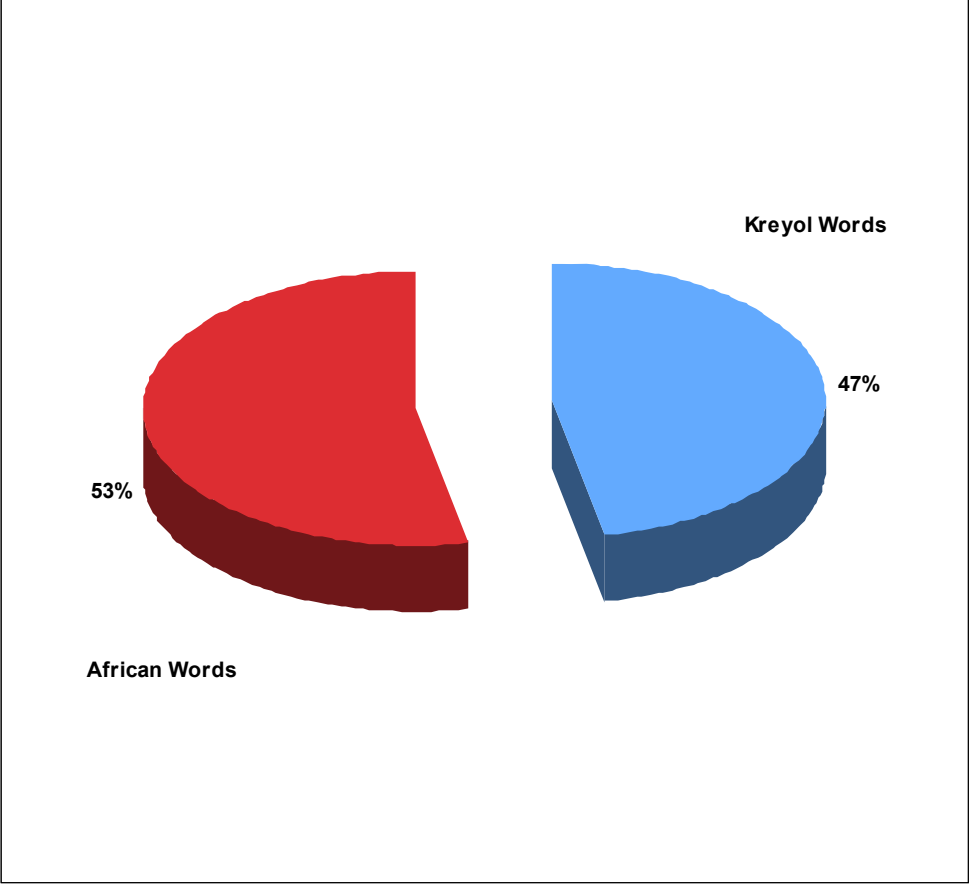
Ayizan Gwètò anye o,

Ayizan m p ap mouri malere

Pechè yo di nan pwen Ginen ankò

Pechè yo di nan pwen Ginen ankò

Genyen yon tan na wè yo



Asanblo Kidi e,

Loko Asanblo Kidi e,

Loko mouwa e mwen

Yanvalou mwen

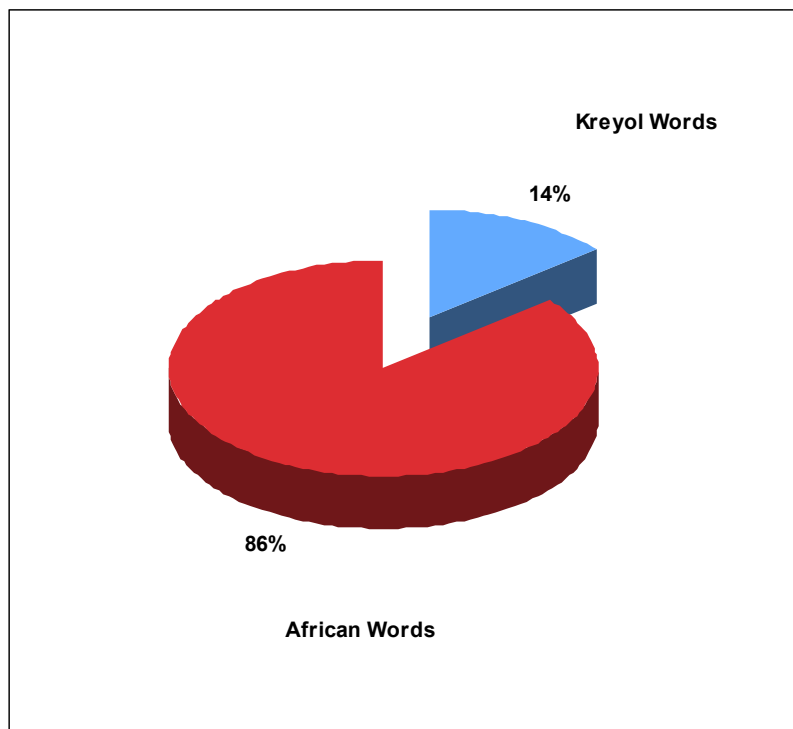
Loko, Loko, kilidja

Loko, Loko, kilidja

Papa Loko kilidja,

Azagon Loko Kilidja

Loko, Loko, kilidja!



7.7. *Igama likaNkulunkulu uluthando*

Igama likaNkulunkulu uluthando. The name of God is love. From a linguistic perspective, what is love? Is it just a word, a word as any other word? Does the phrase *Igama lakhe uluthando* represent a metaphor? As a metaphor can be conventional, poetic, conceptual, mixed, we could also ask whether or not the word “love” is part of a theological metaphor through the sentence “God is love”. Seen in its biblical and sociolinguistic context the word “love” covers a semantic mapping that extends from human to transcendental values. The biblical God who freed slaves is called “Love”.

ז' וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה, רֹאֵה רָאִיתִי אֶת-עֲנֵי עַמִּי אֲשֶׁר בְּמִצְרַיִם;
וְאֶת-צַעֲקָתָם שָׁמַעְתִּי מִפְּנֵי נְגִשְׁיוֹ, כִּי יִדְעֹתִי אֶת-מַכָּאֵי בָיו.

“And the Lord said,
I have surely seen the affliction of my people
Which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry
By reason of their taskmasters;
For I know their sorrow;
And I am come down to deliver them...”

Ex. 3, 7

The same God, expressing concretely the strength of his love for those suffering in slavery, continues to focus on love by stating:

וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ כְּמוֹךָ

You will love your neighbour
The way you love yourself.

Lev. 19, 18

Not surprisingly, it will be said further in 1 John 4, 8:

⁸ ὁ μὴ ἀγαπῶν οὐκ ἔγνω τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν.
He that loveth not knoweth not God: for God is love.

From these transcendental values identified by the exegetical approach, people who believe in that God must demonstrate how human values are expressed through love. Hence the core questions relative to the name of the God proclaimed by the missionaries in Haiti: Was *Gran Mèt la* acting to free the African slaves, revealing himself as the true God of Love? How could a true God of love demand that African slaves sever their existential roots with Africa?

7.7.1. Love: A word, a semantic field, a theology of love

In fact, what could be seen as a theological metaphor, “God is love”, became a theology of love in the collective mind of Africa descended people; it was expressed in their opposition to the colonization of their mind. “For the world’s Indigenous communities who have withstood colonization from other peoples, it is generally accompanied by language loss, cessation of religious practices...” (Clark 2003, 208).

In the case of Haiti the loss of language was connected to the birth of language: Haitian Kreyòl was born with no cessation of religious practices, despite the enormous pressures to abandon Africa. “The [slave] plantation economy developed an arrangement of cultural space to define the limits of Africans’ spirit. The success of the political economy of the slave system necessitated the negation of traditional African culture in order to destroy any hopes of social cohesion among blacks that would lead to revolts” (Matthews 1998 24).

This determination to deny traditional African culture in the name of God began when Columbus first arrived in the Americas. Columbus’ expedition was sponsored and financed by the Catholic Spanish monarchs Isabelle 1st and Ferdinand II. He presented

himself to his financiers as a missionary of God. Immediately upon Columbus' arrival he planted a cross on Haitian soil as the symbol of the mission conferred to him by the Catholic monarchs. In fact the site of the largest slave market of Port-au-Prince (Haiti's capital) is today still known as *Croix des bosses* (cross of the savages). Empowered by his religion and protected by his God, Columbus was mesmerized by the wonderful new country. He loved it. But, this love did not extend to the people: the indigenous Taints, Caribs or Arawak who were viewed and treated as sub-human; nor to the Africans, forced into slavery considered savages in need of civilizing. Religion would be the ready instrument of the colonists for this civilization process. However the Africans did not need the imposed religion of the colonists/missionaries or the scientific inventions of the West to understand what made people human beings. Drawing on their African system of beliefs, they refused to be objectified. No matter what name one gives to God, if one believes God is love and attempts to act from God's power, one has discovered God (Aristide 1992, 167).

The slaves knew of real love and valued life. There was no confusion in their civilization between their humanity and inanimate objectives to which slavery sought to reduce them. Long before the invention of scientific apparatus our Ancestors had no difficulty in recognizing living entities as distinct from inanimate objects" (Hulse 1963, 18). They resisted efforts to be reduced to objects. The slaves drew a distinction between soul and body. The African ancestral vision was not too different from the earliest Hebrew conceptions of human nature. "The early Hebrews, like all the other Semites, regarded man as composed of two elements, *basar*, or flesh and *nefesh*, or breath. The *basar* was the material element that at death returned to dust...The *nefesh* or breath was an ethereal substance that inhabited the *basar*" (Payton 1921, 232). The communion with Ancestors was so deeply rooted that the African slaves believed they would return home to Africa after the death of the *basar*. This belief was part of a faith that inspired the African slaves to continue to worship based on their tradition as others have done throughout history.

“Man has worshipped everything on earth, including himself, stones, hills, flowers, trees, streams, wells, ocean, and animals. He has worshipped everything he could think of beneath the earth, metals, caves, serpents, and under-world ghosts. Finally, he has worshipped everything between earth and heaven and everything in the heavens above, mist, wind, cloud, rainbow, stars, moon, sun, the sky itself, though only in part has he worshipped the spirits of all these objects” (Hopkins, 1923. 13). For speakers of Haitian Kreyòl one thing was clear: the Spirits that they believed in opposed slavery. To love and to kill in the name of God were incompatible.

In Chapter Two we saw how from 1494 to 1508 over 3 million Caribs, Arawaks and Tainos were killed in Haiti. Deadly weapons targeted the body while religion was manipulated to aim for the mind. This conflicting behaviour prompted scholars to analyze religion scientifically. For example, Washburn Hopkins argues that, “Every religion is a product of human evolution and has been conditioned by social environment. Since man has developed from a state even lower than savagery and was once intellectually a mere animal, it is reasonable to attribute to him no more religious consciousness than is possessed by an animal” (*Ibid.*, 1).

The social environment of late fifteenth century Haiti (post- Columbus) was dominated by conquest and repression, with religion used to justify and facilitate imperialist aims. The colonists said that slaves possessed an evil spirit, the so-called *esprit du cheval* (the spirit of the horse) and the missionaries had come to exorcise them of this spirit through baptism. If a slave did not appear subdued after baptism, he was subject to a second, third – indeed a dozen further baptisms until he was subdued. In contrast, the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great, sole commander of the East and West in 324, and official guardian of the Catholic Church, was baptized only upon his death. Article 3 of The Black Code of 1685 (*Code Noir*) explicitly states: “We forbid any religion other than the Roman, Catholic and Apostolic Faith from being practiced in public.”

These early manifestations of religion in Haiti, in the light of this explanation of the word “love”, raise several theological questions:

- 1- The god of the colonists, is he the same God the Father that Jesus speaks of?
- 2- The god of the colonists, can he be both God the Father of colonists and of slaves?
- 3- Is he the creator of the new world order where man is dominated by man?

The answer to this last question is certainly no:

י' אָמַר אֶל הָאֱלֹהִים, נַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כְּדִמוּתֵנוּ; וְיִרְדּוּ בִדְגַת הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם, וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבְכָל-הָאָרֶץ, וּבְכָל-הָרֶמֶשׂ, הָרֹמֵשׂ עַל-הָאָרֶץ. **כִּז** וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמוֹ, בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא אֹתוֹ: זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה, בָּרָא אֹתָם. **כח** וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתָם, אֱלֹהִים, וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם אֱלֹהִים פָּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמְלֵאוּ אֶת-הָאָרֶץ, וְכִבְשֶׁהָ; וְיִרְדּוּ בִדְגַת הַיָּם, וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם, וּבְכָל-חַיָּה, הָרֹמֵשׂ עַל-הָאָרֶץ.

And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them and God said unto them. Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

Gen. 1, 26-28

Whereas the god of the colonist reduced man to slavery, the God of Jesus reveals himself as a liberator, and Jesus himself declared: “The spirit of God is upon me...” Luke 4, 18.

This is what we also find in Is. 61, verse 1: רִיחַ אֵדֶי נְיָ יְהוָה, עָלַי:-

From this theological vision emerges the image of a God of Love and Liberty – diametrically opposed to the god of the colonist. Real love implies both: The people and the nation. Hence, a clear expression of theological consciousness (Aristide 1994, 205).

7.7.2. Real love transcending religion

In the sixteenth century this fundamental issue of love was not the principle cause of dissention within Catholicism. Rather, doctrinal differences, like for example, belief in the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, gave rise to Protestantism. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) was convened to define these divergences. And the counter-reformation movement of the Catholic Church led to the re-conquest of protestant regions like Poland.

For Haiti, the establishment of the protestant churches meant a new set of missionaries. Under the driving force of the reformation movement led by Luther in Germany, Zwingli in Switzerland and Calvin in France, protestant churches rose the flag of their religions. As of 2002, there were 218 reformed churches with 75 million members spread across 107 countries (Frémy and Frémy 2004). A number of these churches are present in Haiti. We know that during the 1800s, citizens of the Cape colony of South Africa regularly attended the Dutch Reformed Church. In South Africa as in some parts of the continent, “the great Ancestor *Unkulunkulu*, the ultimate foundation of the vital force, solidarity, and harmony, is always assumed to be present” (Magesa 2002, 81).

Regarding the Sotho people, after investigation they welcomed the earliest missionaries at Thaba Bosiu in the early 1830s. It was the French Protestant Missionary Society that came to Moshoeshoe’s country, followed by other missionaries like the Wesleyan Missionary Society. During this period, John Philip of the London Missionary Society, was considered by Oliver and Atmore (1978, 60) as the most outspoken of the Christian missionaries in South Africa.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Baptist church, one of the largest of the reformed churches, ushered a second wave of missionaries and conversion zeal to Haiti. By 1999 there were 43,135 Baptist churches worldwide: 3,600 in Africa and 450 in the Caribbean, including Haiti. The Baptist church estimates that it has 125 million members. Does that mean that they were or are the most influential religion in Haiti? Absolutely not; from the time of colonization to today, the Roman Catholic Church is by

far the most influential of the Christian churches. This is not meant as a value judgment on the churches of Haiti, but rather a reflection of an objective truth. With approximately 1 billion members – 600 million in the Americas; 250 million faithful in Europe – the Roman Catholic religion represents a significant force. In this past decade, about three-quarters of Haiti's population of 8 million were listed as Catholics.

After the Roman Catholic, the Anglican Church is the next most influential church in Haiti. Whereas in England – 57.9 percent of the population are baptized Anglicans and 34.2 percent marry in Anglican churches – the influence of Haiti's Episcopal Church has been established, not by the number of its members, but by the value of its work. Haiti's best philharmonic orchestra has been trained and is conducted by leaders of the Episcopal Church. The orchestra is a wonderful demonstration of musical skills that transcends social, class and economic prejudices. Across the country, protestant churches are renowned for the quality of their music. The theological message transmitted in religious song and/or sermons reveals the extent to which the salvation of the soul, rather than that of the body, is at the center of their mission.

Although missionaries are devoted to charity work in areas that involve health, education, and generally meeting the community's daily needs, the theology espoused is much more focused on the soul and the after-life. An example of this other-worldly preoccupation is evident in the story of Pastor William Miller. In 1821 Miller announced in the United States the coming of Christ on October 22, 1844. He was able to convince more than 100,000 people of his belief. Of course nothing did happen on that day: *ngokwemvelo, kwanhlanga zimuka nomoya*.

By contrast, in the 1970s, the people of God became increasingly more conscious of the need to build a kingdom of love, here on earth. In 1979, they joined Latin American theologians to say: "*Si el Pueblo no va a Puebla, Puebla se quedará sin el Pueblo.*" (If the People don't go to Puebla (Mexico) the Conference of Puebla will be without the People.)

From Christian churches to the Seventh Day Adventist Church, to the Methodist, Pentecostal and other branches of religion already referred to, a growing ecumenical spirit has helped foster a sense of mutual respect and desire to work together. First in Edinburgh in 1910, then officially in Amsterdam 1948, the Ecumenical Council of the Churches was launched. Today it unites 347 churches, 400 million congregants working in 120 countries. The Council offers churches an opportunity to promote justice, peace and tolerance.

The missionary experiences of the Mormons and the Jehovah Witnesses have been different. The Mormon Church was founded by Joseph Smith who in 1830 declared that God had visited him in the fields of northern New York, in the USA. Today the Mormons have approximately 11 million followers worldwide. Half of this church membership lives in the United States. But they are in Haiti too, in poor urban areas, as well as in the rural countryside, dressed in austere gray trousers and long sleeved white shirts buttoned to the collar. They draw a stark contrast to the Caribbean environment. Haitians can be observed questioning their presence, as if it were a source of much suspicion.

Haitians also raise many questions about the presence of the Jehovah Witnesses. One hundred and thirty five years after their founding, Jehovah Witnesses have emerged as a highly organized institution with publications translated in 146 languages and a monthly newsletter circulation of over 22 million, translated in 87 languages. Membership in the church has grown from 127,000 members in 1945 to over 6 million in 2002, spread across 234 countries, with the greatest number of adherents living in the US.

Based on our observations, Haitians have more questions than answers about them. While not naïve about religion's agenda Haitian people nonetheless welcome and defer to the Constitution's call for the full respect of **all** religions. In this legal framework that guarantees the protection of all religion, African religion or African Ancestor's religion is deserving of equal respect on Haitian soil. African belief systems have been denigrated when described as animism, fetishism, superstition, sorcery. Dr. Laurent Mages and Van

Der Post agree that “the logical consequence of this notion was for the Christian missionary to do everything possible to do away with the black man’s spirits, give him a new sense of sins, do away with the practice of religion as a superstition and win him over to a new superior white God” (Mages 2002, 15). This same endeavor at religious diversion was attempted in Haiti.

Once the African drum (or *isigubhu*) beats, the rhythm vibrates in the pulse of all Haitians. Yet until the 1960s, and still today in some churches, the drum was strictly forbidden. But regardless of the official position taken by those religions, Haitians love *isigubhu* and know – like all Africans – about the power of the drum – *isigubhu sezimanga*. Haiti’s attachment to the drum, the African drum, is truly a LOVE story – which crystallizes also the heart of this exegetical and sociolinguistic explanation. God is love. And this love gives great power (Aristide 2000, 64). Where there is love, there is also Respect, Tolerance, Comprehension.

Greek-Roman mythology encompasses approximately 30,000 gods, deities, and demi-gods. The Romans were not Greeks, but they adopted Greek gods as well as Greek myths. Of course Haitians are sons and daughters of Africa where both our culture and our religious traditions are deeply rooted.

On 8 November 2005, the headlines of the South African newspaper, *Sun Daily*, read: “Saved from death by my Ancestors.” This is the same reaction that most Haitians and Africans exhibit when they recover from a serious illness or survive a dangerous accident. To free themselves from the bonds of slavery, our forefathers turned to the Ancestors in the ceremony of Bois Caïman, in August 1791. In other words, to become free, the slave prayed not to the God of his master but to the God of Ancestors. According to a European missionary from this period, Father Adolphe Cabon, “even a former pupil of a religious community, Améthyse, made a good number of pupils leave the convent ‘*Fille Notre Dame du Cap (Haiti)*’ at night to participate in ritual dances at the ceremony of Bois Caïman, at the end of August 1791” (Fick 2000, 969).

The slaves did not turn to the religion of the colonists. As a result, under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture, the revolutionary and historically unprecedented overthrow of the French planters began on that very day in 1791, culminating in the declaration of Black liberty. Two hundred years later, these religious roots still draw from the same ethical and African sap: Love of freedom, liberty and life. But where pathological behavior exists under the cover of religion we find the opposite. In November 1978, in the Caribbean nation of Guyana, 912 members of a sect called the Temple of the People followed their leader in death by drinking a cyanide-laced fruit drink. Fifteen years later in the United States after a 51-day siege at the Branch Davidians headquarters, 80 believers, including its leader, committed mass suicide. And four years ago in Uganda, about 1000 members of the apocalyptic sect Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments killed themselves.

In the light of those religious pathologies, we better understand why in 1907, Freud pointed to parallels between neurotic ceremonies and religious rituals. The preeminent study undertaken by Pierre Janet prevented similar pathologies from affecting his patient Madeleine and many other people suffering from religious pathology. In that regard, in addition to being the Dean of French psychology, Janet remains undoubtedly the best known contributor to the field of psychology of religion.

Janet and Stanley Hall would agree that the factors resulting in this phenomenon of collective suicide are often the same: mental manipulation and psychological disorder lead to a wearing down of the person's sense of self. In some sects, for instance the followers of Krishna, are forced to chant the mahamantra 1,728 times a day.

When religious pathology leads to horrors such as collective suicide, religion becomes worse than a curse. Theologians and psychologists need to promote mental health. Although the post liberal theological mind under the influence of the dialectical theology of Karl Barth and Emile Brunner rejected the emphasis on the religious consciousness that had been fostered by the psychology of religion, I do believe that we need both: theologians and psycho-sociolinguists to help promote mental and spiritual health.

From this approach, religion becomes neither a curse nor a vehicle for neo-colonialism, but rather a source of love, empowerment and happiness. Happiness for all, so love for all – even when sometimes this means putting our own lives at risk. This is echoed by Wulff (1991, 51) quoting Dr. Stanley Hall: “To love and to be interested most in those things that are most worthy of love – that is the end of life.”

*God is lief vir almal.
Hy praat die elf offisieële tale van Suid Afrika.
Hy praat my twee offisieële tale: Frans en Creole.
Maar meer as dit, Hy praat die mooiste taal van die wereld:
Die taal van liefde. Inderdaad, God is liefde.*

“God loves all of us.
He speaks the 11 official languages of South Africa.
He speaks my 2 official languages: French and Creole.
But, more than that, he speaks the most beautiful language of the world:
The language of love. Indeed, God is love.
His name is love. *Igama lakhe uluthando.*”

In one word, Africans and African descendants are rooted in this love.

7.8. Conclusion

This theological, biblical and exegetic explanation relative to the proximity between isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl offers evidence to sustain the claim: ‘So far yet so close *ngomoya wamagama wuNkulunkulu*’. By referring to God as Logos, John used a powerful and meaningful word. It was a linguistic choice for a theological option. Contrary to his theological approach, early missionaries to Africa and Haiti imposed their own language and views, ignoring the linguistic and theological references of the slave.

The theological and exegetical explanation set forth in this chapter focuses on the most important word: love. From the various names given to God -- in the Tanakh, through

the Tetragrammaton: יהוה , through isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl – the name of God emerges as Love: *Igama lakhe uluthando*. God is Love, 1 Jn. 4, 8. This love encompasses not just a word, but a semantic field, a theology of love. What could be seen as a theological metaphor “God is love” transformed to a theology of love in the collective mind of African descended people who were able to transcend rigid lines of religion; it found expression in their opposition to the colonization of their mind.

Chapter Eight

General Conclusion

Five hundred years after their first arrival in Haiti and the devastation of European colonial expansion, the Spirit of the African slave remains alive in the psyche and the language of the Haitian people. Hence, the conclusion that emerges from this comparative study:

While Haitian Kreyòl is genetically related to French, IsiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl are related through an ancestral psychodynamic and theological paradigm that is rooted in *Ubuntu*.

This conclusion was reached through an analysis divided into three parts. Part I of this study explores historical and genetic relationships. Following an introductory first chapter, the study begins with an examination of the historical and linguistic roots of Haitian Kreyòl. In the fifteenth century, European conquistadors and Amerindians (Haiti's first inhabitants) experienced language-contact, brutal domination and eventual genocide. The impact of this early colonization was one of several significant sociolinguistic factors that contributed to the ultimate loss of languages by the Amerindian population. The second half of Chapter Two records the arrival of the first Africans to Haiti. The Africans came aboard slave ships to replace the devastated Amerindian population as slaves. With the Africans came their languages and traditions, firmly establishing the African roots of Haitian Kreyòl.

Chapter Three looks at the Bantu languages, the family of languages to which isiZulu belongs. Beginning with the groundbreaking naming of this family of languages by philologist W. H. Bleek, the Chapter proceeds to trace the roots of isiZulu through African languages, noting that the majority of the approximately 2035 languages spoken on the African continent belong to 4 family groups: the Afro-Asiatic languages, the Nilo-Saharan languages, the Khoisan language and the Niger-Congo languages which includes

isiZulu. Following, the study sets forth Joseph Greenberg's classification of the Niger-Congo family. It then delineates Malcolm Guthrie's definition of the Bantu languages, explaining the two criteria (principal and subsidiary) utilized in this definition. Guthrie's classification of Bantu language and his experimental map are also included. The expansion of Bantu languages is explained through archeological evidence documenting migrations from South Central Africa to the southern most regions of Africa over the course of 3000 years.

Because this is a comparative study, this important question emerges: Are the roots of isiZulu, like those of Haitian Kreyòl, linked to slavery or foreign domination? Shared sociolinguistic factors and an explanation derived from the principle of diglossia, where between two languages spoken, one is considered superior and the other inferior, demonstrate that both Kreyòl and isiZulu have been subjected to this same linguistic discrimination.

Having traced the historical and linguistic roots of Haitian Kreyòl and isiZulu, Chapter Four goes on to explore the genetic relationships of Kreyòl, French and Latin. As explained in the introductory Chapter One of this study, this step is necessary in order to examine Haitian Kreyòl, first in relation to other Creoles languages, and second to study its role as an indispensable instrument in the achievement of the Haitian Revolution. (Section A) The two revolutions, French and Haitian utilized both the French and Haitian Kreyòl languages as powerful linguistics weapons to advance their different causes. French is written but Kreyòl was spoken and translated to French when necessary. A review of six of the most important historical documents written between the span of the French Revolution (1789) and the end of the Haitian Revolution (1804) demonstrates how these two languages expressed two different visions relative to the French proclamation of *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* and the Kreyòl proclamation of *Tout Moun Se Moun*. *Kreyòl ngomoya wamagama*, seeks to go beyond the written word.

However, did the linguistic relationship between Haitian Kreyòl and French reflect such a difference? Section B of this fourth chapter examines the historic roots of French and

Latin. It begins with a historical overview of the rise of Latin through the rise and expansion of the Roman Empire. Then the role played by three languages – Gaulish, Celtic and the Oil languages – are explained in the formation of Old French. The transition from Old French to Modern French is examined through an analysis of the nouns and verbs. This is followed by an explanation of the influence of the Frankish language on Old French, demonstrating further how the French language, like all other languages, is a production of encounters, contacts and linguistic evolution.

The comparative method used for this linguistic research is explained in Section C of Chapter Four. Being both the earliest and the most important of the methods of reconstruction, the comparative method is vital for establishing the specific relationship intended to be demonstrated in this Doctoral Thesis. It is a method that epitomizes the historical study of languages, comparative linguistics and comparative philology as well. Using a methodology that is comparative, descriptive, investigative, analytic, and exegetic when necessary, it was important at this stage in the thesis, to elaborate on the methodological approach. This required, among others things, the elaboration of a cognate list. Evidence of a linguistic relationship between Haitian Kreyòl and French has been established. The common ancestor, Latin, has been reconstructed. An extensive cognate list of Kreyòl, French and Latin demonstrates conclusively that Haitian Kreyòl and French are genetically related.

Part II of the study focuses on the relationship between IsiZulu and Kreyòl. It looks at comparative linguistic features and translations. Opening with a review of early nineteenth century efforts at transmuting isiZulu to writing, the study points to the similar roles played by missionaries in South Africa and in Haiti in promoting isiZulu and Kreyòl. An extensive comparison of the noun class system, subject concord and the verbs of isiZulu and Haitian-Kreyòl are set forth. This is followed by an explanation of translations and how both isiZulu and Kreyòl face sociolinguistic challenges related to translation. This second part of the study concludes with extensive translations of *Izinkondlo nezisho*, *Iziphicaphicwano*, *izaga nezisho*, and a Haitian Kreyòl-isiZulu vocabulary phrasebook. This literature shows, first a comparative picture of the two

languages and previews the publication of the first isiZulu-Haitian Kreyòl-French Dictionary, to be followed by a *Polyglotta isiZulu* that will include Italian, Spanish and English.

The last section of the thesis, Part III, is entitled ‘So far yet so close: IsiZulu-Haitian Kreyòl’ in order to underscore the nature of the relationship between the two languages despite the great physical distance that separates them. It opens with Chapter Six, ‘So far yet so close, *ngomoya wobuntu*’. Here the proximity between the two languages is analyzed through a psychological explanation. *Ubuntu* is the unifying feature that generates a social “self” or a love story rooted in brotherhood which empowers both Africans speaking isiZulu and African descendants speaking Haitian Kreyòl. An exploration of the psychology of *Ubuntu* demonstrates how the concept stands in opposition to the principles of colonialism. Here the study sends us back to the colonial era to look at the double meaning ascribed to words – by both African slaves and colonialists – where Ancestor was equated to life, slavery to death, and the lingering sociolinguistic consequences of this duality. In the context of a peaceful society, inspired by the spirit of *Ubuntu*, the true meaning of words can emerge. *Ubuntu* and the collective psychological empowerment that it generates are seen as instrumental in strengthening the capacity to protect linguistic and ancestral values.

This proximity of isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl is observed in a particular way through the common Ancestors. Hence the sub-section, ‘So far yet so close *ngomoya wokhokho waseAfrika*: An ancestral Psychodynamic’. This second half of Chapter Six opens a window on a unifying element of African culture related to reverence of Ancestors. An evolutionary perspective, beginning with the precepts of natural selection which gave rise to linguistic diversity, leads to an introduction of the term “savage selection” to the semantic field. The notion of savage selection is introduced to describe the violent selection of humans for subjugation in the slave trade. This process reinforced the structures of a dysfunctional society and constituted a potential source of language loss and pathological language. But the language of Africans and African descendants can also be affected by the Ancestors. IsiZulu speakers and Haitian speaking people

generally live with the Ancestors in their mind. It is an ancestral psychodynamic linked to love, fear, tradition or an African system of beliefs. In addressing the social base of language and the linguistic underpinnings of social behavior, one needs to address this common trait or this ancestral psychodynamic that is rooted in *Ubuntu*.

The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter Seven ‘So far yet so close *ngomoya wamagama wuNkulunkulu*’, offers a theological explanation relative to the proximity between isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl. Premised on a multidisciplinary approach, the linguistic research introduces, at this stage, a theological, biblical and exegetic analysis to the relationship between the two languages. Because isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl are also close in the name of God, a pertinent question is therefore posed: What does the Logos mean if in the beginning was the “word”? Is it the name of God? The only name?

As explained in this chapter, John, the writer of the fourth Gospel chose to write in Greek. In the very first verse he utilized a powerful and meaningful word: Logos. It was a linguistic choice to espouse a theological option. The language chosen would be understood by John’s intended audience. As noted, the early missionaries to Africa and Haiti contrarily imposed their own language and views, ignoring the fact that slaves had their own linguistic and theological references. The exegetical analysis devotes an entire section of this Chapter to explaining the Hebrew and Greek translations of the name of God, and the corresponding names in isiZulu which draws from the cultural reverence to the Ancestors.

The theological explanation shows how Africans and Haitians did not need the imposed religion of the colonists to understand what made a person a human being. As demonstrated, their indigenous belief systems offered a metaphysical paradigm within which to understand themselves as existential subject. The translation of the verb “to be” in Hebrew, isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl, indicates *l’unicité et la multiplicité de l’être*; that is, the easy merger between self and being-ness. Detailed later in the chapter, the existential self is linked to the community: *Umuntu Ngumuntu Ngabantu*. A person is a human being through other people. This is followed by a linguistic and philosophical

analysis of the isiZulu stem *ntu*, which for those who believe, is implanted in a universal existential source.

Drawing on their African system of beliefs the enslaved Africans refused to be objectified. They knew that the god of the colonists could not be, at the same time, god of the colonists and god of the slaves (or ‘the universal existential source’). Chapter Seven explains that as the missionaries maneuvered, manipulated and pressured the slaves to reject their African religious beliefs, the Africans collectively clung firmly to these beliefs. Here, the role of African mythology in answering fundamental questions about life and death is also explored, with a special focus on the first illustrated book, or the Egyptian writings of the pyramids. The connection between Africa and Haiti is further demonstrated as deeply rooted in the Haitian *izibongo*, and indigenous songs. The research identifies a multitude of words, names and phrases found in this particular literature that are not Kreyòl. Linguistic evidence indicates the African origin of all most all the terms.

In conclusion, this theological and exegetical explanation focuses on the most important word: love. From the various names given to God; in the Tanakh, through the Tetragrammaton: יהוה , through isiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl, the name of God emerges as Love: *Igama lakhe uluthando*. God is Love, 1 Jn 4, 8. That word love, implying a word, a semantic field, a theology of love. In fact what could be seen as a theological metaphor “God is love” becomes a theology of love in the collective mind of Africa descended people that transcends the rigid lines of religion; it was expressed in their opposition to the colonization of their mind.

The values of *Ubuntu* are not dead. As discovered is this study, particularly Chapter Seven, the scientific knowledge of these languages requires a deep sense of understanding of the spirit of *Ubuntu*, for the values are deeply embedded in the language. Indeed if millions of Africans disappeared in transit during the Trans-Atlantic

slave trade, today *umoya wobuntu* is still alive in both the roots of isiZulu as well as Haitian Kreyòl.

**Yize isiKreyòl saseHaiti sifuze nesiFulentshi nesiLatini,
Sabelana nesiZulu ngokwemisuka nangokwezimiso zezinkolelo okunezimpende
ezijulile emfundisweni yobuntu.**

While the Haitian Kreyòl is genetically related to French, IsiZulu and the Haitian Kreyòl are related through an ancestral psychodynamic and theological paradigms rooted in *Ubuntu*.

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APPENDIX A

GUTHRIE'S CLASSIFICATION OF BANTU LANGUAGES

Language	Guthrie's Subdivision	Number of Speakers	Country
Asu	G22	315,000	Tanzania
Bangubangu	D27	120,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Basaa (or Mbene) and Bakoko	A43	280,000	Cameroon
Bemba	M42	1,850,000	Zambia and Congo (Kinshasa)
Bembe of Congo	D54	252,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Bena	G63	490,000	Tanz Bera (or Bira), Komo
Nyali	D30	300,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Bukusu	E31c	565,000	Kenya
Chagga or chaga	E60	800,000	Tanzania
Chokwe	K11	1,500,000	Angola, Congo (Kinshasa)
Chopi or Lenge	S61	333,000	Mozambique
Chwabo or Cuabo	P34	665,000	Mozambique
Comarian	G44	450,000	Comores
Duala	A24	87,700	Cameroon
Embu	E52	242,000	Kenya Ewondo Bulu
Fang	A70	1,374,000	Cameroon, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea
Fuliru	D63	266,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Ganda,soga and Gwere	E10	3,542,000	Uganda
Gogo	G11	1,000,000	Tanzania
Gusii	E42	1,390,000	Kenya
Hehe	G62	630,000	Tanzania
Herero	R31	76,000	Namibia
Hunde	D51	200,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Jita and Kwaya	E25	319,000	Tanzania
Kagulu	G12	217,000	Tanzania

Kalanga	S16	220,000	Botswana, Zimbabwe
Kamba	E55	2,460,000	Kenya
Kami	G36	315,000	Tanzania
Kanyok	L32	200,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Kaonde	L41	217,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Kela	C75	180,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Kele	C55	160,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Kerebe	E24	100,000	Tanzania
Kikuyi	E51	4,360,000	Kenya
Komo	D23	150,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Kongo	H16	4,720,000	Congo (Kinshasa), Angola, Congo (Brazzaville)
Konjo	D41	250,000	Uganda
Kunda	N42	100,000	Zimbabwe
Kuria and Koria	E43	345,000	Kenya, Tanzania
Kwanyama	R21	150,000	Namibia
Lala and Bisa	M50	354,000	Zambia, Congo (Kinshasa)
Lamba and seba	M50	170,000	Zambia, Congo (Kinshasa)
Langi	F33	275,000	Tanzania
Lega	D25	400,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Lenje	M61	136,000	Zambia
Lingala	C36d	12,000,000	first Congo (Kinshasa) Or second language Central African Republic Logooli, Idakho
Isukha and Tirikhi	E41	503,000	Kenya, Uganda
Lomwe and Ngulu	P32	2,000,000	Mozambique, Malawi
Lozi	K21	450,000	Zambia
Luba	L30	7,810,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Luchazi	K13	125,000	Angola, Zambia
Lunda	L52	550,000	Congo (Kinshasa) Zambia, Angola
Luvale	K14	600,000	Zambia, Angola Congo (Kinshasa)

Luyiya Nyore and saamia	E30	3,734,000	Kenya
Makonde	P23	1,060,000	Tanzania, Mozambique
Makua	P30	3,540,000	Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania
Manbwe-lungu or rungu	M15	307,000	Zambia, Tanzania
Masaba or Gisu	E31	500,000	Uganda
Matengo	N13	150,000	Tanzania
Mbala	H41	200,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Mbola	D11	100,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Mbunda	K15	102,000	Zambia, Angola
Benguela Mbundu	R11	3,000,000	Angola
Luanda	H21	1,820,000	Angola
Mbwela	K17	100,000	Angola
Meru	E53	1,230,000	Kenya
Mijikenda	E72	988,300	Kenya, Tanzania
Mongo and ngando	C60	216,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Mpuono	B84	165,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Mwanga	M22	223,000	Zambia
Mwera	P22	345,000	Tanzania
Nandi or Ndandi or shu	D42	903,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Ndebele	S44	1,550,000	Zimbabwe, South Africa
Ndengero	P11	110,000	Tanzania
Ndonga	R22	240,000	Namibia, Angola
Ngando	C63	121,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Ngindo	P14	220,000	Tanzania
Ngombe	C41	150,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Ngoni	N12	205,000	Tanzania, Mozambique
Ngulu	G34	132,000	Tanzania
Nilyamba	F31	440,000	Tanzania, Nkore, Nyoro Tooro
Kinga Haya and Zinza	E10	4,668,000	Uganda, Tanzania Congo (Kinshasa)
Nsenga	N41	250,000	Zambia
Ntomba	C35	100,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Nyakyusa and Ngonde	M31	820,000	Tanzania, Malawi

Nyamweza	F22	904,000	Tanzania
Nyanja or Chichewa	N30	4,000,000	Malawi, Zambia Mozambique, Zimbabwe
Nyaturu	F32	490,000	Tanzania
Nyemba	K18	100,000	Angola
Nyiha	M23	306,000	Tanzania, Zmabia
Nyungwe	N43	262,500	Mozambique
Pangwa	G64	185,000	Tanzania, Phende samba, Holu
And Kwese	L10	492,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Pogolo	G51	185,000	Tanzania
Rufiji	P12	200,000	Tanzania
Ruguru	G	506,000	Tanzania
Rundi, Rwanda and Ha	D60	12,248,000	Burundi, Rwanda Tanzania, Uganda Congo (Kinshasa)
Safwa	M25	158,000	Tanzania
Sanga	L35	431,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Sena	N44	1,200,000	Mozambique
Shambalala	G23	485,000	Tanzania
Shi or Nyabungu	D53	654,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Shona	S10	7,950,000	Zimbabwe, Mozambique
Songe	L23	938,000	Congo, Northern and Southern
Sotho	S30	7,400,000	South Africa, Lesotho
Sukuma	F21	4,000,000	Tanzania
Sumbwa	F23	191,000	Tanzania
Swahili	G42	41,400,000	first Tanzania, or second language Congo (Kinshasa), Kenya, Uganda

Swazi	S43	1,600,000	South Africa, Swaziland, Mozambique
Taabwa	M	250,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Taita	E74	153,000	Kenya
Teke dialects	B70	267,800	Congo (Brazzaville)
Tetela	C71	750,000	Congo (Kinshasa)
Thakara	E54	100,000	Kenya
Tonga of Malawi	N15	200,000	Malawi
Tonga of Zambia	M64	880,000	Zambia, Zimbabwe Tonga or Shengwe
Tonga of Mozambique	S62	225,000	Mozambique
Tsonga Ronga and Tswana	S50	4,095,200	Mozambique South Africa
Tswana	S31	1,500,000	Malawi, Zambia
Venda	S21	850,000	South Africa Zimbabwe
Xhosa	S41	6,900,000	South Africa
Yaka	H31	150,000	Congo (Kinshasa) Angola
Yao (Africa)	P21	1,160,000	Malawi, Tanzania, Mozambique
Zalamo	G33	450,000	Tanzania
Zigula	G31	336,000	Tanzania
Zulu	S42	8,800,000	South Africa, Lesotho

APPENDIX B

EVOLUTION OF VERBS FROM OLD TO MODERN FRENCH

Example of regular verbs ending in -er

Indicative

Present		Imperfect	Simple Past	Future
Je	dur	duroie	durai	durerais
Tu	dures	durois	duras	dureras
Il	dure	duroit	dura	durera
Nous	durons	duriens/-ions	durames	durerons
Vous	durez	duriez	durastes	dureroiz/-ez
Ils	durent	duroient	durerent	dureront

Subjective

Conditional

Imperative

Present		Imperfect	Present	Present
Je	dur	durasse	dureroie	
Tu	durs	durasses	durerois	dure
Il	durt	durast	dureroit	
Nous	durons	durissons/-issions	durerions/ -ions	durons
Vous	durez	durissoiz/-issiez	dureriez	durez
Ils	durent	durassent	dureroient	

Example of regular verbs ending in -ir

Indicative

Present		Imperfect	Simple Past	Future
Je	dorm	dormoie	dormis	dormirai
Tu	dorms	dormois	dormis	dormiras
Il	dormt	dormoit	dormit	dormira
Nous	dormons	dormiions/-ions	dormimes	dormirons
Vous	dormez	dormiiez	dormistes	dormiroiz/-ez
Ils	dorment	dormoient	dormerent	dormiront

<u>Subjective</u>			<u>Conditional</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
Present		Imperfect	Present	Present
Je	dorm	dormisse	dormiroie	dorme
Tu	dorms	dormisses	dormirois	
Il	dort	dort	dormiroit	
Nous	dormons	dormissons/-issiens	dormiraions/-ions	dormons
Vous	dormez	dormissoiz/-issiez/	dormiraiez/-ïez	dormez
Ils	dormant	dormissent	dormiroient	

Example of the auxiliary verb to have (avoir)

		<u>Indicative</u>		
Present		Imperfect	Simple Past	Future
Je	ai	avoie	eus	aurai
Tu	ais / as	avois	eus	auras
Il	ai / a	avait	eut	aura
Nous	avons	avions/-ions	eumes	aurons
Vous	avez	aviez	eustes	auroiz/-ez
Ils	ont	avoient	eurent	auront

<u>Subjective</u>			<u>Conditional</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
Present		Imperfect	Present	Present
Je	ai	eusse	auroie	
Tu	ais	eusses	aurois	ave
Il	ai	eust	auroit	
Nous	aions	eussions/-issiens	auravions/-ions	avons
Vous	aiez	eussiez/-issiez	auraviez/-ïez	avez
Ils	ont	eussent	auroient	

Example of the auxiliary verb to be (être)

Indicative

Present		Imperative	Simple Past	Future
Je	suis	estoie,/eroie	fus	seras
Tu	es	estois/erois	fus	seras
Il	est/ es	estoit/ eroit	fut	sera
Nous	sommens/som	estions/erions/-ions	fumes	serons
Vous	etes	estiez,/eriez	fustes	seroiz/-ez
Ils	sont	estoient/eroient	furent	seront

Subjective

Conditional

Imperative

Present		Imperfect	present	present
Je	soi	fusse	seroie	
Tu	sois	fusses	serois	es
Il	soi	fusst	seroit	
Nouns	soions	fussions/-issiens	sommes	
Vous	soiez	fussiez/-issiez	serestes/-ïez	estes
Ils	soient	fussent	seroient	

Example of regular verbs ending in -er

Indicative

Present		Imperfect	Simple Past	Future
Je	dur	duroie	durai	durerais
Tu	dures	durois	duras	durerais
Il	dure	duroit	dura	durera
Nous	durons	duriens/-ions	durames	durerons
Vous	durez	duriez	durastes	dureroiz/-ez
Ils	durent	duraient	durerent	dureront

<u>Subjective</u>		<u>Conditional</u>		<u>Imperative</u>
Present		Present		Present
Je	dur		dureroie	
Tu	durs		durerois	dure
Il	durt		dureroit	
Nous	durons		durerions/ -ions	durons
Vous	durez		dureriez	durez
Ils	durent		dureroient	

Example of regular verbs ending in -ir

Indicative

Present		Imperfect	Simple Past	Future
Je	dorm	dormoie	dormis	dormirai
Tu	dorms	dormois	dormis	dormiras
Il	dormt	dormoit	dormit	dormira
Nous	dormons	dormiions/-ions	dormimes	dormirons
Vous	dormez	dormiiez	dormistes	dormiroiz/-ez
Ils	dorment	dormoient	dormerent	dormiront

<u>Subjective</u>		<u>Conditional</u>		<u>Imperative</u>
Present		Present		Present
Je	dorm		dormiroie	
Tu	dorms		dormirois	dorme
Il	dormt		dormiroit	
Nous	dormons		dormiraions/-ions	dormons
Vous	dormez		dormiraiez/-iez	dormez
Ils	dormant		dormiroient	

Example of the auxiliary verb to have (avoir)

Indicative

Present	Imperfect	Simple Past	Future
Je ai	avoie	eus	aurai
Tu ais / as	avois	eus	auras
Il ai / a	avait	eut	aura
Nous avons	avions/-ions	eumes	aurons
Vous avez	aviez	eustes	aurez/-ez
Ils ont	avaient	eurent	auront

<u>Subjective</u>		<u>Conditional</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
Present	Imperfect	Present	Present
Je ai	eusse	auroie	
Tu ais	eusses	aurois	ave
Il ai	eust	auroit	
Nous aions	eussions/-issions	aurions/-ions	avons
Vous aiez	eussiez/-issiez	auriez/-iez	avez
Ils ont	eussent	auroient	

Example of the auxiliary verb to be (être)

Indicative

Present	Imperative	Simple Past	Future
Je suis	sois/soie	fus	seras
Tu es	sois/soie	fus	seras
Il est/ es	soit/ soie	fut	sera
Nous sommes/som	soyons/soient	fumes	serons
Vous êtes	soyez/soient	fustes	seront/-ez
Ils sont	étaient/étaient	furent	seront

<u>Subjective</u>			<u>Conditional</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
Present		Imperfect	present	present
Je	soi	fusse	seroie	
Tu	sois	fusses	serois	es
Il	soi	fusst	seroit	
Nouns	soions	fussions/-issiens	sommes	
Vous	soiez	fussoiez/-issiez	serestes/-ïez	estes
Ils	soient	fussent	seroient	

APPENDIX C

COGNATE LIST (REMAINDER)

301. Deskripsyon	Description	Descriptio
302. Dèt	Dette	Debita
303. Detèmine	Déterminer	Determinare
304. Deteriore	Détériorer	Deteriorare
305. Deteste	Détester	Detestari
306. Detrès	Détresse	Districtia
307. Detwi	Détruire	Destruere
308. Devine	Deviner	Devinare
309. Devni	Devenir	Devenire
310. Devye	Dévier	Deviare
311. Dèyè	Derrière	De retro
312. Dezè	Désert	Desertum
313. Dezire	Désirer	Desiderare
314. Dezole	Désoler	Desolare
315. Di	Dire	Dicere
316. Di	Dur	Durus
317. Difamasyon	Diffamation	Diffamatio
318. Dife	Feu	Focus
319. Diksyonè	Dictionnaire	Dictionarium
320. Diktatè	Dictateur	Dictator
321. Dikte	Dictier	Dictare
322. Dilèm	Dilemme	Dilemma
323. Dilijan	Diligent	Diligence
324. Dim	Dîme	Decima
325. Dimanch	Dimanche	Dies Dominicus
326. Dimansyon	Dimension	Dimensio
327. Diminye	Diminuer	Diminuere
328. Diosèz	Diocèse	Dioecesis
329. Diplikata	Duplicata	Duplicata
330. Diplòm	Diplôme	Diploma
331. Dire	Durer	Durare
332. Dirèk	Direct	Directus
333. Direktiv	Directive	Directus
334. Dirije	Diriger	Dirigere
335. Disip	Disciple	Discipulus
336. Disiplin	Discipline	Disciplina
337. Disk	Disque	Discus
338. Diskriminasyon	Discrimination	Discriminatio
339. Distans	Distance	Distantia
340. Distenge	Distinguer	Distinguere
341. Distribye	Distribuer	Distribuere
342. Divèjans	Divergence	Divergentia
343. Divès	Divers	Diversus
344. Divèti	Divertir	Divertere

345. Divilge	Divulguer	Divulgare
346. Divize	Diviser	Dividere
347. Divòs	Divorce	Divortium
348. Dlo	Eau	Aqua
349. Do	Dos	Dossum
350. Dokiman	Document	Documentum
351. Doktè	Docteur	Doctor
352. Doktora	Doctorat	Doctoratus
353. Doktrin	Doctrine	Doctrina
354. Domestik	Domestique	Domesticus
355. Dòmi	Dormir	Dormire
356. Domine	Dominer	Dominari
357. Don	Don	Donum
358. Donk	Donc	Dunc
359. Donte	Dompter	Domitare
360. Dore	Dorer	Deaurare
361. Dosil	Docile	Docilis
362. Dòtwa	Dortoir	Dormitorium
363. Doub	Double	Duplus
364. Double	Doubler	Duplare
365. Doulè	Douleur	De dolor
366. Douloure	Douloureux	Dolorosus
367. Doute	Douter	Dubitare
368. Dòz	Dose	Dosis
369. Dra	Drap	Drappus
370. Dragon	Dragon	Draco
371. Dwa	Droit	Directum
372. Dwayen	Doyen	Decanus
373. Dyab	Diable	Diabolus
374. Dyabolik	Diabolique	Diabolicus
375. Dyagonal	Diagonal	Diagonalis
376. Dyalòg	Dialogue	Dialogus
377. Dye	Dieu	Deus
378. Dyèt	Diète	Diaeta
379. Dyèz	Dièse	Diesis
380. E	Et	Et cetera
381. Efè	Effect	Effectus
382. Egal	Égal	Aequalis
383. Egalite	Égalité	Aequalitas
384. Egoyis	Égoïsme	Ego
385. Egzaksyon	Exaction	Exactio
386. Egzamen	Examen	Examen
387. Egzamine	Examiner	Examinateur
388. Egzanp	Exemple	Exemplum
389. Egzat	Exact	Exactus
390. Egzekisyon	Exécution	Executio

391. Egzèse	Exercer	Exercere
392. Egzeyat	Exeat	Exeat
393. Egziye	Exiger	Exigere
394. Egzil	Exil	Exilium
395. Egziste	Exister	Existere
396. Egzonere	Exonérer	Exonerare
397. Egzòsis	Exorcisme	Exorcismus
398. Egzòsize	Exorciser	Exorcizare
399. Ekate	Écarter	Exquartare
400. Ekivalan	Équivalent	Equivalens
401. Eklèsi	Éclaircir	Exclaricire
402. Eko	Écho	Echo
403. Ekòs	Écorce	Scortea
404. Ekri	Écrire	Escrivre
405. Ekriti	Écriture	Scriptura
406. Eksè	Excès	Excessus
407. Eksepsyon	Exception	Exceptio
408. Eksite	Exciter	Excitare
409. Ekskize	Excuser	Excusare
410. Ekskli	Exclure	Excludere
411. Ekskominye	Excommunier	Excommunicare
412. Ekspè	Expert	Expertus
413. Ekspedisyon	Expédition	Expeditio
414. Eksperimante	Expérimenter	Experiri
415. Eksperyans	Expérience	Experientia
416. Ekspilse	Expulser	Expulsare
417. Eksplike	Expliquer	Explicare
418. Eksplozyon	Explosion	Explosio
419. Ekspoze	Exposer	Exponere
420. Eksprè	Exprès	Expressus
421. Eksteryè	Extérieur	Exterior
422. Ekstraòdinè	Extraordinaire	Extraordinarius
423. Ekstravagan	Extravagant	Extravagans
424. Ekstrèm	Extrême	Extremus
425. Ekwasyon	Équation	Aequatio
426. Ekzante	Exempter	Eximere
427. Elastik	Elastique	Elasticus
428. Elefan	Éléphant	Elephantus
429. Elegan	Élégant	Elegans
430. Elektè	Électeur	Elector
431. Elektrik	Électrique	Electricus
432. Elektrisite	Électricité	Electricitas
433. Eleman	Élément	Elementum
434. Elimine	Éliminer	Eliminare
435. Elòj	Éloge	Elogium
436. Endesi	Indécis	Indecisus

437. Endividi	Individu	Individuum
438. Enève	Énerver	Enervare
439. Enferyè	Inférieur	Inferior
440. Engra	Ingrat	Ingratus
441. Enkonsolab	Inconsolable	Inconsolabilis
442. Enkredil	Incrédule	Incredulus
443. Enmi	Ennemi	Inimicus
444. Enmi	Ennemi	Inimicus
445. Enpètinan	Impertinent	Impertinens
446. Enpoze	Imposer	Imponere
447. Enpridan	Imprudent	Imprudens
448. Ensiste	Insister	Insistere
449. Ensolan	Insolent	Insolens
450. Enspektè	Inspecteur	Inspector
451. Enstale	Installer	Installare
452. Ensten	Instinct	Instinctus
453. Enstriman	Instrument	Instrumentum
454. Entèlijan	Intelligent	Intelligens
455. Entèlijans	Intelligens	Intelligentia
456. Entèprèt	Interprète	Interpres
457. Enterè	Intérêt	Interest
458. Entèval	Intervalle	Intervallum
459. Envalid	Invalide	Invalidus
460. Envizib	Invisible	Invisibillite
461. Envolontè	Involontaire	Involuntarius
462. Epè	Épais	Spissus
463. Epe	Épée	Spatha
464. Epeng	Épingle	Spinula
465. Epidemi	Épidemie	Epidemia
466. Epin	Épine	Spina
467. Eponj	Éponge	Sponga
468. Erè	Erreur	Error
469. Eritye	Héritier	Hereditarius
470. Esans	Essence	Essentia
471. Esè	Essai	Exagium
472. Esklav	Esclave	Sclavus
473. Espas	Espace	Spatium
474. Espere	Espérer	Sperare
475. Espès	Espèce	Species
476. Estènen	Éternuer	Sternuer
477. Estime	Estimer	Aestimare
478. Eta	État	Status
479. Ete	Été	Aestas
480. Etenn	Éteindre	Exstinguere
481. Etensèl	Étincelle	Scintilla
482. Etone	Étonner	Extonare

483. Etoudi
 484. Etranj
 485. Evade, sove
 486. Evapore
 487. Evazyon
 488. Evèk
 489. Evenman
 490. Eveye
 491. Evitab
 492. Evite
 493. Evolisyon
 494. Fabrikasyon
 495. Fad
 496. Fakilte
 497. Fakti
 498. Fanm
 499. Fanmiy
 500. Farin
 501. Fasil
 502. Fasilite
 503. Fason
 504. Fatra
 505. Fayi, manke
 506. Fè
 507. Fèb
 508. Fele
 509. Felisite
 510. Femèl
 511. Fèmte
 512. Fen, finisman
 513. Fent
 514. Fente
 515. Feròs
 516. Fès
 517. Fèt
 518. Fèy
 519. Fi
 520. Fidèl
 521. Figi
 522. Fije
 523. Fil
 524. File
 525. Fimen
 526. Fimye
 527. Final
 528. Fini

Étourdir
 Étrange
 Évader
 Évaporer
 Évasion
 Évêque
 Événement
 Éveiller
 Évitable
 Éviter
 Évolution
 Fabrication
 Fade
 Faculté
 Fracture
 Femme
 Famille
 Farine
 Facile
 Faciliter
 Façon
 Fatras
 Faillir
 Faire
 Faible
 Fêler
 Féliciter
 Femelle
 Fermeté
 Fin
 Feindre
 Fendre
 Féroce
 Fesse
 Fête
 Feuille
 Fille
 Fidèle
 Figure
 Figer
 Fil
 Filer
 Fumer
 Fumier
 Final
 Finir

Exturdir
 Extraneus
 Evadere
 Evaporare
 Evasio
 Episcopus
 Evenire
 Exvigilare
 Evitabilis
 Evitare
 Evolutio
 Fabricatio
 Fatidus
 Facultas
 Factura
 Femina
 Familia
 Farina
 Facilis
 Facilitare
 Factio
 Farsura
 Fallire
 Facere
 Flebilis
 Flagellare
 Felicitare
 Femella
 Firmitas
 Finis
 Fingere
 Findere
 Ferox
 Fissa
 Festa
 Folia
 Filia
 Fidelis
 Figura
 Feticare
 Filum
 Filare
 Fumare
 Femarium
 Finalis
 Finire

529. Fistije	Fustiger	Fustigare
530. Fiyèl	Filleul	Filiolus
531. Fizyon	Fusion	Fusio
532. Flajelasyon	Flagellation	Flagellare
533. Flanbe	Flamber	Flammare
534. Flanm	Flamme	Flamma
535. Flè	Fleur	Florem
536. Flou	Flou	Flavus
537. Fo	Faux	Falsus
538. Fò	Fort	Fortis
539. Fòje	Forger	Fabricare
540. Fòmidadab	Formidable	Formidabilis
541. Fòmil	Formule	Formula
542. Fon	Fond	Fundus
543. Fondasyon	Fondation	Fundatio
544. Fondatè	Fondateur	Fundator
545. Fonde	Fonder	Fundare
546. Fonn	Fondre	Fundere
547. Fòs	Force	Fortia
548. Fòs	Fosse	Fossa
549. Fòse	Forcer	Fortiare
550. Fot	Faute	Fallita
551. Fòtin	Fortune	Fortuna
552. Fou	Fou	Follis
553. Fou	Four	Furnus
554. Foule	Fouler	Fullare
555. Fout	Foutre	Futuere
556. Fouye	Fouiller	Fodiculare
557. Frajil	Fragile	Fragilis
558. Frajilite	Fragilité	Fragilitas
559. Fraksyon	Fraction	Fractio
560. Frakti	Fracture	Fractura
561. Fratènèl	Fraternel	Fraternus
562. Fratènite	Fraternité	Fraternitas
563. Frè	Frère	Frater
564. Fremi	Frémir	Fremire
565. Frèt	Froid	Frigidus
566. Frison	Frisson	Frictio
567. Frod	Fraude	Fraudis
568. Fromaj	Fromage	Formaticus
569. Fwa	Fois	Vices
570. Fwase	Froisser	Frustiare
571. Fwaye	Foyer	Focarium
572. Fwi	Fruit	Fructus
573. Fwi	Fuir	Fugire
574. Fwon	Front	Frons

575. Fyè
 576. Fyèl
 577. Fyète
 578. Gate
 579. Genyen
 580. Glann
 581. Glas
 582. Gòj
 583. Gòm
 584. Gon
 585. Gou
 586. Gout
 587. Goute
 588. Gouvènay
 589. Gouvène
 590. Gra
 591. Grad
 592. Gramè
 593. Gran
 594. Gratis
 595. Grav
 596. Grenn
 597. Grès
 598. Gwo
 599. Gwonde
 600. Hanni
 601. Ide
 602. Ideyal
 603. Idyo
 604. Ijan
 605. Illegal
 606. Imaj
 607. Imè
 608. Imedyat, touswit
 609. Imilyasyon
 610. Imilye
 611. Imite
 612. Ini
 613. Inivèsèl
 614. Inivèsite
 615. Inosan
 617. Inyorans
 618. Inyore
 619. Itil
 620. Jantiy
 621. Jèm

Fier
 Fiel
 Fierte
 Gâter
 Avoir
 Glande
 Glace
 Gorge
 Gomme
 Gond
 Goût
 Goutte
 Goûter
 Gouvernail
 Gouverner
 Gras
 Grade
 Grammaire
 Grand
 Gratis
 Grave
 Graine
 Graisse
 Gros
 Grogner
 Hennir
 Idée
 Idéal
 Idiot
 Urgent
 Illégal
 Image
 Humeur
 Immédiat
 Humiliation
 Humilier
 Imiter
 Unir
 Universel
 Université
 Innocent
 Ignorance
 Ignorer
 Utile
 Gentil
 Gemme

Fidare
 Fel
 Feritas
 Vastare
 Habere
 Glandula
 Glacia
 Gurga
 Gumma
 Gomphus
 Gustus
 Gutta
 Gustare
 Gubernaculum
 Gubernare
 Crassus
 Gradus
 Grammatica
 Grandis
 Gratis
 Gravis
 Grana
 Crassia
 Grossus
 Gronder
 Hinnire
 Idea
 Idealis
 Idiotes
 Urgens
 Illegalis
 Imaginem
 Humor
 Immediatus
 Humiliatio
 Humilare
 Imitari
 Unire
 Universalis
 Universitas
 Innocens
 Ignorata
 Ignorare
 Utilis
 Gentilis
 Gemma

622. Jèm	Germe	Germen
623. Jeneral	Général	Generalis
624. Jeni	Génie	Genius
625. Jenou	Genou	Genuc
626. Jete	Jeter	Jectare
627. Jewografi	Géographie	Geographia
628. Jeyan	Gêant	Gagantem
629. Jiman	Jument	Jumentum
630. Jis	Juste	Justus
631. Jistis	Justice	Justitia
632. Jou	Jour	Diurnus
633. Jwe	Jouer	Jocare
634. Jwèt	Jeu	Jocus
635. Jwi	Jouir	Gaudire
636. Ka	Cas	Casus
637. Kache	Cacher	Coactare
638. Kadav	Cadavre	Cadaver
639. Kadinal	Cardinal	Cardinalis
640. Kadna	Cadenas	Catena
641. Kadran	Cadran	Quadrans
642. Kafou	Carrefour	Quadrifurcum
643. Kalamite	Calamité	Calamitas
644. Kalis	Calice	Calix
645. Kalite	Qualité	Qualitas
646. Kalkil	Calcul	Calculus
647. Kalkile	Calculer	Calcularé
648. Kalomni	Calomnie	Calumnia
649. Kalvè	Calvaire	Calvaria
650. Kameleyon	Caméléon	Camaeleon
651. Kamera	Caméra	Camera
652. Kan	Camp	Campus
653. Kanal	Canal	Canalis
654. Kandelab	Candélabre	Candelabrum
655. Kandida	Candidat	Candidatus
656. Kank	Cancré	Cancer
657. Kansè	Cancer	Cancer
658. Kantite	Quantité	Quantitas
659. Kapab	Capable	Capabilis
660. Kapasite	Capacité	Capacitas
661. Kapsil	Capsule	Capsula
662. Kapte	Capter	Captare
663. Karans	Carence	Carentia
664. Kare	Carré	Quadratus
665. Karèm	Carême	Quaresima
666. Kase	Casser	Quassare
667. Kat	Carte	Charta

668. Katalòg	Catalogue	Catalogus
669. Katastwòf	Catastrophe	Catastrophā
670. Katechis	Catéchisme	Catechizare,-ismus
671. Katolik	Catholique	Catholicus
672. Kav	Cave	Cavus
673. Kawo	Carreau	Quadrellus
674. Kaye	Cailler	Coagulare
675. Kè	Coeur	Cor
676. Keyi	Cueillir	Colligere
677. Kilti	Culture	Cultura
678. Kirye	Curieux	Curiosus
679. Klarifye	Clarifier	Clarificare
680. Klas	Classe	Classis
681. Kle	Clef	Clavis
682. Klere	Éclairer	Exclarare
683. Klima	Climat	Clima
684. Klinik	Clinique	Clinicus
685. Kliyan	Client	Clientele
686. Klòch	Cloche	Clocca
687. Kloti	Clôture	Clausura
688. Klou	Clou	Clavus
689. Kò	Corps	Corpus
690. Kobay	Cobaye	Cobaya
691. Kòche	Écorcher	Excorticare
692. Kòd	Corde	Chorda
693. Kòf	Coffre	Cophinus
694. Kokiyo	Coquille	Conchilia
695. Kòlè	Colère	Cholera
696. Kòlèg	Collègue	Collega
697. Kolèj	Collège	Collegium
698. Kolera	Choléra	Cholera
699. Kolik	Colique	Colica
700. Kolizyon	Collusion	Collusio
701. Kolye	Collier	Collare
702. Kòmande	Commander	Commandare
703. Kòmanse	Commencer	Cominitiare
704. Kòmante	Commenter	Commentari
705. Kòmè	Commère	Commater
706. Komedi	Comédie	Comoedia
707. Komen	Commun	Communis
708. Komès	Commerce	Commercium
709. Komèt	Commettre	Committere
710. Komik	Comique	Comicus
711. Komin	Commune	Communia
712. Kominike	Communiquer	Communicare
713. Kominyon	Communion	Communio

714. Komisè	Commissaire	Commissarius
715. Komisyon	Commission	Commissio
716. Kòn	Corne	Corna
717. Konbine	Combiner	Combinare
718. Konble	Combler	Cumulare
719. Kondi	Conduire	Conducere
720. Kondisyon	Condition	Condicio
721. Kondoleyans	Condolérance	Condolere
722. Konektab	Connéctable	Comes Stabuli
723. Konferans	Conférence	Conferentia
724. Konfese	Confesser	Confessare
725. Konfidans	Confidence	Confidentia
726. Konfiske	Confisquer	Confiscare
727. Konfli	Conflit	Conflictus
728. Konfòme	Conformer	Conformare
729. Konfonn	Confondre	Confundere
730. Konfwonte	Confronter	Confrontare
731. Konfye	Confier	Confidere
732. Kongrè	Congrès	Congressus
733. Kongregasyon	Congrégation	Congregatio
734. Konivans	Connivence	Coniventia
735. Konje	Congé	Commeatus
736. Konjesyon	Congestion	Congestio
737. Konkonm	Concombre	Cucumis
738. Konnen	Connaître	Cognoscere
739. Konpare	Comparer	Comparare
740. Konpayon	Compagnon	Companio
741. Konpè	Compère	Compater
742. Konpile	Compiler	Compilare
743. Konplè	Complet	Completus
744. Konplike	Complicuer	Complicare
745. Konplis	Complice	Complex
746. Konpòte	Comporter	Comportare
747. Konpreyansyon	Compréhension	Comprehensio
748. Konsakre	Consacrer	Consecrare
749. Konsanti	Consentir	Consentire
750. Konsekan	Conséquent	Consequentiam
751. Konsène	Concerner	Concernere
752. Konsepsyon	Conception	Conceptio
753. Konsèvatè	Conservateur	Consevator
754. Konsève	Conserver	Conservare
755. Konsevwa	Concevoir	Concipere
756. Konsèy	Conseil	Consilium
757. Konseye	Conseiller	Consiliare
758. Konsidere	Considérer	Considerare
759. Konsilte	Consulter	Consultare

760. Konstriktè	Constricteur	Constrictus
761. Konstwi	Construire	Construere
762. Konsyan	Conscient	Consciens
763. Konsyans	Conscience	Conscientia
764. Kont	Contre	Contra
765. Kont	Encontre	Incontra
766. Kontajyon	Contagion	Contagio
767. Kontak	Contact	Contactus
768. Kontamine	Contaminer	Contaminare
769. Kontanple	Contempler	Contemplari
760. Konte	Compter	Computare
761. Kontinan	Continent	Continens
762. Kontinye	Continuer	Continuare
763. Kontra	Contract	Contractus
764. Kontrè	Contraire	Contrarius
765. Kontredi	Contredire	Contradicere
766. Kontribisyon	Contribution	Contributio
767. Konvenk	Convaincre	Convincere
768. Konvèti	Convertir	Convertere
769. Konviksyon	Conviction	Convictio
770. Konwonp	Corrompre	Corrumpere
771. Koopere	Coopérer	Cooperari
772. Kopi	Copie	Copiare
773. Kòrèk	Correct	Correctus
774. Koriye	Corriger	Corrigere
775. Kot	Côte	Costa
776. Kote	Côté	Costa
777. Kou	Cours	Cursus
778. Koube	Courber	Curbare
779. Kouche	Coucher	Collocare
780. Koud	Coude	Cubitus
781. Koud	Coudre	Cosere
782. Koukou	Coucou	Cuculus
783. Koule	Couler	Colum
784. Koulè	Couleur	Color
785. Koup	Coupe	Cuppa
786. Kouri	Courir	Currere
787. Kout	Court	Curtus
788. Koute	Coûter	Co (n) Stare
789. Kouti	Couture	Co (n) Sutura
790. Koutim	Coutume	Co (n) Suetudine
791. Kouto	Couteau	Cultellus
792. Kouvan	Couvent	Cubare
793. Kouvri	Couvrir	Cooperire
794. Kouwa	Courroie	Corrigia
795. Kouwòdinasyon	Coordination	Coordinatio

796. Kouwòn	Couronne	Corona
797. Kouyon	Couillon	Coleo
798. Kouzen	Cousin	Co (n) sobrinus
799. Kòve	Corvée	Corvada
800. Koz	Cause	Causa
801. Koze	Causer	Causari
802. Krann	Crâne	Cranium
803. Kredi	Crédit	Creditum
804. Kredibilite	Crédibilite	Credibilitas
805. Kretyen	Chrétien	Christianus
806. Kreye	Créer	Creare
807. Kri	Cru	Crudus
808. Krim	Crime	Crimen
809. Kris	Christ	Christus
810. Krisifye	Crucifier	Crucifigere
811. Kristal	Cristal	Crystallus
812. Kriye	Crier	Critare
813. Kriyote	Cruauté	Crudelitas
814. Kriz	Crise	Crisis
815. Kwa	Croix	Crux
816. Kwè	Croire	Credere
817. Kwen	Coin	Cuneus
818. Kwit	Cuire	Cocere
819. Kwizin	Cuisine	Cocina
820. Kwout	Croûte	Crusta
821. Lache	Lâcher	Laxicare
822. Lacho	Chaux	Calx
823. Lafoud	Foudre	Fulgur
824. Lafwa	Foi	Fides
825. Laglwa	Gloire	Gloria
826. Lagras	Grâce	Gratia
827. Lajan	Argent	Argentum
828. Lajwa	Joie	Gaudia
829. Lakrè	Craie	Creta
830. Lalin	Lune	Luna
831. Lamès	Messe	Missa
832. Lan	Lent	Lentus
833. Lanati	Nature	Natura
834. Lanfè	Enfer	Infernus
835. Lank	Encre	Encautum
836. Lanmè	Mer	Mare
837. Lanmò	Mort	Mors
838. Lanse	Lancer	Lanceare
839. Lapenn	Peine	Poena
840. Lapide	Lapider	Lapidare
841. Lari	Rue	Ruga

842. Lari	Rue	Ruta
843. Lase	Lacer	Laqueare
844. Lasyans	Science	Scientia
845. Lave	Laver	Lavare
846. Lè	Heure	Hora
847. Legal	Légal	Legalis
848. Legliz	Église	Ecclesia
849. Lejann	Légende	Legenda
850. Lemond	Monde	Mundus
851. Lese	Laisser	Laxare
852. Lesiv	Lessive	Lixiva
853. Lespri	Esprit	Spiritus
854. Lestomak	Estomac	Stomachus
855. Lèt	Lait	Lactem
856. Lèt	Lettre	Littera
857. Letènèl	Éternel	Aeternitas
858. Levanjil	Évangile	Evangelium
859. Leve	Lever	Levare
860. Lib	Libre	Liber
861. Libere	Libérer	Liberare
862. Libète	Liberté	Libertas
863. Likid	Liquide	Liquidus
864. Liv	Livre	Liber
865. Liy	Ligne	Linea
866. Lokal	Local	Localis
867. Lonbrik	Nombril	Umbiliculus
868. Loreya	Lauréat	Laureatus
869. Lòt	Autre	Alter
870. Lotèl	Autel	Altare
871. Lou	Loup	Lupus .
872. Louwe	Louer	Laudare
873. Lwe	Louer	Locare
874. Lyon	Lion	Leo
875. Machin	Machine	Machina
876. Maji	Magie	Magia
877. Majistra	Magistrat	Magistratus
879. Maksimòm	Maximum	Maximum
880. Malen	Malin	Malignus
881. Malfèktè	Malfaiteur	Malefactor
882. Manda	Mandat	Mandatum
883. Mande	Demander	Demandare
884. Manje	Manger	Manducare
885. Manto	Manteau	Mantellum
886. Manyifik	Magnifique	Magnificus
887. Marenn	Marraine	Matrina
888. Mass	Masse	Massa

889. Maten	Matin	Matutinum
890. May	Maille	Macula
891. Mèch	Mèche	Micca
892. Medyòk	Médiocre	Mediocris
893. Mele	Mêler	Misculare
894. Men	Main	Manus
895. Men	Mais	Magis
896. Mesaj	Message	Missus
897. Mèt	Maître	Magister
898. Mete	Mettre	Mittere
899. Metòd	Méthode	Methodus
900. Metye	Métier	Ministerium
901. Mi, miray	Mûr	Maturus
902. Mistè	Mystère	Mysterium
903. Mistik	Mystique	Mysticus
904. Mit	Mythe	Mythus
905. Mo	Mot	Muttum
906. Moman	Moment	Momentum
907. Moniman	Monument	Monumentum
908. Monte	Monter	Montare
909. Motè	Moteur	Motor
910. Mou	Mou	Mollis
911. Mouch	Mouche	Musca
912. Mouye	Mouiller	Molliare
913. Mwatye	Moitié	Medietas
914. Mwayen	Moyen	Medianus
915. Mwens	Moins	Minus
916. Naje	Nager	Navigare
917. Nan	En	In
918. Nasyon	Nation	Natio
919. Nat	Natte	Natta
920. Nayif	Naif	Nativus
921. Nen	Nez	Nasus
922. Nechèl	Échelle	Scala
923. Négatif	Négatif	Negativus
924. Negosye	Négociier	Negotiari
925. Nève	Nerveux	Nervosus
926. Neve	Neveu	Nepos
927. Nil	Nul	Nullus
928. Nonmen	Nommer	Nominare
929. Notab	Notable	Notabilis
930. Nou	Nous	Nos
931. Nouvèl	Nouvelle	Novella
932. Nouvo	Nouveau	Novellus
933. Nwa	Noir	Niger
934. Nwèl	Noël	Natalis

935. Nwi
 936. Nwit
 937. Nye
 938. Nyès
 939. Odas
 940. Odyans
 941. Ogmante
 942. Okenn
 943. Okipe
 944. Oksilyè
 945. Oktòb
 946. Òlòj, revèy
 947. Òm, nonm, nèg, moun
 948. Onèt
 949. Onk
 950. Ou
 951. Palè
 952. Panse
 953. Papa
 954. Paran
 955. Parante
 956. Parantèz
 957. Pare
 958. Parenn
 959. Parèt
 960. Parèy
 961. Pase
 962. Pasyan
 963. Pasyans
 964. Patriyòt
 965. Pawas
 966. Pawòl
 967. Pen
 968. Penti
 969. Pentire
 970. Pèp
 971. Peryòd
 972. Pèsonèl
 973. Pèvèti
 974. Pijon
 975. Planch
 976. Plante
 977. Plas
 978. Plat
 979. Pliche
 980. Plim

Nuire
 Nuit
 Nier
 Nièce
 Audace
 Audience
 Augmenter
 Aucun
 Occuper
 Auxiliaire
 Octobre
 Horloge
 Homme
 Honnête
 Oncle
 Ou
 Palais
 Penser
 Papa
 Parent
 Parenté
 Parenthèse
 Parer
 Parrain
 Apparaître
 Pareil
 Passer
 Patient
 Patience
 Patriote
 Paroisse
 Parole
 Pain
 Peinture
 Pendre
 Peuple
 Période
 Personnel
 Pervertir
 Pigeon
 Planche
 Planter
 Place
 Plat
 Éplucher
 Plume

Nocere
 Noctem
 Negare
 Neptia
 Audacia
 Audientia
 Augmentare
 Alicunus
 Occupare
 Auxiliaris
 October
 Horologium
 Homo
 Honestus
 Avunculus
 Aut
 Palatium
 Pensare
 Papa
 Parentem
 Parentatus
 Parenthesis
 Parare
 Patrinus
 Apparere
 Pariculus
 Passare
 Patiens
 Patientia
 Patriota
 Parochia
 Parabola
 Panis
 Pinctura
 Pendere
 Populus
 Periodus
 Personalis
 Pervertere
 Pipio
 Planca
 Plantare
 Platea
 Plattus
 Pilucare
 Pluma

981. Plonje	Plonger	Plumbicare
982. Plwaye	Ployer	Plicare
983. Po	Peau	Pellis
984. Pòm	Pomme	Poma
985. Pon	Pont	Pontem
986. Ponn	Pondre	Ponere
987. Popilè	Populaire	Popularis
988. Pote	Apporter	Apportare
989. Pouvwa	Pouvoir	Potere
990. Pòv	Pauver	Pauper
991. Poz	Pause	Pausa
992. Pran	Prendre	Prehendere
993. Prepare	Préparer	Praeparare
994. Prete	Emprunter	Imprumutare
995. Prezan	Présent	Praesens
996. Prive	Privé	Privatus
997. Pwoche	Approcher	Appropriare
998. Pwogrè	Progress	Progressus
999. Pwoklame	Proclamer	Proclamare
1000. Pwopozisyon	Proposition	Propositio
1001. Pwopriyete	Propriété	Proprietas
1002. Pwosè	Process	Processus
1003. Pwosesyon	Procession	Processio
1004. Pye	Pied	Pedem
1004. Rache	Arracher	Eradicare
1005. Ramo	Rameau	Ramus
1006. Rapid	Rapide	Rapidus
1007. Rasanble	Assembler	Assimulare
1008. Rasin	Racine	Radicina
1009. Raze	Raser	Rasare
1010. Razwa	Rasoir	Rasorium
1011. Remèt	Remettre	Remittere
1012. Renmen	Aimer	Amare
1013. Repanti	Repentir	R
1014. Repare	Réparer	Reparare
1015. Repete	Répéter	Repetere
1016. Repiblik	République	Respublica
1017. Replike	Répliquer	Replicare
1018. Reponn	Répondre	Respondere
1019. Repoze	Reposer	Repausare
1020. Reprann	Reprendre	Reprendere
1021. Reprezay	Représailles	Represalia
1022. Reprime	Réprimer	Reprimere
1023. Respè	Respect	Respectus
1024. Respire	Respirer	Respirare
1025. Rete	Rester	Restare

1026. Retif	Rétif	Restivus
1027. Rezève	Réserver	Reservare
1028. Rezolisyon	Résolution	Resolutio
1029. Ridikil	Ridicule	Ridiculus
1030. Rimè	Rumeur	Rumor
1031. Roz	Rose	Rosa
1032. Sak	Sac	Saccus
1033. Sakreman	Sacrement	Sacrifice
1034. Sakrifye	Sacrifier	Sacrifier
1035. Salitasyon	Salutation	Salutatio
1036. San	Sang	Sanguis
1037. Sanble	Sembler	Similare
1038. Sann	Cendre	Cinis
1039. Sans	Sens	Sensus
1040. Sansasyon	Sensation	Sensatio
1041. Sant	Centre	Centrum
1042. Santral	Central	Centralis
1043. Santyèm	Centième	Centesimus
1044. Satisfakasyon	Satisfaction	Satisfactio
1045. Satisfè	Satisfaire	Satisfacere
1046. Savon	Savon	Saponem
1047. Seche	Sécher	Siccare
1048. Sede	Céder	Cedere
1049. Sèk	Cercle	Circulus
1050. Sèk	Sec	Siccus
1051. Sekirite	Sécurité	Securitas
1052. Sekrè	Secret	Secretum
1053. Sèl	Sel	Sal
1054. Semans	Semence	Sementia
1055. Semèn	Semaine	Septimana
1056. Sen	Saint	Sanctus
1057. Sène	Cerner	Circinare
1058. Senp	Simple	Simplex
1059. Sentre	Cintrer	Cincturare
1060. Senyè	Seigneur	Senior
1061. Senyen	Saigner	Sanguinare
1062. Separe	Séparer	Separare
1063. Sere	Serrer	Serrare
1064. Seremoni	Cérémonie	Caeremonia
1065. Sèso	Cerceau	Circus
1066. Sèten	Certain	Certus
1067. Sètifye	Certifier	Certificare
1068. Sèvi	Servir	Servire
1069. Sèvo	Cerveau	Cerebellum
1070. Sewòm	Sérum	Serum
1071. Sezaryèn	Césarienne	Caesar

1072. Syèl	Ciel	Caelum
1073. Sikile	Circuler	Circulari
1074. Siman	Ciment	Caementum
1075. Simen	Semer	Seminare
1076. Simtyè	Cimetière	Coemeterium
1077. Sinik	Cynique	Cynicus
1078. Site	Cité	Civitas
1079. Site	Citer	Citare
1080. Sitwon	Citron	Citrus
1081. Sivik	Civique	Civicus
1082. Siy	Signe	Signum
1083. Siye	Essuyer	Exsucare
1084. Sizo	Ciseau	Cisellus
1085. Solanèl	Solennel	Sollemnis
1086. Solèy	Soleil	Sol
1087. Solid	Solide	Solidus
1088. Solisyon	Solution	Solutio
1089. Solitè	Solitaire	Solitarius
1090. Sote	Sauter	Saltare
1091. Sove	Sauver	Salvare
1092. Ta	Tard	Tarde
1093. Tab	Table	Tabula
1094. Talon	Talon	Talonem
1096. Tande	Entendre	Intendere
1097. Tann	Attendre	Attendere
1098. Tann	Étendre	Extendere
1099. Tanpèt	Tempête	Tempesta
1101. Tante	Tenter	Temptare
1102. Tè	Terre	Terra
1103. Temwen	Témoin	Testimonium
1104. Teren	Terrain	Terrenum
1105. Total	Total	Totalis
1106. Touche	Toucher	Toccare
1107. Tounen	Tourner	Tornare
1108. Tout	Tout	Tottus
1109. Tranble	Trembler	Tremulare
1110. Trangle	Étrangler	Strangulare
1111. Travay	Travail	Tripalium
1112. Travay	Travailler	Tripaliare
1113. Travèse	Traverser	Traversare
1114. Van	Vent	Ventus
1115. Vanite	Vanité	Vanitas
1116. Vann	Vendre	Vendere
1117. Vannen	Vanner	Vannere
1118. Vant	Ventre	Venter
1119. Vante	Vanter	Vanitare

1120. Vapè	Vapeur	Vapor
1121. Vè	Verre	Vitrum
1122. Venn	Veine	Vena
1123. Verite	Vérite	Veritas
1124. Vèt	Vert	Viridis
1125. Vètij	Vertige	Vertigo
1126. Viktwa	Victoire	Victoria
1127. Vil	Ville	Villa
1128. Vire	Virer	Virare
1129. Vis	Vice	Vitium
1130. Vitamin	Vitamine	Vita
1131. Vitrin	Vitrine	Vitrinus
1132. Viv	Vivre	Vivere
1133. Vizyon	Vision	Visio
1134. Volonte	Volonté	Voluntas
1135. Voye	Envoyer	Inviare
1136. Vwal	Voile	Vela
1137. Vwayaj	Voyage	Viaticum
1138. Vwazen	Voisin	Vecinus
1139. Wo	Haut	Altus
1140. Wonje	Ronger	Rumigare
1141. Wouze	Arroser	Arrosare
1142. Zam	Arme	Arma
1143. Zantray	Entraîles	Intralia
1144. Ze	Oeuf	Ovum
1145. Zèb	Herbe	Herba
1146. Zèl	Zéle	Zelus
1147. Zepòl	Épaule	Spat (h) ula
1148. Zetrenn	Étrenne	Strena
1149. Zetwal	Étoile	Stella
1150. Zong	Ongle	Ungula
1151. Zòrèy	Oreille	Auricula
1152. Zwazo	Oiseau	Aucellus

APPENDIX D

ISI-ZULU AND KREYOL VERBS

Ukuyazi – Konnen

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngiyazi	<i>Mwen konnen</i>	Angiyazi	<i>Mwen pa konnen</i>
Uyazi	<i>Ou konnen</i>	Awazi	<i>Ou pa konnen</i>
Uyazi	<i>Li konnen</i>	Akazi	<i>Li pa konnen</i>
Siyazi	<i>Nou konnen</i>	Asazi	<i>Nou pa konnen</i>
Niyazi	<i>Nou konnen</i>	Anazi	<i>Nou pa konnen</i>
Bayazi	<i>Yo konnen</i>	Abazi	<i>Yo pa konnen</i>
 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>
Bengingazi	<i>Mwen te konnen</i>	Angazanga	<i>Mwen pa te konnen</i>
Abuwazi	<i>Ou te konnen</i>	Ubungazi	<i>Ou pa te konnen</i>
Ebazi	<i>Li te konnen</i>	Ebengazi	<i>Li pa te konnen</i>
Besingazi	<i>Nou te konnen</i>	Asazanga	<i>Nou pa te konnen</i>
Benazi	<i>Nou te konnen</i>	Beningazi	<i>Nou pa te konnen</i>
Bebazi	<i>Yo te konnen</i>	Bebengazi	<i>Yo pa te konnen</i>
 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizokwazi	<i>Mwen pral konnen</i>	Angizokwazi	<i>Mwen pa pral konnen</i>
Uzokwazi	<i>Ou pral konnen</i>	Awuzokwazi	<i>Ou pa pral konnen</i>
Uzokwazi	<i>Li pral konnen</i>	Akazokwazi	<i>Li pa pral konnen</i>
Sizokwazi	<i>Nou pral konnen</i>	Asizokwazi	<i>Nou pa pral konnen</i>
Nizokwazi	<i>Nou pral konnen</i>	Anizokwazi	<i>Nou pa pral konnen</i>
Bazokwazi	<i>Yo pral konnen</i>	Abazokwazi	<i>Yo pa pral konnen</i>

Ukukwazi – *Kapab*

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngiyakwazi	<i>Mwen kapab</i>	Angikwazi	<i>Mwen pa kapab</i>
Uyakwazi	<i>Ou kapab</i>	Awukwazi	<i>Ou pa kapab</i>
Uyakwazi	<i>Li kapab</i>	Akakwazi	<i>Li pa kapab</i>
Siyakwazi	<i>Nou kapab</i>	Asikwazi	<i>Nou pa kapab</i>
Niyakwazi	<i>Nou kapab</i>	Anikwazi	<i>Nou pa kapab</i>
Bayakwazi	<i>Yo kapab</i>	Abakwazi	<i>Yo pa kapab</i>
<u>Past</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>
Bengikwazi	<i>Mwen te kapab</i>	Bengingakwazi	<i>Mwen pa te kapab</i>
Ubekwazi	<i>Ou te kapab</i>	Awukwazi	<i>Ou pa te kapab</i>
Ubekwazi	<i>Li te kapab</i>	Ebengakwazi	<i>Li pa te kapab</i>
Besikwazi	<i>Nou te kapab</i>	Asikwazanga	<i>Nou pa te kapab</i>
Benikwazi	<i>Nou te kapab</i>	Beningakwazi	<i>Nou pa te kapab</i>
Bebekwazi	<i>Yo te kapab</i>	Bebengakwazi	<i>Yo pa te kapab</i>
<u>Future</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizokwazi	<i>Mwen pral kapab</i>	Angizokwazi	<i>Mwen pa pral kapab</i>
Uzokwazi	<i>Ou pral kapab</i>	Awuzokwazi	<i>Ou pa pral kapab</i>
Uzokwazi	<i>Li pral kapab</i>	Akazokwazi	<i>Li pa pral kapab</i>
Sizokwazi	<i>Nou pral kapab</i>	Asizokwazi	<i>Nou pa pral kapab</i>
Nizokwazi	<i>Nou pral kapab</i>	Anizokwazi	<i>Nou pa pral kapab</i>
Bazokwazi	<i>Yo pral kapab</i>	Abazokwazi	<i>Yo pa pral kapab</i>

Ukukwazi - Konnen

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngiyakwazi	<i>Mwen konnen</i>	Angikwazi	<i>Mwen pa konnen</i>
Uyakwazi	<i>Ou konnen</i>	Awukwazi	<i>Ou pa konnen</i>
Uyakwazi	<i>Li konnen</i>	Akakwazi	<i>Li pa konnen</i>
Siyakwazi	<i>Nou konnen</i>	Asikwazi	<i>Nou pa konnen</i>
Niyakwazi	<i>Nou konnen</i>	Anikwazi	<i>Nou pa konnen</i>
Bayakwazi	<i>Yo konnen</i>	Abakwazi	<i>Yo pa konnen</i>
 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>
Bengikwazi	<i>Mwen te konnen</i>	Bengingakwazi	<i>Mwen pa te konnen</i>
Ubekwazi	<i>Ou te konnen</i>	Ubengakwazi	<i>Ou pa te konnen</i>
Ubekwazi	<i>Li te konnen</i>	Ubengakwazi	<i>Li pa te konnen</i>
Besikwazi	<i>Nou te konnen</i>	Besingakwazi	<i>Nou pa te konnen</i>
Benikwazi	<i>Nou te konnen</i>	Beningakwazi	<i>Nou pa te konnen</i>
Bebekwazi	<i>Yo te konnen</i>	Bebengakwazi	<i>Yo pa te konnen</i>
 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizokwazi	<i>Mwen pral konnen</i>	Angizokwazi	<i>Mwen pa pral konnen</i>
Uzokwazi	<i>Ou pral konnen</i>	Awuzokwazi	<i>Ou pa pral konnen</i>
Uzokwazi	<i>Li pral konnen</i>	Akazokwazi	<i>Li pa pral konnen</i>
Sizokwazi	<i>Nou pral konnen</i>	Asizokwazi	<i>Nou pa pral konnen</i>
Nizokwazi	<i>Nou pral konnen</i>	Anizokwazi	<i>Nou pa pral konnen</i>
Bazokwazi	<i>Yo pral konnen</i>	Abazokwazi	<i>Yo pa pral konnen</i>

Ukusho - Di

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngisho	<i>Mwen di</i>	Angisho	<i>Mwen pa di</i>
Usho	<i>Ou di</i>	Awusho	<i>Ou pa di</i>
Uyasho	<i>Li di</i>	Akasho	<i>Li pa di</i>
Siyasho	<i>Nou di</i>	Asisho	<i>Nou pa di</i>
Niyasho	<i>Nou di</i>	Anisho	<i>Nou pa di</i>
Bayasho	<i>Yo di</i>	Abasho	<i>Yo pa di</i>
<u>Past</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngishilo	<i>Mwen te di</i>	Angishongo	<i>Mwen pa te di</i>
Ushilo	<i>Ou te di</i>	Awushongo	<i>Ou pa te di</i>
Ushilo	<i>Li te di</i>	Akashongo	<i>Li pa te di</i>
Sishilo	<i>Nou te di</i>	Asishongo	<i>Nou pa te di</i>
Nishilo	<i>Nou te di</i>	Anishongo	<i>Nou pa te di</i>
Bashilo	<i>Yo te di</i>	Abashongo	<i>Yo pa te di</i>
<u>Future</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizosho	<i>Mwen pral di</i>	Angizosho	<i>Mwen pa pral di</i>
Uzosho	<i>Ou pral di</i>	Awuzosho	<i>Ou pa pral di</i>
Uzosho	<i>Li pral di</i>	Akazosho	<i>Li pa pral di</i>
Sizosho	<i>Nou pral di</i>	Asizosho	<i>Nou pa pral di</i>
Nizosho	<i>Nou pral di</i>	Anizosho	<i>Nou pa pral di</i>
Bazosho	<i>Yo pral di</i>	Abazosho	<i>Yo pa pral di</i>

Ukuthi - Di

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngithi	<i>Mwen di</i>	Angithi	<i>Mwen pa di</i>
Uthi	<i>Ou di</i>	Awuthi	<i>Ou pa di</i>
Uthi	<i>Li di</i>	Akathi	<i>Li pa di</i>
Sithi	<i>Nou di</i>	Asithi	<i>Nou pa di</i>
Nithi	<i>Nou di</i>	Anithi	<i>Nou pa di</i>
Bathi	<i>Yo di</i>	Abathi	<i>Yo pa di</i>
<u>Past</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngathi	<i>Mwen te di</i>	Bengingathi	<i>Mwen pa te di</i>
Uthé	<i>Ou te di</i>	Awuthanga	<i>Ou pa te di</i>
Uthé	<i>Li te di</i>	Akathanga	<i>Li pa te di</i>
Sathi	<i>Nou te di</i>	Asithanga	<i>Nou pa te di</i>
Nithe	<i>Nou te di</i>	Anithanga	<i>Nou pa te di</i>
Bathe	<i>Yo te di</i>	Abathanga	<i>Yo pa te di</i>
<u>Future</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizothi	<i>Mwen pral di</i>	Angizothi	<i>Mwen pa pral di</i>
Uzothi	<i>Ou pral di</i>	Awuzothi	<i>Ou pa pral di</i>
Uzothi	<i>Li pral di</i>	Akazothi	<i>Li pa pral di</i>
Sizothi	<i>Nou pral di</i>	Asizothi	<i>Nou pa pral di</i>
Nizothi	<i>Nou pral di</i>	Anizothi	<i>Nou pa pral di</i>
Bazothi	<i>Yo pral di</i>	Abazothi	<i>Yo pa pral di</i>

Ukuhamba – Ale / Mache

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngiya	<i>Mwen ale</i>	Angiyi	<i>Mwen pa ale</i>
Uya	<i>Ou ale</i>	Awuyi	<i>Ou pa ale</i>
Uya	<i>Li ale</i>	Akayi	<i>Li pa ale</i>
Siya	<i>Nou ale</i>	Asiyi	<i>Nou pa ale</i>
Niya	<i>Nou ale</i>	Aniyi	<i>Nou pa ale</i>
Baya	<i>Yo ale</i>	Abayi	<i>Yo pa ale</i>
<u>Past</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>
Bengiye	<i>Mwen te ale</i>	Bengingayanga	<i>Mwen pa te ale</i>
Uyé	<i>Ou te ale</i>	Awuyanga	<i>Ou pa te ale</i>
Uyé	<i>Li te ale</i>	Akayanga	<i>Li pa te ale</i>
Siyé	<i>Nou te ale</i>	Asiyanga	<i>Nou pa te ale</i>
Niye	<i>Nou te ale</i>	Aniyanga	<i>Nou pa te ale</i>
Bayé	<i>Yo te ale</i>	Abayanga	<i>Yo pa te ale</i>
<u>Future</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizoya	<i>Mwen prale</i>	Angizoya	<i>Mwen pa prale</i>
Uzoya	<i>Ou prale</i>	Awuzoya	<i>Ou pa prale</i>
Uzoya	<i>Li prale</i>	Akazoya	<i>Li pa prale</i>
Sizoya	<i>Nou prale</i>	Asizoya	<i>Nou pa prale</i>
Nizoya	<i>Nou prale</i>	Anizoya	<i>Nou pa prale</i>
Bazoya	<i>Yo prale</i>	Abazoya	<i>Yo pa prale</i>

Ukubona - Wè

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngiyabona	<i>Mwen wè</i>	Angiboni	<i>Mwen pa wè</i>
Uyabona	<i>Ou wè</i>	Awuboni	<i>Ou pa wè</i>
Uyabona	<i>Li wè</i>	Akaboni	<i>Li pa wè</i>
Siyabona	<i>Nou wè</i>	Asiboni	<i>Nou pa wè</i>
Niyabona	<i>Nou wè</i>	Aniboni	<i>Nou pa wè</i>
Bayabona	<i>Yo wè</i>	Ababoni	<i>Yo pa wè</i>
 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngibonile	<i>Mwen te wè</i>	Angibonanga	<i>Mwen pa te wè</i>
Ubonile	<i>Ou te wè</i>	Awubonanga	<i>Ou pa te wè</i>
Ubonile	<i>Li te wè</i>	Akabonanga	<i>Li pa te wè</i>
Sibonile	<i>Nou te wè</i>	Asibonanga	<i>Nou pa te wè</i>
Nibonile	<i>Nou te wè</i>	Anibonanga	<i>Nou pa te wè</i>
Babonile	<i>Yo te wè</i>	Ababonanga	<i>Yo pa te wè</i>
 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizobona	<i>Mwen pral wè</i>	Angizobona	<i>Mwen pa pral wè</i>
Uzobona	<i>Ou pral wè</i>	Awuzobona	<i>Ou pa pral wè</i>
Uzobona	<i>Li pral wè</i>	Akazobona	<i>Li pa pral wè</i>
Sizobona	<i>Nou pral wè</i>	Asizobona	<i>Nou pa pral wè</i>
Nizobona	<i>Nou pral wè</i>	Anizobona	<i>Nou pa pral wè</i>
Bazobona	<i>Yo pral wè</i>	Abazobona	<i>Yo pa pral wè</i>

Ukucabanga - *Panse*

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngicabanga	<i>Mwen panse</i>	Angicabangi	<i>Mwen pa panse</i>
Ucabanga	<i>Ou panse</i>	Awucabangi	<i>Ou pa panse</i>
Ucabanga	<i>Li panse</i>	Akacabangi	<i>Li pa panse</i>
Sicabanga	<i>Nou panse</i>	Asicabangi	<i>Nou pa panse</i>
Nicabanga	<i>Nou panse</i>	Anicabangi	<i>Nou pa panse</i>
Bacabanga	<i>Yo panse</i>	Abacabangi	<i>Yo pa panse</i>
<u>Past</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngicabangé	<i>Mwen te panse</i>	Angicabanganga	<i>Mwen pa te panse</i>
Ucabangé	<i>Ou te panse</i>	Awucabanganga	<i>Ou pa te panse</i>
Ucabangé	<i>Li te panse</i>	Akacabanganga	<i>Li pa te panse</i>
Sicabangé	<i>Nou te panse</i>	Asicabanganga	<i>Nou pa te panse</i>
Nicabangé	<i>Nou te panse</i>	Anicabanganga	<i>Nou pa te panse</i>
Bacabangé	<i>Yo te panse</i>	Abacabanganga	<i>Yo pa te panse</i>
<u>Future</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizocabanga	<i>Mwen pral panse</i>	Angizocabanga	<i>Mwen pa pral panse</i>
Uzocabanga	<i>Ou pral panse</i>	Awuzocabanga	<i>Ou pa pral panse</i>
Uzocabanga	<i>Li pral panse</i>	Akazocabanga	<i>Li pa pral panse</i>
Sizocabanga	<i>Nou pral panse</i>	Asizocabanga	<i>Nou pa pral panse</i>
Nizocabanga	<i>Nou pral panse</i>	Anizocabanga	<i>Nou pa pral panse</i>
Bazocabanga	<i>Yo pral panse</i>	Abazocabanga	<i>Yo pa pral panse</i>

Ukwenza - Fè

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngikwenza	<i>Mwen fè</i>	Angikwenzi	<i>Mwen pa fè</i>
Ukwenza	<i>Ou fè</i>	Awukwenzi	<i>Ou pa fè</i>
Ukwenza	<i>Li fè</i>	Akakwenzi	<i>Li pa fè</i>
Sikwenza	<i>Nou fè</i>	Asikwenzi	<i>Nou pa fè</i>
Nikwenza	<i>Nou fè</i>	Anikwenzi	<i>Nou pa fè</i>
Bakwenza	<i>Yo fè</i>	Abakwenzi	<i>Yo pa fè</i>
 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngikwenzile	<i>Mwen te fè</i>	Angikwenzanga	<i>Mwen pa te fè</i>
Ukwenzile	<i>Ou te fè</i>	Awukwenzanga	<i>Ou pa te fè</i>
Ukwenzile	<i>Li te fè</i>	Akakwenzanga	<i>Li pa te fè</i>
Sikwenzile	<i>Nou te fè</i>	Asikwenzanga	<i>Nou pa te fè</i>
Nikwenzile	<i>Nou te fè</i>	Anikwenzanga	<i>Nou pa te fè</i>
Bakwenzile	<i>Yo te fè</i>	Abakwenzanga	<i>Yo pa te fè</i>
 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizokwenza	<i>Mwen pral fè</i>	Angizokwenza	<i>Mwen pa pral fè</i>
Uzokwenza	<i>Ou pral fè</i>	Awuzokwenza	<i>Ou pa pral fè</i>
Uzokwenza	<i>Li pral fè</i>	Akazokwenza	<i>Li pa pral fè</i>
Sizokwenza	<i>Nou pral fè</i>	Akazokwenza	<i>Nou pa pral fè</i>
Nizokwenza	<i>Nou pral fè</i>	Anizokwenza	<i>Nou pa pral fè</i>
Bazokwenza	<i>Yo pral fè</i>	Abazokwenza	<i>Yo pa pral fè</i>

Ukwala - Refize

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngiyala	<i>Mwen refize</i>	Angali	<i>Mwen pa refize</i>
Uyala	<i>Ou refize</i>	Awali	<i>Ou pa refize</i>
Uyala	<i>Li refize</i>	Akali	<i>Li pa refize</i>
Siyala	<i>Nou refize</i>	Asali	<i>Nou pa refize</i>
Niyala	<i>Nou refize</i>	Anali	<i>Nou pa refize</i>
Bayala	<i>Yo refize</i>	Abali	<i>Yo pa refize</i>
 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngalile	<i>Mwen te refize</i>	Angalanga	<i>Mwen pa te refize</i>
Walile	<i>Ou te refize</i>	Awalanga	<i>Ou pa te refize</i>
Walile	<i>Li te refize</i>	Akalanga	<i>Li pa te refize</i>
Salile	<i>Nou te refize</i>	Asalanga	<i>Nou pa te refize</i>
Nalile	<i>Nou te refize</i>	Analanga	<i>Nou pa te refize</i>
Babile	<i>Yo te refize</i>	Abalanga	<i>Yo pa te refize</i>
 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizokwala	<i>Mwen pral refize</i>	Angizokwala	<i>Mwen pa pral refize</i>
Uzokwala	<i>Ou pral refize</i>	Awuzokwala	<i>Ou pa pral refize</i>
Uzokwala	<i>Li pral refize</i>	Akazokwala	<i>Li pa pral refize</i>
Sizokwala	<i>Nou pral refize</i>	Asizokwala	<i>Nou pa pral refize</i>
Nizokwala	<i>Nou pral refize</i>	Anizokwala	<i>Nou pa pral refize</i>
Bazokwala	<i>Yo pral refize</i>	Abazokwala	<i>Yo pa pral refize</i>

Ukulwa – Goumen / Batay

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngiyalwa	<i>Mwen goumen</i>	Angilwi	<i>Mwen pa goumen</i>
Uyalwa	<i>Ou goumen</i>	Awulwi	<i>Ou pa goumen</i>
Uyalwa	<i>Li goumen</i>	Akalwi	<i>Li pa goumen</i>
Siyalwa	<i>Nou goumen</i>	Asilwi	<i>Nou pa goumen</i>
Niyalwa	<i>Nou goumen</i>	Anilwi	<i>Nou pa goumen</i>
Bayalwa	<i>Yo goumen</i>	Abalwi	<i>Yo pa goumen</i>
 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngilwile	<i>Mwen te goumen</i>	Angilwanga	<i>Mwen pa te goumen</i>
Ulwile	<i>Ou te goumen</i>	Awulwanga	<i>Ou pa te goumen</i>
Ulwile	<i>Li te goumen</i>	Akalwanga	<i>Li pa te goumen</i>
Silwile	<i>Nou te goumen</i>	Asilwanga	<i>Nou pa te goumen</i>
Nilwile	<i>Nou te goumen</i>	Anilwanga	<i>Nou pa te goumen</i>
Balwile	<i>Yo te goumen</i>	Abalwanga	<i>Yo pa te goumen</i>
 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizolwa	<i>Mwen pral goumen</i>	Angizolwa	<i>Mwen pa pral goumen</i>
Uzolwa	<i>Ou pral goumen</i>	Awuzolwa	<i>Ou pa pral goumen</i>
Uzolwa	<i>Li pral goumen</i>	Akazolwa	<i>Li pa pral goumen</i>
Sizolwa	<i>Nou pral goumen</i>	Asizolwa	<i>Nou pa pral goumen</i>
Nizolwa	<i>Nou pral goumen</i>	Anizolwa	<i>Nou pa pral goumen</i>
Bazolwa	<i>Yo pral goumen</i>	Abazolwa	<i>Yo pa pral goumen</i>

Ukupha - Bay

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngipha	<i>Mwen bay</i>	Angikuphi	<i>Mwen pa bay</i>
Upha	<i>Ou bay</i>	Awuphi	<i>Ou pa bay</i>
Upha	<i>Li bay</i>	Akaphi	<i>Li pa bay</i>
Sipha	<i>Nou bay</i>	Asiphi	<i>Nou pa bay</i>
Nipha	<i>Nou bay</i>	Aniphi	<i>Nou pa bay</i>
Bapha	<i>Yo bay</i>	Abaphi	<i>Yo pa bay</i>
<u>Past</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngiphile	<i>Mwen te bay</i>	Angiphanga	<i>Mwen pa te bay</i>
Uphile	<i>Ou te bay</i>	Awuphanga	<i>Ou pa te bay</i>
Uphile	<i>Li te bay</i>	Akaphanga	<i>Li pa te bay</i>
Siphile	<i>Nou te bay</i>	Asiphanga	<i>Nou pa te bay</i>
Niphile	<i>Nou te bay</i>	Aniphanga	<i>Nou pa te bay</i>
Baphile	<i>Yo te bay</i>	Abaphanga	<i>Yo pa te bay</i>
<u>Future</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizopha	<i>Mwen pral bay</i>	Angizopha	<i>Mwen pa pral bay</i>
Uzopha	<i>Ou pral bay</i>	Awuzopha	<i>Ou pa pral bay</i>
Uzopha	<i>Li pral bay</i>	Akazopha	<i>Li pa pral bay</i>
Sizopha	<i>Nou pral bay</i>	Asizopha	<i>Nou pa pral bay</i>
Nizopha	<i>Nou pral bay</i>	Anizopha	<i>Nou pa pral bay</i>
Bazopha	<i>Yo pral bay</i>	Abazopha	<i>Yo pa pral bay</i>

Ukushaya - Kondi

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngishaya	<i>Mwen kondi</i>	Angishayi	<i>Mwen pa kondi</i>
Ushaya	<i>Ou kondi</i>	Awushayi	<i>Ou pa kondi</i>
Ushaya	<i>Li kondi</i>	Akashayi	<i>Li pa kondi</i>
Sishaya	<i>Nou kondi</i>	Asishayi	<i>Nou pa kondi</i>
Nishaya	<i>Nou kondi</i>	Anishayi	<i>Nou pa kondi</i>
Bashaya	<i>Yo kondi</i>	Abashayi	<i>Yo pa kondi</i>
 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngishayile	<i>Mwen te kondi</i>	Angishayanga	<i>Mwen pa te kondi</i>
Ushayé	<i>Ou te kondi</i>	Awushayanga	<i>Ou pa te kondi</i>
Ushayé	<i>Li te kondi</i>	Akashayanga	<i>Li pa te kondi</i>
Sishayé	<i>Nou te kondi</i>	Asishayanga	<i>Nou pa te kondi</i>
Nishayé	<i>Nou te kondi</i>	Anishayanga	<i>Nou pa te kondi</i>
Bashayé	<i>Yo te kondi</i>	Abashayanga	<i>Yo pa te kondi</i>
 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizoshaya	<i>Mwen pral kondi</i>	Angizoshaya	<i>wen pa Mpral kondi</i>
Uzoshaya	<i>Ou pral kondi</i>	Angizoshaya	<i>Ou pa pral kondi</i>
Uzoshaya	<i>Li pral kondi</i>	Akazoshaya	<i>Li pa pral kondi</i>
Sizoshaya	<i>Nou pral kondi</i>	Asizoshaya	<i>Nou pa pral kondi</i>
Nizoshaya	<i>Nou pral kondi</i>	Anizoshaya	<i>Nou pa pral kondi</i>
Bazoshaya	<i>Yo pral kondi</i>	Abazoshaya	<i>Yo pa pral kondi</i>

Ukukhohlwa - *Bliye*

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngikhohlwa	<i>Mwen bliye</i>	Angikhohlwa	<i>Mwen pa bliye</i>
Ukhohlwa	<i>Ou bliye</i>	Awukhohlwa	<i>Ou pa bliye</i>
Ukhohlwa	<i>Li bliye</i>	Akakhohlwa	<i>Li pa bliye</i>
Nikhohlwa	<i>Nou bliye</i>	Anikhohlwa	<i>Nou pa bliye</i>
Bakhohlwa	<i>Yo bliye</i>	Abakhohlwa	<i>Yo pa bliye</i>
 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngikhohliwe	<i>Mwen te bliye</i>	Angikhohlwanga	<i>Mwen pa te bliye</i>
Ukhohliwe	<i>Ou te bliye</i>	Awukhohlwanga	<i>Ou pa te bliye</i>
Ukhohliwe	<i>Li te bliye</i>	Akakhohlwanga	<i>Li pa te bliye</i>
Sikhohliwe	<i>Nou te bliye</i>	Asikhohlwanga	<i>Nou pa te bliye</i>
Nikhohliwe	<i>Nou te bliye</i>	Anikhohlwanga	<i>Nou pa te bliye</i>
Bakhohliwe	<i>Yo te bliye</i>	Abakhohlwanga	<i>Yo pa te bliye</i>
 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizokhohlwa	<i>Mwen pral bliye</i>	Angizokhohlwa	<i>Mwen pa pral bliye</i>
Uzokhohlwa	<i>Ou pral bliye</i>	Awuzokhohlwa	<i>Ou pa pral bliye</i>
Uzokhohlwa	<i>Li pral bliye</i>	Akazokhohlwa	<i>Li pa pral bliye</i>
Sizokhohlwa	<i>Nou pral bliye</i>	Asizokhohlwa	<i>Nou pa pral bliye</i>
Nizokhohlwa	<i>Nou pral bliye</i>	Anizokhohlwa	<i>Nou pa pral bliye</i>
Bazokhohlwa	<i>Yo pral bliye</i>	Abazokhohlwa	<i>Yo pa pral bliye</i>

Ukukholwa - Kwè

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngikholwa	<i>Mwen kwè</i>	Angikholwa	<i>Mwen pa kwè</i>
Ukholwa	<i>Ou kwè</i>	Awukholwa	<i>Ou pa kwè</i>
Ukholwa	<i>Li kwè</i>	Akakholwa	<i>Li pa kwè</i>
Sikholwa	<i>Nou kwè</i>	Asikholwa	<i>Nou pa kwè</i>
Nikholwa	<i>Nou kwè</i>	Anikholwa	<i>Nou pa kwè</i>
Bakholwa	<i>Yo kwè</i>	Abakholwa	<i>Yo pa kwè</i>
 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>	 <u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngikholwe	<i>Mwen te kwè</i>	Angikholwanga	<i>Mwen pa te kwè</i>
Ukholwe	<i>Ou te kwè</i>	Awukholwanga	<i>Ou pa te kwè</i>
Ukholwe	<i>Li te kwè</i>	Akakholwanga	<i>Li pa te kwè</i>
Sikholwe	<i>Nou te kwè</i>	Asikholwanga	<i>Nou pa te kwè</i>
Nikholwe	<i>Nou te kwè</i>	Anikholwanga	<i>Nou pa te kwè</i>
Bakholwe	<i>Yo te kwè</i>	Abakholwanga	<i>Yo pa te kwè</i>
 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>	 <u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizokholwa	<i>Mwen pral kwè</i>	Angizokholwa	<i>Mwen pa pral kwè</i>
Uzokholwa	<i>Ou pral kwè</i>	Awuzokholwa	<i>Ou pa pral kwè</i>
Uzokholwa	<i>Li pral kwè</i>	Akazokholwa	<i>Li pa pral kwè</i>
Sizokholwa	<i>Nou pral kwè</i>	Asizokholwa	<i>Nou pa pral kwè</i>
Nizokholwa	<i>Nou pral kwè</i>	Anizokholwa	<i>Nou pa pral kwè</i>
Bazokholwa	<i>Yo pral kwè</i>	Abazokholwa	<i>Yo pa pral kwè</i>

Ukudla -*Manje*

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngiyadla	<i>Mwen manje</i>	Angidli	<i>Mwen pa manje</i>
Uyadla	<i>Ou manje</i>	Awudli	<i>Ou pa manje</i>
Uyadla	<i>Li manje</i>	Akadli	<i>Li pa manje</i>
Siyadla	<i>Nou manje</i>	Asidli	<i>Nou pa manje</i>
Niyadla	<i>Nou manje</i>	Anidli	<i>Nou pa manje</i>
Bayadla	<i>Yo manje</i>	Anidli	<i>Yo pa manje</i>
<u>Past</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngidlile	<i>Mwen te manje</i>	Angidlanga	<i>Mwen pa te manje</i>
Udlile	<i>Ou te manje</i>	Awudlanga	<i>Ou pa te manje</i>
Udlile	<i>Li te manje</i>	Akadlanga	<i>Li pa te manje</i>
Sidlile	<i>Nou te manje</i>	Asidlanga	<i>Nou pa te manje</i>
Nidlile	<i>Nou te manje</i>	Anidlanga	<i>Nou pa te manje</i>
Badlile	<i>Yo te manje</i>	Abadlanga	<i>Yo pa te manje</i>
<u>Future</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizodla	<i>Mwen pral manje</i>	Angizodla	<i>Mwen pa pral manje</i>
Uzodla	<i>Ou pral manje</i>	Awuzodla	<i>Ou pa pral manje</i>
Uzodla	<i>Li pral manje</i>	Akazodla	<i>Li pa pral manje</i>
Sizodla	<i>Nou pral manje</i>	Asizodla	<i>Nou pa pral manje</i>
Nizodla	<i>Nou pral manje</i>	Anizodla	<i>Nou pa pral manje</i>
Bazodla	<i>Yo pral manje</i>	Abazodla	<i>Yo pa pral manje</i>

Ukucula - Chante

IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl	IsiZulu	Haitian Kreyòl
<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>	<u>Present-Negative</u>
Ngiyacula	<i>Mwen chante</i>	Angicula	<i>Mwen pa chante</i>
Uyacula	<i>Ou chante</i>	Awuculi	<i>Ou pa chante</i>
Uyacula	<i>Li chante</i>	Akaculi	<i>Li pa chante</i>
Siyacula	<i>Nou chante</i>	Asiculi	<i>Nou pa chante</i>
Niyacula	<i>Nou chante</i>	Aniculi	<i>Nou pa chante</i>
Bayacula	<i>Yo chante</i>	Abaculi	<i>Yo pa chante</i>
<u>Past</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>	<u>Past-Negative</u>
Ngiculile	<i>Mwen te chante</i>	Angiculanga	<i>Mwen pa te chante</i>
Uculile	<i>Ou te chante</i>	Awuculanga	<i>Ou pa te chante</i>
Uculile	<i>Li te chante</i>	Akaculanga	<i>Li pa te chante</i>
Siculile	<i>Nou te chante</i>	Asiculanga	<i>Nou pa te chante</i>
Niculile	<i>Nou te chante</i>	Aniculanga	<i>Nou pa te chante</i>
Baculile	<i>Yo te chante</i>	Abaculanga	<i>Yo pa te chante</i>
<u>Future</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>	<u>Future-Negative</u>
Ngizocula	<i>Mwen pral chante</i>	Angizocula	<i>Mwen pa pral chante</i>
Uzocula	<i>Ou pral chante</i>	Awuzocula	<i>Ou pa pral chante</i>
Uzocula	<i>Li pral chante</i>	Akazocula	<i>Li pa pral chante</i>
Sizocula	<i>Nou pral chante</i>	Asizocula	<i>Nou pa pral chante</i>
Nizocula	<i>Nou pral chante</i>	Anizocula	<i>Nou pa pral chante</i>
Bazocula	<i>Yo pral chante</i>	Abazocula	<i>Yo pa pral chante</i>

APPENDIX E

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF *IZINKONDLO NEZISHO*

a)

The Languages of the Peoples

Don't be surprised that we are studying
The languages of the people,
Not anecdotally, but scientifically.
Now, more than ever, languages open the doors
Enabling us to plunge deeper in the source of knowledge.

We sometimes forget
That language is like the lens of a camera,
Able to focus on our origins.
That it carries in its words, sounds, phrases and sentences
The sap from the roots of our culture.
That it empowers us morning, noon and night,
Into our world of dreams
Where, too, there is language.

In Africa we speak more than 2000 languages.
Really! We speak many languages,
Close to one third of the 6000 languages spoken globally.

Since the beginning of time
People with little formal education have always
Viewed those who speak many languages differently:
Polyglots appeared as if they were
The penultimate intellectuals,
Wise beyond all imagination.

Generally, many people think that way.
But in time, while some kept their views,
Others have cautioned, 'be careful,
One can be vigilant and still make mistakes.'
A truly wise person will never claim to know all things
A true intellect will always welcome
The light of greater understanding.

We need more research on languages
In order to discover science's hidden secrets.
While wealth and knowledge are rare resources,
Poverty and ignorance easily take root
In the absence of education.

When exploring linguistic fields,
We resuscitate revered Ancestors.
Let's recall one of them:
His name is Toussaint Louverture
His father's language is rooted too,
In the spirit of *Ubuntu*.
Let's resuscitate another:
His name is Cro-Magnon Man.
Long ago his ancestors were born here in Africa.
They left the continent more than 50,000 years ago
For an area of southern France called Dordogne.

So, where is the good news?
It's crystal clear:
The Ancestors were born here in Africa.
To be more explicit, like those Ancestors,
In truth everyone originated in Africa;
Every language spoken in the world
Emerged from people
And all people originated from Africa.

Whereas rain comes from the clouds,
All people come from Africa
Whereas smoke comes from fire
All people come from Africa.

Honor and respect for Mother Africa!
The grandmother of all languages.

b)

Hope Lives

Even when the one who cooks the food
Only gets to eat the steam rising from her pots,
Even when washed hands must be
Wiped on the ground,
Even when you sow day and night
But never reap,
Hope lives.
Africans are the hope of Africa
Mother Africa is our last hope.

It is clear that no one can hide behind his own thumb.
It is also clear that Africa is alive with so many young men and women.
Look, it is they who are the future!
They are ready. Energized! Give them the opportunity!
What courage they have! I'm crazy about them!
As we know
When we support one another
When we help one another,
We say: Here is our culture
Here is our treasure
Truly, hope lives.

When some criticize Mother Africa,
When some disparage those who consult traditional healers
Or diviners in search of evil spirits,
I say: Stop, please.
A women's breast are never too heavy for her body.
No one knows everything.
We each need one another.

Why don't we speak openly and frankly?
Why don't we encourage speaking from our hearts?
Trying to hide behind our thumb will get us no where.

There is no shadow of a doubt that
Many are afflicted by poverty.
Dogs gnaw on bare bones
While the rich bathe in wealth.
There is no peace.
And only the heart feels the pain.

Both you and he, we all know
That flowing rivers also carry sticks and stones,
And that every rose has its own thorn.
Rather than give up,
We stand firm for change.

Those who think this way are real Africans.
Those who think this way will indeed succeed,
Because a door made of wood
Cannot destroy an iron door,
And the power of love is always a door to victory, everywhere.
Love and victory are two peas in a pod.

While today we honor Mother Africa,
Let the star of love shine everywhere,
In the skies above Africa and above all countries.
Honor to our Mother!
Peace and love for all the children
And friends of Mother Africa!

Viva Africa!
Viva Mama Africa!

c)

Liberty and Love

Ever since the day I was born
My heart has been beating.
Morning and night,
Everywhere that I go, it beats.

For it to beat as it does,
It needs only two things:
First, the blood of liberty,
Second, the spirit of love.

It is impossible for my heart to continue to beat
Without liberty and love.
The same is true for our African Ancestors:
They preferred to fight rather than remain enslaved.

Honor and respect to their names!
They freed us from slavery
So that liberty could spread
Everywhere, throughout the world.

I am certain that they will always be with us
In good times and
In bad times, they guide us.
Yes, they deserve honor and respect!

It is a beautiful thing
To hear the voices of the Ancestors
From the bottom of our hearts call to us:
You, yes, you,
Take care of yourself, I need you,
In order for us to move forward
On the road of liberty and love.
Continue steadfast on the road!
Don't be afraid. Come, come let us go forward!

I love you!

d)

Sun of Love

Today it is very hot because
There is a warmth and heat
Coming from a special sun:
The sun of Mama Africa,
Her sun of love.

The warmth of this sun of love
One would say, is hotter than the hottest flames of fire.
As a Zulu proverb says:
The sun of love is so hot,
It even draws the zombies out of the bush,
Meaning it's really hot.

Without a doubt
In the bottom of her heart, Mama Africa must be saying
All of my children need this sun of love.
All of my children should be able to say, every day:
I hadn't yet discovered the power of this love,
Yes the flames of this love are burning inside of me.

Indeed, once we speak of love,
We speak of triumph.
Oh! Yes, how great it is to remember
Good times, times of love and happiness,
Special times, like the year 1994, here in South Africa!

How happy we were to embrace liberty and democracy!
At that time, our hearts sang this beautiful song:
I will never forget these days!
I will never forget these days!
This is why we are so delighted to share
This sun of love with everyone.

Maybe for some, these wonderful times
May mean that we never went through difficult times.
No, not at all.

In crossing difficult times, we emerged strong, like heroes,
We reappeared more committed than ever!
We admire our collective courage!

The sun of love is vital,
To renew us, to recreate us,
To promote our psychological renaissance.
God! This love is burning inside of me.

As for Mama Africa,
Her love stands unchanged,
Listen to her voice that says:
My children who I love so much,
Congratulations for your continued struggle
For African Renaissance
And for a Civilization of Love!

I love you!
I love you!

e)

Dream and Dreams: “A Little Story”

Mtokozisi is 25.
She is a hopeless dreamer.
In good times and in bad times, she dreams.
At night Mtokozisi dreams of dreams.
For her a dream is a love story.
She is in love with dreaming.

Last night Mtokozisi was very happy.
She dreamed of Toussaint Louverture!
Wow! She was really happy to see Toussaint.
But Toussaint does not speak Zulu.
And Mtokozisi speaks neither Creole nor French.
Thankfully, in the dream
Mtokozisi's twin, who speaks many languages, was there to help.

Because both twins were born in KwaZulu,
Mtokozisi asked Toussaint for Shaka.
She asked about the spirits and the Ancestors.
In the same conversation
Mtokozisi took the opportunity to
Teach Toussaint a few words in Zulu.

By the way, remember that
Toussaint was already 48 when he learned to sign his name.
So, he was very happy to start learning
A language of Mother Africa.

Even if the Zulu proverb says you begin to learn Zulu
When you suckle from your Mother's breast,
Africa is Mother to us all.
That is why here in Africa, we sincerely share all that we have
And for us, to speak with an open heart, is to live in joy and peace.

Wow! Like butter in the sun, the dream melted away.
The next morning, before dawn,
Early, Mtokozisi awoke.
She shared her dream with her mother
Who believes deeply in God.

The mother said, my child, listen!
I think that the spirits are trying to teach you many things.
But you must be careful.
There are dreams and there are dreams.
It is a good sign when we speak clearly with the spirits.
When we listen to them with an open heart
It shows respect.
But be careful,
Stop dreaming! Wake up! Wake up!

The mother saw that her daughter was still dreaming
And still talking on and on in her sleep.
The mother was scared. This is too much! Enough! She exclaimed.
This is too painful,
I must take my child to the doctor.

My child seems to be ill.
She is not well. She seems to be sick.
In general, everyone dreams.
I too, like to dream.
It is important to dream, what's more
It is an opportunity to hear
The voices of both God and the Ancestors.

No, here there is a problem.
What must have happened to my child?
She is mixing everything up...
And every day it's getting worse.
Mtokozi has been taken over by her dreams.
My God! This is driving me crazy.
I am totally confused.

My child is wasting away, she has wasted away ...
What is worse, she doesn't understand what is happening.
I told her to stop dreaming but nothing has changed.
It's clear that she isn't normal. This much is certain.

Everyday I wonder:
What is happening here?
What good does this bring her?
What strange fancy is this?
When will I be delivered from this pain?
Until when? How much longer?
It's true that she has problems
But when will she see clear?

My goodness, if things continue,
I'll have to take
A different approach.
Mtokozi is my daughter
I love her very much.
My dream is for her to get well.
I truly thirst this deliverance.

I remember that she once told me
Mom, if I could stop, I would.
And I too, I told her: Yes,
Congratulations, my child
I do understand you.

That's why now,
I must do two things:
First, go and see a doctor or
A psychologist with you,
Second, we must call all the spirits
And listen to them, listen to them carefully.

As we know,
Where there's smoke there's fire.

APPENDIX F

IZINKULUMO (INTERVIEWS)

1)

INKULUMO NENYANGA NGOMOYA WAMAGAMA

Mama, njengoba savumelana ngokuthi namuhla sizoxoxisana ngomoya wamagama amanye njengokuthwasa kanye nobunyanga jikelele. Ngokuzithoba ngithi: Thokoza Makhosi!

Nyanga: Thokoza Baba! Thokoza Gogo! Yebo kulungile ungabuza-ke.

P: Ake ungichazele kungani abantu abansundu bengeyeke ukukhonza amadlozi na?

Nyanga: Okokuqala ngithanda ukuthi ngicacise ukuthi kahle, kahle asikhonzi amadlozi, kodwa sikhonza uNkulunkulu, uMdali. Amadlozi okhokho bethu, abantu abashona kudala, abantu abangumsuka wethu. Ngaphandle kwabo ngabe asikho. Sidabuka kubona. Ezingqondweni zethu sikhumbula konke ababesifundisa kona, bayingxenywe yethu yize sebalala. Uzwile ngithini? Ngithi sebalala angithanga bafile. Uma abantu befunda kahle iBhayibheli, ithi abantu abashonile balele, kunethemba lokuthi bazovuka. Yilesi sizathu singeke sikhone ukubalibala okhokho bethu. Igama elithi amadlozi, ngesiNgesi lithi “ancestors” ngako abelungu bayakhuluma ngama ancestors abo kodwa uma liguqulwa elimini lwethu liba yisono.

P: Ngizwa uthi njalo uthi Gogo uma ukhuluma nami, kungani?

Nyanga: Kuyindlela yokuhlonipha izidalwa zakithi, nawe Baba ungangibiza Gogo, yize ngimusha nje. Ngale yondlela uhlonipha labo abangiphethe. Ugogo idlozi lami elikhulu, logogo ongukhokho owangipha lesisiphiwo sokuphilisa. Okunye engizokusho mayelana nombuzo wakho ukuthi, phakathi kwethu singabantu, kukhona ukuxhumana okukhulu phakathi kwethu nabalele. Le communication ivela ngezindlela eziningi, ngamaphupho, ngezibonakaliso nangemibono.

P: Ngicela uchaze kabanzi lezindlela ze communication ozishoyo.

Nyanga: Ngamaphupho – uthi ulele uphuphe ugogo noba umkhulu, ngesinye isikhathi abantu obaziyo, ngesinye awubazi. Bekwazisa ukuthi wenzenjani, kumbe bekuxwayisa ngokuthile- kafushane nje ubaphupha bekhuluma nawe. Uma ngithi ngezibonakaliso – uthi uhleli noma uhamba kube ngathi uyaphupha uzwe kungathi kunezwi elikhuluma nawe likuxwayisa noma likuthuma ukuthi wenzenjani. Uma umqondo wakho ubuya uzwe sengathi ubuphupha. Kepha kube nesiqiniseko sokuthi ubungaphuphi. Uma ungalandeli umyalezo waso kuyaye kubhede. Mangithi ngemibono – uthi uhlezi nje inqondo kube ngathi ihambile kube ngathi ubona ibaayisikobho – utshelwa ukuthi yenzani. Konke loku Gogo kubonisa ngokusobala ukuthi labantu bayaphila ndawana.

P: Manje ngizwe ubiza uNkulunkulu uma sibhula, kungani?

Nyanga: Lowo ngumqalisi wezinto zonke. Abanye bacabanga ukuthi izinyanga amadimoni, ngoba bafunde loko encwadini engcwele. Ngithanda ukunazisa ukuthi akunjalo. Uma silapha umuntu aphile amandla siwathatha kuMdali ehlangene neziDalwa. Uyena oqalisayo besezona zizakithina njengabasimele kuye.

P: Ake ungichazele ngamathwasa akho, usebenza kanjani.?

Nyanga: Ngenxa yesikhathi, angeke ngikutshale konke, Baba.

P: Kunzima yini ukuthwasa?

Nyanga: He, Baba, kunzima kodwa kudinga ube nediscipline. Angeke ngakuchazela yonke iprocedure ngoba omunye nomunye uhlukile. Njengawe nje Baba, uma ukhuleka uNkulunkulu uzokukhanyisela. Umoya onawo mkhulu kakhulu, uvuthiwe. Nami ngiyathandaza uma ngizobathwasisa labantu.

P: Manje ngoba nasi nesifo sibhokile Gogo, wena wenza njani?

Nyanga: Mina ngihlangene nezinye izinyanga, kunabodokotela abasisizayo abasifundisa ngezempilo uma ulapha. Bakhona la eVosloorus. Uma umuntu kumele ngimqinise ngiyaye ngithi eze nereza yakhe ngimgcabe ngayo. Futhi ngifaka amaglove uma ngimgcaba. Umuntu onesifo lesi uyabonakala uma sewujwayele, ngiyaye ngithi makasiwe kudokotela ayohlolola yona i-Aids before ngimsiza. Bavame ukungabi namandla kungako ngithi uyambona.

P: Ngibona kuhlala kunezimoto ezikanokusho lapha ekhaya, ingabe izigulane zakho na?

Nyanga: Yebo Gogo, ngiyabophela nokubophela. Kuza abantu abakhulu lapha kimi, abanye yizikhulu zepolitiki, amabusiness man kanye nabelungu bamafirm.

P: Bayakholwa kanti abelungu, Gogo?

Nyanga: Yebo gogo! Uyazibonela nawe, phela baqinisa amabhizinisi wabo ukuba abasebenzi babathobele, babenesithunzi. Angithi ngishilo kuwe ukuthi asiwona amadimoni njengoba kushiwo! Nathi siphilwe yiNkosi loku ukuba sisize abantu.

P: Manje lesikhumba senyoka esilenga lapha yini ngaso?

Nyanga: Gogo, lo umuthi omkhulu kabi, ngabuya nawo emanzini. Uma ngilapha ngiyaye kokunye ngihlanganise naso. Kanti futhi ngiqinisa ngawo abantu.

P: Awungixoxele ngempepho?

Nyanga: Igama liyazisho, lo umuthi omkhulu ophakamisa idlozi, futhi iyavikela kakhulu. Ubohlala unawo usebenza kaningi. Impepho ungayibilisa bese uyiphuza, ungageza ngayo futhi uyashunqisa ngayo. Impepho ibalekisa imimoya emibi.

P: Hayi ke ngithi Thokoza gogo! Ngolwazi ongiphe lona. Ukwanda kwaliwa umthakathi.

2)

INKULUMO MAYELANA NOMOYA WABANTU

P: Ake usho Dlamini kungani abansundu bengeyeke ukuhlabela abaphansi nokuya ezinyangeni?

Dlamini: Mongameli, lokho kuyindabuko kithi, kuyingxenye yesiko lethu. Sihlangene kakhulu ngoba sazalwa sakhula ngaleyo ndlela. Futhi siyisizwe esazisayo kakhulu imvelaphi yaso. Okunye engingakusho ukuthi izifo eziningi ezibahlulayo odokotela abafundele ukulapha, laba abayizinyanga nezangoma bayakwazi ukuzelapha. Izinto esizibona zenzeka, njengobuthakathi yizo ezenza sibone ukuthi ngempela izinyanga zethu akusiwo nje amampunge. Nokho kukhona lezo esithi zadla imbumba – phela abantu abaphiwa ngokufana. Nakubo odokotela abafundile bakhona nje abanye abahlulekayo. Angeke siyeke ngoba lokhu kuyiheritage yethu, izimpande zethu ukudla okhule ngakho uhlala njalo ukuthanda. Ngicabanga ukuthi, Mongameli, uma siyekela lokhu siyobe sesilahle isiko lethu ngoba sesithathwe ezinye izinhlanga – siyobe sizoxakekisa kakhulu.

P: Wena Chiliza, ungathini mayelana nalokhu?

Chiliza: Mina, Mongameli, angeke ngayeka ukuhamba izinyanga, ngonyaka odlule ngagula kakhulu kwangazakala ukuthi yini. Ngaya kodokotela, ngathathwa igazi ngaxilongwa. Imiphumela yonke yayithi anginalutho. Kodwa ukugula akuzange kuphele kimi. Ngase ngiya enyangeni le ekhaya eMthatha. Yayisithi kumele ngithwase. Ndaphambana, Mongameli, uyezwa! Kwabe kuwukuthi ngichitha isikhathi sami ngokuphambana. Ngempela ngaya kwenye nayo eyagcizelela lokho. Kwamela ngenze umsebenzi wokushweleza ngicele ukuthi okwamanje ngingekhone. Ngenza izinto ezithile zesintu konke kwalunga. Ungibona nje ngiyakhona ukubona. Futhi kunezinto ekumele ngizenze Mongameli njalo. Ngiyaxolisa ukuthi angikwazi ukukutshela zona. Ngaleyo ndlela asingeke sikhone ukuhlukana nesiko lethu elisiphilisayo.

P: Mnumzane Luthuli, wena uthi yini singeke siyeke ukukhonza umoya?

Mnumzane Luthuli: Okokuqala mangithi asizikhonzi izinyanya noma amadlozi. Ukukhonza into ngendlela obeka ngayo kuba ngathi uthi sazi wona wodwa, asazi ngoNkulunkulu. Amadlozi igama elisetshenziselwa ukuchaza abantu bakithi abangasekho, okhokho bethu. Ngesilungu yilokhu esithi ama “ancestors” uma ekhona ngesilungu kungani awethu efaniswa nezithixo? Ngamafuphi ngithi siyabazisa kunokubakhonza. Uma umuntu omthandayo eshona, uhlala njalo umkhumbula, konke ayekwenza uvama ukukhumbula. Ngithi “you live his/her spirit up”. Ngaleyo ndlela kulukhuni kithi ukuba siyeke ukuhlala sibazisa abalele.

P: Siyabonga kakhulu.

3)

INKULUMO NESANGOMA KWAZULU

Sangoma: Sawubona !

P: Sawubona! Ngiyajabula ukukubona namhlanje. Unjani dadewethu?

Sangoma : Sawubona, Baba! Ngisaphila! Phela iproblem yami enginayo abantu baningi. Indawo yincane. Bebaningi nje abanye abanalutho, abanamali. Kusho ukuthi ngiyazama konke ukuthi bangalali ngendlala makushoda la kimina ngicele kuBaba ukuthi angisize. Kukhona abantwana abancane abafunda isikole abanganabazali nabo ngiyabasiza.

P: Uhlangana nabantu abaningi abagulayo?

Sangoma: Ee, ngihlala nabo sihlala nasekhaya lami.

P: Ngicabanga ungathi kukhona inkinga ephathelene nemali ukuhlangana nodokodela uma ugula? Ngamagama amanye, ngicabanga ukuthi abantu abagulayo ngesinye isikhathi abanayo imali ukuya kudokodela.

Sangoma: Ya , ee angathi noma bengenayo imali kodwa ngiya kwazi ukuthi ngikhiphe kweyami imali ngibahambise kudokodela. Kukhona into oyibonayo kuthi le ifuna ikliniki, le kungathi ungayiqalisa kudokodela- ke manje ngisebenzisane no doctor Ramenya.

P: Doctor Rameya?

Sangoma: Ya, ulaphezulu, ee (yebo) ngimqalise kuyena bese yena uyakwazi kuthi angihlalele ukuthi lomuntu uphethwe yini. Abanye bayafika bathi ngiphethwe yisifuba kanti akusona isifuba kuyi-HIV or sekuyi-AIDS, kodwa uDoctor Rameya uyakwazi ukuthi - two weeks, uyahamba lo muntu ngeke asaphila isikhathi eside yicancer njalo-njalo.

P: Wena uyalapha?

Sangoma: Ya, ngesiZulu yebo.

P: Uyabhula futhi?

Sangoma: Thokoza!

P: Unabaphansi futhi wena unamathwasa uyatwenya?

Sangoma: Ngiyatwenya futhi egqweceni lami, kukhona abengekho nje ngisabakhiphile baye emizini yabantu bayosebenza.

P: Uyabafundisa abathwasayo? Manje uchazela kanjani lezi zathu ukuthi banigeza i-coffee noma itiye kwamadlozi phambi kokuphuza?

Sangoma: Kusho ukuthi ngaphambi kokuba basebenze abantu, ekuseni kufanele bavuke, amadlozi ayabavusa bazivukela bona ngo three abavuswa wumuntu, abavuswa yiwashi - ke bayakwazi kuthi bavuke kukhona umuthi oshawayo ngebhakethe bashaye lomuthi bahambe baqale bageze ngensipho namanzi a plain water bageze kuqala babesebathathe umuthi bawuthele endishini bephuze ke manje baphalaze bageze kodwa kubakhona abanye bafika sebene-TB bekhwehlela, i-TB yabo iphuze kuthi iyalapheka e kliniki besebe buya kimina ukuthi lomuntu mina ngiya kwazi ukuthi lomuntu ngimhlole kuthi ungaphalazi kodwa amanzi azowasebenzisa abe warm okugeza uwahlanganise nomuthi after two weeks uzoba ephikaphile umuntu ese right.

P: Uma kungenzeka uvakashele ezweni lami, uzobona ukuthi laphaya abantu baziphatha ngokufana. Isibonelo kudala izigqila kwakufanele zivuke ngovivi ngo-3h00 A.M ukuya esontweni lamaKatholika. Bekufanele ukuthandaza esontweni esikhundleni somsamo. Ihamba kanjani la kwaZulu?

Sangoma: Bathandaza emsamo ngo four before bathinta umuthi kumele baqale bavuke ba thandaze babonge ukulala bangangenelwa izinto ezimbi banga phuphi kabi kuze amaphupho amahle kubo. Mayelana nenkosi siyabonga ukuvuka, abantu angithi namhlanje bayahlaselwa odokodela abafana nathi kodwa basuke bebonga konke lokhu ukuthi silalile saze savuka. Umuntu uyalala kanti ke idlozi lakhe selimshiyile kungaveli lutho kimi nakuyena futhi kungaveli wena uzitshela kuthi usalele kanti akasekho lo muntu manje basuke babonge konke lokho.

P: Ukubheke kwacaca. Ngikuzwa kahle.

Sangoma: Yebo before nje be thinta impepho lapha kwami kumele baqale emthandazweni kodwa uma bethinta impepho kumele baguqe bathandaze. Into yokuqala nje ukuthandaza bagcina ngo 12h00 futhi emini siyaguqa futhi sithandaze, ntambama futhi ngo-6'oclock siyaguqa futhi sithandaze singakalali sisahlangane sonke ngoba yonke into iqala ngoMdali akukho esingazenzela kona thina ngoba nalawo madlozi azokusiza la emhlabeni kodwa konke kuqala phi? KuNkulunkulu. Wona ayagijima aye kuNkulunkulu ayokusicelela konke esikucelayo njengoba ngisho kuthi angilali ngingadlile ngoba ngiqala phi? Emthandazweni kuyathandazwa kwami.

P: Kuhle ukuthandaza ngenhliziyo omhlophe...

Sangoma: Uma yonke into before uyenza uqala kuNkulunkulu kuqala uNkulunkulu yena uxhumene kakhulukazi nalezindaba lezi –so- umuntu uma esengenile enthwasweni uhlukana nezinto eziningi kusho kuthi umuntu akafanele mhlawumbe angene ekuthwaseni enze amagobodo kufanele ukuthi umuntu agcine amasiko akubo – so - yonke into kufanele ukuyiqalisa kuNkulunkulu sicela kuyena sicele kuthi manje bonke abantwana babela bazodla inkamba abanenkinga babela sicele kube yena Nkulunkulu, kube uyena ozosikhanyisela. Bashaya amakhamba nje yonke into sikhululekile no Nkulunkulu, sebenika nezinkinga zabo ngoba kuleli khamba bebelishaya ekuseni ukunikeza izinkinga zabo nokugula kwabo ukuthi-ke la bazodla khona inkamba bacele ukuthi amadlozi abo ahlange namadlozi bese kuthi uma beqedile babheke nabantu abazofika nje ngobezo thwasa nje abantu bezo funda makufika isikhathi sokuthi baya phuma kumele kuthi aphume naye kuthi le zinto lezi abezenza la akwazi ukuthi nasemzini wakhe afike azenze. Azi ukuthi uqala kuNkulunkulu kuqala bese axhumane nedlozi lakhe, umuntu mayekhulume nedlozi lakhe futhi amsondelise duze naye, wena angithi uthi ufuna umtwana bese ucela umtwana kumzali?

P: Ezweni lami abantu bakhokha isiphandla abanye banamahloni ukusikhokha emehlweni abantu... Benza kanjani la?

Sangoma: Angithi uyabona la, yinyoka inhlwathi ngahamba ngaya ehlathini ngabuya nayo.

P: Uma ngabe ngokuzayo uzovakashela ezweni lami ukuqhatanisa lezi zinto...

Sangoma: Nami ngifuna ukuyovakasha.

P: Yebo ubuezokwazi ukubona ngamehlo akho le ndlela abanye bayathwasa, bayalapha babhula ngamathambo ukuthola imfihlo. Kodwa, endaweni yokusebenzisa amathambo, basebenzisa ama-cards. Ngokufana ngempela. Lokho kusegazini labantu abadabuka e-Afrika. Ake unginikeze ithuba lokukubuza umbuzo omunye?

Sangoma: Akuna nkinga, Baba.

P: Wenza kanjani ukuvikela isiko lethu?

Sangoma : Mangithi nje ngiyakwazi ukuvikela lokho ngomhla ka-2 ngiye ngayofuna iholo ngenxa yokuhlonipha ngikwazile ukuyithola ngoba ngiyahlonipha, ngikwazile manje nama councillor ayakwazi ukuthi ahlange athi iholo angilithole ngoba bayangazi ngiqale ngina ten years angikwazanga ukufunda ngize ngifike la ngithanda khona, angikwazanga ukuthi ngifike langithanda khona ngifike ngagcina phansi yila kuthi imfundo yami ngiyivuse manje, ngiyakwazi ukuthi ngihlangane nezinye izangoma la eSouth Africa banomona, sinomona asifuni ukuhlangana kodwa manje bayangithanda ngoba ngibatholisile, noma ungahlangana nephoyisa uphethe umuthi ungeboshwe.

Ya angithi ngiyabaqoqa, eTranskei ngiyabaqoqa beze bazofunda ekhaya lami kodwa lincane kodwa siyakwazi kuthi uBaba wasakhela kuthi sifunde, eh, that's why bengilithanda le khaya noma angitholanga abangihluphi, ngoba ngiyacela uMthandi ngiyamthanda inhlangano yakwaMthandi iyona eqale yangivula umqondo bengingena ndaba negloves mina, benginokuthatha nje noma ngibona ukuthi umuntu unegazi kakhulu ngithathe iplastic ngibophe esandleni ngikhiphe umuthi ngifake bengingenandaba ukuthi igazi lalo muntu lihlangane nelomunye bengithatha leso staff, kodwa umthambo wase wangivula umqondo nokuthi iraser lilahle uma selisebenzile abantu bajwayeze ukuthi uma befikile ekhaya labo ubanikeze amacondom manje le nhlangano ngiyayiphakamisa kakhulu.

P: Siyabonga kakhulu.

Sangoma: Nami ngiyajabula kakhulu.

P: Ukwanda kwaliwa umthakathi.

4)

INKULUMO NETHWASANA LAKUDALA

P: Sawubona dadewethu !

Thwasana: Sawubona !

P: Ngiyajabula ukukubona! Unjani ?

Thwasana: Ngikhona unjani?

P: Ngikhona! Wamukelekile, dadewethu! Njenboba uyazi, sizimisele ukucwaninga izinto eziningi mayelana nomoya wamagama, nezilimi, nolwazi... Nginethemba uzojabula ukwabelana nami izinto ezinhle. Uyajabula na?

Thwasana: Yebo ngiyajabula.

P: Kulungile, njengoba ngishilo ngolunye usuku, ezweni lami abantu bafana kakhulu nabafowethu nodadewethu baseNingizimu Afrika. Ngempela, sonke singabafowethu nodadewethu. Sikhuluma ngomndeni omkhulu. Ngizokubuza imibuzo ephathelene nesiko lenu. Ngiyathemba ukuthi uzokwabelana nami lezi zinto eziphathelene nesiko lakho ukuqhathanisa nesiko lethu. Isibonelo: Uma ubona isangoma, uzizwa kanjani?

Thwasana: Uma ngibona isangoma khona manje I see it differently from the time I was going through the process of ukuthwasa because now I am Christian. I have decided to leave those things of amasiko ngiyasonta akusasemqoka kimina ngezinto zezangoma.

P: Ngiyabona. Bengingathanda sikhulume kuqala ngobungoma bese siyashintsha sikhulume ngesonto le nkosi uJesu. Kwakunjani nje ngenkathi kwakumele uthwase?

Thwasana: Ee, okokuqala ukuthi ngiya kothwasa ngoba ngagula kakhulu and kwenzeka ukuthi bangise kuleso sangoma sathi nginedlozi kumele ukuthi ngithwase and then at first I hesitated I did not want to because I was very young and I was thinking of my child. I have a two year old son and he was only two months old and I had to go. They said I must go because if I don't go, the amadlozi will kill me. So as time went on, I became very sick and I decided to go and thwasa. I thought things will be better then, that's how I got into the training. And then, as I was there, it wasn't very easy. It was very difficult because the place where I was doing the training was not far from my home. So every time as I could go out, I could see my home and thinking that I am here. And there is my home. I was lonely as I was alone because there were no family. It was just people I don't know.

P: In that house, how many were you?

Thwasana : We were something like eleven or twelve at the time.

P: Only women or women and men?

Thwasana : It was only women, most of them were my age. We were young, between 19 and 25 years.

P: The one who was training you and the others was male or female?

Thwasana : A woman.

P: Young woman?

Thwasana : She was middle aged maybe late 30s or early 40s.

P: And what did she teach you at the time?

Thwasana : She would teach us how we should behave. She would teach us like sometimes she would take us to the mountain or to the forest and she teach us some muti that we had to dig out.

P: They also learn how about traditional medicine in my country.

Thwasana: Yes, we would go with her. She would tell us this is what kind of muti and how does it work ; why do we use it, things like that.

P: And did the muti really work?

Thwasana: Yes, it worked. But not always. Muthi does not work all the time. I don't know why. Maybe you have to believe that it will help you.

P: So what kind of sickness usually made people seeing an isangoma?

Thwasana : There are very different illnesses like some were mentally disturbed and they say it's amadlozi. And then, if you go through the twasing process you will be fine. Some maybe their legs are swollen. And many kinds of illness... Kuya ngokuya...For instance, I was very much possessed by the spirit. I will always fall maybe at night when I hear the drums beating or maybe when I hear the people singing at church. I would become too much possessed and that was so embarrassing.

P: When you were possessed, did you speak in your language or in other languages?

Thwasana: When you are possessed the person that speaks its not you maybe it's your grandmother or your great grandfather. And the time you don't hear anything you don't feel anything. People will be telling you what you were doing or what you were saying thing like that.

P: How long could the spirit stay?

Thwasana: It depends on how your amadlozi becomes stubborn. Some amadlozi are stubborn. They will punish you first in such a way that you will fall or cry for maybe 30 minutes or even an hour and sometimes you will collapse for maybe an hour or two. And if they are not stubborn, they come and sing after singing; they say what they want to say.

P: Ngalesi sikathi uthwasa, uzizwe kanjani? Bewusaba na? Or, could you enjoy the company of amadlozi?

Thwasana: I was embarrassed especially when there were people. I only felt better when it was only us amathwasana. It was better because we were there with the same problems. So when there were other people I would feel so much embarrassed. I didn't like it. I did it because I wanted to be cured of what was going on with me.

P: Did you find a good result?

Thwasana: At the end of the process, I didn't find good result. Maybe it's because of... I don't know. Maybe I was being impatient or something ...Because at the time when I was at the sangoma, my sickness became worse. As I became asthmatic and it became worse and I wasn't allowed to go to a doctor. They said the amadlozi will punish me, even worse, if I go to a doctor. So, I have to use umuti and I have to pray and do all those things.

P: To whom did you speak to when you were praying? To God? To Amadlozi?

Thwasana: To both of them. First, you speak to God to help you that amadlozi athambe, like to help to be humble at least and that they should guide you through the training and everything they want you to do. You ask GOD for all those things.

P: Mina ke rata Modimo. Ke tuta isiTswana, mara ke bolela isiZulu. Ngakho ke ngizozama ukukubuza umbuzo ngesiZulu. Sithi isangoma sibhula ngamathambo kanti ke inyanga iyalapha ngomuthi. Ihamba kanjani kuwe?

Thwasana: Those things are so much confusing to me. That's why I didn't complete the process because some of the things I didn't understand why and what's the difference. As there were no answers, I can't even tell you. At my training we were using the Bible to prophesise. We prayed first and asked God to give you the news of the person that wants to be prophesised and when you read the Bible you could see those news.

P: So you didn't have the opportunity to use the bones?

Thwasana: She told us about the bones but we were not using them so much.

P: How do you explain the bones? Could they help you to see some secrets? Where is the difference between the Bible and the bones?

Thwasana: Yes they can they do the same thing. It's just that the bones are difficult. They are not easy to learn.

P: What about ishoba?

Thwasana: Ishoba labangwenya? That thing, I didn't have it. Usually, it's the sangoma who carries that ishoba labangwenya.

P: It could take how long before a learner start using ishoba?

Thwasana: Maybe like when uzoqeda ukuthwasa. When your days of ukuthwasa are almost finished.

P: But this process could take how long? One month, two months, six months or one year?

Thwasana: Sometimes six months between six months and a year.

P: As we were saying earlier, I read that some peoples are living in caves and there they welcome others including white people to teach them how to become isangoma. The learners pay some fees. Were you obliged to pay money? Could we know how much?

Thwasana: Yes we were paying money, thousands of rands.

P: Monthly?

Thwasana: It is too much costing because there are other things that they want like a goat or the clothes. So, it is too much. It's even more than three thousand. But the one that you pay isangoma, it can be one thousand or two thousand.

P: I also heard that sometimes the sangoma needs money because some muthi cannot be found here. It must be imported from other countries like Zimbabwe, do you agree?

Thwasana: I agree but it's not usually that they need to go and fetch muthi. They need it for themselves, to pay themselves.

P: When someone is sick and decides to see isangoma, how much money will he be paying? Fifty to start?

Thwasana: It depends, like isangoma can see when he prophesises or when she consults the spirits, she can see that you have money or not. Even if you can say that you don't have money, she can see that you do have money because when she throws the bones, there is a bone that shows that you have money or not and if you have money she can charge you more.

P: I heard that sometimes it may even reach five hundred and fifty Rands?

Thwasana: Yes, or even more it depends, like maybe you are sick, she says for you to be cured you need to pay eight hundred Rands.

P: Some people facing financial problems will not see a doctor but a sangoma. Kungani?

Thwasana: I think it's because of our culture. Some people believe so much in amasiko. And the reason why they prefer a sangoma I think maybe sometimes they think that they have been witched. That's why they consult a sangoma. Because a doctor cannot heal something that has been witched. So the sangoma can help you with that.

P: Manje uma umuntu efika ekuthwaseni engenamali kuzokwenzakalani?

Thwasana: Uzothwasa kodwa makeqeda ukuthwasa uzosebenzela leso sangoma. Lokho kusho ukuthi uma abantu beza kuye ukuzolashwa, uzobanceda abanikeze imithi kodwa uma bebhadala imali iya kuleso sangoma.

P: Mayelana nempilo yakho, uzizwa kanjani, khona manje?

Thwasana: Now I am better than that time. It's not easy to go through the process of ukuthwasa, because sometimes we had to wake up early in the morning. At 3h o'clock, we must wake up.

P: What do you do?

Thwasana: There are different things to do. Maybe during the week we go to the river. Siyokhapha, futhi siyageza emfuleni and masibuya asilali. We must sweep the yard and it was a very big yard. And after that, those who did not bath at the river must bath before six o'clock. Before the sun comes out, everything must be finished. Bese siqala ukusila imithi. Abanye bona bayolanda izinkuni and its very far from the place and sometimes in the morning singena amabhavu, lawo abizwa ngokuthi yiphororo, meaning water falls. Maybe they pour 40 litres of cold water on top of your head and it wasn't good at all.

P: Could it be the same for men?

Thwasana: Yes it is the same. Even when men are around, when we are doing those water falls we did them half naked. But when there were no men at all, we do them naked. It wasn't good at all. And at 12h00 at night we sing and pray. And maybe someone becomes possessed by amadlozi, we have to help that person ukuthi silincenge le lodlozi and uthole ukuthi asisalali.

P: Ubani ubekwazi ukuvakashela intumba?

Thwasana: She only had a husband but the husband was staying in another house and she was staying with us because they said it's unclean for the husband to enter the intumba. Intumba yileyo ndlu ethwala imithi yakhona. So, it's not good for the husband to enter the intumba. When he visits, he sleeps in the car.

P: Bathandaza emsamo na?

Thwasana: Ok, we call it inqalo. So that inqalo was made out of stones. We go inside it when we are going to ask something very serious or when siyophahla.

P: When you had to offer a goat, where did you do it?

Thwasana: We did that inside inqalo.

P: Did you have an opportunity to do that?

Thwasana: Yes, we called it "setsheso". They will be fire made in the middle of that inqalo and that goat or chicken will be put on fire. But not the whole. Only certain parts. And meanwhile we surround that fire, singing and praying and drums beating.

P: What did they do with the blood?

Thwasana: It depends. Maybe it's your "sitshiso". Then you will use the blood to gabha or bath. Sometimes uyagabha bese ugeze ngalo. Then, the goat will be given to the people who consulted the sangoma. There were many people who came. And we were not allowed to eat meat, any kind of meat.

P: Isangoma siyayidla na?

Thwasana: Isangoma siyayidla inyama ngaleso sikhathi besingavumelwanga ukudla inyama. We only ate cabbage without cooking oil and a little bit of salt.

P: Manje bathi ngaleso sikhathi akukuhle ukudla usawoti omkhulu?

Thwasana: Eating tasteless food it's not good. And they said that we must not eat salt because it is unclean. I don't know how?

P: Ngokuvamile kuthiwa umkhovu awudli usawoti. La eNingimzimu Afrika kuthiwani?

Thwasana: Kuthiwa ngenxa yokuthi usawoti wenza ukuthi ukudla kube mnandi-so-kusho ukuthi uzokhohlwa ukuthi uzeleni lapha, uzele ukuzodla kamnandi, futhi namafutha akafanelanga ukuthi adliwe ngoba bathi akalunganga for isifuba.

P: Ngiyakuncenga, ngicela sibuyele kulezi zathu zokuthi abantu bathanda ukunyanga.

Thwasana: They come for different reasons some want to be protected some want marriages many different things.

P: Ngifunde ukuthi uma indoda ifuna intombi, izobhula esangomeni ukubethelela le ntombi.

Thwasana: That's evil, but only bad sangomas do that.

P: So!

Thwasana: Kunjalo ngoba abanye bayakwazi ukulapha, abakhoni ukwenza izinto ezifana nokuthi uma umuntu ufuna intombi uya kuye ukupha umuthi. Abanye bayakwazi ukwenza izinto "ezisile" (ezikhohlakele). Abakwazi ukwalapha abanye. They can give you umuthi maybe if you want to be rich, you want to win a court case... They can help you and they don't always do all things. Even a good sangoma can't do everything. Even if you are good you cannot cure everybody. So it depends on how you are gifted.

P: Can a good sangoma help people who fear the amadlozi?

Thwasana: Yes. That is why I say it's something that you believe in. If you believe that they will kill you then maybe they will kill you. But if you don't believe, I don't think something like that will happen to you. It's all about believing.

P: Bewucabanga kanjalo kusukela uqala ukutwasa na?

Thwasana: To be honest I regret... At the time, my life turned upside down and my school work stopped. Uma uthwasa awufanelanga ukuthi uye ekhaya but mina because of I was a student at the time so I was allowed to go home for few hours, to go home and study and come back. As we never had enough sleep and always tired when I start opening my books, I could just fall asleep because I was tired. And that was happening everyday. So I was so much behind with my studies. And when I go for exams, I didn't have any idea of what I was writing. So, I failed that year and I almost dropped out of school.

P: Are there many students in this situation?

Thwasana: Yes, there are. Because I was not the only one who was still studying. There was this other girl, she was also studying.

P: Would it be different for adults?

Thwasana: There was this lady I knew and her marriage almost ended because she was twasing. And she left her husband at home and there were rumours that she was cheating on her husband and her marriage almost ended. So it's not easy even for adults because you also leave your kids and your husband behind. It's either the husband will do something stupid or you will.

P: Is it a good thing seeing sangomas demonstrating for their rights?

Thwasana: It is, because we are living in a diverse country. So, it's good for those who believe in these things and they have the law to protect them. But when you are allowed to be a sangoma you must have a license but nowadays some of them fake the certificates.

P: How should we keep building peace between believers and those who don't believe?

Thwasana: The thing is in our country we have freedom. So everyone has a freedom of choice. So anyone has a choice of he or she wants to do. So one must not interfere with other people's interest. If I want to be a sangoma let it be. And if I want to be a Christian then it's my choice. We all believe in different things. We believe in what we value as we different people. We all have to accept that we are the same it's just that our way of doing things are different so we have to respect each others values and cultures.

P: Do you make a distinction between the amadlozi and the ancestors?

Thwasana: Ukuya ngami I think amadlozi and the ancestors are the same thing.

P: Ngokubona kwakho, bacabangani esontweni?

Thwasana: In church not all of them go to see a doctor. Because sometimes you have many problems and you think that the prayer is not helping much. And you think that you can consult a sangoma to help. But most people don't want other people to know that they have been to a sangoma.

P: Ngikuzwa kahle. Kungathi abanye, endaweni yokugqoka isiphandla ngesandla, basifaka ngaphakathi: Abafuni ukuthi abanye basibone .

Thwasana: Like in our culture when you are the last born in the family, you have to wear something called "bolokwane" whether you are a Christian or not.

P: Could we see something like that in other countries?

Thwasana: Yes, we will find that. Because it is not only in South Africa that we believe in the spirits.

P: Why do you think people are afraid to pronounce utokoloshi?

Thwasana: Utokoloshi is something that is evil and is being used by witches. I don't know how they do that but people say it's something like a gorilla or a monkey.

P: Ngizwe la ePitoli, abantu abavela emakhaya babeka umbhede phezu kwamatshe; uma utokoloshi efika, kuzoba nzima kuye ukulala nabo.

Thwasana: People use different things. Some people use impepho ukuxosha utokoloshi, abanye basebenzisa ukukhuluma namadlozi. Kuno omunye umuthi kuthiwa "lebaso" ngeSetswana bayawushisa ukuxosha utokoloshi.

P: Ucabanga ukuthi umthakathi unamandla kune sangoma?

Thwasana: Yes sometimes, because a witch uyaloya.

P: Uma umuntu enuka umthakathi manje lo muntu uzobona ubani, isangoma noma a witch?

Thwasana: I think the person will go and see isangoma because a witch is evil and because a sangoma can consult the spirit and the witch only do evil things.

P: What kind of wishes or advice would you share with those who really want to feel free?

Thwasana: If you want to do something, just do it. You must not mind other people ukuthi what will they say. Umuntu kumele enze izinto ngendlela yakhe.

P: Noma bacabanga ngesipoki... Konje, sikhona na?

Thwasana: Mina isipoki angikasiboni. And I think that isipoki is a spirit esixoshiwe eZulwini. Mostly abantu abapokayo, abantu abazibulele. And God doesn't want them because he didn't call them.

P: Uma kunjalo, bazivikela kanjani?

Thwasana: Some people pray to God ukuxosha isipoki.

P: Do you see the difference between inyanga and isangoma?

Thwasana: I think that bayafana because they prophesise and bacela kumadlozi bonke.

P: What do you think of a zombie or dubwana in Swahili?

Thwasana: A zombie is the work of the witches' bayakuthwebula and they fake your death.

P: Manje, kuzomele ngiphethe ngokudelela besizokwazi ukuqhubeka kuze kufike kusasa. ngiyabonga ngezandla zombili. Sidle isikhathi eside kodwa bekufanele ukuthatha leli thuba ukucwaninga ngolwazi ngempela. Ubenenjabulo, dadewethu. Ukwanda kwaliwa umthakathi.

APPENDIX G

EXCERPTS FROM THE FIRST ILLUSTRATED BOOK



La danse des Anubis

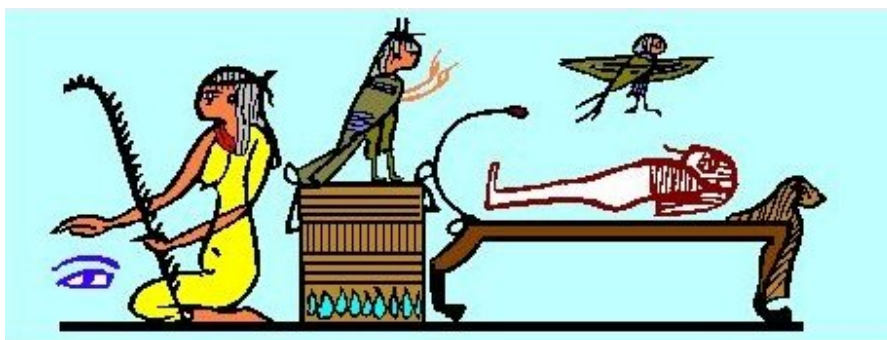
Danse of Anubis.



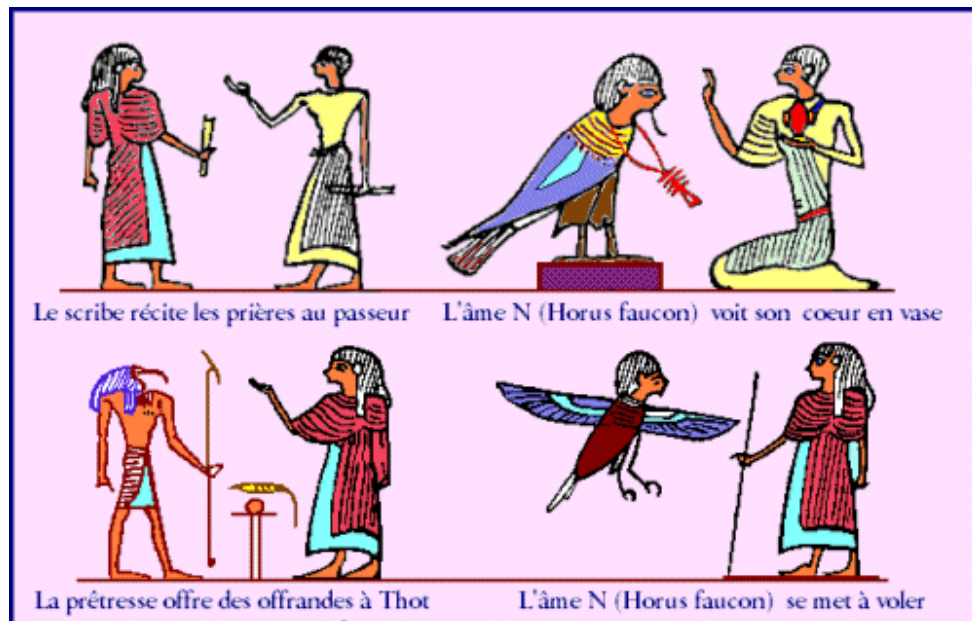
L'Osiris N et le dieu Anubis

The gods Osiris and Anubis.

After being tested, if the soul and the mouth are found to be pure, one can rejoice because he will not be pushed away.



Ascending the chariot of Osiris without being pushed away

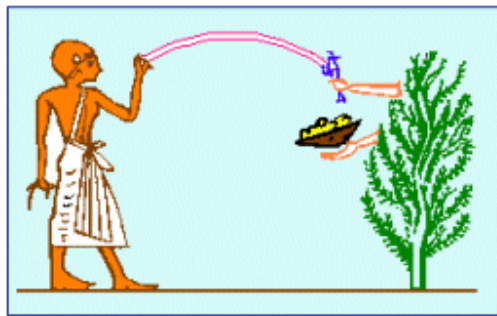


Greetings to Amon-Re who reside at Heliopolis (and at Thebes):

“Greetings to you, Amon-Re, the greatest of heaven, the Master of those who exist (you) who created all things.” Accolade to you, God who created the gods, who lifted heaven to be the ... of his two eyes (sun and moon), you who created the earth to be ... The venerated dead are jubilant when you shine there for the great god Osiris who reigns in eternity.



It is necessary to assure the survival of the Pharaoh and his reign in the after-life.



Praying for the soul:

I was filled with integrity and justice when I inhabited the earth, I was the interpreter of its word, the image of the Unique Master, Re the great who lives of truth.



Praying for the souls



La pesée des âmes en présence d'Osiris, Thot, Anubis, Horus et Maât (la vérité)
Musée Egizio de Turin

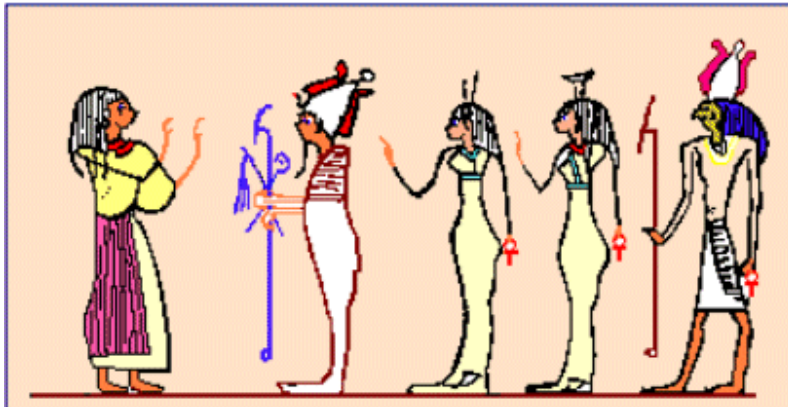
Prayer that one must say once arriving in the room called « **la salle des deux Maât (Isis et Hathor)** » :

Salut à toi, Grand Dieu, Maître des deux Maât ! Je suis venu vers Toi ô mon Maître pour voir ta perfection. Je te connais et je connais le nom des deux Maât (près de toi) Voici que je suis venu vers toi et t'ai apporté ce qui est équitable, j'ai chassé pour toi l'iniquité.

- Je n'ai pas commis l'iniquité contre les hommes,
- Je n'ai pas maltraité les gens,
- Je n'ai pas commis de péchés dans la Place de la Vérité,
- Je n'ai pas fait de mal...

- Je n'ai pas appauvri un pauvre dans ses biens,
- Je n'ai pas fait ce qui est abominable aux dieux...
- Je n'ai pas affligé et fait pleurer,
- Je n'ai pas affamé (mais j'ai donné à manger),
- Je n'ai pas ordonné de tuer et n'ai pas tué,
- Je n'ai fait de peine à personne,
- Je n'ai pas volé les galettes des bienheureux (du ciel),
- Je n'ai pas retranché au boisseau, (ma balance était juste)
- Je n'ai pas ajouté au poids de ma balance,
- Je n'ai pas triché sur les grandeurs des terrains,
- Je n'ai pas enlevé le lait de la bouche des petits enfants,

Je suis pur, je suis pur, je suis pur



Welcoming at the Palace named Duat the one who is proclaimed JUST and PURE.

Approximately 800 of these texts have been recouperated. The Egytian engravers made of their works of art a source of inspiration. Across the ages other works of art haw drawn from this inspiration, such as the Zulu beads produced to express love and the Haitian vèvè which transform white flour and colored ink on the brown earth to form of expression. Illiterate, yet by using these vèvè, they write both the name of their God and their love of this God, respecting African values and nuturing the profound communion between African and the descendants of Africa.



Guthrie's Experimental Map of the Bantu Languages