# UMOYA WAMAGAMA (THE SPIRIT OF THE WORDS)

BY

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UMOYA WAMAGAMA (THE SPIRIT OF THE WORD)


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I declare that **UMOYA WAMAGAMA (THE SPIRIT OF THE WORDS)** is my own

work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and

acknowledged by means of complete references.

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(PROF J B ARISTIDE)                    DATE

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# Abstract

This thesis entitled *Umoya Wamagama* endeavors to establish the nature of the relationship between IsiZulu and Haitian Kreyòl. As a member of the Nguni group, IsiZulu is spoken by Africans. On the other side, Kreyòl is spoken by African descendants of Haiti, the world's first Black independent Republic.

Viewed from a multidisciplinary perspective, these two languages exhibit a significant relationship, hence this important observation: **<u>IsiZulu- Haitian Krèyol: So Close, Yet So Far!</u>** In other words, they are far from a linguistic point of view but close from a psycho-theological perspective.

- **<u>So Far</u>**: Comparative linguistics shows that Kreyòl is genetically related to French and Latin.
- **<u>So Close</u>**: Born in Haiti during the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade, Kreyòl keeps alive the spirit of the African ancestors and still contains linguistic roots of ancestral languages.

Vital and vibrant is this historical relatedness linking the two languages. <u>While Haitian Kreyòl is genetically related to French and Latin, it shares with IsiZulu an ancestral psychodynamic and theological paradigms deeply rooted in *Ubuntu*.</u>

*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*. These words crystallize the essence of *Ubuntu*. Its psychological and theological study transcends the literal language. In that regard ***Umoya Wamagama*** refers to both literal and figurative linguistic expressions. The emphasis however is more on the words which connote additional layers of meaning rather than those which simply denote their meanings.

The method used in this thesis is comparative, descriptive, investigative, analytic and exegetic when necessary.

Providing evidence of linguistic relationships, the comparative and analytic approach then embraces the semantic field of IsiZulu-Kreyòl as a significant psycholexicology where  explanations puts an emphasis on the meaning and the spirit of the words. ***Siye ngomoya wamagama***.  Hence, the core question of addressing the psychological and theological dimensions of this research which is based on a multidisciplinary approach.

After 500 years, in the wake of European colonial expansion, the Spirit of the African slaves is still alive in the psyche and the language of the Haitian people. As we said above:

**Yize isiKreyòl saseHaiti sifuze nesiFulentshi nesiLatini, sabelana nesiZulu ngokwemisuka nangokwezimiso zezinkolelo okunezimpande ezijulile emfundisweni yobuntu.**

IsiZulu and Kreyòl are related through an ancestral psychodynamic and theological paradigms rooted in *Ubuntu*.

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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 multidisciplinarity 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).

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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.



The Castles of the Gold Coast supplied hundreds of thousands of slaves to the New World, especially Brazil and the Caribbean.

A map of slave routes, based on the Joseph E. Harris, PhD
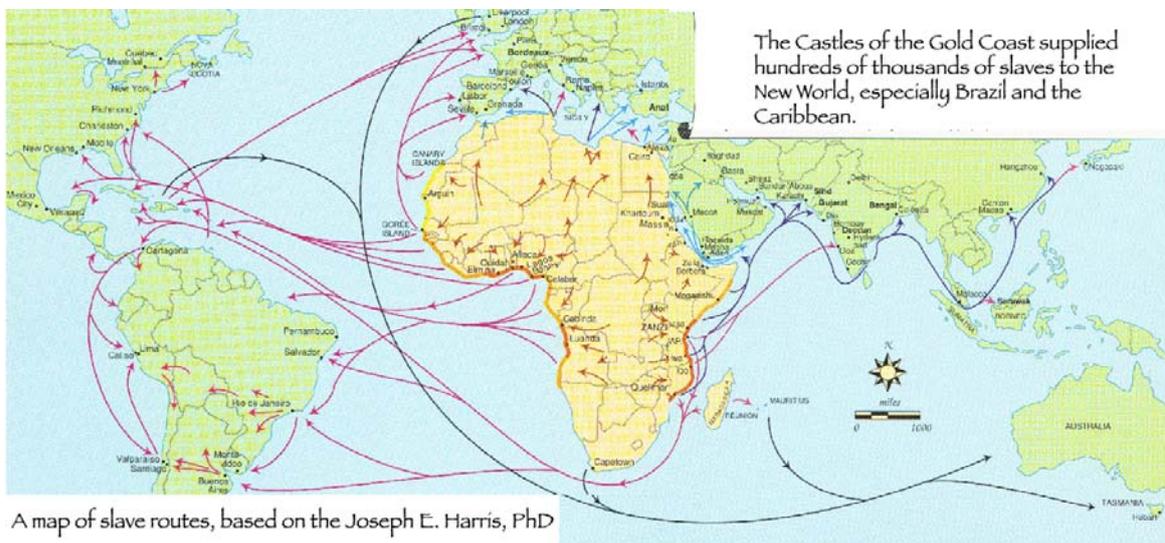
**B.       From African roots to Kreyòl roots**

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 it 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).

TRIANGULAR TRADE
AS ILLUSTRATED BY VOYAGE OF THE *Sanderson*
SAILING FROM NEWPORT, R.I., IN MARCH, 1752

54

ENGLISH COLONIES
Newport
AZORES
OCEAN
SPAIN

Carrying 55 hogsheads
of molasses, 3 hogsheads,
17 barrels of sugar, and
£412:13s. bills of exchange
on Liverpool

Carrying 8220 gallons of rum,
some "African iron" (short bars
used as currency among
African natives) etc.

CANARY
ISLANDS

CUBA

SAN JUAN
(PUERTO RICO)

JAMAICA   HISPANIOLA
(HAITI)

BARBADOS

ATLANTIC

CAPE VERDE
ISLANDS

AFRICA

GOLD
COAST

SOUTH AMERICA

Carrying 56 slaves,
40 ounces of gold dust, and
some 900 pounds of pepper

MILES
0        500        1000

For details of voyage of the Sanderson see
Dictionary of American History, Vol. V, p.296

Drawn under the supervision of RAYMOND P. STEARNS

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 Gonçalvez 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. Gonçalvez agreed to this exchange. Back in Africa the two captives were released. In return, Gonçalvez was given gold and other goods. But Gonçalvez 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 (Saunder 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.
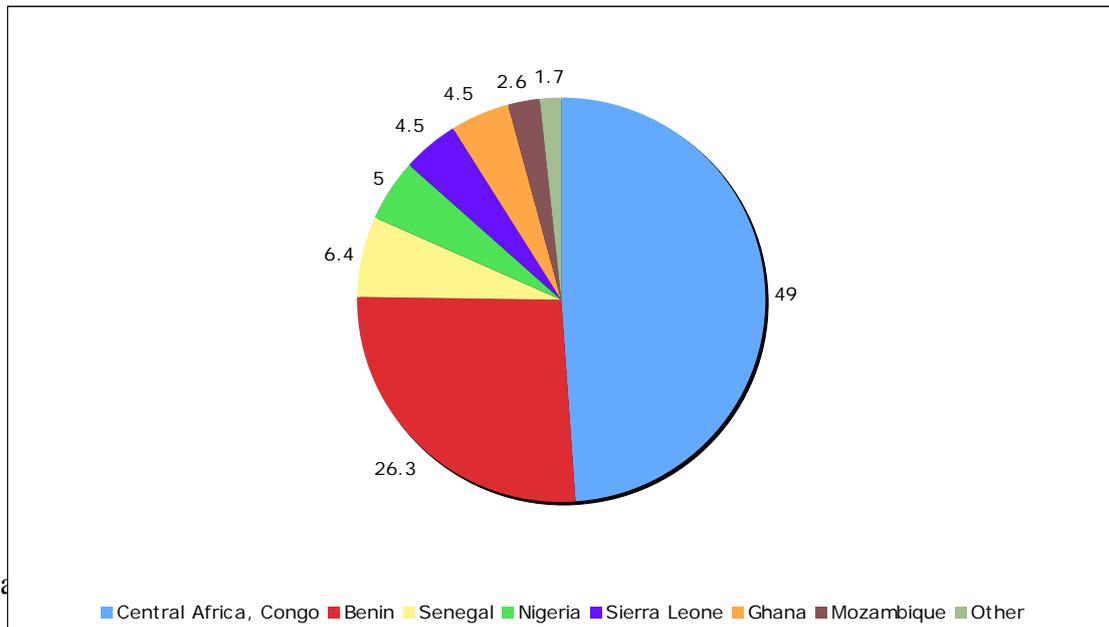
Haitian Kreyòl rooted in Bantu people and Bantu languages

"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).



- USA
- Caribbean
- Brazil
- Died en route

5
15
42
38
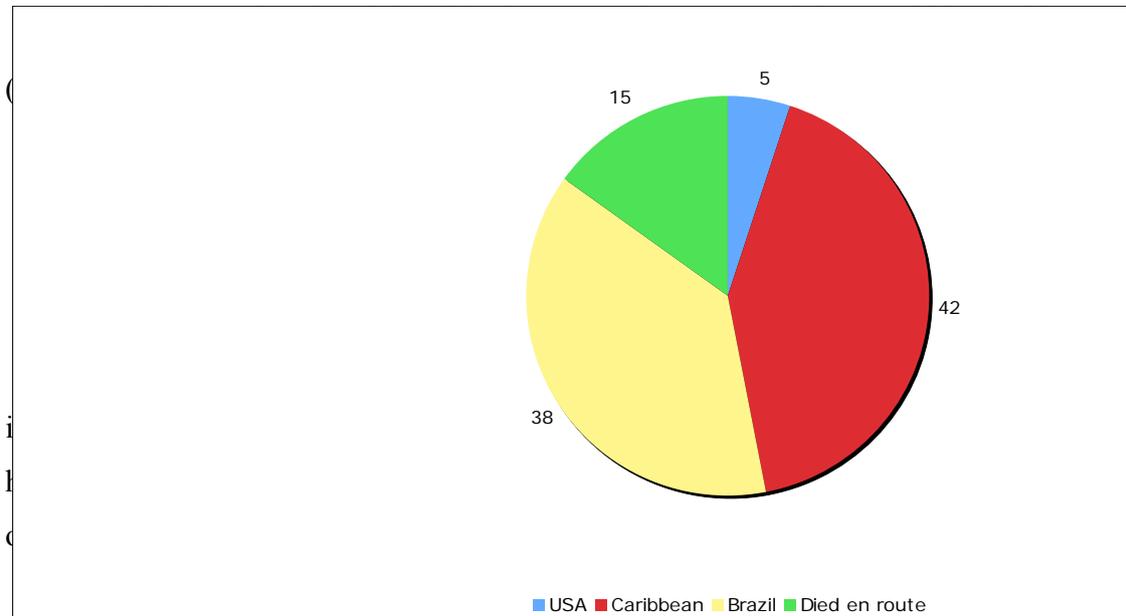
- Other researchers evaluate the total number of slaves exported from Africa between 1500 and the late 1800s, at 18 million: 11 million from West Africa, 5 million from the savanna to the coast and via the Sahara or the Red Sea, 2 million from the East Coast (Donnan 1930, 51).
- Slave ships could carry 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.

A diagram with labels:
- A (top left), connected downward to A, then A
- (B1, B2, B3 ... Bn) (top right), connected downward to (?)
- a' and a'' in the middle area
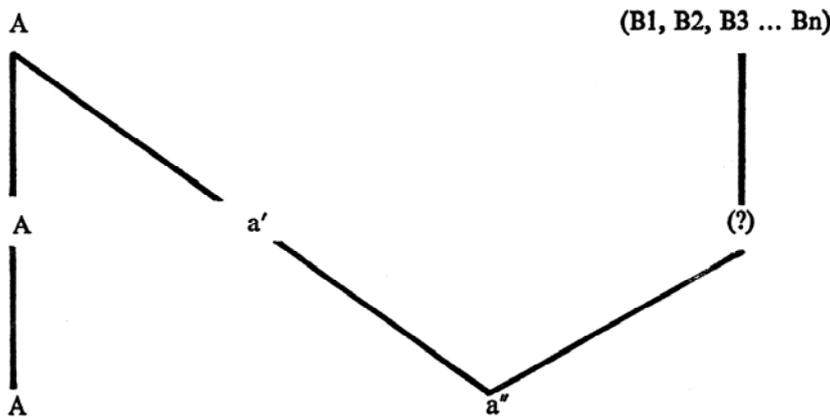
Such a social context depicts clearly the African roots of Haitian Kreyòl.  The colonists could impose their language but the Africans could not prevent themselves from emerging as the creators of a new language called Haitian Kreyòl.

## 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:

|     | **Language** | **People** |
|-----|--------------|------------|
| 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" (Bohannan 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" (Bohannan 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, Cobiana-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 Cotre 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:
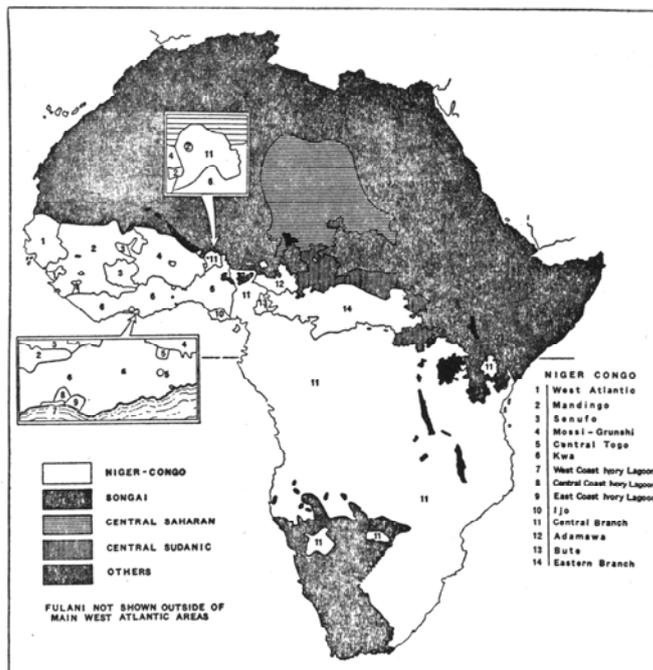


FIG. 1. Distribution of the Niger-Congo and other linguistic families.
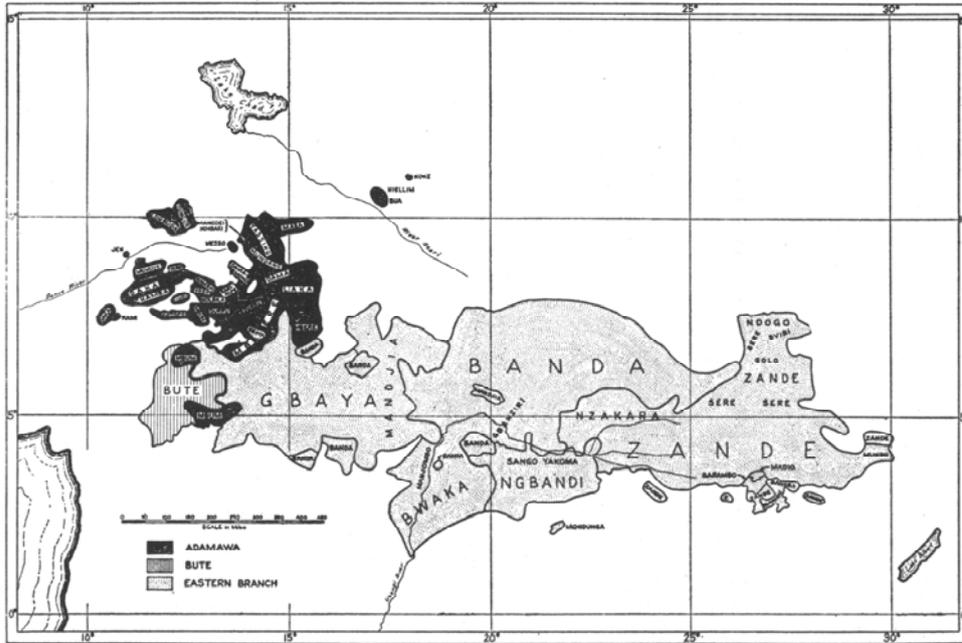
Eastward extension of Niger-Congo linguistic groups.
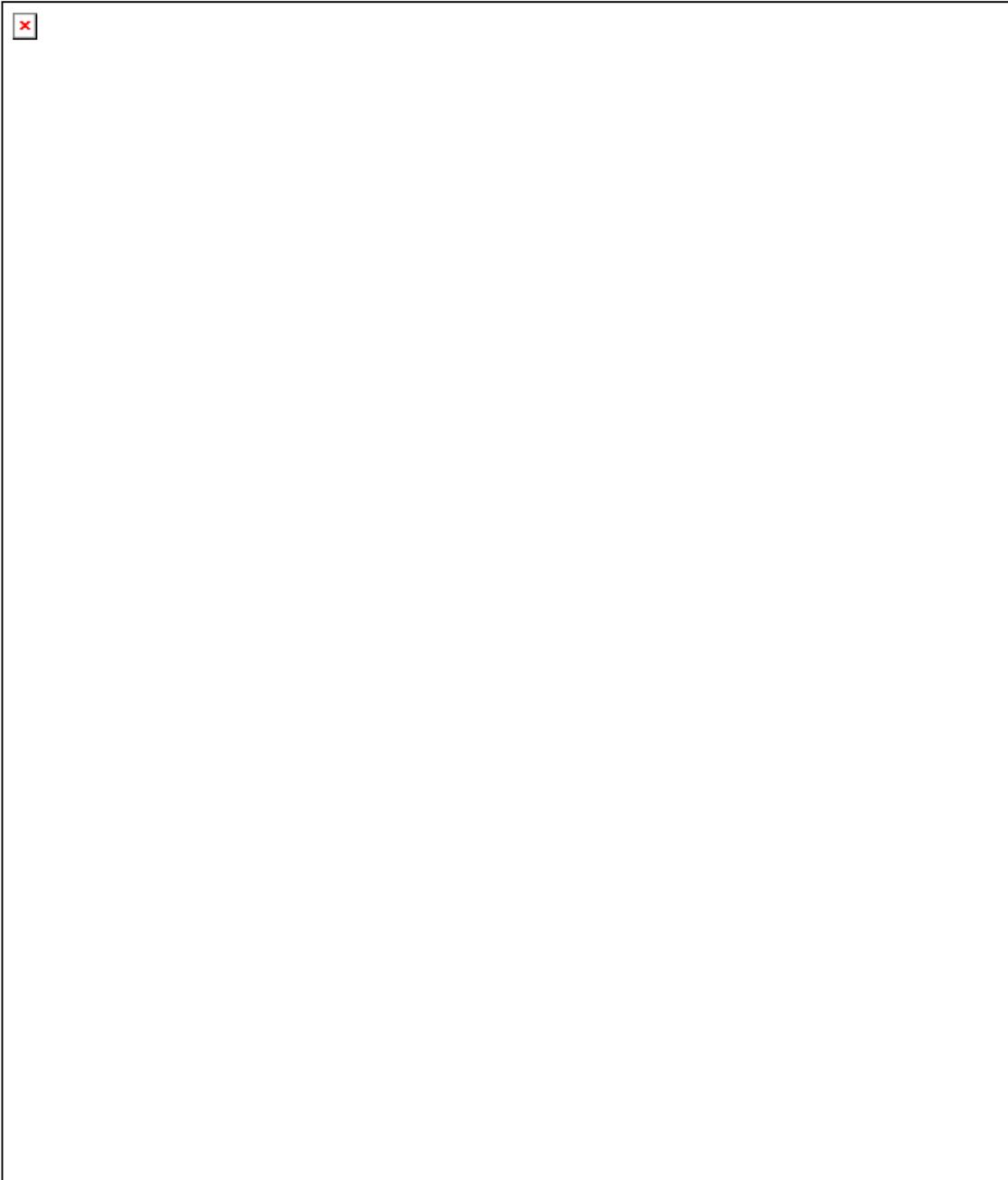
### 3.2.6. Guthrie's definition of Bantu languages

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 |

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[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



ZANDE

BANTU

Zande Bantu AD 1

BANTU

Bantu AD 200

BANTU

Bantu AD 500
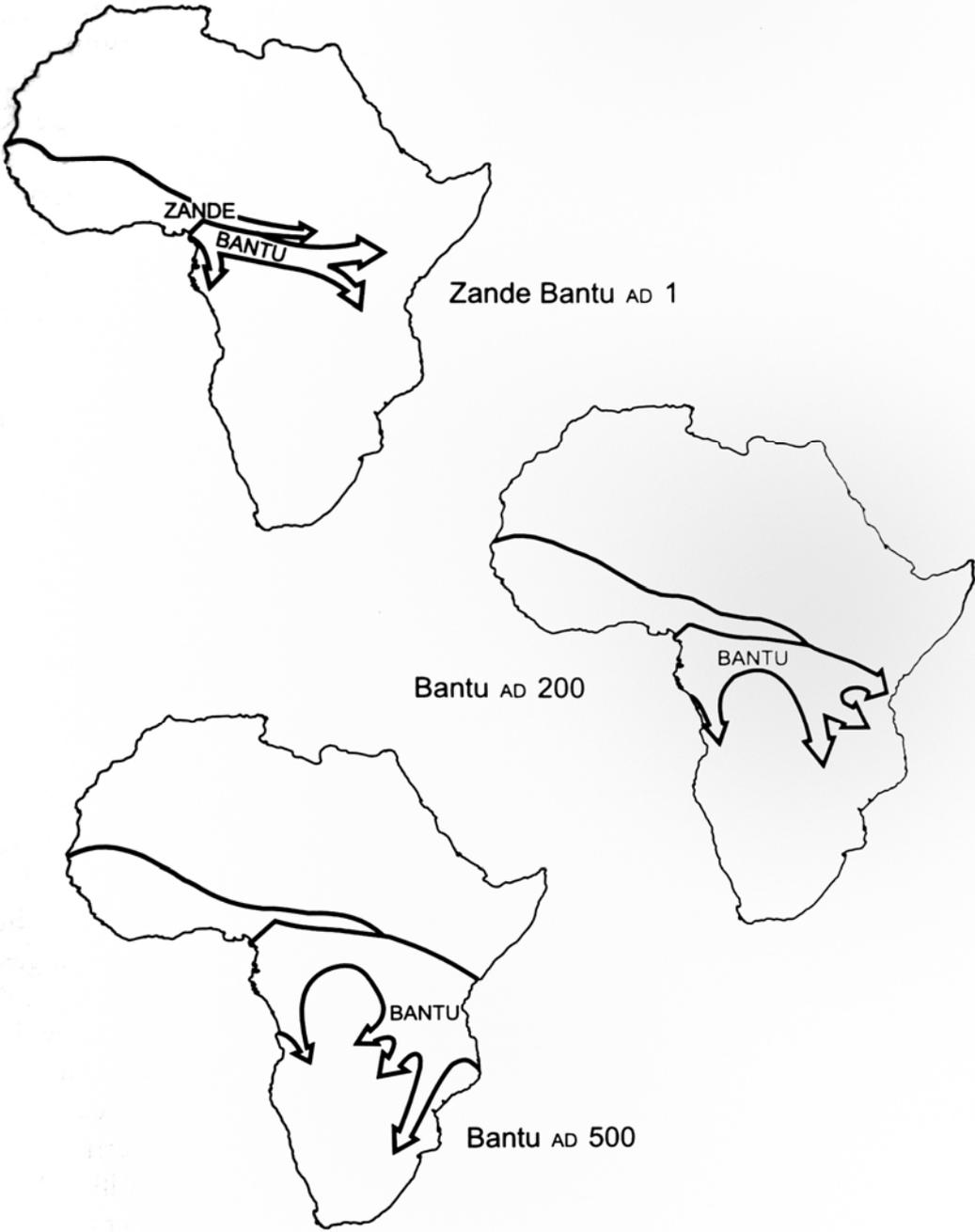
The Bushman lived in the western half of South Africa. Based on the findings of radio-carbon dating, it has been established that the pastoralist Bushmen migrated to the southern tip of the continent approximately 25,000 to 40,000 years ago. Once in southern Africa, they became identified as Khoi-Khoi, 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 herdsmen
> 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

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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

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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).

### **<u>Ugqozi</u>**

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 lapho
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 literature 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. Barthelémy, 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).
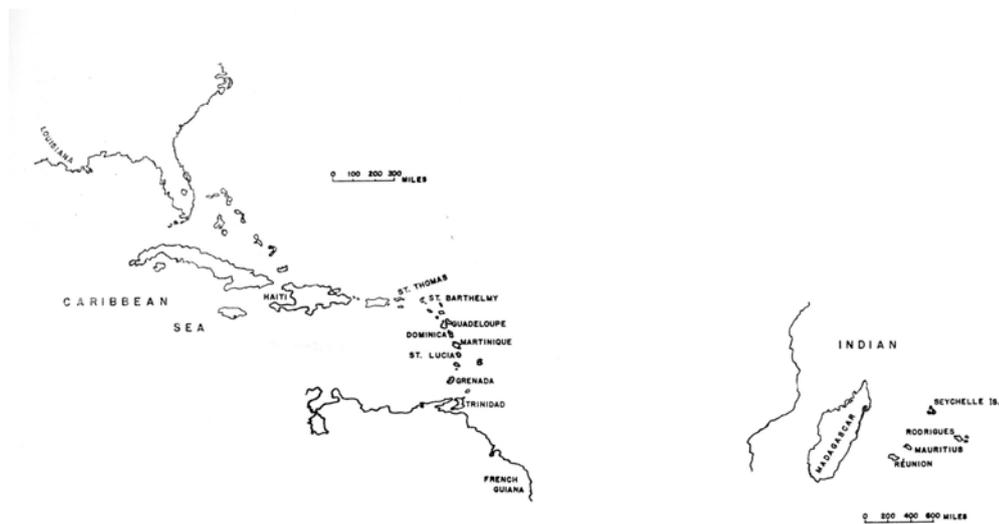
However according to Robert Chaudenson the inventory of languages that can be classified as "creoles" has not been definitively established (Chaudenson 2001, 14). He argues that "a rigorous and detailed approach to the histories of the relevant societies is absolutely necessary to a genetic investigation 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

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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 1801[3]

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.

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[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-Dominigue 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 rebel[4] 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

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[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 réglements autérieurs 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 réglements 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 ] pluviose an X Repiblique 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 fidellement ; 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 Répiblique 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 Répiblique 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 Répiblique.

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 Répiblique. 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 Répiblique.

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

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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:

> « Seignor, » fait-il, "ge sui plaintis
> De cest preudome, qui, tierz dis,
> Me féri d'un croq par ostrage ;
> L'ueil me creva : c'en ai domaigre ;
> 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 ones 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, Umbian, 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 Trojan. 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 Ivernic, 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, Joual, Acadian French, Cajun French, Orléanais

b) Northern Oïl languages, including Walloon, Picard, Champenois

c) Eastern Oïl languages, comprising Bourguignon, Franc-Comtois Lorrain

d) Western Oïl 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:

### **<u>Vulgar Latin</u>**

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.

### **<u>Romance</u>**

"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."

### **<u>Modern French</u>**

"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."

"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** | | **Modern French** |
|---|---|---|
| Singular | | |
| Nominative: | li voisins | |
| Oblique: | le voisin | le voisin (masc. sing) |
| | | |
| Plural | | |
| Nominative: | li voisin | |
| Oblique: | les voisins | 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 | Modern French |
|---|---|
| La fame, les fames | La femme, les femmes |
| La rien, les riens | Rien, un rien |
| La citéz, les citéz | La cité, les cités |
| Li pere, les peres | Le père, les pères |
| Li chanteor, les chanteors | Le chanteur, les chanteurs |
| La seror, les serors | La soeur, les soeurs |
| Li seigneur, les seigneurs | 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 | Modern French |
|---|---|
| J'aim | J'aime |
| Nous amons | Nous aimons |
| | |
| J'achat | J'achète |
| Nous achetons | Nous achetons |
| | |
| J'achief | J'achève |
| Nous achevons | Nous achevons |
| | |
| Je demeur | Je demeure |
| Nous demourons | Nous demeurons |

| | |
|---|---|
| Je muer | Je meurs |
| Nous mourons | 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

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[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 Meroingians, 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:

| *Old Frankish* | *Old French* | *ModernFrench* | *Latin* | *Meaning* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Warding | Guardenc | Gardien | Guardian | Guardian, security guard |
| Bera | Biere | Bière | Cervisia | Beer |
| Scoc | Choque | Choquer | Perculsus | To shock |
| Grappon | 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

| **Kreyòl** | **French** | **Latin** |
|---|---|---|
| **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 |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 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 | Bœuf | 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 | Baisser | Bassiare |
| 190. Bese | Baisser | 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 | Escalefare |
| 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. Dedye | 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] |

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[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 Germanis 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. Futhermore, 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 *umu<u>ntu</u>*, 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:

|  **Class**  |  **Prefix**  |
|---|---|
| 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** | | **Plural prefix** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Class 1 | um(u)- | Class 2 | aba- |
| Class 1a | u- | Class 2a | o- |
| Class 3 | um(u) | Class 4 | imi- |
| Class 5 | i(li) | Class 6 | ama- |
| Class 7 | isi | Class 8 | izi- |
| Class 9 | in-/im- | Class 10 | izin- / izim |
| Class 11 | u(lu) | | |
| Class 14 | ubu- | | |
| Class 15 | uku- | | |

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** | **Meaning** |
|---|---|
| Wout la | The road |
| Liv la | The book |
| Mèt yo | The teachers |
| Lang la | The language |

| **Plural** | **Meaning** |
|---|---|
| Wout yo | The roads |
| Liv yo | The books |
| Mèt yo | The teachers |
| Lang yo | 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 Sintu 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:

| **Singular** | **Meaning** |
|---|---|
| Verite a | The truth |
| Limyè a | The light |
| Dlo a | The water |
| Koulè a | The color |

| **Plural** | **Meaning** |
|---|---|
| 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)

Classs 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   $V^3 = S^1$

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(2)
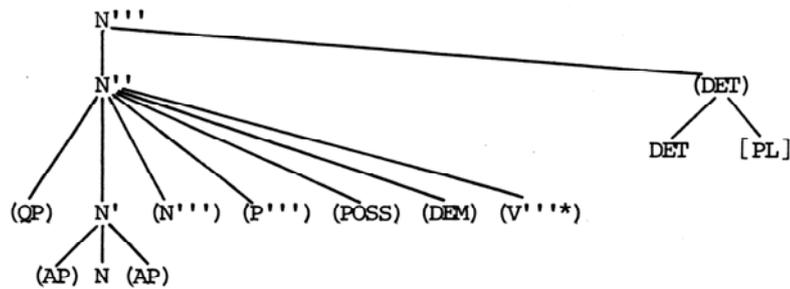


| Abbreviation | Meaning |
|---|---|
| S | Phrase |
| N | Nom |
| VP | Syntagme nominal |
| AP | Syntagme verbal |
| PP | Syntagme adjectival |
| QP | Syntagme prépositionnel |
| DET | Déterminant |
| POSS | Possessif |
| PL | Pluriel |

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:

| Haitian Kreyòl | isiZulu | Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| 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:

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|        | **Noun prefix** | **Agreement Marker** |
|--------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 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 ($S^1$ COMP $\{S^{11} S^1\}$ 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*.

$\rightarrow$

*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 egaré
He was afraid that I would have lost it



$$S' \rightarrow COMP \begin{Bmatrix} S'' \\ S' \end{Bmatrix}$$
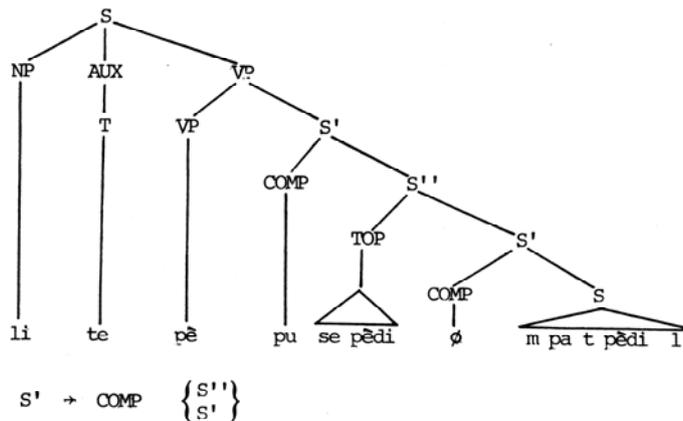
**Abbreviations**

| | |
|---|---|
| **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 auxiliars ou semi-auxilliares » |

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** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Nginemali | *Mwen gen lajan* | Anginamali | *Mwen pa gen lajan* |
| Unemali | *Ou gen lajan* | Awunamali | *Ou pa gen lajan* |
| Unemali | *Li gen lajan* | Akanamali | *Li pa gen lajan* |
| Sinemali | *Nou gen lanjan* | Asinamali | *Nou pa gen lajan* |
| Ninemali | *Nou gen lajan* | Aninamali | *Nou pa gen lajan* |
| Banemali | *Yo gen lajan* | Abanamali | *Yo pa gen lajan* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Past | Past | Past - Negative | Past - Negative |
| Benginemali | *Mwen te gen lajan* | Benginganamali | *Mwen pa te gen lajan* |
| Ubenemali | *Ou te gen lajan* | Ubenganamali | *Ou pa te gen lajan* |
| Ubenemali | *Li te gen lajan* | Ubenganamali | *Li pa te gen lajan* |
| Besinemali | *Nou te gen lajan* | Besinganamali | *Nou pa te gen lajan* |
| Beninemali | *Nou te gen lajan* | Beninganamali | *Nou pa te gen lajan* |
| Babenemali | *Yo te gen lajan* | Babenganamali | *Yo pa te gen lajan* |

| Future | Future | Future – Negative | Future - Negative |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ngizobanemali | *Mwen pral gen lajan* | Angizobanemali | *Mwen pa pral gen lajan* |
| Uzobanemali | *Ou pral gen lajan* | Awuzobanemali | *Ou pa pral gen lajan* |
| Uzobanemali | *Li pral gen lajan* | Akazobanemali | *Li pa pral gen lajan* |
| Sizobanemali | *Nou pral gen lajan* | Asizobanemali | *Nou pa pral gen lajan* |
| Nizobanemali | *Nou pral gen lajan* | Anizobanemali | *Nou pral gen lajan* |
| Bazobanemali | *Yo pral gen lajan* | Abazobanemali | *Yo pa pral gen lajan* |

## **Ukuba[7]**

| **IsiZulu** | **Haitian Kreyòl** | **IsiZulu** | **Haitian Kreyòl** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngilapha | *Mwen la* | Angilapho | *Mwen pa la* |
| Ulapha | *Ou la* | Awulapho | *Ou pa la* |
| Ulapha | *Li la* | Akalapho | *Li pa la* |
| Silapha | *Nou la* | Asilapho | *Nou pa la* |
| Nilapha | *Nou la* | Anilapho | *Nou pa la* |
| Balapha | *Yo la* | Abalapho | *Yo pa la* |

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

| Past | Past | Past – Negative | Past - Negative |
|------|------|------------------|------------------|
| Bengilapha | *Mwen te la* | Bengingelapho | *Mwen pa te la* |
| Ubulapha | *Ou te la* | Ubungelapho | *Ou pa te la* |
| Ubelapha | *Li te la* | Ubengelapho | *Li pa te la* |
| Besilapha | *Nou te la* | Besingelapho | *Nou pa te la* |
| Benilapha | *Nou te la* | Beningelapho | *Nou pa te la* |
| Babelapha | *Yo te la* | Babengelapho | *Yo pa te la* |

| Futur | Future | Future – Negative | Future - Negative |
|-------|--------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Ngizobalapha | *Mwen pral la* | Angizobalapho | *Mwen pa pral la* |
| Uzobalapha | *Ou pral la* | Awuzobalapho | *Ou pa pral la* |
| Uzobalapha | *Li pral la* | Akazobalapho | *Li pa pral la* |
| Sizobalapha | *Nou pral la* | Asizobalapho | *Nou pa pral la* |
| Nizobalapha | *Nou pral la* | Anizobalapho | *Nou pa pral la* |
| Bazobalapha | *Yo pral la* | Abazobalapho | *Yo pa pral la*[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.

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[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

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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 Grimaila 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…" (Lefevere 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)**

**<u>Izilimi Zabantu</u>**
*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 sèv 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 sekrè 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 abanezimpande 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)**

**<u>Ithemba Alibulali</u>**
*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 fi, 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 laviktwa toutan, tout kote.*

*Lanmou ak laviktwa 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)**

**<u>Inkululeko Nothando</u>**
*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 fè, 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)**


<u>**Ilanga Lothando**</u>
*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 izinhliziyo 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."**


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*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 kwuit 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 laviktwa.*
*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 inhliziyo 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.*

**Ngiyanithanda!**
**Ngiyanithanda!**
*M renmen nou!*
*M renmen nou!*

**e)**


<u>**Amaphupho  Namaphuphoze : "Indaba encane"**</u>

*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**

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**Ubeneminyaka engu-48.**
**Kwakukuhle kuye ukufunda**
**Ulimi lukaMama Afrika!**

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

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**Umama ungumuntu okholwa**
**Kakhulu kuMvelinqangi.**

*Waw! Rèv la fonn! Fonn kou bè!*
*Demen maten, anvan bajou kase,*
*Bonè bonè, Mtokozisi 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 ezwelayo 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 dòmi, 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 tande*
*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 nòmal … 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"**

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**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
> *Ikhaya yikhaya*
> Home is home

> Al lakay
> *Yiya ekhaya*
> 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!

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**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

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**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 emadlozini 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
*Ithongo lakhe liyamvikela*
His spirit is protecting him


**Izithutha**          lwa yo, lespri mò, lespri defen (ancestral spirits, departed spirits)

Lwa yo ap mache ak yo
*Izithutha zabo zihamba nabo*
Their spirits are walking with them


**Umoya Ongcwele**     Lespri Sen (the Holy Spirit)

Se pou Lespri Sen an avè w!
*Umoya Ongcwele mawube nawe*
The Holy Spirit be with you!


**Idimoni**            demon, satan, dyab (demon, evil)

Demon yo ap pèsekite l
*Amadimoni ayamhlupha*
The demons are persecuting him


**Bi**                 mal, pa bon, rabi (bad, not good)

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

**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


**Inyanga**          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

*Inyanga ayizelaphi*

A traditional healer doesn't heal himself


Nou yon bezwen lòt

*Inyaga ayizelaphi*

We each need one another


Kouto pa grate manch li

*Inyanga 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 deviner looks in his cards

Isitla divinò dekouvri sekrè 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 deviner 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

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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 (godess)


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

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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, leson (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

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**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

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UMvelinqangi, vin la, vin la
*UMvelingqangi woza la, woza la*
*UMvelingqangi*, 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 soufri
*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 looks 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

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**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

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**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

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**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 soufri 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

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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 hord 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

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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, mezantant (misunderstanding, grief)

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

Gen yon mezantant
*Kukhona usizi*
There is a misunderstanding

Se yon kont ki fè soufri
*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**        kache (to hide)


Ou menm, kache!
*Wena casha!*
You, hide!
Yo te kache 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*
Its 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

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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


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**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', vayevyen, 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 *egaré*, 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 isithupa 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 faught 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 iqoqo lezibi ekhoneni*

There is pile of gabage 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 elelphant'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 respekte 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,*

*Isonto 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 laviktwa, genyen (to win)

Nou konbat pou laviktwa
*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*.

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**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


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**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**  Bon Dye  (God)

Bon Dye se lagras
*UThixo ungumusa*
God is Grace


**Ukwazi**  konnen (to know)

Pataje konesans se yon bèl bagay
*Kuhle ukwabelana ulwazi*
It's good to share knowledge


**Isibaya**  pak bèt (kraal)

Moun sa yo renmen priye nan ti pyès dèyè a ou nan pak la
*Laba bantu bayathanda ukuthandaza ensamo noma esibayeni*
Those people like to pray in a small room in the back or in the barn


**Umthofi**  plon (lead)

Plon itil pou itilizasyon fil telefòn
*Umthofi uyadingeka ukusebenzisa ucingo*
Lead is important in making telephone wires


Yo bezwen plon pou fè fil telefòn
*Badinga umthofi ukwenza ucingo*
Lead is needed in making telephone wire

**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


**Izinqola**      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 fredi, 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 akoz 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: <u>bag</u>

      *Into eyisiyingi kodwa engena ngaphakathi: <u>indandatho</u>*

      A small bottomless cirlce: <u>ring</u>

2. Piti piti plen kay: <u>lanp</u>

   *Into encane kakhulu kodwa egcwele indlu:  yisibani*

   Something very small that can fill a house: <u>lamp</u>


3. Pi piti fè lonè Prezidan: <u>zegwi</u>

   *Into encane kakhulu kodwa iwusizokumongameli: inaliti*

   Even the smallest of things is useful to a President: <u>needle</u>


4. Pase pran m ma pase chèche w: <u>sentiwon</u>

   *Ngithathe, mina ngizokuthola: yibhande*

   *Ngithathe, sizohlangana: yibhande*

   Come pick me up and I'll come and get you: <u>belt</u>


5. M al chèche doktè, li rive anvan m: <u>kokoye</u>

   *Ngiye ukuyofuna udokotela, kodwa ungifikele kuqala ekhaya: yicoconut*

   I went to fetch a doctor, he arrived before me: <u>coconut</u>


6. Kapitèn dèyè pòt: <u>bale</u>

   *Ukaputeni osemuva komnyango: umshanelo*

   A captain standing guard behind the door: <u>broom</u>


7. Manman m gen yon pitit se ak kalòt sèlman l trete l: <u>rido</u>

   *Umama unengane uhlala eyishaya njalo ngempama: ikhethini*

   My mother has a child, she is always slapping him: <u>curtain</u>


8. Manman m gen 3 pitit, yon pa mache san lòt: <u>wòch dife</u>

   *Umama unezingane ezintathu, zihlala ndawonye ngaso sonke isikhathi:*
   *amatshe asetshenziselwa ukupheka*

   My mother has three children one is never without the other two: <u>the three stones</u>
   <u>used for cooking fire</u>

9. Lè gen solèy, manman m gen yon pitit, kote l fè li fè dèyè l: <u>lonbraj</u>

   *Uhamba nengane uma kukhanya ilanga, iyamlandela njalo: <u>yisithunzi</u>*

   When the sun is out, my mother has a child, wherever she goes, he follows:
   <u>shadow</u>

10. Manman m gen yon kay ki fèt ak klou sèlman: <u>anana; kowosòl</u>

    *Umama unendlu, ngaphandle ameva kuphela: <u>uphayinaphu; (kowosòl)</u>*

    My mother has house made of nails: <u>pineapple</u> (*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 agressor 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 chilren, 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


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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 chè

    *Iphunga elimnandi liyabiza*

    Smelling good costs a lot


27. Se 2 bon ki fè bonbon

    *Ubumnandi kabili budala ubumnandi*

    *Ngamanye amagama: Imikhombe iyenanana*

    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*

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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

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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.

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*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 Cowely: "*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
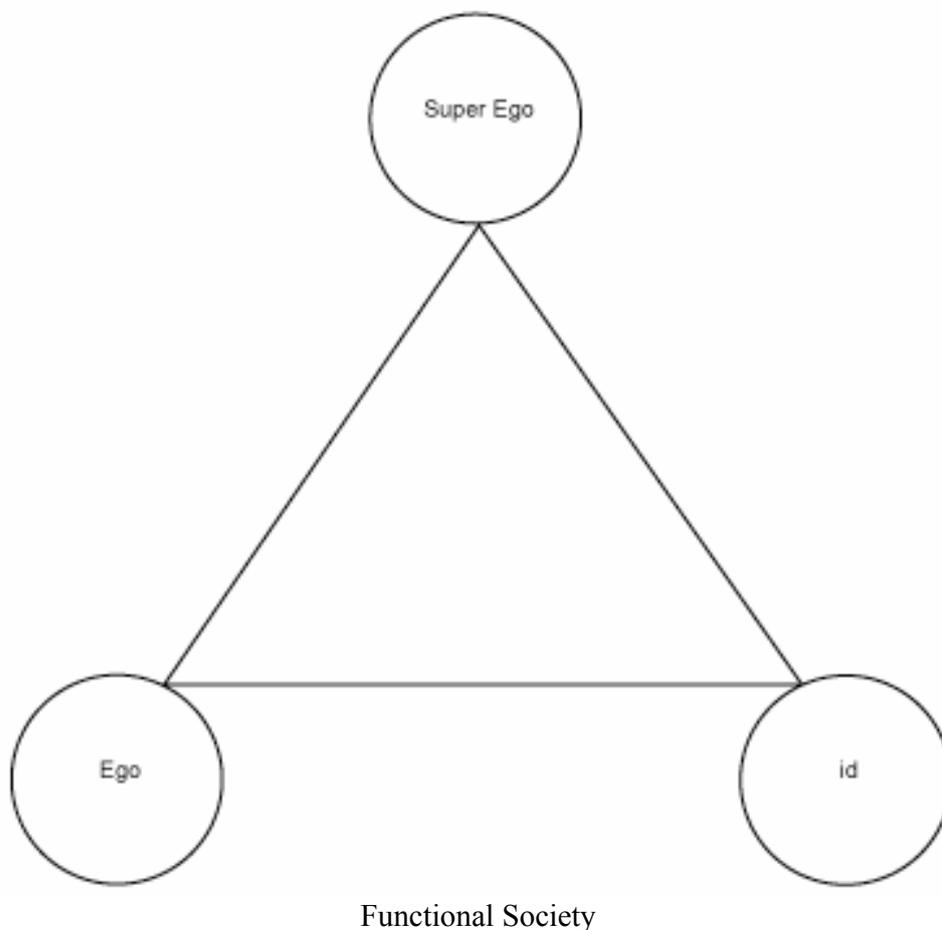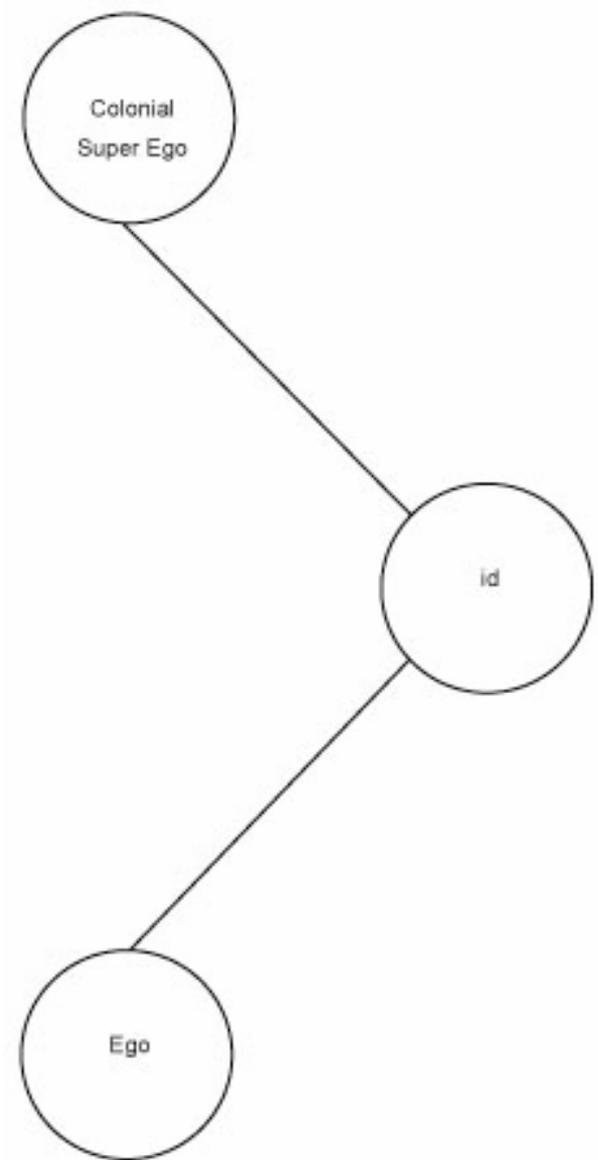
Disfunctional Society related to colonial Super Ego
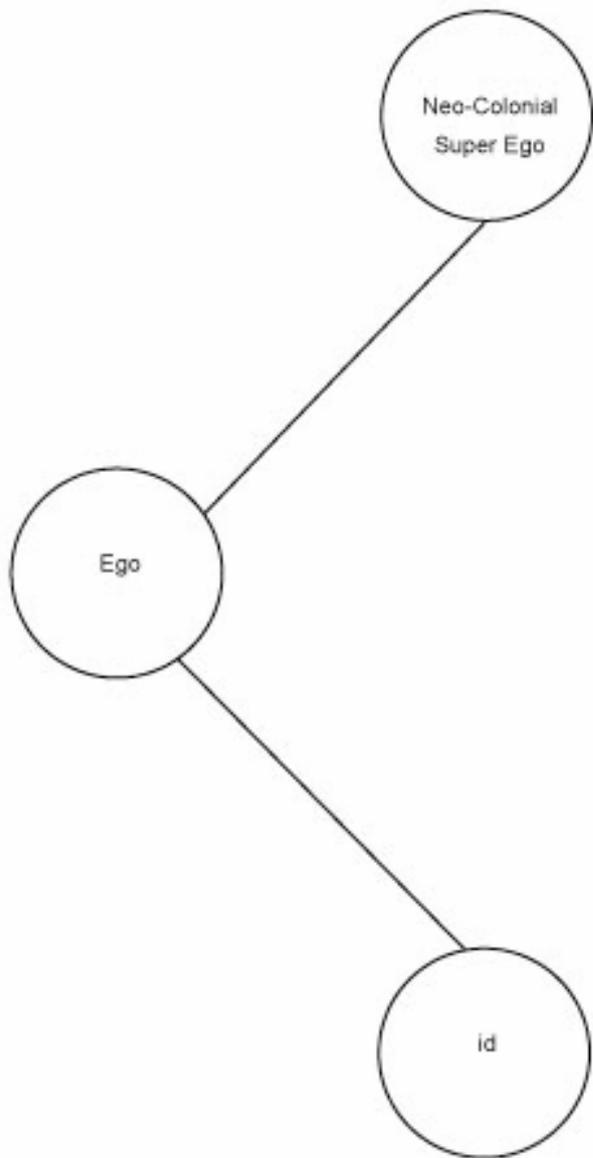
Dysfunctional Society related to Neo colonial Super Ego
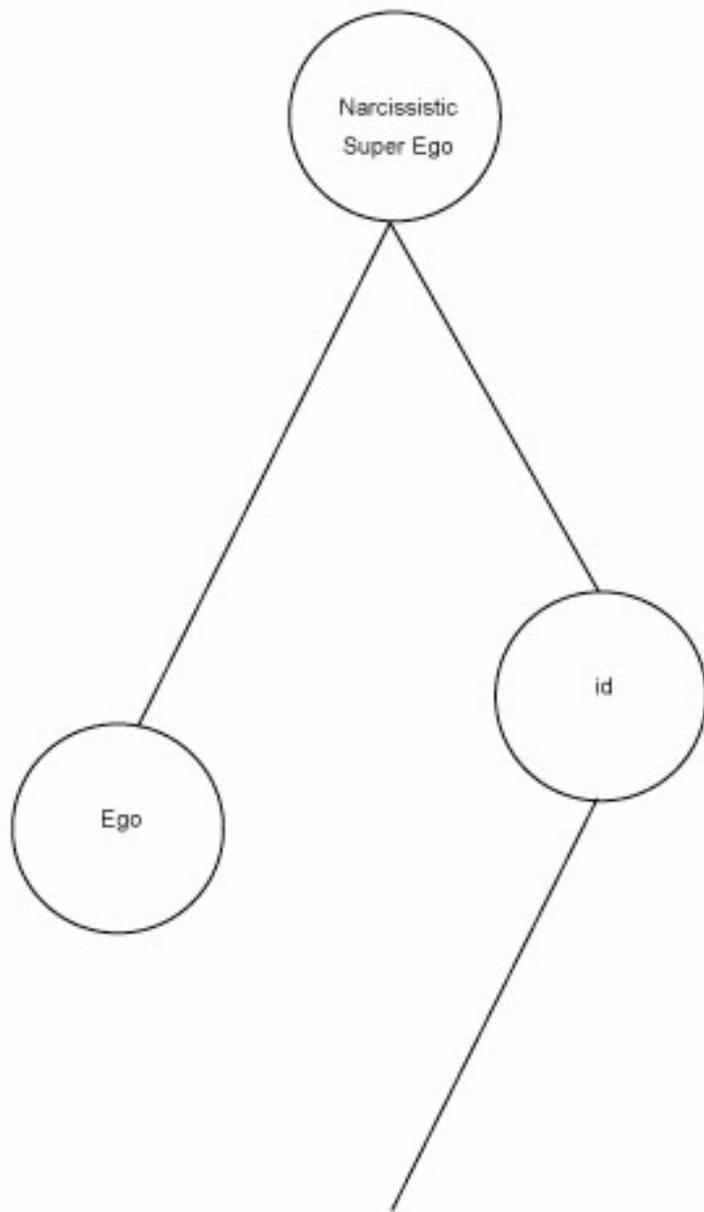
Dysfunctional society related to Narcissistic Super Ego

## 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).
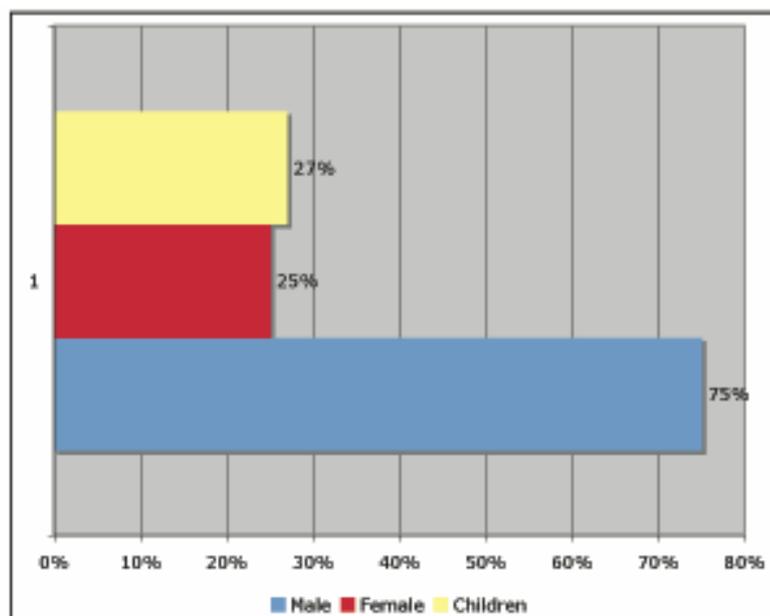
As one historian of the African Diaspora writes, how the institution of slavery impacted the African slaves, will probably never be fully understood.   It can be argued, however, that there was a wide range of psychological responses.  To be sure, the culture of the slaves helped provide them with the 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 is 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.
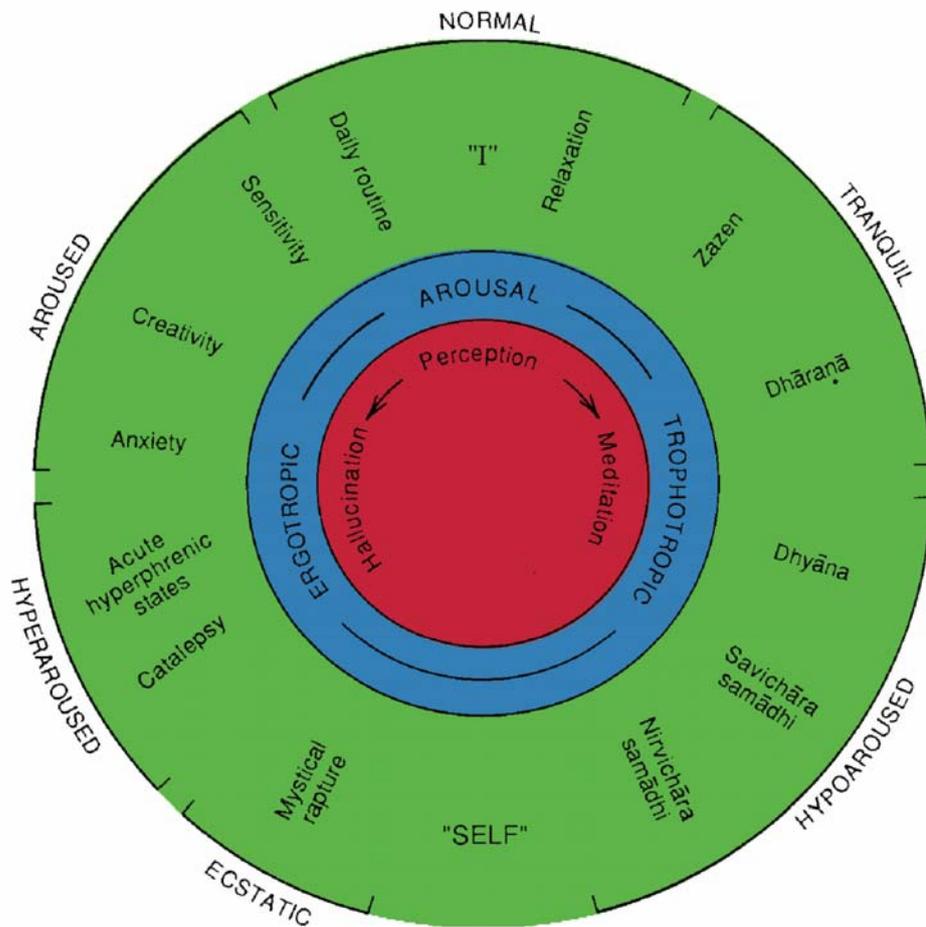


Fisher's cartography, which schematizes the two alternate ways to the attainment of the Self (Wulff 1991, 103)

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: *Umuntu 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 Sahelathropus tshadentis 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 psychodynamics[9] rooted in *Ubuntu*:

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[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.

- *Umuntu* 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 propogated 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 ukuxhuxhuzela. 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 mythomanie-colonists and the mental slaves.

Previous chapters addressed sociolinguistic values across the struggle for linguistic rights.  We observed how mythomanie-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
ἕν. 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.**

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[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 exegis 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, ( ד״נת ) 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 ד״נת Tanakh. However, the biblical writings used by Christians and Jews used different names for God, from the ineffable " τετραγράμματον " Tetragammanton or word with four letters יהוה (YHWH). to (אֲדֹנָי) Adonai, (הַשֵּׁם) 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.**

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*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, אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה;
וַיֹּאמֶר, כֹּה תֹאמַר לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל,
אֶהְיֶה, שְׁלָחַנִי אֲלֵיכֶם.

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

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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 Tetragrammanton 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 |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ח | 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 | ꓱ |
| Aramaic | ^ |
| Hebrew | י |
| Arabic | ي |

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.

ꓱY ꓱꙅ
ꓱꓺꓱꓕ
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 נָקֻוד (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 יְהֹוָה occurs 6518 times in the Masoretic Text. Depending on the biblical context, the Tetragammaton will be replaced by one of the following names:

| | |
|---|---|
| יהוה | Yhwh |
| אֱלֹהִים | Elohim |
| אֲדֹנָי | Adonai |
| יְהֹוָה | Jehovah |

When יהוה has the vowel points:

"Hatef segol" ( ֱ ) under the Yod ( י )
"Holem" ( ֹ ) on the left of the He ( ה )
"Kamatz ( ָ ) under the Vav ( ו )

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It becomes יֶהֹוִה 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 Tetragammanton 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, אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם, וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ.

"In the beginning Elohim created the heaven and the earth."

<div align="right">Gen. 1, 1</div>

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: | *"Il vient de là"* |
| Translated in isiZulu: | *"Uvela lapha"* |
| Translated in English: | *"He comes from there"* |

The name *Umvelinqangi* means 'He who was in the very beginning'. It implies a metaphysical question as a first step towards a theological explanation: Could *Umvelinqangi* 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 physic* (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 *Umveliqangi*. 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 uniqe 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 *Umuntu 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)

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**TERMES**

| | Moyen | | Majeur |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Prémisse majeure** | L'humain | est | un berceau de civilisation. |

| | Mineur | | Moyen |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Prémisse mineure** | *Ubuntu* | est | l'humain. |

| | Mineur | | Majeur |
|---|---|---|---|
| **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

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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.

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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,

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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 loin. 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 Lyctos. 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 breath 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 know 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

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[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!*<br>Greetings! Honor and Respect for the earth! Let's go ahead! |
| **Afrekete** | *Yon lwa ki manje anpil anpil*<br>*Yon moun ki afre se yon moun ki saf*<br><br>A spirit who eats a lot is a glutton<br>Someone identified as *afre* is a glutton |
| **Aganman** | *Chanje koulè*<br>Changing color |
| **Agaou** | *Non yon lwa ki te konn fè lagè anpil*<br>Name of a spirit who was once a reknown warrior |
| **Agaou Bèt Sansan** | *Agaou san pitye; Agaou se yon bèt san pitye*<br>*Agaou* does not have mercy; it comes from French "*une bête sans pitié*" |
| **Agaou Konmble** | *Agaou pa kite twou vid*<br>*Agaou* is all-powerful he doesn't leave room for others |
| **Agaou Loray** | *Agaou frape tankou loway kale; sa soti nan rit petwo*<br>*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*<br>Name of a spirit living at the mouth of two rivers |

**Agasou**

*Non yon lwa*
Name of a spirit

**Ago**

*Konsa*
So; so that

**Agwe**

*Non yon lwa*
Name of a spirit

**Agwe awoyo**

*Lwa ou lespri ki kòmande lanmè yo*
Spirit who rules over the oceans

**Alouba**

*Non premye lwa ki te yon grann*
Name of the first grandmother to become a *lwa* or spirit

**Aloumandja**

*Non yon lwa fanm ki soti nan tribi nago; li te konn goumen anpil*

Name of a woman's *lwa* or spirit; she was a good freedom fighter

**Andezo**

*Nan mitan 2 dlo; nan mitan 2 kontinan*
*Mo sa a soti nan lang fransè: « entre deux eaux »*

Between two waters; between two oceans
It comes from French: *« entre deux eaux »*

**Anmin, anminan**

*Non yon tribi afriken*
Name of an African tribe

**Anminan, Anmin**          *Non yon tribi afriken*
                            Name of an African tribe

**Annayitè**                *Salitasyon nago*
                            Greeting from the *nago* ritual

**Anye, Aniye**             *Bondye*
                            God

**Apò**                     *An avan!*
                            Hurry up!

**Apo lisa gbadja awanganise**

                            *An navan, tout ougan, solèy ap kouche!*
                            Hurry up all vaudou priests, the sun is setting!

**Atala Atala**             *N ap priye, sipliye, sipliye sipliye lespri yo*
                            We are praying, we are begging, we are asking the spirits
                            for…

**Ati**                     *Mèt; patriyach*
                            Master; patriarch

**Atibon**                  *Bon mèt, bon patriyach*
                            Good master, good patriarch

**Atisou**                  *Yon grad*
                            Grade, rank

**Atjasou**                 *Pitit wa, yon prens*
                            A prince

| | |
|---|---|
| **Avadra** | *Non yon lwa ki viv nan lari ; li par ret nan kay*<br>Name of a spirit who lives in the streets, outside of houses |
| **Awangansiye** | *Ougan yo*<br>Vaudou priests (plural) |
| **Awo, awochè** | *An navan, konbatan libète!*<br>Hurry up, freedom fighters! |
| **Awoyo** | *Debode, ajite tankou lanmè*<br>Very agitated like the sea |
| **Ayi** | *Tè*<br>Earth |
| **Ayida** | *Non yon lwa, madanm Danmbala*<br>Name of a spirit, wife of *Danmbala* |
| **Ayida** | *Nom yon lwa ki se madanm Danmbala ; se manman Odan*<br>Name of a spirit who is *Danmbala's* wife and *Odan's* mother |
| **Ayizan** | *Non yon lwa*<br>Name of a spirit |
| **Ayizan velekete** | *Zanmi latè ki vrèman byen chwazi*<br>Very well chosen friends of the earth |
| **Badè** | *Non yon lwa*<br>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 lajounen[12]*

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

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[12] In Kiswahili the word *mbaya* means bad

**Belekou**            *Non yon lwa ki okipe bèf*
                       Name of a spirit in charge of cattle, oxen

**Bila**               *Yon ti kay*
                       A small house

**Blakonmen blakonmen**  *Souke, souke*
                       Shake, shake

**Blewounyò**          *Rele lwa yo*
                       To pray to the spirits; to call upon the spirits

**Bloukou**            *Non yon lwa*
                       Name of a spirit

**Bo, bobo**           *Salitasyon*
                       Greetings, salutation

**Bôde**               *Inite, ann fè youn*
                       To be united; let us be one

**Bòkò**               *Sèvitè*
                       A servant, a vaudou priest

**Bosou**              *Non yon wa Afriken; li te konn pote yon kas ki gen 3 kòn*
                       Name of an African king who wore a cap with 3 horns

**Boula**              *Dezyèm tanbou a; li fredonnen anba premye tanbou a ke yo*
                       *rele tou manman tanbou*
                       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**            *Non yon lwa ki soti nan dlo; yon dayiva naje byen anpil*
                      Name of a spirit that comes from the waters; someone
                      called *dayiva* can swim very well


**Dedefre**           *Non ki sakre tankou syèl; gen lwa ki rete la tou*
                      Sacred name of a place like heaven; some spirits may
                      reside there


**Demanbwe**          *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 …*

                      Place where the six parts of a person are divided after
                      death : the body; *fèmendo* or God; *fèlido* or intelligence;
                      *fèpoyi* or destiny; soul or spirit …


**Desounen**          *Retire lespri a sot anndan yon moun;*
                      *Lè yon moun mouri, yo desounen l; yo pran lespri a*

                      To remove the spirit from within someone;
                      When someone dies, they remove the spirit from him


**Djèmen**            *Sèmante*
                      To swear


**Djennke**           *Non yon kote an nafrik yo te sèvi Danmbala tou*
                      Name of a place in Africa where they also served
                      *Danmbala*


**Djèvò**             *Kote ki pi sakre nan tanp la; kote yo kanzo moun; se la yo*
                      *fè travay mistik lòt moun pa dwe wè*

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 kannzo*, 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

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**Grann Iman**

*Non yon lwa grann ki te rete nan Bwa kay Iman*

Name of a spirit who was a grandmother living in a place called *Bwa kay Iman*

**Hougan**

*Sèvitè lespri, sèvitè lwa*
A servant of the spirit, a vaudou priest

**Houn**

*Bondye inivèsel; kreyatè tout bagay; sous tout sa ki egziste*
God is universal; he is the creator of all things

**Houn Mandja**

*Bon Dye fò, Bon Dye la, Bon Dye bon*
God is powerful, omnipresent, good

**Houniò**

*Pitit lespri ou pitit Bon Dye*
Child of the spirit; child of God

**Hounsi**

*Madanm lespri, sèvite lwa ou lesprii*
Wife of the *lwa* or spirits, servant of the *lwa* or spirits

**Hounsiyon**

*Tout hounsi yo ansanm*
All the *hounsi* together

**Ibo**

*Non yon tribi Lafrik*
 Name of an African tribe

**Imamou**

*Gran Chèf*
High chief

**Imedevi**

*Nanm defen kanzo*
Soul of a late *kanzo*

**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 Aniye**    *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**

*Chalè dife ki soti nan rit Petwo*

The heat coming from the *Petwo* ritual


**Legba**

*Non yon lwa ki gran moun anpil; se li ki louvri baryè*

Name of a very old spirit; the one who opens the gate


**Legba Ganman**

*Legba chanje koulè*

*Legba* is changing color


**Legba gweto**

*Legba se yon lespri ki rive nan pèfeksyon*

*Legba* is a perfect spirit


**Legba kolokoso**

*Legba kokobe*

Handicapped *Legba*


**Legba kopli koplan**

*Legba mache bwete*

*Legba* is limping


**Legba miseba**

*Legba bese ba*

*Legba* is bent low


**Legba sanyan**

*Legba* ap bave

*Legba* is drooling


**Legba zenkliyan**

*Legba panche, legba do bosi*

*Legba* is hunchbacked


**Lele, lèlè**

*Pwisan anpil, yon lespri ki di e fè sa l vle, li pa pè anyen*

*Bouch alèlè vle di yon bouch ki pale pale san rete, san*

*perèz*

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 unkown 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*<br>A vaudou priestess who is remarkable in chasing away<br>bad spirits |
| **Manbo zakasia** | *Yon manbo ki viv nan pwovens*<br>A vadou priestess who lives in the provinces |
| **Mapyang** | *Non yon tribi afriken*<br>Name of an African tribe |
| **Marinèt** | *Non yon lwa Ayisyen ki soti nan rit Petwo a*<br>Name of a Haitian spirit who comes from the rite of *Petwo* |
| **Marasa** | *Non lwa ki jimo*<br>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.*<br><br>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**

*Non yon tribi afriken*
Name of an African tribe

**Misan**

*Mesaje*
Messenger

**Moudong Mousayi**

*Non yon tribi afriken*
Name of an African tribe

**Moyo**

*Lanmè*
The sea

**Nago**

*Non yon tribi afriken ki te preske espesyalize yo nan goumen anpil anpil kont lesklavaj*

Name of an African tribe who practically specialized in fighting against slavery

**Nanshon**

*Nasyon*
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**　　　　　*Non yon lwa ki se pitit Danmbala; manman l se Ayida*
　　　　　　　　　Name of a spirit who is *Danmbala's* son; his mother is
　　　　　　　　　*Ayida*

**Ogan**　　　　　*Twazyèm tanbou a*
　　　　　　　　　The third drum

**Ogantye**　　　　*Moun ki bat tanbou yo rele ogan an*
　　　　　　　　　The one beating the drum called *ogan*

| | |
|---|---|
| **Oun** | *Lespri* |
| | Spirit |
| **Ouni** | *Pitit lespri* |
| | The child of the spirit |
| **Ounsi** | *Madan lespri a* |
| | The spirit's wife |
| **Ountò** | *Tanbou; premye tanbou a ou manman tanbou* |
| | Drum; the first drum or the mother drum |
| **Ountògi** | *Tanbouye a* |
| | The one who beats the drum |
| **Olisha** | *Lespri, lwa* |
| | Spirit |
| **Olokoun** | *Non lwa ki se pitit Bondye a; yo konnen l anpil nan Kiba, Brezil …* |
| | Name of the spirit who is the child of God; he is well known in Cuba, Brazil… |
| **Owo** | *Moyo ou dlo* |
| | *Moyo* or water |
| **Ozanana** | Yon lwa fanm ki soti nan petwo a |
| | A female spirit from the rite of *Petwo* |

**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 pwen. 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 *pwen*. 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

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|---|---|
| **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." |

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|---|---|
| **Sanyan** | *Granmoun ansyen, granmoun k ap bave* |
| | A very old person who drools |

**Se**      *Ti moso Bondye ki nan tout sa ki egziste; pitit Bondye*
        The divine part found in all that exists; a child of God

**Shoukoun**    *Non yon lwa bèl fanm ki soti nan petwo a*
        Name of a beautiful woman who became a *lwa* or spirit in
        the rite of *Petwo*

**Si**       *Mandanm*
        Wife

**Sia**      *Fanm*
        Woman

**Silibo**     *Non yon lwa ki te yon grann*
        Name of a grandmother who becomes a *lwa* or spirit

**Silibo**     *Non yon lwa ki te yon grann; se te madanm wa Bosou*
        Name of a spirit who was a grandmother; she was the wife
        of king Bosou

**Simba, Simbi**   *Non yon lwa ki se yon fanm, li viv ni nan dlo ni sou latè*
        Name of a female spirit that lives both in the water and on
        land

**Simbi Andezo**   *Simbi nan mitan 2 dlo*
        Simbi is between two oceans

**Simbi lafriken**   *Simbi ki soti an Afrik la; gen simbi ki soti bo kot Endyen*
        *yo tou*

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*

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|---|---|
| **Tèsi** | *Madanm yon lwa ansyen*<br>Wife of an old spirit |
| **Tèsi** | *Non yon lespri ki te yon grann*<br>Name of sipirt who was a grandmother |
| **Tèsi Freda** | *Madanm yon lwa ansyen ki soti nan Freda*<br>Wife of an old spirit who came from *Freda* |
| **Tèsi Freda** | *Tèsi ki sot Fwenda*<br>Tèsi who came from *Fwenda* |
| **Tokan** | *Yon kote ki sakre*<br>A holy place |
| **Tout Makaya** | *Tout lwa makaya yo*<br>All the spirits of *Makaya* |
| **Tout nasyon Kongo** | *Tout nasyon tout moun ki fet nan peyi a*<br>All the nations of those born in Haiti |
| **Va Lade** | *Wa Alada, peyi papa Tousen Louvèti*<br>King of *Alada*, the country of Toussaint Louverture's father |
| **Va Loko** | *Wa Loko*<br>King Loko |
| **Vavoun** | *Lwa, lespri*<br>Spirit |

**Velekete**

*Vye granmoun fi*
Very old woman


**Vèvè**

*Ekriti sakre*
Holy scripture


**Vlengbendeng**

*Non sosyete sekrè; lannwit yo te konn konplote kont kolon yo*
Name of secret societies; at night, they organized plots against the colonists


**Wandile**

*Selebre, rann glwa, manifeste laglwa*
To celebrate, to glorify


**Wangan**

*Yon gwoup sèvitè, yon gwoup ougan ou sèvitè*
A group of servants or vaudou priests


**Wangol**

*Non yon tribi Afriken*
Name of an African tribe


**Wannannan**

*Kannannan, egare, granmoun egare*
Idiotic, old person losing memory and good sense


**Wèdo**

*Yon grad*
A grade, rank


**Woyo**

*Lanmè*
Sea

| | |
|---|---|
| **Yanvalou** | *Yon dans ki vle di: koube do w devan sa k pi wo pase w yo*<br>A dance interpreted as the expression of bowing down before higher spirits |
| **Yaya Poungwe** | *Yaya mache anfòm, tou pare, tou limen, tou pisan*<br>*Yaya* is powerful, ready to fight and win |
| **Yèmen** | *Nèg fò*<br>A strong man |
| **Yènou** | *Moun k ap adore, adoratè*<br>Someone who worships |
| **Yèwe** | *Non Bondye; kote tout fòs yo rankontre a*<br>Name of God; where all the powers meet |
| **Yeye** | *Non yon lwa fanm ki soti nan dlo*<br>Name of a female spirit coming from the water |
| **Zaka** | *Non yon lwa ki se yon peyizan*<br>Name of a spirit who was a peasant |
| **Zakasia** | *Yon grann ki viv nan pwovens*<br>An old woman who lives in the provinces |
| **Zan** | *Zanmi*<br>Friend |
| **Zandò** | *Non yon tribi afriken*<br>Name of an African tribe |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Zazi** | *Yon lwa ki viv deyò, li remen pran lè*<br>A spirit who likes to stay outside, in the fresh air |
| **Zila** | *Non yon lwa ki se manman Ezili*<br>Name of a spirit who is *Ezili's* mother |
| **Zila Moyo** | *Non yon bèl fanm ki soti nan dlo*<br>Name of a beautiful woman who comes from the water |
| **Zinga** | *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.*<br><br>Name of a very yong spirit well known in Latibonit, Souvnans, Soukri - Haiti. A rooster identified as *zinga* means a very young, strong and powerful one. |
| **Zo** | *Dife*<br>Fire |
| **Zobop** | *Non sosyete sekrè; lan nwit yo te konn mare konplo kont kolon yo*<br>Name of secret societies; at night, they plot against the colonists |
| **Zoklimo** | *Lwa ki pirifye ak dife*<br>Spirit that uses fire to purify |
| **Zonbi** | *Lespri moun mouri*<br>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
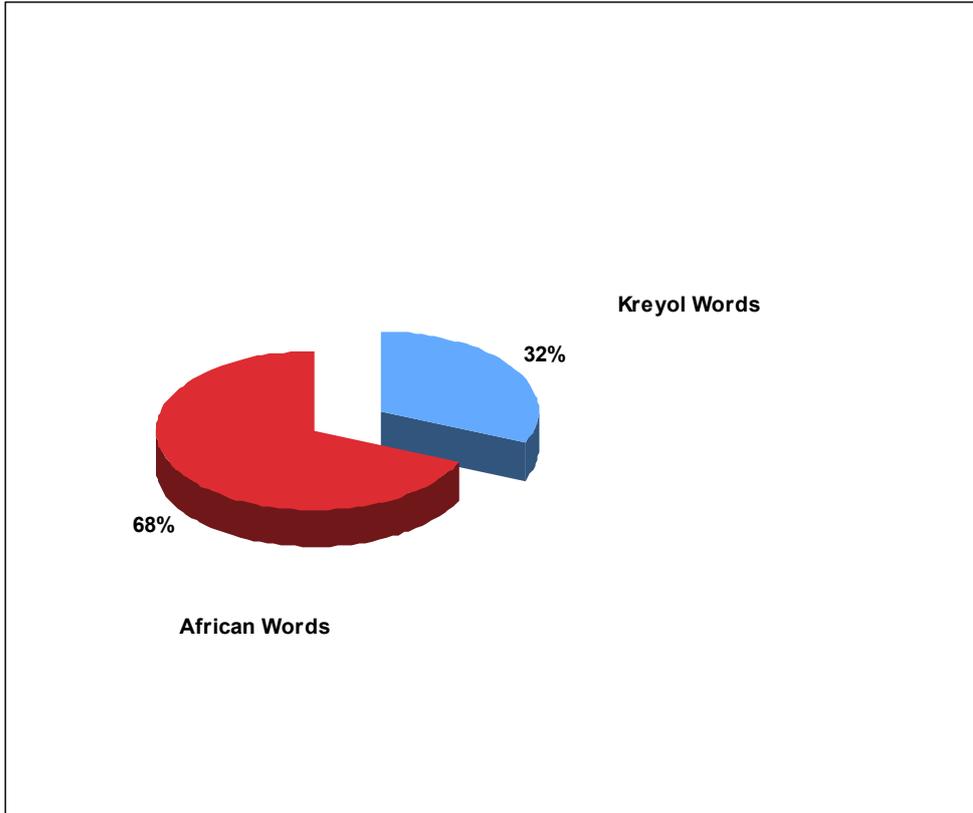
**2**

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
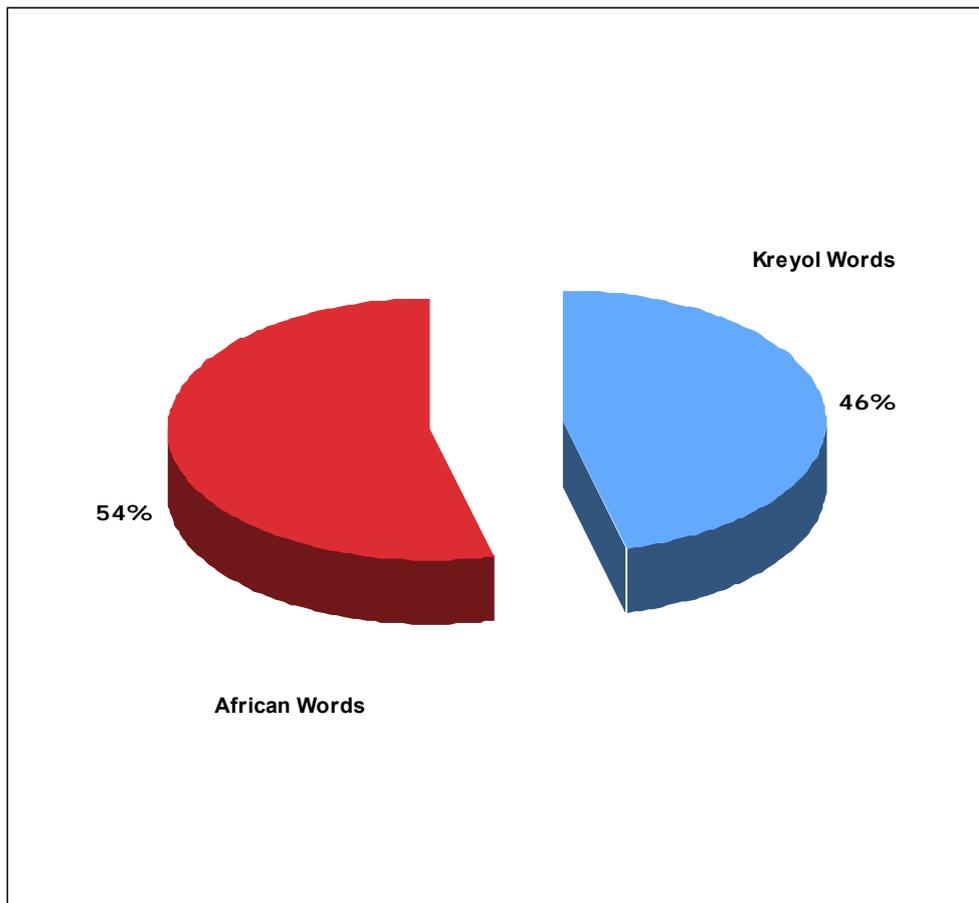
# 3

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 Gwesan 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

Kreyol Words

30%

70%

African Words
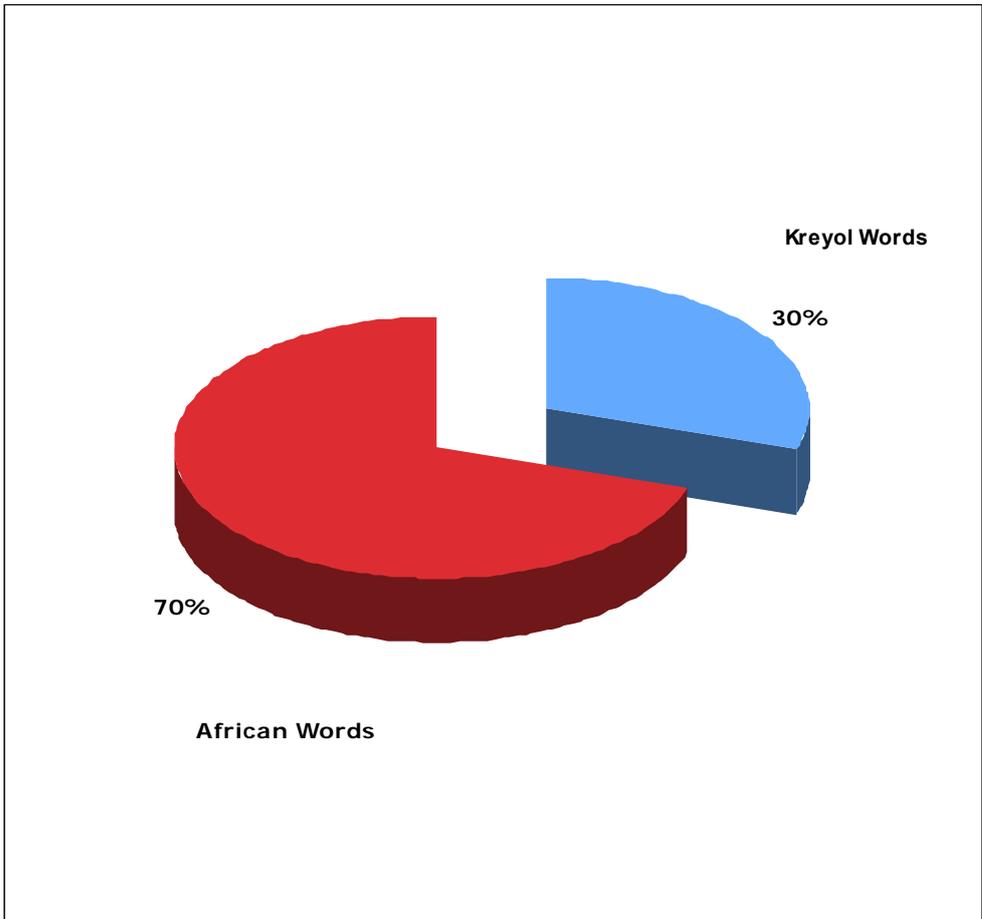
**4**

La fanmi sanble, <u>Anye</u> o sanble non

La fanmi sanble non, <u>eya Gwètò na Yende</u>

La fanmi sanble, <u>Anye o</u> sanble non

La fanmi sanble non, <u>eya Gwètò na Yende</u>

Yo vini gade si nou fè byen

Yo vini gade si n fè mal

Jou n fè mal pou yo pote n ale
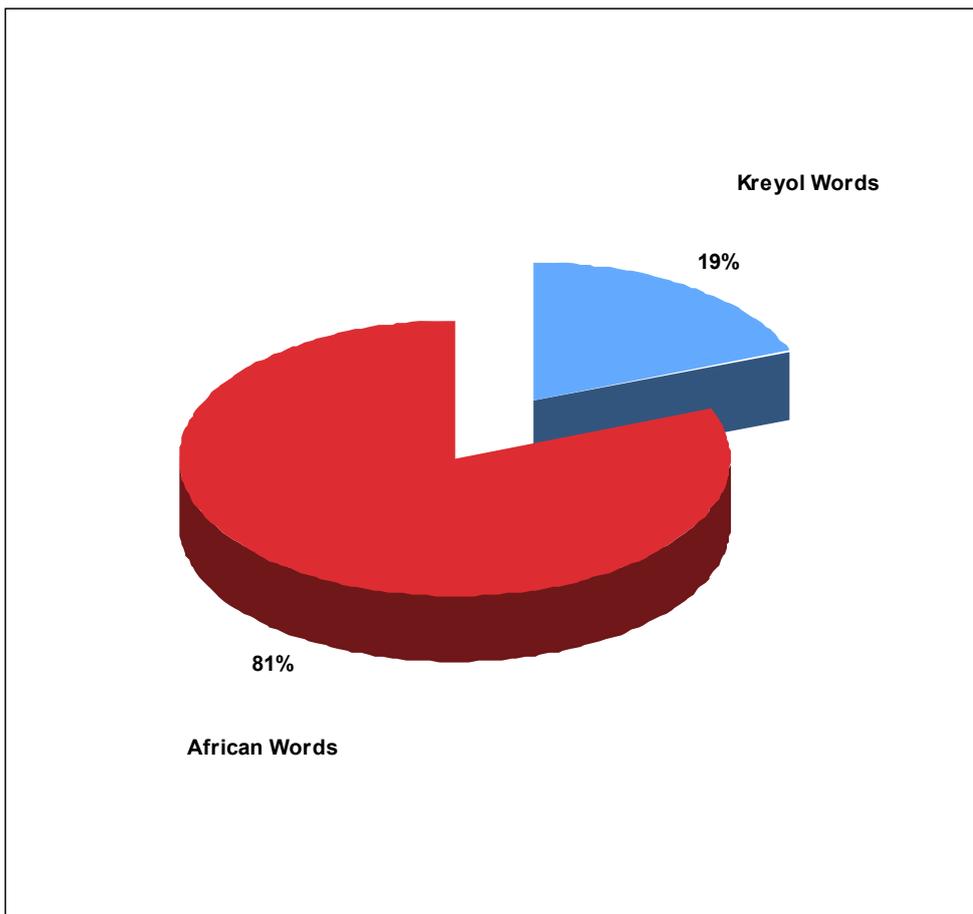
**5**

Apo Lisa (g)badja, awangansi e, Lisa dole Zo

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
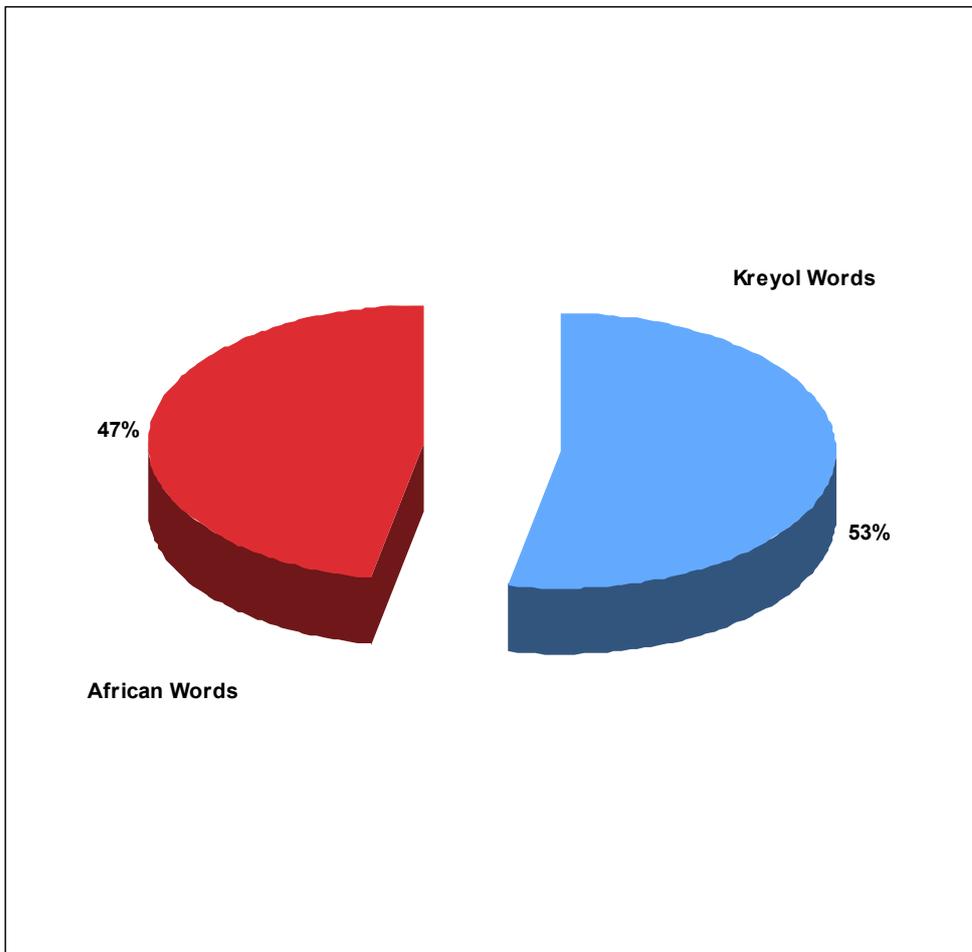
# 6

Atibon Legba, Hounsi lè

Kandyole o Legba e

Atibon Legba, Hounsi lè

Kandyo le 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
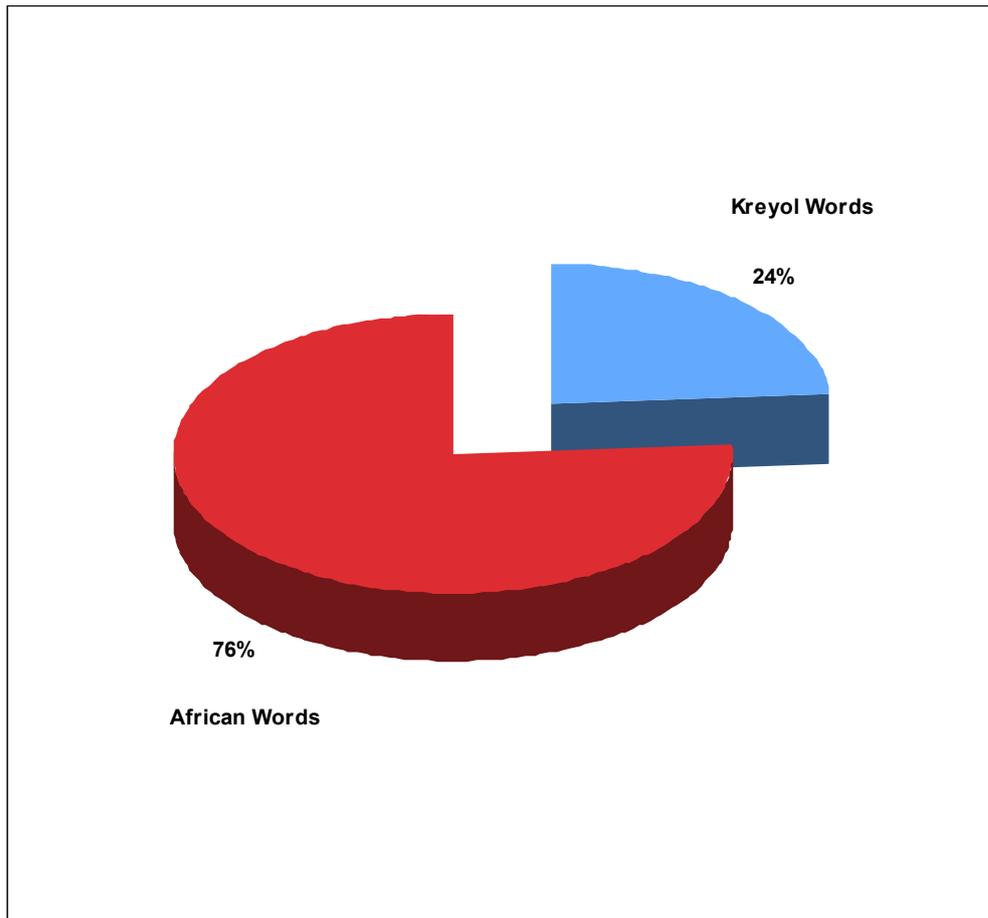
# 7

Hounsi awezan, Hounsi gwêtò Anye o

Hounsi awezan, Hounsi gwêtò Anye o

Gwêtò rele Ble Houniò

Do gwe (k)po Hounsi awezan

Hounsi Gwêtò, Hounsi awezan

Gwêtò rele Legba Atibon

Katawoulo ki mache awezan
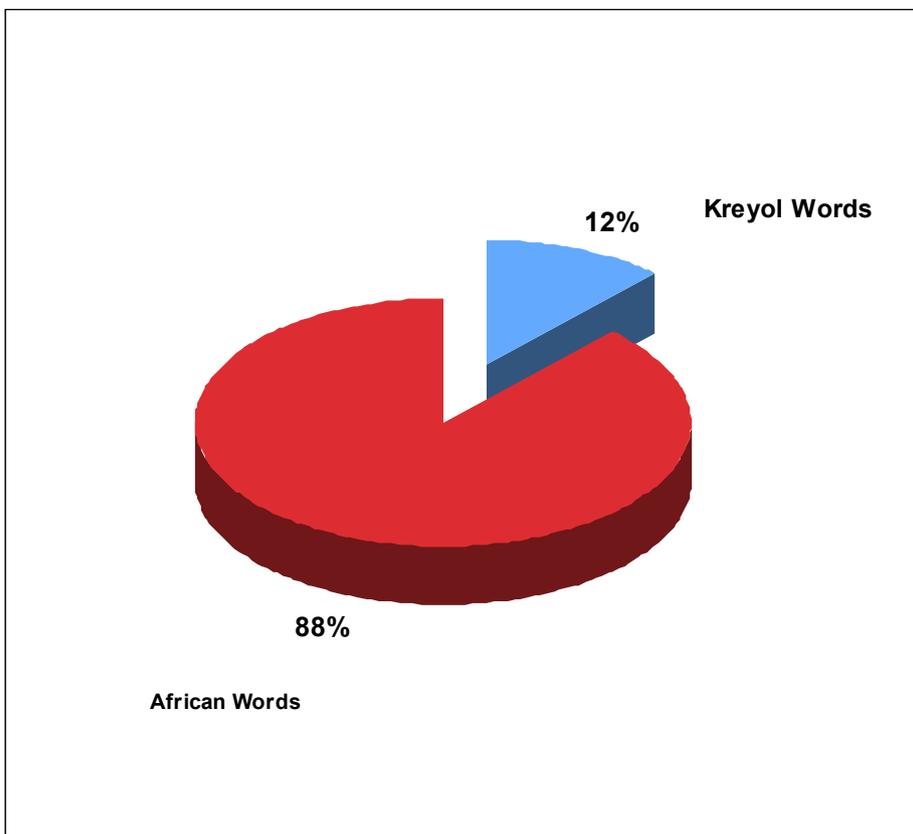
**8**

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!
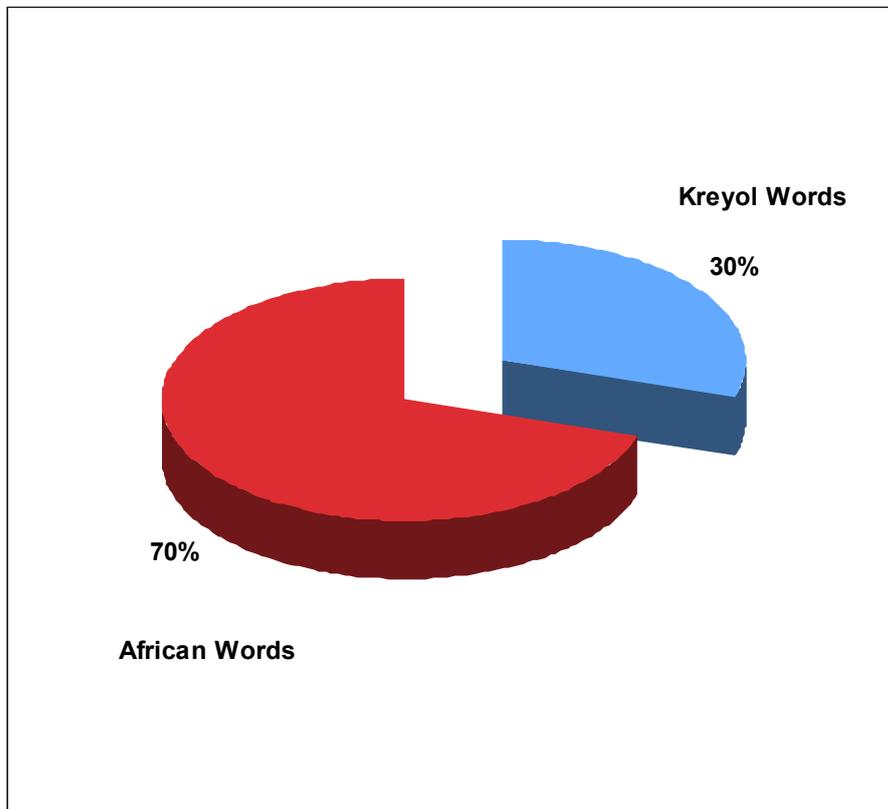
# 9

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

Danbalah 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
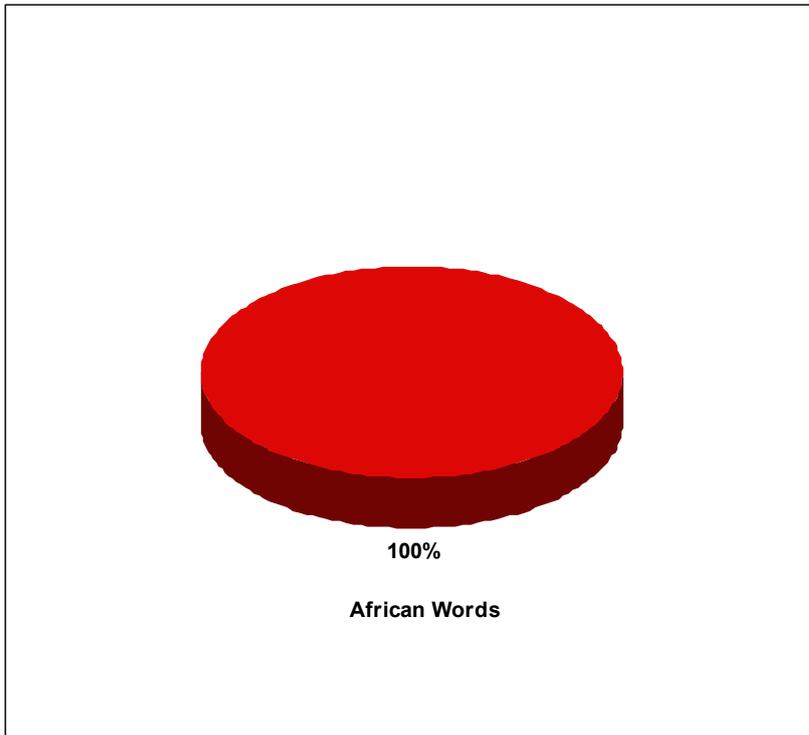
# 10

Danbalah yènou e, Danbalah yènou wa, sè o zo

Danbalah yènou e, Danbalah yènou wa, sè o zo

Eya Houngan yo do mi do, Anye o

Eya Hounsi yo do mi do, Anye o

Danbalah yènou e, Danbalah 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!



100%

**African Words**
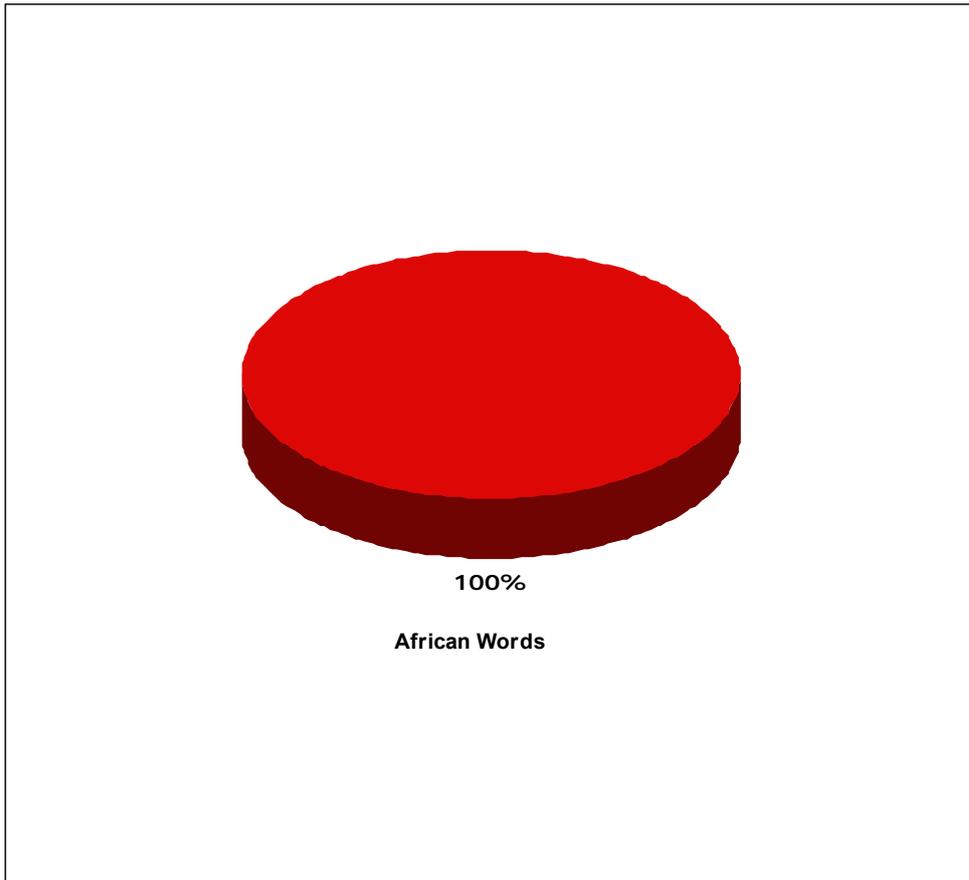
# 11

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!
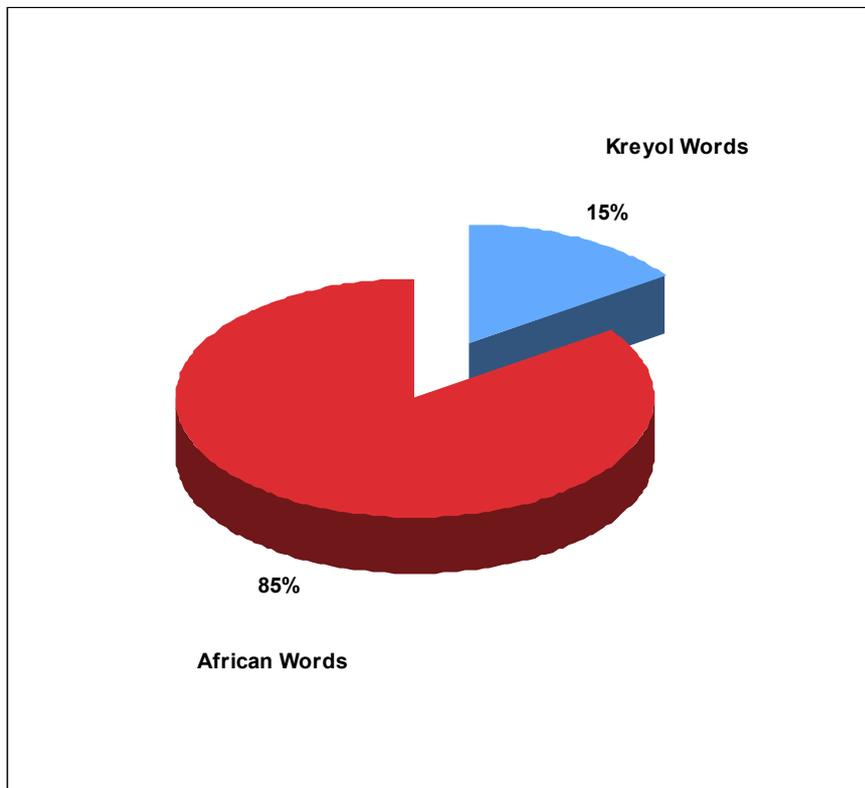
# 12

Anye o! (k)po tèsi mouwa

Badè Imamou gwesan Anye o!


Anye o! (k)po tèsi mouwa

Badè Imamou gwesan Anye o!


Anye o! (k)po tèsi mouwa

Anye o! (k)po tèsi mouwa

Badè Imamou gwesan Anye o!

**100%**

**African Words**
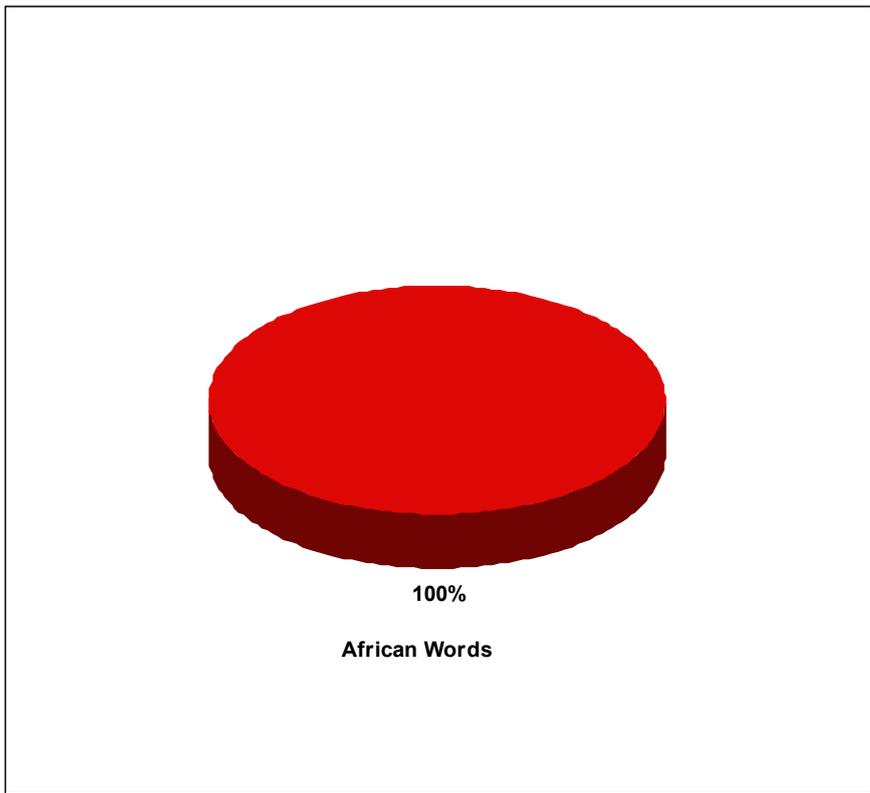
# 13

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
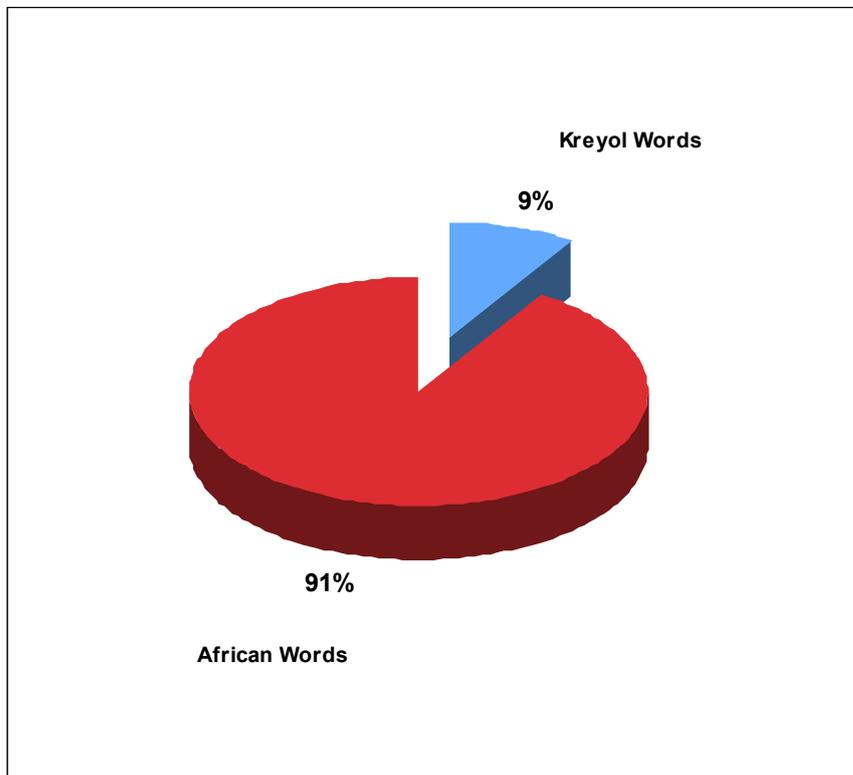
# 14

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

**100%**

**African Words**
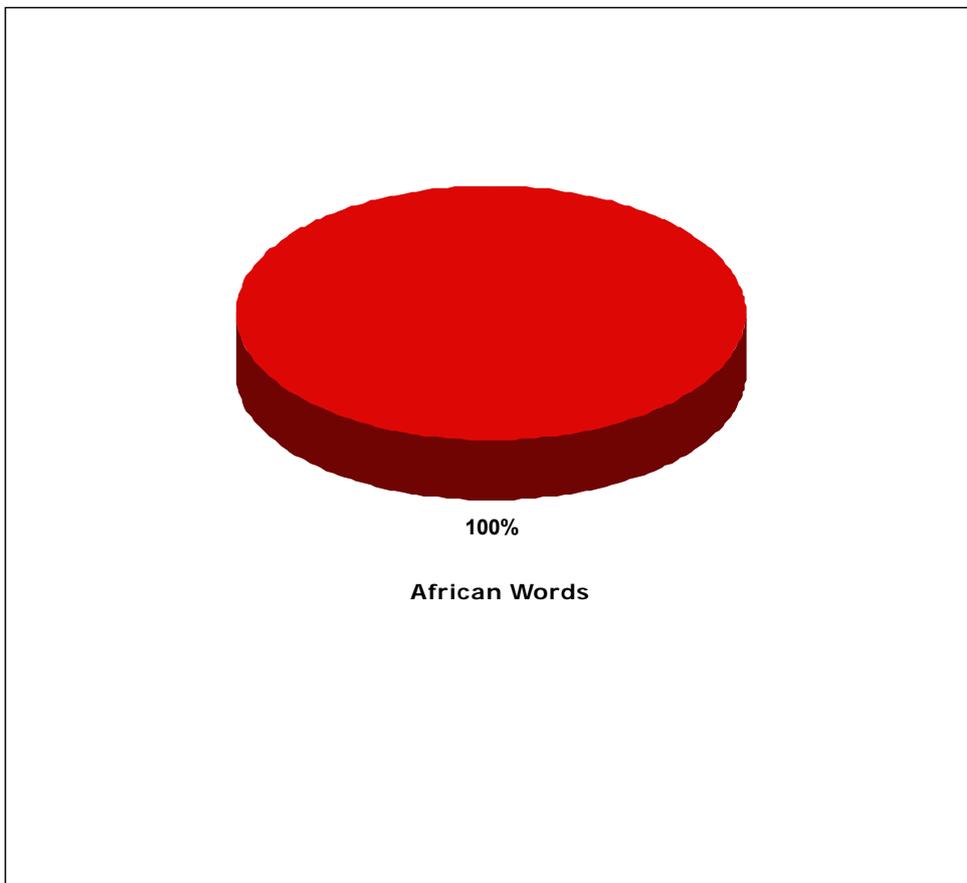
# 15

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!
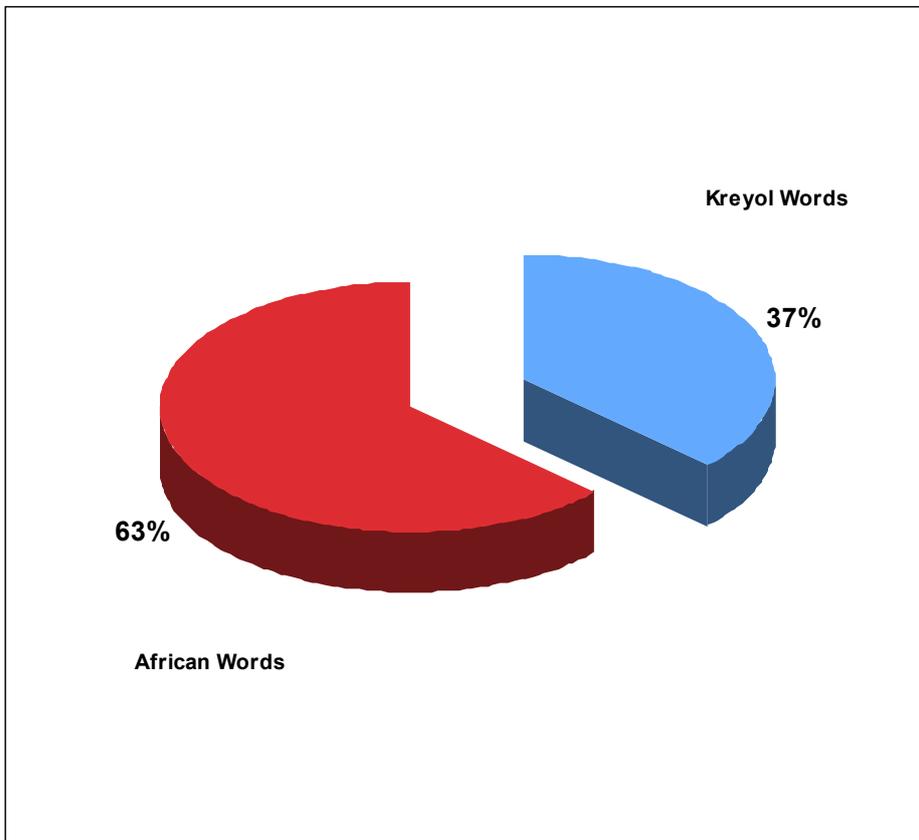
# 16

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**
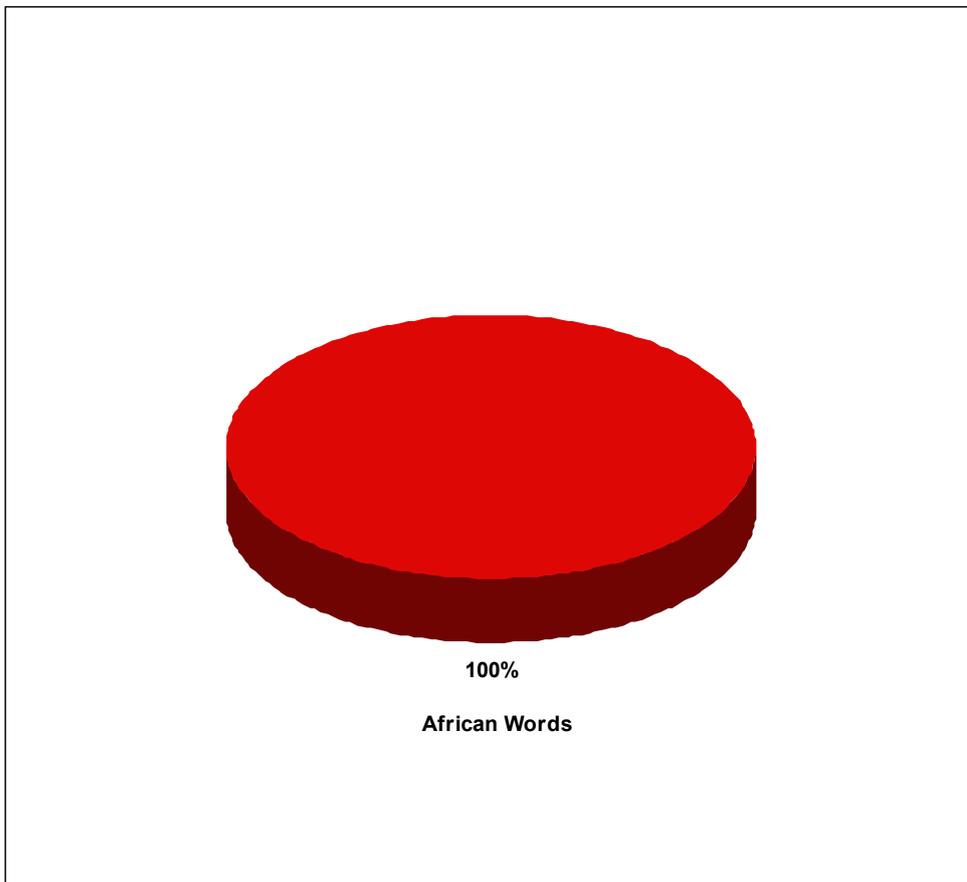
# 17

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!
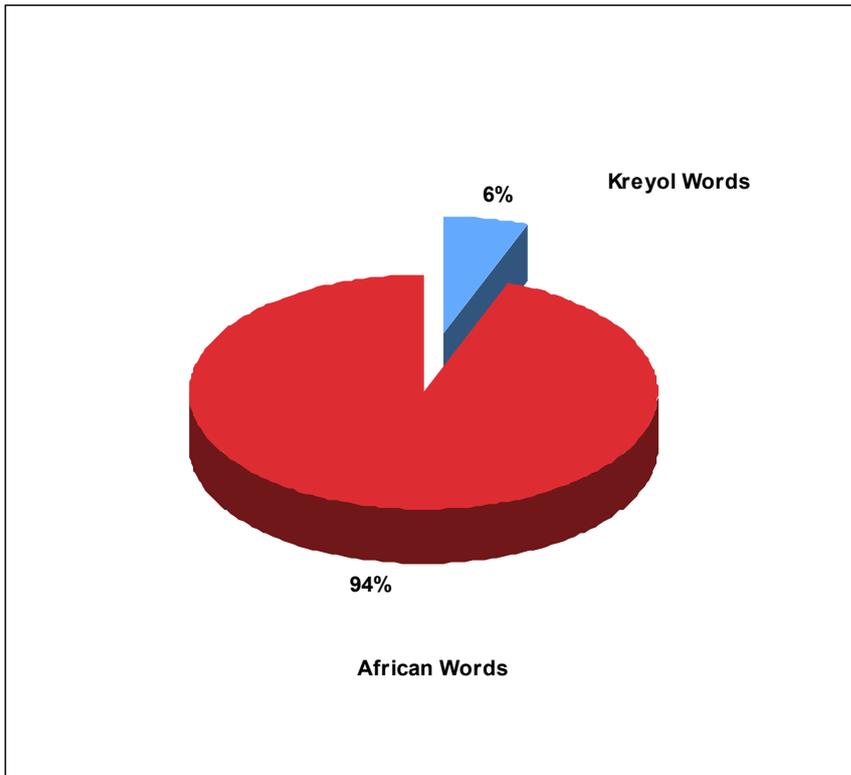
# 18

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**
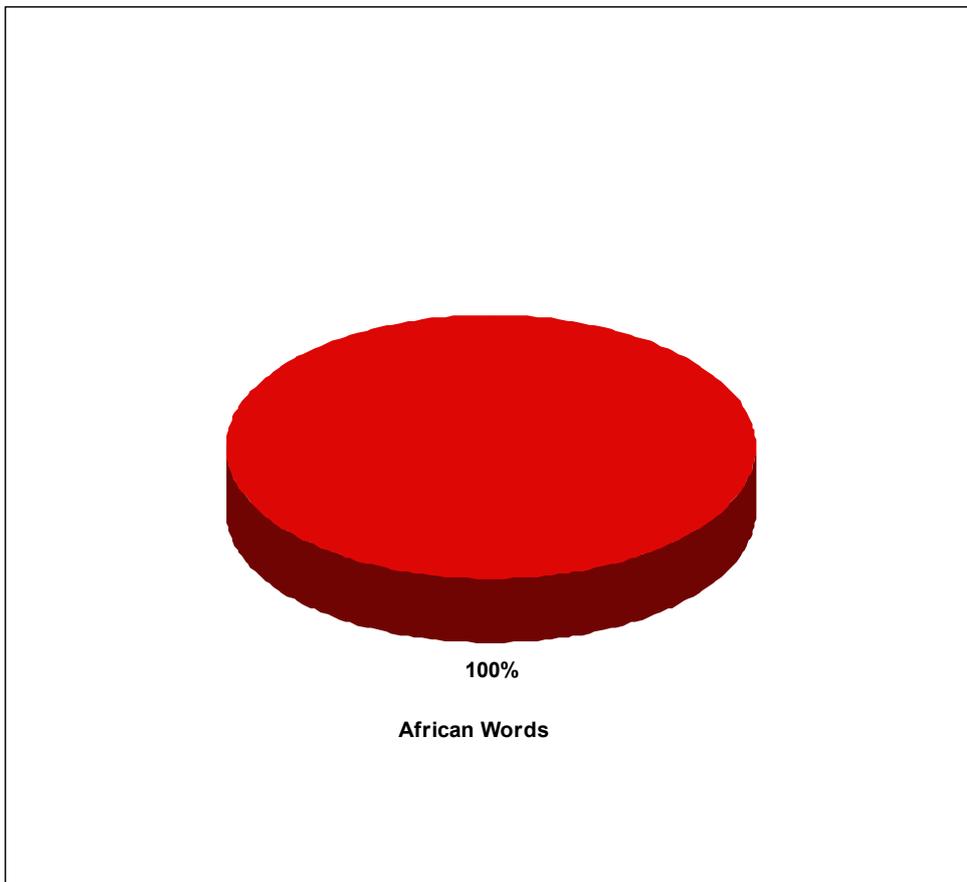
# 19

Azaka Mede o Yèvi Dahomey

Azaka Mede o Yèvi Dahomey

Yèvi Dahomey, Yèvi Gwêtò

Yèvi Dahomey, Yèvi Gwêtò

Azaka Mede Hounfò Yèvi Djò e!
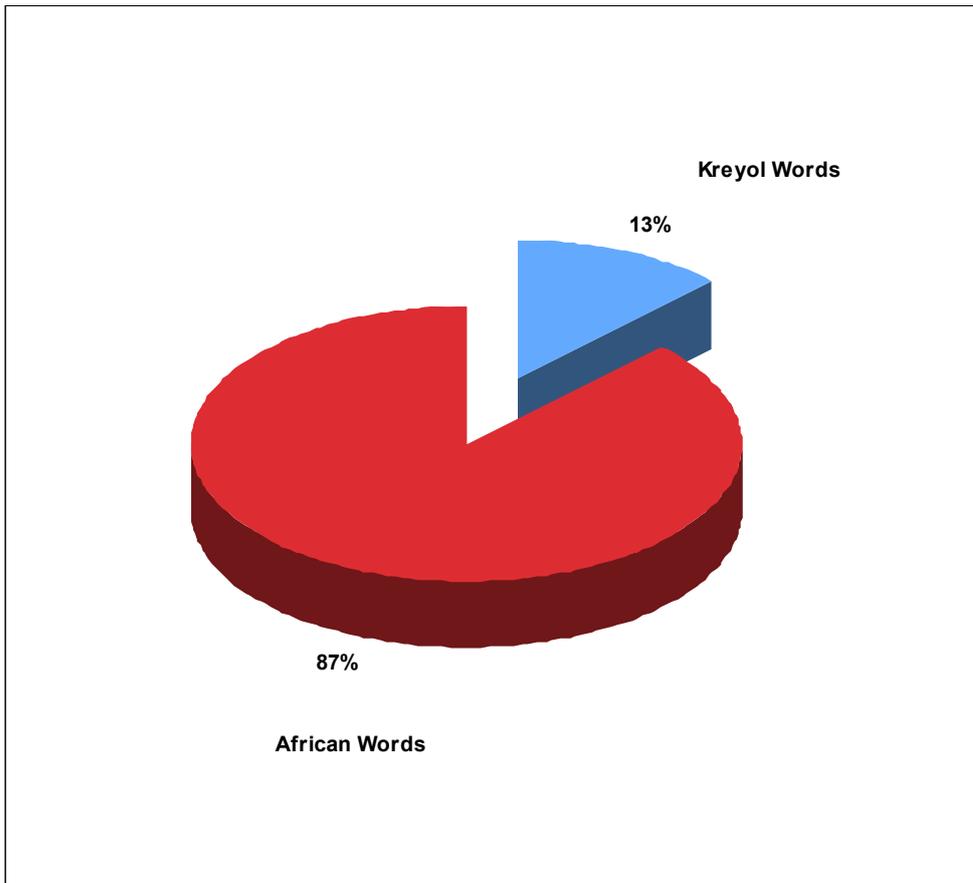
# 20

Anba loye, sè mouwa Ogoun o

Anba loye, sè mouwa Ogoun o

Anba loye, anba loye

Dahomey Dakò e, sè mouwa Ogoun o!
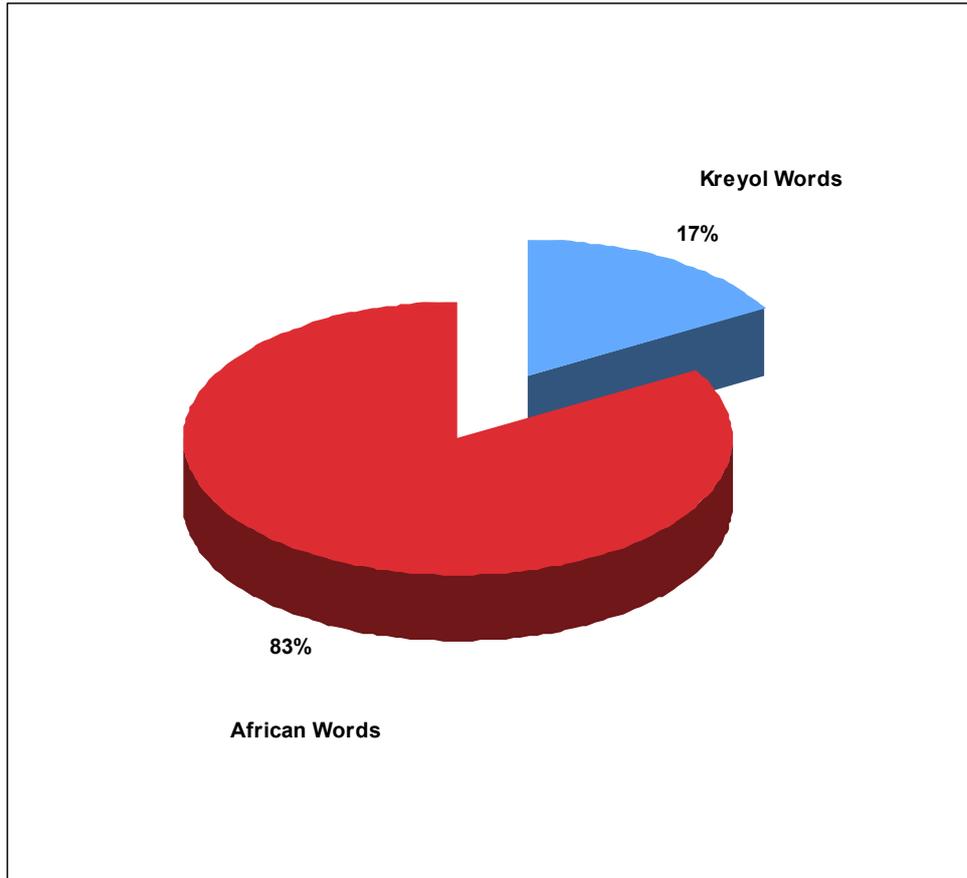
# 21

Papa <u>Ogoun</u> bonswa, bonswa zanfan la yo

Papa <u>Ogoun</u> bonswa, bonswa zanfan la yo

Papa <u>Ogoun</u> bonswa!  Mwen sòti <u>Gedefwe</u>

Kouman nou ye!
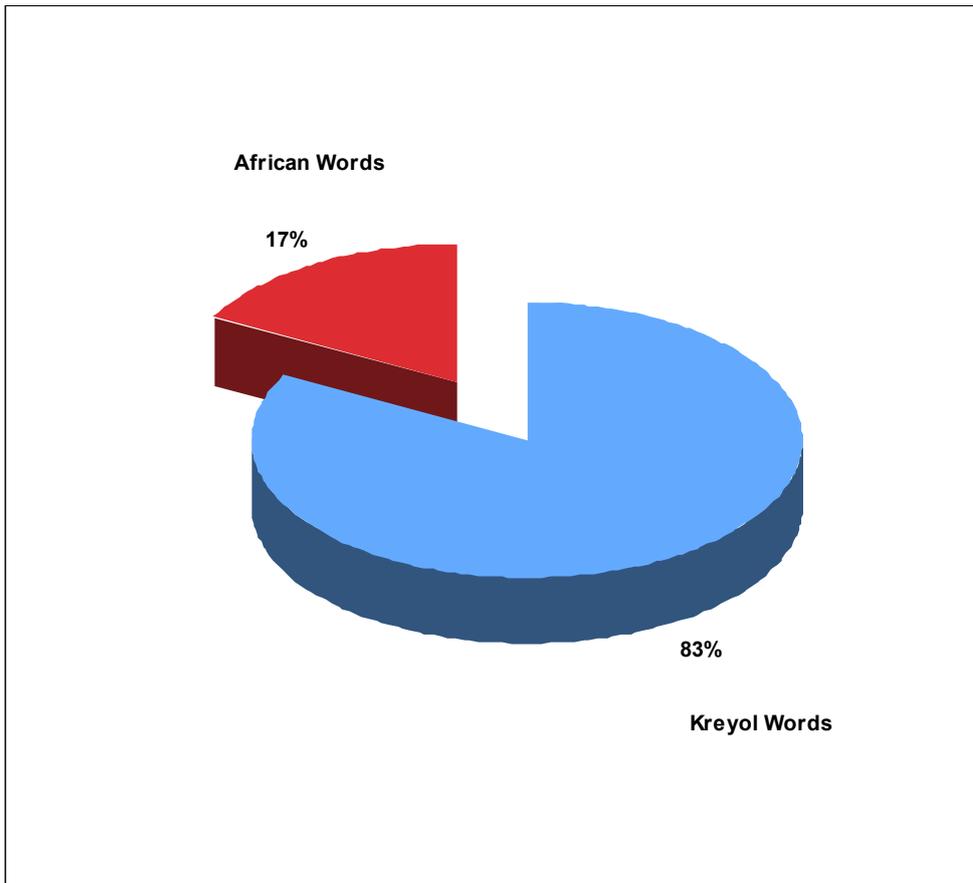
# 22

Ayizan Velekete, Imamou Sègwèl o
 Ayizan Velekete, Imamou Sègwèl o
Rele Ayizan do Yèwe, rele Ayizan do Yèwe
 Ayizan Velekete, Imamou Sègwèl o
 Ayizan do Yèwe!

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 Gwêtò anye o,
 Ayizan m p ap mouri malere
Ayizan Gwêtò 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

Kreyol Words

47%

53%

African Words

**23**
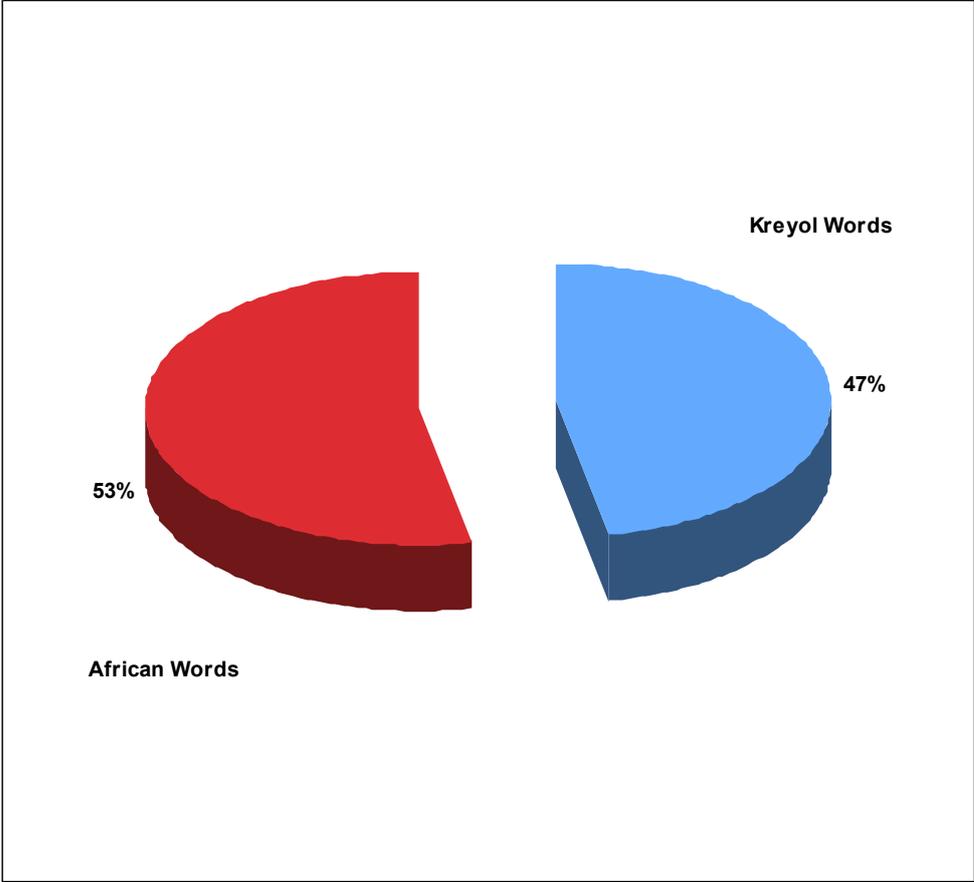

Asanblo Kidi e,
Loko Asanblo Kidi e,
Loko mouwa e mwen
Yanvalou mwen

Loko, Loko, kilidja
Loko, Loko, kilidja
Papa Loko kilidja,
 Azagon Loko Kilidja
Loko, Loko, kilidja!
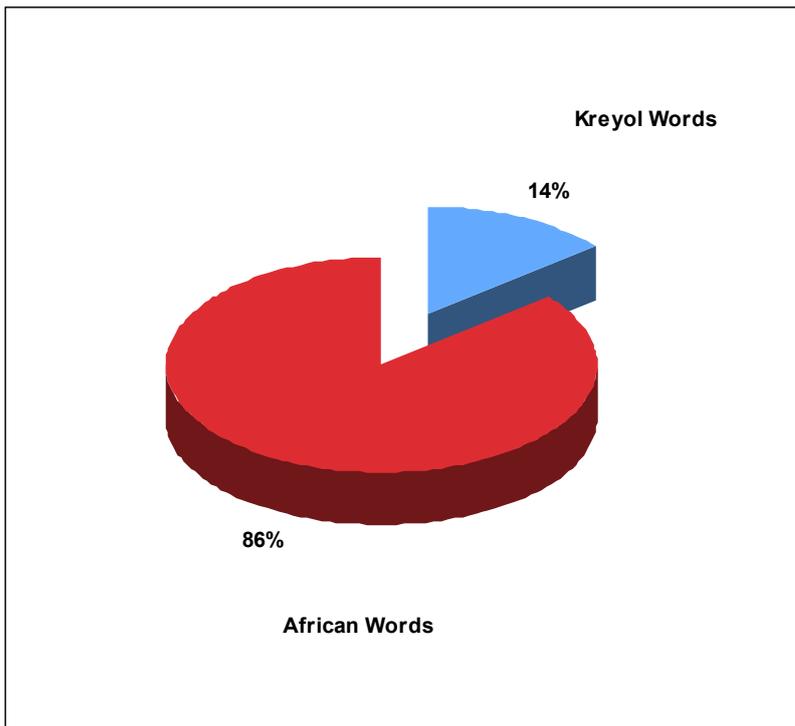
## 7.7.  *Igama likaNkulunkulu uluthando*

*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, רָאֹה רָאִיתִי אֶת-עֳנִי עַמִּי אֲשֶׁר בְּמִצְרָיִם;

וְאֶת-צַעֲקָתָם שָׁמַעְתִּי מִפְּנֵי נֹגְשָׂיו, כִּי יָדַעְתִּי אֶת-מַכְאֹבָיו.

"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 לְרֵעֲךָ כָּמוֹךָ

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/missionionaries 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:

יֹאמֶר אֱלֹהִים, נַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ; וְיִרְדּוּ בִדְגַת הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם, וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבְכָל-הָאָרֶץ, וּבְכָל-הָרֶמֶשׂ, הָרֹמֵשׂ עַל-הָאָרֶץ. **כז** וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמוֹ, בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא אֹתוֹ: זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה, בָּרָא אֹתָם. **כח** וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתָם, אֱלֹהִים, וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם אֱלֹהִים פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמִלְאוּ אֶת-הָאָרֶץ, וְכִבְשֻׁהָ; וּרְדוּ בִדְגַת הַיָּם, וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם, וּבְכָל-חַיָּה, הָרֹמֶשֶׂת 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: רוּחַ אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה, עָלָי-

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).

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### 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, Peubla 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

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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 <u>Respect, Tolerance, Comprehension.</u>

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 Davidiens 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.

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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 philogist 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, Egalité, 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

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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 okunezimpande 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 | durerai |
| Tu | dures | durois | duras | dureras |
| Il | dure | duroit | dura | durera |
| Nous | durons | duriiens/-ïons | durames | durerons |
| Vous | durez | duriiez | 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/-issiens | dureriions/ -ïons | durons |
| Vous | durez | durissoiz/-issiez | dureriiez | 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 | dormiiens/-ïons | dormimes | dormirons |
| Vous | dormez | dormiiez | dormistes | dormiroiz/-ez |
| Ils | dorment | dormoient | dormerent | dormiront |

|       | **Subjective** | | **Conditional** | **Imperative** |
|-------|----------|----------|-------------|------------|
|       | **Present** | **Imperfect** | **Present** | **Present** |
| Je    | dorm     | dormisse          | dormiroie           |          |
| Tu    | dorms    | dormisses         | dormirois           | dorme    |
| Il    | dormt    | dormt             | dormiroit           |          |
| Nous  | dormons  | dormissons/-issiens | dormiraions/-ïons | dormons  |
| Vous  | dormez   | dormissoiz/-issiez/ | dormiraiez/-ïez   | dormez   |
| Ils   | dormant  | dormissent        | 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   | avoit      | eut         | aura      |
| Nous  | avons    | aviens/-ïons | eumes     | aurons    |
| Vous  | avez     | aviez      | eustes      | auroiz/-ez |
| Ils   | ont      | avoient    | eurent      | auront    |

|       | **Subjective** | | **Conditional** | **Imperative** |
|-------|----------|----------|-------------|------------|
|       | **Present** | **Imperfect** | **Present** | **Present** |
| Je    | ai       | eusse             | auroie              |          |
| Tu    | ais      | eusses            | aurois              | ave      |
| Il    | ai       | eusst             | auroit              |          |
| Nous  | aions    | eussons/-issiens  | auravons/-ïons      | avons    |
| Vous  | aiez     | eussoiz/-issez    | auravez/-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/eriens/-ïons | 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 | fussons/-issiens | sommes | |
| Vous | soiez | fussoiz/-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 | durerai |
| Tu | dures | durois | duras | dureras |
| Il | dure | duroit | dura | durera |
| Nous | durons | duriiens/-ïons | durames | durerons |
| Vous | durez | duriiez | 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/-issiens | durerïions/ -ïons | durons |
| Vous | durez | durissoiz/-issiez | dureriiez | 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 | dormiiens/-ïons | dormimes | dormirons |
| Vous | dormez | dormiiez | dormistes | dormiroiz/-ez |
| Ils | dorment | dormoient | dormerent | dormiront |

|  | **Subjective** |  | **Conditional** | **Imperative** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | **Present** | **Imperfect** | **Present** | **Present** |
| Je | dorm | dormisse | dormiroie |  |
| Tu | dorms | dormisses | dormirois | dorme |
| Il | dormt | dormt | dormiroit |  |
| Nous | dormons | dormissons/-issiens | dormiraions/-ïons | dormons |
| Vous | dormez | dormissoiz/-issiez/ | dormiraiez/-ïez | dormez |
| Ils | dormant | dormissent | 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 | avoit | eut | aura |
| Nous | avons | aviens/-ïons | eumes | aurons |
| Vous | avez | aviez | eustes | auroiz/-ez |
| Ils | ont | avoient | eurent | auront |

| | Subjective | | Conditional | Imperative |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Present** | **Imperfect** | **Present** | **Present** |
| Je | ai | eusse | auroie | |
| Tu | ais | eusses | aurois | ave |
| Il | ai | eusst | auroit | |
| Nous | aions | eussons/-issiens | auravons/-ïons | avons |
| Vous | aiez | eussoiz/-issez | auravez/-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/eriens/-ïons | 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 | fussons/-issiens | sommes | |
| Vous | soiez | fussoiz/-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 | Dicter | Dictare |
| 322. Dilèm | Dilemme | Dillemma |
| 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 | Égoisme | 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. Egzije | 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 |

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| 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 | Espéce | 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 | Étourdir | Exturdire |
| 484. Etranj | Étrange | Extraneus |
| 485. Evade, sove | Évader | Evadere |
| 486. Evapore | Évaporer | Evaporare |
| 487. Evazyon | Évasion | Evasio |
| 488. Evèk | Évéque | Episcopus |
| 489. Evenman | Événement | Evenire |
| 490. Eveye | Éveiller | Exvigilare |
| 491. Evitab | Évitable | Evitabillis |
| 492. Evite | Éviter | Evitare |
| 493. Evolisyon | Évolution | Evolutio |
| 494. Fabrikasyon | Fabrication | Fabricatio |
| 495. Fad | Fade | Fatidus |
| 496. Fakilte | Faculté | Facultas |
| 497. Fakti | Facture | Factura |
| 498. Fanm | Femme | Femina |
| 499. Fanmiy | Famille | Familia |
| 500. Farin | Farine | Farina |
| 501. Fasil | Facile | Facilis |
| 502. Fasilite | Faciliter | Facilitare |
| 503. Fason | Façon | Factio |
| 504. Fatra | Fatras | Farsura |
| 505. Fayi, manke | Faillir | Fallire |
| 506. Fè | Faire | Facere |
| 507. Fèb | Faible | Flebilis |
| 508. Fele | Fêler | Flagellare |
| 509. Felisite | Féliciter | Felicitare |
| 510. Femèl | Femelle | Femella |
| 511. Fèmte | Fermeté | Firmitas |
| 512. Fen, finisman | Fin | Finis |
| 513. Fent | Feindre | Fingere |
| 514. Fente | Fendre | Findere |
| 515. Feròs | Féroce | Ferox |
| 516. Fès | Fesse | Fissa |
| 517. Fèt | Fête | Festa |
| 518. Fèy | Feuille | Folia |
| 519. Fi | Fille | Filia |
| 520. Fidèl | Fidèle | Fidelis |
| 521. Figi | Figure | Figura |
| 522. Fije | Figer | Feticare |
| 523. Fil | Fil | Filum |
| 524. File | Filer | Filare |
| 525. Fimen | Fumer | Fumare |
| 526. Fimye | Fumier | Femarium |
| 527. Final | Final | Finalis |
| 528. Fini | Finir | 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. Fòmidab | 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 |

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| 575. Fyè | Fier | Fidare |
| 576. Fyèl | Fiel | Fel |
| 577. Fyète | Fierte | Feritas |
| 578. Gate | Gâter | Vastare |
| 579. Genyen | Avoir | Habere |
| 580. Glann | Glande | Glandula |
| 581. Glas | Glace | Glacia |
| 582. Gòj | Gorge | Gurga |
| 583. Gòm | Gomme | Gumma |
| 584. Gon | Gond | Gomphus |
| 585. Gou | Goût | Gustus |
| 586. Gout | Goutte | Gutta |
| 587. Goute | Goûter | Gustare |
| 588. Gouvènay | Gouvernail | Gubernaculum |
| 589. Gouvène | Gouverner | Gubernare |
| 590. Gra | Gras | Crassus |
| 591. Grad | Grade | Gradus |
| 592. Gramè | Grammaire | Grammatica |
| 593. Gran | Grand | Grandis |
| 594. Gratis | Gratis | Gratis |
| 595. Grav | Grave | Gravis |
| 596. Grenn | Graine | Grana |
| 597. Grès | Graisse | Crassia |
| 598. Gwo | Gros | Grossus |
| 599. Gwonde | Grogner | Gronder |
| 600. Hanni | Hennir | Hinnire |
| 601. Ide | Idée | Idea |
| 602. Ideyal | Idéal | Idealis |
| 603. Idyo | Idiot | Idiotes |
| 604. Ijan | Urgent | Urgens |
| 605. Ilegal | Illégal | Illegalis |
| 606. Imaj | Image | Imaginem |
| 607. Imè | Humeur | Humor |
| 608. Imedyat, touswit | Immédiat | Immediatus |
| 609. Imilyasyon | Humiliation | Humiliatio |
| 610. Imilye | Humilier | Humilare |
| 611. Imite | Imiter | Imitari |
| 612. Ini | Unir | Unire |
| 613. Inivèsèl | Universel | Universalis |
| 614. Inivèsite | Université | Universitas |
| 615. Inosan | Innocent | Innocens |
| 617. Inyorans | Ignorance | Ignoratia |
| 618. Inyore | Ignorer | Ignorare |
| 619. Itil | Utile | Utilis |
| 620. Jantiy | Gentil | Gentilis |
| 621. Jèm | Gemme | Gemma |

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| 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 | Calculare |
| 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 | Cancre | 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 |

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| 668. Katalòg | Catalogue | Catalogus |
| 669. Katastwòf | Catastrophe | Catastropha |
| 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. Kokiy | Coquille | Conchilia |
| 695. Kòlè | Colère | Cholera |
| 696. Kòlèg | Collègue | Collega |
| 697. Kolèj | Collège | Colleqium |
| 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 |

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| 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 | Condoléance | Condolere |
| 722. Konektab | Connéctable | Comes Stabuli |
| 723. Konferans | Confèrence | 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 | Compliquer | 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 |

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| 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. Korije | 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 |

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| 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 |

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| 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 | Eclesia |
| 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 |

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| 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. Negatif | Négatif | Nagativus |
| 924. Negosye | Négocier | 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 |

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| 935. Nwi | Nuire | Nocere |
| 936. Nwit | Nuit | Noctem |
| 937. Nye | Nier | Negare |
| 938. Nyès | Nièce | Neptia |
| 939. Odas | Audace | Audacia |
| 940. Odyans | Audience | Audientia |
| 941. Ogmante | Augmenter | Augmentare |
| 942. Okenn | Aucun | Alicunus |
| 943. Okipe | Occuper | Occupare |
| 944. Oksilyè | Auxiliaire | Auxiliaris |
| 945. Oktòb | Octobre | October |
| 946. Òlòj, revèy | Horloge | Horologium |
| 947. Òm, nonm, nèg, moun | Homme | Homo |
| 948. Onèt | Honnête | Honestus |
| 949. Onk | Oncle | Avunculus |
| 950. Ou | Ou | Aut |
| 951. Palè | Palais | Palatium |
| 952. Panse | Penser | Pensare |
| 953. Papa | Papa | Papa |
| 954. Paran | Parent | Parentem |
| 955. Parante | Parenté | Parentatus |
| 956. Parantèz | Parenthèse | Parenthesis |
| 957. Pare | Parer | Parare |
| 958. Parenn | Parrain | Patrinus |
| 959. Parèt | Apparaître | Apparere |
| 960. Parèy | Pareil | Pariculus |
| 961. Pase | Passer | Passare |
| 962. Pasyan | Patient | Patiens |
| 963. Pasyans | Patience | Patientia |
| 964. Patriyòt | Patriote | Patriota |
| 965. Pawas | Paroisse | Parochia |
| 966. Pawòl | Parole | Parabola |
| 967. Pen | Pain | Panis |
| 968. Penti | Peinture | Pinctura |
| 969. Pentire | Pendre | Pendere |
| 970. Pèp | Peuple | Populus |
| 971. Peryòd | Période | Periodus |
| 972. Pèsonèl | Personnel | Personalis |
| 973. Pèvèti | Pervertir | Pervertere |
| 974. Pijon | Pigeon | Pipio |
| 975. Planch | Planche | Planca |
| 976. Plante | Planter | Plantare |
| 977. Plas | Place | Platea |
| 978. Plat | Plat | Plattus |
| 979. Pliche | Éplucher | Pilucare |
| 980. Plim | Plume | Pluma |

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| 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 | Appropiare |
| 998. Pwogrè | Progrès | Progressus |
| 999. Pwoklame | Proclamer | Proclamare |
| 1000. Pwopozisyon | Proposition | Propositio |
| 1001. Pwopriyete | Propriété | Proprietas |
| 1002. Pwosè | Procès | 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 | Centiéme | Centesimus |
| 1044. Satisfaksyon | 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 | Entrailles | 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 |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngiyazi | *Mwen konnen* | Angiyazi | *Mwen pa konnen* |
| Uyazi | *Ou konnen* | Awazi | *Ou pa konnen* |
| Uyazi | *Li konnen* | Akazi | *Li pa konnen* |
| Siyazi | *Nou konnen* | Asazi | *Nou pa konnen* |
| Niyazi | *Nou konnen* | Anazi | *Nou pa konnen* |
| Bayazi | *Yo konnen* | Abazi | *Yo pa konnen* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Bengingazi | *Mwen te konnen* | Angazanga | *Mwen pa te konnen* |
| Abuwazi | *Ou te konnen* | Ubungazi | *Ou pa te konnen* |
| Ebazi | *Li te konnen* | Ebengazi | *Li pa te konnen* |
| Besingazi | *Nou te konnen* | Asazanga | *Nou pa te konnen* |
| Benazi | *Nou te konnen* | Beningazi | *Nou pa te konnen* |
| Bebazi | *Yo te konnen* | Bebengazi | *Yo pa te konnen* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizokwazi | *Mwen pral konnen* | Angizokwazi | *Mwen pa pral konnen* |
| Uzokwazi | *Ou pral konnen* | Awuzokwazi | *Ou pa pral konnen* |
| Uzokwazi | *Li pral konnen* | Akazokwazi | *Li pa pral konnen* |
| Sizokwazi | *Nou pral konnen* | Asizokwazi | *Nou pa pral konnen* |
| Nizokwazi | *Nou pral konnen* | Anizokwazi | *Nou pa pral konnen* |
| Bazokwazi | *Yo pral konnen* | Abazokwazi | *Yo pa pral konnen* |

# Ukukwazi – *Kapab*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngiyakwazi | *Mwen kapab* | Angikwazi | *Mwen pa kapab* |
| Uyakwazi | *Ou kapab* | Awukwazi | *Ou pa kapab* |
| Uyakwazi | *Li kapab* | Akakwazi | *Li pa kapab* |
| Siyakwazi | *Nou kapab* | Asikwazi | *Nou pa kapab* |
| Niyakwazi | *Nou kapab* | Anikwazi | *Nou pa kapab* |
| Bayakwazi | *Yo kapab* | Abakwazi | *Yo pa kapab* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---|---|---|---|
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Bengikwazi | *Mwen te kapab* | Bengingakwazi | *Mwen pa te kapab* |
| Ubekwazi | *Ou te kapab* | Awukwazi | *Ou pa te kapab* |
| Ubekwazi | *Li te kapab* | Ebengakwazi | *Li pa te kapab* |
| Besikwazi | *Nou te kapab* | Asikwazanga | *Nou pa te kapab* |
| Benikwazi | *Nou te kapab* | Beningakwazi | *Nou pa te kapab* |
| Bebekwazi | *Yo te kapab* | Bebengakwazi | *Yo pa te kapab* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---|---|---|---|
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizokwazi | *Mwen pral kapab* | Angizokwazi | *Mwen pa pral kapab* |
| Uzokwazi | *Ou pral kapab* | Awuzokwazi | *Ou pa pral kapab* |
| Uzokwazi | *Li pral kapab* | Akazokwazi | *Li pa pral kapab* |
| Sizokwazi | *Nou pral kapab* | Asizokwazi | *Nou pa pral kapab* |
| Nizokwazi | *Nou pral kapab* | Anizokwazi | *Nou pa pral kapab* |
| Bazokwazi | *Yo pral kapab* | Abazokwazi | *Yo pa pral kapab* |

**Ukukwazi -** *Konnen*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngiyakwazi | *Mwen konnen* | Angikwazi | *Mwen pa konnen* |
| Uyakwazi | *Ou konnen* | Awukwazi | *Ou pa konnen* |
| Uyakwazi | *Li konnen* | Akakwazi | *Li pa konnen* |
| Siyakwazi | *Nou konnen* | Asikwazi | *Nou pa konnen* |
| Niyakwazi | *Nou konnen* | Anikwazi | *Nou pa konnen* |
| Bayakwazi | *Yo konnen* | Abakwazi | *Yo pa konnen* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Bengikwazi | *Mwen te konnen* | Bengingakwazi | *Mwen pa te konnen* |
| Ubekwazi | *Ou te konnen* | Ubengakwazi | *Ou pa te konnen* |
| Ubekwazi | *Li te konnen* | Ubengakwazi | *Li pa te konnen* |
| Besikwazi | *Nou te konnen* | Besingakwazi | *Nou pa te konnen* |
| Benikwazi | *Nou te konnen* | Beningakwazi | *Nou pa te konnen* |
| Bebekwazi | *Yo te konnen* | Bebengakwazi | *Yo pa te konnen* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizokwazi | *Mwen pral konnen* | Angizokwazi | *Mwen pa pral konnen* |
| Uzokwazi | *Ou pral konnen* | Awuzokwazi | *Ou pa pral konnen* |
| Uzokwazi | *Li pral konnen* | Akazokwazi | *Li pa pral konnen* |
| Sizokwazi | *Nou pral konnen* | Asizokwazi | *Nou pa pral konnen* |
| Nizokwazi | *Nou pral konnen* | Anizokwazi | *Nou pa pral konnen* |
| Bazokwazi | *Yo pral konnen* | Abazokwazi | *Yo pa pral konnen* |

# Ukusho - *Di*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngisho | *Mwen di* | Angisho | *Mwen pa di* |
| Usho | *Ou di* | Awusho | *Ou pa di* |
| Uyasho | *Li di* | Akasho | *Li pa di* |
| Siyasho | *Nou di* | Asisho | *Nou pa di* |
| Niyasho | *Nou di* | Anisho | *Nou pa di* |
| Bayasho | *Yo di* | Abasho | *Yo pa di* |
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngishilo | *Mwen te di* | Angishongo | *Mwen pa te di* |
| Ushilo | *Ou te di* | Awushongo | *Ou pa te di* |
| Ushilo | *Li te di* | Akashongo | *Li pa te di* |
| Sishilo | *Nou te di* | Asishongo | *Nou pa te di* |
| Nishilo | *Nou te di* | Anishongo | *Nou pa te di* |
| Bashilo | *Yo te di* | Abashongo | *Yo pa te di* |
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizosho | *Mwen pral di* | Angizosho | *Mwen pa pral di* |
| Uzosho | *Ou pral di* | Awuzosho | *Ou pa pral di* |
| Uzosho | *Li pral di* | Akazosho | *Li pa pral di* |
| Sizosho | *Nou pral di* | Asizosho | *Nou pa pral di* |
| Nizosho | *Nou pral di* | Anizosho | *Nou pa pral di* |
| Bazosho | *Yo pral di* | Abazosho | *Yo pa pral di* |

# Ukuthi - *Di*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---|---|---|---|
| <u>Present</u> | <u>Present</u> | <u>Present-Negative</u> | <u>Present-Negative</u> |
| Ngithi | *Mwen di* | Angithi | *Mwen pa di* |
| Uthi | *Ou di* | Awuthi | *Ou pa di* |
| Uthi | *Li di* | Akathi | *Li pa di* |
| Sithi | *Nou di* | Asithi | *Nou pa di* |
| Nithi | *Nou di* | Anithi | *Nou pa di* |
| Bathi | *Yo di* | Abathi | *Yo pa di* |
| | | | |
| <u>Past</u> | <u>Past</u> | <u>Past-Negative</u> | <u>Past-Negative</u> |
| Ngathi | *Mwen te di* | Bengingathi | *Mwen pa te di* |
| Uthé | *Ou te di* | Awuthanga | *Ou pa te di* |
| Uthé | *Li te di* | Akathanga | *Li pa te di* |
| Sathi | *Nou te di* | Asithanga | *Nou pa te di* |
| Nithe | *Nou te di* | Anithanga | *Nou pa te di* |
| Bathe | *Yo te di* | Abathanga | *Yo pa te di* |
| | | | |
| <u>Future</u> | <u>Future</u> | <u>Future-Negative</u> | <u>Future-Negative</u> |
| Ngizothi | *Mwen pral di* | Angizothi | *Mwen pa pral di* |
| Uzothi | *Ou pral di* | Awuzothi | *Ou pa pral di* |
| Uzothi | *Li pral di* | Akazothi | *Li pa pral di* |
| Sizothi | *Nou pral di* | Asizothi | *Nou pa pral di* |
| Nizothi | *Nou pral di* | Anizothi | *Nou pa pral di* |
| Bazothi | *Yo pral di* | Abazothi | *Yo pa pral di* |

**Ukuhamba – *Ale / Mache***


| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| <u>Present</u> | <u>Present</u> | <u>Present-Negative</u> | <u>Present-Negative</u> |
| Ngiya | *Mwen ale* | Angiyi | *Mwen pa ale* |
| Uya | *Ou ale* | Awuyi | *Ou pa ale* |
| Uya | *Li ale* | Akayi | *Li pa ale* |
| Siya | *Nou ale* | Asiyi | *Nou pa ale* |
| Niya | *Nou ale* | Aniyi | *Nou pa ale* |
| Baya | *Yo ale* | Abayi | *Yo pa ale* |
| | | | |
| <u>Past</u> | <u>Past</u> | <u>Past-Negative</u> | <u>Past-Negative</u> |
| Bengiye | *Mwen te ale* | Bengingayanga | *Mwen pa te ale* |
| Uyé | *Ou te ale* | Awuyanga | *Ou pa te ale* |
| Uyé | *Li te ale* | Akayanga | *Li pa te ale* |
| Siyé | *Nou te ale* | Asiyanga | *Nou pa te ale* |
| Niye | *Nou te ale* | Aniyanga | *Nou pa te ale* |
| Bayé | *Yo te ale* | Abayanga | *Yo pa te ale* |
| | | | |
| <u>Future</u> | <u>Future</u> | <u>Future-Negative</u> | <u>Future-Negative</u> |
| Ngizoya | *Mwen prale* | Angizoya | *Mwen pa prale* |
| Uzoya | *Ou prale* | Awuzoya | *Ou pa prale* |
| Uzoya | *Li prale* | Akazoya | *Li pa prale* |
| Sizoya | *Nou prale* | Asizoya | *Nou pa prale* |
| Nizoya | *Nou prale* | Anizoya | *Nou pa prale* |
| Bazoya | *Yo prale* | Abazoya | *Yo pa prale* |

# Ukubona - *Wè*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngiyabona | *Mwen wè* | Angiboni | *Mwen pa wè* |
| Uyabona | *Ou wè* | Awuboni | *Ou pa wè* |
| Uyabona | *Li wè* | Akaboni | *Li pa wè* |
| Siyabona | *Nou wè* | Asiboni | *Nou pa wè* |
| Niyabona | *Nou wè* | Aniboni | *Nou pa wè* |
| Bayabona | *Yo wè* | Ababoni | *Yo pa wè* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngibonile | *Mwen te wè* | Angibonanga | *Mwen pa te wè* |
| Ubonile | *Ou te wè* | Awubonanga | *Ou pa te wè* |
| Ubonile | *Li te wè* | Akabonanga | *Li pa te wè* |
| Sibonile | *Nou te wè* | Asibonanga | *Nou pa te wè* |
| Nibonile | *Nou te wè* | Anibonanga | *Nou pa te wè* |
| Babonile | *Yo te wè* | Ababonanga | *Yo pa te wè* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizobona | *Mwen pral wè* | Angizobona | *Mwen pa pral wè* |
| Uzobona | *Ou pral wè* | Awuzobona | *Ou pa pral wè* |
| Uzobona | *Li pral wè* | Akazobona | *Li pa pral wè* |
| Sizobona | *Nou pral wè* | Asizobona | *Nou pa pral wè* |
| Nizobona | *Nou pral wè* | Anizobona | *Nou pa pral wè* |
| Bazobona | *Yo pral wè* | Abazobona | *Yo pa pral wè* |

## Ukucabanga - *Panse*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngicabanga | *Mwen panse* | Angicabangi | *Mwen pa panse* |
| Ucabanga | *Ou panse* | Awucabangi | *Ou pa panse* |
| Ucabanga | *Li panse* | Akacabangi | *Li pa panse* |
| Sicabanga | *Nou panse* | Asicabangi | *Nou pa panse* |
| Nicabanga | *Nou panse* | Anicabangi | *Nou pa panse* |
| Bacabanga | *Yo panse* | Abacabangi | *Yo pa panse* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngicabangé | *Mwen te panse* | Angicabanganga | *Mwen pa te panse* |
| Ucabangé | *Ou te panse* | Awucabanganga | *Ou pa te panse* |
| Ucabangé | *Li te panse* | Akacabanganga | *Li pa te panse* |
| Sicabangé | *Nou te panse* | Asicabanganga | *Nou pa te panse* |
| Nicabangé | *Nou te panse* | Anicabanganga | *Nou pa te panse* |
| Bacabangé | *Yo te panse* | Abacabanganga | *Yo pa te panse* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizocabanga | *Mwen pral panse* | Angizocabanga | *Mwen pa pral panse* |
| Uzocabanga | *Ou pral panse* | Awuzocabanga | *Ou pa pral panse* |
| Uzocabanga | *Li pral panse* | Akazocabanga | *Li pa pral panse* |
| Sizocabanga | *Nou pral panse* | Asizocabanga | *Nou pa pral panse* |
| Nizocabanga | *Nou pral panse* | Anizocabanga | *Nou pa pral panse* |
| Bazocabanga | *Yo pral panse* | Abazocabanga | *Yo pa pral panse* |

# Ukwenza - *Fè*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngikwenza | *Mwen fè* | Angikwenzi | *Mwen pa fè* |
| Ukwenza | *Ou fè* | Awukwenzi | *Ou pa fè* |
| Ukwenza | *Li fè* | Akakwenzi | *Li pa fè* |
| Sikwenza | *Nou fè* | Asikwenzi | *Nou pa fè* |
| Nikwenza | *Nou fè* | Anikwenzi | *Nou pa fè* |
| Bakwenza | *Yo fè* | Abakwenzi | *Yo pa fè* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngikwenzile | *Mwen te fè* | Angikwenzanga | *Mwen pa te fè* |
| Ukwenzile | *Ou te fè* | Awukwenzanga | *Ou pa te fè* |
| Ukwenzile | *Li te fè* | Akakwenzanga | *Li pa te fè* |
| Sikwenzile | *Nou te fè* | Asikwenzanga | *Nou pa te fè* |
| Nikwenzile | *Nou te fè* | Anikwenzanga | *Nou pa te fè* |
| Bakwenzile | *Yo te fè* | Abakwenzanga | *Yo pa te fè* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizokwenza | *Mwen pral fè* | Angizokwenza | *Mwen pa pral fè* |
| Uzokwenza | *Ou pral fè* | Awuzokwenza | *Ou pa pral fè* |
| Uzokwenza | *Li pral fè* | Akazokwenza | *Li pa pral fè* |
| Sizokwenza | *Nou pral fè* | Akazokwenza | *Nou pa pral fè* |
| Nizokwenza | *Nou pral fè* | Anizokwenza | *Nou pa pral fè* |
| Bazokwenza | *Yo pral fè* | Abazokwenza | *Yo pa pral fè* |

**Ukwala -** *Refize*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngiyala | *Mwen refize* | Angali | *Mwen pa refize* |
| Uyala | *Ou refize* | Awali | *Ou pa refize* |
| Uyala | *Li refize* | Akali | *Li pa refize* |
| Siyala | *Nou refize* | Asali | *Nou pa refize* |
| Niyala | *Nou refize* | Anali | *Nou pa refize* |
| Bayala | *Yo refize* | Abali | *Yo pa refize* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngalile | *Mwen te refize* | Angalanga | *Mwen pa te refize* |
| Walile | *Ou te refize* | Awalanga | *Ou pa te refize* |
| Walile | *Li te refize* | Akalanga | *Li pa te refize* |
| Salile | *Nou te refize* | Asalanga | *Nou pa te refize* |
| Nalile | *Nou te refize* | Analanga | *Nou pa te refize* |
| Babile | *Yo te refize* | Abalanga | *Yo pa te refize* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizokwala | *Mwen pral refize* | Angizokwala | *Mwen pa pral refize* |
| Uzokwala | *Ou pral refize* | Awuzokwala | *Ou pa pral refize* |
| Uzokwala | *Li pral refize* | Akazokwala | *Li pa pral refize* |
| Sizokwala | *Nou pral refize* | Asizokwala | *Nou pa pral refize* |
| Nizokwala | *Nou pral refize* | Anizokwala | *Nou pa pral refize* |
| Bazokwala | *Yo pral refize* | Abazokwala | *Yo pa pral refize* |

**Ukulwa –** *Goumen / Batay*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngiyalwa | *Mwen goumen* | Angilwi | *Mwen pa goumen* |
| Uyalwa | *Ou goumen* | Awulwi | *Ou pa goumen* |
| Uyalwa | *Li goumen* | Akalwi | *Li pa goumen* |
| Siyalwa | *Nou goumen* | Asilwi | *Nou pa goumen* |
| Niyalwa | *Nou goumen* | Anilwi | *Nou pa goumen* |
| Bayalwa | *Yo goumen* | Abalwi | *Yo pa goumen* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngilwile | *Mwen te goumen* | Angilwanga | *Mwen pa te goumen* |
| Ulwile | *Ou te goumen* | Awulwanga | *Ou pa te goumen* |
| Ulwile | *Li te goumen* | Akalwanga | *Li pa te goumen* |
| Silwile | *Nou te goumen* | Asilwanga | *Nou pa te goumen* |
| Nilwile | *Nou te goumen* | Anilwanga | *Nou pa te goumen* |
| Balwile | *Yo te goumen* | Abalwanga | *Yo pa te goumen* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizolwa | *Mwen pral goumen* | Angizolwa | *Mwen pa pral goumen* |
| Uzolwa | *Ou pral goumen* | Awuzolwa | *Ou pa pral goumen* |
| Uzolwa | *Li pral goumen* | Akazolwa | *Li pa pral goumen* |
| Sizolwa | *Nou pral goumen* | Asizolwa | *Nou pa pral goumen* |
| Nizolwa | *Nou pral goumen* | Anizolwa | *Nou pa pral goumen* |
| Bazolwa | *Yo pral goumen* | Abazolwa | *Yo pa pral goumen* |

# Ukupha - *Bay*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngipha | *Mwen bay* | Angikuphi | *Mwen pa bay* |
| Upha | *Ou bay* | Awuphi | *Ou pa bay* |
| Upha | *Li bay* | Akaphi | *Li pa bay* |
| Sipha | *Nou bay* | Asiphi | *Nou pa bay* |
| Nipha | *Nou bay* | Aniphi | *Nou pa bay* |
| Bapha | *Yo bay* | Abaphi | *Yo pa bay* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngiphile | *Mwen te bay* | Angiphanga | *Mwen pa te bay* |
| Uphile | *Ou te bay* | Awuphanga | *Ou pa te bay* |
| Uphile | *Li te bay* | Akaphanga | *Li pa te bay* |
| Siphile | *Nou te bay* | Asiphanga | *Nou pa te bay* |
| Niphile | *Nou te bay* | Aniphanga | *Nou pa te bay* |
| Baphile | *Yo te bay* | Abaphanga | *Yo pa te bay* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizopha | *Mwen pral bay* | Angizopha | *Mwen pa pral bay* |
| Uzopha | *Ou pral bay* | Awuzopha | *Ou pa pral bay* |
| Uzopha | *Li pral bay* | Akazopha | *Li pa pral bay* |
| Sizopha | *Nou pral bay* | Asizopha | *Nou pa pral bay* |
| Nizopha | *Nou pral bay* | Anizopha | *Nou pa pral bay* |
| Bazopha | *Yo pral bay* | Abazopha | *Yo pa pral bay* |

# Ukushaya - *Kondi*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngishaya | *Mwen kondi* | Angishayi | *Mwen pa kondi* |
| Ushaya | *Ou kondi* | Awushayi | *Ou pa kondi* |
| Ushaya | *Li kondi* | Akashayi | *Li pa kondi* |
| Sishaya | *Nou kondi* | Asishayi | *Nou pa kondi* |
| Nishaya | *Nou kondi* | Anishayi | *Nou pa kondi* |
| Bashaya | *Yo kondi* | Abashayi | *Yo pa kondi* |
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngishayile | *Mwen te kondi* | Angishayanga | *Mwen pa te kondi* |
| Ushayé | *Ou te kondi* | Awushayanga | *Ou pa te kondi* |
| Ushayé | *Li te kondi* | Akashayanga | *Li pa te kondi* |
| Sishayé | *Nou te kondi* | Asishayanga | *Nou pa te kondi* |
| Nishayé | *Nou te kondi* | Anishayanga | *Nou pa te kondi* |
| Bashayé | *Yo te kondi* | Abashayanga | *Yo pa te kondi* |
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizoshaya | *Mwen pral kondi* | Angizoshaya | *wen pa Mpral kondi* |
| Uzoshaya | *Ou pral kondi* | Angizoshaya | *Ou pa pral kondi* |
| Uzoshaya | *Li pral kondi* | Akazoshaya | *Li pa pral kondi* |
| Sizoshaya | *Nou pral kondi* | Asizoshaya | *Nou pa pral kondi* |
| Nizoshaya | *Nou pral kondi* | Anizoshaya | *Nou pa pral kondi* |
| Bazoshaya | *Yo pral kondi* | Abazoshaya | *Yo pa pral kondi* |

# Ukukhohlwa - *Bliye*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngikhohlwa | *Mwen bliye* | Angikhohlwa | *Mwen pa bliye* |
| Ukhohlwa | *Ou bliye* | Awukhohlwa | *Ou pa bliye* |
| Ukhohlwa | *Li bliye* | Akakhohlwa | *Li pa bliye* |
| Nikhohlwa | *Nou bliye* | Anikhohlwa | *Nou pa bliye* |
| Bakhohlwa | *Yo bliye* | Abakhohlwa | *Yo pa bliye* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngikhohliwe | *Mwen te bliye* | Angikhohlwanga | *Mwen pa te bliye* |
| Ukhohliwe | *Ou te bliye* | Awukhohlwanga | *Ou pa te bliye* |
| Ukhohliwe | *Li te bliye* | Akakhohlwanga | *Li pa te bliye* |
| Sikhohliwe | *Nou te bliye* | Asikhohlwanga | *Nou pa te bliye* |
| Nikhohliwe | *Nou te bliye* | Anikhohlwanga | *Nou pa te bliye* |
| Bakhohliwe | *Yo te bliye* | Abakhohlwanga | *Yo pa te bliye* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizokhohlwa | *Mwen pral bliye* | Angizokhohlwa | *Mwen pa pral bliye* |
| Uzokhohlwa | *Ou pral bliye* | Awuzokhohlwa | *Ou pa pral bliye* |
| Uzokhohlwa | *Li pral bliye* | Akazokhohlwa | *Li pa pral bliye* |
| Sizokhohlwa | *Nou pral bliye* | Asizokhohlwa | *Nou pa pral bliye* |
| Nizokhohlwa | *Nou pral bliye* | Anizokhohlwa | *Nou pa pral bliye* |
| Bazokhohlwa | *Yo pral bliye* | Abazokhohlwa | *Yo pa pral bliye* |

# Ukukholwa - *Kwè*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngikholwa | *Mwen kwè* | Angikholwa | *Mwen pa kwè* |
| Ukholwa | *Ou kwè* | Awukholwa | *Ou pa kwè* |
| Ukholwa | *Li kwè* | Akakholwa | *Li pa kwè* |
| Sikholwa | *Nou kwè* | Asikholwa | *Nou pa kwè* |
| Nikholwa | *Nou kwè* | Anikholwa | *Nou pa kwè* |
| Bakholwa | *Yo kwè* | Abakholwa | *Yo pa kwè* |
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngikholwe | *Mwen te kwè* | Angikholwanga | *Mwen pa te kwè* |
| Ukholwe | *Ou te kwè* | Awukholwanga | *Ou pa te kwè* |
| Ukholwe | *Li te kwè* | Akakholwanga | *Li pa te kwè* |
| Sikholwe | *Nou te kwè* | Asikholwanga | *Nou pa te kwè* |
| Nikholwe | *Nou te kwè* | Anikholwanga | *Nou pa te kwè* |
| Bakholwe | *Yo te kwè* | Abakholwanga | *Yo pa te kwè* |
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizokholwa | *Mwen pral kwè* | Angizokholwa | *Mwen pa pral kwè* |
| Uzokholwa | *Ou pral kwè* | Awuzokholwa | *Ou pa pral kwè* |
| Uzokholwa | *Li pral kwè* | Akazokholwa | *Li pa pral kwè* |
| Sizokholwa | *Nou pral kwè* | Asizokholwa | *Nou pa pral kwè* |
| Nizokholwa | *Nou pral kwè* | Anizokholwa | *Nou pa pral kwè* |
| Bazokholwa | *Yo pral kwè* | Abazokholwa | *Yo pa pral kwè* |

# Ukudla -*Manje*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngiyadla | *Mwen manje* | Angidli | *Mwen pa manje* |
| Uyadla | *Ou manje* | Awudli | *Ou pa manje* |
| Uyadla | *Li manje* | Akadli | *Li pa manje* |
| Siyadla | *Nou manje* | Asidli | *Nou pa manje* |
| Niyadla | *Nou manje* | Anidli | *Nou pa manje* |
| Bayadla | *Yo manje* | Anidli | *Yo pa manje* |
| | | | |
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngidlile | *Mwen te manje* | Angidlanga | *Mwen pa te manje* |
| Udlile | *Ou te manje* | Awudlanga | *Ou pa te manje* |
| Udlile | *Li te manje* | Akadlanga | *Li pa te manje* |
| Sidlile | *Nou te manje* | Asidlanga | *Nou pa te manje* |
| Nidlile | *Nou te manje* | Anidlanga | *Nou pa te manje* |
| Badlile | *Yo te manje* | Abadlanga | *Yo pa te manje* |
| | | | |
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizodla | *Mwen pral manje* | Angizodla | *Mwen pa pral manje* |
| Uzodla | *Ou pral manje* | Awuzodla | *Ou pa pral manje* |
| Uzodla | *Li pral manje* | Akazodla | *Li pa pral manje* |
| Sizodla | *Nou pral manje* | Asizodla | *Nou pa pral manje* |
| Nizodla | *Nou pral manje* | Anizodla | *Nou pa pral manje* |
| Bazodla | *Yo pral manje* | Abazodla | *Yo pa pral manje* |

# Ukucula - *Chante*

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Present | Present | Present-Negative | Present-Negative |
| Ngiyacula | *Mwen chante* | Angicula | *Mwen pa chante* |
| Uyacula | *Ou chante* | Awuculi | *Ou pa chante* |
| Uyacula | *Li chante* | Akaculi | *Li pa chante* |
| Siyacula | *Nou chante* | Asiculi | *Nou pa chante* |
| Niyacula | *Nou chante* | Aniculi | *Nou pa chante* |
| Bayacula | *Yo chante* | Abaculi | *Yo pa chante* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Past | Past | Past-Negative | Past-Negative |
| Ngiculile | *Mwen te chante* | Angiculanga | *Mwen pa te chante* |
| Uculile | *Ou te chante* | Awuculanga | *Ou pa te chante* |
| Uculile | *Li te chante* | Akaculanga | *Li pa te chante* |
| Siculile | *Nou te chante* | Asiculanga | *Nou pa te chante* |
| Niculile | *Nou te chante* | Aniculanga | *Nou pa te chante* |
| Baculile | *Yo te chante* | Abaculanga | *Yo pa te chante* |

| IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl | IsiZulu | Haitian Kreyòl |
|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| Future | Future | Future-Negative | Future-Negative |
| Ngizocula | *Mwen pral chante* | Angizocula | *Mwen pa pral chante* |
| Uzocula | *Ou pral chante* | Awuzocula | *Ou pa pral chante* |
| Uzocula | *Li pral chante* | Akazocula | *Li pa pral chante* |
| Sizocula | *Nou pral chante* | Asizocula | *Nou pa pral chante* |
| Nizocula | *Nou pral chante* | Anizocula | *Nou pa pral chante* |
| Bazocula | *Yo pral chante* | Abazocula | *Yo pa pral chante* |

# APPENDIX E

# ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF *IZINKONDLO NEZISHO*

**a)**

## <u>The Languages of the Peoples</u>

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 vilgilant 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 resusciatate 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 deviners 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)**

**<u>Liberty and Love</u>**

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.
Mtokozisi 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.
Mtokozisi 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, bayingxenye yethu yize sebalala. Uzwile ngithini? Ngithi sebalala angithanga bafile. Uma abantu befunda kahle iBhayibheli, ithi abantu abashonile balele, kunethemba lokuthi bazovuka. Yileso sizathu singeke sikhone ukubalibala okhokho bethu. Igama elithi amadlozi, ngesiNgisi lithi "ancestors" ngako abelungu bayakhuluma ngama ancestors abo kodwa uma liguqulelwa elimini lwethu liba yisono.

**P:** Ngizwa uthi njalo uthi Gogo uma ukhuluma nami, kungani?

**Nyaga:** 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 inqgondo 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 ngikutshele 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 ayohlolela 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 siphiwe 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 ukukukhumbula. 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 angihlolele 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 uzitshele 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 ahlangane 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 ahlangane 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.

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**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 medecine 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?

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**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

Danse of 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.
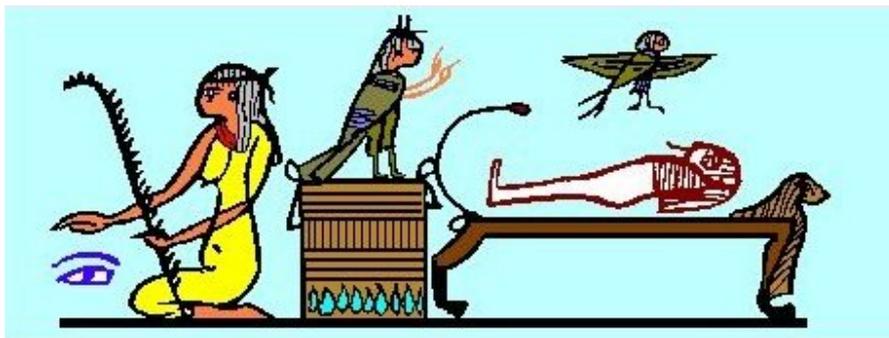


Ascending the chariot of Osiris without being pushed away

Le scribe récite les prières au passeur    L'âme N (Horus faucon) voit son coeur en vase

La prêtresse offre des offrandes à Thot    L'âme N (Horus faucon) se met à voler
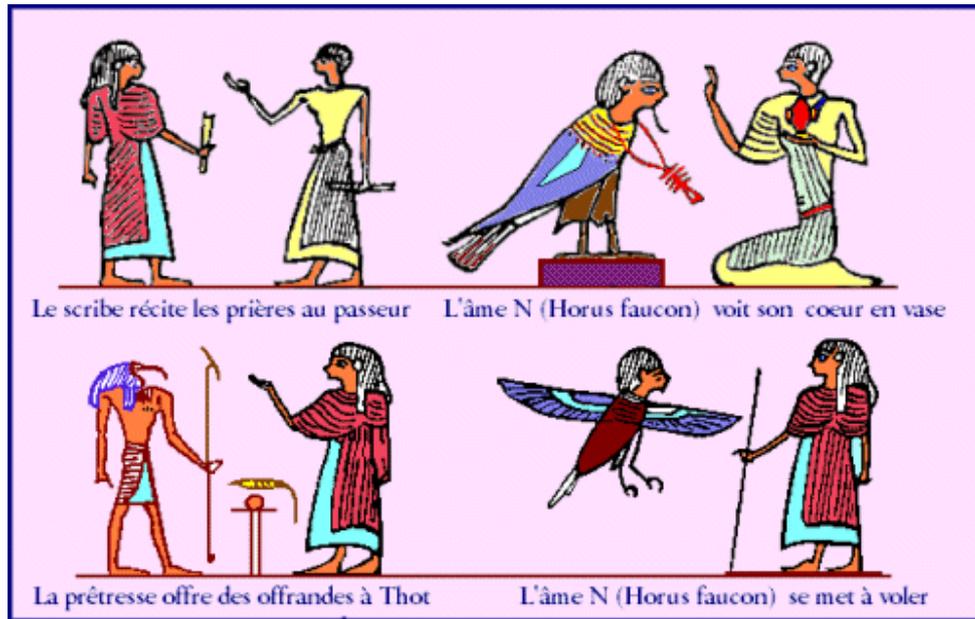
**Greetings to Amon-Re who reside at Heliopolis (and at Thebes):**

"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.
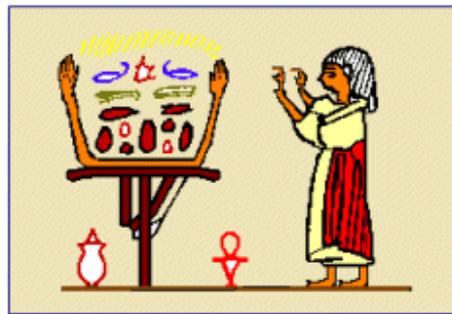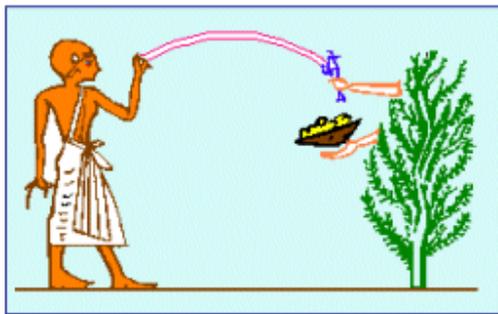




Praying for the soul:

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**
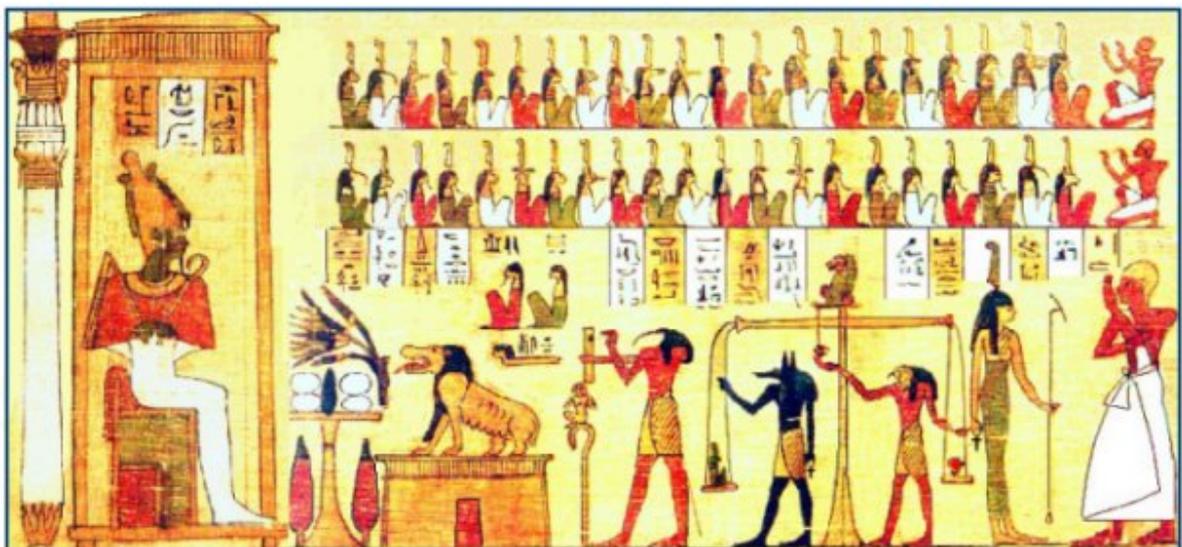


La pesée des âmes en présence d'Osiris, Thot, Anubis, Horus et Maât ( la vérité )
Musée Egizio de Turin

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 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 ….*
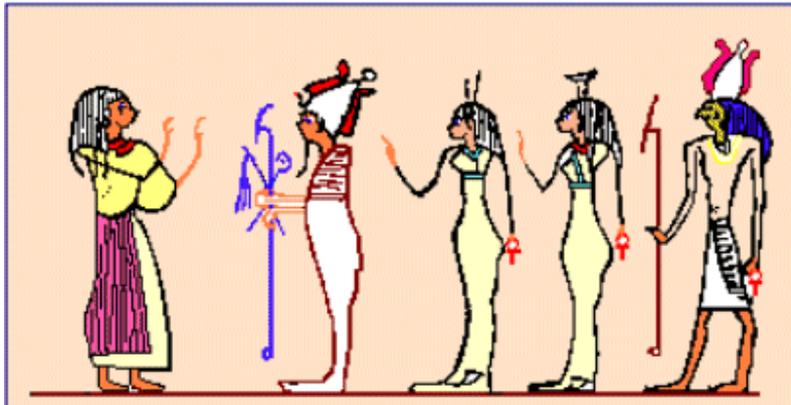


**Welcoming at the Palace named Duat the one who is proclaimed JUST and PURE**.

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 *vévé,* 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