

GENETIC IDENTITY IN MAURITIUS

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Mauritius is a small island of 1,865 square kilometres. This is equivalent to a third of the surface of Savoy. It is situated in the Indian Ocean at 20° south of the equator, on the east of Madagascar. Mauritius is a land without any evidence of human habitation until the seventeenth century. As a result, Mauritius has no indigenous population in the traditional sense, according to the definition from the United Nations:

Indigenous peoples have been defined by U.N. as those having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their own territories, consider themselves distinct from the other sectors of society prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institution and legal systems (<http://esaconf.un.org/WB/default.asp?action=9&boardid=30&read=1826&fid=309>).

Nevertheless, today this island has a population of about 1.2 million from diverse origins. Its population represents one of the highest population densities in the world. (Boswell 2006, 27) Today, every modern Mauritian's ancestors are recent immigrants.

Here are some historical facts about Mauritius to understand how it became diversely populated. The following peoples visited Mauritius without settling:

- The Phoenicians probably visited the island about 2,000 years ago (<http://countrystudies.us/mauritius/>).
- In the 10th century or earlier, Mauritius was probably known to the Arab seafarers and Malay sailors for the island was marked on their sailing map (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mp.html>).
- In the 16th century, the island was visited by Portuguese, they probably stopped on their way to the West Indies (ibid).
- The main colonisations of the island:
- The first human settlement took place from 1598 to 1710. This period was known as the Dutch period. The Dutch set foot in the island under the command of admiral Wybrandt Warwijck. The Dutch introduced sugar cane plantation and named the island Mauritius after the governor – stadhouder – Maurice de Nassau. The Dutch have been long credited with the dubious merit of exterminating the dodo to extinction before leaving the island, but this accusation was proved unfounded. (Encyclopaedia Britannica CD 2008) The dodo is an extinct flightless bird of Mauritius, one of the three species that constituted the Raphidae family. (ibid) The bird's Latin name is *Raphus cucullatus*: bigger than a turkey, with blue-gray plumage, a big head, a 23 cm (9 in.) blackish bill with reddish sheath forming the hooked tip, small useless wings, stout yellow legs, and a tuft of curly feathers high on its rear end, the dodo weighed about 23 kg (about 50 pounds). (ibid)
- In 1721, the French settled the island thanks to the French East India Company and renamed it as Isle de France. They introduced slaves were taken from various parts of the African continent including Madagascar to work in the sugar cane field plantation. Under the French colony racial hierarchy was introduced for the first time, and in order to favour racial purity sexual intercourse was forbidden between Whites and

Blacks. It was the beginning of White masters' supremacy over Black slaves implemented by the Black Code (1) – Code Noir. Later on, with the Decaen Code – Code Decaen (2) - other codes were added to the original Black Code. However, at that time there were no evidence of pseudo-scientific arguments used to justify Black slavery in Mauritius, as it happened in America. The Codes were designed to prevent the slaves to run their lives according to their customs, and instead constructed and implemented a clear racial hierarchy. For example, on page 43 of the 18th -century Le Code noir et autres texts de lois sur l'esclavage, article 6 that forbade Whites to marry Black slaves and in article 8 said that Black slaves could not without get married without their White masters' consents (Anonyme 2006, 43).

However, we learn from Boswell's work that the slave owners made use of the Holy Bible to have the slaves accept their situation (Boswell 2006, 28). The slaves were told that they descended from Ham and as such, they had to pay for their direct ancestor's sin. In the Bible, the masters read to them the following verses:

And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without. And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness. And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his youngest son had done unto him. And he said: Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said: Blessed be the LORD, the God of Shem; and let Canaan be their servant. God enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and let Canaan be their servant (<http://www.mechonmamre.org/p/pt/pt0109.htm#20>).

- In 1810, the English took over the island. The British period lasted up to 1968 when the island became independent.
- In 1835, slavery was abolished and Indian indentured labourers were introduced to replace the slaves.

The population of Mauritius today

The result of those colonisations today is a multiethnic society and a rainbow population. However, just like rainbow's colours never get mixed up completely, so it is for the various ethnic communities in Mauritius.

To summarise, the ancestors of modern Mauritians were chronologically:

1. From European origin – mainly from France and England – and today, they represent a small part of the population, 2% out of 1,230,602, July 2005 estimated (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mp.html>).
2. From various parts of Africa and Madagascar – today's Creole community represents 27% of the population. The community is divided into sub-communities according to their names and/ or to the colour of their skin (ibid).
3. From various parts of India – the Hindu community today is the largest one with several sub-communities and castes depending on the class and the religions they practiced. They represent 68% of the entire population (ibid).
4. From China, a very small community, though not the smallest; their ancestors arrived in Mauritius as merchants and to flee from poverty. They represent 3% of modern Mauritians (ibid).

DNA introduction & its use in Mauritius

When did study about human Deoxyribonucleic Acid first appear in Mauritius?

DNA studies appeared quite recently in Mauritius. Even if Mauritius seems to be quite an interesting island for the study of genetics, due to the various migration pools, there has never been any study, such as the Genographic Project, carried out so far among modern Mauritians.

On 22 July 2009 the National Assembly voted for the first time in its history for the DNA Identification Bill and on 22 August 2009 the Government Gazette of Mauritius No. 76 published the DNA IDENTIFICATION ACT 2009 (<http://www.lexpress.mu/services/epaper-46549-b-le-dna-identification-bill-sur-la-sellette-b.html>).

For what purpose(s) did the Mauritian government published this act?

This act is meant to limit the study of DNA among Mauritians. DNA was exclusively to be used strictly as it is stated in the bill:

- To make provision for the taking of DNA samples and their use, protection, storage and destruction (http://202.123.30.69/Entry/dyn/GuestGetDoc.Asp?Doc_Idx=9116773&Mode=Html&Search=No).
- According to that act, the taking and the use of DNA is only meant for forensic research in police investigations in case of crimes and not for research of origin(s).

Furthermore, the political debates on the ethical issues related to the use of human DNA resulted in:

- Heated debates between the government and the opposition upon the conservation or the destruction of DNA samples once a case is cold (<http://www.lexpress.mu/services/epaper-46549-b-le-dna-identification-bill-sur-la-sellette-b.html>).
- Another heated debate raged over whether the analyses of DNA samples were to be done by private, independent laboratories or by governmental laboratories (ibid).

The ethical debate behind the use of DNA:

- For the government, DNA samples should be collected and kept for future crime cases as it is the case in Denmark or in Great Britain (<http://www.lexpress.mu/services/epaper-46549-b-le-dna-identification-bill-sur-la-sellette-b.html>).
- On the other hand, the political party in opposition argued that the collecting and the keeping of DNA samples might transform the society from an innocent one into a society of convicts or of potential convicts (ibid).
- Consequently, the question that we may ask is whether it is possible or not to carry out studies of DNA for the purpose of tracing back the true origin(s) of today's Mauritians.

Tracing back the true origin(s) of modern Mauritians

First of all, we may ask whether or not Mauritians are interested in their genetic origins. Why or why not?

During a lecture, Malcolm de Chazal (3) reported that every Mauritian knows the name of the ancestor that first came to establish himself in Mauritius. Hence, almost no Mauritians might feel interested in searching for their genetic origins.

However, for some ethnic community, like the Creole, it might be of the utmost importance to discover their genetic origins, especially for slaves' descendants bearing the derogatory names (4) that were once given to their ancestors by the French masters. Slaves were given surnames with negative and sexual connotations according to gender. Women slaves were given surnames such as:

- Lapuante meaning stinking
- Lachair meaning flesh
- Prude meaning prudish
- Lapoule meaning hen

For the men, surnames were given in relation to animals or to the way the masters perceived the slave:

- Bourrique meaning donkey
- L'étourdi meaning stunned
- Résidu meaning residue

Those surnames are still in use today in Mauritius. That happened during the French period. It was stated in the Code Noir that slaves were part of the masters' chattel. Later thanks to the census during the British period, the masters gave their slaves names to facilitate their counting (Romaine 2006, 3). As a consequence, their descendants today might be interested in their genetic origins in order to find out the real names and the real places of origin of their ancestors. They would like to know from which part of Africa they came from and from which tribes. Modern Creoles are said to have their origins from various tribes of Africa, from the other French colonies of the Indian Ocean and from Madagascar (Boswell 2006, 29). This tracing back might help the slaves' descendants to heal their ancestors' stigmata of lost identity, especially of lost genetic identity through the loss of their patronymics.

Nevertheless, tracing back their origin through human genetic study might be a double-edged knife for the Creoles if they can prove that they came undoubtedly from Africa. The ethnic groups in Mauritius today and even some Creole consider Africa an uncivilised, untamed continent, and everything comes from there is considered bad and worthless. Nevertheless, this study might be a way for the Creoles to rebuild their self-confidence and thus fight for their rights in modern Mauritian society. Obviously, as Boswell put it in her book, Creoles tend to consider themselves as an inferior race due to their slave background (ibid). However, for some years now, there seems to have been an awakening of the Creole community, which started after the murder of Kaya, a Creole singer killed in jail by Hindus police officers. A murder that the Creole community believed racially motivated. Moreover, Mauritians of slave ancestry are still stigmatised today in Mauritian society, they are seen as the lowest rung of the population because of the colour of their skin and their African look (5) (Boswell 2006, 30).

Furthermore, since Mauritian government would not currently allow the study of Mauritians' DNA, other than in criminal cases, how can one trace back modern Mauritians' origin?

- We should remember that Mauritius is a multiethnic and multilingual society without any indigenous population.
- If we consider the Out of Africa theory, we may infer that every modern Mauritians share almost the same genes with little variations due to few intermarriages among the ethnic groups. However, it might be of great interest to trace back where exactly the direct ancestors for each community came from. In other words, it is worth finding out who were the first people to set the first stone for of modern Mauritian society.
- Still, in order to reach their national identity, each community in Mauritius has to discover its true origin, its own genetic identity, and even their individual identity before reaching a national, unified Mauritian identity.

Thus, we might get some answers concerning Mauritian genetic lineage through the study of diseases carried out among the various communities of Mauritius. (<<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/119062395/abstract>>)

Before dealing with the studies of diseases through Mauritians DNA, we should stress on the fact that there are several studies led by genetic laboratories about the DNA of extinct animal. Among those animals examined there are the dodos or endangered animals like the Mauritian Kestrels and the macaques (<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/110486337/abstract>).

Those studies are meant to trace back the origin of those species. There are also studies of the DNA of sugar cane, of DNA to rediscover neglected insects of Mauritius and various plants such as the *Trochetia boutoniana*.

Nevertheless, even if there are studies of DNA on animals, insects and plants to determine their origins, there are very few DNA-based studies on human diseases. In addition, there is no study whatsoever related to the origin of a particular community or of all the communities in Mauritius. Why is it so? It seems that there is a fear of discovering where modern Mauritians originated, especially for the Creole community. When we talk to Mauritians, they tend to elude issues related to their places of origin (6).

If there is such study of the DNA of the Mauritians that may allow to trace back the various communities' origins, it may lead to social unrest like the riots occurred in 1968 and 1999. In fact, the study would show that the ultimate origin of all the communities lies in Africa, according to the Out of Africa theory, which is still the most supported by prominent scholars. As a matter of fact, since Mauritians of African ancestry are also of slaves origins, nobody wants to be associated with a slave ancestor, especially those bearing derogatory names. The tracing back of genetic, actually ethnic, origin may cause an increase of so far understated racist remarks and attitudes among the communities, although efforts are made by the government to eliminate their proliferation in the society as it is stated by reports from the United Nations (UN 2000, 43).

Unfortunately, racial discrimination exists in Mauritius, experienced in the everyday life of certain communities, as one can read in the newspaper *L'Express*. (<http://www.lexpress.mu/news/261-blog-a-qui-appartient-l-ile-maurice.html>)

Furthermore, even before any study of diseases through DNA was carried out, from what one can gather while discussing with Mauritians, the other communities tend to give vent to racially-oriented stereotypes by remarking, for example, that the Indo-Mauritians are always sick, fragile or always complaining about their health.

(<http://www.ile-maurice.com/forum/discussions-generales/245-les-mauriciens-vivent-dans-une-societe-malade-et-complexe.html>)

This is the my community is healthier than yours kind of stereotype...

So, in such multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual society as Mauritius, even DNA research to study particular diseases related to a community might have far reaching consequences. In truth, the safe, white sand beaches, filao trees (7) and sunny Mauritius' image is only a screen meant just to attract tourists and it is vastly different from real life.

Coming back to diseases study through DNA research, we find that there are Three major G6PD-deficient polymorphic variants identified among the Mauritian population (<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/119062395/abstract>).

This study showed that a deficiency is affecting the health of the members of the Indo-Mauritians community. Another study about A Variant Insulin Promoter in Non-Insulin-Dependent Diabetes Mellitus affecting mainly the Creole community (<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC443034/>). Those studies help us to trace somehow back the areas in India for each Indo-Mauritian community, and in Africa for the Creoles. The former study shows that people from those regions in India suffer from the same deficiencies as Indo-Mauritians do. The latter states that Afro-Mauritians are as subject to diabetes as Africans and Madagascans. Hence, we might infer that Creoles are mainly of African and Malagasy ancestry with various amounts of Caucasian and to a lesser extent Indian genetic admixture (<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC443034/>).

From this genetic admixture, we might infer that Creoles are genetically stronger than Hindus, who kept the same genetic codes of their ancestors because inter-ethnic marriages very rarely, almost never, in the Hindu community in Mauritius, as it was stated by a Hindu woman who was interviewed for a French documentary. She said that inter ethnic marriages may cause

serious strain within families due to different cultural traditions (Donn 2005). Even among the various Hindu sub-communities, there are no or rare mixed marriages.

Below there is a map of India showing the regions where the various Hindu communities from Mauritius are said to be originated according to their DNA-related disease research:



(1999 Blackwell Science Ltd, British Journal of Haematology 104: 849–854)

From the study of the G6PD-deficient polymorphic variants, we got the following information about the genetic origin of the Hindu communities in Mauritius: the vast majority of the Indo-Mauritians originate from the central and southern states along the eastern coast of India: Bihar, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. There has been some emigration from Maharashtra to Mauritius (<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/119062395/abstract>). From the result of this study, we might infer that modern Mauritians have the same gene pool as that of the Africans that left Africa to settle along Indian coasts and then to Australia as Spencer Wells put it in his book (Wells 2004, 17 -18). However, this is highly debatable, because of the various invasions from Indo-Europeans and Muslims, and possibly others. Since there is no study of DNA tracing back the origins of modern Mauritians, this fact leaves

the door open to several speculations. For example, today's Indo-Mauritians may share the same genetic pool as say the Aborigines in Australia. However, let us be realistic, there is no current DNA research in Mauritius which can determine the real origins of its population.

Hence, we may say that modern Mauritians found their origins in the three old continents or else, if we consider the Out of Africa theory, every Mauritian has the same genes since they are all from Africa, the cradle of human kind.

Limits to the study of genetic identity of modern Mauritians

Let us now focus on the reasons why Mauritian government may be unwilling to have DNA studied to trace back the origins of Mauritian population, and on the main dangers that may lie in the study of genetic identity in a multiethnic society through diseases related to one or to several communities.

Those probable dangers can be classified as follows:

- An increase of racism among communities – this may lead to the building up of stronger communities against weaker communities.
- As a result, this may lead to the desire for the so-called strong community to take control over the so-called weaker communities. By stronger community, we mean the healthier one, in other words, the community that affected by fewer hereditary diseases. The Creole community might be seen as the strongest, since they are stereotyped by other communities as solid as a rock (8). Being of the descendants of slaves, they might be considered more genetically stronger and healthier than the Hindu, for example, since their ancestors used to perform the hardest works. Today, Creoles still perform hard works like brick layers and dockworkers. On the contrary, the Hindus may be considered as the weakest, for they always complained of being tired and sick (9). However, the Creole is often dubbed the laziest community in Mauritius and that accused of preferring alcohol and pot instead of going to work (10).
- Those possible dangers mentioned above may lead to political unrest or to a coup because, as the comments show, harmony among communities in Mauritius is a delusion. Mauritian communities remind us of a dormant volcano that may erupt fiercely without a warning; a wrong word may suffice to reduce this society to ashes.

Even if there is no legal act about racial hierarchy in modern Mauritius, some kind of racial hierarchy exists in the everyday life of modern Mauritius (UN 2000, 43). Rosabelle Boswell described this hierarchy in her study of the so-called malaise Creole (Boswell 2006, 47). The situation today is almost the same as it was during the colonial period. This racial hierarchy comes from the historical past of the island, according to the way the ancestors arrived there. It depends on whether they came as free men, as colonisers, or as slaves. Furthermore, the Code Noir clearly stated that there was a hierarchy of races – the Whites are considered the civilised and superior race over the Blacks said to be savages, wild, less human and more like chattel (Romaine 2006, 2). Today, white-skinned people are still at the top of that established colonial hierarchy along with the upper caste Hindu as Boswell mentioned in her study of Le malaise Creole.

The next question we have to tackle:

Is everybody African or Creole in Mauritius?

- In a multiethnic society such as Mauritius where each community tends to defend origin (obviously, the Creoles excepted), a demonstrated common origin risks to destroy the relative harmony among communities.
- From the above about the Creoles, we may infer that Mauritians are not ready to accept that they are all originated from the land of the Creoles' ancestors, the land of the former slaves, the African countries they reject.

- On the other hand, the other communities would not be happy probably of sharing the same origin as the Malabar coolies (11), the former indentured labourers from India.
- Moreover, a 37-million-years old fossil, first discovered in Myanmar in December 2005, named *Ganlea Megacanina* (12), supposedly showing the link between ape and man, suggests that the origin of humanity is situated in Asia (<http://www2.cnrs.fr/presse/communique/1637.htm>). It might be difficult for Mauritians to accept the fact that they are all “Chinese” this time. There is a “joke” about the Chinese community saying: “*Sa sina na pa loumoun kan li mor li vini yap*” (13). Other communities say this by reproducing the Chinese accent. This is a racist slur and this time the victim is the Sino-Mauritian community.
- Curiously, the only community not targeted by racist slurs is the Euro-Mauritian one, probably because they still enjoy the status of the “master race” at the ideological level. These attitudes show that in “small-town” Mauritius, racial hierarchy has a sharp tongue, even if the government is trying hard to fight this situation as it is shown in United Nations report (UN 2000, 43).

Genetic identity v/s national identity

- National identity is meant to unify the various communities in Mauritius.
- On the contrary, genetic identity might widen the gaps among the communities and increase the racism that lies insidiously among the communities if DNA shows that one community is weaker than the others or the other way round.
- Furthermore, a genetic identity might support the supposition that communities and communalism are not useful, for all Mauritians are genetically the same as the rest of humanity. The Mauritian economy relies upon its rich multiethnic society. Showing that everybody shares a common genetic heritage, which will be equated to a common cultural one, when Mauritians currently prefer rest their economical development on the multicultural, multiethnic aspect of their society may be seriously disruptive.
- Nevertheless, genetic identity underpins anti-racist theory and means that there is no need for communalism to develop in Mauritius, as it seems to be the case in modern Mauritius.
- Moreover, it might be difficult to have Mauritians believe that they were not created by various kinds of gods – depending on the religious faiths – for almost every Mauritian has faith in a particular, ancestral religion; Mauritius is a multi-religious country as well (Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, Islam are the main religions in the island).
- As a result, Mauritians can be seen, more as creationists rather than evolutionists and that may be the reason why scientific Darwinism supporting the idea of human evolution has not yet found its way in Mauritius.
- However, are Mauritians ready to accept as a fact that they are all brothers in genes after all? Besides, Mauritius’ wealth relies on the diversity of its population, A small-scale model of the big world as Leopold Sedar Senghor (14) and Pope John Paul II put it in their visits to Mauritius.

Conclusion

What has been studied in Mauritius, as far as the genetic origin of species is concerned, is the DNA of the dodo in order to discover how that bird, alleged to be once a pigeon, became that awkward big bird with small wings, which made it unable to fly away from man, its main and only predator. Thus, the only study is about the mutation of the dodo. Nevertheless, there are no researches from the Genographic Project with the aim of tracing back the origin of the diverse communities in Mauritius. Would they discover that every modern Mauritian, though

living separately like the colours of the rainbow in different communities and fighting each other, come from the same ancestor at the beginning of humanity? Would Dr. Wells' project uncover that Mauritians are like Madagascans, having a large genetic diversity or are modern Mauritians like the modern Europeans with small genetic diversity? The various communities of Mauritius utterly refuse the notion that they may share even a tiny bit in culture, language, and way of life. Would they accept to have the same ancestor? Maybe, this project is not meant to be carried out among Mauritians, because Mauritian society may be not ready to accept the idea that there exists only a commonly shared ancestry for all Mauritians. Furthermore, genetics will show that we all belong to the same species, the human species, and that population diversity in Mauritius is not a question of biological races (Harrison 2010, 65 -68). Consequently, it is understandable that the notion of genetics frightened Mauritians. That genetic truth might be hard to face for a population used to see its members as divided in mutually exclusionary, utterly as well as radically different communities according to their notion of race.

Today, Mauritian people will have to answer such questions as:

- What does it mean being a Hindu, a Chinese, a Creole, a European, a Muslim today in this multiethnic society?
- And what does it mean being an individual and part of a particular ethnic group in a multiethnic society?"

Before they could answer that of:

- What does it mean being a Mauritian ?

Notes

- (1) That document established the main lines for the policing of slavery right up to 1789. The edict also insisted that all slaves be instructed as Catholics and not as Protestants. For the most part, the code concentrated on defining the condition of slavery (passing the condition through the mother not the father) and establishing harsh controls over the conduct of those enslaved. Slaves had virtually no rights, though the code did enjoin masters to take care of the sick and old.
- (2) This code is less popular than the Code Noir for it was only used to codify slaves' life in Mauritius and the Indian Ocean Islands as a whole. Decaen was a French officer for Napoleon.
- (3) Famous Mauritian poet, writer and painter. His family settled Mauritius during the French colonisation in the 18th century.
- (4) According to Romaine, those names were given by slave owners to the slaves and they usually referred to objects the masters associated to their slaves, for slaves were considered as assets, or to their behaviours.
- (5) People with "Ti sévé" (having short thick frizzy hair), thick lips and of course dark skin.
- (6) Something I notice when I went to Mauritius in 2008 and interviewed some Mauritians. They would answer evasively to the question, "Do you know where your ancestor's came from?" However, they were proud to give you the name of their ancestors, just as Malcolm de Chazal put it previously.
- (7) Its Latin name is *Casuarina equisetifolia*. It is a kind of pine trees, which grows in tropical climate, on the sand. This variety of pine tree can be found in Mauritius, La Réunion and Australia. In Mauritius, the name, filao (in Creole), means "running upstairs toward the sky". Indeed, the filao tree is extremely high.
- (8) We got such an answer when we ask people from other communities, "Which community in Mauritius, do you think is the healthiest?" The answer is, "Banne gros Créoles là, zamia zot malade." (Those Creoles, they are never sick.) This is said with disdain.
- (9) That is what most Mauritians would answer when they are asked which community tends to complain more often.
- (10) That is how other communities in Mauritius see the majority of Creoles. However, people from the other communities tend to draw this image for the "Créoles gros féil", i.e. Creoles from African slaves descendants. In our study of genetic identity in Mauritius, we have to keep in mind that all those comments are biased, since adversarial communities make them. This is to show how Creoles suffer a bad reputation in Mauritian society and on the other hand, it shows that harmony within the society is only on the surface.
- (11) This is a racist term from the other communities towards the Indo-Mauritians.
- (12) Discovery made by Jean-Jacques Jaeger, professor at the Institut international de paléoprimatologie (IPHEP) of Poitiers and Laurent Marivaux of the Institut des sciences de l'évolution from Montpellier.
- (13) Translation: "These are Chinese; they are not human for when they die they become devils."
- (14) Senegalese poet, politician, and cultural theorist who served as the first president of Senegal (1960–1980). Senghor was the first African to sit as a member of the Académie française. He was also the founder of the political party called the Senegalese Democratic Bloc. He is regarded by many as one of the most important African intellectuals of the 20th century.

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